

destroying the Kshatriyas.*

46. Just as a thick cluster of bamboos⁺ surrounded on all sides by thorny plants, cannot be easily eradicated, so a king, supported by his many brothers, cannot be easily subdued.†

47. When a king, ever so vigilant and assiduous,§ is assaulted by a sovereign stronger than himself, there is no

made the dreadful vow of exterminating the Kshatriya race. He succeeded in fulfilling his vow, and is said to have 'rid the earth thrice seven times of the royal race.'

* We can not help remarking here that this Sloka is not very definite about the idea it professes to convey. The example given seems to be out-of-place; the reasons furnished are not cogent. However we must take it as it is. The meaning seems to be this :—A king should not hate the aborigines of a land but should be in friendly terms with them; for there may come times when he will profit by such alliance. To cite an example from the Rāmāyana, Rāmachandra was saved from many dangers through his friendship with the Chandāla *Guhaka*, who belonged to the vilest and most abominable caste existing in India. S. W. Jones's translation of the passage is as follows : "Peace should be made even with a bad man, when ruin is impending; not for the sake of his protection, but from consideration of time."

† *Venu* may also mean 'reeds.'

‡ The last portion of the Sloka has been rendered a little freely. It is superfluous to comment that when the several royal brothers live in amity and when there are love and respect binding them to one another, there is scarcely any chance for a foreign invader to subdue such a king. It is intestine discord that has been the ruin of many a kingdom. S. W. Jones's translation is given below.—"As dust when intermixed with thorns cannot be trampled on, so a king, who has many brethren cannot be subdued." The difference in the first portion of the translation might probably have arisen out of a misprint in the scholar's text which probably substitutes *Renu* for *Venu*, the Sanskrit letters (*Ra*) and (*Ba*) resembling one another very closely. *Renu* means 'dust.'

§ All his efforts and perseverance avail him nothing when he is to combat with superior might, and in spite of them, he is sure to be defeated.

safety for him, as there is none for a deer under the claws of a lion, (save in the conclusion of peace).

48. When a powerful sovereign wants to seize a little only (of his enemy's territory or treasure), even then will he kill the latter, like a lion killing an infuriate elephant. Therefore, one desiring his own good, should conclude peace with such an adversary.*

49. There are precedents to prove that it is better not to fight with a stronger foe.† For, never can clouds roll in a direction opposite to that of the wind.‡

50. Prosperity leaves not that king who bows low before a powerful adversary and puts forth his prowess in proper season, even as rivers (that naturally flow downwards) cannot flow upwards.§

* The meaning of the author is certainly this, but his expression is not clear. 'When a powerful adversary invades another's kingdom only to get a little of the latter's territory or treasure, it is advisable for the latter to conclude peace. For, like a lion that cannot possibly feed on the entire carcass of the elephant, but kills it all the same, the stronger enemy would kill the weaker one, though he does not want to appropriate the whole of the latter's dominions.' But when the powerful king wants to confiscate the whole kingdom, it is better to die fighting for liberty than to surrender one's self.

† The first part of the Sloka admits of another construction, which is as follows;—“There is no evidence to justify the statement that a powerful antagonist should always be fought against.” This though it does not change the meaning of the passage materially, is still worthy of notice. The construction becomes different as we take *Na* with *Yodhvabyam* or *Asti*. The construction we have given, points out the appropriateness of the example embodied in the next line, which in the other case seems out-of-place.

‡ S. W. Jones's translation is as follows:—“It is not advisable to fight with a hero; even a cloud cannot go in opposition to the wind.” The author enjoins the conclusion of peace with the powerful, for, trying to go against them, a king is blown away like clouds trying to go against the wind.

§ The principle inculcated in the first part of the Sloka is quite apparent. None can deny that it is safe to be in peace with one more

51. Like the son of Jamadagni,* every king who, in all places, at all times and over every enemy, obtains victory in battle, enjoys the earth merely through the prestige of prowess.†

52. He, with whom a king victorious in many battles concludes peace, is sure to bring his foes under his sway in no time, even through the prowess of his new ally.‡

53. Never should an intelligent prince trust his adversary even if he be bound by the ties of a treaty,§ inasmuch

powerful than one's self. But at the same time, the weaker of the two must not miss any opportunity in which, by the help of his prowess and energy, he has any chance of crushing his powerful rival. The author means this : 'The comparatively weaker sovereign should remain in apparent peace with others more powerful than himself, watching opportunities to establish his superiority. This is the high road to royal prosperity. *Pratipa* means, contrary, adverse.

* Vide *Supra* note to Sloka 45.

† What the author means is this, that a king who has had the fortune of obtaining a large number of victories, becomes so well-known and feared that, he can enjoy his kingdom even through his mere prestige although at the same time there may be serious diminution of his strength. S. W. Jones gives :—"Like the son of Jamadagni, every king who in all places and at all times, obtains victory in battle, enjoys glory."

‡ What the author means is this. A monarch concluding peace with another victorious in many battles, enjoys much profit, inasmuch as his adversaries knowing his alliance with the ever-victorious king, yield themselves up without any resistance whatever, as they know that that will be unavailing. S. W. Jones's translation of the Sloka is as follows : "He who makes peace with a prince who has been victorious in many wars, assuredly overcomes his own enemies. This king therefore who has been often a conqueror is he with whom peace ought to be made."

§ The anxiety of the author for the safety of the royal personages is so keen that after embodying such an elaborate instruction regarding how to chose parties to a peace, he would not be content ; but warns the kings not to place confidence on allies, and not to be lulled in a sense of safety generated ordinarily by a thought of the conclusion of peace. Such thoughts of safety often bring disaster on a king.

as, in the days of yore, Indra while openly declaring a cessation of hostility, slew Vritra (when the latter was thrown out of his guard.)*

54. The enjoyment of royalty† either by a son or by a father, changes his nature considerably,‡ and therefore is it said that the ways of princes are different from those of ordinary people.§

55. When assaulted by a powerful adversary, a sovereign should seek shelter inside his castles, whence he should make vigorous efforts, and for his own liberation, invoke the assistance of another king still more powerful than his assailant.||

* The allusion in the last part of the Sloka is obscure. Vritra was a powerful demon who was killed by Indra. But we know nothing of the perfidy of Indra referred to here by the author. The reader is referred to our translation of Srimadvhagavatam, Book VI, where an elaborate description of the battle could be found.

The commentator suggests certain minor changes in readings *vis.*, *Samhita* for *Samdhita* and *Adrohé* for *Adroha*.

† For *Rajyàtnnicha* the commentary substitutes *Rajyàlida*, which latter reading we have accepted.

‡ The first line; lit. translated, would stand thus :—“A low-minded father or a son becomes susceptible of perversion when royalty devolves on them.”

§ What the author means seems to be this :—“The filial or paternal affection that is ordinarily found to subsist between a father and a son, could not always be looked for in the royal father or son. Their exalted ranks swing their heads, and their conduct become unnatural. It has been wisely said “Uneasy lies the head that wears the crown” for, it cannot even find solace in the lap of the father or the son. What made the author put in this Sloka here is this that, he has already warned sovereigns not to trust allies ; he also advises them not to trust their own father or their sons, for royalty is like an intoxicating liquor having the power to corrupt the whole inner man.

: || The author now proceeds to describe what should be done by the king who is unfortunate enough to be assailed by an adversary who would not consent to conclude peace. The advice given, as the reader can see, is perfectly politic and none the less diplomatic.

56. Like* a lion attacking an elephant, a monarch forming a right estimate of his own *Utsàhasakti*,† can fall upon another superior to him. This is what the son of Bharadwaja‡ says.

57. A single lion crushes a thousand herds of huge tusked elephants ; therefore, working himself up into fury equal to that of a lion, a (weaker) sovereign should fall upon his (powerful) adversary.§

58. ||Of a sovereign, who exerting himself to the best

* The author now points out what is to be done in the absence of a sovereign competent to help the one assailed by a powerful adversary. In this case, the weaker monarch should at first carefully judge his *Utsàhasakti* (Vide below) and then he should fall upon the assailant. That there is chance of success, the author exemplifies by citing the case of the lion slaying the elephant, which latter is much stronger and larger in proportion than the former.

† *Utsàhasakti* we have explained in an earlier note (Vide note to Sloka I, Sec. I). But the meaning the author here wants it to convey is a little wider. It means not only the power of energy, but also agility, quickness and activity which are the qualities incident to an energetic nature. *Utsàhasakti* here refers also to the other *Saktis* of the sovereign, and it includes, the efficiency of the army and the abundance of the sirews of war.

‡ The son of Bharadwaja is the celebrated Drona, the military preceptor of the Kurus and the Pandavas. He was born out of a *Drona* or bucket in which his father preserved the seed which fell at the sight of a celestial nymph called *Ghrītāchi*.

§ The author further illustrates what he has said in the previous Sloka. It is not so much the physical strength of his soldiers that gives success to a sovereign, but it is their fierceness engendered by some sense of wrong, that ensures it. Strength is as necessary for success as are agility and quickness and firmness of intention.

|| The author now proceeds to state that as there is risk in hazard-ing a battle with a powerful adversary, there is also immense advantage to be derived if in any way victory may be gained. When a king can put down his assailant, his other enemies are naturally inspired with a higher estimation of his strength than they had ere now formed. Thus they are frightened and venture not to oppose him when he attacks "

of his powers, can crush his superior with his army,* the other enemies become conquered by his (this display of) prowess only.†

59. Where in war victory is doubtful, (in that case) peace should be concluded even with one equal in every respect;‡ for, as Vrihaspati§ says, “Embark not in any project where success is uncertain.”||.

60. For these reasons, the sovereign that desires his prosperity to reach the acme,¶ should conclude peace even with one equal to him in all respects. The clash between two unblaked jars surely becomes destructive of both.**

61. Sometimes†† by resorting to (uncertain) war both the parties reap destruction. Were not Sunda and Upasunda, both‡‡ equally powerful, destroyed by fighting with each other?

them; and they fall an easy prey to him. In this way, without the evils of war, he succeeds in extending his empire, which is the highest ambition a sovereign may cherish.

* For *Sasainasya* the commentator gives *Alpasainasya*.

† For *Pratāpasidhena* the commentator substitutes *Pratāpasidha*.

‡ The sum and substance of the author's advice is embodied in the text of this Sloka, which is very sound and statesman-like.

§ Vide an earlier note.

|| S. W. Jones's translation of the Sloka is as follows:—“Let a king seek peace for the love of religion; in war success is doubtful; but in making peace let no man doubt. So said Vrihaspati.”

¶ The commentary suggests some minor changes in the readings which are as follows:—For *Tatsampraviddhé* it reads, *Asampraviddhé* and *Abhibriddhikàma* for *Ativriddhikàma*.

. ** The last part of the Sloka hints at the result that may be expected when two princes equal in prowess happen to fight with each other. *Apakkayo* means ‘not maturely burnt.’

†† The author further illustrates the instruction given in the last part of the preceding sloka, by saying that war between two equally powerful princes is destructive of both.

‡‡ Sunda and Upasunda were two brother demons, the sons of *Nikumbha*. They got a boon from the Creator that they would not die

62. *Even the most degraded and powerless enemy† should be made peace‡ with, when calamity threatens,§ inasmuch as, attacking at that time, he may cause troubles (to the mind)|| like a drop of water causing pain when it falls on a lacerated limb.¶

until they would kill themselves. On the strength of this boon, they grew very oppressive, and Indra had at last to send down a lovely nymph named *Tilottamā*, and while quarrelling for her, they killed each other.

* The text of the Sloka has been considerably changed by the commentator in order to wring out a plausible meaning. The Sloka specifies the occasion when peace is to be made even with a low-born person. We notice the changes of reading in the following notes.

† The word in the text is *Viheena* for which the commentary gives *Atiheena*. The commentator suggests *Atiheena* to mean 'in very bad circumstances.' This meaning is good. The author has said before that peace should not be made with those who are liable to be easily conquered; but there are occasions when even such an adversary should be made peace with.

‡ For *Susandhopi* the commentary gives *Sandheyā*.

§ For *Agatas* the commentator reads *Agaté*.

|| For *Himavat* the commentary suggests *Hi manas*.

¶ For *Kshatam* the commentator gives *Kshaté*. The whole Sloka with the changes of reading noted above would read thus:—

"*Atiheenopi Sandheyas Vyasane ripurāgatē,*

Patandunoti hi manas toyavinduriba kshaté."

What the author means is this:—"Ordinarily peace should not be made with a weak and low-born adversary, as he can be defeated with ease. But when you are threatened by any grave calamity you might conclude peace with him, so that your anxiety on his score will be lessened. Monarchs weaker than yourself though ordinarily can do no harm to you, yet they may afflict you when you will be overwhelmed with a serious catastrophe; just as water though it does not give pain under ordinary circumstances will do so, when you are wounded.

63. i/* on such occasions,† the comparatively weak monarch refuses to make peace, the reason is to be found in his mistrust‡ (of the other party). In that case, gaining the former's confidence, the other party should ruthlessly crush him.§

64. Having|| concluded peace with a monarch more powerful than himself, a king exerting carefully to please the former,¶ should so serve him as to gain his confidence.**

* As in the previous, so in this Sloka also, various changes in reading have been introduced; and in lieu of noticing the changes separately, we give below the Sloka as it would be|when the readings are all amended :—

*"Heena chet Sandhi na gachchet tatra heturhisamsayas
Tasya Visramvamalakshya praharéttatinisthuram."*

The author here suggests the measure that should be resorted to, in the case of the weaker king's refusal to make peace. The Sloka as given in the text, may give some meaning, but that would not be suited to the context. Literally rendered it would be this :—'Never desire to make peace with the low, the reason being, there is much uncertainty in such a treaty (and hence it will not last long). Therefore securing their confidence, a king should smite them down, actuated by desire for gain.' Even here, we have to change a little of the text.

† When calamity threatens.

‡ This part of the text seems to be vicious. The commentator has not suggested any emendation. The emendation embodied in the changed reading of the Sloka is our own. *Samsaya* means 'doubt' or 'mistrust'; therefore *Asamsaya* means 'certainty' 'belief' &c. Thus we can make out some sense if we read *Asamsayas*.

§ The last portion contains advice as to how such refractory kings should be dealt with.

|| The author now proceeds to determine the duty of a weaker monarch when he concludes peace with one stronger than himself.

¶ For *Tam pravisyā pratāpavan*, the commentary gives *Tamanu pratiyādnāvan*. We have translated the reading given in the commentary. There is another minor change in the next line of the Sloka, which needs no explanation.

** The strain in which the author sings is this :—"When peace is made with a more powerful king, try to gain his confidence by hook or

65. Unsuspected* and ever watchful and always inscrutable in his expressions and designs, he (the weaker king) should speak only those words that would be agreeable.† But he should do what it is his duty to do.‡

66. Through confidence intimacy may be secured; through confidence an act (of selfish interest) may be successfully achieved.§ It was through her confidence on him that the lord of the celestials was able to destroy the foetus of Diti.||

by crook; and then taking advantage of the intimate knowledge that you would gain of his affairs, crush him completely. Whether you make peace with the weaker or the stronger king, always try to crush him, so that you will be relieved of the fetter that peace necessarily puts on you." It seems that the author would not hesitate to inculcate the sacrifice of honesty and good faith at the altar of empire's advancement. We do not know what ultimate good such a policy would bring. What we have written above, would be evident from a perusal of the next Sloka.

* Lit. rendered would be, 'confided upon.'

† If he behaves in this way, not the slightest suspicion would ever fall upon him. Thus he would have every opportunity for serving his own end *vis.*, to slay the stronger king. "*Priya*" words are as "*Jaya*" "*Jiva*," "Victory" "Long live the Emperor" &c.

‡ This, according to our author, is, as the reader is aware, to slay the other superior king. The weak prince should show every possible deference to his superior in words and deeds, but he should never forget his ultimate aim of doing away with him.

§ The author now enumerates the advantages that are gained when confidence of the stronger king is obtained by the weaker. Being a confidante, the latter gradually becomes a favorite; when in that position, it becomes considerably easy to achieve the task (or the duty as the author calls it) he has in his heart *vis.*, the destruction of the former.

|| The last part contains an allusion which has not been explained in the commentary. The reference seems to be to the birth of the *Marutas* or Wind-gods. When *Diti* the mother of the demons was quick with the *Marutas*, Indra, knowing by his *yoga*-prowess that she was going to give birth to a child that would be a formidable opponent of his, entered her womb and there severed the foetus in seven times seven parts.

67. Having* formed a firm alliance with the principal officer† or the royal son‡ of even a cool-headed§ assailant, the (assailed) king should endeavour to sow dissension|| among the former's party.

68. The¶ assailed sovereign should try to saddle the principal officers of the assailant with accusations, by spending money** lavishly (in bribes) and by (treasonable) letters and documents, in which his identity would be hidden.††

69. Thus‡‡ when an intelligent sovereign succeeds in

* The author now suggests other measures by which a powerful assailant may be overthrown. These measures naturally fall under the expedients of foreign policy enumerated in an earlier note (Vide note to Sloka 51, Sec. IV). The first of these measures is to sow discord (*Veda*) among the enemy, which will considerably reduce their strength and activity. This end, according to the author, is best served, when a conspiracy or league may be formed with one of the principal officers of the assailant's state.

† Such as, the minister, the royal priest, the physician, or the commander-in-chief.

‡ The word is *Yuvarājāh* or the heir apparent or the crown prince.

§ What the author means seems to be this:—'Even a cool-headed adversary may be overthrown in this way, not speak of him who is rash.'

|| The commentary has introduced an emendation here: it reads *Antaparakopam* for *Talas prakopam*. The reading given in the text scarcely yields any rational meaning.

¶ The author now suggests the means by which dissension can be effectually sown. The means is this:—'The assailed sovereign after gaining the confidence of the assailant, should try to alienate him from his ministers &c. He should try to bring down the wrath of the sovereign over the officers of state by imputing false charges to them; these charges, he should uphold by producing witnesses secured through bribe, and by forged letters and documents which should be so carefully drawn up as not to cast the slightest suspicion on him.'

** The reading in the text is vicious, and we have adopted that given in the commentary, which is *Arthotsargena*.

†† The commentary suggests another reading *vis.*, *Arthasanghi-*
thais, which means 'the meanings of which are very deep.'

‡‡ The result of sowing distrust among the adversary's party is described in this Sloka. We have, in our translation, been a little free

accusing the principal officers of the assailing monarch, the latter in spite of his being formidable, relegates all activity, inasmuch as he loses confidence over his own people.*

70. Intriguing† with the ministers of the enemy, the assailed king should tone down their efforts to crush him.‡ He should kill his enemy by weaning over his physician,§ or by administering poisonous liquids.||

71. The assailed king should, with all his efforts, try to enkindle the wrath of the monarch whose dominions lie just behind the assailant's ¶ Then, through his agency, he

regarding the construction of the original, but this make the translation all the more lucid.

* The last portion of this Sloka would have been unintelligible but for the reading suggested in the commentary, which reads *Yātyavisvāsam* for *Yasya viswasa*. When a sovereign cannot trust his own people, he can scarcely risk a battle with his enemy.

† What the author says in this Sloka is this :—"The assailed king should form secret alliances with the minister &c. of the assailant, so that they would not fight to the best of their abilities. It was this principle which Lord Clive followed in making Mirzafar apathetic towards the interest of Siraj during the battle of Plassey. As is well-known, Mirzafar during the course of the battle remained with his soldiers as inert as a wall. This conduct was of course due to the league he had formed with Clive previously."

‡ For *Tadavastham Samunnayet* the commentator gives *Taddramvam Samam nayet*, which indeed is an emendation. The former hardly gives any sense.

§ Who, of course, is able to treacherously kill him without the least difficulty.

|| The last mentioned alternative seems naturally to be connected with the other. But we have faithfully followed the construction of the original.

¶ The text of the Sloka is obscure inspite of the emendations given in the commentary. The translation given above is suited to the text and to the teachings already inculcated by the author. The Sloka would admit of another meaning, which will nearly tally with what is given above, differing in minor details only. That rendering would be something like this :—"The assailed king should fan a quarrel between

should heedfully bring about the assailant's destruction.*

72. The† assailed king should, through spies disguised as astrologers‡ inhabiting the assailant's country§ and possessing all the auspicious marks of inspired Seers, cause predictions to be made before the latter to the effect that dreadful calamities would soon overtake him.

73. Taking|| into consideration the loss,¶ the expenditure,** the difficulty†† and the destruction‡‡ &c.,

the assailant and him who is looked upon with disfavor by this latter. Then, through the agency of the person out of favor, he should crush the enemy." What the author refers to is that expedient of foreign policy which is known as *Veda*. What he means is this that, when a weak monarch is assailed, he cannot but seek external help, and this he should find in the *Parshnigrāha* of the assailant, whose anger against the latter he should try to rouse. Then united with the *Parshnigrāha* he should crush the foe.

* The commentary gives *Pradharsayet* for *Prasādhayet*; we have accepted the emendation.

† This Sloka suggests a means that would act as a deterrent to the assailant and induce him to adjourn active operations against the assailed, and thus giving the latter time to secure others' help &c. The meaning is this :—"As soon as he is assailed, the king should, by bribing, win over some of the subjects of the assailant's dominions; he should then put them in disguise as venerable astrologers with all the exterior marks of holiness. They should then repair to the assailant's camp who would naturally seek their help in determining the *finale* of the war he is going to wage. Now the disguised astrologers would tell him that the stars are impropitious and forebode great danger. In this way the assailant's spirit will be damped and he will not launch immediately on war.

§ *Nimittikai*—means those who can read the signification of *Nimittas* or omens. Hence an astrologer.

‡ For *Uddesa* *kritasamvāsai* the commentary reads *Taddesakrita-samvāsai*; and for *Sadhulakshanai* it reads *Siddhalakshanai*.

|| The author now proceeds to delineate the evil effects of war, which he thinks will dissuade kings from risking wars rashly.

¶ Such as the death of the principal and trustworthy officers.

** The draining of the treasury and the devastation of the crops &c.

†† Such as the inclemency of the weather, &c.

‡‡ Of men and munition.

involved in a war, and weighing seriously its good as well as evil effects, the assailed king would rather do well to willingly * submit to certain hardships, than launch upon war; for war is ever prolific of evil consequences.

74. The body, the wife,† the friends and the wealth of a sovereign may cease to be of any avail to him, within a wink's time, when he launches on war, (in which there is every possible danger of his life).‡ These again are constantly jeopardised in war. Therefore an intelligent§ sovereign should never engage in a war.

75. What king, who is not a fool, would put his friends, his wealth, his kingdom, his fame and even his own life in the cradle of uncertainty by embarking on war? ||

76. When assailed, a sovereign desiring peace, should conclude¶ a firm treaty, by means of conciliation, gifts or or bribery or by sowing dissension** among the enemy, at a time when the latter's array of troops would cross the boundaries of his territory; before this should not betray his peaceful intentions.††

77. Protecting himself and his army effectually and concentrating all his forces, a brave king (when assailed) should

* When there is no other alternative except war, it is better to make peace even with certain inconveniences to one's self.

† What the author means is this:—When a king engages in war there is every danger of his being slain, in which case his body, wife, &c. will be of no use to him.

‡ For *Valam* (army) the commentary gives *Kalatram* or wife.

§ The reading in the text is *Vidyât* which certainly is vicious. The commentator gives nothing. We substitute *Vidwan*.

|| As soon as a king engages in a war, these things become uncertain, and he may lose them any moment, being slain or defeated.

** For *Santapayet* the commentator gives *Samsthapayet* which reading we have accepted.

¶ For these Vide an earlier note (Sloka Sec.

†† In the last part of the translation, we have been a little free for the sake of lucidity.

perform many manœuvres to afflict his assailant ; then when the latter shall be involved in great dangers, let him make proposals of peace. For it is with hot iron that hot iron becomes fused.*

78. These are the different kinds of peace (and the modes of forming them), which have been enumerated by ancient† and mighty sages. By putting forth his prowess, a ruler of men should subdue his refractory‡ enemy. He should act after having discerned (through his prudence) what is good§ and what is bad.||

Thus ends the ninth Section, the dissertation on peace, in the Nitisara of Kamandakiya.

* But if the assailant refuses to make peace, the author says, the assailed should not surrender unconditionally, but to the best of his might and intelligence, fight and annoy his adversary. If at the time of his defeat he wants to make peace, the victor would be exacting in his terms. So, by equal fierceness only, can he conclude a firm treaty. S. W. Jones's translation of the Sloka is as follows.

"Preserving his secret unrevealed and his forces well-united, let a hero march and annoy his enemy, for hot iron may form an union with hot iron ; so he by equal fierceness, at a time when his foe is fierce, may conclude a firm peace."

For *Samtāpam* in the last line the commentator gives *Sandhānam*, which evidently is the true reading. The commentator quotes Chanakya in support of the author.

"Nātaptam Loham, Taptena, Sandhatte."

'Cold iron cannot become fused with hot iron.'

† For *Purvātana* the commentator reads *Purvātama*.

‡ That is, unwilling to make peace.

§ The last portion of the Sloka has been considerably changed in the commentary. For the last two lines, it reads :—

Valāt, Tadenam Vinayet Nareswaras

Samikshya Kāryam Guru Chetaratdwidhā.

We have adopted the reading of the commentary ; still the context seems to be vicious.

|| The word is *Guru* which lit : means, 'that which redounds to the credit of the performer.'

SECTION X.

1. **P**OSSESSED by thoughts of revenge, and with hearts burning with anger engendered by the infliction of mutual wrongs, people proceed to fight with one another.*

2. One may also launch upon a war, for the amelioration of his own condition, or when oppressed by his foe,† if the advantages of the soil and the season be in his favor.‡

3. §Usurpation of the kingdom, abduction of females,|| seizure of provinces and portions of territory,¶ carrying away

* The author's meaning, explained by the commentator, seems to be this :—" Wrath and resentment caused by the infliction of injuries, are the chief causes of war."

† What the author means to say is this :—Wrath and resentment are not the only causes that breed war, but a desire for elevating one's position, or excessive oppression by the foe, may also lead one to hazard a war. But there is a proviso in the latter case, which is this that before declaring war, one must see that the advantages of the land and time are in his favor ; if they are not so, he must not go to war, for, in that case defeat will be inevitable.

