- 349-50. The horses and bulls are well kept in watered lands, the camels and elephants in forests, the foot soldiers in ordinary or public places.
 - 351. The ruler should station one hundred soldiers at every yojano:
- · '352-53. The elephant, the camel, the bull, the horse are excellent beasts of burden in the descending order. Carriages are the best of all conveyances except in the rainy season.
- 354-55. The ruler should never proceed with a small army even against an insignificant enemy. The wise should never use the very raw recruits even though they are in great numbers.
- ²356-57. The untrained, inefficient and the raw recruits are all like bales of cotton. The wise should appoint them to other tasks besides warfare.
- 358-59. The weak ones desert the fields when they fear loss of life. But the strong ones, who are capable of causing vikâra or flight, do not.
- 360-61. The man who has no valour cannot stand a fight even if he has a vast army. Can he stand the enemy with a small one?
- 362-63. The valorous man however can overpower the enemy with a small but well-trained army. What can be not achieve if be has a large army (at his back)?
- 364-65. The king should proceed against the enemy with the standing or old, trained and efficient troops. The veteran army does not desire to leave the master even at the point of death.
- 366-67. Alienation (of soldiers) is caused by harsh words, diminution of wages, threats, and constant life and work in foreign lands.
- 368-69. Since there can be no success if the army be disaffected, one should always study the causes of disaffection or alienation of the army belonging to oneself and also to the enemy.
- 370-71. The king should always by gifts and artifices promote alienation or disaffection among the enemy's troops.
- 372-78. One should satisfy the very powerful enemy by service and humiliation, serve the strong ones by honours and press its, and the weak ones by wars.

¹ me previous ones are superior to the succeeding.

Here is a very strong advice against the use of raw inexpert recruits (like volunteers improvised for the occasion) in any warfare, even if the enemy be really very insignificant.

⁵ feet to do quite contrary to what one is expected to do, here deserting the field.

- '374. He should win over the equals by alliance or friendship and subjugate all by the policy of separation.
- 375. There is no other means of subjugating the fee except by causing disaffection among their soldiers.
- *376-77. One should follow niti or the moral rules so long as one is powerful. People remain friends till then; just as the wind is the friend of the burning-fire.
- 378-79. Deserters from the enemy should not be placed near the main army. They have to be employed separately (in other works) and in wars should be used first.
- 380. The allies' troops may be placed in the front, at the back or the wings.
- 381-82. Astra is that which is thrown or cast down by means of charms, machines or fire. Sastra is any other weapon, e.g., sword, dagger, kunta &c.
- 383-85. Astra is of two kinds, charmed or tubular. The king who desires victory should use tubular where the charmed does not exist, together with the sastras.
- 386-87. People expert in military instruments know of diverse agencies named astras and sastras varying according to short or large size and the nature and mode of the sharp edges.
- 388. The nalika (tubular or cylindrical) astra is known to be of two kinds according to large or small size.

^{*} Ag or policy of separation by which the army is alienated with the ruler, the people estranged from the sovereign, the friends get rivalries &c. is the most powerful weapon to be used by a king. It is the universal engine for overpowering enemies and controlling friends and neptrals. The advice given in these lines is too obvious.

The great question whether Might should follow Pight or Right Might has ever been dobable. In all questions of practical politics, adaptation to the environment in order promote the interests of one's own national culture, and the employment of all those means which lead to that are the recognised maxims of statesmen. So that the detrine of Machiavelli about Political Morality is, after all, the only certain and universal truth. Sukracharyya advice that Right or Morality shines well only when and as tong as there is might, just advice that Right or Morality shines well only when and as tong as there is might, just advice that Right or Morality shines well only when and as tong as the fire is burning powerfully, finds its consterpart in all doctrines of political expediency that have been preached in the world in various guisses since time immemorial. In order that you may attract friends and disputy your morality you must be powerful. In other words, Might is the Right. Subrantin has never advocated the principles of universal truth and absolute morality. These depend on the exigencies of circumstances, the sole standard always being the promotion of social well-being.

The instrument which has a tube or cylinder &c., mechanical

'389-94. The short or small nalika is the cylindrical instrument to be used by infantry and cavalry, having an oblique (horizontal) and straight (perpendicular) hole at the origin (breech), the length of five vitastis (two cubits and a half), a sharp point (tila) both at the forefront (muzzle) and at the origin, which can be used in marking the objective, which has fire produced by the pressure of a machine, contains stone and powder at the origin has a good wooden handle at the top, (butt) has an inside hole of the breadth of the middle finger, holds gunpowder in the interior and has a strong rod.

*395-96. The instrument strikes distant objects according as the bamboo or bark is thick and hollow and the balls are long and wide.

*397-99. The large nalika is that which has a post or wedge at the origin or breech, and according to its movements, can be pointed towards the aim, has a wooden frame and is drawn on carriages; if well used, it leads to victory.

*400-404. Five palas of swarchi salt, one pala of sulphur, and one pala of charcoal from the wood of arka, snuhi and other trees burnt in a manner that prevents the escape of Smoke e.g., in a closed vessel have to be purified, powdered, and mixed together, then dissolved in the juices of snuhi, arka and garlic, then dried up by heat, and finally powered like sugar. The substance is gunpowder.

⁵405-406. Six or four parts of *suvarchi* salt may also be used in the preparation of gunpowder. Sulphur and charcoal would remain the same.

6407 408. The balls are made of fron with other substances inside

লাৰ stones, ৰুম handle. অনিৰূপ gunpowder, ক্যান্ত্ৰ্নুত্ত &c. the hole must be such that the middle finger can penetrate it. বিভাগন space within the hole (barrel).

* Here is the description of a cannon.

The proportion of the constituents :-

Salt ... 5 parts Sulphur ... 3 part Charcoal ... 1 part

The above mixture + juices of plants give the desired object.

 $^{^{\}rm 1}$ The description tallies with that of a modern gun, the great presumption being that the lines are interpolations.

² resent bamboo or bark. It seems that the cylindrical instrument is made of bamboo. But cf. 11. 409-10. Distance or of the aim depends on the length &c. of balls as web_as diameter of the instrument.

The chemical composition of gunpowder is given here. Suvarehi is a salt like alum.

[•] Here is another preparation. The substances are the same, but the quantity of sait to be used varies.

^{&#}x27;It appears the iron balls are made for cannon.

or without any such substance. For lesser nales or guns the balls are made of lead or any other metal.

- 409-410. The nallastras may be made of iron or of some other metal, have to be rubbed and cleansed daily and covered by armed men.
- '411-15. Experts make gunpowders in various ways and of white and other colours according to the relative quantities of constituents:—charcoal, sulphur, suvarchi, stones, harital, lead, hingul, iron filings, camphor, yatu, indigo, juice of sarala tree, &c.
- 416-17. The balls in the instruments are flung at the aim by the touch of fire.
- 418. The instrument has to be first cleaned, then the gunpowder has to be put in, then it is to be placed lightly at the origin of the instrument by means of the rod. Then the ball has to be introduced, then the gunpowder at the ear. Fire is next to be applied to this powder, and the ball is projected towards the objective.
- 422-23. The arrow is to be two cubits in length and to be so arranged that it can pierce the object when flung from the bow-string.
- 424. The mace is to be octagonal (in shape), to have a strong handle, and high up to the breast.
- 425. The pattisha is long as the human body, has sharp edges on both sides, and a handle.
 - 426. The ekadhara is slightly curved and four angulas in width.
- 427. The kshuraprânta is high to the navel, has a strong first, and the lustre of the moon.
- 428. The dagger is four cubits, has a rod as the handle and is edged like the razor.
- 429. The kunta is ten cubits flat and has a handle like sanku or stick.
- 430. The wheel is six cubits in cirumference, has razor-like edge and a good centre.
- 431. The pisha is a rod three cubits long, with three sharp needles, and an iron rope.
- 432,33. The havacha or armour is the protection for the upper limb, has the heighet for covering the head, is made of iron sheet about the thickness of wheat.
- 434 The karaja is a strong arm that is made of iron and has a keen edge.

i meaning: duets or filings or powders of iron; governing: according as the parts of the constituents are equal to, less or greater than, (the fixed proportion).

[?] The is whirled from the the or centre.

- 435-37. The king who is provided with good supplies, is endowed with the 'six attributes' of Statecraft, and equipped with sufficient arms and ammunitions, should desire to fight. Otherwise he gets misery and dethroned from the kingdom.
- '438-39. The affair that two parties, who have inimical relations with each other, undertake by means of arms to satisfy their rival interests is known as warfare.
- 440-41. The daivika warfare is that in which charms are used, the dsura that in which the mechanical instruments are used, the human warfare that in which sastras and hands are used.
- 442-3. There may be a fight of one with many, of many with many, of one with one, or of two with two.
- 444-45. The ruler who wants to fight should carefully consider the season, the region, the enemy's strength, one's own strength, the four-fold policy and the six attributes of Statecraft.
- 446-48. The autumn, hemanta (October and November) and winter are the best seasons for warfare. The spring is good, the worst is the summer. In the rainy reason war is not at all appreciated, peace is desirable then.
- *449-50. When the king is well provided with military requirements and master of a sufficiently strong army, the season is soul-inspiring and foreboder of good,
 - *451. If very urgent business arise the season is not auspicious.
- 452. One should place the Lord of the universe in the heart (when going out on an expedition).
- *453. There are no rules about time or season in cases created by the killing of cows, women and Brahmans.

