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A Textbook

KAUṬILYA'S ARTHAŚĀSTRA

TIMELESS STRATEGIES FOR MODERN GOVERNANCE

Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra:

Timeless Strategies for Modern Governance

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Price:

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Vinayak Rajat Bhat and Tejusvi Shukla

To

The illustrious Cāṇakya and all the revered Ācāryas of Arthaśāstra, whose wisdom and guidance paved the way for enlightened governance.

नीतिशास्त्रामृतं धीमान् अर्थशास्त्रमहोदधेः ।

य उद्‌धे नमस्तस्मै विष्णुगुप्ताय तेजसे ॥

Salutations to the brilliant Viṣṇugupta, who extracted the nectar of Nīti Śāstra (the science of ethics and policy) from the great ocean of Arthaśāstra (the science of wealth and governance).

(Kāmandakīya Nītisāra – 1.6)

श्रुताच्छि प्रज्ञोपजायते, प्रज्ञया योगः योगादात्मवत्ता ।

Wisdom is indeed born of learning; from wisdom comes practical application, and from practical application, self-possession.

(Arthaśāstra – 1.5.16)

Contents

Foreword

By B. Mahadevan

India is a nation with a long civilisational history with recorded history, cultural artefacts, and evidence pointing to more than five millennia of existence. Despite a continuous onslaught of foreign invasions for more than a millennium, the knowledge practices developed by Indians had remained almost intact and were passed on "orally" down the generations. These can be collectively referred to as the Indian Knowledge System (**IKS**).

Knowledge creation is a continuous process in which the society reflects on their experiences, validates continuously their assumptions and refines their understanding further with new insights. Expectedly, a country with a long civilizational history is likely to generate a vast amount of knowledge overtime. The civilizational wisdom is available in a host of literary works as well as in the vibrant oral traditions of this country. The knowledge corpus of India spans across a wide array of subjects including aesthetics, science engineering and technology, linguistics, architecture, and governance and public administration.

The issue of governance and public administration has received continuous attention in India over several millennia. Extensive discussions in the Mahābhārata between Dharma and Bhīṣma form part of a well-known treatise on governance and public administration. Similarly, issues of governance have been discussed in the Rāmāyana when Bharata met Rāma with a keen desire to persuade him to return to Ayodhyā from his vanavāsa.

Of the several works on governance and public administration Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra stands out as a seminal contribution. Arthaśāstra is a political-economic treatise that presents a public administration and governance framework with an assumed model of a monarchy. The main issues discussed in the text include statecraft, economic policy, and military strategy. What distinguishes Arthaśāstra from several other works is the level of detail with which several issues of governance have been discussed. There are several interesting ideas in Arthaśāstra that have a bearing on modern-day governance and public administration. Therefore, the head of any institution such as the Prime Minister of the democratic model of governance, or the CEO of a multi-national corporation can find these guidelines useful.

Ever since the text was discovered in 1905 there has been considerable interest in understanding Kauṭilya's prescriptions on governance. However, there is a death of easily readable material that can benefit the students. There is a need to bring out textbooks which can be the basis to teach the principles of Arthaśāstra in our higher educational institutions. I find the book a timely contribution in this field of study.

Arthaśāstra is a vast text with over 6000 verses organized into 15 books. It requires skill and acumen to carefully select sections from the book and organise it neatly in the form of a textbook without missing the essence of the work. The authors have made a good effort to identify salient aspects and organise them neatly into four chapters. The authors have provided direct quotes of the verses from Arthaśāstra while discussing several aspects of governance wherever required. It brings authenticity to the textbook. Furthermore, this will stimulate the interest of the students to explore the text in original.

I congratulate the authors for their efforts and hope that the students and the educational institutions will find this work valuable to them.

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July 23, 2024

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Foreword

By Sriparna Pathak

The study of international relations, while being one that has permeated all epochs of history, across all geographic spaces, continues to be one dominated by Western schools of thought. Across institutions of learning, even outside the Western world, the theoretical underpinnings to understand international relations come from the Western world, and there is a heavy emphasis on Plato, Aristotle and Machiavelli among others. What has emerged as a result is a lack of clarity or understanding on how states that fall outside the Western world behave. While there are sporadic mentions of Sun Tzu's Art of War and Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra, a complete understanding is far away. As India's economic and political prowess in the international system grows, there is an increasing glare on Indian foreign policies. However, they are either viewed through prisms of Western intellectual understanding or are written off as being too complicated. This has arisen primarily due to the lack of efforts in producing a coherent body of knowledge elucidating some of the key treatises which shaped India's foreign policy thinking from ancient times onwards, and the lack of interest in understanding India's foreign policies from its prisms and not from those of others.

Arthaśāstra becomes one of the key treatises to understand some of the key challenges India currently faces and some of the choices it makes. In the realm of foreign policy, for Kauṭilya, the yardstick for good foreign policy is the extent to which it allows the state to move up the cycle of decline, status-quo and advancement. Foreign policy goals concern safeguarding territory as well as providing economic well-being, as both in myriad ways reinforce each other. Thus, the prospective roles various states in the current international system can play- ranging from the U.S. to Russia to Japan to Korea to China among others, define India's approaches towards them.

One of the main challenges faced in understanding ancient Indian thought on foreign policy, from treatises such as Arthaśāstra, primarily has been the sheer voluminous size. Arthaśāstra is divided into 15 book titles, 150 chapters and 180 topics. A closer look at some of these book titles elucidates some of the domestic and foreign policy challenges that India faces even today. Particularly, the treatise Book seven onwards is of extreme relevance to foreign policy as it discusses the six measures of foreign policy. It discusses the use of the six measures that can be adopted by a state in its relations with foreign states and outlines peace, treaty, war, injury, staying quiet, remaining

indifferent, marching or augmenting for power, seeking shelter or submitting to another and the dual policy of restoring to peace with one and war with another. Reflections of all of these can be seen in current Indian foreign policy. To elucidate- India's abstentions at the United Nations during the Russia-Ukraine war have been grossly misinterpreted by the Western world as it was seeing siding with Russia. Despite ample instances when India's External Affairs Minister, Dr. S. Jaishankar, clearly stated that Europe's wars are not the world's wars, or stating India does not choose sides in wars to which it is not a party, or outlining the necessities for India's energy imports from Russia, or showcasing Western hypocrisy in getting irked by India's imports from Russia on one hand while they imported much more from Russia; the tirades have continued. What has been missed out is an attempt to understand this particular choice India has made through its own lenses. No other head of state has been able to speak directly to Russia, emphasising the necessity for peace, while being invited by the leader of Russia. During times of conflict, constant escalations do not help. Strength is not military strength alone but it also lies in persuasion. An understanding using India's ancient strategic thought could have yielded a better understanding, but unfortunately that has not been the case.

This textbook on 'Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra: Timeless Strategies for Modern Governance' comes at the right time when India's importance in the international system, fuelled by its economic rise increases the necessity to understand how and why India behaves in certain ways in certain foreign policy situations. The book, aimed at equipping educators in the University system across various disciplines is an excellent resource to understand one's own treatises on foreign policy, and adds to India's intellectual prowess. What sets the book apart is the fact, that while the original text of Arthaśāstra is available along with several documentaries on ancient Indian raja-śāstra (akin to statecraft), they have been rendered inaccessible to a wider audience owing to the presupposition that a fundamental understanding of Sanskrit is needed. Very aptly, this book ties the domestic and foreign policy threads of India's policies together and provides a comprehensive understanding of the Arthaśāstra.

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Preface

The journey of creating this book, titled this textbook titled "Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra: Timeless Strategies for Modern Governance" has been both an intellectual endeavor and a collaborative effort of the authors and the IKS Division of the Ministry of Education and University Grants Commission. The genesis of this initiative can be traced back to a fundamental need within academia for a more accessible and reader-friendly rendition of Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra. The IKS Division's ambitious Faculty Development Programmes, aimed at equipping university professors across various disciplines pertaining to the domains across subjects of Indian Knowledge Systems. One of the selected domains for a more detailed training was that of the Arthaśāstra. Once that came into picture, the requirement of reference material for the training highlighted the urgency of creating a reference text that could cater to a broader audience. As these programmes expanded in scope and frequency, it became increasingly evident that there was a pressing need for a comprehensive textbook that could serve not only as a guide for professors and academicians but also as a valuable resource for scholars, students, and professionals from diverse backgrounds.

The impetus behind the creation of this book lies in recognizing and addressing the inherent challenges posed by existing resources on Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra. While the original text and available documentaries offer invaluable insights into ancient Indian raja-śāstra (akin to statecraft), they often presuppose a fundamental understanding of Sanskrit, rendering them inaccessible to a wider audience. In addition, translations of the text occasionally aim to capture its nuanced essence, though they may encounter challenges in fully encapsulating its depth or maintaining precise context. Likewise, while existing commentaries are highly valuable, they often come from experts specializing in either Sanskrit or contemporary subjects, thereby providing a particular viewpoint. In response to these challenges, the authors of this book, drawing from diverse backgrounds and expertise, endeavored to bridge these gaps by presenting a balanced and comprehensive interpretation of Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra.

The design and structure of this book have been meticulously crafted to enhance accessibility and comprehension. Divided into four major chapters, each segment of the Arthaśāstra is explored in detail, accompanied by visual aids, clear learning objectives, relevant shlokas (verses), contemporary examples, and scenario-building exercises. By incorporating contemporary illustrations and real-world applications, the authors aim to elucidate the relevance and applicability

of Kauṭilya's teachings in modern contexts, thereby making the text engaging and relatable to readers. For instance, every categorization has been depicted through a pictorial depiction to break monotony and enhance clarity (types of durgas or forts, types of marraiges, etc.). Moreover, certain visual depictions have been curated as models for the reader's understanding including how the town planning could have looked according to directions in the treatise, the rajamandala in a mandala arrangement, etc. Contemporary examples that make the text more readable and relatable have been added in every possible section ranging from means and ways of taxation, to training and vettting of official appointments to warfare scenarios and foreign policy choices. Where contemporary examples have been insufficient for explanation, hypothetical scenarios have been created in describing policy choices.

What distinguishes this book is its readability, comprehensive explanations, and user-friendly format. Readers will find it to be a valuable resource for understanding Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra, with well-referenced chapters that facilitate further exploration. The authors embarked on an enriching journey while creating this book, delving into different facets of ancient wisdom, and uncovering its profound relevance to contemporary scenarios. As a result, this book represents not only a scholarly endeavor but also a personal odyssey of rediscovery for the authors, fostering a newfound appreciation for the timeless wisdom encapsulated within Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra.

In summary, "Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra: Timeless Strategies for Modern Governance" stands as a testament to the enduring relevance and timeless wisdom of this ancient treatise. It is our sincere hope that this book serves as a valuable resource for scholars, students, professionals, and enthusiasts alike, facilitating a deeper understanding and appreciation of Kauṭilya's profound insights into governance, diplomacy, and statecraft. Through our collaborative efforts, we aim to shed light on the enduring legacy of Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra and its significance in shaping contemporary discourse and practice.

Vinayak Rajat Bhat
Tejusvi Shukla

Acknowledgments

Adhyāya: 1

Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra: An Introduction

LEARNING OUTCOMES

After finishing the chapter, you will be able to:

- Analyze the meanings of the Sanskrit terms "Artha" and "Śāstra" and contextualize their relevance within ancient Indic literature and the broader discourse of governance.

- Explore and explain the evolution of the concepts of 'rājya' (state) and 'rājā' (king) through narratives in ancient texts like the Mahābhārata and elucidate their foundational role in the Arthaśāstra tradition.

- Examine Kauṭilya's approach to compiling the Arthaśāstra, acknowledge the contributions of his predecessors, and understand the structure of the treatise, including its 15 Adhikaraṇas covering various aspects of governance.

- Critically evaluate the challenges in interpreting the Arthaśāstra, such as linguistic nuances and cross-referencing, and discuss the expansive scope of subjects covered. They will also be able to appreciate and articulate the ongoing relevance of this ancient text in contemporary discourse on governance and statecraft.

राज्यस्य मूलम् इन्द्रियजयः ।

rājyamūlam indriyajayaḥ (Cāṇakyasutrāṇi – 4)

The good conduct (of a king and his subjects) is the cornerstone of well governed state.

Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra: An Introduction

1.1. Introduction

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कृत्स्नानां पुरुषार्थानामाकरो भारती मही ।

अर्थः तत्क्षेमयोगार्थं अर्थशास्त्रमिदं कृतम् ॥[1]

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"Bhāratī (the goddess of speech or learning) and the earth (or the world) are the sources of all the aims of human life. This Arthaśāstra (treatise on wealth and governance) has been created for the purpose of securing and achieving those aims."

Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra came into light in 1905 to the modern world. Ever since, the urge to read and understand the text has continued across time and space – ranging from Indian scholars to non-Indian scholars throughout these decades. Often misunderstood as 'economics' in colloquial language, the Arthaśāstra has been explained quite differently in ancient Indic literature. In investigating so, three questions need to be explored: -

1. What does 'Artha' refer to?
2. What does 'Śāstra' mean?
3. What does Arthaśāstra constitute?

The Sanskrit term "Artha" carries multifaceted connotations encompassing meaning, resources, and wealth. In the realms of Arthashastra, does this notion retain its richness? Contemporary regional languages often equate "Arthashastra" with economics. Yet, did this association persist in ancient India? These inquiries beckon elucidation.

Within Vātsyayāna's Kāmasūtra lies a discourse on the profound essence of the four Puruṣārthas: Dharma, Artha, Kāma, and Mokṣa. In unravelling these Puruṣārthas, Vātsyayāna articulates "Artha" as the pursuit of knowledge, mastery of the arts, acquisition of land, gold, livestock, wealth, accoutrements, and companionship. It extends to the safeguarding of essentials and the augmentation of safeguarded assets[i]. (Vātsayāna's Kāmasūtra: 1-2)

Kauṭilya defines the concept of "Artha" and lays down its significance within his seminal work, the Arthaśāstra. In this treatise, "Artha" holds a dual essence[ii]:

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[1] kṛtsnānāṃ puruṣārthānāmākaro bhāratī mahī ।
arthaḥ tatkṣemayogārthaṃ arthaśāstramidaṃ kṛtam ॥

1. The livelihood of a human being is Artha
2. The land with human beings is called Artha

Now let us try to understand the term śāstra. The term śāstra is derived from the root शासु (śāsu) अनुशीष्टौ (anuśīṣṭau) and etymology is 'शिष्यते अनेन इति शास्त्रम्'[2] which means "one which disciplines." There are several meanings for the term śāstra. Such as[iii]:

1. हितशासकम्[3] ("...that which governs the welfare")

2. एकप्रयोजनोपनिबद्धाशेषार्थप्रतिपादकम्[4] ("...that which started for acquiring one pursuit, but eventually achieves a multifaceted benefit")

3. लोकानधिगतार्थज्ञापकत्वम्[5] ("...that which explains what is difficult for the masses to comprehend")

4. प्रवृत्तिश्च निवृत्तिश्च पुंसां येनोपदिश्यते । तद्द्धर्माश्चोपदिश्यन्ते शास्त्रं शास्त्रविदो विदुः ॥[6] ("...that which guides the dharma of 'pravṛtti' (materialistic activity and growth) and 'nivṛtti' (detachment from the material world) has been called by the scholars as śāstra"

Arthaśāstra can be explained against this background: a śāstra that governs the welfare of 'artha'; was started for acquiring one pursuit (the training of rājā in ways of governing his rajya), but eventually achieves multifaceted benefits concerning a rājya; explains in more comprehensible terms the complicated aspects surrounding land and the people residing on that land; and guides in the dharma of 'pravṛtti' (materialistic activity and growth) and 'nivṛtti' (detachment from the material world) for every reader that reads the treatise.

Hence, although the Arthaśāstra covers economics as a one of the constituent elements, it expands way beyond just one discipline by encompassing a vast canvas of sciences that form the basis of governing a rājya by a rājā.

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[2] śiṣyate anena iti śāstram
[3] hitaśāsakam
[4] ekaprayojanopanibaddhāśeṣārthapratipādakam
[5] lokānadhigatārthajñāpakatvam
[6] pravṛttiśca nivṛttiśca puṃsāṃ yenopadiśyate ၊ taddharmāścopadiśyante śāstraṃ śāstravido viduḥ ॥

1.2. Concept of Rājā and Rājya.

Against the above background, understanding the evolution of the concept of 'rājya' (roughly translated as the state) and 'rājā' (roughly translated as the king), as also 'prajā' becomes crucial to contextualize the Bhāratīya Arthaśāstra tradition. To begin with, the people were referred to as the 'Mahājana' initially, and the term 'prajā' came much later[iv], after the emergence of the concept of the rājā. A pivotal reference guiding us through this historical narrative regarding the emergence of the rājā is found within the Śānti Parva of the Mahābhārata, where Bhīṣma imparts wisdom to Yudhiṣṭhira when he is asked regarding the origin of a rājā.

After the Kurukṣetra war ended, in the Mahābhārata's Śāntī Parva, Kṛṣṇa asked Yudhiṣṭhira to go to Bhīṣma, who lay on the arrow couch, and learn about statecraft. In this process of learning, Bhīṣma explained the origin of the concept of rājya (roughly translated as state) and rājatva (kingship). To make this concept clear, Bhīṣma narrates a story[v]:

"There was a time when there was no state, ruler, government, or chief. People protected each other by following Dharma. He says, "नैव राज्यं न राजासीन्न दण्डो न च दाण्डिकः । धर्मेणैव प्रजाः सर्वा रक्षन्ति च परस्परम् ॥"[7] (Śānti Parva, 59.14). But gradually, delusion and the desire for power overcame them. People started ignoring the Vedas and stopped performing rituals. This worried the devatās. They went to Lord Brahmā and explained their problem, saying that unless the people offered something to them through yajñās, the devatās would not be able to provide for their survival necessities (referring to timely rains, etc.).

Fig.1.1: The Arthaśāstra Tradition before Kauṭilya
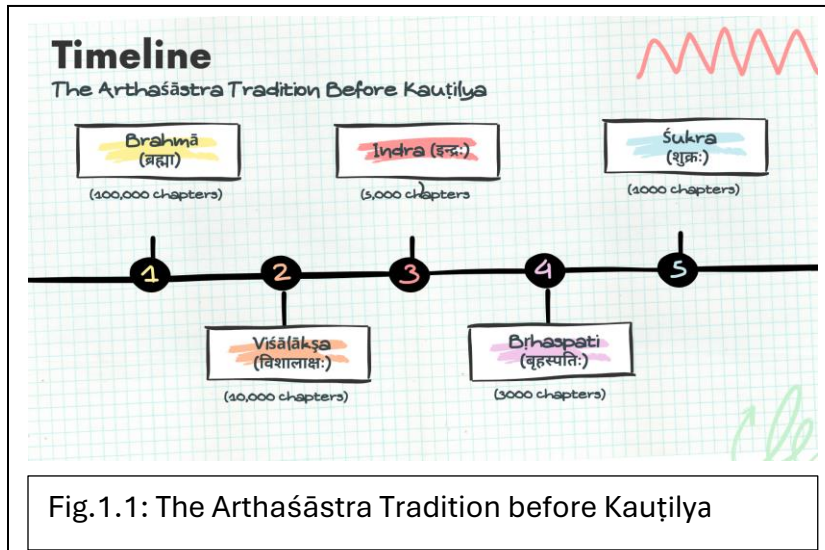
Brahmā understood the gravity of the situation and composed a treatise of 100,000 chapters containing topics related to Dharma, Artha, Kāma, and Mokṣa. This text was later condensed by many scholars (Fig.1.1).

The text was ready, but the question remained: who would bring it into practice and lead the people back to the path of

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[7] naiva rājyaṃ na rājāsīnna daṇḍo na ca dāṇḍikaḥ ǀ dharmeṇaiva prajāḥ sarvā rakṣanti ca parasparam ǁ

Dharma? The devatās turned to Viṣṇū for guidance. Viṣṇū instructed Virajā to take up this responsibility. However, Virajā declined, as he was more interested in self-realization. His son, Kīrtimān, and then his grandson, Kardama, also refused. Finally, Kardama's son, Anaṅga, accepted the responsibility. He worked tirelessly to protect and guide the people in following Dharma and performing yajñās.

Anaṅga's son, Atibala, succeeded him but fell prey to his senses. Atibala's son, Vena, ruled with anger and tyranny, causing suffering to the people. Frustrated with Vena's tyranical rule, all the ṛṣis gathered to put an end to it. The ṛṣis eventually killed Vena, and from the churning of his body, the Niṣādas and the Mlecchas emerged. The Niṣādas settled in mountains and forests, becoming settled tribes. The Mlecchas became nomadic tribes known for their cruelty engaged in looting strangers and hunting endlessly. The ṛiśīs also churned Vena's right arm, from which Prithu was born. Prithu took up the responsibility of protecting the people and establishing Dharma. Pṛthū, skilled in daṇḍanīti (statecraft), sought guidance from the devatās, who instructed him to uphold Dharma consistently and maintain equanimity among all beings. They advised him to restrain lust, anger, greed, and ego, and to use the concept of punishment (daṇḍa) to bring those who transgress Dharma back on the right path. Pṛthu was to consider the Vedas as his final authority and ensure that people fulfilled their varṇa and āśrama duties.

Under Pṛthu's reign, the earth's surface became even, famine and diseases were rare, and there was no fear of reptiles and thieves. Seventeen types of crops were grown, and all creatures performed their duties. Pṛthu's care for his subjects earned him the title of 'Rājan,' marking one of the earliest usages of the word 'Rājā'.

"रञ्जिताश्च प्रजाः सर्वास्तेन राजेति शब्द्यते"[8] (Śānti Parva: Chapter 58, 125) The Mahābhārata defines rājā as one who pleases the people. Here, Viṣṇu, Indra, and ṛṣis offered Pṛthu with the crown; the earth offered him with gems and jewels; the ocean and the Himalayas offered him inexhaustible wealth; the Mount Meru offered precious metals; and Kubera offered him wealth, horses, chariots, elephants, and men.

Another later story, as eras progressed and situations came back to square one, the requirement for organizing the society under a rājā reemerged. This later era regarding the emergence of a rāja situates Manu as the first human being to be accorded that title. This was done so by divine intervention after a period of chaos driven by human desires and conflict[vi]. In such a society, where no king existed, the Law of Fish or 'Matsyanyāya' was prevalent - where the bigger fish would eat the smaller fish for it fulfilling its interest and no justice prevailed. This time Manu was given the responsibility by Lord Brahmā to

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[8] rañjitāśca prajāḥ sarvāstena rājeti śabdyate

establish the rule of Dharma and ensure welfare of all. Initially, Manu resists taking up this responsibility. He pleads, "I fear all the sinful deeds. To govern a kingdom is incredibly difficult, especially among the men who are always false and deceitful in their conduct." Hence, he is persuaded by assurance of a set of promises by the tormented humans, some of which included: -

- The sins committed by the subjects shall not impact the rājā. Those who commit the crime shall be responsible for their own actions.
- For ensuring that the rājā is fulfilled with material resources and can focus on governance, a fiftieth part the subject's animals and precious metals shall be offered to the rājā.
- A tenth of their profits shall be similarly surrendered.
- The men well-versed with using armaments and riding on various animals shall be offered in the service of the rājā.
- A fourth part of the merit acquired under the rājā's protection by the subjects shall belong to the rājā.