‡ *Désakàlavalopétas*.—Another meaning of this compound different from what we have embodied above, is suggested by the commentator ; it is this :—Supported by the advantages of the land and the season, and by an army well-equipped with men and munition.

§ This and the following two Slokas should be read together. The author now enumerates all the causes and occasions when war is launched upon by kings and sovereigns. .

|| For example the commentator cites the case of the abduction of Sita by Ravana, (refer to Ramayana).

¶ *Sthana* and *Desa* mean almost the same thing ; in our rendering we follow the commentary strictly.

of vehicles and treasures,* arrogance,† morbid sense of honor,‡ molestation of dominions.§

4. Extinction of erudition,|| destruction of property, violation of laws,¶ prostration of the regal powers, influence of evil destiny, the necessity of helping friends and allies,** disrespectful demeanour, the destruction of friends,††

5. The want of compassion on creatures,‡‡ disaffection of the *Prakriti Mandala*,§§ and common eagerness for possessing the same object, these and many others have been said to be the (prolific) sources of war.

6. The||| means for extinguishing the wars caused by

* *Yāna* lit means 'that which carries,' hence conveyance of any kind, including horses, elephants &c., *Dhāna* the commentary explains as gems and jewels.

† The word in the text is *Madā*, explained by the commentator to mean, arrogance engendered by the sense of personal courage and heroism!

‡ Like that of Ravana, who thought, "What, shall I, Ravana the king of the three worlds, make over Sita to her husband, out of sheer fear?"

§ The original word is *Vaisayikīpida*—which lit : means 'some disorder in the kingdom.' When caused internally, it breeds civil war. *Visaya* here means 'kingdom.'

|| The original word is *Jñāna-vighāta* which the commentary explains to mean the destruction of the literary class, who are instrumental in the cultivation and spread of knowledge.

¶ The commentator explains,—the infringement of the social laws, and customs.

** The word in the text is *Mitrārtham* which the commentary takes to mean, 'for the sake of friends.'

†† The word in the text is *Bandhuvindāsam*; the author means this, that when an ally is destroyed by his enemy, a king takes up the cause of his ally and avenges his destruction or ruin.

‡‡ The commentary explains:—'To abandon creatures to the mercy of their enemy, having at first given them full assurances of safety.'

§§ *Prakriti Mandala*—refer to an earlier note.

||| Having enumerated the sources of war, the author now goes on to describe the measures by which such wars may be put an end to. We have rendered this Sloka freely for making the sense clear.

the usurpation of kingdoms, abduction of females and seizure of provinces and portions of territory, have been specified by those skilled in the expedients of policy, to be the relinquishment of the kingdoms, the restoration of the females and the evacuation of the provinces, respectively.*

7. The means for pacifying the wars caused by the violation of laws and the spoliation of property† are the restoration of the laws and the restitution of the property; respectively. The means for putting an end to a war caused by the molestation of the kingdom‡ by the foe, is to molest the kingdom of the latter in return.

8. Of wars caused by the carrying away of treasures§ and by the destruction of knowledge and the prostration of the regal powers, the end is reached by the restitution of the things taken, by forgiveness and indifference.||

9. Wars brought about by allies through their oppression and persecution, should be looked upon with indifference¶;

* For *Madena* of the text, the commentary gives *Damena*.

† The word in the text would mean lit: "The war arising out of some cause detrimental to the interests and government (of one of the parties concerned)." We have translated this Sloka also freely.

‡ *Visaya* here, as before, means 'kingdom or the dominions of a monarch.'

§ For *Yāna* of the text the commentary gives *Dhana*, which we have accepted.

|| The second line in the original bristles with bad readings. The commentary has suggested certain emendations but for which it would have been difficult to make any sense out of the line. For *Shama* it gives *Sama* and for *Tadarthaschangena* gives *Tadarthatyāgena*. Both these emendations we have accepted.

¶ The sense of the author is this:—When the allies of a king bring about a war through their wanton behaviour and policy, he should not join them, but remain indifferent; so that, none of the evils of the war may overtake him. It is always the duty of a sovereign to make common cause with his allies, but not so in this case.

but, for a generous ally* even the very life may be risked.†

10. War caused by the offer of insult should be extinguished by the offer of honor. Conciliation and propitiation are the means for pacifying a war caused by pride and arrogance of one party.

11. A brave king should reach the end of a war caused by the destruction of a friend or an ally,‡ by the application of underhand measures, or by having recourse to incantations and magical spells.§

12. For pacifying a war having for its cause the eagerness for possessing the same object (by two kings), a prudent king should give up that object, provided that his royal prestige does not suffer thereby ||

13. The war caused by the spoliation of a portion of the treasures¶ should not be prosecuted in,** inasmuch as

* The commentary gives *Atmavatmitravargārtham* for *Atamvatmitravargétu*.

† But when a generous and faithful ally is involved in a war, a sovereign should offer him aid, even if such conduct may cost him his very life.

‡ When the ally of a king is destroyed, it is prudent for him not to declare open war against his ally's foe, but to apply secretly the expedients of policy and thereby undermine his (the other's) strength.

§ One line of this Sloka is omitted in the text. The line as given by the commentator is this :—

Rahasyena prayogèna Rahasya karanéna va.

Rahasya-prayoga is the use of covert measures. *Rahasyakaran* is the employment of incantations and charms for some malevolent purpose; it includes *Mārana*, *Vaseekarana* &c.

|| What the author means is this :—When two kings set their heart upon possessing one and the same object, war becomes inevitable. To avoid such a war, one of the contending sovereigns must withdraw himself; but the withdrawing monarch must be careful that his royal prestige is not prejudiced by his falling back; in that case, he should fight to the last rather than lose his prestige and honor.

¶ For *Dhanāpachārajātē* the commentator gives, *Kosāpahārajanitē*. The meaning is not materially changed by this change in reading.

** For *Tannirodham*, the commentary substitutes *Virodham*, which makes the Sloka intelligible.

by carrying on a war, a man may lose all his treasures.*

14. When the party against whom war is waged is numerous,† its end should be reached by sowing dissensions in the enemy's camp, by gift, bribery,‡ reconciliation, tempting offers, and other such expedients of policy.§

15. War caused by the want of showing compassion to creatures, should be extinguished by speaking agreeable and pleasing words to them.|| The means approved of by the pious for pacifying a war brought about by the evil influence of Fate, is to propitiate Fate.¶

16—18. War incident to the rebellion of the dis-

* What the author wants to emphasise is this :—When the cause of the war is the seizure of a portion of the treasure, it should not be carried on ; for, if prosecuted in, there is every chance of the rest of the treasure being drained out to meet the expenses of the war ; moreover there is no certainty about success.

† The word in the text is *Māhājana*, which the commentator takes to be equivalent to *Vahujana*.

‡ The first half of this Sloka again has been omitted in the text. The commentary supplies it. It is this :—

Trishnopanyāsayuktēna Sāmadānadikēnagha.

§ The author's meaning is this :—When war is inevitable with a numerically strong party, then one should not hazard pitched battles, but try to produce intestine discord among the enemy's troops and generals, and wean over some of them to his side, by gift, bribery &c. Thus weakening the odds against him, he will compel them to conclude peace.

|| The commentary quotes another reading for the first part of the Sloka, to be found in the Benares Edition. It is this :—

Bhūtānugrahavichchedajātsyāntam Vrajat vasee.

It means—'One who can control his passions, can reach the end of a war engendered by the failure of showing compassion to creatures.'

¶ When through the influence of Destiny war becomes inevitable, the means for pacifying it, is the performance of ceremonies calculated to propitiate adverse Fate and redound to the peace and tranquility of the kingdom. These ceremonies are technically called *Sānti*, *Sastyayana* &c.

affected *Mandala*,* is to be pacified by the application of one or the other measures of policy.†

Hostilities‡ have been said, by those who know how to remove them, to be of five kinds:—(1) That produced by a spirit of rivalry,§ (2) that caused by some dispute about lands,|| (3) that having women at the root,¶ (4) that produced by irresponsible spies,** (5) and that consequent on some fault or transgression on one side †† The son of *Valgudanti*‡‡ speaks of four kinds of hostilities only, *vis.*, (1) that caused by the invasion of one's territory, (2) that caused

* The word in the text is *Mandalakshova*; *Mandala* of course here refers to the *Prakriti-mandala*, and *Kshova* means agitation or disturbance; the commentator explains *Mandalakshova* to mean, *Prakritināṁ Vidroha*, or the rebellion of the subjects.

† The word in original is *Upāya* (Vide note to Sloka 53 Sec V).

‡ Having enumerated the general causes of war and the means for pacifying them, the author now proceeds to define and describe the several kinds of hostilities.

§ The original word in the text is *Sāpatnyam*; *Sāpatnya* is *Satru* or a foe; the commentary explains it to mean—'hostility ordinarily to be found existing among foes.'

|| *Vāstujam*—etymologically means 'originating from some *Vastu* or object; the commentator specifies the objects to be, land, treasure, territory &c.

¶ The meaning of the author, as explained by the commentator is this:—'Hostility having for its cause the intrigue and illicit love of women.' This meaning although appropriate is not comprehensive; *Strījam* would mean that kind of hostility that has anything to do with females.

** Here the commentator has introduced a change in the reading; he reads *Chārajams* for *Vājñātam*. *Chāra* means spies scouts or emissaries; hence *chārāja* would mean, hostility, which spies cause to spring up between two parties. The *Charas* bring into notice some or other of the treacheries of one party and thereby sow in the heart of the other, the seeds of enmity.

†† This is the ordinary kind of hostility, which originates from some guilt or transgression.

‡‡ The son of *Valgudanti* is Indra; the reading in the text is *Vahudanti* for which the commentary gives *Valgudanti*.

by something (done by others) prejudicial to the exercise of the regal powers,* (3) that resulting from some dispute about the boundaries† of dominions, (4) and that produced by some disturbance of the *Mandala*.‡

19. Men take cognizance of two kinds of hostilities only *vis.*, (1) that which is hereditary,§ (2) and that bred by some fault or transgression.||

Wai¶ from which the benefit derived will be a little, that from which it will be nothing, that in which success is doubtful,**

20. That injurious at present,†† that without any future benefit,‡‡ that with one whose strength is unknown, that with a wicked person,§§

* The original word is *Sakti Vighātajam*, which means, originating from the deadening of the *Saktis*; our rendering is a little free.

† The original word is *Bhūmyanantarajātam* which the commentator explains thus. 'Resulting in consequence of the territories bordering on one another.' Hence the meaning we have given above.

‡ *Mandala* referred to here is the *Mandala* of twelve kings (Vide an earlier note). The disturbance of this *Mandala* is equivalent to the disturbances of the balance of power that is ordinarily found to exist in it.

§ That is, handed down by the father to the son; ever constant in the family.

|| This is the common sort of hostility, bred by the offer of insult and offences.

¶ The author now goes on to describe what kinds of wars are to be avoided.

** The text-word lit translated would be, 'the result of which is uncertain.'

†† That is, 'war that alienates friends and disturbs the balance of power existing among the kings of the *Mandala*.' *Tadātwa* means, for the time being.

‡‡ For the first line of this Sloka, the Benares Edition substitutes,
Ayatyaṁ cha tadātwe cha dōsa Samyamanaṁ Tathā.

§§ The commentary paraphrases *Dusta* by deceitful; for the sake of a good construction, here we omit to translate one word, and have rendered it in the first half of the 23rd Sloka.

21. That for the sake of others,* that for the sake of a female,† that extending over a considerable length of time,‡ that against illustrious Brahmanas,§ that which is unseasonable,|| that against one aided by the gods,¶ that with one having allies and friends proud of their prowess,**

22. That beneficial for the present but without any future good, and that from which advantages may be derived in future but not so at present,

23. These are the sixteen kinds of war that should not be launched upon and tenaciously adhered to†† by a prudent

* It is rather difficult to ascertain what the author means by *Paràrtham* ; ordinarily it would have the meaning we have already embodied in our translation. The sense the writer wants to convey, is that a king should not without much deliberation, take up the cause of others, and even if he does so, he should not prosecute the war for a long time. Another meaning hinted at by the commentator is, 'for the sake of snatching away (or guarding and preserving) the properties of others.' A war for the only object of depriving others of their properties and rights, should not be waged and adhered to.

† Lit translated the text-word would stand thus :—' Having for the cause.' The commentator explains 'war brought about by the eagerness of two monarchs to possess one and the same women.'

‡ A lengthy war should be avoided for at the end it leaves both the parties ruined.

§ It was believed in ancient India that Brahmanas had the power to destroy their enemies by mere words of their mouth. So it is no use waging war against them.

|| The original word is *Akāla*, which the commentator explains thus :—In seasons of the year that are not fit for declaring war, such as the rainy season &c. Autumn is the best time for declaring war in India.

¶ The word is *Daivayuktena* which according to the commentator is equivalent to *Daivasakti sampannena*. It was believed that the gods fight for men ; or the word may mean 'possessing divine or God-like power, obtained through boons &c'.

** For *Valodhritasakhnena* the commentary gives *Valodhwata-sakhnena*.

†† The word omitted in the last part of the 20th Sloka, is here rendered. For *Stovita* the commentator gives *Stamvita*.

king. A wise king should wage only such a war, from which advantages may be derived both at present, and in the future.

24. He should ever set his heart upon performing acts beneficial both for the time being and in future. By accomplishing such acts productive of present and future good, a king never brings shame on himself.*

25. A learned man should perform acts conducive to his good both in this and the next world. Tempted by trifling wealth and objects of enjoyment in this world, he should never do any thing detrimental to his welfare in the next.†

26. A man acting in a way prejudicial to his welfare in the next world, should be shunned at a distance.‡ The *Shastras*, bear testimony to the truth of the above proposition. Therefore, one should perform pious and beneficent acts.

27. When an intelligent§ monarch finds his own army happy and efficient|| and that of his foe in the reverse state, then may he launch upon war.

* In the original Sloka the verb is omitted. The commentary therefore supplies *Yāti* after *Vāchyatām*.

† The translation given above is advisedly made free in order to bring out the meaning of the sloka clearly.

‡ The meaning of the another is explained by the commentator thus:—A person acting in a manner detrimental to his spiritual welfare is thought to be bold enough to perpetrate any sin whatever. So every body suspects and is afraid of him.

§ In this and the next two Slokas, the time and the circumstances under which war may be declared, are specified. The original text-word *Matiman* is explained by the commentator thus:—one who can judge what would conduce to his good and what not.

|| The word in the text is *Hrista-pusta*, a compound of *Hrista* (or cheerful, contented &c) and *Pusta* (well supplied with men and munition, hence, in the most perfect condition).

28. When he finds his own *Prakriti Mandala** swelling in prosperity and very loyal to him,† and that of his enemy in the reverse condition, then may he embark upon war.

29. Territory, allies and wealth, these are the fruits of war‡; when by war the gain of these three is certain, then only may it be hazarded.

30. Wealth§ is desirable,|| allies are more desirable and lastly, acquisition of territory is most desirable. All-round prosperity is the out-come of territorial possessions, and friends and allies come in the train of prosperity.

31. Against an adversary equally prosperous, a prudent king should employ the expedients of policy. Even war against him when carried on agreeably with these sure and infallible measures of policy, is commendable ¶

32. When war has already come** a politic†† king

* *Prakritimandala* refers to his numerous subjects.

† That is, enjoying health and plenty and cherishing the greatest respect for their sovereign.

‡ 'By fruits of war' the author probably means this, that a king risking a war, has the chance of acquiring territory, allies, or treasures.

§ The author now institutes a comparison between the three fruits of war and thereby ascertains their relative importance. The acquisition of territory, as the reader sees, is the highest good resulting from war.

|| The word in the text is *Guru* which has numerous meanings; here probably it means—'importance,' but we have for the sake of lucidity rendered it a little freely.

¶ Previously the author has advised that war with one equal in every respect should be avoided. When it is inevitable, pitched battle should not be fought, nor should war be declared openly. But even if war is to be declared openly and battles fought, then the measures of policy should be adhered to, in order to undermine the strength of the enemy.

** That is, when inspite of all previous efforts to avoid it, war is declared, then the measures of policy should be had recourse to, for the pacification of the war.

†† The text-word is *Vidwan* explained by the commentator to mean, *Rajavishārada* or a sound and a veteran statesman.

should pacify it by means of the expedients of policy. Victory is a thing uncertain; therefore one should not suddenly* fall upon another.†

33. A king‡ desirous of enjoying never-leaving prosperity when assailed by a stronger adversary, should have recourse to the conduct of canes§ and not to that of snakes||.

34. Having¶ recourse to the conduct of canes, one gradually reaps immeasurable prosperity, whereas one who behaves like a snake brings down destruction on him.

35. A wise king waiting like one mad or intoxicated** for the opportune moment, should when such moments come, suddenly fall upon and devour up†† even an enemy whose strength has not suffered any diminution.‡‡

* That is, without mature deliberation.

† The gist of the Sloka, given in the commentary is this :—Victory in war is uncertain, therefore even though there are ample resources for a king to carry on a war, he should pacify it with his best endeavours.

‡ The author here advises what is to be done when the weak monarch is assailed by the strong.

§ The original text-word is *Vaitasee* which means—"cane-like." *Vaitasee Vriti* therefore means this :—Just as a cane when forcibly bent yields easily and offers no resistance, so when assailed by a stronger foe a king should be yielding and pliant.

|| *Voujangi Vriti*, is the serpentine conduct which is explained thus by Chanakya himself.

*Amarsawa Sonitakāṅkhayā kim padā Sprisantam Jasati
Dvijihva.*

Serpents would never suffer any injury inflicted on them; on the other hand they bite men without any provocation and without any gain to themselves.

¶ The author now describes the effects of cane-like and serpentine conduct.

** That is, as if quite indifferent and careless of what is going about him. This is merely a feint.

†† That is, crush completely.

‡‡ The primary duty of the weaker of the two, kings when assailed

36. A weak king, should patiently bear the thrashing by the enemy, like a tortoise contracting within its shell when beaten;* but when the right time comes, the intelligent king should behave like a crooked serpent.†

37. Judging of the times, a king should be forbearing like the mountain, or furious like fire.‡ Sometimes it is advisable to bear the foe on one's shoulder and speak sweet and flattering words to him.‡

38. A king ingratiating himself into the favor of his foe§ and by conducting himself like one solicitous of his welfare, should know the purposes of the latter, which are ordinarily difficult of being known; then exerting himself in the right hour, he should catch hold of the locks of the goddesses

is to keep his eyes wide open for any opportunity that may occur. Acting in season, he may even crush his powerful enemy. He should seem to be indifferent to the state of affairs around him, only to create a belief in his adversary's mind that he is quite innocent.

* The advise given here is only a continuation of what is embodied in Sloka (33). *Kurma Samkocham* means, the way in which tortoises, contract themselves within their shells when beaten or injured by men or any other animal. So, a king, if he finds himself weaker than this assailant, should behave like a *Kurma* or tortoise, that is, he should take shelter in his castles or seek it with his allies, &c.

† The serpent attacks others with fury and shows no leniency for its victim; so should the intelligent king, acting in the 'right moment' should be unrelenting and stern towards his foe, and would not stop until the latter's destruction has been completely achieved.

‡ The forbearance or the fury of the king should depend on the season and his own strength. When hard pressed, it is politic to so humiliate himself as to flatter, and bear on his shoulder his strong adversary; of course he is not to bear his foe literally on his shoulders, but the phrase is used to signify the depth of humiliation.

§ The commentary differs from the meaning we have given; it explains *Prasadvritya* to mean, by showing that he is contented with his subjugator.

of prosperity (and drag her over to him) by means of his right hand of diplomacy.*

39. A high-born, truthful, highly powerful, resolute, grateful, forbearing, energetic, greatly munificent and affectionate (towards his subjects) king is said to constitute a foe difficult of being subdued or defeated.

43. Untruthfulness, cruelty, ungratefulness, fearfulness, carelessness, idleness, cheerlessness, useless pride or pique, and extreme procrastination, and addiction to gambling and the company of women—these are the causes that ruin prosperity.†

41. When a prudent king finds these evil habits and faults in his foe, he shall, equipped well with his three *Saktis*, march against the latter for conquering him. Disregarding this a king brings about his own destruction; this is what the sages say.‡

42. Inspired with a (laudable) desire for the amelioration of the condition of his kingdom, and the exaltation of his own position, ever seeing the affairs and movements of the (kings of his) *Mandala* by means of his eyes constituted by the spies,§ a monarch, with all his efforts concentrated, and

* Knowing the enemy's plans and mode of working &c. it would be easy for the subdued sovereign to overthrow him. The first part contains a metaphor, divested of which it would mean that he would gain victory and be prosperous.

† The last portion of the Sloka has been rendered a little freely for the sake of lucidity. These habits in a foe render him susceptible of easy victory.

‡ In this Sloka the author specifies the right moment for marching against a foe.

§ *Charas* or spies are said to be the eyes of the king, i.e., through their agency he can know what is going on in every part of his kingdom, or anywhere else. C. f. Ramayana. "Inasmuch as kings though remaining far away, come to know of every object and affair through their spies, they are said to have eyes constituted by the spies."

resolute should, betaking to the path of war, exert his utmost in order to win success.

Thus ends the tenth section, the dissertation on war, in the Nitisara of Kamandaka.

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SECTION XI.

1. **T**HE expedition which an eminently powerful and energetic* sovereign† whose subjects are loyally attached to him through his many excellent qualities, sets out upon, in order to obtain victory,‡ is called *Yāna* §

2. *Vigrihya, Sandhāya Sambhuya Prasanga* and

* The original word is *Utkristavala virvyasya* which may have also a meaning other than what is given in our translation—*vir*—‘He whose army is in an excellent condition and whose prowess is great.’

† The word is ‘*Vijigisu*,’ for an elaborate explanation of which *vide* note to sloka 16th Sec VIII.

‡ The text word is *Jayaisina*, which means—‘one ardently desirous of gaining victories.’ But to avoid a clumsy construction, we have been a little free in our translation.

§ *Yāna*—This is one of the six expedients to be had recourse to by a king in foreign politics, the root is *Yā* ‘to go out,’ literally meaning setting out.’ Hence ‘march against an enemy or more strictly any movement of a sovereign with martial intentions. ‘The other five expedients are, (1) *Sandha* peace or alliance, (2) *Vigraha* or war (3) *Sthana* or *Asinaa* halt; (4) *Samsraya* or seeking shelter with others; and (5) *Dwaidhibhava* or duplicity. C. R. *Amorakosa*; “*Sandhirna Bīgraho Yandmashanam dwaidhava ‘samsrayas*”; the two previous chapters contain the discussions on peace and war; in this have been described the nature and character of the other expedients.

Upeksha,* these have been said by eminent politicians,† to be the five different kinds of *Yāna*.

3. When a sovereign marches forward for crushing his host of enemies by the sheer dint of his powers, it is called *Vigrihya-yāna*,‡ by the *Acharyyas*§ conversant with the nature of *Yānas*.||

4. When¶ a monarch supported by his own allies,** marches forth for completely crushing the allies of his enemies†† by force, it is said to be *Vigrihya-gamana*.‡‡

* As the author subjoins elaborate explanations of these several kinds of *Yāna*, we need not anticipate him.

† The text word is *Neepuna* which lit: means clever, skilful. But here it means, proficient in politics. The reference here is perhaps to *Vrihaspati*, *Sukra* and others.

‡ *Vigrihya* comes from the root *graha* to take, with the prefix *vi*; it means—to quarrel, fight; *vigraha* or war also comes from it. There are two different kinds of *Vigrihyayāna*; the first of these (as defined in the sloka to which this is a note) has been defined by the commentator thus:—"The expedition for the conquest of bellicose and assaulting foes. The other has been specified in the next Sloka.

§ *Acharyya*—generally means a teacher or preceptor, hence one who expounds a particular science and teaches it to others. Here it means the preceptors of the military science, such as *Drona* was.

|| The original word is *Yānajna* which means 'one who knows *yanas*' the translation given above is free in order to bring out the meaning clearly.

¶ This is the second sort of *Vigrihya-yāna* referred to above. In the first kind, the march is against the foe himself, and in the second it is against his allies.

** For the first half of this Sloka the following line is sometimes substituted:—

"*Atimitrani Sarvani Sumitrai Sarvatas Valāt*" the translation would then stand thus.—"The march for crushing the treacherous allies with the help of the faithful ones &c. "*Atimitra*" means—those who have transgressed the bonds of alliance and have wandered astray.

†† The word in the original is *Ari-mitra* for an elaborate explanation of which, vide note to sloka 16, Sec VIII.

‡‡ Synonymous with *Vigrihya-Yana-Gamana* being equivalent to *Yāna*

5. When after concluding a treaty* with the foe in the rear†, the *Vijigishu*‡ out of a desire for victory,§ advances upon another foe,|| it is said to be *Sanadhaya-gamana*¶.

6. When a monarch, in collusion with** *Sāmanta*†† faithful,‡‡ warlike§§ and powerful, marches against a (com-

* The text word is *Parshingrāhena-Satrunā* for an explanation of which vide note to Sloka 16, Section VIII.

† The original word is *Sandhāya* which is derived from *Sam* (completely) and *Dhā* to join or unite. *Sandhāy* lit. means in collusion with.

‡ For *Vijigishā* Vide note to Sloka 16 Section VIII.

§ The commentator explains, "Expecting victory over his foe that is ready for the fight."

|| For *Yatrdyamam* the commentator substitutes, *Yatyānam*.

¶ *Sandhāya-gamana* lit. means, *Gamana* (Yāna) or march, after a *Sandhi* or treaty or alliance; hence expedition against a powerful adversary, in collusion with the *Parshuigrahas*. Although the *Parshuigraha's* attitude is hostile, yet for the sake of encountering a stronger foe, alliance must be formed with him.

** *Akeebhuya* lit. means, 'being one,' i. e. being of the same opinion (commentary). But we take it to mean—'united together.'

†† *Sāmanta* may mean, both a neighbouring or a feudatory prince; the commentary accepts the former, explaining it as "King's ruling over territories bordering upon those of his own." But *Sāmanta* has another meaning which may be equally appropriate here and that is,—a general entrusted with the command of the army.