¹ gg. War defined. The conditions of warfare are the following—(1) two parties inimical to each other, (2) furtherance of some ends, (8) use of arc.s.

[•] The idea is that no consideration of time need detain the man who is stree of his position and strength as regards troops and supplies.

^{*} Even if otherwise the time be good for war, i.e., if the seasons and weakier be favourable, the ruler should not necessarily be tempted to undertake war. He should first look to more important and pressing business at home. Thus in 11, 449-51 yukracharyya is advocating the theory that the man is the maker of his time, he should andy his own conveniences and never be swayed by purely physical considerations of seasons, weather, climate, &c.

[.]Here, again, the physical considerations of time and season do not hold good.

- 454-55. That country is excellent in which there are facilities for the regular parade and exercises of one's own soldiers at the proper time but there are none for those of the foe.
- 456-57. That country is said to be good which provides equal facilities for military exercises to the troops of both parties in a contest.
- *458-59. That region is the worst is which the enemy's troops get ample grounds for parade and exercise but ones' own troops get none.
- 460-61. If the enemy's army be onethird less than one's own troops or untrained, inefficient and raw recruits, the circumstances would-lead to success.
- *462-63. One's own army that has been maintained as children, and rewarded by gifts and honours and is well supplied with war provisions does lead to victory.
- 4464-65. The six attributes of statecraft are known to be peace, war, expedition, taking cover or besieging, refuge, and duplicity.
- 466-67. Those actions by which the powerful foe becomes friendly constitute sandhi or treaty. That should be carefully studied.
- 468-69. That is said to be vigraha or war by which the enemy is oppressed and subjugated. The king should study this with his councillors.
- 470. A Yana is expedition for the furtherance of one's own objects and destruction of the enemy's interests.
- ⁵471. An *âsana* is said to be that from which oneself can be protected and the enemy is destroyed.
- 472. The asraya or refuge is said to be that by which even the weak becomes powerful.

Having described the proper time for warfare Sukracharyya is dwelling upon the ly the-fields or zones of military operations. In doing so he is remarking upon the physical advantages and disadvantages of various regions from the military standpoint. That field is certainly the best which while giving oneself every possible vantage ground deprives the enemy of the same.

² Having described the are and to be considered by a ruler before commencing military operations, Sukracharyya is in the following lines giving an account of the points to be noted in a casuring; the strength of the army or three

In II. 461-65 Sukracharyya is describing the uses of six attributes of Statecraft that have to be opsidered before beginning an expedition.

[·] Each of these terms is being explained below.

series something like 'lying in ambush' or 'taking cover,' or perhaps besieging as described in 570-711 &c.

- ¹473. The dwaidheebhāva is the stationing of one's troops in several regiments.
- *474-75. When the king has been attacked by a powerful enemy and is unable to counteract him by any means, he should desire peace in a dilatory manner.
- 3476-77. There is only one treaty or peace desired by people, that is gifts. Everything else besides alliance is a species of gifts,
- 478-79. The aggressor never returns without receiving something because of his might, for without gifts there is no other form of peace.
- 480. Gifts should be given according to the strength of the adversary. Service should even be accepted, or the daughter, wealth and property may be given away.
- 481. In order to conquer enemies peace should be made even with one's own feudatories.
- 482-83. Peace should be made even with the anâryas for (otherwise) they can overpower the ruler by attack.
- *484. Just as a cluster of bamboos cannot be destroyed if surrounded by thick thorny trees, so the ruler should be like a bamboo surrounded by clusters.
- *486-87. Peace should be made with the very powerful, war with the equal and expedition (aggression) against the weak; but to friends should be granted refuge as well as residence in forts.
- 488-89. The wise should make petice with the powerful if there be danger, and protect oneself at the proper time if the foes be many.
- *490-91. There is no precedent or rule that war should be undertaken with a powerful enemy. The cloud never moves against the current of the wind.

¹ Perhaps the object of this division into groups is to show the enemy that the army is not very powerful in number.

² In 11. 474-95 we have what may be called the Law of Nations regarding Peace in modern European treatises on International Law.

³ Every treaty takes one or other form of transfer of property or valuables.

The feudatory chiefs and the or barbarian races, forest tribes, &c., for here compared with the thorns surrounding a big tree which make access to it discult. Sukrecharyya is advocating the expediency of converting these into friends. The wise ruler should make good use of these forces by concessions, grants and rowards &c. So that in times of emergency these may stand him in good stead by making the enemy's progress impossible. What are generally ignored as insignificant or worthless should be regarded by the statemen as important sources of the State's strength.

^{*}C/. 1. 580 where two clases o wrat are mentioned.

^{&#}x27; It is never safe to measure strength with a giant.

- 492. Prosperity never desorts a man who bows down to the powerful at the proper time, just as rivers never leave the downward course.
- 1494-95. The king should never trust the enemy even after concluding peace. Thus Indra killed Vritra in days of yore during the truce time.
- *496-97. One should commence warfare when one is attacked and oppressed by some body, or even only when one desires prosperity, provided one is well placed as regards time, region and army.
- 498-500. The king should surround and coerce the ruler whose army and friends have been lessened, who is in the fortress, who has come upon him as enemy, who is very much addicted to sense-pleasures, who is the plunderer of people's goods, and whose ministers and troops have been disaffected.
- 501. That is known to be vigraha, any other thing is kalaha or mere quarrel.
- 502-503. One with a small army should never undertake a vigraha or engage in war with a valorous man backed by a powerful army. If, however, that be done, his destruction is inevitable.
- *504. The cause of kalaha or quarrel or contention is the exclusive demand (of rivals) for the same thing.
- 505. When there is no other remedy vigraha or war should be undertaken.
- *506-507. Yânas or expeditions are known by experts to be of five kinds—Vigrihya, Sandhâya, Sambhuya, Prasanga, and Upekshyâ.
- 508-509. The Vigrihya expedition is known by masters proficient in the subject to be that in which the army proceeds by gradually overpowering groups of enemies.

¹ wate temporary cessation of hostilities, armistice or truce; during which all military operations should cease,

Sukracharyya is not a believer in the words of treaties. He rather advises rulers to follow the maxim that truces are to be kept only so long as it is convenient, or expedient. He quotes instances from Puuranik history where even the greatest personalities did not struple to violate solemn pledges in order to serve their interests.

² There are no fixed occasions for warfare. These are to be sought or created by the ambitious ruler. He is to catch time by the forelock and always be ready for aggression or defence as need be.

When both parties display extraordinary earnestness for attaining the same object there is a strife inevitable.

[·] Each of these technical terms is being explained below.

- '510-11. Or Vigrihya expedition is that in which one's own friends fight with the adversary's friends on all sides, and the main army proceeds against the enemy.
- *512-13. The Sandhaya expedition of the man desiring victory is that which proceeds after peace is made with certain supporters of the enemy.
- 514-15. The Sambhuya expedition is that which proceeds under the king aided by feudatories skilled in warfare well equipped with physical and moral resources.
- *516-17. The Prasanga expedition is that which begins against a certain objective but incidentally proceeds against another.
- 518-19. The *Upekshya* expedition is that which neglects the enemy and retreats after encountering adverse fate.
- 520. If the king (is generous and) rewards (well), the army becomes attached to him though his conduct is unrighteous and he comes of a low family.
- 521-22. The ruler should pacify his own troops by gifts of rewards and should go ahead accompanied by heroic guards.
- *523. In the centre should be placed the family, treasure and valuables.
 - 524. He should always carefully protect his army.
- *525-26. The commander should march in well-arrayed regiments whenever difficulties arise on the way through rivers, hills, forests and forts.
- 527-28. If there be danger ahead the commander should march in the great makara or crocodile array, or the shyena or bird array which has two wings or the shuchi (needle)-array which has a sharp mouth.

^{1.} Two kinds of Vigrihya Yanu are described :-

When the expedition proceeds through a series of fights and skirnishes with enemics on the way.

⁽²⁾ When one's own allies are induced to fight with the enemy's allies, and the party proceeds against the enemy. In this case no party cap have recourse to allies in the principal contest.

² where those who take the back, i.e., supporters. These supporters are therefore the enemy's allies.

³ There is a sleight in warfare. If instead of attacking the professed or ostensible object the party marches against another, there is a case of Prasangu Yána.

^{&#}x27; ag great, precious.