In return for all these promises, the rājā was supposed to protect the subjects from all wickedness, injustice, and restore Dharma.

1.3. Tradition prior to Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra

This narrative serves as a foundational backdrop, delineating the evolution of Indian statecraft from its primordial origins to the conceptualization of governance and rulership. The Bhāratīya Arthaśāstra tradition follows this backdrop and has been compiled as literature by various scholars preceding Kauṭilya. Writing in approximately 3rd century BCE, in the opening sentence of his first Adhikaraṇa, he mentions the same – a clarification that his work is not entirely unique. Rather, he builds on the previous scholarly works, compiles, and considering thus he offers his perspectives on various issues concerning statecraft. He mentions,

पृथिव्याः लाभे पालने च यावन्त्यर्थशास्त्राणि पूर्वाचार्यैः प्रस्थापितानि तानि संहृत्य एकमिदमर्थशास्त्रं कृतम् ।[9]

(Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra: 1.1.1)

"This single treatise on the Science of Politics/Governance has been prepared mostly by bringing together (the teaching of) as many treatises on the Science of Politics/Governance as have been composed by ancient teachers for the acquisition and protection of the earth." Here, while Kauṭilya mentions that this treatise is

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[9] pṛthivyāḥ lābhe pālane ca yāvantyarthaśāstrāṇi pūrvācāryaiḥ prasthāpitāni tāni saṃhṛtya ekamidamarthaśāstraṃ kṛtam

based on the work of the "previous scholars," the sequence of these scholars has been offered to us by Vātsyāyana in his Kamasutra. He gives us the sequence of the tradition beginning with Lord Brahmā up to the treatise of Kauṭilya himself." By 'pūrvācārya,' Kauṭilya mentions several scholars throughout his treatise including: Śukra, Bṛhaspati, Viśālākṣa, Piśuna (Nārada), Vātavyādhi (Uddhava), Bhāradvāja (Droṇa), Parāśara, Kauṇpadanta (Bhīṣma), and Bahudantīputra (Indra), among others.

This fact has been reiterated by him in the later part of the treatise where he states, "सर्वशास्त्राण्यनुक्रम्य प्रयोगमुपलभ्य च । कौटल्येन नरेन्द्रार्थे शासनस्य विधिः कृतः ॥"[10] (Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra: 2.10.32) suggesting that he has compiled the rules that the king shall utilize in governing his rājya, after having "gone through all the sciences in detail" and after observing the practice in such matters.

This acknowledgement is reflected throughout the treatise as an ongoing discourse spanning various issues, irrespective of Kauṭilya eventually agreeing or disagreeing with each of them. However, since the works of the previous scholars are not as readily and credibly available currently or are scattered in different texts. For instance, Bhīṣma's Arthaśāstra is part of the Śānti Parva, Kaṇika Nīti in the Ādi Parva, Nārada's Arthaśāstra in the Sabhā Parva, etc., of the Mahābhārata, etc., are available. Similarly other controversies surrounding the authenticity of the authorship of the various texts including the Śukrā's Śukra Nīti and Bṛhaspati Sūtram. Claims that suggest that the texts are compilations or sometimes written by other authors under pen names create ambiguity regarding the authenticity of the compilations. In this situations, Kauṭilya's treatise becomes invaluable in today's time. A notable fact is that even Kauṭilya's treatise was lost in time until re-discovered in 1905. Questions have often arisen investigating reasons behind a text of that detailing and technical richness being lost throughout the centuries.

A prominent explanation derives itself from one common misnomer: Kauṭilya's text was so cruel that it must not to be applied in practice. This notion finds reference not only in much later colonial texts, but also in statement of certain ancient scholars including Bāṇabhatta who in his Kādambarī writes[vii], "किं वा तेषां साम्प्रतं? येषामतिनृशंसप्रायोपदेशनिर्वृणं कौटिल्यशास्त्रं प्रमाणं, अभिचारक्रियाक्रूरैकप्रकृतयः पुरोधसो गुरवः, पराभिसन्धानपरा मन्त्रिणः उपदेष्टारः, नरपतिसहस्रोज्झितायां लक्ष्यामासक्तिः, मारणात्मकेषु शास्त्रेष्वभियोगः, सहजप्रेमीहृदयानुरक्ता भ्रातर उच्छेद्याः[11]" hinting that Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstras suggested several dictums and

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[10] sarvaśāstrāṇyanukramya prayogamupalabhya ca ǀ kauṭalyena narendrārthe śāsanasya vidhiḥ kṛtaḥ ǁ

[11] kiṃ vā teṣāṃ sāmpratam? yeṣāmatinṛśaṃsaprāyopadeśanirvṛṇaṃ kauṭilyaśāstraṃ pramāṇam, abhicārakriyākrūraikaprakṛtayaḥ purodhaso guravaḥ, parābhisandhānaparā mantriṇaḥ upadeṣṭāraḥ, narapatisahasrojjhitāyāṃ lakṣmyāmāsaktiḥ, māraṇātmakeṣu śāstreṣvabhiyogaḥ, sahajapremīhṛdayānuraktā bhrātara ucchedyāḥ

practices that are ideally against the moral governance of any rājya – i.e., usage of unpleasant, and cruel means of achieving the welfare of the people. However, as one reads his treatise, one realizes that this claim is heavily misplaced. As the reader proceeds through his treatise as also this book, that realization becomes more prominent. Through this book, the authors have attempted to bring out this point from across various aspects of statecraft dealt with by Kauṭilya in his text.

These include a discussion on elements of knowledge, how a king should be trained, town planning, fortification, economics, system of law and order, the work of secret agents, how many foreign policy principles exist, how enemies should be dealt with on the battlefield, among many others.

1.4. Framework of Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra

Although the work of Kauṭilya is neither novel nor entirely unique, the nature of the treatise sets it apart from most of its contemporaries. It is notable that while Kauṭilya compiles all previous scholarly texts on the subject, and adds his own perspectives as sūtras, he also provides a commentary for his own sūtras ensuring that they are correctly interpreted. His treatise is so prepared that it contains his sūtras and the bhāṣya. Kauṭilya writes a bhāṣya for his sūtras since he did not want it to be misinterpreted. The final Adhikaraṇa's final Kārikā states, "दृष्टा विप्रतिपत्ति बहुधा शास्त्रेषु भाष्यकाराणाम् । स्वयमेव विष्णुगुप्तः चकार सूत्रं च भाष्यं च ॥[12] (Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra 15.1)," thus reinstating facts. It contains: - 15 Adhikaraṇas, 180 Prakaraṇas, 150 Adhyāyas, 350 Kārikās.

The last Adhikaraṇa, titled 'Tantrayukti,' further explains the methodology of the text including certain critical terms used, yuktis present, and style of writing. It is in this book that Kauṭilya gives us the definition of Artha, hence explaining Arthaśāstra a Science of Politics/Governance.

1.4.1. Available commentaries of Arthaśāstra

So far, seven commentaries of the treatise have been compiled. Of these, 6 are older commentaries and one of them is a newer one by Dr. T. Ganapati Shastri. Manuscripts were found in different parts of Kerala and one in North India were found since 1905 (commentaries of different segments of the original manuscript) and thus compiled differently. The final, compiled version that forms the basis of all later works is the manuscript of Dr. Shastri. Table 1.1 gives the brief about those manuscripts.

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[12] dṛṣṭā vipratipatti bahudhā śāstreṣu bhāṣyakārāṇām ǀ svayameva viṣṇuguptaḥ cakāra sūtraṃ ca bhāṣyaṃ ca ǁ

S.No	Title	Author	Chapters	Found
1.	Pratīpacandrika	Bhaṭṭasvāmi	8th Adhyāya of 2nd Adhikaraṇa	Kerala
2.	Nayacandrika	Mādhavayajva Miśra	7th Adhyāya of 8th Adhikaraṇa	Kerala
3.	Jayamaṅgala	Śaṅkarārya	Upto the end of 1st Adhikaraṇa	Kerala
4.	Cāṇakyaṭīka	Bhikṣuprabhāmatiḥ	2nd Adhikaraṇa and 1st Adhyāya of 2nd Adhikaraṇa	Kerala
5.	Nītinirṇītiḥ	Yoggahama/Mugdhavilāsaḥ	7th Adhyāya of 8th Adhikaraṇa	North-India
6.	Bhāṣakauṭalīyam[13]	-	1st Adhikaraṇa. to beginning of 2nd Adhikaraṇa.	Kerala
7.	Śrīmūlam	Dr. T. Ganapati Shastri	Complete	

Table 1.1: Commentaries found on Arthaśāstra

1.4.2. Chapterisation of the Arthaśāstra

This treatise may be studied under three broad categorizations: Tantrādhikāra (Internal Administration) ranging from Adhikaraṇas 1 to 5; Avāpādhikāra (External Administration or Foreign Policy) ranging from Adhikaraṇas 6 to 14; and the final Adhikaraṇa discusses the Tantrayukti, or methodology. The sixth Adhikaraṇa offers a bridge between the two major segments of Tantrādhikāra and Avāpādhikāra - introducing the Saptāṅga Rājya theory and Yoga Kṣema – which offers us a framework to study the Arthaśāstra.
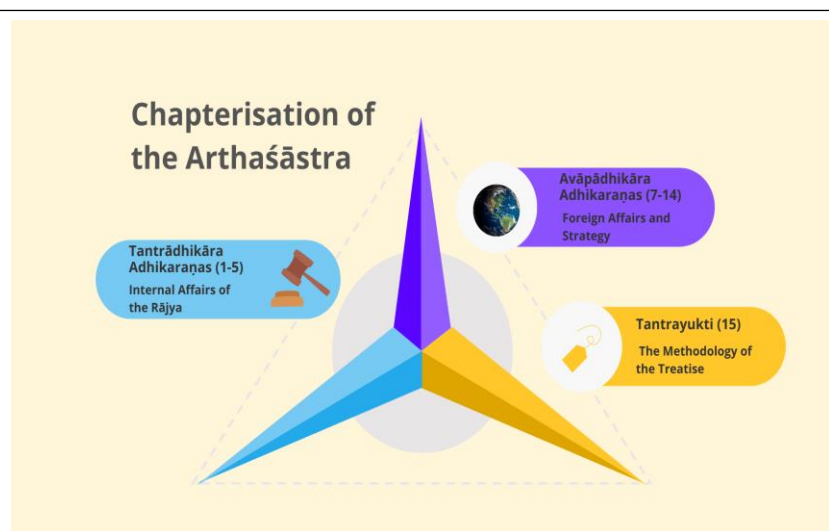
Fig 1.2: The sixth Adhikaraṇa acts as a bridge between the two major segments of the Treatise.

Before proceeding with a detailed discussion of the segments, as

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[13] This commentary is in Malayalam.

mentioned, the table below an introductory overview of each Adhikaraṇa for the ease of reading the following chapters in this book.

Adhi.No.	Name	Contents
1.	विनयाधिकरणम् (Vinaya Adhikaraṇa)	Training of a king – ministers – Spies – protecting the self-etc.
2.	अध्यक्षप्रचारः (Adhyakṣa Pracāraḥ)	Information related to town planning, fort etc. The state of bureaucracy; focus is on fiscal and economic policy
3.	धर्मस्थीयम् (Dharmasthīyam)	Legal system with emphasis on civil law (Transaction – Kanyā-śulka – Inheritance – Loan – Servant laws etc.)
4.	कण्टकशोधनम् (Kaṇṭakśodhanam)	Criminal law, including investigations and court proceedings
5.	योगवृत्तम् (Yogvṛttam)	Monitoring and control of state apparatus, using the intelligence service – Salary of different officials
6.	मण्डलयोनिः (Maṇḍalayoniḥ)	The seven state elements (Saptāṅga), Maṇḍala Theory (International relations)
7.	षाड्गुण्यम् (Śāḍguṇyaṃ)	The six methods of foreign policy
8.	व्यसनाधिकारिकम् (Vysanādhikārikaṃ)	Causes of degradation of state factors and ways to counter that
9.	अभियास्यत्कर्म (Abhiyāsyatkarma)	Planning foreign policy and/or military operations
10.	साङ्ग्रामिकम् (Sāṅgrāmikam)	The armed forces and its military branches; discussion of different warfare and operational issues.
11.	सङ्घवृत्तम् (Sṅghavṛttam)	Subversion and covert against competing or hostile states
12.	आबलीयसम् (Ābalīyasam)	Use of diplomacy and intelligence operations by a weaker against a stronger state
13.	दुर्गलम्भोपायम् (Durgalambhopāyam)	Conquest of the enemy capital, its surrender should be achieved without storming it
14.	औपनिषदम् (Auapaniṣadam)	Means of deception and destabilization of the enemy: psychological warfare
15.	तन्त्रयुक्तिः (Tantrayuktiḥ)	The methodological concepts underlying the work.

Table 1.2: The 15 Adhikaraṇas of Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra

Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra: Timeless Strategies for Modern Governance

1.5. Complications in understanding or interpreting Arthaśāstra

Each of these 15 Adhikaraṇas touches on one aspect of a specific subject dealing with governance of a rājya. Each of these shall be expanded upon, and the book attempts to make it more accessible to the common readers – academicians and non-academicians alike. The most prominent challenge faced during the reading of Arthāśāstra, like most ancient texts – lies in the original texts' availability in Sanskrit. This creates issues in understanding the text despite translations being readily available. It is notable that each of these translations translate the text to the letter, and often meant for informed readerships are compiled with the assumption of a larger contextual understanding of the text. Often, this results in missing nuances and depth of the texts where readers from a non-Sanskrit background are concerned. Often translations given in various texts translate the text to the letter, disregarding cultural differences – like issues non-existent in English language being translated, thus creating a confusion.

One instance is in one of the translations of the Arthaśāstra, the Sanskrit term 'Sagandha' has been rendered as 'similar smell.' This translation, while literally accurate, does not capture the full contextual meaning of the term. In the specific context of the Arthaśāstra, 'Sagandha' is more accurately understood as referring to someone who shares similar thoughts, characteristics, or inclinations. This nuanced understanding is crucial for accurately interpreting the text and appreciating the depth of its insights into human behavior and governance.

Another issue related to reading Sanskrit texts in part is related to the frequent cross-referencing that authors and composers have done within the text. At several instances, including in Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra, concepts that have been explained in the earlier parts of the text are not re-explained. This reference is crucial for understanding the text at any point, resulting in erroneous interpretations otherwise. A segment in Avāpādhikāra section of Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra discusses situations wherein specific policies are supposed to be used by a king while dealing with other kingdoms. While explaining one such situation, the recommended policy must be according to the 'measures recommended for the weaker king' (Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra: 7.3.14). Here, these recommended measures refer to a separate Adhikaraṇa (book) altogether instead of some generic measures scattered throughout this chapter. This is lost in the translation, and makes the reader gain only a portion of Kauṭilya's detailed dictums elaborated in a separate Adhikaraṇa.

A lack of subject awareness is also one such issue. Since it deals with such a vast basket of domains, such instances occur in almost every Adhikaraṇa. For instance, in the Vinaya Adhikaraṇa, while discussing Trayī which constitutes the study of the three Vedas, it is assumed by an unaware reader that Trayī is limited to: the Ṛg Veda, Yajur Veda and Sāma Veda. The following statements expand upon the Vedāṅgas that it

constitutes. This creates a chaos for a reader: if 'Trayī' refers to the three Vedas, why should everything else be studied? And, if everything else must be studied, why should this element of knowledge be called 'Trayī' which essentially refers to 'three'? However, while addressing the same set of questions with prior knowledge of the language and the respective subject, one realizes that all of these are interconnected, hence are studied as a whole and not as individual parts.

1.6. Conclusion

This book attempts to delve into an inquisitive exploration of the wisdom transferred to us through generations in the form of a centuries-old tradition. In doing so, it shall offer the readers a brief overview of the text while simultaneously addressing the issues discussed.

Summary

- Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra, discovered by Dr. R. Shamashastry in 1905, has sparked ongoing interest among scholars worldwide, transcending cultural boundaries.

- Artha, a Sanskrit term, encompasses wealth, resources, and meaning, reflecting multifaceted dimensions in ancient Indic literature.

- Artha in Arthaśāstra means livelihood of a human being or the land with human beings.

- Śāstra, derived from the root शासु (śāsu), implies discipline or governance, signifying a comprehensive body of knowledge.

- Arthaśāstra, while including economics, extends beyond to govern various aspects of statecraft, offering guidance on management, governance, economics, law, and diplomacy.

- The concept of 'rājya' (state) and 'rājā' (king), crucial to understanding Arthaśāstra, evolved from ancient narratives like the Mahābhārata.

- Bhīṣma's narrative in the Mahābhārata outlines the emergence of kingship and the duty of kings to uphold Dharma, paving the way for governance.

- Kauṭilya acknowledges predecessors and compiles their works into Arthaśāstra, emphasizing continuity and building upon existing knowledge.

- The treatise spans 15 Adhikaraṇas, addressing various aspects of governance, from internal administration to external affairs and military strategy.

- Challenges in understanding Arthaśāstra arise from linguistic nuances, cross-referencing, and the vastness of subjects covered, requiring contextual awareness.

Review Questions

1. What are the origins of Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra, and how did it come to light in the modern world?

2. Compare and contrast the definitions of 'Artha' and 'Śāstra' provided in ancient Indic literature with their colloquial interpretations in contemporary regional languages. What implications does this have for the study of Arthaśāstra?

3. Analyze the challenges associated with interpreting Arthaśāstra, such as linguistic nuances, cross-referencing, and the comprehensive scope of subjects covered. How do these challenges impact the understanding of the text?

4. Evaluate the significance of the narratives from the Mahābhārata, particularly the Śānti Parva, in shaping the concepts of governance and rulership in the Arthaśāstra tradition. How do these narratives inform our understanding of political philosophy?

5. Explore the implications of the ongoing relevance of Arthaśāstra in contemporary discourse on governance and statecraft. How does the treatise continue to influence political thought and practice?

End Notes

[i] विद्याभूमिहिरण्यपशुधान्यभाण्डोपस्करमित्रादीनामर्जनम्, अर्जितस्य विवर्धनमर्थः । vidyābhūmihiraṇyapaśudhānyabhāṇḍopaskaramitrādīnāmarjanam, arjitasya vivardhanamarthaḥ. (1.1.9) Goswami Damodar Shastri (1929). "The Kamasutra", Chaowkhamba Sanskrit Series office, Benaras.

[ii] मनुष्याणां वृत्तिरर्थः, मनुष्यवती भूमिरित्यर्थः । manuṣyāṇāṃ vṛttirarthaḥ, manuṣyavatī bhūmirityarthaḥ ॥ 15.1.1. For all references to Arthaśāstra verses quoted in this book, refer Kangle, R.P. (1972). "The Kauṭilya Arthaśāstra – Part I: A critical edition with a glossary" (For original Sanskrit text), and Part II (For English Translation), Motilal Banarsidass, New Delhi.

[iii] All these meanings are taken from the Sanskrit Dictionaries (Vācaspatyam and Śabdakalpadruma)

[iv] Shatavadhani Dr.R Ganesh, Sandeep Balakrishna, Hari Ravikumar (2023): Kshattra: The tradition valour in India.

[v] For details see, Dutt, M.N. (2008). "Mahābhārata – Vol. VII Śānti Parva", Parimal Publications, New Delhi Chapter 59.

[vi] For details see, Dutt, M.N. (2008). "Mahābhārata – Vol. VII Śānti Parva", Parimal Publications, New Delhi Chapter 67.

[vii] Bhakta, T. (2001). Shuknasopadesh. In *Internet Archive*. R. Lal & A. Kumar. https://archive.org/details/shuknasopadesh-ramnarayan-lal-arun-kumar/shuknasopadesh-hindi-translation-ram-narayan-lal-arun-kumar/page/n75/mode/2up?view=theater (Page 54).

Adhyāya: 2

Tantrādhikāra: Internal Affairs of the Rājya

LEARNING OUTCOMES

After finishing the chapter, you will be able to:

- Articulate the foundational principles of governance as outlined in Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra, including the training of the rājā, the process of ministerial appointment, the deployment of the secret service, and the establishment of the legal framework.
- Demonstrate an understanding of the detailed process involved in examining and appointing ministers as prescribed in the Arthaśāstra.
- Explain the strategic deployment of secret agents for intelligence gathering, surveillance, and law enforcement within the rājya, according to the principles outlined in the Arthaśāstra.
- Analyze the comprehensive scope of governance covered in Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra, including territorial organization, town planning, fortification, standardization of weights and measures, and legal structures.
- Gain insights into the intricate legal framework proposed by the Arthaśāstra and will be able to describe the roles of judges and magistrates in resolving disputes, addressing criminal activities, and ensuring justice and equity.

अजातविद्यावृद्धसंयोगो हि राजा निरङ्कुशो गज इव सद्यो विनश्यति ।

ajātavidyāvṛddhasaṃyogo hi rājā niraṅkuśo gaja iva sadyo vinaśyati ।

Somadevanītisūtrāṇi – 5.56

A king without the guidance of the wise and training in knowledge streams perishes swiftly like an uncontrolled elephant.

Tantrādhikāra: Internal Affairs of the Rājya

विद्याविनीतो राजा हि प्रजानां विनये रतः ।

अनन्यां पृथिवीं भुङ्क्ते सर्वभूतहिते रतः[1] ॥

For the king trained in the sciences, intent on the discipline of the subjects, enjoys the earth without sharing it with any other , being devoted to the welfare of all beings. (1.5.17)

Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra, has the sequencing of the topics which appears fascinating. The first five chapters of this treatise deal with internal aspects of maintaining a rājya including the training of a potential rājā, planning of the infrastructure and internal security, and law and order of a rājya. As part of Tantrādhikāra, the five Adhikaraṇas that we shall be covering include: Vinayādhikaraṇa, Adhyakṣaprachāraḥ, Dharmasthīyam, Kaṇṭakaśodhanam, and Yogavṛttam.

2.1. Vinayādhikaraṇa: The Topic of Training

This Adhikaraṇa deals with the topic of training, or 'Vinaya.' It must be noted that unlike colloquial usage, 'Vinaya' here does not translate into humility. It refers to 'training.' Followed by providing the initial index for the treatise, this book extensively deals with the topic of training of the rājā, the appointment of ministers, secret services, and rigorous examinations for each of those, among other detailed topics.

Sl. No.	Prakarṇa (Aphorisms)	Topics Covered
1.	**Vidyāsamuddeśaḥ**	This chapter covers the four essential sciences (ānvīkṣikī, trayī, vārttā, daṇḍnīti) required for the rājā's training.
2.	**Vṛdhhasaṃyogaḥ**	This chapter emphasizes the importance of association with elders – both in terms of age and wisdom. It further details on the daily routine of the rājā's training.
3.	**Indriyajayaḥ**	It covers the relevance of a rājā having control over his senses (Indriyajaya) and thereby becoming a Rājarṣi.