‡‡ The original word is *Soucha-yuktai* which lit means—Possessed of *Soucha* or purity." Purity here of course is equivalent to political integrity. Hence, it comes to "faithful."

§§ *Sāmparāyikāi* lit means, relating to *Samparāya* or war; hence 'war-like' or strategic. The commentary substitutes *Sāmabayikai* here, which means—Counsellors or ministers. If this emendation be accepted then it would be more appropriate to take *Sāmanta* to mean generals; the first part of the translation would then stand thus—'When a monarch united with his faithful and powerful generals and counsellors,' &c.

mon) foe,* it is called *Sambhuya-gamana*.†

7. When, like Suryya and Hanumat‡ two kings,§ jointly undertake an expedition against a foe that threatens the safety of the *Prakritis* of both, it is called *Sambhuya-yāna*.

8. When after winning over *Sāmanta*|| of little prowess by the promise of reward in case of success,¶ a king marches against his foes, it is called *Sambhuya gamana*.

* The word is *Akatra* or one against whom all should march.

† *Sambhuya-Gamanam* lit means a united advance, there are three kinds of *Sambhuya-Gaman* one is defined here and the others in the next two Slokas.

‡ *Suryya* or the sun is represented in the Hindu Mythology as the son of Kasyapa and Aditi. He runs his daily course through the heavens on a chariot and four with Aruna for his charioteer. Rahu, a demon, is his inveterate enemy who wreaks vengeance on him at the time of the solar conjunction and opposition. Hanumant is the great monkey chief who played a prominent part in the Ramayana of Valmiki. He once got the sun under his armpit, for the latter trying rise in the heavens when Hanumant wanted him to remain below the horizon. Thus they were not the best of friends.

The allusion referred to here is obscure; but the commentary explains it. It says that in one occasion *Suryya* and Hanumant, jointly went to war against Rahu who wanted to swallow the sun as also the face of Hanumant which latter he probably mistook for the moon. Then though *Suryya* and Hanumant were not the best of friends, they joined together against their common foe.

§ The commentary says that the two kings are the *Vijigisu* and the *Ari*. Although their attitude is ordinarily hostile to one another yet when both of them are threatened by a powerful adversary they join together and make a common cause.

|| *Sāmanta* here means 'neighbouring kings.'

¶ For *Falodayam* the commentary gives *Falodaya*. If the former be accepted then the translation would be 'promising them sure success.'

9. When a king, originally marching against a particular foe, afterwards through some contingency, proceeds against another, it is called *Prasanga-Yāna*.* Hereof king Salya is the example.†

10. When a powerful king marching against a foe has every chance of success,‡ but disregarding them, he proceeds against the latter's friends, it is called *Upekshā-Yāna*.§

11. Having|| had recourse to this *Upekshā-yāna*, Dhananjaya slew the dwellers of the Golden city,¶ sparing

* *Prasanga* means here, 'some event, or cause.' What the author means is this:—A king sets out on a march against a particular foe, but owing to some incident on his way, he changes his original intention and proceeds against another, although at the time of setting out he had no such intention.

† King Salya, the ruler of the Madras, was the maternal uncle of the Pandavas, being the brother of Madri the second wife of Pandu. As is natural, on the declaration of the great war between the Kurus and the Pandavas, he set out to join Yudhisthira, intending to fight against Duryodhana. But on his way there, he was artfully won over by Duryodhana and subsequently fought on his behalf. He maintained the field for one day during the latter end of the war, but was at last slain by Yudhisthira himself.

‡ The original word is *Abiskritam falam* which lit: means 'sure victory.'

§ *Upekshā* means 'indifference' or 'disregard'. Hence *Upekshā-Yāna* is the march undertaken by a king in utter disregard of another decided advantage which he may have turned to profit at his will. What the author means is probably this:—A king at first marches against a certain enemy of his and obtains victory over him, but without making the best of the occasion and completely crushing the foe, he assaults the latter's allies, who all the time thinking him to be satisfied with the victory obtained, were off their guard.

|| The author now explains *Upekshā-Yāna* by an example.

¶ The allusion though obscure, is explained by the commentator thus:—The Nivatakavachas, a clan of powerful demons, were attacked by Dhananjaya the third of the Pandavas. They were defeated and compelled to fly to the nether regions. But Dhananjaya, though then he

the *Nivātkavachas* who had already been vanquished by him.*

12. Women,† (intoxicating) drinks, hunting, gambling‡ and diverse kinds of scourges of Fate,§ these are called the *Vyasanas*.|| He who is under the influence of these, is called a *Vyasanin*, and is the right person against whom march with hostile intentions, should be directed.¶

was quite competent to slay them, did not do so but left them alone; he at the same time, attacked the dwellers of the Golden city (a celebrated residence of the Danavas,) and completely crushed them having taken them quite unawares.

* After the eleventh sloka, thirteen new slokas are to be found in the commentary, which do not occur in the text before us. These slokas, with some slight differences here and there, correspond to the thirteen slokas of Section X, beginning with the twenty-second. To avoid unnecessary repetition, we do not translate those slokas here again but refer our readers to their translations in Section X.

† Having defined and described the different kinds of *Yāna*, the author here specifies the party against whom *Yāna* should be directed.

‡ By the enumeration of the simple names, the author really means to express that, excessive love for women, indulgence in intoxicating liquor, and addiction to gambling, hunting, &c., are culpable, and it is not they (i.e. women &c) that are the *Vyāsana*, but over-fondness for them that constitutes the *Vyasanas*. According to the commentator, there are four kinds of *Vyasanam*, viz., *Stri-vyasanam* or excessive love for women, *Pānavyasanam*, or over indulgence in intoxicating drinks, *Aksha-vyasanams* or addiction to gambling and *Daibopaghāta vyasanam* or calamities inflicted by Fate.

§ The original word in the text is, *Daibopaghāta* which the commentary explains saying—*Daivi Apat*, or calamities inflicted by Fate, such as Famine, Pestilence &c.

|| For an elaborate explanation of this word vide note to sloka 8 section VII., and also the Introduction.

¶ For *Sā gamyas* of the text, the commentary reads *Sugamyas*; but there is no necessity for this change; of course a *vyasanin* would be more liable to be defeated by his foes.

13. When* in consequence of the diminution their strengths suffer,† both the *Ari* and the *Vijigisu*‡ stop for a while (either in the beginning or during the progress of a war), it is called *Asana*.§ There are five kinds of *Asanas*.||

14. When each (of the *Ari* and the *Vijigisu*) endeavours to thwart the plan of operation of the other, it is called *Vigrihyāsana*.¶ When again a king besieges a foe it is called *Vigrihyāsana*.**

15. When†† it becomes impossible to capture a foe secure within the stronghold of his castle‡‡, then a king

* The author now goes on to define and describe what is known as *Asana* among the measures of policy.

† The text reads *Sāmarthyāvighātāt* for which the commentary gives *Sāmarthyabighātāt*. The former reading means 'when the strength of either has not suffered any diminution.' We have accepted the reading of the commentary.

‡ Vide note to Sloka 16th Section VIII.

§ *Asana*—From *Asa* to halt or stop.—It is one of the modes of policy against an enemy. A lexicographer defines it, 'maintaining a post against an enemy.' It means the halt or stop in active operations against an enemy owing to some cause or other ; or a halt in course of a march against an enemy.

|| The five kinds of *Asana* are (1) *Vigrihyāsanam*, (2) *Sandhāyāsanam*, (3) *Sambhuyāsanam*, (4) *Prasangāsanam* and (5) *Upekshāsanam*.

¶ The original definition of *Vigrihyāsana* admits of another rendering *vis*, 'the act of attacking each other is called *Vigrihyāsanam*.' The commentary explains this in another way, taking it to be identical with the definition of *Asana* as embodied in the previous sloka.

** The last part of the sloka also admits of a different rendering *vis*. "When a king capturing or crushing a foe, halts for a while, it is called *Vigrihyāsanam*." Thus two kinds of *Vigrihyāsanam* have been specified here.

†† The author now mentions the time when *Vigrihyāsanam* should be had recourse to.

‡‡ For *Durgasthitas* the commentary gives *Durgagatas* which makes no difference in meaning.

should lay siege to it, cutting off the *Asāra** and blockading the road† (by which supporting forces from the country are likely to advance.)

16. Cutting‡ off the *Asāra* and the communication with the country, reducing the strength of the enemy§ and disuniting his *Prakritis*, || a monarch should gradually bring him (his foe) under subjugation.

* *Asāra* is the combined force of the allies of the besieged. Vide note to Sloka 16th Section VIII; the author says that the forces sent by the allies of the besieged foe, should be smitten down and crushed.

† The original word is *Veevadhā*. For *Asāraveevadhān* of the text the commentary reads *Asāraveevadhau* which seems to be grammatically correct.

‡ The other now points out the results of the interception of the helping troops and the prohibition of all egress from and ingress to the besieged fort. *Cutting off the Asura* is intended to mean the complete discomfiture of the troops that come to help the besieged king.

§ The original word is *Prakshina-yava-saindhavam*—a compound of *Prakshinas* (utterly weakened) *Yava* and *Saindhava*. Now there is some difficulty about the meaning of the last two Sanskrit words. The commentary takes *Yava* to denote *Vega* or fleetness and *Saindhava* to mean 'horses of the Sindhu breed.' It therefore gives the compound the meaning we have embodied in the translation, taking horses to signify the whole army. But *Yava* (as spelled in the text) cannot mean *Vega*; it means, 'barley-corn.' *Saindhava* can also have a meaning other than horses of the Sindhu breed, viz., a kind of rock salt. In the age of the author there was no imported salt. It was this rock-salt which the people of India used in their meals. These considerations lead us to ascribe a totally different meaning to the word, which is—'When *Yava* or barley-corn, the staple food of the garrison, and the stock of salt are greatly reduced.' This meaning is all the more appropriate, because when food runs short in a garrison, there is no other course open to it but unconditional surrender.' In accepting this meaning it must not also be forgotten that all egress and ingress have been cut off.

|| For *Vigrihyamāna Prakritim*, the commentary substitutes, *Vibhajyamāna Prakritim* which means 'dividing the main stays of the kingdom by dissensions &c.'

17. When the *Ari* and the *Vijigisu* both suffering loss in a war, stop it by the conclusion of an armistice,* it is called *Sandháyásanam*.†

18. Even Rāvana‡ the crusher of his foes, had recourse to the *Sandháyásanam*, offering Brahman§ as his hostage, when he had to fight with the Nivātakavachas.||

19. When a monarch, thinking the *Udāsina* and the *Madhyama*¶ to be equal to himself in respect of power, awaits, mustering all his forces,** ready for an attack from either of them, it is called *Sambhuyásanam*.

20. If the *Uvayārit*†† desires the destruction of the *Ari* and the *Vijigisu*, being himself more powerful than they

* For *Sandhāya Yadavasthānam* the commentator gives, *Sandhāya Samavasthānam*.

† *Sandháyásanam* etymologically means 'to stay a while, by concluding a peace.'

‡ Vide an earlier note and our translation of the Ramayana.

§ Brahman, in the Hindu mythologies, (and not in the Philosophies) is described as the creator, the first deity of the sacred Trinity. He is described to be very merciful and the only god who awards boons giving their receiver the least trouble. It was from Brahma (who is also called the grandfather of the gods) that Rāvana obtained the boon of conditional immortality.

|| The Nivatakavachas were a very powerful clan of demons always delighting in harassing the gods. They were at last extirpated by Kunti's son Arjuna one of the central figures of the great epic Mahabharata.

The allusion here is not so clear and well-known. What the commentary gives is put in English for the information of the readers. There was once a war between Rāvana and the Nivatakavachas, in which the former was badly attacked and defeated by the latter. Rāvana then concluded an armistice by offering Brahma, his family-preceptor, as a hostage.

¶ Vide note to Sloka 16th Section VIII.

** For *Sammuthānam* the commentary reads *Vyavasthānam* which is more intelligible and appropriate.

†† This is another name for the *Madhyama* who is so-called in consequence of his hostile attitude to both the *Ari* and *Vijigisu*.

both, he should be withstood by what is known as *Sangha-dharman*.*

21. When a monarch desirous of going to a certain place (or person), halts through some contingency or other, at a place different from where he intended to go at first, it is called *Prasangāsana* by those versed in the science of Polity.†

22. The (apparent) indifferent attitude of a king before an enemy more powerful than himself, is called *Upekshāsana*.‡ Indra§ treated with indifference the carrying off of the *Pārijāta*|| from him.

* *Sanghadharman*—means 'to do an act in conjunction with others.' *Sangha* means 'together.' The commentary defines it—*Vahubhir Militwa ekakāryyakaranam* or 'the performance of an act by many united together.' The reading given above is suggested by the commentary in lieu of *Tatwadharman* which can have no possible meaning in this connection. There is another emendation introduced by the commentary in this part of the sloka which is *Sambhuyainam* for *Sambhuyena*.

† What the author means appears to be this:—A king marches out with a view to join one of his allies, or to crush one of his foes. But through some contingency or other, he is compelled to stop at a place quite different from where he intended to go. As this halt or stoppage (*Asana*) is the result of some contingency, it is called *Prasangāsana*.

‡ *Upekshāsana* means halt (or more properly here, want of active movements) seemingly the result of indifference, i. e. when a king finds that his foe is stronger than himself, he assumes an indifferent attitude, which in some measure goes to deter the latter whose confidence in his own efficiency receives a shaking.

§ Vide an earlier note. Indra and Upendra (Krishna) were said to be the two sons of the Rishi Kasyapa begotten upon Aditi. Upendra was more powerful than Indra.

|| *Pārijāta* is the name of one of the five trees obtained by the churning of the ocean. It was appropriated by Indra. The *Pārijāta* flower is the most fragrant and charming and is always described to be the favorite of the celestial damsels who love to put them on their hair-knots, and to wear garlands made of them.

The allusion here is as follows:—On one occasion Nārada the celestial sage, when wandering through the heavens was honored by Indra with

23. When again a king, through some other cause* being led to treat with indifference certain acts, remains inactive like Rukmin† (or does not have recourse to vigorous measures) it is called *Upekshāsana*.‡

24. Hemmed§ in between two powerful enemies, a king

a garland of the *Pārijāta* flowers. This garland he gave to Krishna who in his turn handed it over to Rukmini his beloved wife who was then near him. Then Narada who was very fond of brewing quarrels, went to Satyabhama another wife of Krishna, and related the incident to her, leaving her to conclude that she had been shamefully neglected by her husband who instead of giving the garland of *Pārijāta* to her, had given it to her rival. When Krishna came to her, she reprimanded and chided him and lamented piteously; whereupon Krishna promised to fetch for her the *Pārijāta* tree itself from heaven. He accordingly asked for it from Indra the lord of heaven who refused to part with it. A battle was thereupon fought and afterwards through the mediation of other gods, the *Pārijāta* tree was allowed to be transplanted into the garden of Satyabhama, and Indra was advised to treat that act of Krishna with indifference.

* Such as, affection, love, &c. Here the emendation given in the commentary must be accepted, which is *Anyena* for *Anyaiṣṭu*.

† Rukmin was the son of Bhishmaka and brother of Rukmini one of the favorite wives of Krishna. Rukmini was at first betrothed by her father to Sisupala, but she secretly loved Krishna, and on the day of her marriage, according to a preconcerted plan, was snatched away by Krishna. Her brother Rukmin who was engaged to protect her, did offer no resistance (the account here varies) but suffered her to be taken away, thus assuming an indifferent attitude for the love of her sister, although he might have successfully opposed Krishna.

‡ The translation given above has been advisedly made free for lucidity's sake.

§ Having described what is known as *Asana*, the author proceeds to define *Dvaidhibhāva*. It is also a mode of foreign policy defined in two different manners (a) double dealing or duplicity, keeping apparently friendly relations simultaneously with two adversaries; (b) dividing one's army and encountering a superior enemy in detachments; harassing the enemy by attacking them in small bands, something like the present guerrilla mode of fighting.

surrendering himself (to both) only in words* should like the crow's eye-ball,† carry on a double dealing without being detected by either of them.‡

25. (Of the two powerful foes) the one who is (dangerously) at hand,§ should be put off assiduously with empty promises.|| But if both of them assail him simultaneously, a king should surrender himself to the stronger of the two.¶

26. When** again both of them, seeing through his

* What the author means is this: The assailed king should by all sorts of flattering speech make the assailant believe that he is entirely under his command. But really he should entertain no feelings of friendship for the latter. Long-sounding and empty words should be used to beguile the assailant only for the time being.

† The allusion referred to here is founded on a very curious belief current in this part of the world. But how far this belief is correct, we can not say. It is supposed that the crow has only one eye ball (i. e. such words as *Ekadrīṣṭi*, *Ekakṣhi*) which it moves as occasion requires from one socket to another. From this supposition a maxim of Nyāya-philosophy has obtained currency, which is applied to a word or phrase which though used only once in a sentence may if occasion requires serve two purposes. Naturalists should do well to ascertain whether or not there is any truth in the above belief.

‡ The author means to say that when a king is simultaneously assailed by two powerful adversaries, he should not surrender himself to either or exasperate either, but carry on a double dealing keeping apparently friendly relations with both; of course he should be careful as not be detected in his duplicity prematurely.

§ For *Sannikristaram* some read *Sanmikristamarim*.

|| The meaning of the author, as explained by the commentator is this: 'When a foe threatens immediate attack, he should be put off with promises of whatever he wishes the assailed to do. But those promises should never be fulfilled, as they are, mere dodges to gain time.'

¶ The last portion lit : translated would be 'should serve the stronger of the two.'

** This Sloka embodies the advice as to what should be done when the duplicity of a king is seen through by his foes. The first thing he should do then is to befriend a sovereign or sovereigns inimical to his foes. But in the absence of such parties, he should surrender himself to the stronger of the two.

double-dealing and becoming convinced of his duplicity, reject all overtures of peace, then he (the assailed king) should go over to (befriend) the enemies of them both; or if that is not possible, should seek shelter with the stronger of the two (as before).*

27. *Daidhibhàva*† is of two kinds, *Swatantra* and *Paratantra*.‡ What has been described above is *Swatantra Daidhibhàva*; *Paratantra Daidhibhàva* is of him who receives remuneration from two kings inimical to each other.§

28. When|| a king is assailed¶ by a very powerful**

* The translation is free. The last portion of the Sloka is differently put in some texts, which does not materially affect the sense.

† For an explanation of this word refer to an earlier note. 'Daidha' means 'double' and *bhàva* the state or condition.

‡ The meaning of the author is not so clear. The kinds of *Daidhibhàva* mentioned by him do not tally with the two classes explained by us in a previous note; the commentator offers some explanation which also is not comprehensive. We suggest below what seems best to us. *Swatantra* means independent. Hence *Swatantra daidhibhàva* would mean the duplicity of a king who for effecting his own safety has recourse to it, not under anybody's instructions but out of his free and independent will. • He has not been deputed by others to play a double game and to ascertain the purposes of both the assailing monarchs. *Paratantra* means 'dependent.' Hence this kind of *Daidhibhàva* is the double dealing that spies practice being commissioned by their employer. The double game which servants in obedience to the orders of their masters play, is *Paratantra daidhibhàva*, which does not bring any direct personal benefit to them. The commentary explains:—'the *Daidhibhàva* of an independent person is *Swatantra* and that of a dependant person is *Paratantra*.'

§ For *Uvayachetana* of the text which is quite unintelligible in this context, the commentary gives *Uvayaśet-ṇa* which we cannot but accept.

|| The author now proceeds to describe another mode of policy which is known as *Samsraya* or seeking protection at others' hand.

¶ The text word rendered literally would be, 'in the course of being exterminated or destroyed.'

** The commentary explains, '*Upachita Saktimata*' i. e. one possessing *Saktis* swelled to the highest degree.

enemy and has no other means or measure open to him to avert the calamity, then and then only,* should he seek protection from one who comes from a noble family and is truthful, generous and highly powerful.†

29. To assume worshipful attitude‡ at the sight of his protector, to be always at one with his protector in his thoughts and purposes§, to do all his works for him and to be obedient to him|| these are said to be the duties of one who seeks shelter with another.

A. ¶Being attached to his protector as if to his own preceptor,** the protected should pass some time†† with the

* The stress put on this part of the sentence is advised; for, as the commentator points out, when there is any other means whatsoever for self-preservation available to a king he should not throw himself at the mercy of other kings, inasmuch as "*Mahādosahī visistavalasamāgma Rājñām*" i. e. for kings to implore highly powerful rivals (for protection) is the source of great evils.

† This king must be more powerful than the assailant.

‡ Such as bows, obeisance, salamas, &c.

§ *Tatbhāvabhāvita* lit: means to be inspired with his thoughts and sentiments. Whatever the protector would think or intend to do, must also occupy for the time being the attention and thought of the protected. In this way the latter would be able to ingratiate himself into the favor of his protector, who if satisfied with him might give him his independence back.

|| *Prasarayita* lit: means, "courteous and polite in behaviour," or "bearing affection or love for the protector." The obedience must be one of love and not of fear.

¶ Some twenty-two Slokas have been omitted here in the printed book; of these fifteen come within the 11th Section of the Manuscript copy and seven fall in the next. The Slokas marked A. B. &c. are the wanting Slokas.

** That is, for the time being he should behave towards his protector as if he were his spiritual preceptor, who is the person deserving the highest esteem and respect at the hand of the *Mantra Śiṣya* or "pupil of sacred initiation."

†† That is, live for some time with the protector, just as a Brahmana

former like one very meek and gentle.* Then gaining strength† by such association, he should once more become independent.

B. Not‡ to remain without a refuge,§ a king should seek it with the peace-breaking|| assailant by surrendering to him his army or his treasury or his lands or the products of the lands.¶

lives with his preceptor for a time after his investiture with the sacred thread.

* The commentator says that the meekness and humility should only be outward and not the outcome of any real affection or feeling. We do not agree with the commentator here, in as much as affection and love have been said to be the feeling that the protected should entertain towards the protector.

† The text word is "*Paripurṇa*" which lit: means "filled to the highest degree." Here as the commentator states, it means "swelling with strength and powers." What the author means is that while living under the protection of a stronger sovereign, the army and resources of the protected would gain strength and become numerous everyday; for meanwhile no strain would be put on them. Some substitute *Purna-sakti* for *Paripurṇa*; this reading makes the text clear as day-light.

‡ The author now lays down the course of action to be adopted in case of the absence of a protector possessed of the qualifications enumerated by him hereinbefore.

§ The word is *Anapàsraya*; *Apàsraya* means 'without a refuge.' Hence *Anapàsraya* means 'not without a refuge.' The author wants to say that a monarch threatened by a powerful adversary should not remain without a protector and in the absence of a good one he should choose the very assailant. The advisability of the principle is apparent for, a king whose weakness is once betrayed, becomes like a piece of meat which all hawks pounce upon.

|| The original word is *Visandhim* i. e. one who violates the provisions of a peace or treaty, and acts in contravention of it. Some read *Visandhis* here.

¶ According to the commentator the "products of the land" are the rents and revenues flowing into the imperial exchequer. But *Bhumi-sambhava* certainly has a wider significance.

C. Involved in difficulties,* all these things (army treasury, lands, products of lands, &c.) should be given up simultaneously for the preservation of the self.† For, living, there is every chance of regaining the kingdom‡ at the end, like king Yudhisthira.§

D. 'To a living man joy shall come, even if it be after the lapse of a century,' is a blessed verse said to be very commonly known.||

E. For the sake of one's family some particular person

* The Sanskrit word is *Arta* which means "distressed." The commentator takes it to mean, 'oppressed and assailed'; the difficulties must be such as to threaten the safety of life and limb.

† It will be pertinent to note here that the principle of self-preservation was not only the key note of Hindu polity but also of Philosophy. Numerous saws and sayings can be quoted in support. Even the author's preceptor the celebrated Chanakya has said so in one of his slokas. *c. f.* 'Always preserve yourself in preference to your wives and wealth.' The principle is not the outcome of abject selfishness but of the belief (which is right) that self is the source all happiness, spiritual and earthly, and is instrumental in achieving religious merit.

‡ The word in the original is *Vasundharā* which means lit: that which contains treasures. It is a special epithet of the earth; it was given to her as treasures were supposed to remain within her bowels. Here of course it means "a kingdom swelling with prosperity."

§ King Yudhisthira, the eldest son of Pandu, after having suffered numerous wrongs and injuries at the hands of his cousins, the Kouravas who for a time deprived him of his lawful inheritance to the throne, obtained it back after a severe battle extending over eighteen days. The reader is referred to our translation of the Mahabharata. For the last line of the sloka the following is substituted by the commentator "*Yudhisthira Jigāyādou Punarjiban vasundharām.*"

|| What the author says is this that there is a verse full of significance known to very body that if a man lives he is sure to have joy even after the lapse of a hundred years. The author wants to impress the fact that the lot of man cannot be uniformly miserable or happy. This existence has aptly been called chequered. Weal and woe come to man as if revolving on a wheel. A man surviving the miseries and sufferings of life is sure to reap joy at last. Hence the necessity of self-preservation.

should be forsaken, for the sake of his village the family should be forsaken, for the sake of the country his village should be forsaken and lastly (if need be) the earth should be forsaken after due deliberation (for self-preservation).*

F. †When his own strength increases or when some calamity‡ threatens his foe (the assailant with whom he has sought shelter), the (protected) king should fall upon the former, or acquiring power, he should smite his foe down by means of *sainhee vritti*.§

G. Never rush into an union either with a stronger or a weaker rival king without sufficient cause or reason; for in such union there is danger of losing men, money and munitions and of being treacherously treated.||

* The author now institutes a comparison among the several interests that is likely to clash against one another. If the king finds that his family will suffer in consequence of his friendship to a certain individual, he should forsake him. And in this way he should even give up his territory in the interests of his self-preservation. This last measure of course must be had recourse to after cool and mature deliberation. Here also, as before, the refrain is that, self-preservation is the best of all virtues.

† The author now describes how the shelter-seeking king is to effect his liberation. After a period of servility during which he should try to strengthen his position and watch opportunities, he should fall suddenly upon his protector and crush him.

‡ The commentator takes *Vyasana* to mean here 'excessive fondness for wine and women and gambling &c. but we take it to mean 'Vipat or calamity.'