- 1529-31. If there be danger behind, the shakata (carriage)-array, if on the sides the vajra (thunder) array, if on all sides the sarvatobhadra (octagonal) or chakra (wheel) or vydla (snake) array. Or the array should be determined according to the nature of the region in such a way as to pierce the enemy's army.
- *532-33. None besides one's own troops are to know the signs for the formation of battle-'orders' communicated by means of bugle sounds.
- 534-35. The wise should always devise diverse forms of battle array for horses, elephants and footsoldiers.
- 536-37. The king should order the soldiers aloud by signs of battle-order from a station on the right or left, in the centre or in the front.
- 538. Having heard those orders the troops are to carry out the instructions.
- 539-40. Grouping, expansion, circling, contraction, straight movement, rapid march, backward movement.
- 541-43. Forward movement in rows, standing erect, lying down, standing like octagon, wheel, needle, carriage, half moon,
- 544-45. Separation in parts, standing in serial rows, holding the arms and weapons, fixing the aim, and striking the objective,
- *546-47. Flinging of missiles, striking by weapons, swift use of arms.
- 548-49. Self-defence, counteraction by movements of limbs or use of arms and weapons, movements in rows of two, three or four.
 - *550. Movement forward or backward or sidewards.

The Battle arrays:

Danger ahead :--(1) Crocodile.

(2) Bird.

(8) Needle.

- II. Danger behind : (1) Vehicle.
- III. Dange on the sides :- (1) Thunder.
- IV. Banker on all sides :-(1) Octagonal.
 - (2) Wheel.
 - (8) Snake.
- 2 The technique of bugles is a military secret.
- s are rapid, instantaneous.
- Having enumerated the S vyuhange Battle-orders in 11. 525-581, Sukrachtrya has in 11. 589-560 enumerated about 30 different surpease for which these are formed,

¹ mg battle array, the form or order in which the troops are arranged or stationed in the battle-field. Eight species are enumerated here—classified according to the nature of the obstacle to be encountered, e.g., dangers ahead, behind, on the sides or on all sides.

- 551. In throwing a missile, movement forward or backwards is necessary.
- 552. The soldier stationed in the battle-array should always fling the missile by moving forward.
- 553. Just after throwing the arm the soldier should sit down or move forward.
- 554-55. Having seen the enemy in the sitting posture the troops should east their own arms by moving forward in ones or twos or groups as ordered.
- 556-57. The krauncha (pigeon) array is to be formed according to the nature of the region and the troops in the same rows as the movements of pigeons in the sky.
- 1558. It is that order in which the neck is thin, the tail medium, and the wings thick.
- 559. The shyena or bird order is that in which the wings are large, the throat and tail medium, and the mouth small.
- 560. The makara or crocodile order is that which has four legs, long and thick mouth and two lips.
- 561. The suchi or needle order has a thin mouth, is a long rod and has a hole at the end.
- 562. The chakra array has one passage and has eight concentric-rings.
- 563. The sarvatobhadra array is the battle order which has eight sides in all directions.
- 564. The wheel array has no passage, has eight concentric rings and faces in all directions.
- *565. The carriage-array has the aspect of a vehicle, and the snake array that of a snake.
- *586,67. The ruler should devise one, two or more of these vythas or a mixture of them according to the number of troops and the character of roads and battle-fields.
- 568-569. One should lie with troops at those places, whence the enemy's army can be onerpowered by arms and weapons. The condition is called deana.

¹ The pigeon-array is the ninth form of battle-order.

² In 11, 556-565 the nine vythus have been described and explained.

It is to be noted that the cychas have been described incidentally in connection with expeditions, one of he aggres or six attributes of Statecraft.

- ¹570-571. From the manœuvre of *dsana* one should destroy carefully those people who help the enemy by carrying wood, water and provisions.
- •572-573. One should subjugate the enemy through protracted processes by which provisions are cut short, food and fuel are diminished, and the subjects are oppressed.
- 574-575. When in a war both the enemy and the aggressor have got tired they seek cessation from hostilities. The state is called sandhâya âsana or truce.
- 576-577. When one has been overpowered by the enemy and does not find any remedy to counteract the defeat he should seek refuge with a powerful ruler who is truthful, honest, and has good family connexions.
- 3578. The friends, relatives and kinsfolk are the allies of the aggressors. Other rulers are either paid friends or sharers in the spoils of victory.
 - *580. That is said to be asraya, as well as forts.
- *581-3. When the ruler is not sure of the methods of work to be adopted, and is waiting for the opportune time, he should have resort to duplicity like the crow's eye and display one move but really adopt another.
- 584-587. Even ordinary people get their desired objects through good methods, good policies, and persevering efforts, cannot the princes? A work can be successful only through efforts, not through mere wish. Thus the elephant does not of itself enter the mouth of the sleeping lion.

[े] Asana thus seems to be equivalent to laying siege to a town. The aggressor is to take such a stand that from his place he can reconnoitre the grounds round about (गरित:, आरात्), prevent the entrance of allies or reinforcements with provisions, and also your down arms and missiles upon the enemy besidged. That आवा is a siege would be clear from the following lines.

² The processes described are those of a regular and obstinate siege which compels the defendants to submit on any terms.

³ Two classes of allies—those (1) who volunteer their services, and (2) who have to be paid or promised booty. One may seek shelter with both these classes.

Refuge or shelter (darage) is thus of two kinds—(1) human, as described above, (2) physical forts.

The crow has only one pupil, but it moves through both eyes. So the same man is to follow both purposes at the same time, this, however, unnoticed water as the crow's pupil.

Lines 568-85 contain suggestions about the time when each of the six principles of policy have to be adopted, e.g., truce, siege, etc.

- '588-90. Even the hard iron can by proper methods be converted into a liquid. It is also a noted fact that water extinguishes fire. By the man who exerts, fire can be extinguished.
- 591. It is policy by which the feet can be placed on the head of elephants.
- *592. Separation is the best of all methods or policies of work, and samdsraya or refuge is the best of the six attributes of Statecraft. Both these are to be adopted by the aggressor who wants success. Without these two the king should never commence military operations.
- ³595-6. He should adopt such means as lead to rivalry or conflict between the Commander-in-chief and Councillors of the enemy, and strife among their subjects or women.
- *597-98 One should always study the policies as well as six attributes of Statecraft concerning both parties, and embark upon a war if death or universal plunder have been the antecedent circumstances.

¹ The instance of the liquefaction of iron is suggestive of some metallurgical operation prevalent in ancient times.

- ² The king should be strong is his use of भेद्याति or the Policy of Separation or Partition by which the enemy may be weakened or dismembered, and he should be strong in his allies or friends with whom he can take refuge in emergency. Note the distinction between the four upayes or policies and shadguras or the six attributes.
- 3 This is the Bheda upaya or Policy of Partition. It should always be the policy to foment civil dissensions among the enemy, e.g. by promoting rivalry between the Civil and Military heads. Cf. Louis XIV's policy towards the Stuart Kings of England.
 - . The six attributes of Statecraft are :--
 - 1. Peace-Hev
 - 2. War-fare
 - 3. Expedition -(i) विज्ञा
 - (ii) सम्धाय
 - (iii) सम्भूव
 - (iv) मरुङ
 - (v) वपेस्य
 - 4. Taking cover or Besieging with
 - 5. Refuge syran
 - 6. Duplicity ह चोमाव

Sukrachiryya has in 11. 464-598 narrated in brief what is considered to be the Law of Belligerents. The Law of Nations regarding Friends, Foes, Neutrals, Expeditions, Treaties, Truces, Battles, Capitulations as described here is sufficiently elaborate and Fractical. The discription of Battle-urrays in connection with that of Expeditions as well as the purposes to which each is adapted indicates perfect mastery over the art of field-unarshalling and military manneuvres. The whole of this Section of Sukramiti in fact corresponds to those chapters of modern Text-books on International Law which deal with War generally, especially war on land, and discuss such questions as the characteristics of war, causes, kinds and ends of war, armed forces of belligerents, regions of war, &c.

- 599. Even Brahmanas should fight if there have been aggressions on women and priests or there has been killing of cows.
- 600. One should not desist from the fight if it has once commenced.
- 601. The man who runs away from battle is surely killed by the gods.
- 602-3. The king who protects subjects should in pursuance of the Kshatriya's duties never desist from a fight if called to it by an equal, superior or inferior.
- 1604-5. The earth swallows the king who does not fight and the Brahman who does not go abroad, just as the snake swallows the animals living in the holes.
- *606-7. The life of even the Brahman who fights when attacked is praised in this world, for the virtue of a Kshatriya is derived also from Brahma.
 - 3608. The death of Kshatriyas in the bed is a sin.
- *609-10. The man who gets death with an unhurt body by excreting cough and biles and crying aloud is not a Kshatriya. Men learned in ancient history do not praise such a state of things.
 - 612. Death in the home except in a fight is not laudable
 - 613. Cowardice is a very miserable sin in valorous people.
- 614-15. The Kshatriya who retreats with a bleeding body after sustaining defeat in battles and is encircled by family members deserves death.
- 616-17. Kings who valorously fight and kill each other in battles are sure to attain heaven.
- 618-19. He also gets eternal bliss who fights for his master at the head of the army and does not shrink through fear.