Table 2.1: First three chapters of Vinayaādhikaraṇa

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[1] vidyāvinīto rājā hi prajānāṃ vinaye rataḥ ǀ ananyāṃ pṛthivīṃ bhuṅkte sarvabhūtahite rataḥ ǀǀ

2.1.1. Four Branches of Knowledge

In the pursuit of grooming an effective ruler, Kauṭilya, in his seminal work, underscores the imperative of education across diverse domains. He outlines four essential sciences that a rājā must master: आन्वीक्षिकी त्रयी वार्ता दण्डनीतिश्चेति विद्याः [2] ।

Fig.2.1: Four Knowledge Streams
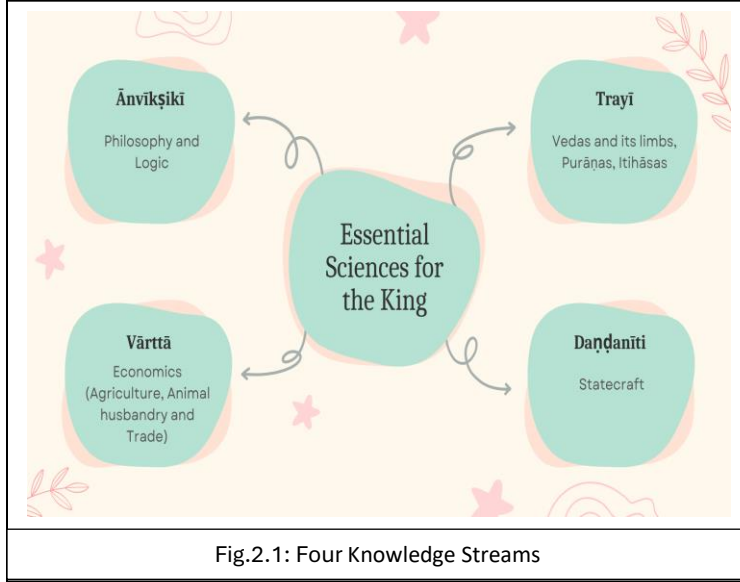
(Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra: 1.2.1), i.e., Ānvīkśikī (Philosophy), Trayī (the knowledge of the three Vedas), Vārttā (economics), and Daṇḍanīti (the science of governance). These sciences collectively furnish the monarch with the requisite wisdom and skills to govern effectively. Ānvīkśikī, etymologically derived from 'anu' and 'īkṣā' which refers to relook or re-examine. Anvīkśā Prayojanam yasyāḥ (the treatise in which the objective is Anvīkṣā, by that implication becomes a śāstra that offers a training in ānvīkṣikī through an understanding of logic and argumentation.

2.1.1.1. Ānvīkṣikī

Ānvīkṣikī constitutes the knowledge of Sāṃkhya, Yoga, and Lokāyata, representing a philosophical and logical inquiry into the nature of existence. Through this discipline, the rājā learns to discern or judge what is 'right,' thereby fostering a steady mind amidst both adversity and prosperity. (Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra: 1.2.11)[1] In the order of priority, Kauṭilya mentions that Ānvīkṣikī acts as the "lamp of all sciences" guiding the rājā to put all other skills and knowledge into appropriate use. He states, "प्रदीपः सर्वविद्यानाम् उपायः सर्वकर्मणाम् । आश्रयः सर्वधर्माणां शश्वदान्वीक्षिकी मता[3] ॥ (Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra: 1.2.12)," meaning that ānvīkṣikī is the lamp of all sciences, the means of all actions, and the support of all laws made and implemented. It is notable that each of three other sciences (Trayī; Vārttā; and Daṇḍanīti) depend on the knowledge of Ānvīkṣikī which assists a potential rājā to differentiate between 'dharma' and 'adharma'

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[2] ānvīkṣikī trayī vārttā daṇḍanītiśceti vidyāḥ ।

[3] pradīpaḥ sarvavidyānām upāyaḥ sarvakarmaṇām । āśrayaḥ sarvadharmāṇāṃ śaśvadānvīkṣikī matā ॥

while being trained in Trayī; 'artha' and 'anartha' while engaging in Vārttā; and 'naya' (good policy) and 'apnaya' (bad policy) while exercising daṇḍanīti – hence being the guiding lamp of the four sciences.

2.1.1.2. Trayī

Further, Trayī delves into the spiritual realm, guiding the rājā in understanding the deeper principles of existence as elucidated in Vedic literature. It instils in the ruler a profound sense of morality and righteousness, essential for just governance. It constitutes the knowledge of the Ṛg Veda, the Yajur Veda, and the Sāma Veda, along with the Atharva Veda, and Itihāsas. These shall be appropriately understood and interpreted through the study of the six Vedāṅgas: Chandas; Śikṣā; Kalpa; Vyākaraṇa; Jyotiṣa; Nirukta.[2] This extended composition of Trayī reflects the seamless interconnectedness of the śāstric traditions, such as understanding one thing without the understanding of the other results in major errors of interpretation and practice. Many issues emerge from this kind of selective reading. For instance, a single word or phrase may have different meanings in different contexts of time and space[3]. Hence, complete knowledge of each of the six Vedāṅgas, therefore, was a mandatory prerequisite for a rājā to get trained in Trayī. This knowledge was instrumental in prescription of duties according to the varṇa-āśrama dharma. Knowledge of these was essential for every prospective rājā to maintain order in the society and rājya he shall govern.

2.1.1.3. Vārttā

Vārttā, or economics, equips the rājā with the knowledge of material gain and loss. Understanding economic principles is crucial for ensuring the prosperity of the rājya and the well-being of its subjects. This includs mainly agriculture (kṛshī), cattle-rearing (pāśu-pālya), and trade (vāṇijya) – three major economic activities in Kauṭilyan times. It yields grains, cattle, money, forest produce and labour using which king gets control over his enemies by the use of treasury and army[4]. It formed a crucial science for the rājā as the nature and stature of his engagements with his enemies and allies outside depended on his rājya's economic prosperity. The constituent elements of his rājya (army, ministries, etc.) that interact and become the tools of his engagements with the enemies are dependent on the strength of the kośa or treasury. This includes most significantly 'daṇḍa' or the army. While ranking in primacy, Kauṭilya mentions that a rājya with every other constituent element in a position of strength but the kośa weak shall not be secure for long. While, in the opposite scenario, even if the army is in a bad shape, but the rājā has economic strength, security may be ensured[5]. (Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra: 8.1.34)

2.1.1.4. Daṇḍanīti

Daṇḍanīti entails mastering the science of governance. Through this discipline, the rājā learns the nuances of statecraft, enabling them to formulate and implement policies that serve the interests of the rājya. Through the Daṇḍa, the rājā may be able to ensure the pursuit of Ānvīkṣikī, Trayī, and Vārttā[6]. The term 'Daṇḍanīti' itself has been variedly interpreted – as the science of politics, the power of punishment or sanction. For instance, the Śānti Parva says, "...this world is led (on the right path) by daṇḍa (the power of punishment or sanction) or this science carries (or sets forth) the rod of punishment; hence it is called daṇḍanīti and it (faces) pervades the three worlds[7]." It further says that "Daṇḍanīti controls the four varṇas so as to lead them on to the performance of their duties and when it is employed by a ruler properly, it makes them desist from adharma[8]". Here, therefore, Śānti Parva explains daṇḍanīti as 'rājadharma.' Kāmandaka's Nītisāra (II.15), however, says that "dama (control or chastisement) is called daṇḍa and the rājā is the daṇḍa because control is centered in him; the nīti (principles) of daṇḍa is called daṇḍanīti and the nīti is so called because it leads (people)[9]." Kauṭilya's (1.4.3-4) explanation forms a culmination of these varied interpretations, and in his Arthaśāstra, he defines it such that "Daṇḍa is the means of the stability and welfare of Ānvīkṣikī, Trayī, and Vārtta; the principles that leads daṇḍa are called daṇḍanīti, which is the means of acquiring of what has not been acquired, guarding that has been acquired, increasing what is guarded and distributing (increased wealth) among the deserving."[10] Here, he interestingly leads daṇḍanīti as the means of maintaining Yoga-kṣema (acquiring, expanding, guarding, and enjoying/distributing). By implication, he uses daṇḍanīti as synonymous with Arthaśāstra.

While ensuring the maintenance of this order, he further exemplifies the usage of daṇḍa – something that reflects several challenges faced by contemporary governments till date. He adds to when the ancient teachers say, "there is no such means for the orderly governance of beings as daṇḍa[11]." Instead, he emphasizes, "तीक्ष्णदण्डो हि भूतानामुद्वेजनीयो भवति । मृदुदण्डः परिभूयते । यथार्हदण्डः पूज्यते[4] ॥" (Kauṭilya Arthaśāstra: 1.4.8-10), meaning, "...the rājā, severe with the daṇḍa, becomes a source of terror to beings and mild with it, is not taken seriously. On the contrary, the rājā who is using the daṇḍa judiciously is honoured. This reflects genuine issues concerning the idea of "proportionality" in the modern sense which holds true across domains – from the conflict in ensuring the individual right to privacy and national security; as well as deciding the scale of military response for controlling insurgencies and militancy within modern nation states.

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[4] tīkṣṇadaṇḍo hi bhūtānāmudvejanīyo bhavati । mṛdudaṇḍaḥ paribhūyate । yathārhadaṇḍaḥ pūjyate ॥

2.1.1.5. Means of Acquiring Knowledge

Here, Ānvīkṣikī as well as Trayī must be learned from the "elders" referred to as 'Vṛddha' inclusive of 'Jñāna Vṛddha' or elder by knowledge and 'Vayo Vṛddha' or elder by biological age. Vārttā must be learned from practitioners including superintendents and chiefs of various departments who have first-hand knowledge of the domain. Daṇḍanīti must be learned from both the vaktā (scholar) and prayoktā (practitioner) of the discipline, because while ensuring governance is done right, a sound knowledge of the text and practical challenges becomes crucial. Having attained these, Kauṭilya emphasizes that the acquisition of knowledge in these diverse domains is paramount for a ruler to become complete – a Rājarṣi, or a 'sage-like rājā'. This is considered not only desirable, but also essential. Such a rājā has active control over his rājya's affairs and himself. Kauṭilya asserts that disciplined education is the foundation of sensory control, as encapsulated in the Sanskrit aphorism: "इन्द्रियजयस्य मूलं विनयः[5] । (Cāṇakya Sūtra: 1.5)", roughly meaning that the root of sensory control lies in disciplined education. This is elaborated in the sixth chapter of this book, where he refers to this as a premise of good governance by a rājā: -

विद्याविनयहेतुरिन्द्रियजयः कामक्रोधलोभमोहमदहर्षत्यागात् कार्यः । कर्णत्वगक्षिजिह्वाघ्राणेन्द्रियाणां शब्दस्पर्शरूपरसगन्धेष्वविप्रतिपत्तिः इन्द्रियजयः शास्त्रानुष्ठानं वा । कृत्स्नं हीदं शास्त्रम् इन्द्रियजयः[6] ।

(Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra: 1.6.1-3)

"Control over the senses, which is motivated by training in the sciences, should be secured by giving up lust, anger, greed, pride, arrogance, and foolhardiness. Absence of improper indulgence in (the pleasures of) sound, touch, colour, taste, and smell by the senses of hearing, touch and sight, the tongue, and the sense of smell, means control over the senses; or the practice of (this) science (gives such control). For, the whole of this science means control over the senses."

Here, it must be clarified that Kauṭilya does not dictate or expect the rājā to be devoid of desires in the material world. Kauṭilya categorically puts it, saying,

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[5] indriyajayasya mūlaṃ vinayaḥ ।

[6] vidyāvinayaheturindriyajayaḥ kāmakrodhalobhamohamadaharṣatyāgāt kāryaḥ । karṇatvagakṣijihvāghrāṇendriyāṇāṃ śabdasparśarūparasagandheṣvavipratipattiḥ indriyajayaḥ śāstrānuṣṭhānaṃ vā । kṛtsnaṃ hīdaṃ śāstram indriyajayaḥ ।

"धर्मार्थाविरोधेन कामं सेवेत, न निःसुखः स्यात् ॥ समं वा त्रिवर्गमन्योऽन्यानुबन्धम् ॥ एको ह्यत्यासेवितो धर्मार्थकामानाम् आत्मानम् इतरौ च पीडयति[7] ॥ (Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra: 1.7.3-5).

He states that a rājā must enjoy his sensual pleasures without contravening his dharma and material well-being and should not deprive himself of pleasures – for devoting himself equally to all the three puruṣārthas or goals of life (dharma, artha and kāma) which are ordained and interlinked. However, either of these must not be engaged excessively as it negatively impacts all the puruṣārthas collectively. Kauṭilya highlights the importance of being desirous such that the outcomes and motivations are not 'artha-virudhha', which means they are in harmony with the yoga-kṣema of the rājya, as, "अर्थ एव प्रधान इति कौटिल्यः । अर्थमूलौ हि धर्मकामाविति[8] ।" (Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra: 1.7.6-7), meaning, artha alone is supreme as the rest of the puruṣārthas depend on the prosperity of artha.

Sl. No.	Chapters	Topics Discussed
1.	**Amātyotpattiḥ**	The chapter delves into the relevance, nature, appointment, examination, and protection of ministerial appointees by the rājā.
2.	**Mantripurohitotpattiḥ**	In this chapter, Kauṭilya details on the qualities required for an individual to be recruited as a mantrī.
3.	**Upadhābhiḥ Śauca-aśauchajñānam amātyānām**	Kauṭilya directs that they must be examined for Dharma, Artha (Wealth), Kāma (Desire), and Bhaya (Fear) through various means using secret agents. These tests are termed as 'Upadhās,' hence referred to as Dhramopadhā; Arthopadhā; Kāmopadhā; and Bhayopadhā.

Table 2.2: Chapters on ministers in Vinayaādhikaraṇa

2.1.2. Council of Ministers

The eighth chapter of this Adhikaraṇa addresses the significance and nuances of the Council of Ministers in a ruler's administration. It delves into the relevance, nature, appointment, examination, and protection of ministerial appointees by the rājā. According to Kauṭilya, a wise and effective ruler should surround himself with educated and experienced individuals as ministers and advisors. These ministers should be granted significant authority as they play a pivotal role in guiding the rājā towards proper conduct and preventing errors or harm. Their counsel is invaluable, especially during challenging situations, and thus, the rājā should heed their advice. He states, "सहायसाध्यं राजत्वं चक्रमेकं न वर्तते । कुर्वीत सचिवांस्तस्मात्तेषां च

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[7] dharmārthāvirodhena kāmaṃ seveta, na niḥsukhaḥ syāt ॥ samaṃ vā trivargamanyo'nyānubandham ॥ eko hyatyāsevito dhamārthakāmānām ātmānam itarau ca pīḍayati ॥"
[8] artha eva pradhāna iti kauṭilyaḥ । arthamūlau hi dharmakāmāviti ।

श्रृणुयान्मतम्[9] । (Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra: 1.7.9)," meaning that governance can be carried out efficiently only with the help of associates or 'sahāyakas.' Just like a single wheel does not turn the Vehicle, one must appoint ministers as co-wheels and listen to their opinion.

Several divergences are quoted on who shall be appointed as ministers by previous scholars (including Bhāradvāja popularly called Droṇācārya, Viśālākṣa, Piśuna, etc.) and are each quoted by Kauṭilya. Taking all opinions into consideration, he concludes that a person should be judged and appointed to a rank they are capable of. Suitable distribution of ranks in accordance with their individual capacities and capabilities is the most suited way of appointing ministers. This distinction is crucial since not all ministers may become councilors to the rājā – thus instrumental in policy making of both overt and covert forms. Here he draws a distinction between a 'mantrī' and an 'amātya.' While an amātya is a minister designated for overlooking a specific department or a domain of governance. A 'mantrī' on the other hand is a minister designated for overhand duties including advising the rājā over matters of state concern – a specialized role requiring profound intellect, experience, and trust of the rājā.

Kauṭilya stresses the importance of appointing capable associates, as a ruler alone cannot effectively govern, akin to a lone wheel unable to steer the vehicle. In this context, he lays down the qualities that ministers should possess, which have been dealt with in a later chapter.

Having appointed these ministers, they must be examined for Dharma (Right duties), Artha (Wealth), Kāma (Desire, especially Lust), and Bhaya (Fear) through various means using secret agents. These tests are termed as 'Upadhās,' hence referred to as Dhramopadhā; Arthopadhā; Kāmopadhā and Bhayopadhā (Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra: 1.10.3-11). Those succeeding in all criteria may be given the highest offices (that of mantrī), while others are posted to offices of decreasing priority. Ones who fail all these tests shall be posted away from the capital city as per the examination outcomes (in the jungles, mines, etc.). It is notable that none of these are fired from their positions, they are instead posted in difficult terrains as punishment. This resembles the functioning of modern-day employment practices undertaken by most government sectors wherein transfers and difficult posting are used as a measure.

Sl. No.	Chapters	Topics Covered
1.	**Gūḍapuruṣotpattiḥ**	This chapter discusses appointment of spies. These include the Kāpaṭika (the sharp pupil), the Udāsthita (apostate monk), the Gṛhapatika (seeming farmer and householder), the Vaidehika (seeming trader) and the Tāpasa (seeming ascetic), as well as the

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[9] sahāyasādhyaṃ rājatvaṃ cakramekaṃ na vartate ǀ kurvīta sacivāṃstasmāttēṣāṃ ca śruṇuyānmatam ǀ

		Satrī (secret agent), the Tīkṣṇa (bravo), the Rasada (poison-giver), and the Parivrājikā (begging nun).
2.	**Svaviśaye Kṛtyākṛtyapakṣarakṣaṇam; Paraviṣaye Kṛtyākṛtyapakṣopagrahaḥ**	While ensuring a keen surveillance machinery is set up, through this chapter, identification of the kind of subjects can be most influenced is undertaken. Kauṭilya refers to such subjects as "seducible parties." They are categorized as krudhha varga (a subject who is angry or grievanced), bhīta varga (a subject who is afraid or scared), lubdha varga (a subject who is greedy), and māni varga (a subject who is proud).
3.	**Mantrādhikāraḥ**	This chapter talks in detail about the topic of how sensitive issues of the kingdom must be discussed and concealed. This is called 'mantra.' There are varying interpretations of the terms ranging from counsel to consultation and state secrets. This mantra is referred to as a 'pañcāṅga mantra' - meaning a mantra and its five elements (pañca aṅga).

Table 2.3: Chapters on espionage and secret counsel in Vinayaādhikaraṇa

2.1.3. Espionage and Surveillance Systems

Besides the detailed scrutiny of appointment of Ministers, the importance of 'Secret Agents' is emphasized for the first time significantly in the treatise. As one proceeds, the expanse of utility and roles played by these agents, as mentioned by Kauṭilya, is fascinating even when compared with modern-day intelligence activities comprising surveillance and clandestine techniques.

The 11th chapter of Vinayādhikaraṇa details the appointment of Gūḍha-puruṣa or 'Secret Agents'. It says, "उपधाभिः शुद्धामात्यवर्गो गूढपुरुषानुत्पादयेत् कापटिकोदास्थितगृहपतिकवैदेहकतापसव्यञ्जनान् सत्रितीक्ष्णरसदभिक्षुकीश्च[10]" । (Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra: 1.11.1), meaning, "With the body of ministers proved upright by means of secret tests, the (rājā) should appoint persons in secret service, (viz.), Kāpaṭika (the sharp pupil), the Udāsthita (apostate monk), the Gṛhapaṭika (seeming farmer and householder), the Vaidehaka (seeming trader) and the Tāpasa (seeming ascetic), as well as the Satrī (secret agent), the Tīkṣṇa (bravo), the Rasada (poison-giver), and the Bhikṣukī (begging nun)." In total, the treatise lists nine diverse types of spies, with five intended for internal surveillance and the remaining four assigned to more delicate

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[10] upadhābhiḥ śuddhāmātyavargo gūḍhapuruṣānutpādayet kāpaṭikodāsthitagṛhapatikavaidehakatāpasavyañjanān satritīkṣṇarasadabhikṣukīśca

operations. This strategic deployment of spies ensures the rājā's ability to gather intelligence, maintain control, and safeguard the rājya's interests both domestically and abroad.

2.1.3.1. Types of Spies

The Kāpaṭika is disguised as a student and supposed to be the rājā's informer while he remains around students. The Udāsthita was a person who had once given up the worldly life for 'sanyāsa' (ascetic life) but has now returned. Such individuals are supposed to be identified and recruited by the king such that they continue to pose as sanyāsīs/parivrājakās (ascetic wanderers) and engage followers and students. These students must be placed in different sectors within the rājya and act as his informers regarding the popular sentiment. These students are supposed to be duly paid for being informers and the Udāsthita shall be regularly, covertly funded by the royal treasury. On the position of the Gṛhapatika, an individual farmer who is clean in character and hardworking but is unemployed now, must be identified and recruited. Like the previous agents, a Gṛhapatika is designated to keep the rājya informed about the agriculturist community – which was one among the three major economic activities (other two being cattle rearing and trade). The Vaidehaka is recruited on similar lines but has their target on the trading community. The Tāpas must be appointed by identifying an ascetic who shall continue to live a sanyāsī's life. While living such a life, his image must be created such that he is believed to be a divine personality possessing the power to foreseeing the future and overturn it. As he gains popularity and several people in need begin to approach him out of faith, he must keep a keen eye on people of interest (ministers/enemy camps/rebellious elements and their kins/etc.) Gathering necessary information as well as influencing people in favour of the rājā, the Tāpas played a crucial role.

The Adhikaraṇa talks about four more kinds of spies, and contrary to the previous five mentioned who performed the duties of informants at best, these spies had expanded duties to perform. They were: Satrī; Tīkṣṇa; Rasada; and Bhikṣukī. Apart from Bhikṣukī, all three could be both men and women. Each had to be identified through a set of character traits and skill sets that were unique and meant to fulfil a specific purpose. The Satrī was a highly skilled spy excelling in dharmaśāstras and Vedāṅgas, lakṣaṇa vidyā (like Kinesics, the study of body language), Antara-chakram (like Ethology, reading of animal behaviour), Jambhaka (the art of hypnotism), as well as the knowledge of omens and supernatural activities. Tīkṣṇa was a valorous, fearless, and nomadic individual who would take up any assignment, if paid well in cash or kind, regardless of the risks involved. This may be likened to the idea of a mercenary who takes up covert and overt military assignments for a fixed amount of money. The idea of the intensity of risks involved and loyalties are meaningless in such transactions. A Rasada was supposed to be a ruthless and lazy individual – who had lost all touch of human empathy and attachment. They, thus recruited, shall undertake any

ruthless, cold-blooded act for a fixed fee. A bhikṣukī was slightly different from the prior three. She was supposed to be an old widow, but bold in character and needed some employment. She was attached to the Queen's quarters to check on activities relating to the royal womenfolk. Often, she would also lure targeted people in power to visit the Queen's quarters as a test of their strength of character and loyalty to the king. While ensuring a keen surveillance machinery is set up, this information gathering was based on categorizing which kind of subjects can be most influenced, and hence must be observed. Kauṭilya refers to such subjects as "seducible parties." They are categorized as Krudhha Varga (a subject who is angry or grievanced), Bhīta Varga (a subject who is afraid or scared), Lubdha Varga (a subject who is greedy), and Māni Varga (a subject who is proud).