§ *Sainhee* means etymologically 'pertaining to the lion' (*Sinha*) or lion-like and *vritti* means conduct. The lion before taking the leap upon his prey musters all strength and strains all his nerves. So a king before falling upon his foe should gather all his strength and leave no stone unturned to crown his effort with success. Earnest endeavour ever meets with the desired result. The last part admits of another construction which is as follows, "Acquiring strength by *Sinhavritti* a king should assail his enemy."

|| The rendering is free. The author advises against hasty unions, pointing out the dangers thereof.

H. Even going to a father for union, a king should not believe him! The wicked when the good confide on them, almost always play these latter false.*

I. These are the six *gunas* or the modes of foreign policy.† But some say that there are only two *Gunas*, *Yāna* and *Asana* falling within the category of *Vigraha*, and the rest (*Daidhibhāva* and *Asraya*) being other forms of *Sandhi* only.

J. In as much as the assailant king marches (*Yāna*) and halts (*Asana*) in course of a war (*Vigraha*), accordingly *Yāna* and *Asana* have been described by the wise as forms of *Vigraha*.‡

K. And in as much as, without the conclusion of some sort of a peace, double-dealing (*Daidhibhāva*) and shelter-seeking (*Samsraya*) are not possible, therefore these two also are said by the wise to be merely other forms of peace.§

L. Whatever is done after the conclusion of some sort of a peace is surely to be reckoned as a form of peace (*Sandhi*); and whatever is done after the declaration of a war is certainly to be considered as a part of the war (*Vigraha*).

M. Those who hold that there are only two *Gunas* or modes of foreign policy, specify them to be only *Sandhi* (peace) and *Vigraha* (war). But others again hold that there

* The last part lit: would be, 'when the good come to confide on the wicked they generally injure the former.

† The author concludes. The six modes are, *Sandhi*, *Vigraha*, *Yāna*, *Asana*, *Daidhibhāva* and *Asraya*.

‡ *Yāna* and *Asana* are strickly speaking operations included in wars. It is in a war that a king marches, halts or lays seige to his enemy's territories.

§ Unless there is some kind of a union between two parties, one cannot play the other false, nor can one seek refuge from the other. It is only when mutual agreement exists that they can have any dealing between them.

are three *Gunas* namely the above two (*Sandhi* and *Vigraha*) and *Samsraya*.*

N. When oppressed by a powerful assailant, a king is obliged to seek protection from another more powerful than the former, it is called *Samsraya*; the other forms of union are said to be *Sandhi* (Peace).† Thus said Vrihaspati.

O. Strictly speaking there is only one *guna*, *via.*, *Vigraha* (war). *Sandhi* (Peace) and the others come out of it; and therefore these latter are only the results of the former (*Vigraha*). Modified according to circumstances (and stage) the one *guna Vigraha* multiplies itself into the six *gunas*. ‡ This is the opinion of our own preceptor.‡

P. A king,§ conversant with the nature of the six *gunas*,|| possessing spies¶ and versed in consulta-

* This latter class of politicians do not include *Samsraya* or shelter-seeking in *Sandhi*, hence the difference.

† Vrihaspati the preceptor of the celestials (Vide note to Sloka 8 Section I.) draws a distinction between *Sandhi* and *Samsraya*. That form of union, if it may be called an union at all, that a weak king is compelled to effect with a stronger one, in order to save himself from the persecution of a strong foe, is called *Samsraya*; whereas *Sandhi* is concluded between two contending parties, the assailed and the assailant.

‡ As the reader is aware, the author's preceptor is Chanakya. The fifteen Slokas that have been said to be included within the 11th Section of the Manuscript copy end here. In the Manuscript the 12th Section begins with the next Sloka.

§ Having finished his disquisition on the six modes of foreign policy, the author now proceeds to impress the necessity of holding consultation and counsel. As in these days, so in the past, counsels used to be held before any king proceeded to do anything. It was after mature deliberation that any project was taken in hand.

|| The original word lit. rendered would be, one whose understanding has comprehended aright the nature of the six *gunas*, and who has no doubt left about their working, employment &c.

¶ The text-word is *Guraprachārabān*, *Gurahpracharas* are they whose movements (*Prachāra*) are secret and undetected by others. Hence the word has come to mean 'Secret emissaries, and spies.' These

tion* should hold counsel regarding some secret plan or affair with his ministers skilful in offering advice.

Q. A king conversant with the nature of counsel† reaps prosperity easily, and one of a contrary nature even if he be independent is put down by his learned (rivals).‡

R. Just as Rakshasas destroy a sacrifice in which the *mantras* (sacred hymns) used are attended with flaws, so his enemies destroy a king from all sides whose *mantra* (counsels) is bad.§ Therefore one should be very careful about his counsels.

S. Counsel about state affairs should be held with trust-worthy|| as well as learned¶ persons. But a trustworthy fool, so also a learned but untrustworthy person should be avoided.

T. (In matters of counsel) a king should not deviate from the *Shastra*-approved path, by which pious men of the past, whose actions were ever crowned with success and who ever trod the road of rectitude, travelled to success.

will keep the king informed of the state of affairs in his own as well as in his enemies' dominions, thus helping considerably in arriving at right conclusions in his deliberations.

* *Mantrajna* means one who know *Mantra*; this last word has been explained elaborately by the commentator. Any secret consultation about the interests of the kingdom is called *Mantra*.

† The text word means lit: "one who knows how to hold consultations and how to profit by them."

‡ The original word is *Vidwatvi* which means "by the learned." For *Avabhuyate* some read *Avadhuyate*.

§ The Rakshasas being evil doers are as a race inimical to the performance and spread of religious acts. They watch opportunities for doing evil and whenever there is the least flaw in the *Mantras*, &c. of a sacrifice, they speedily destroy it. There is a pun upon the two meanings of the word *Mantra* here.

|| *Apta* may also mean, a relative or one in some way related to the king. This meaning is also applicable here.

¶ By 'learned,' the commentary means 'sound politicians.'

U. A monarch, who disregarding the rules contained in the *Shastras** suddenly† falls upon a foe, never returns without feeling the sharp edge of this latter's sword.‡

V. The power of good counsel is superior to powers of energy and dignity.§ Witness the case of Kāvya|| who though possessed of dignity and energy, was foiled by the priest of the celestials¶ by means of his power of counsel.

* The phrase in the original lit. rendered would be—going astray from the foot-prints impressed in the *Shastras*; this indeed is metaphorical.

† That is, without mature deliberation.

‡ That is, 'feels to his great pain the sword-cuts of the enemy which means nothing short of death.' There are several changes of reading in this Sloka, which for their minority we omit to note.

§ The author now lays stress on the superiority of the *Mantra Sakti* over the other two *Suktis*, viz., *Prabhu* and *Utsāha*. *Prabhāva* is explained by the commentator to mean 'power originating from the possession of an efficient army and a solvent treasury.

|| Kavya is another name of Sukra who was the preceptor of the Asuras (Vide note to Sloka 8 Section I).

¶ The allusion referred to is as follows :—In their long warfare with the Asuras, the gods were oftentimes worsted and rendered quite helpless. But such of the Demons as would be slain in battle were restored to life by Sukra, their preceptor, by means of his *mantras* or mystic charms, which he alone possessed. Seeing this, the preceptor of the gods resolved to secure this charm if possible, and so he sent his own son Kacha to Sukra in order that he might learn it from him by becoming his pupil. So Kacha went to Sukra; but the demons fearing lest he should master the lore, murdered him and mixed his ashes with Sukra's beverage and offered him as a drink to their preceptor. Kacha was drunk in by Sukra. But at the intercession of his daughter Devavani, who had fallen in love with the youth, Sukra promised to restore Kacha to life. He instructed Kacha in the mystic charm, when he was within his bowels and then ordered him to come out. Kacha accordingly came out tearing open the abdomen of his preceptor who died in consequence. But now Kacha restored him to life by means of the same charm he had learned from him. Kacha then returned to the gods and used his learning in their benefit. Thus Vrihaspati by his power of counsel got the better of Sukra. The last portion of the history as given

30. A lion untaught in the lessons of polity kills the elephant only through his superior physical strength.* And an intelligent and learned† man succeeds even in taming and subjugating hundreds of such lions.‡

31. An act maturely deliberated upon by learned men, who can read§ a coming event (from a distance) and who always reap success by the employment of commendable means, can never fail to bear fruit.

32. By proper means,|| a king should desire to obtain his ends ; considering (the advantages or otherwise of) the times, he should fall upon an enemy.¶ Over-much reliance on valour and energy** often-times becomes the source of repentance.††

by the commentator is not to be found in the mythologies. It is said that when Kacha was restored to life he resisted the advances of Devayani, Sukra's daughter, who thereupon cursed him saying that the charm he had learnt would be powerless at his hands.

* The first of the sentences is intended to impress upon the readers mind the strength and brute force of a lion. These are of no avail against the cultured intelligence and cleverness of a man who foils them by means of his schemes &c.

† That is, one who is possessed of *Mantra Sakta*.

‡ The first part of the sloka bristles with bad readings, for which the commentary reads,

"*Asikshitanayas Singha Hantivam Kevalam Valát,*"

This reading we have accepted.

§ The word in the text is "who can see."

|| The original word is *Upāya* which means, the measures of policy to be used against a foe, viz conciliation &c' (vide an earlier note).

¶ The commentator explains, 'should march against him.'

** The original phrase lit : translated would be, "one who knows the taste of only one liquor viz *Vikrama* or power."

†† What the author means to say is, that mere power, energy or valour, whatever it might be called, is not sufficient to secure success in any undertaking. The advantages of time and policy cannot safely be overlooked; those who overlook them and think that unaided *Vikrama* will give them success, and act accordingly, reap only grief and disappointment for their pains.

33. A distinction must always be made between what is capable of being done and what is not so, by the light of a serene intelligence. The butting of a elephant against a rock, results only in the breaking of its tusks.*

34. What† fruit save distress can there be in store for him who undertakes an impracticable act? What mouthful, indeed, can he expect to get, who tries to snatch a mouthful from (empty) space?‡

35. Fall not on fire even like (foolish) insects! Touch only that which can be touched (with safety)! What indeed does an insect falling on fire reap but (thorough) burning!

36. The dangers attending the acts of one endeavouring, out of foolishness, to get things difficult to obtain, are sure to bring sorrow in their train §

37. By the employment of knowledge proportionate to the thing to be known,|| a person whose steps are well-calculated,¶ attains to the pitch of prosperity as high as the highest summit of a mountain.

* What the author means is this that before undertaking a thing a king should judge whether it is at all capable of being done or not. To try to do an act incapable of being done, is as useless and attended with danger, as the butting of an elephant with its tusks against a rock.

† This Sloka virtually consists of three Slokas, its two lines being, the first and last of a series of Slokas; four lines have been omitted after the first line here. We translate the three Slokas in order to preserve the continuity of thought; the numbers of the Slokas change accordingly.

‡ The second line as given in the commentary literally rendered will be "How can he who wants to taste space, have a mouthful." A man trying to bite off a portion of space can have no mouthful.

§ A man trying to get things difficult to obtain, surely repents for his mad endeavours afterwards.

|| The commentary reads *Bodhyānugataya* for *Bodhānugataya*. The original lit : rendered will be "by intelligence guided by knowledge or prudence."

¶ The original lit; translated will be, as the commentator says, 'one whose footsteps are pure.'

38. The status of royalty is a thing very difficult to ascend to and is done homage to by all persons. Like sacerdotal dignity,* it is blotted with stains at any the slightest transgression.

39. Acts (such as acquisition and preservation of territory) undertaken by kings conversant with the nature of *Asanas*, in perfect conformity to the rules of polity, ere long, like (good) trees† yield desirable fruits.

40. An act duly (in conformity to the prescribed rules) undertaken, even if it fails to bear fruit, does not become so much the cause of distress as the one begun out of foolishness.‡

41. When an act commenced in the right way is followed§ by results contrary (to all expectations), the performer is not to blame, in as much as his manliness there is handicapped by fate.||

42. In order to secure success, a man of pure intelligence should (in the first instance) put forth his exertions, the rest lies with Fate which can cut him short at any stage.

43. A wise *Vijigīsu* after critically reviewing his own

* The Sanskrit word is *Brahmanya* or the character or position of Brahmana.

† The word in the text is *Vana* or forest.

‡ What the author means is this—a foolish act brings greater sorrows on its performer than the one which though ultimately barren has been commenced in the proper manner.

§ For *Atut* the commentary reads *Ati* which change is in dispensably necessary ; this part lit : rendered will be "If when only commenced, an act meets with reverse results."

|| This part literally translated will be, "whose manliness is separated from him by Fate." After this, one Sloka is again omitted of which the translation is given below :—

"Just as a chariot cannot move on one wheel, so Destiny unaided by human exertion can yield no fruit." Luck and labour must go hand in hand ; the one apart from the other is a dead stock.

condition* as well as that of his enemies, should set out on an expedition. This—that is to know his own as well as his foe's strength or weakness, is to be conversant with the essentials of good counsel.

44. An intelligent politician should never do an act that would be totally barren, or attended with great dangers; or about the success of which there would be any doubts, or that would bring inveterate hostility in its train.

45. An act unblamable at the time of its being done and in all times to come, pure and performed in the proper manner, and bestowing innumerable blessings (both here and hereafter),† such an act is always praised by the pious.

46. An act that would be attended with uninterrupted good and that would bring no blame on its performer, such an act should be engaged in, although for the time being it might not be agreeable.‡

47. To crown an act with success, it is always better to have recourse to one's knowledge of means, from the very beginning. Sometimes one who is always successful§ may have recourse to the conduct of a lion.||

48. The acquisition of wealth¶ from wicked persons

* The things he is to look to are, as the the commentator says, his three *Saktis*, the advantages of the season and soil, the signs of coming victory or defeat indicated by planets, birds &c.

† Literally translated will be—bringing a chain of good.

‡ The commentary explains this portion otherwise, it says:—'although for the time being it does not bring any friendship with it.'

§ The original word lit: translated would be, "who is the friend of success."

|| That is 'violent means.' The author means to say that knowledge is a more powerful agent than violence in bringing about success. But sometimes 'violence' may be used also. There are several minor changes in reading suggested by the commentator.

¶ The word is *Sampat* i. e. wealth in the shape of territory or treasures or any thing else.

by precipitate assault* is ever difficult. But with the help of the measures of policy, one can plant his feet even on the head of an infuriate elephant.†

49. Here (in the earth of ours) there is nothing that is incapable of being achieved by the learned and wise.‡ Metals (such as iron &c) are known to be incapable of being penetrated; but by suitable (scientific) measures (heating &c) they also are liquified.§

50. A (unsharpened) piece of iron carried on the shoulder does not cut it at all. But as soon as it is sharpened a little, it is turned into a means for fulfilling desirable|| ends (such as, slaughter of foes &c).

51. That water extinguishes fire is a fact well known on earth. But assisted by the employment of proper measures, fire can also desiccate water up.¶

52. Poison is incapable of being taken internally and when it is taken so, it produces fatal results. But even poi-

* Without taking into consideration the nature of the Season and Soil. The author means that rash, inconsiderate attacks are seldom attended with success.

† This sloka is differently read in many other texts.

‡ Lit: there is no such thing that is beyond the abilities of the wise as regards its performance.

§ The refrain is the same as before, that policy is better than violence. *Avedyam* may have another meaning *vis* diamond. The translation then will be, "even metals and diamonds (the hardest of things known) are melted by proper measures.

|| The appropriateness of the Sloka in this connection may be questioned. Although it seems out of place, its bearing to the present discourse is thus sought to be established by the commentator. So long as the piece of iron is unsharpened *i. e.* so long as no measure has been taken to turn it into usefulness, it cannot cut, but as soon as by some means or other it is sharpened, it becomes a very useful weapon. It is in the means employed to turn it into usefulness lies the true worth of the thing.

¶ The text omits this Sloka.

son being mixed with other things and ingredients is turned into and used as a medicine.

53. To know what is unknown,* to decide and resolve upon what is already known, to dissipate the doubts about any doubtful subject and to know the rest of a thing when only a part of it is known,—these should be the duties of ministers.

54. Abiding by the rules laid down by wise politicians, a person should never condemn or despise any body. He should hear every body's words for culling salutary counsels out of them.

55. The acquisition of unacquired things, and the protection of things already acquired,—these are the two fields in which the ingenuity and prowess of the *Vijigishu* should be exercised.

56. The magnificence and luxuries a successful sovereign are really a beauty, but these are mockeries in respect of a king who has never been successful (victorious over his foes).†

57. ‡The king, who arrogant and foolish in his acts, crosses his own ministers, is himself soon crossed§ by his enemies, his counsels being totally futile.

58. The seed of counsel should be carefully preserved, inasmuch as it is the seed of kings.|| The destruction of the seed of counsel¶ is always followed by the destruction

* The minister should collect information regarding unknown things by means of spies and secret emissaries.

† This and the previous Sloka are not to be found in the original before us. The first line of the first Sloka is sometimes differently read.

‡ The translation is free.

§ That is, as the commentator says, defeated and despoiled of his kingdom.

|| Counsel is here compared to a seed out of which the tree of royalty grows.

¶ Which means, the betrayal or breach of counsel.

of the kings ; while its preservation preserves them excellently.*

59. Himself acting like a lion and conversant with policy, the monarch's acts should only be known to his family members, when they are in a far way of being done, and to others when they are already accomplished.†

60. The wise hold as commendable such counsel that is desirable, that does not entail future sorrow,‡ that yields a series of good results in long succession§ and that does not extend over a long period.||

61. A *Mantra* or counsel is said to consist of five parts *vis.*, support, means to ends, division of time and country, averting of calamities and final success.¶

* That is the preservation of strict secrecy regarding counsels is of vital importance in the preservation of a kingdom.

† The commentator explains:—A lion, when enraged, invisibly concentrates all its energy before it takes the final spring. So also should a king do. The author means to say the movements and plans of a king should not even be known to the members of his own family before they are actually put into action. Strict secrecy should be imposed here and in all other matters of state.

‡ That does not become the cause of future repentance.

§ The commentary here substitutes *Anuvandhifalaprada* for *Anuraktifalaprada*, which latter means 'good results in the shape of the good will of the subjects.'

|| A counsel extending over a long period is in greater danger of being betrayed than one extending over a short while.

¶ What the author means is that when any deliberation or counsel is to be held regarding any undertaking, these things namely the support in the shape of men, munition and magnificence, the means, the advantages or otherwise of time and territory, the advent of any unforeseen event and final success, should be given the best consideration to. The king should see whether he is well supported, whether his means are efficient enough, whether the advantages of soil and season are in his favor, whether there is change for any untoward event to cut him short and whether there is any doubt about the final success. The fifth or last part is not mentioned in the text.

62. When an act is at all undertaken, it should be duly accomplished; when it has not been begun, it should be at once taken in hand; and when it is accomplished, its results should be made permanent and enduring by commendable means.*

63. Persons, conversant with the nature and importance of counsel,† should be directed to hold consultation about the measure to be employed for performing a certain act;‡ and that measure regarding which is their minds agree, should be had recourse to, as soon as possible.

64. Acts regarding which the minds of the counselors agree§ and do not entertain any misgiving,|| acts which are not blamed by the pious,—only such acts should be undertaken.

65. When any counsel has been duly resolved upon by the ministers, it should again be seriously weighed by the king himself (in order to avoid flaws and faults). A wise¶

* The author here specifies the primary duties of ministers. They should direct the accomplishment of all undertakings; they should take new undertakings* into hand; they should turn into advantage works or acts already done.

† The original word as explained by the commentator, includes, ministers, spies and emissaries of kings.

‡ The text word is *Kāryyodwésés* which the commentator thus explains—"the door by which such business, as ruling of the earth &c., comes." What he means to say is that spies and ambassadors and ministers should watch the movements of the foe and the *Uddāsina* &c., and at the right moment should fall upon them, employing measures, agreed upon by all. We take the word to mean, the means to an end. The translation is free.

§ That is "where there is no difference of opinion."

|| It is believed that the mind can intuitively become aware of the probable failure of an undertaking. It feels hesitation and there is some sort of a trepidation in it.

¶ The text word is *Tatwajña* for which the commentator substitutes, *Mantrajñās* or sound counselor.

monarch should so conduct himself as not to prejudice his own interests in the least.

66. Ministers, for the advancement of their own interests, desire a prolonged campaign. A king that protracts his business over a considerable length of time, becomes a puppet in the hands of his ministers.*

67. Cheerfulness of the mind, earnestness, the quickened condition of the sense-organs,† united action with the supporters and allies, and a prosperous state of affairs, these are signs that indicate coming success

68. Rapidly-working, uninterrupted antecedents, prolific of sources of prosperity, are antecedents that foretell the success of an undertaking or act.

69. A counsel should be again and again discussed (before it is finally disposed of); it should strictly be preserved (kept secret) with scrupulous zeal. A counsel carelessly kept, being prematurely divulged, destroys the king (concerned) even like fire itself.‡

70. A counsel that has not yet found its way among the people, should be mutually preserved (by the king, the ministers, spies, &c.) A counsel that is not scrupulously preserved, is given publicity to, by the friends and relatives (of the counselors).§

* This part is freely translated.

† This is brought about only when a man expects something which will be pleasing to him. When some adverse result is expected the senses become dull and apathetic.

‡ This sloka is substituted in the commentary for sloka 64 of the text.

§ It is no use trying to keep a counsel secret that has once been given air to. The counselors concerned should help one another in preserving its secrecy. It should not be trusted even to a friend or a relative, who in his turn may also communicate it to his friend. Thus it will be trumpeted over the town and reach the enemy's camp. This sloka is omitted in the text.

71. Inebriation, inadvertence, anger,* talk during sleep, courtezans (cherished with too much confidence)† and creatures who are despised or looked upon with indifference,‡ these sometimes divulge a counsel prematurely.§

72. A king should hold counsel in a place on the roof of his palace or in a forest where there are no pillars (to resound the conversation), no windows (to let the speeches go out) and no nook or corner (to conceal an inquisitive eyes dropper).|| He should also see that he is not watched by any body.

73. A room which has no loop-holes or out-lets, which is situated in a secluded spot, where there is no fear of overhearing enemies, or no strong breeze, or no pillars or no frequent coming and going of men,—in such a room, a prosperous king, having purified himself¶ should hold his councils.

* The text word is (*kāma*) which the commentary substitutes by *Kopa*.

† Another meaning is possible viz wives having masterly influence over their husbands i.e., females whose husbands are henpecked.

‡ These creatures are never suspected of being able to take notice of any thing. So, one talks carelessly before them; stories are said of parrots and other birds, which hearing a man talk, imitate him, and as soon as a stranger steps in, repeats his words. Indian tale-parrots are said to possess intelligence equal to that of men.

§ The author wants to say that when a man is extremely drunk, or when he is careless, or when he is angry, or if he has the habit of talking in sleep, he is liable to disclose his counsels against his will. A courtesan, or a female too much confided upon, often gives air to a secret, which her lover out of fondness might have told to her.

|| For the text word, the commentator substitutes, *Nirbhinndan-tarasamsrayé* which reading we have accepted.

¶ Purification of the body before going to do something important, is considered to add to the powers of the mind, which belief can not be looked upon as purile in view of the subtle and inexplicable relation between the material and the psychical. This sloka is omitted in the text.

74. Manu says, twelve, Vrihaspati says sixteen, and Usanas says twenty, ministers should form a cabinet.*

75. Others again say that as many good and deserving counselors as are available (lit : possible), should be admitted into the cabinet.† Duly entering the cabinet and with mind (attention) undivided, a king should hold counsel for facilitating the success of an act or understanding.‡

76. Some say that for a particular act or mission, a king should engage ministers to the number of five, seven or more, all severally entrusted with several portions or charges.§

77. A king seeking his own welfare should discuss the subject of a consultation severally with each of his ministers ; after which, he should take into his serious consideration (or weigh in his judgment)|| the opinion of each by itself.¶

78. A king should, after having weighed the opinion of other counsellors, act upon that counsel that should be proffered by a highly intelligent, well-wishing and numerous-supported minister who ever acts in conformity to the Shastras.

* *Mantra* in the last compound word of the text is a misprint for *Mantri*.

† This part is freely rendered for lucidity's sake. What the author says is that there is no hard and fast rule regarding the number of ministers to be taken into consultation. Really deserving men should be selected and heard.

‡ For *Yathá* in the first line and *Karyyasidhi* in the second, some read *Tathá* and *Karyyabhudhi*.

§ What the author means is this. Several ministers should be entrusted to carry on particular work. The portions of the work should again be divided among them according to their capabilities. In one word, the writer advocates the principle of "Division of labour" here as elsewhere. This sloka does not occur in the text.

|| Lit : "Enter into" hence, comprehend &c.

¶ The first line is vicious, for which the commentator substitutes :
Ākaikena hi Kāryyāṇāṁ Subichāryya punaspuṇaḥ.

79. Having once formed a resolution,* never let the proper time for carrying it into action pass away. But when in some way or other, that time is past, the resolution should again be formed anew in due manner.

80. An intelligent prince should never let slip the season for doing any action, for, combination of circumstances favourable to an act, is to be found very seldom.†

81. Following the footsteps of the pious, an intelligent king should carry out his projects in proper season. Exerting in the right way and in the right time, he enjoys the delicious fruits of his actions.

82. Viewing carefully the dark and the bright side of his project, a king, with the advantages of time and place in his favour, and supported by his faithful allies, should fall upon things (such as town and villages) calculated to conduce to his aggrandisement. He should never be rash in his acts.‡

83. A rash prince, without judging the strength or otherwise of his foes, and arrogantly thinking "I am the most powerful" and disregarding the (salutary) counsel of his ministers, attacks his enemies only to meet his own fall; such a prince is narrow-minded and impudent and knows not what he does.

84. He only who mistakes evil for good and whose understanding is shallow, disregards the counsel of his ministers. A rash king attacking rashly, is soon entangled in inextricable difficulties.

85. Thus an energetic monarch betaking to a course of

* Lit: "having once decided upon a certain counsel" i.e., when a definite conclusion has been arrived at, regarding a counsel.

† The author here points out the soundness of the saying—"Delay is dangerous."

‡ The translation is a free one. Several minor changes of reading is noticed in the commentary.

true policy, should, by the power of his counsel* bring into subjection his foes resembling vicious snakes.