2 So fighting is also prescribed among the duties of Brahmans."

The very connotation of the term Kshatriya, says Sukra, is to die anywhere else except in the home bed: just as that of the Brahman is to travel abroad begging alms and spreading knowledge &c.

• The proper death for a Kahatriya is that on the battle-field is open warfare. The most disgracuful for him is that through discuse and physical allocate. He should by all means avoid the natural death that semoves ordinary people from the surface of the carth.

*Werriors should always live valorous, should die valorous deaths, c. g., in battles. Even the last moments of their lives should be spent valorously.

This dictum of Sukracharyya would certainly appear to be a chip from Spartan and Bushido merality. The rules of militaryism or Kabatriyaism are the same in all lands and climes. The deserter and the falled warrier have no place in society and family circle.

¹ These are contemptible creatures who deserve destruction. The cowardly king and the untravelled Brahman are not worth their names and have no reason to live on earth.

- 620-21. People should not regret the death of the brave man who is killed in battles. The man is purged and delivered of all sins and attains heaven.
- ¹622-23. The fairies of the other world vie with each other in reaching the warrior who is killed in battles in the hope that he be their husband.
- *624-25. The great position that is attained by the sages after long and tedious penances is immediately reached by warriors who meet death in warfare.
- * 526-7. This is at once penance, virtue and eternal religion. The man who does not fly from a battle does at once perform the duties of all the four dsramas.
- 628-29. There is no other thing besides valour in all the three worlds. It is the valorous man who protects the universe, it is in him that everything finds its stay.
- 630-31. The immovables are the food of the mobiles, the toothless of the toothed creatures, the armless of the armed, the cowards of the valiant.
- '(i.e., into heaven):—the austere missionary, and the man who is killed in the front in a fight.
- 634-35. One should protect oneself by killing even the learned Brahman and Guru in battle if they are inimical. This is the decree of Śruti or Vedas.
- 636-37. The teachers are kind and the learned people are advocates of sinlessness. They should never be asked on occasions of great fear (e.g., warfare).

¹ The sanction for the warrior's duties in life: (1) eternal bliss in heaven and enjoyment of all that it implies, (2) otherwise, perpetual ignominy and disgrace on earth.

² Here is a further temption for death in war.

[•] The high and exalted position of Rishis, acquired by meditation and penance, as well as the virtues of ideal householders who perform through life all the elaborate duties of the four stages of human existence, viz., Brahmacharyya, Garhasthya, Vanaprastha and Sannyasa, are forthwith enjoyed by the warrior who bravely welcomes death in the battle-field. This single action is equivalent to any or all the possible duties to be performed by a man whether as Rishi, Sannyasi, Brahmachari, or Grihasthys.

⁴ Two extraordinary men who deserve transcendental happiness are (i) the itinerant preacher who has got a vision of the eternal truths of the universe through processes of self-control and meditation on the Permanent Verities, and (2) the heroic warrior who moets death in the face (not on the back), i.e., who has not to retreat like a coward but can coolly encounter the worst calamity.

^{*} The advice of such people as are timid by nature and occupation should never be gought in matters that involve bloodshed &c.,

- 1638-39. Learned people are ornaments in places where they can discourse on diverse subjects, e.g., in palaces, assemblies and cloisters.
- *640-41. Learned people are ornaments in those places where they can perform various intellectual feats before large audiences in the matter of Sacrifice, Military Science, &c.,
- '642-45. Learned people are ornaments also in the matter of finding out others' defects, studying human interests, and managing elephants, horses, chariots, asses, camels, goats and sheep, in the matters connected with cattle, wealth, roads, and Swayamvara, and in studying the defects of food and social practices.
- 646-48. One should disregard the "wise men" who extol the merits of the enemies, discover the purposes the adversary has in view, and without minding that destruction might befall the army (in case of war) should employ a (suitable) expedient that would destroy the enemy.
- 649-50. The Brahmana who appears with a murderous intent is as good as a Sudra. There can be no sin in killing one who comes with a murderous intent.
- *651-52. One would not incur the sin of killing an embryonic child (i.e., an infant) if one kills even an infant who has come upon him with weapon in hand. It is otherwise that one really perpetrates that offence.
- 653-55. The sin of killing a Brahman does not touch the man who treats like a Kshatriya and kills the Brahman that fights with arm in hand and does not leave the battle-field.

¹They should grace those council-halls and discussion rooms, but must not interfere in executive affairs.

Their proper function is study, discussion, talk, giving decision on subtle questions, solution of knotty problems of social or religious life etc. Let them preside there.

³ All those affairs that require the knowledge of people trained in the sciences and arts should be left to the learned people for deliberation and advice. They are theorists and naturally have no place where the practical use of arms and limbs is concerned.

These lines describe what in terms of modern International Law would be called Enemy Character. Any and every enemy is to be killed, even the Brahmana and the experiment (embryonic child) or infant. Ordinary rules of Hindu Sastra enjoin great purificatory penances on the man who kills a Brahmana or a experiment Sukracharyya's System of Military Morality keeps those rules in abeyance. These persons are to be treated as no better than ordinary enemies, the very moment they assume enemy character.

^{*} The Brahman is ne longer a Brahman, but in the first place a Kehatriya, and in the second place, has all the attributes of an enemy. The ordinary treatment of a Belligerent is therefore to be meted out towards him.

- 656-57. The rascal who flies from a fight to save his life is really dead though alive, and endures the sins of the whole people.
- 658-59. The man who deserts the ally or the master and flies from the battle-field gets hell after death, and while alive is cried down upon by the entire people.
- 660-61. The man who sees his friend in distress and does not help him gets disrepute, and when dead goes to hell.
- 662-63. The wicked man who deserts one that seeks refuge with him in confidence goes to eternal hell so long as there are the fourteen Indras.
- 1664-65. The Brahmans should kill the Kshatriya when his practices are wicked. They do not incur sin even if they fight with arms and weapons in hand.
- 666-67. When, again the Kshatriyas have become effete, and the people are being oppressed by lower orders of men the Brahmanas should fight and extirpate them.
- 668-69. The war with charmed instruments is the best, that with mechanical is good, that with weapons inferior, that with hands is the worst.
- 670-71. That war with charmed instruments is known to be the best of all in which the foes are destroyed by arrows and other arms rendered powerful through being applied with charms.
- 672-73. The war with mechanical instruments leads to great destruction of the enemy in which balls are flung at the objective by the application of gunpowder in cylindrical fire-arms.
- 674-75. The war with weapons is that generally undertaken in the absence of fire-arms and other missiles, in which foes have to be killed by the use of Kunta swords and other weapons.

Sukracharyya, here again as usual, is not an advocate of absolute morality, but always prescribes duties that, though apparently conflicting or contradictory, are really called for by the needs of human life and social existence. Not Consistency but Truth is his great motto, and to him the greatest truth is the promotion of human well-being and social welfare. And as the interests of mankind are ever changing, and complexities are perpetually disturbing social order, Sukra does not scruple to be inconsistent and dictate duties at times which might appear grossly at variance with those prescribed on other occasions. Thus the Brahman who is ordinarily to abstain from the military profession, is in duty bound to accept that as the only call of religion and morality under grave circumstances. A society that is governed by such practical rules as those cannot but move and progress with the times and not only adapt itself to the varied requirements of the ages but also use the environment and world forces for its own purposes, in the interest of its own growth and development.

1676-77. The war with hands, i. e., duel or hand-to-hand fight is that in which the adversary is overpowered by strong grasps and skilful attacks on the joints of limbs, &c., whether against or in line with the system of hair.

*678-82. Catching the hair by means of the left hand, throwing down on the earth by force, beating by the leg, i.e., kicking on the head, pressing at the breast by knees, severe beating on the brow by bael-like (heavy) fists, elbowing, constant slappings, and moving about to find out the proper places of attack—these eight are the species of duelling.

'683-84. The Ksatriya should be attacked by four of these species, the worst Kshatriya by five, the Vaisya by six, the Sûdra by seven, and the mixed castes by all the eight.

*685. These methods have to be applied to the enemies, never to the friends.

686-88. One should commence fight with any enemy whose ministers and army have got disaffected by placing the fire-arms both light and heavy in the front, the infantry just behind them, the elephants and horses in the wings.

689-91. The first skirmish is to be commenced by commanders with half the army in the front and the wings so long as the region favourable for warfare is not acquired.

*692-93. The war should then be undertaken by ministers with troops conducted by ministers, then finally by the king at the risk of his own life with troops commanded by the king.

*694-700. One should carefully protect one's troops but extirpate the enemy's, when they have got tired by long marches, or through

¹ प्रतिवाद (motion) in the contrary direction and ब्यून्तित् (motion) in the natural direction.

The joints and other parts of the body have to be pulled in the contrary or natural directions (of movement or locomotion) as convenient, and bound or graspod powerfully; So that the adversary may be quite motionless.