2.1.4. Types of Envoys

The Adhikaraṇa also talks about envoys, their kinds and rules meant for them. Three kinds of envoys have been mentioned: Nisṛṣṭārtha (endowed with the excellences of a minister, like Hanumān or Kṛṣṇa); Parimitārtha (lacking in a quarter of qualities); and Shāsanahara (only a messenger)[12]. (Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra: 1.16.2-4)

2.1.5. Mantrādhikāra: Dealing with the rājya's sensitive issues

Fig 2.2: Pañcāṅga Mantra, the five kinds of mantra
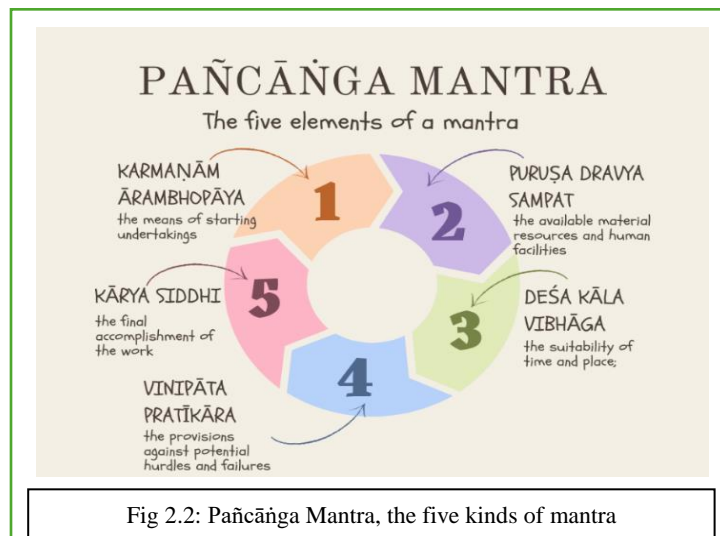
A chapter called 'Mantrādhikāra' talks in detail about the topic of how sensitive issues of the rājya must be discussed and concealed. This is called 'mantra.' There are varying interpretations of the terms ranging from counsel to consultation and state secrets. Kauṭilya states that, "मन्त्रपूर्वाः सर्वारम्भाः [11] ।" (Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra: 1.15.2-3), meaning that all the activities as part of statecraft must begin through consultation and discussions. He further adds that these consultations must be carried out in seclusion such that they are limited to the closed group of individuals and do not leak out. Maintaining this secret counsel becomes crucial for maintaining the Yoga-Kṣema of a rājya.

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[11] mantrapūrvāḥ sarvārambhāḥ

This mantra is referred to as a 'pañcāṅga mantra' - meaning five elements (aṅga) of mantra. These five elements comprise: कर्मणामारम्भोपायः पुरुषद्रव्यसंपद् देशकर्मविभागो विनिपातप्रतीकारः कार्यसिद्धिरिति पञ्चाङ्गो मन्त्रः [12] । (Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra: 1.15.42), roughly translated as the means of starting undertakings; the available material resources and human facilities; the suitability of time and place; the provisions against potential hurdles and failures; and the final accomplishment of the work. This puts any policy formulation process in perspective and holds relevance till this age. Policies are finalized through closed discussions regarding each of these aspects to ensure the implementability and feasibility of the same.

In the same context, the details delved into are such that even the number of ministers that must be involved while mantra is being discussed has been debated upon. Disagreeing from most previous scholars, Kauṭilya suggests that three to four mantrīs should be consulted with: for holding a consultation with only one, individual biases may overpower the advice. A discussion cannot happen fruitfully without an opinion being debated upon. In this direction, Kauṭilya says even two councilors are not sufficient, for "with two, he is controlled by the two if united and ruined by them if at war (with each other)." This situation occurs

Fig.2.3: Number of ministers in the council

very rarely with three-four mantrīs in place; hence this is the adequate number that must be considered. Arthaśāstra also discusses about the council of Amātyas for a state.

Moreover, the Adhikaraṇa further delves into the rules governing the conduct and duties of these secret servants. It outlines measures for protecting the king against dangers emanating from within the royal household, including potential threats posed by princes and external risks.

2.1.6. Conduct of a rājā

Additionally, the segment enumerates rules tailored specifically for the rājā, encompassing his daily routine, salary, and other aspects of governance. These rules serve to maintain order, ensure the rājā's security, and facilitate effective governance.

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[12] karmaṇāmārambhopāyaḥ puruṣadravyasaṃpad deśakarmavibhāgo vinipātapratīkāraḥ kāryasiddhiriti pañcāṅgo mantraḥ ।

Schedule	Tasks
06.00 am – 07.30 am	Review reports on Defense, Financial Matters
07.30 am – 09.00 am	Public Audience
09.00 am – 10.30 am	Personal Chores (Bath, Food, Svaadhyaaya etc.)
10.30 am – 12.00 pm	Receive revenues, tributes, appoint high officials, allocate tasks
12.00 pm – 01.30 pm	Write letters, confer with councillors, receive information from spies
01.30 pm – 03.00 pm	Personal Time
03.00 pm – 04.30 pm	Inspect and Review Forces
04.30 pm – 06.00 pm	Consult with Chief of Defence. End the daytime with prayers.
06.00 pm – 07.30 pm	Interview with secret agents
07.30 pm – 09.00 pm	Personal Chores
09.00 pm – 01.30 am	Retire to the bed chamber
01.30 am – 03.00 am	Wake up, meditate on political matters and on work to be done for the day
03.00 am – 04.30 am	Consult with councillors, send out spies
04.30 am – 06.00 am	Religious, meeting with the teacher, purohita, astrologer, personal physician, chief cook, etc. At daybreak he shall circum-ambulate a cow, its calf and the bull and then proceed to his court.

Table 2.4: Kauṭilya lays down the daily routine of a rājā in his treatise

Source: Mahadevan, B., Bhat Vinayak Rajat, Nagendra Pavana R.N. (2022), "Introduction to Indian Knowledge System: Concepts and Applications", PHI Learning Private Ltd. Delhi. Page no. 384

A couple of other such topics that have been discussed in the Adhikaraṇa including the rājā protecting himself various threats – both externally (outside the royal household, barbers, attendants, etc.) and internally (princes in disfavour, etc.). All aspects in detail are covered beginning from the rājā's early morning to his bedtime.

2.2. Adhyakṣa Prachāraḥ: The Activity of the Superintendents of Departments

The second Adhikaraṇa of Kauṭilya's treatise stands out as the longest book, encompassing a wide array of subjects crucial to effective governance. It addresses the multiple facets of managing a rājya, ranging from the organization of administrative divisions to town planning, fortification, and the standardization of weights and measures.

Sl. No.	Adhyāya	Topics Covered
1.	Janapadaviniveśaḥ	Methods of planning the town and protecting it, about the lands which must be provided for the dharma, making the farming comfortable, making the routes helpful in trade, about the people to be established in the state, duties of the king for the Janapada.
2.	Bhūmicchidravidhānam	Establishment of land for penance, wild animals, herbal plants, and elephants on the land which is not good for farming. The need of protection of forests and elephants and types of elephants are explained in this chapter.
3.	Durgavidhānam	The construction of several types of forts and trenches, use of mud which was dug for trenches, construction of fences with doors, road outside the fence, large door, canals outside the fort with dangerous crocodiles etc.
4.	Durganiveśaḥ	This chapter deals with the town inside the fort. It discusses the planning of the town. Also discusses about appointment of the brave soldiers.

Table 2.4: Initial chapters of the Second Adhikaraṇa of Kauṭilya's treatise

2.2.1. Territorial Organization and Town Planning

Fig 2.4: Administrative Divisions of the Territory
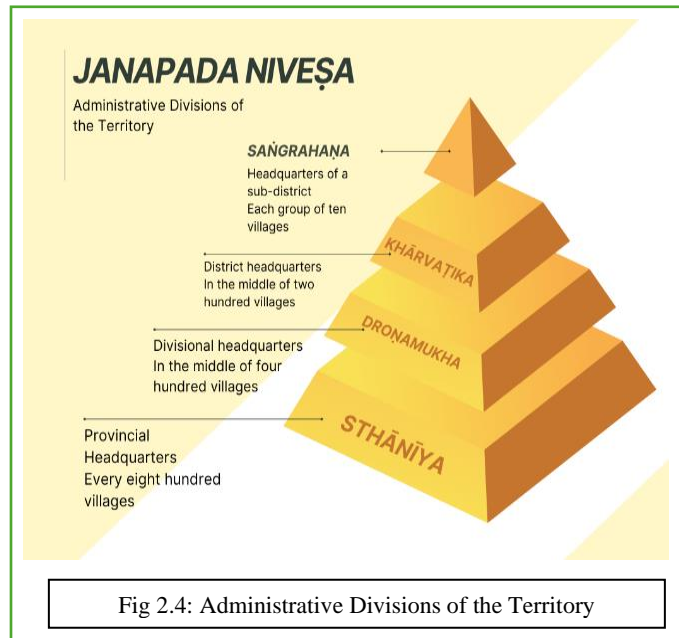
Central to the organization of rājya is the meticulous management of various resources and territories, including arable land, pastureland, forests, forts, and trade routes. Arthaśāstra advocates for the establishment of new settlements in remote villages, populated either by native citizens or foreigners. These settlements are meticulously structured, with roles allocated to different sections of society, ensuring a balanced and functional community.

The administrative divisions within settlements are laid down with precision, with

each group of villages governed by a designated sub-district headquarters. The hierarchy extends to district, divisional, and provincial headquarters, each serving a specific number of villages and households. The arrangement ensures efficient governance and administration at various levels. [13] Boundaries between villages must be demarcated using natural features like rivers, mountains, and forests, or by planting trees. This not only defines territorial limits but also aids in navigation and defense. At the borders of the rājya, Arthaśāstra advises the construction of four strategically positioned forts in each cardinal direction. These forts are fortified to resist enemy incursions and safeguard the rājya's entrances.

The Adhikaraṇa further lays out the plan for the fortified city specifying specific portions for specific populations, for instance the royal residence was designated in the centre, the royal temple in the north, the residence of the gaṇikas (prostitutes) in the southern part, the place for various guilds at the corners, etc. The figure for the same can be seen in Adhyaya 3 (Prakṛti Sampat Fig 3.4).

2.2.2. Departments and Bureaucracy

Further, an elaborate discussion on tax and revenue system brings to perspective the vibrance of the economy that existed, and foresight held by Kauṭilya. A variety of taxes are mentioned in the text encompassing all aspects of ongoing economic activities and resident populations. This included taxes both in cash and kind, and from all a diverse spectrum of sources including those involved in customs, passports, gambling, liquor, and prostitution.

Apart from this, Adhikaraṇa mentions superintendents of 33 departments including that of Agriculture, Yarns, Chariots, Horses, Liquor, Customs, among others. The Superintendent of Stores is supposed to oversee the building of a treasury, a warehouse, a granary, a store for forest produce, an armory, and a prison house. The Revenue Administrator shall attend to the durga, the janapada, the mines, irrigation works, forests, herds, and trade routes (that are main sources of revenue). On elaborating, Kauṭilya mentions 20 sources of income from the 'fort' for the rājya's treasury:-

- **Durga:** Custom duties and fines, standardization of weights and measures, city superintendent, mint master, superintendent of passports, spirituous liquors, animal slaughter, yarn, oil, ghee, sugars, goldsmith, market establishment, prostitutes and gambling, buildings, group of artisans and artists, temple superintendent, receipts from outsiders or at the gates.
- **Janapada:** Agricultural produce, share, tribute, tax, the trader, the river-guard, the ferry, ships, the port, pastures, road-cess, land-survey, and thief catching are all integral aspects of administrative oversight.

- **Mines:** Gold, silver, diamonds, gems, pearls, corals, conch shells, metals, salt, ores derived from the earth, rocks, and liquids constitute a diverse array of natural resources subject to various regulations and management protocols.
- **Irrigation Works:** Flower gardens, fruit orchards, vegetable gardens, wet crop fields, and sowing of roots represent various facets of agricultural cultivation and horticulture.
- **Forests:** Enclosures for beasts, deer-parks, Forests for produce, Elephant forests
- **Herds:** Cows, buffaloes, goats, sheep, donkeys, camels, horses, and mules encompass a range of livestock commonly managed within agricultural and husbandry practices.
- **Trade Routes:** Land Routes, Water Routes

Regarding janapada, or the country, the sources of income include agricultural produce, share, tribute, tax, the trader, the river-guard, the ferry, ships, the port, pastures, road-cess, land-survey and thief catching. Of 'mines,' the sources are gold, silver, diamonds, gems, pearls, corals, conch shells, metals, salt and ores derived from the earth, rocks and liquids. Flower-gardens, fruit-orchards, vegetable gardens, wet crop fields, and sowing of roots constitute income from 'irrigations works.' For 'forests,' are enclosures for beasts, deer-parks, forests for produce and elephant forests. 'Herds' comprise revenue from cows and buffaloes, goats, sheep, donkeys, camels, horses, and mules. Both the land and the water routes are part of the 'trade routes.'

Sl. No.	Adhyaya	Department
1.	Sannidhātṛnicayakarma	Duties of the Superintendent of Stores
2.	Akṣapatale Gāṇanikyādhikāraḥ	The setting up of Revenue by the Administrator
3	Samudayasya Yuktāpahṛtasya Pratyānayanaṃ	Records and Accounts and Audit Office
4	Upayukta Parīkṣā	Inspection of the Officers' Works
5	Śāsanādhikāraḥ	The Topic of Edicts
6	Kośapraveśyaratnaparīkṣā	Examination of Precious Articles Received in the Kośa
7	Ākarkarmāntapravartanaṃ	Starting of Mines and Factories
8.	Akṣaśālāyāṃ Suvarṇādhyakṣaḥ	The Superintendent of Gold in the Workshop
9	Viśikhāyāṃ Sauvarṇikapracāraḥ	The Royal Goldsmith in the Market Highway
10	Koṣṭāgārādhyakṣaḥ	The Superintendent of the Granary

Table 2.5: Chapters of the Second Adhikaraṇa of Kauṭilya's treatise discussing various departments

Accounts and record keeping were highly emphasized, with a specifically appointed Superintendent overseeing entries in record books. These entries encompassed various aspects such as departmental activity, expenses, materials usage, and labour details across factories. Additionally, they recorded intricate details like the price, quality, and measurements related to jewels, valuable items, and forest produce. The records

also documented laws, customs, transactions, and rules governing different regions, villages, castes, families, and corporations, along with receipts and payments concerning the king's services and royal allowances.

Further, the treatise discusses the Superintendent of Gold in the Workshop governing the activity of goldsmith, the Superintendent of the Granary (should know about agricultural produce, revenue from the countryside, purchase, barter, begging, borrowing, labour in place of taxes, income from other sources, return from expenditure and additional income).

Sl. No.	Adhyaya	Department
1	Paṇyādhyakṣaḥ	The Superintendent of Trade
12	Kupyādhyakṣaḥ	The Superintendent of Forests
13	Āyudhāgārādhyakṣaḥ	The Superintendent of Armoury
14	Tulāmānapautavam	Standardization of Weights and Measures
15	Deśakālamānam	Measures of Space and Time
16	Śulkādhyakṣaḥ	The Collector of Customs
17	Sūtrādhyakṣaḥ	The Superintendent of Yarns
18	Sītādhyakṣaḥ	The Superintendent of Agriculture

Table 2.6: Chapters of the Second Adhikaraṇa of Kauṭilya's treatise discussing various departments

2.2.2.1. The Superintendent of Trade was designated to look after the dravya (goods), and its upayoga (usage), mūlya (the cost), lābha (the profits), the input, its sale, as well as the grant to be given to the king as part of the proceeds of sales. The Superintendent of Forests was concerned with taking records and monitoring activity based on minor forest produce including trees, bamboos, herbs, poisonous herbs, leather, as well as metal (mined from underground). The Superintendent of the Armoury oversaw the movable and immovable armoury (military equipment) including bow, arrow, shields, swords, etc. He was designated to monitor the manufacturing and maintaining the equipment (accounting, etc.).

2.2.2.2. The Superintendent of Standardization should establish factories for standardization of weights and measures. This chapter mentions the weights and their equivalents, namely, 81 mustard seeds make one māṣaka of silver, a dharaṇa of diamond weighs twenty rice grains, etc. It details about what material shall weights and measures be manufactured from (dry, hard wood; etc.). Stamping has been discussed to authenticate the weights and measures used – if not stamped, penalties have been directed. The measure of space and time has been detailed in the next chapter with various units of measuring length, weight, etc. (aṅgulas, palas, etc.), and time (tuṭa, lava, nimeṣa, muhūrta, etc.).

2.2.2.3. The Collector of Trade and Customs was designated to ensure that duties were duly paid by traders. He would ensure thus by keeping a strict check on the incoming traders, the amount of merchandise they are carrying with, if anything has been hidden in the caravan to escape duties, etc. In case of any dishonesty by the traders, punishments for them are laid down. Fines have been detailed according to the non-payment of custom duties and taxes.

2.2.2.4. The Sūtrādhyakṣa (Superintendent of Yarns) may be a position of special interest to the readers. A detailed description of the department and the duties of the Sūtrādhyakṣa have been laid down which begin from ensuring smooth trade being carried out in yarns, armours, cloth, and ropes through men who are experts in their work. Offering employment to women who are vulnerable or require means of feeding themselves has been highlighted including: widows, crippled women, maidens, women who have left their homes, women paying off their fines by personal labour, mothers of courtesans, old female dāsīs of the rājā, or dāsīs of temples whose service of gods have ceased. Proper provisions for ensuring fair payment, work conditions, bonuses and gifts at festivities, fines for not being paid (by the employer) and substandard work (by the employees) have been listed. Specific provisions have been listed regarding safety of women at their workplace. At one instance, the chapter states, "The lamp (should be there) only for the inspection of the yarn. For looking at the face of the woman or conversing with her on another matter, the lowest fine for violence (shall be imposed), for delay in payment of wages, the middle fine, also for payment of wages for work not done." (Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra: 2.23.13-14)[14]

2.2.2.5. For the **Superintendent of Agriculture**, while they must have sound knowledge of the agricultural processes, seeds, fruits, flowers, roots, among others, they must ensure smooth and efficient practice of the activities throughout the rājya. Fines have been listed for loss of fruit due to faulty equipment used, and irrigation works have been emphasised upon. The details about the processes involved sowing, the time for their sowing, the amount of water required, etc., are fascinating and showcase the skill that existed in 4th century BCE Indian subcontinent.

Sl. No.	Adhyāya	Department
19	Surādhyakṣaḥ	The Superintendent of Liquors
20	Sūnādhyakṣaḥ	The Superintendent of Animal Slaughter
21	Gaṇikādhyakṣaḥ	The Superintendent of Courtesans
22	Nāvādhyakṣaḥ	The Superintendent of Shipping
23	Goẓdhyakṣaḥ	The Superintendent of Cattle

Table 2.7: Chapters of the Second Adhikaraṇa of Kauṭilya's treatise discussing various departments

2.2.2.6. The Surādhyakṣa was designated to ensure monitored trade in "wines and ferments in the fort, the country or the camp, through persons dealing in wines and ferments, being born to that work, either in one place or in many places or according to the convenience for sale and purchase." (Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra: 2.25.1).[15] A fine of 600 paṇas was specified for any sale or manufacture of liquor otherwise. The norms for consumption were also specified where those of "known integrity" were suggested either carrying a small, well-marked amount of liquor, or drink in the drinking house without moving about (Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra: 2.25.4-5)[16]. Five kinds of liquor have been mentioned: medaka, prasannā, āsava, ariṣṭas, maireya, and madhu; and their preparation has been specified. Secret agents for uncovering information about suspected individuals were placed in these alehouses, etc., especially with female dāsīs being allocated to extract necessary secrets.

2.2.2.7. Superintendent for Animal Slaughter. The slaughter of animals was elaborately regulated where protected animals and those in reserved park enclosures and sanctuaries were not supposed to be harmed. A fine was imposed by the Superintendent on instances of failing to follow the regulations. Notably, beasts, deer, wild animals, and fish, belonging to sanctuaries were directed to be killed or bound in places other than the place of their protection, in case they caused harm of any kind to the environment around.

2.2.2.8. Superintendent of the Courtesans. An interesting office mentioned is that of the Superintendent of the Courtesans. The mention of the same not only reflects at the regulation of the profession at the highest level, but also elaborately talks about the rights of the women involved in the profession – including that of the idea of consent. It is fascinating that consent of the women was regarded as supreme, only with an exception to accorded to rājā. Kauṭilya mentions that "in case of violence against a maiden who is unwilling, the highest fine (shall be imposed), the lowest fine for violence, if she is willing. If a (man) keeps under restraint a courtesan who is unwilling or helps her to run away or spoils her beauty by cutting up a wound, the fine (shall be) one thousand paṇas. Or there shall be an increase in fine in accordance with the importance of her position, up to double the ransom amount. If a (man) causes the death of a courtesan who has been appointed to the office, the fine (shall be) three times the ransom amount. For killing a mother, a daughter or a female slave living by her beauty, the highest fine for violence (shall be imposed). (Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra: 2.27.13-16)[17]"

2.2.2.9. Women as spies. Another notable feature is recruitment of women involved in the profession for state service as spies. The Adhikaraṇa elaborates, "संज्ञा भाषान्तरज्ञाश्च स्त्रियस्तेषामनात्मसु ।

चारघातप्रमादार्थं प्रयोज्या बन्धुवाहनाः[13]॥ (Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra: 2.27.30), meaning, "And their women, who are conversant with various kinds of signs and languages, should be employed, under the lead of their kinsmen, against the wicked, for spying, killing or making them blunder." This feature has been extended to householders, traders, as well as ascetics in disguise.

2.2.2.10. The Controller of Shipping is designated to look at activities concerning sea voyages and ferries at the mouth of rivers, natural and artificial lakes, etc. Details about taxes that need to be collected by villages on the shores, rent by fishermen for using the boats, share to be paid by traders as customs duty on their goods. The responsibility of rescuing boats that have gone out of their course, and subsequent or otherwise respite in duties to be paid for goods that have fallen in water. Protection from foreign vessels and fees for using ferries have been mentioned among other related things.

Sl. No.	Adhyaya	Department
24	Aśvādhyakṣaḥ	The Superintendent of Horses
25	Hastyadhyakṣaḥ	The Superintendent of Elephants
26	Rathādhyakṣaḥ	The Superintendent of Chariots
27	Pathyadhyakṣaḥ	The Superintendent of Foot Soldiers
28	Senāpatipracāraḥ	The Commandant of the Army
29	Mudrādhyakṣaḥ	The Superintendent of Passports
30	Vivītādhyakṣaḥ	The Superintendent of Pastures
31	Samāhartṛpracāraḥ	The Administrator's Activity
32	Grihapatikavaidehakatāpasvyañjanāḥ Praṇidhayaḥ	Activity of the Secret Agents
33	Nāgarika Praṇidhiḥ	The City Superintendent

Table 2.8: Chapters of the Second Adhikaraṇa of Kauṭilya's treatise discussing various departments

The Adhikaraṇa closes with a discussion of various superintendents responsible for maintaining different wings of the army, namely, cavalry (horses), infantry (foot soldiers), elephants, chariots, as well as the whole of the army. A discussion on cattle and pastures takes place in final chapters where maintenance, rearing, and protection of the cattle folk has been elaborately discussed. Further the use of secret agents in monitoring the internal activities of the state has been laid down, concluding with the discussion on the Nāgarika Praṇidhiḥ, who shall act as the first-point contact in the area under his service to any citizen-related issues and occurrences (fire, etc.).