Thus ends the eleventh section, the dissertation on counsels, in the Nitisara of Kamandaka.

SECTION XII.

1. **H**AVING previously held the necessary counsel a wise† king should depute to the monarch against whom he intends to march, an ambassador confident of his special abilities,‡ whose selection would be approved by the cabinet.§

2. A person, dauntless,|| accurate in memory, eloquent, accomplished in arms and in the *Shastras*, and well-exercised in all sorts of works, such a person only deserves to be a king's ambassador.

3. Ambassadors are said to be of three kinds, *vis.*, those invested with full powers; ¶ those with restricted powers** and those merely carrying the errands of their masters.†† In

* There is a pun on the word *Mantra* which means both counsel and charms and incantations for taming snakes.

† Lit: "Skilful in counsel."

‡ Lit: "Proud of his missionary powers." The text is vicious, for which the commentary gives *doutyabhimāninam*.

§ Another meaning is suggested by the annotator *vis.*, one among the ministers who selected by the rest.

|| The original word is *Pragalva*.

¶ That is a plenipotentiary, such was Krishna when he was deputed by Yudhisthira to negotiate with king Dhuryodhana.

** This class of ambassadors, as the commentator says, can do nothing of their own accord. Thier conduct is prescribed for them by their sovereign, whose orders they are unable to put aside.

†† These are ordinary messengers who merely repeat what they are instructed by their masters, and nothing more or less.

respect of rank, the latter are inferior to the former respectively, in consequence of the smallness of the powers vested in them.*

4. In accordance with the commands of his masters, an ambassador, after (mature) deliberation as to the effect† of his contemplated measures upon the dominions of his king, and on those of his enemies, should go to (visit) these latter one after another.

5. He should befriend the frontier‡ as well as the forest tribes, and should find out the inland and navigable communications and easy routes, all for facilitating the unimpeded progress and march of his (master's) army.

6. He should not enter the enemy's city or the court without knowing its whereabouts.§ He should, for accomplishing his purpose, wait for opportunities, and when permitted, enter the foe's territory.

7. He should inform himself about the stability of the foe's kingdom, about his forts and castles and their defences and defects, and also his army, allies and treasuries.

8. He should deliver the orders of his master, word per word, even if weapons be raised (to smite him down).|| He should also apprise himself of the loyalty or

* The last portion is not so clear. What the author means seems to be that in respect of rank a plenipotentiary is superior to an ambassador with limited powers and so on. But this is self-evident.

† For this compound some substitute *Swaleàchyapara vākyānām*, which means 'his own as well as others' words.' This change of reading is not necessary.

‡ The word in the text is a misprint for *Antaspāla*.

§ Two explanations of the text-word are given in the commentary. The one embodied in the translation is not, as it appears to us appropriate; the other is 'unknown and unperceived by the enemy.' This strengthens the antithesis in the last portion; what the author means is this,—that an ambassador should not like a spy covertly enter an enemy's dominions but would do so with his open permission.

|| What the author means is that the ambassador should not lie even

disloyalty of the enemy's subjects (by watching their movements of the face and hands &c).

9. He should not let any one else know the disaffection* of the enemy's *prakritis* (subjects) towards their master, but should himself, unpercievably do what he would think fit to do.†

10. Even when questioned on the subject, (by the inimical sovereign) he should not speak anything about the disaffection (or weakness) of the *Prakritis* of his own lord, but should in flattering‡ language say—"Your majesty knows everything well."

11. He should eulogise the enemy in four ways—by comparing him with the *Vijigisu*, (i.e., the ambassador's masters) in respect of his high lineage, his fame, his substantiality, and his commendable deeds.§

12. Coming into contact with the treacherous|| element of the enemy's state under the pretence of instructing them in the four branches of learning and the five arts, he should (with their help) know the former's movements as also which party could be easily weaned over.¶

when his life is threatened ; it is his duty to deliver the message he has been entrusted with, without the slightest mutilation.

* The text-word *lit*: means—'falling off' hence 'want of allegiance' &c.

† The author means this, that when an ambassador comes to know that the enemy's *Prakritis* are not what they should be, he should not let the fact take the air, but should himself take advantage of it and covertly do what would be conducive to the good of his master.

‡ It may also mean 'modest, humble'; the translation is free.

§ The author intends to say that to ingratiate himself into the favor of the foe, the ambassador should praise him saying that he is in no way inferior to the *Vijigisu* his master. For *Falena* the commentary reads *Kulena*, which reading we have accepted.

|| The original word means 'one receiving wages from both sides Hence one who is a hypocrite and treacherous.

¶ Or it may mean 'where dissension could be easily sown.' The explanation given in the commentary supports this view.

13. He should keep up communications with his own secret agents remaining disguised as ascetics in pursuit of knowledge in *Tirthas*,* *Asramas*,† and *Surasthānas*.‡

14. He should point out to the alienable party (in the enemy's country) his own master's manliness,§ high lineage prosperity (affluence), forbearance, great energy, magnanimity and gentility.||

15. He should put up with insulting language and avoid the influence of anger or lust (on all occasions).¶ He should not lie down (to sleep) with others** ; he should keep his own purposes strictly secret, but know those of others.

16. An intelligent ambassador should not be depressed and hopeless regarding the accomplishment of his projects, although he would have to wait a considerable length of time. But by various tempting offers and baits (to the subjects and

* *Tirtha* ordinarily means a holy place. Here it means specially a place where two or more sacred rivers fall into one another, and which in consequence, becomes a place of pilgrimage.

† *Asrama*—is the place where ascetics, dwell, hermitage &c.

‡ *Surasthāna*—lit. a place of a god ; hence a sacred place where temples are built and images of gods enshrined and consecrated. This is the reading of the commentary for *Asrayasthāna*.

§ For *Santāp* the commentator gives *Pratāp*.

|| What the author means is this that as soon as the messenger or whatever he may be called—finds that there is a section among the enemy's subjects that may be weaned over, he will at once begin to work by pointing out the superiority of his own employer over their sovereign in every respect. The word 'alienable' has been used for the word *Vedya* which lit. means that which may be easily penetrated, or separated from its main stock.

¶ For, in anger and in lust a man loses himself, and knows not what he does.

** The author prohibits this, as he thinks that the messenger may be a somnambulist and he may speak out his mind during sleep.

officers of the enemy). he should study the passing times.*

17—19.—If during these days that pass away unprofitably, he does not find any defect† in the administration of the ruler of the earth (the enemy), the ambassador—if he is a sound politician and earnestly desirous of the advancement of his own party (king)—should wait (patiently) for advantages of time and place, during a period when the enemy (disgusted with his own idleness) would himself intend to undertake something, such as, the provocation of his own *Pārsnigrāha*, the pacification of the disaffected section of his subjects, the storing of his forts with stocks of food grains and their repairs.‡ He should console his mind with the thought that the foe would, of his own accord, march against his (ambassador's) master, and he should endeavour accordingly.§

20. . When day after day the time for action is deferred, an intelligent ambassador should consider, whether or not the enemy is procrastinating, only to let the opportunity for his (ambassador's) master to attack him (enemy) slip away.||

* What the author means is that delay should not deter an intelligent messenger. He should make the best use of that time by studying the state of the enemy's *Raj* in various ways.

† Another meaning is possible *viz.*—if any calamity overtake the enemy, affording a good opportunity for his rivals of fall upon him.'

‡ During the progress of any of these undertakings, the ambassador has every chance of lighting upon some secret or of getting hold of some thing likely to be beneficial to the interests of his own master.

§ The author means to say that if the ambassador finds no flaw in the enemy, he should not despair but content himself with the thought that even the enemy himself may one day march against his master, when the informations gathered by him would be turned to profit.

|| The translation is free. The author means in case to say that the ambassador finds the enemy deferring every thing to a future period, he should seek an explanation of this conduct in another direction *viz.*, whether or not the enemy is gaining time to deprive his rival of the advantages of a seasonable attack. When once the proper time slips away, the opponent will have to await long for another such opportunity.

21. When it will be evident that the time for action has arrived, he should go back directly to the kingdom of his lord; or remaining there (in the enemy's territory), he should communicate to his master all the important points of his information.

22—23. To find out the foes of the enemy, to alienate his allies and relatives from him, to know (exactly the state of) his forts, finances and army, to determine the course of action to be taken, to wean over to his (ambassador's) side the governors of the provinces of the enemy's territory, and to know all the particulars of the route (country) through which march (against the enemy) is intended,—these are said to be the duties of a *Duta*.*

24. A ruler of earth should harass his enemy by means of his own *Duta*†; on his own part, he should be perfectly aware of the movements of the enemy's *Dutas*.

25. A person skilled in the interpretation of internal sentiments by conjecture and by external gestures, accurate of memory, polite and soft in speech, agile in movements, capable of bearing up with all sorts of privations and difficulties, ready-witted‡ and expert in everything,—such a person is fit to become a spy.

26. Sly spies disguised as ascetics, traders or artisans should go about in all directions§ apprising themselves of the opinion of the world (*i.e.*, the subjects or the public at large).

27. Spies well-informed in everything (*i.e.*, important topic or question of the times), should every day come to

* Hitherto we have been rendering *Duta* into 'ambassador,' but really *duta* is more generic—comprising scouts and spies within its meaning. It means, 'any one deputed to do something.'

† These *dutas* penetrating through all the secrets of his counsel, would cause the enemy considerable anxiety.

‡ That is, possessing presence of mind;

§ The commentator says 'in the *mandala* of the twelve kings.'

and go away from (*i.e.* communicate with) the ruler of earth, for they are the eyes of the king, that enable him to look at distant things.

28. In order to penetrate into and divulge the secret of secrets of the enemy, one (a spy) should cautiously and covertly watch his (enemy's) movements. A ruler of earth, having the spies for his eyes, is awake even when he is asleep.†

29. A king should have all his and his enemy's dominions pervaded with spies who resemble the sun in energy and the wind in their movements‡ and whose selection is approved of by the public.

30. Spies are the eyes of the ruler of earth; he should always look through their medium§; he that does not look through their medium, stumbles down, out of ignorance, even on level grounds||; for he is said to be blind.

31. Through the medium of his spies, a king should know the growth and advancement of his rivals' prosperity, their movements in all circumstances, and the purposes and

* The text lit. rendered would be—"for they are the king's eyes that remain at a distance"! The author means that the spies are the medium through which a king perceives things that being away from his own sight, cannot be directly perceived by him. The idea of describing spies as the king's distant eyes is a very favorite one with the Sanskrit poets.

† What the author means is this that although the king sleeps yet his emissaries are wide awake and are working; so when he wakes up he will come to know everything important that may have transpired during his sleep.

‡ That is, who act and move in as imperceptible a manner as the wind.

§ That is, whatever, he should do, should be done in consultation with the spies who always look to the state of affairs for him.

|| That is, even in the performance of ordinary work. Just as a blind man stumbles even on level grounds, so does a king meet with difficulties in all undertaking when he does not use the spies as his eyes.

intentions* of their subjects (lit: of those who inhabit their dominions).

32. Emissaries are said to be of two kinds—*viz.*, secret and public. Secret emissaries have been particularized above; a public emissary is called a *Duta* or an ambassador.†

33. Guided by his spies, a king should proceed to any work, like *Ritvijas*‡ in a sacrifice being guided by the *Sutras*.§ The spy-service is to said be well-established when the ambassador is kept well-informed by the spies.

34. A *Tikshana*,|| a religious mendicant, a sacrificer or a person of purest character—these are the disguises (under which spies roam through a king's *mandala*)¶; when they (the spies) are thus disguised, they do not recognise one another.

35. For the successful termination of their missions, a site for the habitation of the spies should be selected, where there is a constant conflux or gathering (of people). There the spies should stay being duly served and looked after.**

* Literally 'what they want.'

† The author includes ambassadors under the category of 'spies' or *charas*—which etymologically means those who walk through the king's dominions (*mandala*). The difference between a *Chara* and a *Duta* is that one is a secret agent while the other is a public one.

‡ *Ritvijas* are the priests who officiate at sacrifices; ordinarily four are mentioned *viz* the *Hotri*, the *Udgātri*, the *Adhvaryu* and the *Brahman*; at grand ceremonies sixteen are enumerated,

§ That part of the *Vedas* containing aphoristic rules for sacrifices and other ceremonies.

|| Lit: pungent, sharp; here a person of fiery or passionate temperament. Probably there was a class of ascetics of this description.

¶ What the author means is this that the spies ordinarily simulate the appearances of these persons, when they roam through the enemy's territory in order to hide their identity.

** The last line of this Sloka is extremely vicious in the text; for which the commentary substitutes:—

'*Tisteyuryatra Sanchārds paricharyyāhabdhinas,*'

which we accept.

36. In the residence of the spies there should stay persons disguised as traders, merchants* husbandmen, convent-heads, (religious) mendicants, professors (of religion); pure-hearted (ascetics), and mercenaries.

37. Spies skilled in studying the hearts of men, should be posted in the territory of all kings who are within the *mandala* of the *Vijigisu* or within that of his enemy.

38. The king that does not know (watch) the movements of the kings of his own *mandala* or of those of his enemy's *mandala*, is said to be asleep† although he is wide awake, and he never wakes up from such sleep of his.

39. (Through his spies) a king should know (watch) those (enemies) who have reason to be exasperated with him and also those who are so without any reason whatever‡; he should by secret measures of punishment (assassination &c.) do away with those among his own household, who are seditious and angry§ with him without any cause whatever.||

* For *Vala* of the text the annotator gives *Vanik*, and explains it to mean a 'foreigner.'

† There is a pun upon the words *Jāgran* and *Susupta* here. The author means, a king ignorant of the movements of his rivals is as good as one asleep, although he may literally be awake and working. Such carelessness results in his being subjugated; and his inactive nature can never in future throw off the yoke of thralldom.

‡ The author distinguishes between classes of foes—those who are born enemies and those who are made so by some cause or other, such as the withholding of a promised thing &c.

§ This is strictly literal—the meaning is—disaffected towards him although they have never been maltreated.

|| It sounds absurd that we may have enemies although we have never done anything to create one. The commentary cites a Sloka here in order to clear any doubts on the point; the translation of the Sloka is as follows:—"When even an innocent *Muni* (sage) does his own duties, he creates thereby three parties—*viz.*, friends, foes, and neutrals."

40. Those who have reasons to be exasperated with the king, should be conciliated by gifts and the bestowal of honors &c., and then the king should live together with them, having thus subjugated them (won them over to his side); and in this way he should amend his own faults* (which might have given his enemy a hold).

40A. He should preserve the peace of his kingdom by giving the wicked and the seditious (i.e. the disturbing element) the snub they deserve. With all his endeavours, he should mend his weakness by conciliation, gift or (bribery).†

41. Taking advantage of the slightest laches of even the most powerful enemy, a king should cause his (enemy's) kingdom to sink completely (in the sea of distress and destructions), even as water causes a drinking cup to sink down in it by entering it through even the smallest hole.

42. Persons simulating to be idiots‡, or deaf, or blind or dumb or eunuchs, and *Kiratas*§ and dwarfs, and hunchbacks and such other agents||.

43. And (disguised religious) mendicants and *Charanas*¶ and maid-servants and men versed in all arts and acts, should gather undetected**, the informations regarding a king's household.

14. (Persons' disguised as) bearers of the royal Parasole

* Lit: 'And thus should he fill up the gaps i.e., holes or weak points of his administration.

† This Sloka is omitted in the text. The commentator explains the last part thus—the anger and disaffection of the subjects and servants are as it were the breach through which the enemy effects his entrance.

‡ The word is *Joda*, which the commentator takes to mean—'deaf and dumb.'

§ The most degraded class of mountain tribe obtaining in ancient India.

|| The commentary here reads *KàraCas* which means 'those versed in fine arts.'

¶ Lit: A wandering singer or actor.

** Lit: "unseenly."

yak-tails (lit : fans), pitchers, and palanquins, and horse-boys and grooms and other such servants, should keep information about the doings of the high state officials.

45. The cooks,* the bed-room servants, the *vigakás*:—the Valet de chambre,† the attendants at the table, the shampooers,

46. And the orderlies entrusted with serving up water, betels, flowers, perfumes and ornaments, these and others like them that always keep near the king, should be made instrumental in administering poison to him.‡

47. Cool-headed spies should study the conduct (of all the high state officials) through signs, gestures,§ bodily appearances, the secret tokens they use and the letters they write.

48. Spies versed in all acts and in all arts, assuming various disguises, should roam (in every part) of a *mandala* imbibing public opinion like the solar rays imbibing moisture from the earth. ¶

49. An intelligent *Vijigisu* conversant with the *Shāstras* and the ways of the world, should be cognisant of the fact that as he through his spies (lit : by some means) strives to play his enemy's false, so these latter also try to pay him back in his own coin, by engaging|| spies to watch over him.

Thus ends the twelfth section, the rules regarding embassies and the spies, in the Nitísāra of Kamandaka.

* Lit : "those who prepare highly seasoned dishes."

† That is spend thrifs.

‡ The last line is vicious in the text—the commentary gives, *Kartavya Rasadā* which reading we accept.

§ For *Murchchita* of the text the commentary gives *Mudritais*.

|| For *Viyujyamāna* the commentary reads—*Niyujyamāna*.

SECTION XIII.

1. **W**HEN a monarch would, from the daily reports of the spies, come to know of the failure of his embassy to the foe, he should set out with hostile intentions against this latter, according to the prescribed rules of march, relying on his own keen intelligence as his only guide.*

2. Like fuel† producing fire, a keen and resolute understanding dominated over‡ by equanimity and perseverance, produces many happy results.

3. Just as metallic ores§ are sure to yield the precious gold, and the churning (of the curd) butter, so, earnest endeavour supported by intelligence and perseverance is sure to be crowned with success.

4. An intelligent and energetic king possessed of the *Prabhusakti*||, becomes the excellent receptacle for all prosperity, even as the mighty main is for all waters.

5. Like wealth of waters preserving the lotus, it is intelligence alone that preserves the royal prosperity; and this prosperity is carried to magnificence only by energy and perseverance.¶

* *Purassara* literally means—'that which walks before'; hence a 'guide.' The sloka bristles with bad readings, and but for the emendations of the commentary, it would have been impossible to make out any meaning. The correct text would be :—

Anvaham Characharyyābhīrvifalē Dutachēstitē

*Yāyādyathoktayānastu Sukshma vudhipu-*assara*.*

† The text-word *Araṇee* literally means two pieces of *Samī* wood used for kindling sacred fire by attrition.

‡ That is,—governed.

§ The original word is *Dhātu* which the commentator takes to mean earth, stones and other worthless things obtained with crude minerals.

|| Vide note to sloka 1 and 22, Section I.

¶ The commentary adds—"even as the lotus is caused to bloom fully by the influence of the wind and the solar rays."

6. Prosperity never leaves an energetic king* who follows the dictates of his intelligence, even as its shadow never leaves the body ; but it goes on increasing (every day).

7. Like rivers flowing into the ocean, prosperity ever flows down on a king,† who is free from the influence of the *Vyasanās* and is indifatigable, highly energetic, and intelligent.

8. An idle king whose mind is affected by the influence of the *Vyasanās* is, in spite of his possessing many good qualities and a (keen) intelligence, cast off by (the goddess of) prosperity, even as eunuchs are cast off by women.

9. By constant activity he should add to his everything (*i.e.*, prosperity, happiness, &c.), even as fire is added to by the putting of fuel in it.‡ Even a weak king, if he is ever energetic, reaps nothing but prosperity.

10. For enjoying prosperity which is like a faithless lady,§ a king should ever, with all his manliness, desire activity, and should not behave like one impotent.

11. An ever-energetic king by having recourse to the *Sain'hee Vriti*|| should bring prosperity under his own control as if dragging her by the hair, like a man dragging his wicked wife.

12. Without planting his feet on his enemy's head, graced with crowns adorned with diverse kinds of gems and jewels, a person (king) cannot reap prosperity' (lit. blessing).

13. Where can there be any happiness (for a king),

* The reading *Utsāhasampannān* is vicious;—read *Utsāhasampannāt*.

† Literally, the translation would be "prosperities enter into him like rivers entering into the ocean."

‡ The author's meaning seems to be this that the more you add fuel to the fire the more its flames blaze forth ; so, the more a king exerts himself, the more does he advance on the ladder of prosperity.

§ Prosperity is compared to a faithless lady, for it is never steady with a man.

|| Lit : 'lion-like conduct' *i. e.* ever active and manly conduct.

unless the deep-rooted tree—his enemies—be eradicated by the mighty elephant—his intelligence—goaded by the guide—his earnest endeavours !

14. Prosperity can only be brought home (captive) by a strong arm, resembling the graceful trunk of an elephant and glittering with the dazzling lustre of an easily drawn sword (that it wields) !

15. A high-minded person desirous of ascending to a great height (in the ladder of prosperity), plants his feet higher and higher, whereas a low-minded one apprehending fall and destruction, plants them lower and lower.

16. Like the lion planting his paw on the head of an elephant, one (a king) possessed of great energy may plant his foot on the head of another excelling him much in bulk.*

17. Fearless like a serpent, a king should make such display of his magnificence as to strike terror into the hearts of his foes. According to the measure of his strength, he should undertake the chastisement of his foes.†

18. A king should fall upon his foe first having removed the cause of disaffection of his people.‡ These causes are bred by the absence of good and the following of offensive policies of administration, as also by adverse Fate.

* The author's means :—A highly energetic and active monarch is capable of subjugating even a foe whose territories are more wide-spread than his own.

† Although the author exhorts in favor of constant activity, yet he warns kings against rashness. Before undertaking an attack, a king should judge his own strength in comparison to that of his foe. Energy of course goes a great way in securing success ; but it cannot work miracles.

‡ *Prakritivyāsana* lit : means the *Vasyana* or defect in his *Prakritis* or the constituents of his government. What the author means is that before going to fight with an external enemy, a king should put down the causes that tend to produce internal enemies, and to breed civil feuds.

19. *Vyasana** is so-called for it retards the material well-being (of a kingdom; (one a king) under the influence of the *Vyasanas* goes down and down (the depths of degradation); and therefore the *Vyasanas* should be avoided (as much as possible).

20. Fires, floods, famine, prevalence of diseases, and plague and pestilence—these are the five kinds of the *Vyasanas* (calamities) that proceed from Fate; the rest come from human sources.

21. The evils proceeding from Fate should be averted by means of manly efforts and the celebration of propitiatory rites; and a king knowing what should be done, should remove the evils coming from human sources by his energeticalness and adoption of wise measures of policy.

22. From the king (*Swamy*) to the allies†—all these constituents form the *Prakriti Mandala*, (or government). I shall now in due order, enumerate their functions and their frailties.

23. To hold counsels,‡ to secure the results of counsel,§ to direct others in the performance of actions, to ascertain beforehand the effects (good or bad) of future events and occurrences, to look after the income and expenditure (of the kingdom), to administer justice,|| to subjugate enemies,

24. To avert threatening evils and calamities, and to protect the kingdom,¶—these are the functions of a minister. But a minister when he is under the influence of the

* Etymologically means that which throws back (the good or the progress and prosperity of a kingdom).

† Vide *Supra* Sloka 1. Section IV.

‡ The word *mantra* includes all operations—from the initial proceedings of a consultation to the attainment of a certain result.

§ i. e. to acquire and preserve territories &c.

|| Lit: to “mete and dole” laws; to inflict punishments according to the offences.

¶ For *Rājarajyāviséchanam* the commentary give as, *Rājarajyāviraṅkṣhanam*

Vyasanas (vicious propensities) fails in all these (functions of his).

25. A king whose minister possessed by the *Vyasanas* is weaned over (by the foe),* becomes incapable of resisting the enemy by the application of the measures of policy, like a bird incapable of flying when its wings are cut off.

26. Gold, corn, cloths, conveyances and all other such things (that the king enjoys), arise from the (prosperity of the) people.

27. The people promote the trade, commerce, cultivation and other such means that conduce to the prosperity of a kingdom.† These totally depend on the people. Therefore, when the people are in danger (or under the influence of evil propensities) no success can be achieved.

28. Castles are the places of refuge for the people in times of danger; they are protections for the troops and the treasures; with a view to take refuge into them, the citizens (seek to) oblige their rulers (by gifts, presents, &c.)

29. That which is a means for carrying on *Tushni* warfare, that which affords protection to the people (in troublous times), that which can take in friends and foes alike and that which is a check against the attacks of the neighbouring forest tribes—is called a Durga (castle).‡

30. A king safe within the recesses of his castle (or a king possessing numerous castles) is respected both by his

* Several important change of reading are to be noted here. For *Amatyādis vyasanopatais hriyamāno* read *Amātyé vyasanopété hriyamānā* and for *Asakta eboppatati* read *Asakta eboppatitam*.

† The original word is *Vārta* which lit. means,—the occupation or profession by which one earns his livelihood. We have rendered the word freely.

‡ When a king concealing himself in his castle in a manner undetected by the enemy, suddenly falls upon the latter, such a sort of assault is called *Tushni Yudha*.

§ *Durga* etymologically means that which is approached or taken with difficulty.

own and his enemy's partizans. But when *Durga-vysana* exists none of these exists.*

31. The act of maintaining dependents, acts of munificence, (personal and other) decorations, purchasing of conveyances (horses and elephants), stability (of the kingdom), facility for sowing dissension among the enemy (and his allies), repairing of castles,

32. Construction of bridges and cause-ways, trade and commerce, the acquisition of friends and allies and the love of the people, and lastly, the accomplishment of righteous and desirable acts—all proceed from the treasure (*i. e.* all these depend entirely on a solvent financial condition.)

33. "The foundations of royalty are laid in the treasures"—this is a popular saying well-known in all regions. A ruler of men whose treasury is in danger (of being insolvent) loses all prospects of success in the above-mentioned acts.

34. A king with a solvent treasury increases his forces reduced (in consequence of wars), and he naturally wins the good-will of his people. He is even respected and served by his enemies.

35. To add to the number of friends and foes, and to the amount of gold (*i. e.* wealth and the territorial possessions of a kingdom), to accomplish with alacrity acts deferred to an indefinite future, to protect what is acquired or gained,

36. To destroy the army of the foe, and to save the forces of its own side,—all these acts proceed from the army. So when the army is under the influence of the *Vyásanas* (*i. e.* when it is defective), these (the above-named acts) run to ruin (*i. e.* are never accomplished with any degree of success).