² W Hair must have been long. The custom of lopping off the hair was not prevalent, it appears. We had fruit.

³ Laws of duelling. But it is not clear why only four or five of these 8 forms of hand-to-hand fight have to be applied in fighting some of the castes &c.

^{*}Of course none of these engines of warfare, whether duels' or other 8 kinds, are meant for friends or allies. The line is quite irrelevant.

[•] The main brunt to be borne (1) by the commander (2) by the councillor, (8) by the king in succession.

When such natural calamities or unfavourable circumstances betall the enemy's troops, it is the opportune moment to commence operations against them. But if one's own army gets into this plight it would be most undiplomatic to leave it in that condition. Their anxieties must be removed and difficulties remedied.

hunger and thirst, when they are oppressed by disease, famine, hailstorms and thieves, when they have to suffer from impurities of mud and dirt in water, when they are gasping for breath, when they are asleep or engaged in taking food, when they are not in contact with the ground (i.e. have mounted tree, etc., etc.), when they are vacillating, when they are overpowered by fear of fire or attacked by wind and rain, and by such other dangers and difficulties.

- 701-2. Of all the dangers that are known by the wise to befall an army, the worst is Bhela (alienation or separation, or estrangement).
- 703-4. Even the Maula or standing or old army, if disaffected, is a source of dubious strength to the king. What to speak of the sundry recruits under disaffection?
- 705. One should always study the fourfold policy, the sixfold attributes of statecraft and the secrets of oneself as well as the enemy.
- 706. The enemy has to be killed in wars whether conducted according to the rules of morality or against them.
- 707-11. The king should increase the salary of the officers about a quarter in beginning the expedition, cover his own body during the fight by means of shield and panoply, make the soldiers drink invigorating wines, and employ in the battle those heroes who are enthusiastic and are certain of the issue and extirpate the foes by fire-arms, daggers and troops.
- 712-15. The horseman has to be attacked by the Kunta sword, the charioteer and the man on the elephant by arrow, the elephant by the elephant, the horse by the horse, the chariot by the chariot, the infantry by the infantry, one by one, the weapon by the weapon, the missile by the missile.
- 1716-21. One who follows the duties of good people should not kill the man who is on the ground, who is deformed, who has his hands arranged in the form of anjali (i. e. in the sign of humiliation), who is seated with hair dishevelled, and who says 'I am yours,' who is askeep, who is naked or unarmed, whe is seeing others fight or is fighting with others, who is drinking water, taking food or busy with other matters, who is terrified, who retreats.
- 722. The old man, the infant, the woman, as well as the king, when alone, are not to be killed.

¹ Sukracharyya's Laws of Military Morality mention the persons who are not to be killed. The various signs of impotency or humiliation are described.

Dishevelled hair is a sign of defeat and failure. It appears here again that the hair was not lopped off in those days.

- ¹723. But there is no deviation from the path of morality if one kills others by applying the prescribed methods.
- 724. These rules, however, apply only to warfares conducted according to the dictates of morality but not otherwise.
- 725. There is no warfare which extirpates the powerful enemy so much as the *kutayudha* or war conducted against the dictates of morality.
- *726-27. In days of yore the kuta warfare was appreciated by Rama, Krishna, Indra and other gods. It was through kuta that Vali, Yavana, and Namuchi were killed.
- *728-30. One should inspire confidence in the enemy by sweet smiling face, soft words, confession of guilt, service, gifts, humiliation, praise, good offices as well as oaths.
- 731. One should study the enemy's defects with a mind sharp as the razor.
- *732-33. The wise should place insult or humiliation in the front and honour or glory at the back in order to fulfil his desired object. It is folly to lose one's object.
- 734-36. The king seated on a platform, should study the activities of troops. Those who are friends of the king and the State, and who understand the bugle's sounds and signs of Battle orders should always supervise the parades and exercises of troops.
- 737. Having noticed that disaffection has spread among the army through the enemy, the king should remove that.

¹ The prescribed methods would be those rules about duels, &c., and about porsons who are not to be killed, &c.

² Râma killed Vâli, Krishna Yavana, and Indra Namuchl. Who is this Yavana?

These are some of the means by which kuta or deceit may be performed, and the energy overpowered unawares. Sukracharyya does not recommend the ordinary rules of morality and religion to be followed in military affairs. He is an advocate of expediency and diplomacy, i.e., of the theory of trying to do the best under the circumstances, and to always adapt oneself to the varying conditions of the world. So in extirpting the enemy none can trust to only one method of procedure, but has to adopt diverse methoda according to the changes in the enemy's character or in the political situation generally. Nobody should have faith in treaties or promises of the foe but always be prepared for brow-beating him. This is to a ruler the sole religion, the sole truth, any other thing would be irreligion, untrath. Hence according to Sukraniti so-called irreligion, immorality, inconsistency, and natruth which are the characteristics of kutayuddha should not at all deter the ting from a course of action that would lead to the desired object.

^{&#}x27;The wise man should be indifferent to fame and name, and never think of glory and konour in achieving his ends. It should be his policy rather to suffer or welcome or invite insult and ignominy for sometime in order that he may triumph in the end.

- 1738-39. The king should grant rewards of wealth, property or privileges to those troops by whom new deeds are performed in the order of their deserts.
- 740-41. The powerful should carefully coerce the enemy by stopping the supplies of water, provisions, fooder, grass etc. in an unfavourable region and then extirpate it.
- *742-45. One should sedulously destroy the enemy's troops by alienating them by gifts of counterfeit gold, and also by alluring them to sleep through acts of confidence after fatigue due to keeping up of nights, but not the army of their allies even though they are under the sway of vices.
- 746. One should never allow a territory very near one's own to be made over to another.
- *747-88. One should commence military operations all on a sudden and withdraw also in an instant and fall upon the enemy like robbers from a distance.
- å749-50. Silver, gold or other booty belong to him who wins it.

 The ruler should satisfy the troops by giving them those things with pleasure according to the labour undergone.
- 751-52. Having thus conquered the enemy, the king should realise revenue from a portion of the territory or from the whole, and then gratify the subjects.
- 753-54. The king should enter the conquered city with the auspicious sound of the turyya and protect like children the people thus won over and made one's own.

¹ If the troops get alienated through enemy's sleights they have to be coerced, but if they perform unexpected feats from which advantages accrue to the master they should be duly rewarded.

^{* **} counterfeit, gold i.e. coins. The rewards by which the enemy's troops are to be made favourable are however not genuine.

to be made so cordial, and friendly that the enemy have perfect confidence in the good faith of the other.

The wisdom of not destroying the army of the enemy's allies is not self-evident.

The time and character of the aggression are to be quite unexpected. The army must be adroitly manœuvred in such a way as to take efficient stand in any capacity. Agility, elasticity and flexibility are the qualities of generalship that would be required for these purposes of quick move and quick change of front.

In if. 728-50, Sukracharyya has described all the methods that may be adopted for extirpating the enemy.

1755-56. The king should appoint councillors to the study of statecraft according as it varies with time, place and circumstances and also as it is the beginning, middle or end, in order that they may find out the values of various policies and the methods of work.

*758-59. The officers of councillors are to explain the business to the Crown Prince. The Crown Prince is then to communicate the findings to the king in the presence of the councillors.

3760-61. The king is first to direct the Crown-Prince. Then he is to direct the ministers, they the officers.

762. The priest is to counsel the king about good and evil courses of action.

⁴763-64. The king should station the troops near the village but outside it. And there should be no relations of debtor and creditor between the village folk and the soldiery.

765. The goods that are meant for the army should be reserved for soldiers in their midst.

766. The troops must never be stationed at any one place for a year.

767. The king should manage the army in such a way that about a thousand can be ready for service in an instant.

768. The military regulations should be communicated to the soldiers every eighth day.

· 769-71. The troops should always forsake violence, rivalry, procrastination over State duties, indifference to injuries of the king, conversion, as well as friendship with the enemies.

772. They should never enter the village without a royal 'permit

773-74. They should never point to the defects of their commanders, but should always live on friendly terms with the whole staff.

775. They should keep the arms, weapons and uniforms quite bright (and ready for use).

¹ The policy must vary of course according as the measure is in the initial stages or in process of fulfilment or about to be completed.

² Thus in the first instance a problem is to be studied by ministers. The Grown Prince is next to know the results from them. The king is to be informed at last. This is the procedure of deliberation.

³ The executive functions are discharged in the order described in these lines.

^{&#}x27;The lay people and the military men must always be kept at a respectful distance from each other both physically and socially. There must also be no credit '-transactions between them.

^{&#}x27;Rules about tidiness and careful handling of arms and uniforms are among the items of military discipline.

'776. Food, water, a vessel measuring one prastha, and vessel in which food for many might be cooked.

777-78. "I shall kill the troops who will act otherwise. You should all show me the booty that you receive from the enemy."