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[13] saṃjñā bhāṣāntarajñāśca striyasteṣāmanātmasu ǀ cāraghātapramādārthaṃ prayojyā bandhuvāhanāḥ ॥

2.3. Dharmasthīyam and Kaṇṭakaśodhanam: Concerning Legal Structures

Fig 2.5: The hierarchy of legal system as per the treatise
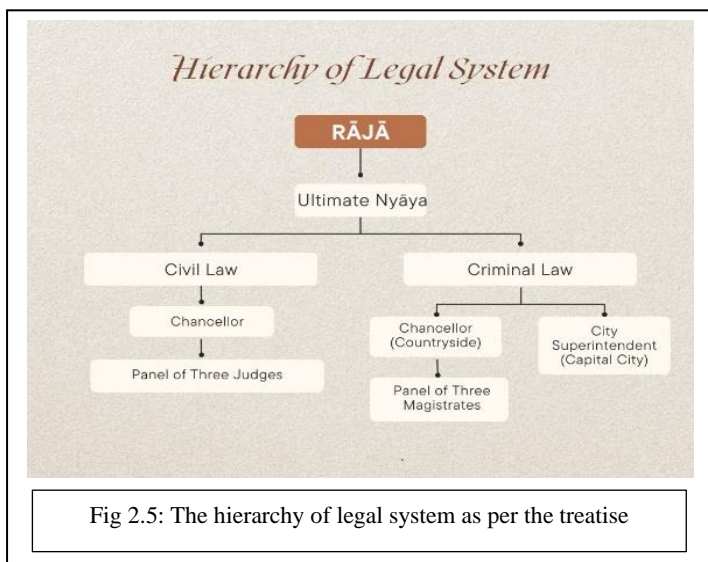
Adhikaraṇas three and four of Arthaśāstra are dedicated to the crucial task of maintaining law and order within the rājya. They delineate a hierarchical structure with appointed officers responsible for conflict resolution and addressing crime-related issues. At the heart of the judiciary system are judges ("Dharmastha") and magistrates ("Pradeśṭṛ"). This has been depicted in figure 2.5. Judges focus on resolving disputes between parties, while magistrates handle crimes against society. The legal system outlined in Arthaśāstra is comprehensive. These encompass various aspects of societal functioning, including marriage, inheritance, property disputes, trade, industry-related matters, among others. Specific rules are provided for issues such as interest rates, loans, recovery, pledges, partnerships, and more.

2.3.1. Sources of Judgements by Officers

Officers would base their judgements on four sources: Dharma (here interpreted as the truth, as spoken/presented by each contending party), Vyavahāra (evidence or witnesses), Charitram (tradition or customs), and Rājaśāsanam (Royal Edicts), to ensure justice is served[18]. These sources were considered in the same order of precedence. Hence, in times of contradictions between these sources, this order of precedence is followed, with certain exceptions. Kauṭilya states, "संस्थया धर्मशास्त्रेण शास्त्रं वा व्यावहारिकम् । यस्मिन्नर्थे विरुध्येत धर्मेणार्थं विनिश्चयेत्[14] ॥ (Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra: 3.1.44)," roughly translating as "He shall decide, with the help of law, a matter in which a Caritram (settled custom) based on a Vyavahāra (evidence) contradicts the dharmaśāstras, the matter shall be decided according to the dharmaśāstras." However, in specific circumstances, if the dharmaśāstras seem irrelevant and impracticable, the dharmaśāstras must be disagreed with and nyāya must be delivered. This presents a very notable aspect

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[14] saṃsthayā dharmaśāstreṇa śāstraṃ vā vyāvahārikam | yasminnarthe virudhyeta dharmeṇārthaṃ viniścayet ||

of how a flexible-yet-rigid system of a legal system deriving itself from the dharmaśāstras existed. For instance, one of the smṛtis mention, "if a bridge collapses, the one standing with a spade besides it must be punished[19]." In a real-time situation if a bridge collapses and a child happens to be present at the site with a spade or similar equipment, this directive by the smriti does not hold relevance. How could a child, in their best capacity, lead to the collapse of a huge bridge? In these situations, nyāya must be delivered by deviating from the dharmaśāstras and acting in rationality. Notably, the ultimate responsibility for law and justice rests with the king. This is underscored in the verse "चतुर्वर्णाश्रमस्यायं लोकस्याचाररक्षणात् । नश्यतां सर्वधर्माणां राजा धर्मप्रवर्तकः[15] ॥" (Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra: 3.1.38), which translates to "When all laws are perishing, the king here is the promulgator of laws, by virtue of his guarding the right conduct of the world consisting of the four varṇas and four āśramas." Kane, in his compilation re-emphasizes the same, "In any matter where there is a conflict between dharmaśāstras and practices or between dharmaśāstras and any secular transaction, (the king) should decide that matter relying on dharma. If the śāstra comes in conflict with any rational and equitable rule, then the latter shall be the deciding factor and the (strict) letter of text will be nowhere." A crucial point that must be highlighted is that Kauṭilya allows deviation from the dharmaśāstras as per requirement of contemporary times, however, points out that the essential and fundamentals of the dharmaśāstras remain preserved – pertaining to wider ideas of satya (truth); ahimsā (non-violence), etc.

This emphasizes the rājā's pivotal role in upholding the legal system and ensuring justice prevails throughout the rājya. By safeguarding the principles of Dharma and overseeing the implementation of laws, the king maintains order and harmony within society, thus fulfilling his duty as the guardian of righteousness and the well-being of his subjects.

2.3.2. Civil Matters

The treatise separately deals with civil and criminal matters in the two Adhikaraṇas. The third Adhikaraṇas deals with civil matters. A few notable issues are discussed in this segment.

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[15] caturvarṇāśramasyāyaṃ lokasyācārarakṣaṇāt । naśyatāṃ sarvadharmāṇāṃ rājā dharmapravartakaḥ ॥

2.3.2.1. Marital Affairs and Law

Fig 2.6: Types of Marriages as listed in the treatise
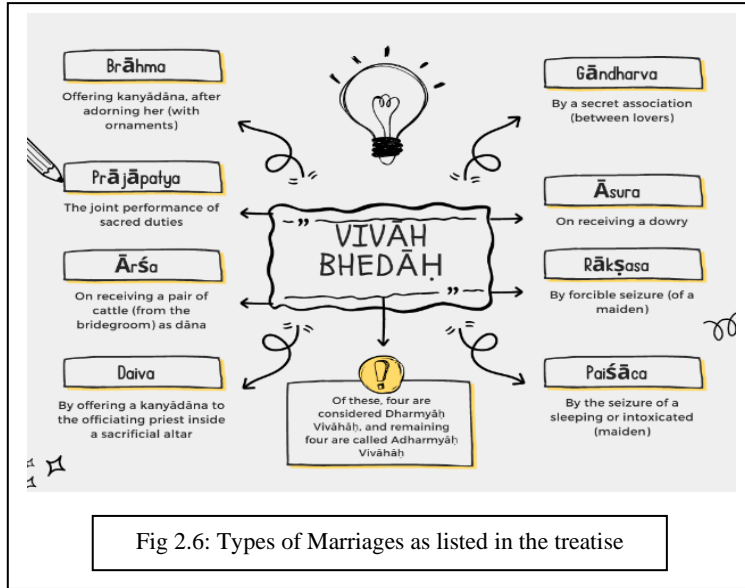
It is notable that this segment deals elaborately with the matters of marriage and divorce. While a remarkably progressive set of legal rights are laid out – discussing the issues of dowry, divorce, desertion, adultery, re-marriages, and inheritance, a certain tinge of prominence to the sanctity of the institution of marriage and primacy to the male child are evident – true to the times the treatise was composed in.

For instance, eight kinds of marriages are listed. कन्यादानं कन्यामलङ्कृत्य ब्राह्मो विवाहः । सहधर्मचर्या प्राजापत्यः । गोमिथुनादानादार्षः । अन्तर्वेद्यामृत्विजे दानाद् दैवः । मिथःसमवायाद् गान्धर्वः । शुल्कादानाद् आसुरः । प्रसह्यादानाद् राक्षसः । सुप्तादानात् पैशाचः[16] । (Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra: 3.2.2-9) These eight categories are: Offering a kanyādāna, after adorning her (with ornaments) is the Brāhma form of marriage. The joint performance of sacred duties is the Prājāpatya. On offering a pair to cattle (from the bridegroom) as dāna it is the Ārśa. By offering a kanyādāna to the officiating priest inside a sacrificial altar, it is the Daiva. By a secret association (between lovers) it is the Gāndharva. On receiving a dowry, it is the Āsura. By forcible seizure (of a maiden), it is the Rākṣasa. By the seizure of a sleeping or intoxicated (maiden), it is the Paiśāca. Among these, the first four are exempt from the bracket of divorce.

The chapter further touches upon the aspects of marital duty, maintenance, cruelty, disaffection; misconduct; and prohibition of favours and dealings. Provisions for a women re-marrying in case the husband has been missing for a long time, along with the rights of inheritance.

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[16] kanyādānaṃ kanyāmalaṅkṛtya brāhmo vivāhaḥ । sahadharmacaryā prājāpatyaḥ । gomithunādānādārṣaḥ । antarvedyāmṛtvije dānād daivaḥ । mithaḥsamavāyād gāndharvaḥ । śulkādānād āsuraḥ ॥ prasahyādānād rākṣasaḥ । suptādānāt paiśācaḥ ।

While marrying outside of the varṇa was not promoted, offsprings born of an inter-varṇa marital relationship were each separately categorized. In doing so, Kauṭilya does away with a debate on whose varṇa must the offspring be: the father or the mother. Previous scholars say either "परपरिग्रहे बीजमुत्सृष्टं क्षेत्रिणः इत्याचार्याः[17] ᅵ (Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra: 3.7.1) ᅵ" giving primacy to the mother in deciding the varṇa or "माता भस्रा, यस्य रेतस्तस्यापत्यम् इत्यपरे[18] ᅵ (Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra: 3.7.2)" deriving the varna from the father's identity. Kauṭilya considers both and delineates separate identities of the offsprings of parents from different varṇas.

It must be noted here that the Sūta and Māgadha mentioned in this treatise is different from that mentioned in the purāṇas, and Kauṭilya himself gives us a clarification for the same. Thereon, he goes a step further and categorizes identities of offsprings borne of a marital relationship between these 'newer' categories. For instance, a Vaiṇa child is born to an Ambhaṣṭha husband and a Vaidehaka wife, and so on.

2.3.2.2. Dāsa-Karmakara-Kalpa

A chapter called 'Dāsa-Karmakara-Kalpa' details the rules surrounding the dāsas and the karmakarās. While most translations including that of Kangle translate dāsas as 'slaves,' this might not be completely accurate. Slavery, as a concept, as it existed and is understood by the West, is incompatible with how the dāsa-svāmī system functioned in the Indic civilization. Directives have been specified on who can and cannot make a dāsa. A minor who is not well-fed can be made a dāsa to ensure their rearing and feeding. No śūdra shall make a dāsa until attained majority (the age of 16 years for boys and 12 years for girls). A notable point is that becoming a dāsa was not limited to śūdras, and in situations for the same existed for everyone regardless of the varṇa. Regulations have been mentioned each for the dāsas, karmakaras, and the svāmī with punishments and penalties for transgression or ignorance of their respective duties.

In the following chapters of this third book, he deals with more issues of civil law including property, its boundaries and partition, the sale of immovable property. The issues of damage to farms, pastures, and non-payment of debts are later discussed.

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[17] paraparigrahe bījamutsṛṣṭaṃ kṣetriṇaḥ ityācāryāḥ ᅵ
[18] mātā bhasrā, yasya retastasyāpatyam ityapare

2.3.2.3. Physical-Verbal Injury

Another notable aspect, the segment delineates distinctions between physical and verbal injury. For verbal injury, it lists defamation, vilification, and threats as forms of verbal harm. The text specifies fines for various forms of defamation, depending on the nature of the accusation and whether it is true or false.

Regarding defamation pertaining to bodily defects such as disrespecting or making fun of any individual who is one-eyed or lame, the fine is three paṇas if the defect is factual, and six paṇas if falsely imputed. However, if the defamation is sarcastically presented/masked as praise, such as calling someone with a bodily defect "beautiful-eyed," the fine increases to twelve paṇas. Similarly, verbal abuse concerning serious ailments like leprosy or madness carries fines of twelve paṇas, escalating further if directed towards superiors. Physicians and those close to serve as authorities for determining impotency, while signs like foam in urine and sinking of ordure in water constitute proof. Regarding character defamation, fines vary based on the relative status of the parties involved, with higher fines for slandering one's own caste or corporation compared to others. The text also addresses defamation related to one's profession, learning, or homeland, prescribing fines accordingly.

Furthermore, the text addresses threats, specifying fines for those who threaten harm but do not carry out their intentions. Incapacity or pleas of anger, intoxication, or delusion result in fines of twelve paṇas, while those capable of causing harm and harboring enmity may require surety for life. Physical injury is categorized into touching, menacing, and striking, with corresponding fines and penalties outlined. Gambling and betting have also been regulated.

2.3.3. Criminal Matters

Having dealt with civil law, the next Adhikaraṇa, Kaṇṭakaśodhanaṃ, deals with the suppression of criminals. A chapter-wise overview can be done as below: -

- **Kārukarakṣaṇaṃ:** This chapter deals with protecting the consumers from various artisans and regulating their activities (against cheating and inappropriate delivery of products). These artisans include weavers, washermen, tailors, goldsmiths, artisans involved in other metals, currency mints, physicians, actors, etc.
- **Vaidehakrakṣaṇaṃ:** This chapter deals with protecting the consumers from traders and regulating their activities. These include keeping a check on the weights and measures used, the sale of fraudulent goods, and hoarding and planned deterioration of quality of the goods being produced, etc. Fines are specified for each.

- **Upanipātapratīkāraḥ:** This chapter deals with protecting against calamities and guiding remedies to recover from them. Eight kinds of calamities are specified: fire, floods, disease, famine, rats, wild animals, serpents, and evil spirits.

- **Gūḍhājīviṇāṃ Rakṣa:** This chapter deals with protecting against individuals with secret sources of income. These administrators are supposed to be identified and spied upon. This is done to ensure reduction of bribery and corruption among the working-age population, especially state servants.

- **Siddhavyañjanairmāṇavaprakāśanaṃ:** This chapter deals with detecting criminals through secret agents in the disguise of holy men.

- **Śankārūpkarmābhigrahaḥ:** This chapter discusses the aspect of arrest on suspicion, with the stolen article, and by (indications of) the Act. It elaborately details who all must be arrested on suspicion (addicted to wine, etc., frequently travelling, hidden workplace, among others.) Similarly, it details the other two aspects.

- **Āśumṛtakaparīkṣā:** This chapter deals with inquests into sudden deaths. Through various experiments, the cause of death of investigated to further the process. This may be read parallel to post-mortem procedures of modern forensic science.

- **Vākyakarmānuyogaḥ:** This chapter deals with investigation through interrogation and torture. It categorically lays down measures to be strictly followed during interrogations and who shall and shall not be subject to torture. Convergence with facts on ground are a key requisite for any inferences.

- **Sarvādhikaraṇarakṣaṇaṃ:** This chapter deals with keeping an eye on all departments. This includes officials from all departments, including judges that threaten, dismiss litigants, and perform their duties unjustly. Fines are specified for each.

- **Ekāṅgavadhaniṣkrayaḥ:** This chapter discusses redemption from cutting of individual limbs. This offers a choice to the offender paying an equivalent fine (also specified in the chapter) or face amputation of varying degrees as listed.

- **Śuddhaścitraśca Daṇḍakalpaḥ:** This chapter deals with capital punishment. This deals with punishments and fines for various crimes including murder, striking with a weapon, abortion, beating a man or a woman, attacking/abducting an animal belonging to the king, helping thieves and murderers, etc. Varying degrees of punishments are listed, the highest being death penalties.

- **Kanyāprakarmaḥ:** This chapter deals with the violation of women. Varying degrees of corporal punishment is laid down for violating women in differing forms – depending on the extent of trauma and physical injury suffered by the women victims. It also deals with fines imposed on maidens on doubts regarding virginity and adultery.

- **Aticāradaṇḍāḥ:** This chapter deals with punishments for transgressions which includes making a Brāhmaṇa consume unfit food or drinks, trespassing another's property with and without a weapon, valuables of traders stolen as they are travelling in caravans, injury caused by a rickety house, theft of animals, magicians involved in attacking fellow mates through witchcraft, romantic relationships between individuals of different varnas, etc.

While providing a structured framework for administering justice, the text emphasizes the importance of judiciously employing punitive measures. It warns against the improper use of Daṇḍa, or punishment, as it could lead to adverse consequences such as dissatisfaction among subjects, their allegiance shifting to enemies, or even rebellion against the ruler.

The administration of Daṇḍa requires a delicate balance to prevent the powerful from exploiting the weak and causing social disorder. Therefore, it is crucial for rulers to exercise restraint and wisdom in implementing punitive measures. By ensuring fairness and proportionality in punishment, rulers can maintain order and stability within their rājya while upholding the principles of justice and equity.

2.4. Secret Conduct

The next Adhikaraṇa discusses 'Secret Conduct' or Yoga-vṛttam. Here, in the term 'Yoga-vṛttam,' the word yoga here means secret, vṛtta means conduct. This Adhikaraṇa specifically deals with the secret conducts but also covers some other topics like salaries of the employees, followership, collection of grains and wealth, enthroning after kings' death etc. It constitutes a total of six chapters, as discussed below: -

- **Dāṇḍakarmikam:** This chapter deals with the need of secret agents in dealing with the traitors of the country. Different types of secret punishments for traitors, ways of controlling the wrong people, one weapon to deal with two wrong teams, job for the sons of the wrong person who was killed.
- **Kośābhisamharaṇam:** Need of collection of cereals, wealth from the subjects, way of collecting, protection of farmers and Vedic scholars, punishment to the thieves etc.
- **Bhṛtyabharaṇīyam:** Recruiting the employees without effecting the Dharma and Artha, number of employees to be appointed and their salaries, the relatives of the employees who need to be taken care of. Giving employment to the kins of a deceased employee was offered as a provision.
- **Anujīvivṛttam:** Qualities of the king which a follower must look into, once joined the leader what communication needs to be taken by employee or a follower, the bad acts which needs to be avoided in all possible ways, the rules which must be followed by the employees of the king, protection of the self (employee) from the harsh king etc. are dealt in this chapter.

- **Samayācārikam:** This chapter deals with the rules, acts to be followed and aspects to be known by the heads of wealth and servants of the king, the signs that shows whether king is happy or not, having seen the crime of the leader finding the ways to clear that crime.

- **Rājyapratisandhānam Ekaiśvaryam cha:** This chapter deals with the activities to be done by the ministers and councillors when king is ill, when king is dead and there is no one to be enthroned, or when king is dead in another country, etc. Discussion on qualities needed to in a yuvarāja and norms to enthrone. Rituals of enthroning have also been listed.

2.5. Conclusion

With this, the internal functioning and governance of the rājya is elaborately explained. Reading further, the sixth Adhikaraṇa becomes important for understanding the text at large. It marks a transition from Tantrādhikāra to Avāpādhikāra that deals extensively with foreign policy. The Adhikaraṇa introduces the frameworks to study the treatise: Saptāṅga Rājya within the larger bracket of Yoga Kṣema.

Summary

- Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra outlines four essential sciences for effective governance: Ānvīkṣikī (Philosophy), Trayī (Knowledge of the Vedas), Vārttā (Economics), and Daṇḍanīti (Science of Governance).

- Ānvīkṣikī , known as the "lamp of all sciences," provides foundational wisdom for discerning right and wrong, guiding decision-making amidst adversity and prosperity.

- Trayī instils moral and spiritual principles crucial for just governance, while Vārttā equips rulers with economic knowledge essential for rājya prosperity.

- Daṇḍanīti enables effective statecraft and policy implementation, ensuring stability and welfare within the kingdom.

- Arthaśāstra outlines a comprehensive system of intelligence gathering through strategic deployment of various types of spies within different social strata.

- Spies are classified into specialized roles, including those with knowledge of dharmaśāstras, body language, and hypnotism, reflecting a nuanced approach to intelligence operations.

- The text provides guidelines for the conduct and duties of spies, emphasizing protection against internal and external

risks while ensuring effective governance and security.

- The second Adhikaraṇa of Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra extensively covers various aspects of governance, including the organization of administrative divisions, town planning, fortification, and standardization of weights and measures.

- It emphasizes meticulous resource management and territorial organization, advocating for the establishment of new settlements and precise administrative divisions within settlements, ensuring efficient governance at multiple levels.

- Adhikaraṇas three and four detail a hierarchical structure for maintaining law and order within the rājya, involving appointed officers responsible for conflict resolution and addressing crime-related issues.

Review Questions

1. What are the four essential sciences mentioned by Kauṭilya in his Arthaśāstra for effective governance? Provide a brief explanation of each.

2. Discuss the relevance of ministers as discussed in the treatise. How are they appointed? How are they examined?

3. Discuss the sources of law considered by officers in delivering judgments according to the Arthaśāstra. How does the text prioritize these sources, and what exceptions are allowed in times of contradiction?

4. How does Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra advocate for the establishment of new settlements in remote villages? Discuss the role of these settlements in ensuring balanced and functional communities.

5. Distinguish between verbal and physical injury as discussed in the text. Compare it with the modern legal understanding of the same. Use relevant examples.

6. Describe the organizational structure of administrative divisions within settlements as outlined in Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra. How does this structure contribute to efficient governance at various levels?

7. Discuss the significance of meticulous resource management and territorial organization as emphasized in the second Adhikaraṇa of Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra. How does this contribute to the overall stability and welfare of a kingdom?

8. Discuss the provisions mentioned in terms of protection of women in workplaces in Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra. Compare with similar provisions existing in the contemporary world. Use relevant examples to explain your point.

9. In what ways does Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra provide guidelines for intelligence gathering and espionage operations? Analyze the complexities of these guidelines and their implications for governance and security within a kingdom.

10. Elaborate on the idea of "Indriyajaya" and explain how it is relevant to you in your daily life.

End Notes

[1] धर्माधर्मौ त्रय्याम्, अर्थानर्थौ वार्त्तायाम्, नयापनयौ दण्डनीत्याम्, बलाबले चैतासां हेतुभिः अन्वीक्षमाणा आन्वीक्षिकी लोकस्योपकरोति, व्यसने अभ्युदये च बुद्धिम् अवस्थापयति, प्रज्ञावाक्यवैशारद्यं च करोति । dharmādharmau trayyām, arthānarthau vārttāyām, nayāpanayau daṇḍanītyām, balābale caitāsām hetubhiḥ anvīkṣamāṇā ānvīkṣikī lokasyopakaroti, vyasane abhyudaye ca buddhim avasthāpayati, prajñāvākyavaiśāradyaṃ ca karoti ı (Kauṭiya's Arthaśāstra: 1.2.11). For all references to Arthaśāstra verses quoted in this book, refer Kangle, R.P. (1972). "The Kauṭilya Arthaśāstra – Part I: A critical edition with a glossary" (For original Sanskrit text), and Part II (For English Translation), Motilal Banarsidass, New Delhi.