37. The foes even of a king possessing an efficient army, are turned into his friends (seek his friendship). A king possessing a large army, rules the earth (unmolested) after having (properly conquered it).

* That is, when castles are not repaired and properly looked after, the king and his people lose all respect and chance of safety.

38. A faithful ally restrains others throwing off their allegiance, and destroys the enemy. He serves the king (to whom he is allied) by risking his own dominions, treasures troops and his life even.

39. By ties of mutual affection, he succeeds in securing numerous other friends and allies. When therefore the ally is under the influence of the *Vyasanas*, his function is no longer duly discharged.

40. A true ally promotes the welfare of his allied king, without expecting to be remunerated in return. A king having (faithful) allies, succeeds with the greatest ease, even in most difficult undertakings.

41. Pursuit of knowledge, protection of the *Varnas* and *Asramas* of his own kingdom, ability of using pure (unpoisoned) weapons, accomplishment in all the modes of warfare,

42. Habits of hardiness, knowledge of the implements of war (offensive and defensive) and of the characteristics of acts (such as, testing the strength of armours &c), ability for riding properly on horses, elephants and chariots,

43. Skilfulness in wrestling, the art of clearly seeing through the purposes of others (lit: entering into other's heart), crookedness with the crooked, and honesty with the honest,

44. Consultations and reconsultations (with the cabinet, regarding a certain project), preservation of the secrecy of counsels, healthiness (of the mind), disregard of (such modes of policy as) conciliation, gift or bribery, and application to (such modes as) sowing dissensions and inflicting punishments,

45. Knowledge of the movements and intents of the commanders and other officers of his troops, and of the counsellors, ministers and priests, imprisonment of the wicked (among the above-named officers),

46. Observation of those who come to and go away from him as ambassadors, the removal of the calamities that

threaten the people, and the appeasing of the angry or disaffected element (of the state),

47. Obedience to the preceptors, bestowal of honours and respects on those worthy of them, administration of justice, suppression of the disturbing factor of the kingdom (lit: the taking out of the thorns of the state, such as the thieves, robbers, murderers, &c.,

48. Knowledge of what exists and what does not, examination of what is done and what is left off undone, investigation as to who is satisfied and who dissatisfied among his dependents,

49. Complete acquaintance with the movements, (and character) of the *Madhyama* and the *Udāsina** and the act of turning this acquaintance to means for establishing firmly his own rule, (or to means for the success of his undertakings), acquisition of allies and the chastisement of the enemies,

50. The protection of his sons and wives and his ownself, entertaining amicable feelings towards his relatives and friends, the promotion of such measures of revenue on which his own material progress depends,

51. Infliction of hardships on the wicked, and to afford facilities for the advancement of the honest, abstinence from doing injury to any being, and the avoidance of sin or unrighteousness,

52. Prohibition of evil deeds and the promotion of good ones, the giving away of things fit to be given, and the accumulation of those that should not be parted with,

53. Withholding of punishment from those who do not deserve them, and the infliction of them on those who rightly merit them, acceptance of things acceptable and the rejection of those unacceptable,

54. Performance of fruitful deeds, and the rejection of,

* Vide Supra note.

fruitless ones, the just levying of taxes and their remission in bad seasons,

55. The preferment of high officials of state, and the removal of those who deserve dismissal, pacification of calamities (such as famine, pestilence, &c.,) and the establishment of friendliness among his servants,

56. To know what is unknown, and to be assured of what is known, to undertake good acts, and to see to their ends acts undertaken,

57. Desire for acquiring what remains unacquired and facilitating the advancement of what is acquired, and the proper consignment of a thriving object to the care of a deserving person,

58. Suppression of wrong and the following of the paths of rectitude, and (lastly) the doing of good to one who does good to him,—these are the functions of a ruler of earth.

59. An energetic king following the paths of true policy, leads to eminence these and his government and ministers; but influenced by evil propensities, he leads them to destruction.

60. But when a king becomes busy in the performance of religious deeds and in acquiring wealth, or when he is demented, all these functions ought to be discharged by his ministers.

61. Excessive harshness in the words spoken and in the punishments meted out, defect in the administration of finance, inebriation, (excessive love for the company of) women, and for hunting, and gambling (at the dice),—these are the *Vyasanas* of a king.

62. Procrastination, sluggishness, conceit, carelessness, cultivation of (other's) ill-will,—these and those enumerated above (*viz.*, the *vyasanas* of the king), are the *vyasanas* of the ministers.

63. Excessive rain, want of rain (drought), locusts, rats, mice and parrots (and other such corn-destroying agents)

unjust taxation, confiscation of the properties of the people, foreign invasion and depredation, and thieves, and robbers,

64. Abandonment of the king by his forces and his favourites, distress brought about by the prevalence of diseases, and the death of cattle, and the ravages of the murrain,—these are the *vyasanas* of the kingdom.

65. Disorder and decay of the implements of war and of the ramparts and ditches, want of weapons in the arsenal, and failure of the stock of food and fuels,—these are the *vyasanas* of the castle.

66. Extravagance, outlay (in different projects), misappropriation (by the officials and servants), want of accumulation, robbery, and remoteness (of the flowing in of money),—these are said to be the *vyasanas* of the treasury.

67. To be besieged (by the enemy), to be surrounded on all sides (by hostile forces), to be disgraced, to be deprived of a being duly honoured, to be disaffected (or badly paid), to be diseased, to be fatigued or over-worked, to be returned from distant lands, to be newly recruited,

68. To be reduced in number, to be deprived of its leaders, to have its brave warriors killed, to be excited with hopes and disappointments, to become faithless,

69. To have women with it, to be scattered over different countries, to have thorns (*i. e.*, spies &c., set by the foe) in its ranks, to be torn by dissensions, to be sent to fight in foreign *Mandalas*, to be undisciplined,

70. To have its senior officers enraged,* to be commanded by men differing in opinion, to have foes in its own ranks, to be united with the enemy, to be careless of its own interests and those of the allies (of its monarch),

71. To be cut off from the supplies of food and the support of allied troops, to be destitute of shelter (wherein to

* The word in the text is *Krudha-maulam*. *Moulam* as explained by the commentator, means soldiers who have served the royal dynasty from generation to generation.

secure the families and properties of its soldiers), to hazard battles without the consent of its master, to put forward different excuses (for its delinquencies),

72. To have bad *Parshnigrāhas*, and to be ignorant of the country (where it is dispatched)—these are said to be the *vysanas* of the army. Of these some are irremediable and some remediable ; of this, I am speaking presently.

73. When relieved or set free, a besieged force, becoming highly efficient may fight ; and an army surrounded on all sides and without any egresss, must also fight (out its own way).

74. An unhonored army when duly honoured, will fight ; but a dishonored army, with its fire of indignation burning, will never do so.

75. An army badly paid will fight, when it is duly paid up to date ; but a diseased and disordered (inefficient) one, will not do so ; for then, it will be defeated.

76. After enjoying proper rest, an overworked and fatigued army will again face the campaign, but an army returned from distant lands with its energy drooping, becomes incapable of using weapons (*i.e.* active service,)

77. A newly recruited force will fight when united with older regiments of the realm ; but an army with its brave warriors killed and reduced in number will not fight.

78. A routed army, supported by brave heroes will again face the battle ; but an army, with its leaders slain and its vanguard slaughtered, will turn away from the fight.

79. When its hopes are realised and its disappointments removed, a force will not fight, for then, there will be nothing inducing it to risk a battle. When confined within a small area, an army will not fight, in consequence of the narrowness of the field.

80. An army at first besieged and then set free, will fight when equipped with the implements of war (horses, conveyances and weapons); and an army having women

with it* becomes capable of fighting when the women are removed.

81. An army scattered over different kingdoms, and away from home, will not fight (heartily); and one with the thorns (spies &c.) set by the enemy within it, becomes incapacitated for active service.

82. An army torn by dissensions, with its soldiers opposing one another, does not fight (is unfit for battle); so also an army despatched to a foreign *mandala* or realm (does not fight) †

83. An army that had not travelled to foreign lands, and one that has fled away, cannot fight. An army that has served the forefathers of a king, will not fight, when it is enraged; but when satisfied, it will fight (most gladly).

84. An army hemmed in on all sides by the foe and confined in one place, cannot fight; and troops whose camp is assailed by the enemy also become incapable of fighting well.

85. An army with the enemy within its ranks, will not fight; but when these thorns (the foes) are removed, it will fight; an army though corrupted by the enemy, will fight, if led by courageous warriors.‡

* The original word is *Kalatra Garvam*—which means 'to have women within it.' The commentator explains *Kalatra* as *Kulastri* or ladies,—his meaning being, that when the wives and families of soldiers are allowed to travel with them, they fight reluctantly, ever watchful for saving their lives whose importance is enhanced as they look upon their objects of affection. But when these latter are far away, the soldiers in the excitement of the battle, totally forget them and fight heedless of their lives, thus paving the way of victory for their king.

† The commentator explains—for it is worn out with the fatigue and hardships of the journey.

‡ The texts of Slokas 84 and 85, are vicious, the commentator gives the following two for them.

84. *Misram Sotrubhirékastham tadàkrántatayā kshamam,
Sotrurupanibistam Yat sāmārthyānnāksham Yudhi,*

86. An army is said to be neglectful of its own interests when in times of danger it remains inactive. An army engaged in serving an ally in consequence of its excellent advantages regarding time and position, cannot be properly used (in any other purpose).

87. The supply of food and clothing is called *Bibadha* and *Asāra* means the troops of the allies. An army cut off from the supply of food and clothing and from the support of the troops of the allies, cannot fight.

88. The troops that have no shelter (to secure their families and properties) will fight when shelter is provided by the citizens for them. An army that acts without the orders of its master, is not attached to him (is faithless), and will not fight.*

89. An army becomes leaderless when every one in it, is his own master, (and no one is accepted as leader)*; such an army is incompetent to fight; so also, a disabled army and one with a bad *Parshnigraha*, are incapable of fighting.

90. An army ignorant of the state of affairs (about it) is said to be blind, and for this reason, it is incompetent for fighting.† These are the *Vyasanas* of the army; carefully looking into them,‡ a king should undertake a war.

91. An ally is said to be the under the influence of the *vyasanas* when he is suffering from the afflictions of Fate, or is assailed on all sides by the forces of the foe, or is possessed of the defects arising out of lust and anger, which have been enumerated above.

92. Beginning with the king, of the seven constituents of

85. *Dusyayuktam na yudhyéta, Yudhyetodhritakantakam,
Pradhāna Yodha samguptam, Dusyamchāpi Samutpatét.*

This part is understood. The commentator supplies a different reading, which we do not accept.

† The text is vicious; the commentator gives,

Adésikam Smritam hyandham, tanmulatwát Kriyākshamam.

‡ For when they exist, no endeavours can bring about victory.

a government that have been described above, the *vyasanas* of each preceding constituent is graver than the one following it.*

93. A king should be cognisant of all these *vyasanas* of the members of his Government ; and he, without letting the right opportunity slip away, should exert himself in removing them to the best of his powers, intelligence and endeavours.

94. A monarch desirous of the welfare and prosperity of his government, should not overlook, out of error or arrogance, the *vyasanas* that may overtake the *Prakritis*. He that neglects the *vyasanas* of his *Prakritis*, is, ere long, defeated by his enemies.

95. Weighing gravely what should be done, a king should apply himself to the performance of his duties. Endeavouring his best, he should see the end of all his undertakings. A ruler of earth, the constituents of whose government are purged of all their defects and drawbacks† through his wise policy, enjoys for a long time, the three objects of existence.‡

Thus ends the thirteenth chapter, the description of the vyasanas and the means for remedying them, in the Nitisar of Kamandaka.

* The original Sanskrit construction would admit of no other rendering. The meaning is, that the *Vyasanas* of the king are prolific of greater evils than the *vyasanas* of the ministers, and so forth.

† The text word lit : rendered would be "whose holes are filled in with wise policy."

‡ The objects are, *Dharma* or virtue, *Artha* or wealth, *Kāma*, or objects of enjoyment.

SECTION XIV.

THE *Prakritis*, beginning with the minister and ending with the ally, are said to be the constituents of a government. Of all the weaknesses of the government, the gravest is the weakness of the ruler of earth.

2. A monarch free from all weaknesses, is capable of redeeming the weaknesses of the government; but a prosperous government can not rescue its head (the king) from his weaknesses.

3. A king who does not possess the eye of political knowledge is said to be blind; it is better to have such a blind king than one, who though possessed of such eyes, transgresses the path of rectitude out of pride or carelessness.

4. Such a blind monarch may be rescued from ruin by his ministers skilled in giving advice. But when a king, though possessed of the eye of political knowledge blinded by pride, he completely ruins himself.

5. For these reasons, a king possessed of the eye of polity, following the advices of his prime minister, should avoid the weaknesses that mar (the realisation of) virtue and wealth.

6. Too much harshness in speech and in the punishments meted out, and unjust seizure of property and withholding of what is due,—these are said by those conversant with the nature of weaknesses, to be the three weaknesses arising out of anger.

7. Excessive indulgence in hunting, gambling (at dice), women's company and drinking—these are said by those understanding the meaning of weaknesses, to be the four kinds of weaknesses bred by lust.

8. Among men, harshness in speech causes great trouble and is prolific of much harm; it should therefore not be practised. On the other hand, a king should win (the good-will of) the public by his sweet and mellifluous speech.*

9. He that by fits and starts, often speaks too much in anger, causes thereby much anxiety to his subjects, like a fire shooting numerous sparks.

10. Sharp daggerlike words penetrating into the core of the heart and cutting to the quick, excites a powerful person;† and thus excited, he turns into an enemy.

11. A monarch should not excite the public by harsh words; he should be sweet in his speech; even a miserly monarch, acting in a kind and friendly manner, is (faithfully) served (by the people).

12. The subjugation of the unsubjugated and their chastisement, is called *Danda* by the wise‡. One should deal out *Danda* according to the rules of polity; for, infliction of punishments on those deserving them is praiseworthy.

13. A king hard (cruel), in the infliction of punishments excites (fear in the heart of) the people; thus troubled, they seek the protection of the enemy.

24. In this way affording shelter to the people, the enemy rises to power; and a powerful enemy causes destruction. For these reasons, a monarch should not excite (the anxiety of) his subjects.

1 This Sloka contains many vicious readings;—for *Pàrusya* read *Pàrusyam* and for *Loka* read *Loké*.

2 The first part of the last line of this Sloka is bad, for which the commentator supplies:—

Tejasvinam dipayati.

3 The word *Sarbhi* in the text is a misprint for *Sadbhi*. *Danda* is the last of the four expedients of foreign policy (vide *Supra*).

15. Rulers of earth doing good (kindness) to the people grow in prosperity; their growth depends on the growth of the people, and their ruin on these latter's ruin.

16. Except in the case of the depopulation of the kingdom, a king should avoid the infliction of the capital punishment, even in the gravest of offences. In the aforesaid instance only, such punishment is commendable.*

17. The expenditure of a considerable amount of money in order to exculpate a culpable offender, is said to be *Arthadusana*† by those conversant with the essentials of polity.

19. The jostling of the conveyances, their destruction; the sufferings caused by hunger, thirst, fatigue, exertion, cold, heat and the wind;

20. The infliction of much distress arising out of *Yāna-vyasana* on the army; heated, sandy and thorny soils;

21. Injuries done by collision with trees, scratches from thorns and plants; difficulties caused by rocks, creepers, trunks of trees and earthen mounds;

22. Capture or death‡ by the hands of foresters and foes hidden behind rocks, or in the beds of rivers or inside underwoods and copses;

23. Assassination by his own troops weaned over by the enemy; danger of falling a prey to bears, serpents, elephants, lions, and tigers;

24. Choking of the breath by the smoke of the forest-conflagration; and mistaking the way or direction and the consequent wandering—these are said to be the *Mriga-*

* For *Fuktadanda*, the commentator gives *Tatra danda*, which appears to be an emendation true.

† The word lit: means some flaw in the collection and expenditure of money—*Arthadusana* occurs when money is unjustly collected or unnecessarily expended.

‡ *Pariklésai* is a misprint for *Pariklésa*.

yāvysana (or the evils attending too much indulgence in hunt) of rulers of earth.

25. Indefatigability, physical exercise, the cure of phlegm fat and indigestion, and excellent sureness in shooting arrows at moving or steady aims,

26. These are spoken of by others to be the goods proceeding from hunting; but this view can not be accepted. The evils of hunting are almost all of a fatal nature. So, hunting is a great *Vyasana*.

27. Indigestion and other such physical complaints may also be cured by constant healthy exercise on horseback; and sureness in shooting arrows at moving aims, can also be mastered in other ways.

28. But if a king is ardently desirous of (enjoying the pleasures of) the hunt, let a beautiful park be constructed at the precincts of the town, for his sports.

29. The park should be surrounded on all sides by ditches and walls incapable of being crossed or leapt over by the game. In length and breadth it should extend to half a *Yojana* (or about eight miles).

30. It should be situated near the foot of a mountain or the bed of a river, and should abound in water and soft green grass. It should not contain thorny plants and copses, and should be free from poisonous trees or plants.

31. It should be decorated with beautiful and well-known trees loaded with blossoms and fruits and spreading cool, pleasing and thick shades.

32. The burrows, pits, and cavities should be filled up with dust and gravel, leaving no chasm or declivity in the soil; and it should be levelled by the removal of trunks of trees, earthen mounds, and rocks, &c.

33. The lakes and other expanses of water inside the park, should be freed from sharks, crocodiles, &c., and they should be deep, and adorned with diverse aquatic flowers and birds.

34. The park should abound in such game, as she-elephants and elephant cubs, tigers with their teeth broken and claws pared off, and horned beasts with their horns cut off.

35. It should be beautified with creepers crested with flowers and blossoms within easy reach, and should be adorned with nice little plants growing on the sides of the ditches.

36. Outside the park, the fields stretching to a great distance, should be levelled and cleared of trees. The park itself should be inaccessible to the forces of the enemy, and thus afford a feeling of safety and comfort to the mind.

37. Such a park when guarded by hardy and resolute guards, faithful in allegiance and capable of reading the hearts of spies, becomes the source of immense pleasure to the monarch.*

38. Strong and hardy men well-versed in the art of hunting, should for the sport of the king, introduce into the park various kinds of game.

39. A king, capable of bearing up against the fatigue of a morning's walk, should enter into the park for sport accompanied by his faithful and favourite attendants and without detrement to any other function of his.

40. When the monarch enters the park for sport, then outside it, sentries, should be placed, ready and arranged (for action) and watching the boundaries far and distant.

41. The king pleased with the sport, would then reap those good results that have been said by the wise to proceed from hunting.

42. Regarding hunt, these are the rules that I point out. Transgressing these, a king should not go about hunting like a common professional hunter.

* The Sloka bristles with bad readings. For *Tadbanàn* read *Tat-banam*, and for *bhuribhutayé* read *bhutayébhavet*.

43. Speedy flowing out (loss) of money in spite of all care to preserve it, untruthfulness, feelinglessness (cruelty), anger, harshness in speech,*

44. Covetousness, neglect of righteous ceremonies, discontinuance of (commenced public) works, separation from the company of the good and union with the wicked,

45. Certain draining of the treasury, endless hostility (with the defeated party), feeling of destitution when still there is money enough (to meet the requirements of the game), and a sense of affluence when indeed there is no money in the fund,

46. Anger and joy at every moment, remorse at each step, distress at each moment, and questioning of the witness at every doubtful cast of the dice,

47. Disregard of such (indispensable) acts as bathing, cleansing of the body, and of sexual enjoyment, want of physical exercise, weakness of the limbs and the body, overlooking of the precepts of the *Shāstras*,

48. Retention of the discharge of urine, sufferings from (the pangs of) hunger and thirst,—these are said by persons versed in polity, to be the evils of gambling.

49. Even Pāndu's son Yudhisthira† that very virtuous

* Lit :—"Words cutting like the dagger."

† The story of king Yudhisthira's gambling with Duryodhana is contained in the Mahabharata. These two were two cousins, one ruling in Hastinapur and the other in Indraprastha. Duryodhana who was jealous of the prosperity and advancement of Yudhisthira, invited him to a game at dice (of which Yudhisthira was particularly fond), hoping thereby to rob him of all his possessions. In that gambling match Duryodhana who was ably assisted by his maternal uncle Sakuni, won from Yudhisthira everything that he staked till the infatuated gambler staked himself, his brothers, Droupadi (his wife) herself, all of whom shared the same fate, and as a condition of the wager were forced to serve the Kouravas. But afterwards, Dhritarastra, Duryodhana's blind father, relented and set them free.

and learned monarch resembling a second Lokapāla,* lost his lawful wife in wicked gambling.

50. The very powerful monarch Nala having lost his prosperous kingdom (as a wager) in gambling, abandoned his lawful queen in the woods, and afterwards did the work of a menial.†

51. Prince Rukmin of golden complexion, who was equal to Indra himself and a bowman whose match was not to be found on earth, even that prince met with his destruction through the evils of gambling.‡

52. The foolish Dantabakra, the ruler of Kousikarupa, had his teeth broken, in consequence of excessive indulgence in gambling (at dice).§

53. From gambling causeless hostilities proceed; through gambling love and affection wither away; and as a con-

* The *Lokapālas* are the divine Regents that are supposed to rule over the quarters of heaven.

† Nala was a very noble-minded and virtuous king. He was chosen by Damayanti, in spite of the opposition of gods, and they lived happily for some years. But Kali a god, who was disappointed in securing her hand, resolved to persecute Nala, and entered into his person. Thus affected, he played at dice with his brother, and having lost everything, he with his wife was banished from the kingdom. One day while wandering through the wilderness, he abandoned his almost naked wife and went away. Subsequently he was deformed by the serpent Korkotaka and thus deformed entered the service of king Rituparna as a horse-groom under the name of Vahuka. Subsequently, with the assistance of this king, he regained his beloved and they led a happy life. (*Apte*).

‡ Rukmin was the brother of Rukmini Bhisma's daughter, one of the wives of Srikrishna. The allusion is obscure; the commentary only says that Rukmin was slain by Valabhadra, Krishna's elder brother, in consequence of a quarrel arising out of a game at dice.

§ Here also the commentary is not elaborate. It is said that Dantabakra also played at dice with Valabhadra, who some how or other was enraged, and broke his teeth with a blow of the dice. The allusion is obscure.

sequence of gambling, dissension is sowed even among strongly united parties.

54. For these reasons, an intelligent monarch should avoid gambling which is productive of evils only. He should also prohibit other proud rulers from challenging* him to a gambling match.

55. Delay in the discharge of duties, loss of money, and the abandonment of virtuous deeds, provocation of the *Prakritis* caused by the king's continued absence in the seraglio,

56. Divulgence of the secrets (by the women with whom they are fondly confided), inducement to commit culpable deeds, jealousy, intolerance, anger, hostility and rashness,

57. These and those enumerated above, are said to be the evils arising out of excessive fondness for the company of women. Seeing this, a monarch desirous of the welfare of his kingdom, should shun the company of women

58. The energy of the low-minded who are ever hankering after a look at the face of women, dwindles away with their youth.

59. (Aimless) wandering, loss of self control, senselessness, insanity, incoherence in speech, sudden illness,

60. Loss of energy, loss of friends, perversion of the understanding, intelligence and learning, separation from the good and union with the wicked, coming across misfortunes,

61. Faltering steps, tremor of the whole body, giddiness (lassitude), excessive enjoyment of women,—these are the evils of the indulgence in drinking, which have been strongly denounced by the wise.

62. The Vrishnis and the Andhakas of illustrious fame, endowed with power and learning and good behaviour, met

* For *Samābbhayam* the commentary gives *Samāhuyam* which reading we accept.

with their destruction in consequence of the evils of drink.*

63. The illustrious Suka the son of Bhrigu, that best of ascetics who was equal to his father in intelligence, ate up through excessive intoxication, his very favourite disciple (Kacha).†

64. A person intoxicated with drink, does anything and everything indiscriminately; and in consequence of his indiscriminate conduct, he is excommunicated (from public society).

65. Beautiful women and drink, may be enjoyed within the bounds of moderation; but a learned king should never indulge in hunting and gambling, for these are full of greater dangers.

66. These are the seven kinds of rampant evils retarding the material prosperity of a kingdom, that have been enumerated by those who are conversant with the science of omens and prognostics. The presence of one of these (in a sovereign) is enough to cause his immediate ruin, not to speak of the simultaneous presence of all!

67. These seven kinds of *vyasanas* ending in evil, increase the longing of the senses for their respective objects of enjoyment, and destroy the superiority, wisdom, and excellence and the evergrowing prosperity even of those who are endowed with intelligence equal to that of the Gods.

68. The enemies of a king always under the influence of the *Vyasanas*, defeat him, and themselves become invincible;

* The Vrishnis and the Andhakas, were the two offshoots of the Yadu dynasty. When at *Probstasa*, they drank too much, and then slew one another through excessive intoxication. The story is contained in the Mahabharata.

† Kacha was Vrihaspati's son. He went to Sukra to master the secret lore of reviving the dead. But the Asuras becoming jealous of him, slew him, and when Sukra was intoxicated, offered Kacha's cooked flesh to him. He ate up without knowing what he was eating. For a fuller story, vide *supra*.

but the wise monarch who is free from the influence of the *Vyasanās*, vanquishes his enemies, and himself becomes unconquerable.

Thus ends the fourteenth Section, the seven kinds of Vyasanās. in the Nitisara of Kamandakī.



SECTION XV.



1. **F**REE from the influences of the *Vyasanās*, and fully possessed of the matchless regal powers, a ruler of men desirous of victory, should set out against his wicked enemy suffering from the influence of the *Vyasanās*.

2. In almost all cases, the wise advise military expeditions against the foes, when these are overwhelmed with calamities ; but when a king is confident of his own powers and is in highly prosperous state he may fall upon the foe, though this latter may not be afflicted by the *Vyasanās*.

3. When a monarch would be sure of his ability to forcibly slay even his foe swelling with powers, then (and then only) should he start on a military expedition, inflicting injuries, such as loss and distress, on the latter.