479-80. The king should always practise military parades with the troops, and strike the objective by means of missiles at the stated hours.

781-82. The king should count the troops both in the morning and evening and study their caste, stature, age, country, village and residence.

783-85. The king should have recorded the period served, rate of wages and the amount paid, how much has been paid to servants by way of wages and and how much by way of rewards. He should receive the acknowledgments of their receipts and give them the forms specifying wages etc.

786-87. Full pay is to be granted to those who are trained soldiers. Half pay is to be given to those who are under military training.

788. One should extirpate the troops that have illicit connexions with evil-doers and enemies.

789-90. The king should find out those soldiers who are addicted to the king's vices, enemies of virtues and are indifferent to the vices.

791. The king should always forsake the servants, who, though qualified, are pleasure-seekers.

*792-94. In the inner appartments such men are to be appointed as are

¹ Perhaps the food stores are meant. The troops are to be responsible not only for their personal arms and uniforms but also for their own provisions.

There are three terms used in these three lites indicating three grades of confidence. One is the recommendation for service in the Zenana, the second for service in the Accounts or Treasury Department and the third for appointment as an ordinary officer Trustworthiness is required everywhere but there are grades which make difference between trustworthy and trustworthy people.

The three terms are ह्वान्त विश्वस्त, लेकिविश्वस्त, and स्वान्त सिकविश्वस which is a compound of the two. This last is the qualification for service in the inner apartments.

But what does it mean? Perhaps, the man who is trusted by both win or geople generally as well as because of his went (or inward character?) is fit to be employed in the Zenana.

The man of the next grade of confidence is he whose inward character were is proof against cupidity and other vices. He would be the proper servant in the Treasury. As for ordinary functions of State officers people who are generally trusted by the public (the faces) would make capital functionaries.

In the case of the Zenana officers both the qualifications are necessary because perhaps of the public reputation that is always the great asset of the Royal household. It would therefore not be enough to appoint men whose character is proof against the temptations. They must also be known to the public to be men of high stirling virtues. But in the case of the Treasury where the sole test of character is honesty and avoidance of embezzlement &c., Sukracharyya recommends men who have only one of these qualifications, viz., the possession of a virtuous inner self.

very trusthworty. They are also to be appointed in the Spending Department. So also those who enjoy the confidence of the people are to be appointed for the external functions.

795. If appointed otherwise, they lead to compunction.

'796-98. Those alienated councillors of the enemies and such of their officers as are perpetually dishonoured through the master's vices, and are instrumental in serving one's purposes should be maintained by good remuneration.

199. Those who have been alienated through cupidity and inactivity should be maintained by half remuneration.

800. The king should maintain by good remuneration the well qualified men who have been deserted by the enemy.

801-802. When a territory has been acquired the king should grant maintenance beginning with the day of capture (to the conquered king) half of it to his son and a quarter to his wife.

*803-804. Or he should pay a quarter to the princes if well qualified, or a thirty-second part.

805. He should have the remaining portion of the income from the conquered territory for his own enjoyment.

806-807. He should invest that wealth or its half at interest until it is doubled, but not beyond that limit.

808-809. The king should maintain the dispossessed princes for the display of his own majesty by the bestowal of honours if well-behaved but punish them if wicked.

810-11. The king should divide the whole day (of twenty-four hours) into eight, ten or twelve periods of watch according to the number of the watchmen, not otherwise.

'812-813. At the beginning the watchmen are to serve during the several periods in a certain order. In the second round the first is to serve last, and the others to precede him.

1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 1, 2, 8, 4, 5, 6, 7..... . A, B, C, D, D, O, B, A B, C,

But in this case the last man D would have to serve during two consecutive periods. The arrangement does not seem to be perfect.

^{&#}x27;Sukracharyya is always advocating the policy of keeping the enemy's troops, ministers and officers in one's pay—and subsidising them by secret-service-money.

² The construction here is a little intricate.

³ It is difficult to make out the exact order in which the rounds of watchmen are to be governed. Suppose there are 4 watchmen A, B, C, D, and suppose the day is divided into eight periods 1, 2, 3,8. The order of rounds as suggested here would be:-

- '814-15. Or again, in the same manner, the last may be asked to be on duty in place of the first (in the above case) and then at the last watch (of that day), and then on the next day one who comes in the order of the second etc., should finish his turn first and so on.
- 816. The king should always appoint more than four watchmen for the day.
- 817. He may also appoint many simultaneously according to the weight of business.
 - 818. He should never appoint less than four watchmen.
- 819-22. Whatever have to be protected or instructed should be communicated to the watchman. Everything should remain before him, and he should keep the measured amount of gold and other valuables in the wooden apartment (or trunk) and at the expiry of his term should show that to his successor.
- 823. At intervals the watchmen have to be called aloud from a distance.
- 824-25. It is only when the king follows the rules laid down by the wise that he is respected by the people, not otherwise.
- 826-27. That man deserves sovereignty for life whose activities are regulated, who is good and restrained in his receipts and who gives up illicit incomes.
- *828-29. The man who is unrestrained in his speech and deed, and who is always crooked to friends is forthwith dragged down from his position.

1 2 8 4 5 6 7 8
D C B A A B C D

1 2 8 4 5 6 7 8
D C B A A B C D

1 2 8 4 5 6 7 8
C B A D D A B C

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
B A D C C D A B

1 2 8 4 5 6 7 8
C B A D C C D A B

1 2 8 4 5 6 7 8
C B A D C C D A B

1 2 8 4 5 6 7 8
C B A D C C D A B

1 2 8 4 5 6 7 8
C B A D C C D A B

1 2 8 4 5 6 7 8

and on the fifth day the order will be the same as on the first day, and thus the order repeats itself. Similarly should it be understood when the day (of 24 hours) is divided into ten or twelve watches instead of eight.

² In these lines Sukrâchâryya is expatiating on the efficately of following the निवास of the Niti Sastras. Those who obey the rules are respected and those who do not follow them i. e., श्रुष्ट धानियाणित in word, speech, realisation of revenues (प्रवृष्ट्) etc are not at all respected but soon meet with evil fate.

¹ Suppose there are four watchmen A, B, C, D, and the day (of 24 hours) is divided into 8 watches; then they should be on duty: — on the first day as—

- '830-31. Just as even the tiger and the elephant cannot govern the lion, the king of beasts, so all the councillors combined are incompetent to control the king who acts at his own sweet will.
- *832-33. Those councillors are his servants and hence quite insignificant (in the matter of governing him). The elephant cannot be bound by thousands of bales of cotton.
- 834-35. It is only the powerful elephant that can extricate an elephant from the mud. So also it is only a king who can deliver a king who has gone astray.
- '836-37. The dignity and force that are possessed by even the lower servants of powerful princes cannot be attained by even the ministers of kings who are insignificant.
- *838 39. The unity of opinion possessed by the Many is more powerful than the king. The rope that is made by a combination of many threads is strong enough to drag the lion.
- 840-41. One whose territory is small, who is the servant of the enemy, should never maintain a large army, but should always augment the treasury for the prosperity of his own children.
- *842-43. He should take to food and bed in such a way as to allay hunger and promote sleep, otherwise he shall grow poor.
- 844. The king should always spend money according to the manner indicated above, not otherwise.
- 345,46. Those kings who are devoid of morality and power should be punished like thieves by the king who is powerful and virtuous.
- 847-48. Even the lesser rulers can attain excellence if they are protectors of all religions. And even the greater rulers get degraded if they destroy morality.
- 849-50. It is the king who is the cause of the origin of good and evil in this world. He is the best of all men who attains sovereignty.

* Of course men who are only paid officers cannot prevail over their master when he

· Unity is strength; and the many is always more powerful than the one,

i These `lines continue the idea contained in the above lines about the सन्तिकृति &c. स्वयन्त्राचित् equivalent to सन्तिकृतिकार one who does not abide by any moral precepts but follows his own whims.

It is the dignity of the ruler that contributes to the dignity of the officer. If the king himself be powerless, even his chiefest officers are looked down upon as quite insignificant.

One should eat and aleep only when there is real need for these. Undue eating and sleeping mean gluttony or luxury and idleness. Intemperance of any sort is ruinous.

¹851-52. The science that was appreciated by the sages like Manu and others, had been incorporated by Bhargava or Sukra in the form of twenty-two thousand Ślokas of Nitisara.

853-54. The king who always studies the abridged text of Sukra becomes competent to bear the burden of State affairs.

*855-56. In the three worlds there is no other Niti like that one of the poet (Sukra). The poetical work (of Sukra) is the sole Niti for politicians, others are worthless (as political codes).

*857-58. Those rulers who do not follow Nîti are unfortunate and go to hell either through misery or through cupidity.

Here end the Seventh Section that on the Army in the Fourth Chapter of Sûkranîti as well as the Fourth Chapter.