[2] सामर्ग्यजुर्वेदास्त्रयस्त्रयी अथर्ववेदेतिहासवेदौ च वेदाः । शिक्षा कल्पो व्याकरणं निरुक्तं छन्दोविचितिः ज्योतिषमिति चाङ्गानि ।
sāmargyajurvedāstrayastrayī atharvavedetihāsavedau ca vedāḥ ı śikṣā kalpo vyākaraṇaṃ niruktaṃ chandovicitiḥ jyotiṣamiti cāṅgāni ı (Kauṭiya's Arthaśāstra: 1.3.1-3)

> ### Risks in translating Vedic Literature
>
> The words used in Vedic literature sometimes have unique meanings, very different from the normal usage. Nirukta plays a crucial role in ensuring the correct meaning is obtained by providing a list of synonyms of words used in Vedic literature. In the absence of this knowledge, there is a risk of wrong translation as is evident from the translation of Tāndya-brāhmaṇa by a Dutch scholar, W. Caland. See below the original mantra and the translation adopted.
>
> यावद्वै सहसं गाव उत्तराधरा इत्याहुस्तावदस्मात् लोकात् स्वर्गो लोक इति तस्मादाहुः सहस्रयाजी वा इमान् लोकान् प्राप्नोति ॥ (Tāndyabrāhmana 16.8.6)
> *yāvadvai sahasraṃ gāva uttarādharā ityāhus-tāvadasmāt lokāt svargo loka iti tasmād-āhuḥ sahasra-yājī vā imān lokān prāpnoti ॥*
>
> The translation reads as follows:
>
> "The world of heaven is as far removed from this (earthly) world, they say, as a **thousand cows standing one above the other** (emphasis added). Therefore, they say, "He who sacrifices with a sacrifice at which a thousand dakṣiṇās are given reaches these worlds".
>
> For any sensible-minded person, such a translation will be unacceptable. How can one stack 1000 cows one over the other and hope to assume this is the distance between the earth and heaven?
> There are 21 synonyms listed in a group in Nirukta. They are "Gauḥ, gmā, jmā, kṣmā, kṣā, kśamā, kṣoṇiḥ, kṣitiḥ, avaniḥ, urvī, pṛthvī, mahī, ripaḥ, aditiḥ, iḷā, nirṛtiḥ, bhūḥ bhūmiḥ, pūṣā, gātuḥ, gotrā". In normal usage, the word 'गौः (gauḥ)' stands for a cow. Whereas in Veda it can mean many other things such as earth, a cow, a moving object, the Sun. All these meanings are extracted from a modified form of the verbal root 'गं (gam)'.
> The meaning of the root 'gam' is to move. The same has been taken as the verbal root 'गो (go)'. Hence, the earth is called 'go' as the beings here move on it. The 'cow' is called 'go' since it used to go out far away from the village for grazing. The Sun is called 'go' because it appears to be moving. Now of these meanings whichever suits a context must be taken. The meaning of "go" in this mantra must relate to the earth and not to the cow.
>
> This example demonstrates how a lack of knowledge on Nirukta can mislead Indologists in their efforts to translate the Vedic corpus into English and other foreign languages.
>
> *Source for the translation: Caland, W. (1982), "Pañcaviṃśa-Brāhmaṇa", Satguru Publications, New Delhi, pp 440.*

[3] **Source:**

⁴कृषिपाशुपाल्ये वणिज्या च वार्त्ता; धान्यपशुहिरण्यकुप्यविष्टिप्रदानादौपकारिकी । तया स्वपक्षं परपक्षं च वशीकरोति कोशदण्डाभ्याम् । kṛṣipāśupālye vaṇijyā ca vārttā; dhānyapaśuhiraṇyakupyaviṣṭipradānādaupakārikī | tayā svapakṣaṃ parapakṣaṃ ca vaśīkaroti kośadaṇḍābhyām | (Kauṭiya's Arthaśāstra: 1.4.1-2)

⁵कोशमूलो हि दुर्गसंस्कारो दुर्गरक्षणं जनपदमित्रनिग्रहो देशान्तरितानामुत्साहनं दण्डबलव्यवहारश्च । kośamūlo hi durgasaṃskāro durgarakṣaṇaṃ janapadamitranigraho deśāntaritānāmutsāhanaṃ daṇḍabalavyavahāraśca | (Kauṭiya's Arthaśāstra: 8.1.34)

⁶आन्वीक्षिकीत्रयीवार्त्तानां योगक्षेमसाधनो दण्डः । ānvīkṣikītrayīvārttānāṃ yogakṣemasādhano daṇḍaḥ | (Kauṭiya's Arthaśāstra: 1.4.3)

⁷दण्डेन नीयते चेदं दण्डं नयति वा पुनः । दण्डनीतिरिति ख्याता त्रींल्लोकानभिवर्त्तते ॥ daṇḍena nīyate cedaṃ daṇḍaṃ nayati vā punaḥ | daṇḍanītiriti khyātā trīṃllokānabhivartate ॥ Dutt, M.N. (2008). "Mahābhārata – Vol. VII Śānti Parva", Parimal Publications, New Delhi. Chapter 59, Verse 78.

⁸दण्डनीतिः स्वधर्मेभ्यश्चातुर्वर्ण्यं नियच्छति । प्रयुक्ता स्वामिना सम्यगधर्मेभ्यो नियच्छति ॥ daṇḍanītiḥ svadharmebhyaścāturvarṇyaṃ niyacchati | prayuktā svāminā samyagadharmebhyo niyacchati ॥ Dutt, M.N. (2008). "Mahābhārata – Vol. VII Śānti Parva", Parimal Publications, New Delhi. Chapter 69, Verse 76.

⁹दमो दण्ड इति प्रोक्तस्तात्स्थ्याद् दण्डो महीपतिः । तस्य नीतिर्दण्डनीतिर्नयनान्नीतिरुच्यते ॥ damo daṇḍa iti proktastātsthyād daṇḍo mahīpatiḥ | tasya nītirdaṇḍanītirnayanānnītirucyate ॥ Dinesh Kumar Garg (2016). "Kāmandakaīya Nītisaraḥ", Sampurnanada Sanskrit Vishvavidyalaya, Varanasi. Chapter 2, Verse 15.

¹⁰अलब्धलाभार्था लब्धपरिरक्षणी, रक्षितविवर्धनी, वृद्धस्य तीर्थेषु प्रतिपादनी च । alabdhalābhārthā labdhaparirakṣaṇī, rakṣitavivardhanī, vṛddhasya tīrtheṣu pratipādanī ca | (Kauṭiya's Arthaśāstra: 1.4.6)

¹¹न ह्येवंविधं वशोपनयनमस्ति भूतानां यथा दण्डः । इत्याचार्याः ॥ na hyevaṃvidhaṃ vaśopanayanamasti bhūtānāṃ yathā daṇḍaḥ | ityācāryāḥ ॥ (Kauṭiya's Arthaśāstra: 1.4.3)

¹²अमात्यसम्पदोपेतः निसृष्टार्थः । पादगुणहीनः परिमितार्थः । अर्धगुणहीनः शासनहरः ॥ amātyasampadopetaḥ nisṛṣṭārthaḥ | pādaguṇahīnaḥ parimitārthaḥ | ardhaguṇahīnaḥ śāsanaharaḥ ॥ (Kauṭiya's Arthaśāstra: 1.16.2-4)

¹³अष्टशतग्राम्याः मध्ये स्थानीयं, चतुश्शतग्राम्याः द्रोणमुखं, द्विशतग्राम्याः खार्वटिकं, दशग्रामीसङ्ग्रहेण सङ्ग्रहणं स्थापयेत् । aṣṭaśatagrāmyāḥ madhye sthānīyam, catuśśatagrāmyāḥ droṇamukham, dviśatagrāmyāḥ khārvaṭikam, daśagrāmīsaṅgraheṇa saṅgrahaṇaṃ sthāpayet | (Kauṭiya's Arthaśāstra: 2.1.4)

¹⁴सूत्रपरीक्षार्थमात्रः प्रदीपः । स्त्रिया मुखसन्दर्शनेस्न्यकार्यसंभाषायां वा पूर्वः साहसदण्डः, वेतनकालातिपतने मध्यमः, अकृतकर्मवेतनप्रदाने च । sūtraparīkṣārthamātraḥ pradīpaḥ | striyā mukhasandarśanesnyakāryasaṃbhāṣāyāṃ vā pūrvaḥ sāhasadaṇḍaḥ, vetanakālātipatane madhyamaḥ, akṛtakarmavetanapradāne ca | (Kauṭiya's Arthaśāstra: 2.23.13-14)

¹⁵सुराध्यक्षः सुराकिण्वव्यवहारान् दुर्गे जनपदे स्कन्धावारे वा तज्ज्ञातसुराकिण्वव्यवहारिभिः कारयेद्, एकमुखमनेकमुखं वा विक्रयवशेन वा ॥ surādhyakṣaḥ surākiṇvavyavahārān durge janapade skandhāvāre vā tajjātasurākiṇvavyavahāribhiḥ kārayed, ekamukhamanekamukhaṃ vā vikrayavaśena vā ॥ (Kauṭiya's Arthaśāstra: 2.25.1)

¹⁶लक्षितमल्पं वा चतुर्भागमर्धकुडुबं कुडुबमर्धप्रस्थं वेति ज्ञातशौचा निर्हरेयुः । पानागारेषु वा पिबेयुरसंचारिणः ॥ lakṣitamalpaṃ vā caturbhāgamardhakuḍubaṃ kuḍubamardhaprasthaṃ veti jñātaśaucā nirhareyuḥ | pānāgāreṣu vā pibeyurasaṃcāriṇaḥ ॥ (Kauṭiya's Arthaśāstra: 2.25.4-5)

¹⁷अकामायाः कुमार्या वा साहसे उत्तमो दण्डः, सकामायाः पूर्वः साहसदण्डः । गणिकामकामां रुन्धतो निष्पातयतो वा व्रणविदारणेन वा रूपमुपघ्नतः सहस्रं दण्डः । स्थानविशेषेण वा दण्डवृद्धिः आ निष्क्रयद्विगुणात् । प्राप्ताधिकारां गणिकां घातयतो निष्क्रयद्विगुणो दण्डः ॥ akāmāyāḥ kumāryā vā sāhase uttamo daṇḍaḥ, sakāmāyāḥ pūrvaḥ sāhasadaṇḍaḥ | gaṇikāmakāmāṃ rundhato niṣpātayato vā vraṇavidāraṇena vā rūpamupaghnataḥ sahasraṃ daṇḍaḥ | sthānaviśeṣeṇa vā daṇḍavṛddhiḥ ā niṣkrayadviguṇāt | prāptādhikārāṃ gaṇikāṃ ghātayato niṣkrayadviguṇo daṇḍaḥ ॥ (Kauṭiya's Arthaśāstra: 2.27.13-16)

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[18] धर्मश्च व्यवहारश्च चरित्रं राजशासनम् । विवादार्थश्चतुष्पादः पश्चिमः पूर्वबाधकः ॥ dharmaśca vyavahāraśca caritraṃ rājaśāsanam । vivādārthaścatuṣpādaḥ paścimaḥ pūrvabādhakaḥ ॥ (Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra: 3.1.39)

[19] कुद्दालपाणिर्विज्ञेयः सेतुभेत्ता समीपगः । kuddālapāṇirvijñeyaḥ setubhettā samīpagaḥ । Extracted from Commentary of Arthaśāstra by T. Ganapati Shastri – 3.1.44

Adhyāya: 3

Prakṛti Sampat: The Constituent Elements

After finishing the chapter, you will be able to:

- *Gain insight into the intricate web of alliances and enmities, learning how various relationships, such as enemy's ally (Ari-Mitra) and friend of the ally (Mitra-Mitra), shape foreign policy decisions and strategies.*

- *Analyze the strategic positioning of different rājās within the Maṇḍala, including roles like enemy-in-the-rear (Pārṣṇigraha) and ally in the rear (Ākranda), understanding their impact on statecraft and military planning.*

- *Evaluate the dynamics of foreign policy in ancient contexts, recognizing how historical frameworks like Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra inform modern political strategies and international relations.*

- *Apply theoretical concepts from the Maṇḍala framework to contemporary scenarios, developing skills in strategic thinking and geopolitical analysis relevant to current global affairs.*

- *Develop the ability to interpret and contextualize historical texts, appreciating the relevance of ancient wisdom in shaping present-day governance and diplomatic practices.*

सम्पादयत्यसम्पन्नाः प्रकृतीरात्मवान्नृपः ।
विवृद्धाश्चानुरक्ताश्च प्रकृतीर्हन्त्यनात्मवान् ॥

sampādayatyasampannāḥ prakṛtīrātmavānnṛpaḥ ।
vivṛddhāścānuraktāśca prakṛtīrhantyanātmavān ॥

A king endowed with the personal qualities endows with the excellences the constitute elements not so endowed. One not endowed with the personal qualities destroys the constituent elements that are prosperous and devoted to him. (Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra: 6.1.16)

Prakṛti Sampat: The Constituent Elements

आत्मवांस्त्वल्पदेशोऽपि युक्तः प्रकृतिसम्पदा ।
नयज्ञः पृथवीं कृत्स्नां जयत्येव न हीयते ॥[1]

"A rājā possessed with personal qualities, facilitated by each of his rājya's prakṛtis (constituent elements), and is conversant with nīti (ability to lead) shall conquer the entire earth and never get defeated – despite ruling over a small piece of territory." (Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra: 6.1.18)

This statement offers the introduction to the constituent elements of a rājya that not only defines a rājya, but also forms the foundation of its overall power. These constituent elements are referred to as prakṛtis (also called aṅgas). They form the seven prakṛtis (or aṅgas) of a rājya – the strength of which defines a rājya's position among the circle of various other rājyas, which in turn, are referred to as maṇḍalas. This adhyāya shall attempt to introduce each of these concepts to the readers - prakṛtis and maṇḍalas. Please note that throughout this book, the terms prakṛtis and aṅgas shall be used interchangeably. Hence, the seven prakṛtis of a rājya shall be referred to as the Saptāṅga.

3.1. Maṇḍalayoni: The Circle of Rājās as a Basis

This Adhikaraṇa serves as a crucial link between the initial discussion on internal dynamics of the state and the subsequent exploration of foreign policy matters within Kauṭilya's treatise. It introduces and elucidate the framework: the Saptāṅga Rājya encapsulated within the concept of Yoga-Kṣema. These frameworks form the foundation of the Rājamaṇḍala, or the circle of rājās, where principles of foreign policy are applied.

Within this context, each element of the Saptāṅga is called a 'Prakṛti' and every rājā's strength depends on the strength and support of his six prakṛtis, namely: amātya, janapada, durga, kośa, daṇḍa, and mitra. Apart from this, three important terms are defined: Vijigīṣu, Ari, and Mitra. Kauṭilya says,

"राजात्मद्रव्यप्रकृतिसम्पन्नो नयस्याधिष्ठानं विजिगीषुः ।"[2] (Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra: 6.2.13), meaning, the rājā,

endowed with personal excellences and those of his material constituents, the seat of good policy, is the would-be conqueror or Vijigīṣu. He is fulfilled with 25 qualities and is one who can apply the six foreign policy principles and four upāyas (sāma, dāna, bheda, and daṇḍa) in accordance with the requirement.

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[1] ātmavāṃstvalpadeśo'pi yuktaḥ prakṛtisampadā ।

nayajñaḥ pṛthavīṃ kṛtsnāṃ jayatyeva na hīyate ॥

[2] rājātmadravyaprakṛtisampanno nayasyādhiṣṭhānaṃ vijigīṣuḥ ।

Fig 3.1: Types of upāyas in the treatise
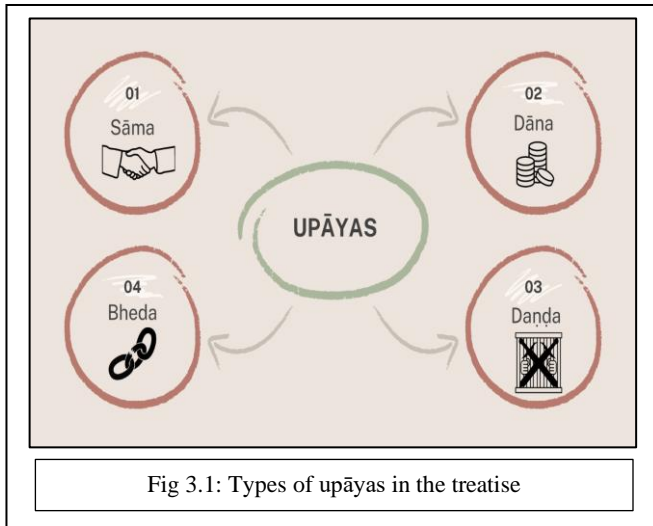
These four upāyas each consist of several means to be undertaken, which may be listed as: -

- **Sāma:** Sāma, or conciliation, is a strategy employed to reconcile conflicts and foster harmony. It involves highlighting the positive qualities and past actions of the individuals involved. This can include recounting the good deeds done by each party, praising their virtues and accomplishments, and emphasizing the positive outcomes that can result from cooperation. Additionally, Sāma involves declaring mutual respect and acknowledging the relationship between the parties. It often includes gestures of humility and service, such as declaring "I am at your service," to demonstrate a willingness to mend relations and work towards mutual benefit.

- **Dāna:** Dāna, or gifts, is a tactic used to foster goodwill and reciprocity. It encompasses various forms of giving, including returning favors, making new offerings, and fulfilling the desires of others. This can involve returning what has been deposited or lent, presenting new gifts as tokens of friendship or alliance, and catering to the preferences of recipients. Dāna also involves giving at specified times or occasions, maintaining a sense of regularity and obligation in the exchange. Importantly, it includes consenting to others taking away one's possessions, demonstrating generosity and a willingness to share resources.

- **Bheda:** Bheda, or dissension, is a strategy aimed at sowing discord and undermining adversaries. It involves creating distrust and division within the enemy camp, often through covert means. This can include offering heavy bribes or lavish presents to key figures such as ministers, feudatories, or even dissatisfied members within the enemy's ranks, thereby weakening their cohesion and loyalty to their leader. Bheda may also involve exploiting existing tensions or grievances to exacerbate conflicts and drive a wedge between the enemy and their supporters.

- **Daṇḍa**: Daṇḍa, or punishment, is a tactic employed to assert authority and deter defiance. It includes the imposition of severe penalties, such as sentencing individuals to death or administering corporal punishment, particularly within the ruler's domain (Janapada). Additionally, Daṇḍa can involve inflicting harm on the enemy's territory and resources, such as destroying crops, seizing

livestock, or plundering wealth and assets. By demonstrating the consequences of disobedience or resistance, Daṇḍa aims to instill fear and compel compliance, thereby reinforcing the ruler's power and authority.

Further, "तस्य समन्ततो मण्डलीभूता भूम्यनन्तरा अरिप्रकृतिः ।[3] (Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra: 6.2.14), i.e., encircling him on all sides, with territory immediately next to his is the constituent called the enemy or 'Ari.' This Ari is suggestive of 13 qualities mentioned by Kauṭilya and is of four kinds: a 'Śatru' (who has the aforementioned 13 qualities); 'Ucchedanīya' (an enemy that has no support system due to weak six prakṛtis and can be easily uprooted); 'Pīḍanīya/Kārṣaṇīya' (an enemy whose support system exists in form of strong prakṛtis, hence is a source of continuous distress for the Vijigīṣu); and 'Yātavya' (an enemy who can be marched upon). Lastly, he defines Mitra or ally as "तथैव भूम्येकान्तरा मित्रप्रकृतिः ।[4]" (Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra: 6.2.15), meaning, one with territory separated by one (other territory).

Each Vijigīṣu is surrounded by six other rājās, forming a circle of twelve, including two additional rājās: the Madhyama or middle rājā and the Udāsīna or neutral rājā. The Madhyama rājā, situated in proximity, can support both the Vijigīṣu and the Ari, whereas the Udāsīna Rājā, more powerful than the Madhyama rājā, remains neutral.

Here, the text lists various other rājās within this Maṇḍala, categorized based on their positioning and relationships:

- Ari-Mitra: enemy's ally
- Mitra-Mitra: friend of the ally
- Ari-Mitra-Mitra: enemy's ally's friend
- Pārṣṇīgraha: enemy-in-the-rear
- Ākranda: ally in the rear
- Pārṣṇīgraha-Āsāra: rear enemy's ally
- Ākranda-Āsāra: rear ally's friend
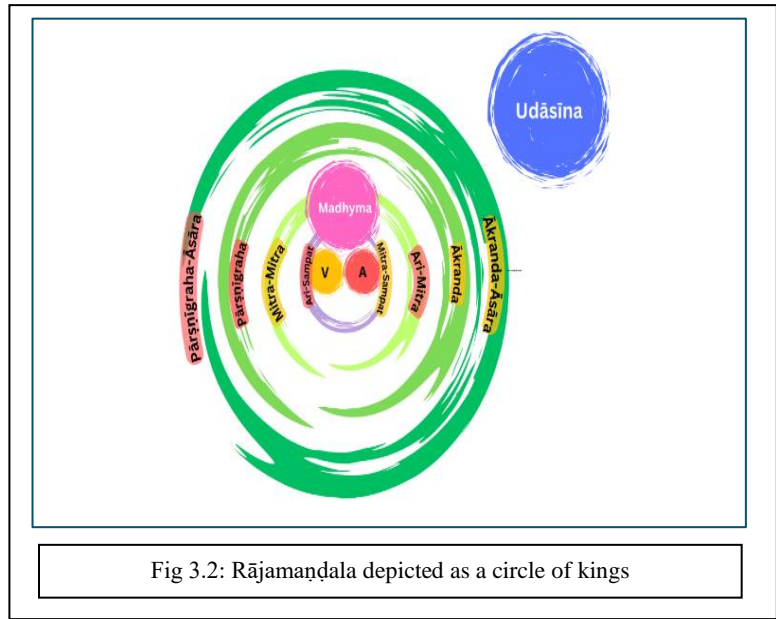
Fig 3.2: Rājamaṇḍala depicted as a circle of kings

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[3] tasya samantato maṇḍalībhūtā bhūmyanantarā ariprakṛtiḥ ।

[4] tathaiva bhūmyekāntarā mitraprakṛtiḥ ।

These delineations within the Rājamaṇḍala framework provide insight into the complicated web of alliances and enmities that shape foreign policy decisions and strategies in Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra.

In this circle of rājās, or the Rājamaṇḍala, 12 rājās in total form one complete Rājamaṇḍala, and a total of 72 prakṛtis.

3.2. Saptāṅga Rājya encapsulated within Yoga-Kṣema: Frameworks to Study the Arthaśāstra

The Arthaśāstra by Kauṭilya can be studied within the framework of the Saptāṅga Rājya (the seven constituent elements of a Rājya) encapsulated within the idea of Yoga-Kṣema (to acquire, protect, expand, and enjoy). We first discuss the theory of the Saptāṅga Rājya that rests on the goal of Yoga-kṣema, which is worth exploring. While Yoga refers to acquiring that what one does not have, Kṣema deals with expanding, protecting, and enjoying the 'acquired.' Kauṭilya defines the two as, शमव्यायामौ योगक्षेमयोर्योनिः । कर्मारम्भाणां योगाराधनो व्यायामः । कर्मफलोपभोगानां क्षेमाराधनः शमः ।[5] (Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra: 6.2.1-2) He says that peace (śama) and activity (vyāyāma) constitute the source of acquisition (Yoga) and security (Kṣema). Vyāyāma is that which brings about the accomplishment of works undertaken (Yoga). Śama is that which brings about security of enjoyment of the fruits of the works (Kṣema).