4. A king should first set out to conquer that part of the enemy's territory which teem with the wealth of corn and is thus a thing to be sought out. It is considered sound policy to deprive the enemy of his supply of food by the destruction of the corn, and thus to add to the strength of a king's own army.

5. His rear safe and secure and avoiding dangerous countries in front, a cool-headed king, cognisant of the movements of the foe, should enter such territories of the enemy

where there would be no difficulty on the route for the supply of food and the support of the allies.

6. Indefatigable and fearless, an intelligent monarch well-provided with food and drink and with detachments* ready for action, should march through all places—level countries, uneven tracts and low lands,—being always guided by a reliable vanguard.

7. In summer, a monarch should march through woods abounding in waters, in which the elephants of the army may perform their ablution; for, if they do not get water (for washing their huge bodies), leprosy will affect them, owing to the severe heat of Summer.

8. An internal heat burns inside the bodies even of elephants employed to perform easy work; this heat when increased by the toils of heavy work, soon kills them (elephants).

9. When there is want of sufficient water in Summer, all creatures are reduced to great distress,† and elephants when they are deprived of drinking water, soon become blind, in consequence of the heat that scorch their bodies.

10. The kingdoms of the rulers of earth, rest on elephants resembling in effulgence masses of blue clouds, from whose temples the fragrant ichor exudes‡ and who are capable of rendering asunder rocks with the stroke of their tusks.

11. One elephant, duly equipt, trained in the ways of war and ridden by the bravest of persons, is capable of slaying six thousand well-caparisoned horses.

12. Armies having elephants in them, are sure to achieve success on water, on land, in narrow defiles crowded with trees, on ordinary, even or uneven grounds, and in such

* *Gulma* means a detachment of troops consisting of 45 foot, 27 horse, 9 chariots and 9 elephants.

† Lit : 'the last state of existence.'

‡ For an explanation of *Dāna*, Vide *Supra* note to Sloka 2, Sec. VII.

acts as creating breaches in the ramparts and towers (lit: *harmya* is a mansion).

13. For these reasons, a king should march slowly and without causing fatigue to his troops, through such countries where there are routes on which there is plenty of food and drink, and where there is no danger or difficulty—there by increasing his own efficiency.

14. Even the smallest of prosperous enemies causes great difficulty from behind. So, coolly reviewing his condition, a king should undertake military expeditions. He should not ruin what he possesses, for what is uncertain.

15. Difficulties at the back, and success in the front, of these, the former is of greater moment (and deserves early attention.) Those (kings) who transgress this principal (*i.e.* act otherwise), enlarge the holes (defects of their administration). For these reasons, weighing these things well, a king should set out on an expedition.

16. When a monarch is strong both in his front and his back (*i. e.* when he is capable of subjugating his foes both in front and rear) then only should he launch upon an expedition bearing great fruits. Otherwise, marching forward with the enemy at his back unchecked, a king suffers signal loss in the rear portion of his army.

17. On setting out on a expedition, a king should place in the van, an army of many detachments, whose ranks teem with many brave heroes. There is unity in an army of great heroes, and unity (*i.e.* united army) is unconquerable by the enemy.

18. When a foe must be marched upon, an energetic king should not be afraid of the difficulties that may be at his rear; he should depute in the front his commander-in-chief or the prince with a portion of the army (and himself remain to watch the foe in the rear).

19. Of internal and external defects, the internal is graver—(*i.e.* should be first attended to). Amending the

internal ones and providing necessary measures for the (removal of the) external ones, a king should set out on an expedition.

20. The priests, the ministers, the princes and the noblemen—these are the principal leaders of the army ; their disaffection of which no sign is outwardly perceivable, and which is caused by some change of policy,* is said by the sages to be internal defect.†

21. The other kind of disaffection of which the fury is outwardly perceivable, is the disaffection of the frontier guards, foresters and border tribes. When this sort of disaffection is generated, a king should meet it, assisted by their ministers and counsellors of skilful ways (weaning them over to his side).

22. Internal disaffection should be pacified by such measures of policy as conciliation, gift &c, and external disaffection by the causing of disunion and dissension among the disaffected party. A wise monarch should pacify disaffection in such a manner that the disaffected do not resort to the enemy's side.

23. The loss of men and munition is said to be destruction ; and the loss of money and corn (food) is said to be drain. A wise and prudent king should never betake to a troublous policy prolific of (such) destruction and drain.

24. He should follow such policies as are sure to be crowned with success and attended with much beneficial results, and whose termination would not be delayed and future effects would be conducive of much good. But he should never resort to such troublous policies which involve the evils of destruction and drain.

* Lit :—proceeding from *Mantra* or counsel.

† *Prakopa*, lit: means the morbid irritation or disorder of anything ; it is usually preceded by such words as *Vat*, *pitta* &c, which are the humours of the body.

25. Attempt to accomplish what are incapable of being accomplished, want of attempt for what are capable of being accomplished proceeding out of imprudence, and attempt in inopportune moments for what are capable of being accomplished—these are said to be the three kinds of *Vyasanas* attending the performance of acts.

26. Lust, want of forgiveness and forbearance, too much tenderness (of feeling), bashfulness, crookedness, and want of straight-forwardness, arrogance, self-conceit, excessive piouness, poorness of the army and its dishonoring,

27. Malice, terror, negligence, and carelessness, incapability of enduring the inclemencies of the weather, hot, cold, and rainy,—these (causes) favored by the advantages of the season, are sure to hinder the achievement of success.

28. The wise say that there are seven kinds of party—*vis*—that which is the king's own, that which is of the allies, that which has sought the king's protection, that which has been created by some act or other, that which arises out of some relationship, that which was a party before, and that which has been weaned over by various services and display of politeness and courtesy.

29. A loyal party is to be recognised by his ready obediennce, his singing in praise of the (king's) merits, his not putting up with the insults and blame offered to the king, his efforts to fill up the holes (*i.e.*, redeem the weaknesses) of the king, and by his conversations regarding the richness, energy and courage of the monarch.

30. One of high lineage, straight-forward, learned in the *Shastras*, polite, high in rank and position, firm in his allegiance,* grateful, and endowed with power, intelligence, and wisdom,—such a one should be recognised as a faithful and well-behaved party.

31. Energy, an accurate remembrance, contentment,

* Lit. 'never intending to forsake the king.'

courage, truthfulness, liberality, kindness, firmness, dignity, self-control, endurance, bashfulness, and eloquence (or boldness in speech)—these are said to be the qualities of the (king's) self.

32. Its management according to the commendable rules of polity, is said to be the power of counsel. The solvency and the efficiency of the treasury and the army respectively, are said to be the power of the king, and strong and powerful exertion is said to be the power of energy; the possessor of these three kinds of powers becomes the victor.

33. Expeditiousness, skilfulness, courage in seasons of adversity and coolness in prosperity, an infallible, matured and social wisdom resulting from close study of the *Shastras*,

34. Energy, boldness, perseverance, exertions, resoluteness and manliness in the performance of acts, healthiness, the ability for the achievement of the ends of action, a favorable fortune and cheerfulness—these are qualities worthy of a king.*

35. Laying hold of the enemy's treasury by sowing dissension among his partisans, a king should march upon the foe disunited from his supporters. Always acting in this way, (*i. e.*, undertaking such expeditions only), a king obtains the dominion of) the earth washed by the waves of the ocean (*i. e.*, rules over the whole length and breadth of the earth surrounded by the ocean).

36. The best season for the marching out of the elephants is when the sky is overspread with masses of rain-clouds; seasons other than this, is suitable for the march of the horses; and the proper season (for military expedition), is that which is neither too hot nor too cold, nor rainy nor dry, and when the earth is covered with corn.

* These two Slokas are hopelessly elliptical—having no connection with those preceeding or following them. The last portion must be supposed to be understood.

37. At night, the owl kills, the crow; and the crow kills the owl when night passes away. Therefore a king should set out on an expedition marking well the (advantages or disadvantages of the) seasons. It is in proper season that attempts are crowned with success.

38. A dog can overpower a crocodile when it is on land, and the crocodile can overpower the dog when it is in water. Therefore one (a king) exerting with the advantages of the place in his favour, enjoys the fruition of his acts.

39. On horses on even tracts, and on elephants on watery (marshy) lands and countries abounding in trees and covered with rocks, and united with the army of his partisans and reviewing his own strength, a king should march out, for the conquest of countries.*

40. On desert tracts when the rain falls, in Summer through countries abounding in water, and mixed up with allied troops, a king should march, as it pleases him, for the conquest of countries.†

41. Following a route on which there is not too much water or which is not totally destitute of water, which abounds in corn and fire-woods, and where plenty of carpenters are to be found, a king should proceed towards the enemy by easy marches.

42. That portion only of the enemy's country should be marched into, where there would be no difficulty for the supply of food and for the support of the allies; which would abound in water, and whose watery expanses would be

* The last portion is understood. This and the following sloka may be taken together; but then their construction will be still more clumsy.

† We confess we have not been able to make out any very good construction of this and the preceeding sloka—what we have embodied in the translation is a clumsy and forced one, but it is calculated to give the reader some idea of the author's meaning.

free from sharks &c., and crossed over by faithful followers; and whence the sick and wounded would not shrink back.

43. Those incorrigible fools who without much deliberation, rashly enter into the enemy's territory which is long way off, soon feel the touch of the edge of the enemy's sword.

44. Posting sentries on the route and in the camp, arranging duly for his safety, and with brave warriors lying by his side ready for action, a king should enjoy a balmy sleep undisturbed by dreams.

45. When from the enemy's camp the neigh of moving horses and the roar of elephants proceed, and when the sound of bells reaches his ears, he (the king) should then even in his sleep, call out saying—'what brave hero keeps watch there.'*

46. Then awaking, he should purify himself and offer adoration to the gods; cheerful and dressed in beautiful garments, he should then be duly paid homage to by the prime-ministers, priests, allies and friends.

47. Then deciding with their help as to what should be done, that possessor of beautiful conveyances, should march out riding on a (first-class) vehicle, and surrounded by foot-soldiers of noble extraction who are equal to himself (in prowess).

48. The king should himself look after the tending of the horses and elephants and the repairing of the chariots, and the comforts of the detachments and the soldiers severally. He should see that the favorite horses and the leader elephants are supplied with *Bidhāna*.†

49. The king should be accessible to all and his speech

* The text is vicious—the translation is free. The author means that even during sleep the king should be watchful so that at the slightest alarm he may be ready for self-defence.

† *Bidhāna* is the food given to horses and elephants in order to intoxicate them.

should invariably be preceded by smiles. He should speak sweet kind words, and pay (the soldiers) more than their wages. Won over by sweet words and liberal payment, the troops will gladly lay down their lives for their lord.

50. By constant practice, one becomes quite competent to ride upon chariots, horses, elephants and boats, and attains great mastery in bowmanship; constant practice bestows on the intelligent ability for performing even most difficult acts.

51. Riding on a huge elephant duly equipped and with followers and soldiers accoutred in mail, and with the ranks of the army teeming with brave heroes, a monarch should march forward, having at first held consultation with the ambassadors of the feudatory kings.

52. He should bring to light the latches of the foe through the agency of his highly intelligent and liberal-minded spies. A ruler of earth abandoned by his spies, becomes like a man deprived of his sight.

53. The ally of the enemy should be won over by tempting offers or by the giving of some trifling thing; that portion of the enemy's party that may be bought off, should be bought off by the payment of a proper price.*

54. If the foe is not unwilling to enter into a treaty, a king should establish peace with him by deputing his ambassadors, and finish what he has undertaken as desirable, as soon as possible. On the other hand—(if the foe is unwilling to enter into a treaty), he should sow dissension among his partizans and thereby help his own advancement.

55. A king should wean over to his side by gifts, conciliation &c. the foresters, and frontier tribes and commanders of castles, whom he may come across on his route. In difficult and intricate tracts and when one is confined within them, these become the guides, and point the way out.

* We have not been able to make out any plausible meaning of this sloka. The text is hopelessly vicious; what is given above is only a rational conjecture.

56. Of any person who for some reason or without it, has gone over to the enemy's side forsaking his former allegiance, the movements should be watched, when he comes near armed with weapons.

57. One possessed of the power of counsel and desiring his own advancement, should at first hold deliberate counsels (and then undertake any act). Power of counsel is of greater importance than that of the arms (*i.e.* brute force). Indra conquered the Asuras through the power of his better counsel.

58. A wise monarch conversant with the principles of polity should in the proper season undertake an act, being guided by his keen and pure intelligence, and putting forward every effort for a successful termination. It is in proper season only that success can be achieved.

59. The divine majesty of the powerful and high-souled monarchs, who are possessed of knowledge and heroism, and who walk on the duly lighted path, is said to hang on their own arms resembling serpents in length.

60. When the earth would be adorned with plenty of corn and filled with prosperity and cheerful men, when there would be no rain and consequent muddiness of the soil, and when the woods would seem to blaze forth with the beauty of the blossoming mango trees,—in such a season putting forth his endeavours, a king should march out for conquering the enemy's territories.

61. Thus with his best efforts and his mind totally concentrated on the attack, a monarch should fall upon his foe. A foe whose possessions have been snatched away, gets back his territory if he serves the victor faithfully.

Thus ends the fifteenth section, the dissertation on military expedition, in the Nītisara of Kamandaki.

* That is the power of counsel and of wealth are better means for subjugating the foe than the strength of the army.

SECTION XVI.

1. **M**ARCHING into the vicinity of the enemy's town, a king acquainted with the ways of encamping, should pitch his camps on grounds recommended by the wise.

2. The camp should be quadrangular, with four entrances; it should not be either too spacious or too narrow, and should be surrounded on all sides with highways, bulworks and intrenchments.

3. The pavillions inside the camp should be made square* crescent-shaped, circular or long, according to the advantages and measure of the ground (on which they are erected).

4. Decorated with broad, disjointed and several tops, adorned with tents, having a secret chamber, and easy outlets on all sides,

5. Possessing a treasure-chamber inside, and capable of imparting a sense of cheerfulness and comfort, the king's pavillion should be erected there, and be protected by mighty and veteran troops.

6. Having received them with welcome, a king should place near his own pavillion, the old soldiers serving the royal line for generations, the rank and file, the troops of the allies and of the enemies weaned over, and classes of foresters, in successive order.

7. On the outskirts of the camp, numerous formidable hunters of wicked deeds who have been handsomely paid and won over, should be placed in circular array.

8. Elephants of celebrated names and horses fleet as the glances of the mind, both under the management of faith-

* *Sringôtam* lit: means a crossing or where four roads cut one another. Hence the signification embodied above. It may also mean elevated.

ful dependants, should mount guard at the vicinity of the monarch's pavillion.

9. For his own safety a king should day and night remain armed with weapons and prepared for action, being ever on his guard, and with the interior of his pavillion cleared of soldiers.*

10. An elephant with huge tusks, trained in the modes of warfare, duly equipped and ridden by a brave guide, and a fleet steed, should ever be kept ready at the entrance of the king's pavillion.

11. With a portion of his own troops and with those of the allies, and placing the commander-in-chief in his front and accoutred in mail, a monarch should at night fall upon the enemy out-side his own encampment, (in order to take them by surprise).

12. Swift horsemen capable of running to distant boundaries and border-lands, and of great fleetness, should ascertain the movements of the enemy's troops.

13. Strict watch should be made to be kept by faithful troops at the entrances decorated with flags, flag-staffs, and porches adorned with garlands of flowers.

14. Every body should go out and come in keenly watched. The enemy's spies should dance attendance upon the king, ready to receive his commands.

15. Prevented from drinking, gambling and useless noise-making, the men should stand prepared for all acts, ready with all accessories and instruments.

16. Leaving grounds spacious enough for the drill and exercise of his own good swordsmen, a king should destroy all other lands outside his own intrenchments, for the purpose of destroying the enemy's troops.

17. The ground around the camp should be pervaded, at

* This word may have another signification *vis*, guarded by self-controlled soldiers.

places with thorny branches of trees, at places with iron-pointed pegs (caltrops), and at places with secret holes and crevices.

18. Every day the drilling of the soldiers should be performed, with various appliances and on grounds cleared of trees, shrubs, stones, trunks, earthen mounds and water.

19. The place where desirable grounds for the drill of the king's own troops can be obtained and where all the disadvantages will be on the enemy's side—such a place is said to be the best (for encamping purposes).

20. Where grounds equally advantageous for the drill of one's own troops and those of the enemy can be found—that place is said by persons interpreting the *Shāstras*, to be of middling merit.

21. Where there are spacious grounds for the drilling of the enemy's troops and where the reverse is the case with regard to a king's own troops,—that place is said to be the worst of all places.

22. Always wish to have the best encamping ground; in its absence, try to get a middling one; but never, for the sake of success, use the worst place, which* is no better than a place of imprisonment.

23. A camp—which seems to be within the clutches of some body, where numerous diseases prevail, where suddenly hostilities spring up, and heavy frosts fall,

24. Which is blown over by unfavourable winds, where suddenly dusts begin to fall, where each tries to injure another and where the drums do not sound (well),

25. Where there are constant alarm and fright, where pealing thunders roar and where meteors fall, where the (king's) Parasol appears to be on fire and emits smoke and where yelping of jackals is heard from the left side,

26. Which is infested by flocks of crows, vultures and other such birds of ominous note, where great heat is suddenly felt and showers of blood fall,

27. Where the *Raj-nakshatra** is seen to be surrounded on all sides, by other baneful portentuous planets, and whence headless trunks are seen in the sun, and where the vehicles and draught animals are suddenly stupified,

28. And where the ichor exuding from the temples of elephants in rut, suddenly dries up,—a camp where these and such other kinds of omens ill do prevail, is a very bad one (is not commended by the wise).

29. A camp—where the inmates, men and women, are all cheerful, where the drums and kettle-drums sound aloud where horses neigh deeply and elephants duly equipped roar tremendously,

30. Which rings with music of the Vedic chaunts and the saying of *Punyaha*,† where melodious harmony of songs and dances rise up in wave after wave, where there is no cause of alarm and great excitement prevail, and where the expected victory is indicated by good signs,

31. Where there is no dust-storm but excessive rain falls, where the *Grahas* are seen to be on the right side, and no unusually portentuous phenomena, either heavenly or earthly, are viewed,

32. Where favourable winds sing auspiciousness by their blowing, where the troops are well-fed and cheerful, and where incenses are burnt on blazing flames,

33. Where the elephants are mad without having drunk intoxicating liquors and where the *Asáras* are in highly prosperous state,—a camp where these auspicious signs prevail, is praised by the wise.

* *Rajnakshatra*—may mean the moon; but we are not sure. The allusion is to the belief that when certain star are seen in certain positions it portends evil and no act is to be undertakens while their influence lasts.

† *Punyahas* mean auspicious days—here it means the prayer for an auspicious day.—May this be an auspicious day, the Hindus rise from their beds with this prayer on their lips.

34. When good and auspicious signs are seen in the camp, the foe is sure to be routed, and when they are bad and inauspicious, reverses are to be suffered by the king. It is omens that indicate good or bad results.

35. For these reasons, a monarch versed in the *Shastras* should mark all the omens. When the auguries are good and the king exerts with a pure heart, he leads to success the commendable works undertaken by him.

36. Victory is of him, who possesses allies, wealth, knowledge, prowess, favourable fortune, perseverance and manly efforts.

37. The king is called the *Skandha* inasmuch as he is said to be the root (of the prosperity) of the people. The functions of the ministers, the army and other members of a government are said to be *Abāra*.

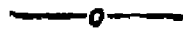
38. When for the advancement and prosperity of the people the *Skandha* or the king is supported or helped forward by the great *Abāras* or ministers, armies &c, it is said to be *Skandhābāra*.

39. The destructions of the privillions, the clothing, the drinking water and the food grains, and of the supporting troops of the allies,—these are said to be the deaths of the *Skandhābāra*;—these therefore should be carefully guarded against.

40. Thus the army should be carefully encamped and its good or bad state viewed; this (good or bad condition) should also be carefully watched with regard to the enemy's army. When no evil omens would be seen, a king should begin (action).

Thus ends the sixteenth section, the dissertation on encamping, in the Nitisāra of Kamandaki.

SECTION XVII.



1. **P**OSSESSED of a keen intelligence and armed with manliness and a favorable fortune, a monarch with proper endeavours and perseverance, should bring to bear against the enemy, the expedients for subjugating them.

2. A solvent treasury and a good counsel, fight better than an army consisting of the four kinds of forces. Therefore a king of sound political knowledge—should conquer his enemies by the power of counsel and treasures.

3. Conciliation, gift (or bribery), display of military power, and domestic discord, these four, and deceit, neglect and conjuring—these, seven in all, are said to be the means of success against an enemy.

4. The enumeration of the good services done mutually, the extolling of the merits, the establishment of some relationship, display of majesty,

5. And to say in sweet and smooth words—"I am yours" &c,—these are said to be the five kinds of conciliation, by those who know how to apply it (conciliation).

6. To give away acquired wealth in good, bad or middling manner, to give in return for what is obtained, to suffer to be taken what has been taken away,

7. To give away some wonderful thing, and the remission of what is due—these are said to be the five kinds of gift.

8. To cause affection and love to wither away, to generate rivalry, and to threaten, these are the three modes of sowing domestic discord.

9. To kill, to plunder wealth, and to inflict loss and distress, these are said to be the three kinds of display of military power, by those who know how to use it (military power).

10. *Danda* (or infliction of punishment), is said to be of two kinds *vis*, open and secret. The enemies (of the state) and those who are disliked by the people should be openly dealt with.

11. Those who cause anxiety to the people, those who are the kings favorites, and those who stand very much in the way of the material prosperity of the state should be dealt with secretly (*i. e.* secret punishment should be inflicted on them).

12. By poisoning, by the help of mystic ceremonies (*e. g.* *Mârana* &c.) by assassination, (*lit.* by weapon) and by throwing down,*—by these methods, secret punishments should be so meted out that no body could come to know of them.

13. On Brâhmanas, or on any other caste, on pious people and on low and mean classes of men, an intelligent king, should not—for the advancement of his material (spiritual) welfare, inflict the capital punishment.

14. Those against whom secret punishment is recommended, may also be done away with by neglect. But a prudent person should avoid to show this neglect out-wardly (or in a prominent manner so as to attract attention).

15. Thoroughly scanning, reviewing and studying their hearts and speaking sweet words and thereby appearing to be shedding nectar—a king should employ conciliation as an expedient against the foe.

16. Sweet and mellifluous speech is said to be concilia-tion itself. Eulogium, truth, sweet speech, these are synonymous with conciliation.

17. Appearing to view the undertaking of the enemy in the light of his own, a king should enter into his heart (*lit.* penetrate him) unperceived, like water penetrating into the mountain.

* The other reading found in some books, means by the throwing of water &c.

18. The immortals and the Danavas succeeded in churning the ocean of milk and obtained desirable results only through conciliation.* The sons of Dhritarastra who were against the policy of conciliation, were soon slain by (the sons of Pandu).†

19. An intelligent and wise king should pacify a threatening foe by means of gift or (bribery). When intent on ruining Indra, Sukra was pacified through gift.‡

20. When Bhrigu's son was enraged in consequence of the fault of Sarmistha (Vrishaparva's daughter), Vrishaparvan the lord of the Dānavas made himself happy by giving her over (to Sukra so that she may serve this one's daughter.)§

21. One desirous of peace should, even approaching the powerful king uninvited, give away things to him for pleasing

* An eternal hostility exists between the gods and the *Dānavas* (the demons) who always fight with each other. But when it was decided to churn the ocean of milk, they were reconciled, but for which no churning could have been accomplished. It is by the policy of conciliation that the gods won the *Dānavas* over and persuaded them to help in the matter.

† The sons of Pandu were ever for peace and conciliation. But the sons of Dhritarastra stubbornly refused all overtures—so much so, that they declined to give even [five villages only to the five Pandava brothers. They were completely ruined and slain in the battle that followed—the great battle of Kurukshetra.

‡ The allusion is obscure. Sukra was the preceptor of the Demons and consequently the enemy of Indra.

§ Sukra's daughter Devayani and Vrishaparvan's daughter Sarmistha were fast friends. Once upon a time Devayani and Sarmistha went to bathe keeping their clothes on the shore. But the god Wind changed their clothes—and when they were dressed they began to quarrel about the change—until Sarmistha so far forgot herself that she slapped her companion on the cheek—and threw her into a well. There she remained until she was seen and rescued by Yayati who married her with the consent of father; and Sarmistha was ordered to be her servant as a recompense for the insulting conduct she offered to Devayani.

him; the sons of Gāndhari* refusing to give (to the Pandavas a portion of the kingdom) met with their complete destruction.

22. Alluring by mighty hopes, but fulfilling little of them, a king should wean over the four kinds of alienable parties, knowing them through spies.†

23. The greedy who have been deprived of their dues, the honorable persons who have been dishonoured, the irritable persons who have been angered, and those who have been extremely abused,

24. These are the four kinds of alienable parties, who should be won over, each by the fulfilment of his particular desire. But to establish peace in his own party as well as in the party of the foe—is a better policy.

25. With all efforts and carefulness a king should effect the alienation of the ministers, counsellors, and priests; and when these have been alienated, the highly powerful princes should be tried.

26. The prime-minister and the crown prince are said to be the two arms of a lord of earth; the former is also said to be the king's eye,—and the alienation of this one cannot be compared to the alienation of any body else.

27. An intelligent king should with all endeavours try to vitiate (alienate) one of his rival monarch's own family; such a one when vitiated destroys his own dynasty like fire destroying the fuel which produces it.

28. One highly disaffected at heart is equal to one of the rival monarch's own dynasty, (so far as the facility of alienation is concerned). Therefore a king should wean

* Gandhari was the wife of Dhritarastra and the mother Duryodhana and his brothers. They refused to give to the Pandavas even five villages only—see Supra.

† *Ubiaya-betana* means one receiving wages from both masters—hence treacherous spies.

him over in any way and maintain peace and conciliation among his own ranks.

29. Secret overtures should be made only to one who is capable, of doing good or bad.* But with keen and scrutinising intelligence it should be at first ascertained, whether he is a straight-forward or a hypocrite person.

30. A straight-forward person should try to fulfill his words to the best of his power. But a hypocrite, in consequence of his longing for wealth, would betray both parties.