¹ Sukra follows up the traditions of Manu. There is no mention of Kautilya or Chânakya. It is a remarkable fact that Sukraniti'closely resembles Manusamhità in sentiment as well as language, whereas the Arthasastra or the celebrated socio-political and socio-economic treatise of the Hindus does not seem to have left any significant trace on the work. This fact ought to be carefully borne in mind in fixing the date of Sukraniti in particular and the chronology of the Nitisätras in general.

² Súkranîti is the genuine Nitisastra or real science of morals, others are pseudosciences.

CHAPTER V.

SUPPLEMENTARY AND MISCELLANEOUS.

- 1-2. I shall now speak, in the Supplementary Chapter, of the remaining rules of morality laid down in the Sastras that promote the welfare of the seven organs of the State as well as the people.
- '3-4. One should study the defects and weaknesses of the enemy in the hope that 'I will overpower the enemy even at the expiry of a century.'
- 5-6. The enemy who is weak in councillors and army should fear the servants of the State. But one who is strong in ministers and troops should study the enemy's state by accepting service therein or by adopting the role of the trader.
- *8-9. One should wait guardedly like the cat and the fowler and by creating confidence extirpate the enemy whose soul has been ruined by vices.
- '10-11. The king should engage troops that can destroy the army of the opponents—not those who live in the enemy's territory, nor those who are secretly opposed to himself.
- 12. The king should never destroy one's own army by recklessly undertaking wars.
- The officers should never desert the king even though deprived of gifts and honours.
- 14-15. One should never go over to the enemy's camp in order to protect one's person and property. Can the nourishment that is due to the raig-water from clouds be derived from the water of rivers &c.?
- 16. So also the promotion of the people's weal depends on the property of the king. Can this accrue from the wealth of the rich folk?

Once an enemy, always an enemy. The inimical relations must never be stopped. There may only be temporary constant of hestilites which, however, is to be respected so long as favourable opportunities do not arise.

a No tricks are considered too mean if the object be to destroy the fees. The End justifies the means,

nerile opponent.

Ordinary wealthy people are nothing compared with kings in the matter of promoting people's happiness,

- 17-8. Even the most powerful should always display weakness, and having entered the enemy's state should be instrumental in serving his interests, and when his roots have been well grounded, should win over the whole territory.
- 20-1. He should uproot all the fundamental sources (of that State's strength) and convert to his side its enemies, co-sharers and generals by gifts of revenues.
- 22-3 Just as the branches &c., of a tree wither up when its roots decay, so also without the king, the commanders, &c., (grow powerless) immediately or in the course of some time.
- *24-6. The king is the root of the State, the councillors are the trunks, the commanders are the branches. The troops are the leaves and flowers, the subjects are the fruits, and the lands are the seeds.
- ³27 S. The king should never trust the king whose confidence has been created, and should never meet him in his house or some lonely place accompanied by a few troops.
- *29-30. The king should always keep beside him men who are very much like himself in dress, physique, form, &c., should at times be protected by special signs, and at times look like others.
- *31-3. He should overpower the enemy by the aid of prostitutes, dancers, cf. Lovis XIV's policy towards stuart kings, wines, and songsters.
- 32-3. One should never go out for war with good clothes and ornaments, and kith and kin, or well-marked by special insignia.

ব্যৱাৰ্থপুৰ Whose roots have grown invoterate, i. c., who has been well placed in the affections of the people; who enjoys unbounded confidence.

বাৰণ instrumental (in carrying out the designs of the enemy).

² This fanciful analogy between a tree and the State is quite worthless.

³ Trust and confidence are words that should not be found in the dictionary of diplomats, statesmen and kings.

. Cf. Lovis XIV'S policy towards Stuart kings.

¹ Just as it is the height of art to conceal art, so it is the height of strength to conceal strength. True statesmen never display their powers but always hide their influence and exercise it only when they are sure of their position. This is also the theory of diplomats whose policy is to be 'uncrowned' kings of peoples without formally declaring their position.

- 34. One should never for a moment be careless as regards servants, wife, children and enemies.
- 35-6. While one is living, full sovereignty should never be conferred upon the son, though he is naturally of a good character, for that is the source of great mischief.
 - 36. Even Vishnu did not confer sovereignty upon his own son.
- 38. One should grant sovereignty to the son towards the close of one's life.
- 39-40. Princes are quite incompetent to maintain even for a moment the kingdom that has no king because of their vanity, fickleness' and love of power.
- 41-42. The son after attaining the highest position should protect the subjects according to Niti and look upon the old councillors with respect like father.
- 43-44. They also are to adopt his courses of action when they are reasonable, but should prevent them by putting off, if otherwise.
- 45-46. They should never live with him against the dictates of Niti in the hope of amassing wealth. Those who thus live soon go to the dogs together with him.
- 47-48. The king who opposes the persons devoted to the interests of the dynasty and accepts new councillors is overpowered by the enemy and deprived of person and property.
- 49-50. But the new people are also to be maintained if they are qualified and virtuous, and should be placed in charge of duties together with the old ones.
- ¹51-53. The king is served according to their interests by Sadhus who know how to delude my people or create tricks by means of humility, adoration, service, sweet and truthful speech, both direct as well as indirect.
- . *54. But the difference between them is in reality that between the sky and the earth.
- 55-56. The dhurta (cunning or crafty), the jara (cheat) the thief and the learned men are all producers of artifices and tricks. But the learned man is not so expert as the cunning in this respect.

¹ Sukracharyya is advising the king to be careful in dealing with men. For it is difficult to distinguish men who are really well-intentioned from men who are unfriendly. There are people who know how to look like ascetics and seem to be friends by their manner, speech and tactics. But they would serve you only so long as their purposes are to be fulfilled (are went.).

² The Sadhu adopts those winning arts only to seduce the king. They are not at a 3 gennine.

- ¹57-58. The cheat and the thief are notorious for stealing people's property. These take secretly, but the cunning steals in one's presence.
- 59-60. The dhurtus or cunning people prove to the foolish people a good action to be bad, and a bad to be good, and thus serve their own purposes. They finally ruin people by creating their confidence through tricks and artifices.
- 62-63. One should always do good of those whom one intends toruin. The fowler sings sweet in order to entice and kill the deer.
- 64 Without crafts and sleights no great work can be soon done by people.
- 65-66. No one can be wealthy without stealing others' wealth. That again according to one's desire is impossible without tricks.
- 67-68. Kings consider the robbing of others' wealth the greatest virtue and sacrifice their lives in great conflicts.
- •69. If there accrue no sin to a king, robbers also should be absolved (from sin).
- 370-72. Sins become virtues by a change of circumstances. That is virtue which is applauded by the many; that is vice which is cried down by all. The Theory of Morals is very intricate and cannot be understood by any body.
- 73. Excessive charity, penance and truthfulness lead to adversity in this world.
- 74. Words are valueless which do not lead either to virtue or to wealth (secular interests).
- 75-76. Whoever is able in matters either of wealth or of virtue, whoever knows the (nature of) time and place, whoever is free from doubts, such a man is to be respected, but he who always feels suspicious is not liked.
- 77-79. Man is the slave of wealth, not wealth of any body. So one should always carefully labour for wealth. Through wealth men get virtue, satisfaction and salvation.

¹ Thus the dhurtu is cleverer than the cheat and the thief also.

² If killing, plundering, ravaging, &c., be allowed to kings why should not robbers be immune from hin due, to the perpetration of the same offences? Cf. 'Alexander, too, a robber!'

² Sukracharyya is unable to explain why murder, bloodshed etc should be considered a virtue in kings and a vice in robbers by referring to the preconceived notions of morality, and standards of right and wrong followed by ordinary people. He has to take recourse to the doctrine of the Relativity of Virtues and Vices to the circumstances of life or the conditions of time and place. Hence he is no advocate of absolute morality and warns people against trying to understand the theory of Right and Wrong, Good and End.

- 80-82. Valour without arms and weapons, householdership without wife, war without unity of purpose, skill without one to appreciate, and danger without friend, do always lead to misery.
 - 83. In danger there is no support besides friends.
- '84-85. One should satisfy by friendship the person with whom poperty is undivided, by remuneration the people whose property has been partitioned, and the friend by enjoyments similar to oneself.
- 86,87. One should enjoy one's own wealth after giving away portions to the king, relatives, wife, sons, friends, servants and thieves.
- 88-90. The king should give up pride, vanity, miserliness, anxiety, and fear and perform his work in order to promote his own interest; and should maintain the servants by special gifts, e.g., of love, honour and privilege.
- 91-92. The wealthy man is always being eaten up by Brahmana, fire, and water. He always enjoys happiness, others suffer misery.
- 93-95. Darpa (pride) is the desire for the diminution of others, Mâna (vanity) is the idea of superiority to all, Kârpanya (miserliness) is stinginess in expenditure, Bhaya (fear) is the suspicion about one's own ruin, and Udvega (anxiety) is known to be the fickleness of mind.
- 96-97. Insult from even the insignificant leads to great enmity. Gifts, honours, truthfulness, valour and humility lead to good friendship.
- 98-100. In times of danger the king should call on the wise men, preceptors, brothers, friends, servants, relatives, and councillors and humbly consult their wishes in the proper manner.
- 101-2. "I shall do away with the danger, if you give me your counsels. You are my friends and not servants. I have no other sources of help besides you all."
- 103-4. Half or one-third of salaries should be received by the king for maintenance.
- *104-5. 'I shall remember the benefit rendered by you and pay back the remainder after getting rid of the trouble.'