The seven prakṛtis that constitute the Saptāṅga of a rājya work in collaboration to ensure the attainment of one objective: Yoga-kṣema. Each of them supports the primary prakṛti, the svāmi/rājā, to ensure that through constant efforts (Śama and Vyāyāma), the rājya acquires (yoga) all artha that it does not have and thereby expand, protect, and efficiently distribute among its subjects that which has been acquired
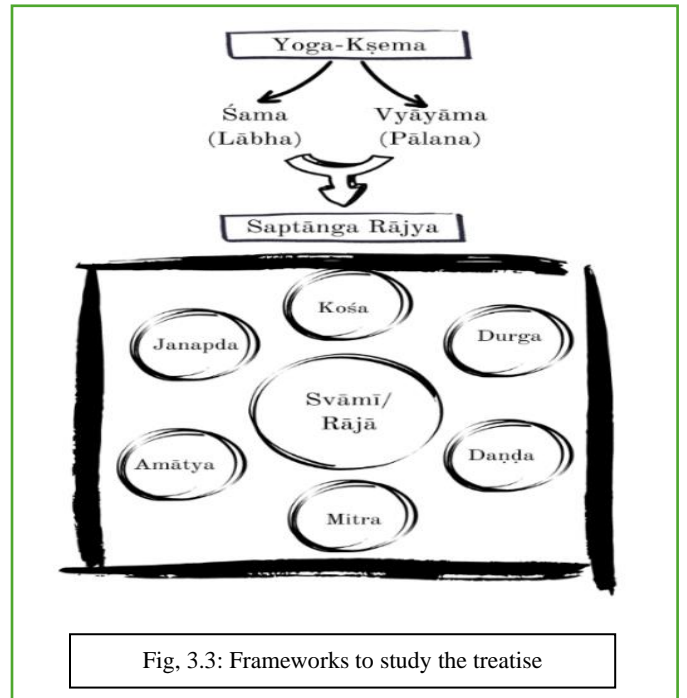
Fig, 3.3: Frameworks to study the treatise

(kṣema). In doing so, Kauṭilya places Yoga-kṣhema at the base of the Arthaśāstra – thus implying Yoga-Kṣema to be an objective which is the sole end to every means adapted while practicing statecraft.

Collectively they define the course of action while taking policy decisions, and the consequences of such decisions result in the overall advancement, stability, or decline of any state – thus fundamentally explaining the Avāpādhikāra Adhikaraṇas that deal with foreign policy. Against this background, we now discuss the Saptāṅga Rājya Theory.

Kauṭilya states, "स्वाम्यमात्यजनपददुर्गकोशदण्डमित्राणि प्रकृतयः ।"[6] (Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra: 6.1.1) meaning "The rājā, the minister, the country, the fortified city, the treasury, the army, and the ally are the constituent elements of the state." Here, these constituent elements are referred to as prakṛtis, where the rājā plays the leading role.

3.2.1 Svāmī/Rājā. The meaning of the term 'Svāmī' can be traced from various sources. At some places it is derived from the root word 'Sva' refers to resource which may include land, people, money, etc., or collection of all these. Hence, 'स्वम् अस्यास्तीति स्वामी',[7] which translates to the person who possesses the resource or resources is a Svāmī. Put simply, in colloquial usage, a person who owns a car is its Svāmī. Here, the car refers to the Sva, and one who possesses it becomes the Svāmī. On a larger scale, possession of a piece of land or territory with residing population and resources, makes an individual its Svāmī. Sva also means ātmā. So, the word Svāmī also means one who possesses the quality of the self or knows the ātmā.

Another term used in context of governance of a rājya is 'rājā.' Hence, when considered in terms of rajanīti, the term 'Rājā' refers to "रञ्जयति प्रजाः इति राजा,"[8] meaning, one who delights and cherishes his subject is rāja. Similarly, Kālidāsa in his Raghuvamśa states that, "राजा प्रकृतिरञ्जनात्"[9] meaning one who cherishes the prakṛtis (Raghuvamśa: 4.12). Kauṭilya in his treatise elaborately discusses the Svāmī/rājā in terms of the qualities he must exhibit, the training he must undergo, the schedule he must follow, the salary he must be paid, among various other aspects which have been discussed in the previous adhyāya. Listing the qualities, for instance, Kauṭilya lays out four kinds of qualities: approachability, intellect, energy, and

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[6] svāmyamātyajanapadadurgakośadaṇḍamitrāṇi prakṛtayaḥ ।

[7] 'svam asyāstīti svāmī'

[8] rañjayati prajāḥ iti rājā

[9] rājā prakṛtirañjanāt

personal excellence – and each of them have further elaborated in significant details (Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra: 6.1.2-6).[i]

These qualities may be listed as follows: -

1. **Approachable Qualities:** Such a rājā is characterized by noble lineage and is blessed with a combination of good fortune, intelligence, and a strong spirit. The rājā prioritizes humility by paying respect to elders, upholding righteousness, and consistently speaking the truth, firmly abiding by their word. Gratitude and generosity are integral to the nature of such a rājā, and they exhibit boundless energy, coupled with a diligent work ethic that avoids leaving things undone/incomplete (avoids procrastination). His diplomatic skills are evident in his ability to maintain smooth relations with neighboring rulers, while the decisiveness is reflected in his resolute mindset and reliance on a council of broad vision. Such a leader eagerly seeks opportunities for growth and learning, demonstrating a willingness to be trained and continually improve.

2. **Qualities of intelligence:** These include a desire to learn, attentive listening, the ability to grasp concepts, strong retention of information, comprehension, skilled reasoning, discerning rejection, and unwavering devotion to truth.

3. **Qualities of energy:** These encompass bravery, a sense of indignation against injustice, quickness in action, and skilled execution of tasks.

4. **Personal excellences:** These include being articulate and bold, possessing a sharp memory, intellect, and strength, radiating a sense of greatness, being free from vices, providing effective leadership, ensuring fair retribution for both benefits provided and wrongs committed, demonstrating judiciousness and farsightedness, and having the ability to discern between peace and hostilities, detainment and release, and honoring agreements while exploiting the enemy's weaknesses. Additionally, such an individual is free from traits like lust, hatred, greed, rigidity, inconstancy, and brutality.

3.2.1.1. Rājarṣī: A Rājā and a Ṛṣī

Having discussed the qualities of the rājā in detail, the treatise mentions how such excellences shall be exercised. It emphasizes that a rājā, while using these excellences to attain the advancement of their rājya, as well as his own desires to some extent. However, the boundaries to exercise these are clearly laid out. Against this background, Kauṭilya gives us the concept of a Rājarṣī whom he defines as a rājā abounds the qualities of a ṛṣī.

Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra: Timeless Strategies for Modern Governance

- Indriyajaya: A rājā shall be an Indriyajayī.[ii] In doing so, Kauṭilya introduces to us the concept of Indrīyajaya for the rājā - that forms the foundation for all the rājā's Vidyās (knowledge) and Vinaya (training), as discussed in the previous adhyāya (Tantrādhikāra: 2.1.1). Kauṭilya states that all those who followed the mentioned path and having controlled their sensory desires, have ruled for long[iii] (Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra: 1.6.12). On the contrary, a king, states Kauṭilya, who behaves in a manner contrary to that, having no control over his senses, quickly perishes, though might have been ruler "right up to the four ends of the earth[iv]" (Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra: 1.6.4). Moreover, with his senses in check, a man should avoid desiring another person's partner or possessions and refrain from harming others. He should also steer clear of laziness, fickleness, lying, dressing extravagantly, and associating with bad influences or actions. Instead, he should enjoy sensual pleasures in a way that doesn't harm his spiritual or material well-being, finding a balance. Alternatively, he should aim to pursue spiritual growth, material success, and enjoying life in harmony. Too much focus on anyone can cause harm to others[v] (Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra: 1.7.2-3).

- Vṛddha Saṃyogena Prajñām: As explained previously, the term 'vṛddha' refers to 'elderly' individuals – both in terms of Wisdom and age. As emphasised by Kauṭilya in the 15th adhyāya, he should despise none, (but) should listen to the opinion of everyone. A wise man should make use of the sensible words of even a child[vi]" (Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra: 1.15.22). It is in this same context that the role of a mantrī comes of relevance. Despite being a supporting-arm for the rājā, Kauṭilya states that a rājā should regard his preceptors or ministers as guides for his behavior, relying on them to prevent him from causing harm. Even in private, they should remind him of his duties[vii]. Successful rule requires teamwork; just as one wheel cannot turn alone, a ruler needs associates. Therefore, he should appoint ministers and heed their advice.[viii]

- Cāreṇa Cakṣuḥ[ix]: Translating as someone who has a watch over the events occurring across the length and breadth his rājya, this quality requires the rājā's representatives to be present across acting as his "eyes" and "ears." This includes two kinds of representation: the covert and the overt. In terms of covert presence, the rājā employs his surveillance network through spies. It is crucial for him to identify such agents who should be strategically placed within different corners of his own rājya, as well as within the enemy's camp, among allies, neutral parties, and the top officials of the rājā. However, in terms of overt presence, his amātyas/mantrīs play a critical role. Explaining the relevance of amātyas/mantrīs in governance, Kauṭilya states that due to the complexity and simultaneous nature of tasks, their diversity, and the need for execution in various locations, the king should delegate them to ministers to ensure they are carried out efficiently without consuming the king's time and attention[x] (Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra: 1.9.8) For instance, Indra has been believed

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to have had a council of ministers consisting of a thousand sages, which acted like his eyes. He derives his name as 'Sahasrākṣa'[xi] (Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra: 1.15.55).

- Utthānena Yogakṣemasādhanam[xii]: Identification of "consistent pursuits" by a rājā as essential instrument of attainment of Yogakṣema, Kauṭilya states that for the rājā, making a vow is like getting things done, and managing sacrifices is like handling affairs. Being fair is the price he pays for impartial behavior, and his coronation is like his initiation into these rites. He states, "In the happiness of the subjects lies the happiness of the king and in what is beneficial to the subjects his own benefit. What is dear to himself is not beneficial to the king, but what is dear to the subjects is beneficial (to him)"[xiii] (Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra: 1.19.33-34).

- Kāryānuśāsanena Svadharmasthāpanam[xiv]: Establishment of the sva-dharma (duties of individual human beings) through disciplining the prajā has been listed one of the primary dharmas of a rājarṣī. Kauṭilya states that following one's own dharma leads to eternal bliss. On the contrary, transgressing it leads to societal chaos and destruction. Therefore, the rājā must ensure that everyone adheres to their respective duties, as this brings joy both in this life and in the afterlife. The society thrives when the rules of righteous living, including varṇāśramā dharma, are respected and upheld, guided by the teachings of the Vedas. (Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra: 1.3.14-17)[xv] He, therefore, emphasizes that the rājā, upholding his duty by protecting his subjects according to the law, earns heavenly rewards. Conversely, neglecting this duty or unjustly punishing the people leads to adverse consequences[xvi].

- Vinayaṃ Vidyopadeśena[xvii]: As explained earlier, a rājā becomes a rājarṣī when he has attained wisdom through rigorous training in the four essential vidyās.

- Lokapriyatvamarthasaṃyogena[xviii]: Another quality that form an essential trait of a rājarṣī includes him being able to gather the affection of his subjects through accumulation and distribution of the resources acquired. Kauṭilya states that "कोशपूर्वाः सर्वारम्भाः । तस्मात्पूर्वं कोशमवेक्षेत।[10]" (Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra: 2.8.1), meaning that all undertakings are dependent primarily on the treasury, hence it is the rājā's duty to prioritize the protection of the treasury. He further adds, "अल्पकोशो हि राजा पौरजानपदानेव ग्रसते।[11]" (Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra: 2.1.16), meaning that a rājā with a scarce treasury ends up swallowing his own people and subjects. It must be noted that humans often fail to achieve their goals even with considerable effort if they lack wealth. Success is often achieved through the acquisition of resources, much like how elephants are captured using

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[10] kośapūrvāḥ sarvārambhāḥ । tasmātpūrva kośamavekṣeta ।

[11] alpakośo hi rājā paurajānapadāneva grasate ।

other elephants[xix] (Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra: 9.4.27). Hence, the rājā shall attach supreme importance to acquiring resources and ensuring the fulfillment of his treasury or kośa for the yoga-kṣema of his rājya and prajā.

3.2.3. Amātya/Mantrī (Minister/Counsellor). The term is derived from the root 'अमा[12],' meaning "सह[13]", which translates to "together." This is expanded to "अमा वर्तते इति अमात्यः[14]" signifying someone who is "in company with." The text Yukti Kalpataru (1.18)[xx] delineates the attributes of an amātya, asserting that they must embody traits such as calmness, humility, proficiency, noble lineage, virtuous conduct, and a multi-faceted knowledge base. Another synonymous term for a minister is "mantrī," derived from the verbal root "मत्रि (गुप्तभाषणम्)[15]," indicating one who keeps or manages secrets. Although these terms are often used interchangeably, they entail distinct responsibilities. According to the text Amarakośa, a mantrī is engaged in intellectual discussions, while an amātya oversees various activities or departments.[xxi]

An Amātya, or minister, possesses a myriad of qualities including that they are native to the land they serve, they have a visionary perspective, embodying trustworthiness and wisdom. Their strong memory aids in decision-making, while their courage and valor, coupled with substance in speech, command respect. Approachable and of noble birth, they are endowed with energy and power, maintaining uprightness and fostering friendly relations. Firmly devoted and possessing unwavering character, they avoid animosities and exhibit wit and boldness. Free from stiffness and fickleness, they excel in crisis management, displaying strength of character and valor, alongside physical and psychological wellbeing. Having passed through rigorous training in various arts, they stand prepared to navigate the complexities of governance with skill and grace. In listing the characteristics of an amātya/mantrī, Kauṭilya states: -

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[12] amā

[13] saha

[14] amā vartate iti amātyaḥ

[15] matri (guptabhāṣaṇam)

जानपदोऽभिजातः स्ववग्रहः कृतशिल्पश्चक्षुष्मान्प्राज्ञो धारयिष्णुर्दक्षो वाग्मी प्रगल्भः प्रतिपत्तिमानुत्साहप्रभावयुक्तः क्लेशसहः शुचिर्मैत्रो दृढभक्तिः शीलबलारोग्य- सत्त्वयुक्तः स्तम्भचापलहीनः संप्रियो वैराणामकर्तेत्यमात्यसंपत् । अतः पादार्थगुणहीनौ मध्यमावरौ ।[16] (Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra: 1.9.1,2)

"They should be native to the country of noble birth, easy to manage, skilled in various arts, intelligent, persevering, eloquent, bold, and possessed of a ready wit. Additionally, they should be endowed with energy and power, capable of bearing troubles, upright, friendly, firmly devoted, endowed with character, strength, health, and spirit. They should also be devoid of stiffness and fickleness, amiable, and not inclined to create animosities."

The principles discussed find resemblance in episodes from the "Rāmayaṇa" and the "Mahābhārata." In the Rāmayaṇa's Ayodhyā Kāṇḍa, for instance, the relevance of ministers' counsel is reflected during the crowning of Rāma as the Yuvrāja. Daśaratha, despite his absolute authority as the rājā, seeks the counsel of ministers, advisors, and gurūs to deliberate on who should be appointed the crown prince, hence future the rājā. While he owned the power to appoint Rāma as his successor even without the agreement of others at his court, he seeks advice. The unanimous support for Rāma underscored the importance of collective decision-making. This event of seeking counsel continues even as Rāma marches against Rāvaṇa (much later in Rāmayana). When Vibhīṣaṇa seeks Rāma's alliance against Rāvaṇa, Rāma convenes significant figures like Sugrīva and Jāmbavān for consultation – reinstating the significance of active counsel.

Similarly, in the Mahābhārata, Yudhiṣṭhira often asked for advice from his ministers and elders. History has proven that leaders who have listened to their wise advisors and worked together with them have usually governed their rājyas well. On the other hand, those who ignored advice have faced profound consequences. For instance, Rāvaṇa did not pay attention to the warnings from Mārica, Kumbhakarṇa, Vibhīṣaṇa, and Maṅdodari, and it led to his downfall. Dhṛtarāṣtra and Duryodhana also met tragic fates because they did not listen to wise advice from scholars like Vidura and elders like Bhīṣma, Droṇa, and Kṛpācārya. Similarly, this has been emphasized by Viṣṇu Śarmā in his Pañcatantra's third 'tantra,' where he says that a minister (referred to as a 'Saciva') shall advise the rājā about what is right, even without being asked for consultation.

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[16] jānapado'bhijātaḥ svavagrahaḥ kṛtaśilpaścakṣuṣmānprājño dhārayiṣṇurdakṣo vāgmī pragalbhaḥ pratipattimānutsāhaprabhāvayuktaḥ kleśasahaḥ śucirmaitro dṛḍhabhaktiḥ śīlabalārogya- sattvayuktaḥ stambhacāpalahīnaḥ saṃpriyo vairāṇāmakartetyamātyasaṃpat । 1 । ataḥ pādārthaguṇahīnau madhyamāvarau ।

By extension, if asked, the minister, bound by his duty, shall advise the rājā truthfully about the situation – regardless of it sounding pleasant or not[xxii]. (Pañcatantra: 3.4)

Kauṭilya acknowledges the divergence of opinions among scholars like Bhāradvāja and Viśālākṣa regarding the allocation of ministers for the confidential council. However, he suggests that a secret council should ideally be constituted according to the requirement of the rājya[xxiii] (Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra: 1.15.50). He states: देशकालकार्यवशेन त्वेकेन सह द्वाभ्यामेको वा यथासामर्थ्य मन्त्रयेत्[17], meaning "However, in conformity with the place, time and work to be done, he should deliberate with one or two, or alone by himself, according to (their and his own) competence."

When ruling a large rājya, it is important to share responsibilities with others. A rājā, aware of this, appoints ministers, counselors, and officials to assist in governance. These appointed individuals serve as the rājā's eyes and limbs, playing a pivotal role in the administration and welfare of the populace, thus alleviating the burden of governance on the rājā.

3.2.4 Janapada (Territory and Population). The term 'Janapada' can be derived in three forms. First, its meaning can be derived from जनस्य (लोकस्य)[18] and पदम् (आश्रयस्थानम्)[19], where it is translated as the 'abode of the people.' Second, जनाः पद्यन्ते (गच्छन्ति) यत्र[20], where it is translated as 'the place where people move.' Third, जनपदम् आधारतया सन्ति येषां ते[21], where it is translated as referring to those for whom Janapada serves as their foundational abode. While each one has its own relevance and utility in several contexts, for Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra, he lists specific constituents and qualities of a Janapada, stating, "मध्ये चान्ते च स्थानवानात्मधारणः परधारणश्चापदि स्वारक्षः स्वाजीवः शत्रुद्वेषी शक्यसामन्तः पदङ्क्षुपाषाणोषरविषमकण्टकश्रेणीव्यारमुगाटवीहीनः कान्त सीताखनिद्रव्यहस्तिबनवान् ग्यः पौरुषेयो गुप्तगोचरः पडमानदेवमातृको वारिस पथाभ्यासुपेतः सारचित्रबहुपण्यो दण्डकरसहः कर्मशी रक्षको

ऽवारिशस्वास्यवरवर्ण भ्रायो भक्तषचिमनुष्य इति जनपदसंपत् ।[22] (Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra: 6.1.8)" translating as 'Possessed of strong positions in the centre and at the frontiers, capable of sustaining itself and others in times of distress, easy to protect, providing excellent (means of) livelihood, hostile towards enemies, with weak neighbouring princes, devoid of mud, stones, salty ground, uneven land, thorns, bands, wild animals, deer and forest tribes, charming, endowed with agricultural land, mines, material forests and elephant forests, beneficial to cattle, beneficial to men, with protected pastures, rich in animals, not depending on rain for water, provided with water-routes and land-routes, with valuable, manifold and plenty of commodities, capable of bearing fines and taxes, with farmers devoted to work, with a wise master, inhabited mostly by the lower varṇas, with men loyal and honest, these are the excellences of a janapada.' He further states, "न ह्यजनो जनपदो राज्यम् अजनपदं वा भवतीति कौटल्यः।[23]" (Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra: 13.4.5), meaning that there is no janapada without the people, and no rajya without janapada.
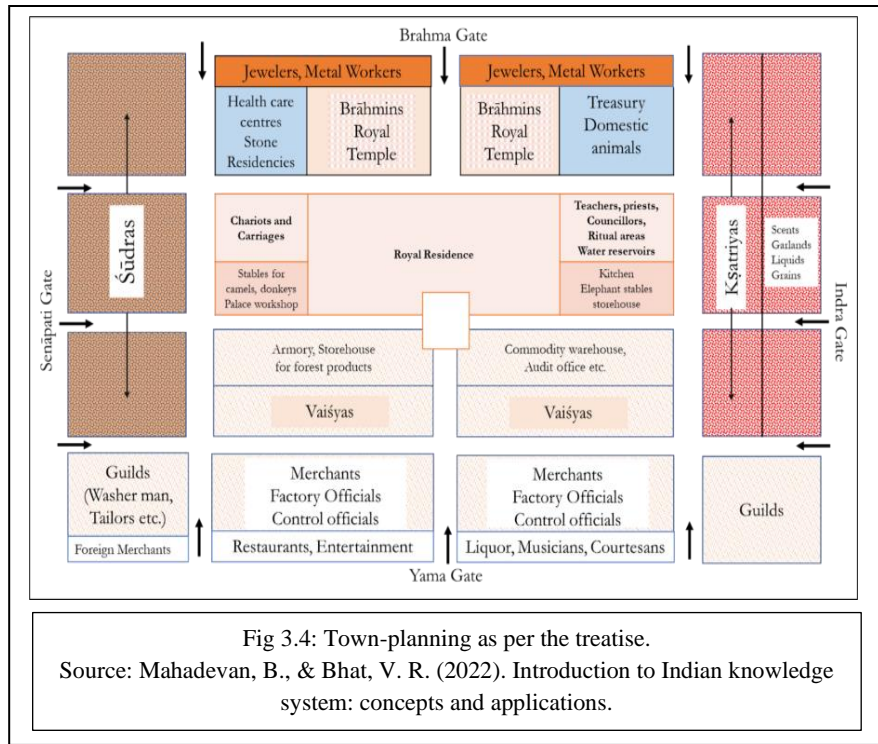
The community must comprise at least 100 and a maximum of 500 households, primarily inhabited by farmers and individuals from the Śūdra varṇa. Villages should be situated within a reasonable distance from one another, with no more than two krośas separating them. Boundaries must be clearly

Fig 3.4: Town-planning as per the treatise.
Source: Mahadevan, B., & Bhat, V. R. (2022). Introduction to Indian knowledge system: concepts and applications.

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[22] madhye cānte ca sthānavānātmadhāraṇaḥ paradhāraṇaścāpadi svārakṣaḥ svājīvaḥ śatrudveṣī śakyasāmantaḥ padaṅkkupāṣāṇoṣaraviṣamakaṇṭakaśreṇīvyāramugāṭavīhīnaḥ kānta sītākhanidravyahastibanavān gyaḥ pauruṣeyo guptagocaraḥ paḍamānadevamātṛko vārisa pathābhyāsupetaḥ sāracitrabahupaṇyo daṇḍakarasahaḥ karmaśī rakṣako 'vāriśasvāsyavaravarṇaṃ bhrāyo bhaktaṣacimanuṣya iti janapadasaṃpat ।

[23] na hyajano janapado rājyam ajanapadaṃ vā bhavatīti kauṭalyaḥ।

demarcated, either through the planting of trees or by natural landmarks such as rivers, mountains, or reservoirs.