31. *Quandom* commanders, mean-minded persons, those who serve the king only to pass the time any how or other,† those who have been punished without rhyme or reason, those who long for (personal) prosperity, those who are invited and then neglected (or dishonored),

32. One of the king's own family (dynasty) who is jealous of (hostile to) him, he that is found fault with by the monarch, those who have given up their business (idlers), and those on whom heavy taxes have been levied,

35. Those who love to fight, those who are rashly bold, those who are self-conceited, those who are severed from virtue, wealth‡ and desire,‡ those who are of a excitable nature, the honorable persons who have been dishonored,

34. Those who are cowards, those who live in constant fear (of being punished) for their offences, those who have created enemies through want of kind treatment,§ those who love the company of those inferior to them, and who drive away their equals,

* The original word lit : translated would mean—one who is capable of showing wrath or mercy : hence “having much influence.”

† These people do not feel for the king, and may be weaned over by the offer of petty advantages. The word may mean also—those who are procrastinating.

‡ That is, whose existence have been blasted and who have no love for life.

§ The text is vicious, the translation is free.

35. Those who are imprisoned without cause and who have been specially favoured for some reason or other, those who have been apprehended without reason, those worthy and worshipful persons who are disregarded,

36. Those whose family and possessions have been plundered (*i.e.* confiscated), those who are inflamed by a strong desire for enjoyment, those who have been ruined,* those who are friends outwardly, those whose goods and chattels have been taken off,† and those who have been driven out,

37. These are said to be the alienable parties. When any of these is found with the foe, he should be weaned over. Those who come over to the king's side (*i.e.* are won over) should be honored by (the present of) those things they may desire to have; in this way also, a king should maintain unity and concord among his own partizans.‡

38. To find out what is coveted by both (the king and the alienable party), and to see what both fear and are apprehensive of, and chiefly, bribing (giving presents) and honoring—these are said to be the means for effecting alienation.

39. Assailed by a powerful enemy, an intelligent king, should try to effect alienation among the former's party. The powerful Sanda and Amarka,§ alienated from each other, were vanquished by the gods.

40. Causing disunion in the united army of the foe, a king should annihilate it by open attack. Disunited, it is

* It may mean bankrupts.

† *Bahirbandhu* and *Bahirdravya* may mean—those who have got friends outside, and one whose property lies outside the dominions of the particular king, respectively.

‡ The translation is free in the latter portion.

§ The allusion is obscure; probably they were two demon brothers, the gods finding them united, applied the policy of alienation against them, and afterwards slew them.

destroyed like a piece of wood which is set fire to with dried grass.

41. Supported by faithful allies and favored by the advantages of the soil and the season, and inflamed with energy, a king should drive his enemy to destruction by open attack, even like king Yudhisthira himself.

42. Reviewing the measure of his own strength, a monarch should regulate his attacks (lit. lead his army to battle). In the days of yore, Rama* possessed of strength and energy, slew the *Kshatriyas* single handed.

43. Those who are idle, those who have lost all power those who have exhausted their efforts in an undertaking, those who are suffering from extensive destruction and loss, those who are routed,

44. And cowards, fools, women, boys, pious men, and wicked and brute-like persons, as also those of a friendly nature and of a peaceful turn of mind—these should be won over by conciliatory measures.

45. The greedy and the poor should be brought under subjugation by being honoured with gifts, so also those wicked ones who are disunited being afraid of one another and through fear of the punishments inflicted on them.

* The allusion is to the story of Parasurama son of Jamadagni. This Brahman is said to have been the sixth incarnation of Vishnu. While young he cut off with his axe the head of his mother *Renukā* at the command of his father, when none of his brothers was willing to do so. Some time after this, king Kartaviryya went to the hermitage of his father and carried off his cow. But Parasurama when he returned home fought with the king and killed him. The sons of the Kartaviryya hearing of the fate of their father, came to Parasurama's hermitage and shot his father dead in his absence. Thereupon Parasurama made the dreadful vow of exterminating the whole *Kshatriya* race. He succeeded in ridding the earth twenty one times of the warrior race. He is said to have penetrated through the *Krouncha* mountain. He is one of those who will never die—and is believed at present to be engaged in austerities on the *Mohendra* mountain.

46. Sons, brothers, and friends, should be won over by persuasive words (or wealth), for, who can be equal to them, although they may be made distant by the enemy?

47. If per chance these (sons, &c.,) fall off from their allegiance, conciliation should be employed against them. Indeed, sometimes they are incorrigibly vitiated through pride and boastfulness.

48. They in whom nobility of birth, good conduct, charity, kindness, piety, truthfulness, gratefulness and harmlessness are to be found, are said to be *Acharyyas*.

49. A king conversant with the policy of gift and alienation and knowing the ways of inflicting punishment, should win over the citizens and the people and the leaders of the army by gift and alienation.

50. Offended friends should be reconciled by honouring and gifts and kind words; others should be won over by the proper employment of the policy of alienation or bribery or gift.

51—52. Men hidden inside the images of gods, pillars, and holes, men dressed in the clothes of women, and assuming terrible appearances at night and appearing in the semblance of *Pisáchas* (demons), and gods,—in this way do persons practise the policy of deceit and this is known as *Mâyá*.

53. To assume different appearances at will, to shower down weapons, iron balls and water, and to be hidden in darkness, these also are the artifices practised by men.

54. Bhima killed Kichaka by being disguised as a woman.*

* While Droupadi in the guise of Sairindri was residing at the court of king Viráta, his brother-in-law Kichaka saw her and her beauty excited wicked passions in his heart. He became enamoured of her and through his royal sister, tried to violate her modesty. Droupadi complained of his unmannerly conduct to the king, but he declined to interfere; she then sought her husband Bhima's assistance, who told her to show herself favourable to Kichaka's advances. An appointment was then

The god of fire, also remained hidden for a long time by practising divine *Máyā*.*

55. Not to prevent one from wrong, from war and from danger—these are said to be the three kinds of *Upekshá* or diplomatic neglect, by those who are conversant with its nature and use.

56. Intent on the performance of an misdeed and blinded by lust, Kichaka was neglected by Virata and allowed to be slain (by Bhima).

57. Afraid of the unfulfilment of her own desire, Hidimva, although seeing Bhimasena ready for the combat, allowed her own brother to be slain and thus neglected him.†

58. The exhibition of clouds, darkness, rain, fire, mountain and other strange shapes, and of troops which are at a distance marching with flowing banners,

59. And the exhibition of cut off, severed and slaughtered troops, and of highly efficient armies—all these kinds of conjuring should be resorted to for inspiring terror into the enemy's host.

60. These are said to be the expedients that serve various purposes of the monarchs; of these, a king conversant with the nature of conciliation, should employ it whenever it pleases him.

61. At first the policy of gift (or bribery) should be employed and then conciliation and alienation. But these latter two when united with the former, are sure to bring about success.

made between Kichaka and Draupadi that they should meet in the dancing hall of the palace at night; pursuant to this appointment Bhima disguised as Draupadi went there and when Kichaka tried to embrace him taking him for Draupadi—he was crushed to death.

* This allusion is obscure.

† Hidimva was a demoness; she became enamoured of Bhima—and to satisfy her lust she induced Bhima to slay her brother Hidimva. The story is contained in the Mahabharata.

52. 'The policy of conciliation without the support of the policy of gift seldom brings success in an undertaking. Conciliation without the help of gift cannot produce the desired effect even when it is employed against one's own wife.

63. These expedients, a king conversant with the science of polity, should skilfully bring to bear against the enemy's troops or in his own forces. A king exerting without employing these expedients, proceeds towards his end like a blind man.

64. Prosperity is sure to come into the possession of those wise persons (kings) who employ these expedients; nay it swells (every day). When properly managed with the help of these expedient efforts of kings bear fruit.

Thus ends the seventeenth section, the use and employment of the expedients, in the Nitisara of Kamandaki.



SECTION XVIII.



1. **T**HE three policies of conciliation, gift and alienation having failed, a king conversant with the principles of polity and the ways of punishing, should lead his army against those who deserve punishment.

2. Having worshipped the gods and the twice-born Brahmanas and with the planets and the stars shining propitious, a king should march towards the foe, with his six kinds of troops arrayed in due order.

3. The *Moula* the mercenary, the *Sreni* the allied, those belonging to the enemy weaned over and the forest tribes, these are the six kinds of forces; each preceding is of greater importance than each following; so also is their *Vyasana*.

4. For their respect and love for the king, for the fact of their helping in the removal of the dangers that may happen to him and for their being inspired with the same thoughts and sentiment, the *Moula* troops are more reliable than the mercenary.

5. The mercenary troops again are more reliable than the *Sreni* troops, for the former depend on the king for their livelihood.

6. The *Sreni* troops are again more reliable than the troops of the allies, for these latter do not enjoy a share of the king's victory, whereas the former participate in his joy and grief, and moreover live in the same country with the king.

7. The allied troops again are more reliable than the troops of the enemy weaned over, inasmuch as the former pursue the same object with the king, and their country and time of action are known, whereas the latter often differ in opinion.

8. The low forest tribes, are by nature faithless, greedy, and sinful; for this reason, the weaned over troops of the enemy are better than they, who are wild and undisciplined.

9. Both the forest tribes and the weaned over troops of the enemy, follow the king waiting for the moment when to accomplish his ruin; so, when all chances of their causing any difficulty will be over,—victory is sure to embrace the king.

10. A king has great cause of apprehension from these two (the forest-tribes and the weaned over troops of the enemy), for secret overtures may be directed towards them

by the foe. From his own side also, a king should commence intriguing, for intrigue is ever sure to give victory.

11. An enemy highly powerful in consequence of his being possessed of *Moula* troops swelling with energy and faithful in allegiance, should be encountered with the same kind of troops capable of enduring loss and destruction.†

12. When the march would be long, or the campaign will be a protracted one, a king should proceed with the *Moulas* duly protected. The *Moulas* being of long standing are capable of bearing up against loss and destruction.

13. In these matters (*i.e.* in protracted marches and campaigns and the like) an intelligent king should not depend much upon (*lit*: leave off), the mercenary and other kinds of troops; for when they are worn out with the toils of the protracted march or campaign, their alienation (by the foe) may be apprehended.

14. When the troops of the enemy are numerous, when the fatigue and toil are excessive and protracted, and when the army is always sent abroad and put to difficult tasks—its alienation (by the enemy) follows as a matter of course.

15. A king is virtually powerless when his mercenary troops are numerous, and *Moula* troops are small in number. So also, an enemy is powerless, when his *Moula* troops are small in number or are disaffected.‡

16. Battles should be fought more often with the help of the power of counsel—for then victory is obtained with little difficulty. When again the soil and the season are unfavorable, the destruction and loss become immense.

17. When the enemy's troops give up their efforts in the direction of alienation and become trustworthy, the merce-

* The Sloka as given in the text is unintelligible. It is after comparing several readings, that we could make out the meaning embodied above.

† What the another means is this that when the enemy leads out *Moula* troops the king should meet with his own *Moula* troops

‡ The translation is free.

nary troops defy them saying:—"They are of base mettle and should be slain."

18. Three kinds of troops (*vis.*, the forest-tribes, the troops of the enemy weaned over and the *Sreni*) may be induced to excessive drinking and thus rendered incapable of service. With his own troops who have been duly drilled and who have not stayed in foreign lands for a long time (for then they would have been worn out), a king should fall upon the foe.

19. A king whose resources for battle are small may by his power of counsel make the allied troops like his own; and thus his strength may be increased.

20. Acts in which the king and the allied monarch are both equally interested, acts whose success depends on the ally, and acts in which clemency and cleverness are to be displayed, such acts should be undertaken in conjunction with the ally.

21. Supported by a large host of the enemy's troops weaned over, a king should march against a powerful enemy. Then like a dog waiting to kill a boar, he should bring into action conciliation or other kinds of policy.

22. The troops of the enemy that have been weaned over should be employed in, and oppressed with the task of rooting out the thorns of the difficult paths; for otherwise, there is danger of their being morbidly irritated.

23. The foresters also should be employed in similar tasks; and when entering into the territory of another, a learned king should always place them in the front.

24. These are the six kinds of troops and these constitute a complete army together with the cavalry, infantry, car-warriors and elephants. Such an army supported by the power of counsel and a solvent treasury constitutes a *Sadanga vala* or an army of six members.

25. A powerful monarch arranging these six kinds of

troops without the least defect, should proceed to encounter an army stronger than his own.

26. By his power of counsel, &c., a king should know its (his army's) connections and he should also apprise himself of what his generals do or do not.

27. One of high extraction, belonging to the king's own country (*i. e.*, the king's own subject), conversant with the rules of counsel and acting in conformity with them, a careful student of the science of *Dandaniti* and its administrator,

28. One possessed of the qualities of energy, heroism, forgiveness, patience, amiableness and richness, one endowed with power and manliness and who is depended upon by his followers for their support (*i. e.*, one who has got followers and dependants),

29. One who has got numerous friends and whose relations and cognates are many, whose countenance reflects generosity, and who is large-hearted and a thoroughly practical man mixing freely with the people,

30. Who never cultivates other's ill-will or enmity without any reason, whose number of foes is very limited and who is of pure character, and is a profound scholar of the *Shastras*, and acts according their precepts,

31. One who is healthy, stout, brave, forbearing and acquainted with the opportuneness of season, and is possessed of a noble appearance, and has full reliance on his own power,

32. One who knows how to tend horses and elephants, and repair chariots, and is indifatigable, and skillful in fighting and duelling with swords, and can move with agility,

33. Who knows the divisions of the field of battle, and whose power remains unperceived till the time of action like that of the lion, and who is not procrastinating and is watchful humble and self-controlled,

34. Who knows the marks (good or bad) of horses, elephants, chariots, and weapons and is fully acquainted with the

at icons and movements of the spies and scouts, and is grateful and conversant with all alternatives (of acts),

35. One who observes all pious ceremonies and is skilful and followed by skilful dependants, who is expert in all modes of warfare and is competent to manage the army,

36. One who having been naturally gifted with the power of reading others' heart, can perceive what the men, horses and elephants want, who also knows their designation and can supply them their food,

37. One who knows all countries, languages and human characters, and can decipher all writings and is possessed of a retentive memory; one who is thoroughly competent to lead nocturnal attacks and who can ascertain by his keen intelligence what should be done,

38. One who knows the times of sunset and sunrise, and the position of the stars and planets and their consequent influences, and who is fully acquainted with the routes, the directions, and the countries (through which the army is to pass,)

39. One who is neither frightened nor fatigued by the pangs of hunger and thirst and the inclemencies of the weather, hot, cold, and rainy, who can bear up against alarms and weariness and who gives assurances of safety to the good,

40. One who can create breaches in the army of the foe, and who can undertake difficult acts, and can detect and remove the cause of alarm of his own troops,

41. One who can protect the camp, and is capable of bringing into light any (underhand) act of the troops, one who fully knows the disguises and the pretences put forward by the spies and messengers, and who reaps success by his great exertion,

42. One who always accomplishes successfully acts undertaken by him, and enjoys their fruition, and who is disregarding of near or remote consequences, but is only anxious about the material prosperity of the kingdom,—

43. One possessed of these characteristics should be made the leader of an army. The army should always, day, night, be carefully protected (from evil influence).

44. Wherever in rivers, mountains, forests and difficult regions there will be any chance of danger, the general should proceed there with his army arranged in due order.

45. The guides supported by a detachment of heroic troops should march in the van; the king and his camp, and the treasury solvent or insolvent, should be in the middle.

46. The horses should march in both the flanks and they should be flanked by the chariot warriors; these last again should be flanked by elephants whom the forest tribes should flank.

47. The accomplished general thus having placed every body in the front should march slowly in the rear, arranging the host of troops, and breathing comfort to the wounded and the weak.

48. When there should be danger in the van, the troops should be disposed of in the *Makara* (crocodile-shaped), or in the two-winged *Syena* or (hawk-shaped), or in the *Suchi* (needle-shaped) array and then marched forward.

49. When there would be danger in the rear, the *Sakata* (or chariot-shaped) array should be formed; when the danger would be in the flanks, the array called *Vajra* should be formed; and in all situation the array known as *Sarvato-bhadra* that frighten the enemy, should be formed.

50. When the troops are fatigued in consequence of protracted marches through long routes and over hills dales forests and narrow woody defiles and through rivers and river-beds, when they are afflicted with hunger, thirst, and cold,

51. When they are harassed with raids of robbers and distressed with diseases, want of food and pestilence and oppression, when on the route of march they get muddy

unclean water for drink, and when they become separated or huddled together,

52. When they fall deeply asleep and become busy in preparing their meal, when they are not in the proper ground and are not prepared for attack; when they are afflicted with the fear of thieves and fire, and when they are overtaken by rain and storm,

53. When all these calamities overtake his army, a king should protect it; but when the hostile troops are overtaken by them, he should fall upon them and annihilate them.

54. Having effected an alienation between the foe and his *Prakritis* and with the advantages of the season and the soil in his favour, a king should fight a pitched battle; otherwise he should fight in underhand ways.

55. In unfair warfare, the foe when busy in pitching tents on unfavourable grounds, should be slain by the king who is on favorable grounds; when a king is on his own grounds he is said to be on favourable grounds.

56. A king who is cheerless in consequence of his *Prakritis* being separated from him should be slain through secret agents, foresters, and brave soldiers, who should employ against him gift or bribery or alienation.

57. Displaying himself in the front and thence having ascertained the mark, a king should slay his enemies from behind, falling upon him with agile and heroic troops.

58. He may also placing the greater part of the army in the enemy's back (where consequently his attention will be drawn), slay this latter from the front, falling upon him with the best part of his troops. In this way the flanks also may be assailed in unfair warfare.

59. If the ground in the front be unfavourable, a swift-moving king should (change position and) slay the foe from behind. A king should slay his foe going over to his side who foolishly believes that he has conquered him.

60. Alluring the troops of the enemy out of their camps,

villages and castles into pastures, a cool-headed king should slay them.

61. Concealing the inefficient portion of the army, and with the rest of it supported by the allies, a king should crush the foe falling upon him even like a lion.

62. Remaining hidden, a king should slay his foes when he is engaged in hunting; or he may slay him enticing him away by the hope of plunder and then blockading his route of return.

63. The troops that could not sleep through fear of being attacked in the night and that have been worn out through the toils of night-keeping should be assaulted and annihilated on the day following.

64. A king knowing the rules of nocturnal attack, should lead out a night-attack with the fourth part of his army, against the foe unsuspectingly locked in the arms of sleep.

65. With agile swordsmen inflamed with wrath, a king should slay the foe whose eyes are blinded in consequence of the sun's rays falling on them or the wind blowing against them.

66. In this way, a king possessed of agility should slay his foes.

67. Mist, darkness, herds of kine, pits, hillocks, under-woods, and river-beds—these indicate the foe, for they are the seven kinds of hiding places.

68. A persevering sovereign exerting in the right manner, should slay his foes by the different kinds of warfare, knowing their movements through the agency of his spies.

69. Thus always a king should slay his foes by unfair-war. The slaughter of foes by deceitful measures is not detrimental to one's righteousness. The son of Drona with his sharp weapon slew the troops of the Pandavas when

ly were unsuspectingly locked in the arms of sleep at night.*

*Thus end the eighteenth section, the modes of warfare, the movements of the generals, surprises &c., in the *śsara* of Kamandaki.*

SECTION XIX.

1. **T**O go in front in all marches, to first enter into forests and difficult tracts, to create roads and passages where there are none,
2. To descend into and swim over watery expanses, to conquer the body-guards (constituting a part of the enemy's army), to break through united ranks, and to gather to their own side the routed troops,
3. To ward off sources of danger, to break down walls and gates, to protect the treasury and the uniform adherence to the policy from all dangers, these are the functions of the elephants.
4. To investigate the woods, the different directions, and the routes, to protect the supplies of food and the supporting troops, to effect with promptitude the acts of pursuit and retreat,
5. To approach and help the distressed portion of the

* The son of Drona promised to Duryodhana to slay the sons of Pandu. One night he went to their camp and instead of slaying the Pandava brothers slew the five sons of Draupadi and brought their heads to Duryodhana. This upset Duryodhana and he died soon after.

army, the *Kotee* and the *Jaghana*,* these are the functions of the horse. Of infantry the functions are always to be arm with weapons,

6. To purify† the pits and the passages, the roads and the tents, and to know the stock of fodder and food and everything like Viswakarma‡ himself.

7. High lineage, youthful age, the tact of knowing other creature's heart, prowess, skillfulness, promptitude, resoluteness and the inclination for the performance of good acts,

8. These are the qualifications of infantry, cavalry warriors and horses, who possess good marks and follow all rules of conduct; the possessor of all these qualifications only should be employed in action.

9. A ground free from stakes and thorns and of which the trees and copses have been cut down and the mounds levelled and which possesses outlets of retreat such a ground is thought advantageous for the movements of the infantry.

10. Grounds with small number of trees and stones having no pits, creepers and caves and which is steady, and free from gravel or mud and possess outlets for retreat, such grounds are said to be cavalry-grounds.

11. Devoid of sandy soils, mud, earthen mounds, gravels and stones, and free from marshes, creepers, pits, trees, copses, and such like things,

12. Where there are no gardens and chasms, which are capable of bearing the tread of hoofs, and are steady and can bear the wheels, such grounds are said to be chariot-grounds (*i. e.*, where chariots may be driven with safety).

* *Kotee* and *Jaghana* are certain parts of the *Vyūha* or array. *Jaghana* has a special meaning *v. z.*, the rear guard or the reserve portion of the army.

† The word 'purify' is here used in a metaphorical way, it means "to clear of the foe."

‡ Viswakarma is the divine architect; probably he is also gifted with a keen observation.

13. The grounds for the chariots, the horses and the elephants should be steady and hard. The wise should consider that the grounds for the horses are not for elephants.

14. Grounds where there are trees to be crushed (*i. e.*, delicate trees which the elephants may eat up) and creepers be rooted out, which is free from mire, and is fertile and rough, where there are accessible hillocks, such are grounds for the elephants.

15. An intelligent monarch desirous of victory should never hazard a fight without good cause (or his rear well-protected). In case of sheer necessity he may fight being surrounded by numerous troops.

16. Placed on elephants and guarded by lighter troops, the treasures should be carried where the king goes; for royalty depends on treasures.

17. After the completion of a difficult work, praised and held in respect, a king should (liberally) remunerate the cowarriors; for who does not fight for a liberal-handed king?

18. A king should cheerfully give ten millions of *Barnas* to the slayer of his royal antagonist; half the amount should be given while this latter's son or his general is slain.

19. When a chief of a brave detachment of heroes is slain, ten thousand *Barnas* should be given.

20. When an elephant or a car is destroyed half of this amount should be given; and a thousand *Barnas* should be given, when an archer or a foremost foot soldier is slain.

21. A score of cows or any other object of enjoyment ^{sup} ~~pr~~ gold or any other base metal—these belong to them who conquer them.

22. The king should cheerfully remunerate the soldiers according to the things they bring; then he should place the powerful in battle array.

23. The number of horses should be three times the number of cars and elephants, and five and five should be

employed together. Foot-soldiers should be employed with them at the interval of one and horses at the interval of three.

24. Elephants and cars should be placed at the interval of five. This kind of division is commended by all masters of polity.

25. The horses, men and car-warriors and elephants should fight in such a way that their efforts in case of retreat may be unobstructed.

26. When dangerous irregular fight ensues it should be fought with mixed troops. In fierce wars, the mighty and noble dynasties should be sought shelter with.

27. Three men should always be made antagonists and an elephant should always be opposed by five horses.

28. Fifteen men and four horses, these are said to be capable of withstanding an elephant or a chariot.

29. The weakness of a force is said to be *Pancharchāpa* by those who are conversant with the forming of arrays and are accomplished in the art of war-fare.

30. The *Uras*, the two *Kakshas*, the two wings, the centre, the back, the rear and the *Kotee*—these are the seven limbs of the *Vyuha* or array mentioned by those conversant with their nature.

31. According to our preceptor the *Vyuha* has the *Uras*, the *Kaksha* and the wings and the rear parts only ; according to Sukra it is devoid of the *Kakshas*.

32. Unalienable, nobly-born, pure-hearted, accomplished in smiting, sure of aim, and competent to fight with resoluteness, such men should be made leaders of divisions.

33. Surrounded by these heroic and brave persons a king should stay on the field and should fight unseparably and protecting one another.

34. The flower of the troops should be placed in the centre of the array and the fighting materials should be placed in the *Jaghana*.

35. The fiercest of the forces accomplished in war should be employed in the fight. A good general is said to be the soul of the battle, and it is lost if there is no general.

36. The *Vyūha* that infantry, cavalry, chariots and elephants constitute, one at the back of another, is said to be *Achala*; that formed by elephants, horses, cavalry, and infantry is incapable of being withstood.

37. The cavalry in the centre, the chariots in the two *śakshas*, the elephants in the flanks,—such an array is said to be *Antavid*.

38. In place of chariots horses may be posted and in place of horses foot-soldiers may be posted; and in the absence of chariots, an intelligent king should arrange the elephants.

39. The foot-soldiers, the horse, the chariots and the elephants should be thrown in the middle in divisions. The elephants surrounded by the infantry, cavalry, and cars should be placed in the centre.

(Slokas 40—57 contain descriptions and names of the several kinds of array and the ways of using them),

58. Where the enemy's troops are weak, separated, led by vicious persons, there it should be assailed—and thus a king's own strength should be added to.

59. The enemy should be pressed by doubly strong forces,—and he should be opposed when united together, by furious detachments of elephants.

60. Unconquerable elephants (of the enemy) should be slain by elephants besmeared with the fat of lions or by groups of elephants ridden by brave guides.

61. The troops of the enemy should be slain by foremost of elephants duly equipped, furious, caparisoned with iron net-works, ridden by brave warriors, and irresistible in consequence of being in rut.

A leader elephant in rut and possessed of courage, can slay detachments of the enemy's troops. The victory of

the rulers of earth depends on the number of the elephants.
Therefore the armies of the kings should teem with elephants.

*Thus ends the nineteenth Section—the arraying of troops,
the functions of elephants, horses &c, in the Nitisara of
Kamandaki.*

FINIS.