A In times of emergency the king should pay only half or two-thirds of the fixed salaxies to the officers.

. .

The different modes of dealing with men according to the nature of the relations. If there has been a partition of property among several members, they should try to gratify one another by means of salaries and rewards, for otherwise there cannot be any friendship among them. But if several people are owners of a joint property the relation should not be that of payment by a master to an officer or servant but that between cordinal friends, for in this case no body could care to accept service of somehody, and it would be most undiplomatic of any member to offer salary to others.

- 106. Without remuneration those officers should serve the master for eight years, who have the wealth of sixteen years, others according to their wealth. Only the penniless should receive food and raiment from the king, not others.
- 109-110. If one should not grieve with those by whom one has been well maintained, one is deprecated as ungrateful by both the master as well as other servants.
- 111. One should sacrifice life for the man by whom one has been maintained even once.
- 112-13. He is the excellent servant who does not desert his master in difficulty. He is known to be the master who sacrifices his life for the servants.
- 114-15. There has never been a vituous king like Rama in this world, of whom even the monkeys accepted service.
- 116-17. The unity of even thieves can lead to the destruction of the State. Cannot the unity of the king and the officers lead to the extinction of the enemy?
- 118-19. There was no king like Sri Krishna so well up in falsehoods. He made Arjuna accept his sister Subhadrâ by an artifice.
- 120. That is said to be Reason (Yukti) according to men well up in Niti which lead to one's welfare.
- 121-22. One should first form friendship with him who would do one good, and then by professions of virtue &c. should secure what is beneficial (to oneself).
- 123-24 The recital of others' praises so as to lead to mutual friendship as well as seduction by gifts of desirable commodities, like food, clothing, &c., do always bear fruit.
- 125-26. Those who pose themselves as mediators generally adopt the methods of swearing, false talk and procrastination.
- 127-28. The man who does not adopt the means for hiding himself is more senseless than the beast. Even women employ guises to hide their paramours.

¹ Rere are various grades of officers, some have staying power, others have not. Those th thave staying power, are, again, of various grades. Hence in times of danger the portions of salary that are to be deposited with the State for military or emergency purposes would vary. Some would be able to do without half the salary, some without two-thirds for about 8 years, others for other periods, and so on.

- 129. Yukti or "stratagem" is in most cases of the nature of crafts or artifices and similarly (there is) another (form of it which) achieves practical results.(?)
- '130-31 One should use guile with those who generally employ artifices. Otherwise even the great lose their character.
- 132. There are groups of intelligent people, not single intelligent individuals.
- *133-34 Those who are well-up in Niti employ various kinds of Niti and Yukti according to time, place and circumstances when they see that the old ones fail.
- *135-36. Men who are proficient in the science of crafts and artifices can produce guiles by charms, medicines, dress, time and speech, &c.
- 137-38. One should mark by, one's signs, vessels or clothes purchased, sold or made over in the presence of the State officers, and should communicate to the king in order to prevent deceit and thieving.
- 140. The king should always pay interest for the property belonging to the senseless, the blind and the infants.
- 141-42. Just as women are of three kinds—one's own, common, and belonging to others, so servants are of three kinds, excellent, mediocre and inferior.
- 143-45. The excellent servant is he who is devoted to the master. The mediocre is he who serves the giver of remuneration. The worst servant is he who serves another master, even though maintained by one.
- *146-47. The man who renders beneficial services though injured is excellent but is otherwise bad. The mediocre or second class servant desires equality (or mutuality) of interests. Others are selfish.

¹ Falsehoods can be met only by falsehoods but not otherwise. If guiles and artifices are unnecessarily adopted there is the danger of loss of character.

² हुडू व कालु मासनाव Noticing that the old mothods are futile.

¹ mm e.g., magicians sleights can make people believe that the day is night, the noon is morning and so on.

ambiguous use of language, &c., clever people can ruin the ignorant tolk.

^{&#}x27;The three classes of servants have been previously distinguished according to their attitude towards the remuneration. In 11. 146-147 the same distinction is brought out from another standpoint viz, the study of self-interest. Thus the first class man never caree for self-interest but would serve the master even at a sacrifice. The second class man follows the give-and-take morality, serves the master only so long as his own interests are fulfilled unauffect, i. c. desires (equality). The third class of man cadnot serve at sacrifice. Others care only for self.

- 148. Nothing can be understood fully by means of pramanas (evidences) alone unless there be some (extra) advice regarding it.
- 149. Whether boyhood or youth, it may lead to the completion of the work begun.
- '150. In the case of the intelligent man, old age is never to be considered.
- 151-54. One should begin that work which can easily come to end. The commencement of many things at a time is not satisfactory. One should not commence another work before completing the one begun, for in that ease neither the one is finished, nor the other is gained.
- 155. The successful man always does that which easily comes to completion.
- *156-57. If one's interests can be furthered by a quarrel that is also desirable, otherwise that leads to loss of life, wealth, friends, fame, and virtue.
- 158-59. Zealousy, cupidity, passion, love, anger, fear and recklessness—these seven are known to be the causes of weakness in an enterprise.
- 160-61. One should indeed set himself to do a work in exactly that way in which it can be done without any imperfections or without meeting with the disapproval of the wise, whether it is late or at the time of distress.
- 162-63. The master of ten villages, and the commander of one hundred troops should travel on horseback with attendants, the master of one village also should be a horseman.
- 164. The commander of one thousand troops and the ruler of one hundred villages should each have the vehicle of a chariot and a horse, and ten armed attendants or should travel on horseback
- 166-167. The ruler of one thousand villages should always travel in vehicles carried by men or two horses. The commander of ten thousand troops should travel with twenty attendants on an elephant.
- 168-169. The ruler of ten thousand villages can use all vehicles and four horses. The commander of fifty thousand should travel with many attendants.

^{.1} Perhaps in 11. 149-50 the idea is that age is no consideration in the case of workers. A work can be done by people of any age. Hence credit should be given to any body who can successfully complete a work whether a mere child, a youngman or one sufficiently old.

² Even a quarrel is to be desired if it leads to success.

- '170-171. This should be regulated according to the magnitude of the jurisdiction, also in the case of wealthy and qualified people.
- 172-173. A king who desires good (for himself) should always manage things in his kingdom in such a way that the best should not sink in the scale of honour nor even the low should rise (unduly) high in the scale.
- 174-175. The king should grant lands in the villages to all classes of men, high, middle and low and in the towns for the houses of men with families.
- 176-177. To the lowest class the land given should be thirty-two cubits in length and half of that in extent; to the highest class the land should be double this in measure; and to the middle class it should be one and a half that of the lowest class.
- 178. The land in each case should be just adequate for the members of the family, neither more nor less.
- 179. The officers and servants of the king are to live outside the village.
- 180-181. No soldier is to enter the village without royal business, and oppress the villagers any where.
- 182. Nor should villagers come into daily dealings with the soldiers.
- 183-184. The king should daily make the soldiers hear of the virtues that promote valour and witness the musical and dancing performances that also tend to augment provess.
- 185. The soldiers should not be appointed to any other work besides warfare.
- 186-187. If wealthy men of good manners are ruined in a business, the king should protect them and such like men.
- *188. Those who *are rich among troops (?) should be granted proper remuneration, e. g., one-thirtieth in addition to the actual expenditure in the matter of travelling expenses.

¹ These lines describe the paraphernalia that should grace the men of high position, the aristocracy or the upper ten thousand, whether of office, wealth, or character. These must be marks by which the "dignified parts" of a State should be distinguished.

[.] Here is an instance of State Intervention in Industry and Agriculture. Losses of honest agriculturists or farmers are to be partically made up by State grants.

[&]quot;writer travelling allowance; when such people go abroad on State affairs' they are to receive travelling allowance and this at the rate of Joth more than actual expanditure.

- 190. The king should protect their wealth as his own treasure.
- 191. He should deprive of wealth the rich persons who are dishonest in their dealings.
- '192-193. If four times the value has been received by the creditor from the debtor, the former is to receive no more.

Here ends the Fifth Chapter named Supplementary Niti.

THE END.

^{&#}x27; ব্যুম্বারি Interest to the extent of four times the capital. This seems to be the maximum beyond which equity recommends remission of interests (?)

Index to Important words in Sukraniti.

(The references are to slokas in Gustave Oppert's Edition.)

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द्वितीयोऽच्यायः।

- २ मन्त्र, मन्त्रो, ३ सभ्य,ग्रिकारी,प्रकृति,सभासन्, ४ भिन्नराष्ट्र, भिन्नप्रकृति,
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