In terms of population, the villages should be home to hardworking peasants who can handle the responsibilities of paying taxes and facing consequences for their actions. The inhabitants should possess intelligence and competence in their respective fields.

Moreover, the majority of the population should belong to the working classes, and the people should demonstrate loyalty and dedication to their community. Figure 3.4 shows the town planning proposed by Kauṭilya in his text Arthaśāstra.

The first two adhyāyas of the second Adhikarana talk about infrastructural planning for the rājya in detail, as have been discussed in the previous adhyāya of this book. They discuss how to divide up the land and how much tax to collect from it. They also discuss important places like mines, factories, and forests where the elephants live. Kauṭilya specifically advocates that some land should be left for wild animals and plants. The building of roads and temples is discussed thereafter. There is also a segment about land that cannot be farmed, hence the means of putting it to use are specific and distinct.

The significance of Janapada lies in its role in enhancing the rājā's authority through the enhancement of the populace's welfare. The heart of economic activities resides in rural areas, serving as the foundation of power. This has been elaborated in the treatise: "जनपदमूला दुर्गकोशदण्डसेतुवात्रतारम्भाः ।[24]" (Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra: 8.2.29), meaning, "The undertakings of the fort, the treasury, the army, waterworks and the occupations for livelihood have their source in the country. And bravery, firmness, cleverness, and large numbers are (found) among the country people."

Hence, effective public administration entails the management of diverse land-related endeavors across the rājya. This encompasses the construction of forts, providing sanctuary for both citizens and the monarch, the development of irrigation systems to ensure consistent water supply for agriculture, and the establishment of trade routes to facilitate commerce. Ensuring the proper utilization of mines becomes imperative as they serve as vital sources of materials essential for military endeavors. The treatise states,

आकरप्रभवः कोशः कोशाद् दण्डः प्रजायते । पृथिवी कोशदण्डाभ्यां प्राप्यते कोशभूषणा ॥[25] (Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra: 2.12.37)

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[24] janapadamūlā durgakośadaṇḍasetuvātrttārambhāḥ ।

[25] ākaraprabhavaḥ kośaḥ kośād daṇḍaḥ prajāyate । pṛthivī kośadaṇḍābhyāṃ prāpyate kośabhūṣaṇā ॥

Furthermore, well-maintained forests, habitats for elephants, and animal herds contribute a variety of valuable products and resources to the rājya's economy. The second Adhikaraṇa deals with the Janapada in elaborate details, which has been covered in the previous adhyāya (Tantrādhikāra).

3.2.4. Durga (Forts and Fortified Capital City). The fourth facet of a state, termed 'Durga,' translates to 'fort.' The term originates from the concept of a location that poses challenges to access or passage, where obstacles are encountered (दुःखेन गम्यते यत्र[26]). Durga/forts were constructed to safeguard the capital cities of rājyas. These fortifications could either be natural, encompassing terrain surrounded by seas, forests, hills, or deserts on all sides, or they could be artificially constructed. The rationale behind protecting a capital city lies in its housing of vital elements such as the treasury, granaries, and the essential forces of the nation. (Add a line mentioning that there are two types of Durgas – svābhāvika and āhārya

In the text, it is mentioned that there are two types of Durgas – svābhāvika (natural) and āhārya (man-made), of which svābhāvika is categorized into four distinct types, each leveraging natural defenses found in diverse terrains such as water, mountains, deserts, and forests.

These are: Audaka Durga (Water Fort), Pārvata Durga (Mountain Fort), Dhānvana Durga (Desert Fort), and Vana Durga (Forest Fort). A water fort involves having the capital city or the rājā's palace surrounded by a water body. For instance, the Lake Palace of Udaipur is an example where the palace is surrounded by a lake. It can be a natural or human-made water fort. A mountain fort is built atop a hill, using the natural elevation to hinder enemies from reaching the capital city. Popular examples include the forts in Sajjangadha and Simhagad. In a desert fort, dry and arid land without water serves as a protective barrier for the city or palace. The UNESCO World Heritage site of the Desert forts of Ancient Khorzem in Uzbekistan offer prime examples of desert forts. In the case of a forest fort, the capital city or palace is surrounded by a forest, whether natural or artificially created. Each type is tailored to the specific terrain and environmental conditions, ensuring maximum effectiveness in defense and security.

3.2.5. Kośa (Treasury). The treasury, referred to as "Kośa," serves as the fifth pillar of the state, embodying its financial backbone. Chanakya's wisdom, encapsulated in the verse "कोशमूलाः सर्वारम्भाः तस्मात् पूर्वं कोशमवेक्षेत[27]," (Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra: 2.8.1) underscores the pivotal role of wealth and treasure as the foundation of all state endeavors. Hence, governance demands a rājā's foremost attention to the treasury's affairs. The augmentation of the treasury is facilitated through various means which include,

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[26] duḥkhena gamyate yatra
[27] kośamūlāḥ sarvārambhāḥ tasmāt pūrvaṃ kośamavekṣeta

Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra: Timeless Strategies for Modern Governance

"प्रचारसमृद्धिश्चरित्रानुग्रहश्चोरग्रहो युक्तप्रतिषेधः सस्यसम्पत् पण्यबाहुल्यमुपसर्गप्रमोक्षः परिहारक्षयो हिरण्योपायनमिति कोशवृद्धिः ।[28] (Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra: 8.2.3)" This may be categorized as: -

- **Ensuring the prosperity of state activities (and enterprises):** This forms the base of the idea of Yoga-kṣema that needs to be catered to by any rājā (or governments in the contemporary time). This includes income from taxes, profits from public sector enterprises such as Indian Railways, ONGC, Bharat Petroleum, State Bank of India etc. and also various events organized by the state that help accumulate and garner investments into the state.

- **Continuing well tried (and successful) policies:** While governments change after finishing their terms, in most democracies, the fundamental economic policies that have been beneficial for the country's growth are sustained, as well as promoted. This includes welfare policies like employment generation schemes (MNREGA in India, for instance, that has been continued as a policy despite change in successive governments) or subsidized healthcare and education in most developing economies.

- **Eliminating theft:** Ensuring uprooting corrupt practices within the system has been a primary economic agenda in most political party manifestoes across the world. China's Xi Jin Ping, for instance, had rose to power as a beacon of corruption-free Chinese society, as parallel to the 'India Against Corruption' movement that drove the public sentiment in 2014 Lok Sabha Elections. The claimed motives of the Demonetization Drive in 2016 under the NDA government in India was aimed at a similar objective.

- **Keeping strict control over government employees:** This essentially becomes necessary to ensure that the duties are being undertaken efficiently and unnecessary slack is avoided. In doing so, audit departments across government agencies of the world come handy. The Comptroller and Auditor General of India (CAG), for instance is designated to keep a check on the government accounts.

- **Increasing agriculture production:** This particularly held relevance for the society of that time, where agriculture was among the primary economic activities carried out. In the contemporary time, a different kind of relevance can be attached to the same given arable land has been decreasing and demand for food has been increasing. The policies including the MUDRA Yojana recently of easing loans for farmers and soil health analysis by government support teams are one such example.

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[28] pracārasamṛddhiścaritrānugrahaścoragraho yuktapratiṣedhaḥ sasyasampat paṇyabāhulyamupasargapramokṣaḥ parihārakṣayo hiraṇyopāyanamiti kośavṛddhiḥ ।

- **Promoting trade:** This includes all activities including subsidizing and making the environment business friendly. Examples include the Production–Linked Incentive Scheme that has eased and accelerated mobile manufacturing in the country, and the electric vehicles schemes – both of which experienced a significant uptick in recent times.

- **Avoiding troubles and calamities:** Disaster management and preparation for situations of crisis are included under this. Relevant examples can be seen in terms of calamities including both natural and human made – natural disasters, wars, etc.

- **Reducing (tax) exemptions and remissions:** This may be understood as an essential aspect to maintaining the balance of payments for the state coffers. Progressive taxation as per income slabs is done keeping this mind.

- **Increasing cash income:** This may be seen in terms of increasing per capita income as cash has been replaced by digital transactions. The moot point remains to ensure the increased purchasing capacity of the population.

Sl.No	संस्कृते	Tax	Sl.No	संस्कृते	Tax
1.	शुल्कम्	Custom duty • प्रवेश्यः = import duty • निष्कर्म्यः = export duty • द्वारबहिरिकाद्याः = octroy and other tolls	9.	मुद्रा	Passport fees
2.	व्याजी	Transaction Tax • मानव्याजी = TT for crown goods	10.	तरः	Ferry fees
3.	भागः	Share of production • षड्भागः – 1/6th share	11.	पत्थनम्	Part dues
4.	करः	Tax in cash	12.	रज्जुः	Land survey charges
5.	प्रतिकरः	Taxes in kind • विष्टिः = Labour • आयुधीयः = supply of soldiers	13.	रूपिकम्	Coining fee
6.	वैधरणः	Countervailing duties or taxes	14.	अत्वहिकम्	Escort charges
7.	पारिक्षिकम्	Testing fee	15.	क्लृप्तम्	Fixed charges
8.	तवम्	Tax on Weights and measures			

Table 3.1: The table lists a few types of taxes, as mentioned by Kauṭilya (Please note that the list is not exhaustive.)

Each of these is widely reflected as essential elements of modern economies in the 21st century. The treasury so augmented, holds income that was utilized for expenditure by various means. For a rajya, this corpus of expenditure comprised, "देवपितृपूजादानार्थं स्वस्तिवाचनमन्तःपुरं महानसं दूतप्रवर्तनं कोष्ठागारमायुधागारं पण्यगृहं कुप्यगृहं कर्मान्तो विष्टिः पत्त्यश्वरथद्विपपरिग्रहो गोमण्डलं पशुमृगपक्षिव्यालवाटाः काष्टतृणवाटाश्रेति

व्ययशरीरम् ।[29] (Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra: 2.6.11)." The treasury's augmentation relies on a diverse array of avenues. Taxes and levies imposed on the populace contribute significantly, alongside fines and penalties for various transgressions. Tribute and offerings from vassal states or conquered territories bolster financial reserves. Trade tariffs and customs duties on imports and exports serve as consistent revenue streams. Additionally, revenue is generated through the exploitation of natural resources, such as mining, forestry, and agriculture. Investments in profitable enterprises and businesses further enrich the treasury. Diplomatic negotiations may secure financial aid or loans from foreign entities, providing additional resources. Finally, confiscation of assets from convicted criminals or delinquent debtors adds to the treasury's coffers, ensuring its continual growth and stability. Furthermore, provisions are made for the maintenance of foot soldiers, horses, chariots, elephants, cattle herds, and enclosures for various animals. Finally, stores for fuel and grass are maintained to ensure operational needs are met efficiently. Further, taxes are levied on all forms of economic activity occurring in the rājya and are elaborately listed. A few of them are included as mentioned in the table.

While keeping accounts, certain key variables are considered including: (revenue) estimate; accrued revenue; outstanding revenue; income; expenditure; and balance. The role of the revenue administrator is to fix the revenue, show an increase in income, and decrease in expenditure, and remedy the balance sheets if the conditions are opposite. These variables are as listed below: -

- **Revenue Estimate:** This section outlines the projected revenue for a specific place and sphere of activity, detailing how the income is expected to be generated and what constitutes the total revenue from various sources.
- **Accrued Revenue:** These are revenues that have been earned but not yet received. It includes deliveries made to the treasury, revenue taken by the rājā, city expenses, revenue carried forward from the previous year, revenue released by decree or word of mouth, and amounts not to be remitted for several reasons.
- **Outstanding Revenue:** This refers to revenue that is still pending or yet to be collected. It encompasses fruits acquired upon completion of certain undertakings, fines that have not been fully paid, amounts that need to be recovered, and revenue withheld by force and utilized by officers.

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[29] devapitṛpūjādānārthaṃ svastivācanamantaḥpuraṃ mahānasaṃ dūtapravartanaṃ koṣṭhāgāramāyudhāgāraṃ paṇyagṛhaṃ kupyagṛhaṃ karmānto viṣṭiḥ pattyaśvarathadvipaparigraho gomaṇḍalaṃ paśumṛgapakṣivyālavāṭāḥ kāṣṭatṛṇavāṭaśceti vyayaśarīram ।

- **Income:** Income is the money received, especially on a regular basis, for work or through investments. This includes current income, outstanding income from previous years or other activities, and income derived from various sources such as fines, gifts, compensation for losses, or property acquired through specific circumstances like riots or from issueless individuals, as well as treasure troves.

- **Return from Expenditure:** This section deals with the return or balance obtained from expenditures or investments made. It includes balances due from army disbandment and returns from undertakings that had to be abandoned due to unforeseen circumstances like sickness.

Keeping these accounts as records, the Superintendent should ensure that all the necessary details are duly entered, updated, and monitored (Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra: 2.7). These details include: -

- The extent of the number, activity and total (income) of the departments;
- The amount of increase or decrease in the use of the (various) materials, expenses, excess, surcharge, mixing, place, wages, and labourers in connection with factories;
- The price, the quality, the weight, the measure, the height, the depth, and the container in connection with jewels, articles of high value, of low value and forest produce;
- Laws, transactions, customs and fixed rules of regions, villages, castes, families, and corporations;
- The receipt of favours, lands, use, exemptions, and food and wages by those who serve the rājā;
- The receipt of jewels and land (and) the receipt of special allowances and (payments for) remedial measures against sudden calamities, by the rājā and his queens and sons;
- The payments and receipts in connection with peace and war with allies and enemies.

Having prepared the accounts and carefully updating them, the audit office was designated to ensure the elimination of any fallacies, if they existed.

3.2.6. Daṇḍa (Law & Order and Security). Daṇḍa can be understood by "दण्डयति अनेन इति दण्डः[30]," translated as 'imposing or punishing.' In context of the saptāṅga, it majorly refers to the army, and Kauṭilya lists specific characteristics of individual soldiers, stating, "पितृपैतामहो नित्यो वश्यस्तुष्टपुत्रदारः प्रवासेष्वविसंवादितः सर्वत्राप्रतिहतो दुःखसहो बहुयुद्धः सर्वयुद्धप्रहरणविद्याविशारदः

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[30] daṇḍayati anena iti daṇḍaḥ

सहवृद्धिक्षयिकत्वादद्वैध्यः क्षत्रप्राय इति दण्डसम्पत् ।[31] (Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra: 6.1.11)" These characteristics may be listed as one "inherited from the father and the grandfather, constant, obedient, with the soldiers' sons and wives taken care of, not disappointed during marches, unhindered everywhere, able to put up with troubles, that has fought many battles, skilled in the science of all types of war and weapons, not having a separate interest because of prosperity and adversity shared (with the rājā), and consisting mostly of Kṣatriyas." The soldiers' part of this army must be valiant, well versed in the art of war, and strong. They must be loyal and obedient to the rājā.

During the war, the rājā must have the seven categories of soldiers in his army.

- Maula: This refers to troops permanently recruited by the state. This may be understood as standing armies in the contemporary sense like the Indian Army, etc.
- Bhrtaka or Bhrta: These armies constituted paid troops but were not permanently standing armies. Whenever the requirement arose, their services were sought and duly paid. The concept of a territorial army presents a rough contemporary parallel for the same. The idea of private military companies that have played an extremely crucial role in the Russia-Ukraine war of 2020 could also be likened to this category to some extent.
- Shreni: A well-organized group of soldiers trained in the art of war
- Mitra: These are troops of the allies and may participate in own battles/conflicts as part of a military alliance or agreement, etc. NATO is one such example of a military alliance where an attack on any one of the member countries invokes military participation from all the countries. In doing so, the participating troops are allied troops.
- Amitra: This refers to soldiers of hostile rājās or of conquered countries and those recruited as slaves. This could be understood as parallel to the contemporary idea of prisoners of war (PoWs). However, the protocols that govern the PoWs are much more streamlined in international law today.
- Atavi or Atavika: These refer to tribal soldiers consisting of Nisadas, Mlecchas and other mountain tribes. This is largely witnessed in various militias being armed and supported by larger powers to put up a defence against a local threat. Various examples for the same exist in terms of the Mujahideen empowered by the US against the Soviet Union; in a different context the Kurds supported to defend against ISIS in the Syrian Civil War, etc.

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[31] pitṛpaitāmaho nityo vaśyastuṣṭaputradāraḥ pravāseṣvavisaṃvāditaḥ sarvatrāpratihato duḥkhasaho bahuyuddhaḥ sarvayuddhapraharaṇavidyāviśāradaḥ sahavṛddhikṣayikatvādadvaidhyaḥ kṣatraprāya iti daṇḍasampat

- Autsahika: This refers to soldiers living in different countries, without any leader and invaders. It may be explained as scattered groups of militias running under the same name but existing as standalone units in various local contexts. In the case of terrorist militias, the Al Qaeda network is a prime example of the same. Although running under the same name, operationally it runs in as local chapters with differing agendas and methods: Al Qaeda in Khorasan; Al Qaeda in Islamic Maghreb; Al Qaeda in Indian Subcontinent, etc. Each of these run as separate chapters with no essentially no central leadership.

3.2.7. Mitra (Ally). The term may be derived from "मिनोति = मानं करोति / मेद्यति = स्निह्यति इति[32]" or one who respects/is affectionate towards the Vijigīṣu. Kauṭilya lists the characteristics of a Mitra as, "पितृपैतामहं नित्यं वश्यमद्वैधं महत् लघु समुत्थम् इति मित्रसम्पत् ।।[33] (Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra: 6.1.12)," meaning a Mitra is one who is "allied from the days of the father and the grandfather, constant, under control, not having a separate interest, great, and able to mobilise quickly.' The segment of Avāpādhikāra depends highly on the Mitra or allies of the Vijigīṣu.

Opposite to this is an 'Ari' or 'Śatru' that is translated as the adversary. Kautilya says, "Not of royal descent, greedy, with a mean council (of ministers), with disaffected subjects, unjust in behaviour, not applying himself (to duties), vicious, devoid of energy, trusting in fate, doing whatever pleases him, without shelter, without a following, impotent, ever doing harm (to others), these are excellences in an enemy" [xxiv] (Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra: 6.1.14).

3.3. Conclusion

Overall, the Saptāṅga Rājya theory depends on the key idea that a successful foreign policy depends on the internal elements of a state being in a good condition. Kauṭilya calls a rājā who ensures this as a "strong" rājā. The condition of these internal elements influences the power that a state can wield in dealing with neighboring territories. The next adhyāya covers a detailed discussion on the nuances involved in such a capacity building and choice of policy decisions contextualizing it within the Rājamaṇḍala framework. The concepts of mitra and ari are elaborately discussed putting this in perspective.

Summary

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[32] minoti = mānaṃ karoti / medyati = snihyati iti

[33] pitṛpaitāmahaṃ nityaṃ vaśyamadvaidhaṃ mahat laghu samuttham iti mitrasampat

Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra: Timeless Strategies for Modern Governance

- The Arthaśāstra introduces the Saptāṅga and Maṇḍalayoni frameworks, emphasizing the rājā and his prakṛtis for a strong state.

- The seven prakṛtis are the rājā/Svāmī (parallel to a king), amātya (ministers), janapada (country), durga (fortified city), kośa (treasury), daṇḍa (army), and mitra (ally), essential for stability.

- Governance aims for Yoga (resource acquisition) and Kṣema (resource expansion, protection, and distribution) through Śama and Vyāyāma, central to statecraft principles.

- When dealing with threats, four strategies for tackling one's adversaries are Sāma (conciliation), Dāna (gifts), Bheda (dissension), and Daṇḍa (punishment), each with specific tactics.

- The Rājamaṇḍala framework outlines roles and relationships within the circle of rājās, including Vijigīṣu (aspiring conqueror), Ari (enemy), and Mitra (ally).

- Other rājās within the Maṇḍala based on their positioning and relationships, include the Ari-Mitra (enemy's ally), Mitra-Mitra (friend of the ally), Ari-Mitra-Mitra (enemy's ally's friend), Pārṣṇīgraha (enemy-in-the-rear), Ākranda (ally in the rear), Pārṣṇīgraha-Āsāra (rear enemy's ally), and Ākranda-Āsāra (rear ally's friend). These delineations within the Rājamaṇḍala framework highlight the complex web of alliances and enmities that influence foreign policy decisions and strategies in Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra.

- Kauṭilya's concept of a Rājarṣī emphasizes the rājā's control over sensory desires, respect for elders' wisdom, effective surveillance, consistent pursuit of subjects' welfare, enforcement of societal duties, acquisition of wisdom through training, and prioritization of the treasury to ensure the kingdom's prosperity and harmony.

- The four types of forts mentioned in the Arthaśāstra are Audaka Durga (Water Fort), Pārvata Durga (Mountain Fort), Dhānvana Durga (Desert Fort), and Vana Durga (Forest Fort).

- The treasury (kośa) is vital for state activities, emphasizing prosperity, policy continuity, theft elimination, employee control, agricultural boost, trade promotion, disaster preparedness, tax exemption reduction, and income increase.

- The army (daṇḍa) is crucial for law and order, comprising loyal and skilled soldiers from various categories, with allies (mitra) characterized by longstanding relationships and control, emphasizing the importance of internal stability for foreign policy strength.

Review Questions

1. What are the seven prakṛtis (constituent elements) outlined in the Saptāṅga framework of the Arthaśāstra?

2. Explain the core objective of governance according to the Arthaśāstra and the terms Yoga and Kṣema.

3. Describe the four upāyas (strategies) listed in the Arthaśāstra for dealing with adversaries. Give a case study for each.

4. How does the Arthaśāstra's Rājamaṇḍala framework define the roles and relationships within the circle of rājās?

5. In the context of the Arthaśāstra, how is the treasury (kośa) augmented, and what are its primary uses?

6. Discuss the significance of detailed record-keeping and audits in maintaining the economic stability of a rājya as per the Arthaśāstra.

7. Compare and contrast the roles and qualities of the various categories of soldiers mentioned in the Arthaśāstra, such as Maula, Bhṛtaka, and Aṭavi.

8. Analyze the characteristics of a Mitra (ally) as per the Arthaśāstra and how they differ from those of an Ari (enemy).

9. Evaluate the effectiveness of the Saptāṅga theory in ensuring the internal stability and external power of a rājya. How relevant are these principles in the context of modern statecraft?

10. How does the Arthaśāstra balance between resource acquisition (Yoga) and protection/enjoyment (Kṣema)? Provide a critical assessment of this balance in the context of sustainable governance.

End Notes

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[i] महाकुलीनो दैवबुद्धिसत्त्वसंपन्नो वृद्धदर्शी धार्मिकः सत्यवागविसंवादकः कृतज्ञः स्थूललक्षो महोत्साहोऽदीर्घसूत्रः शक्यसामन्तो दृढ्बुद्धिरक्षुद्रपरिषत्को विनयकाम इत्याभिगामिका गुणाः ।

mahākulīno daivabuddhisattvasaṃpanno vṛddhadarśī dhārmikaḥ satyavāgavisaṃvādakaḥ kṛtajñaḥ sthūlalakṣo mahotsāho'dīrghasūtraḥ śakyasāmanto dṛḍhbuddhirakṣudrapariṣatko vinayakāma ityābhigāmikā guṇāḥ ।

शुश्रूषाश्रवणग्रहणधारणविज्ञानोहापोहतत्त्वाभिनिवेशाः प्रज्ञागुणाः ।

śuśrūṣāśravaṇagrahaṇadhāraṇavijñānohāpohatattvābhiniveśāḥ prajñāguṇāḥ । शौर्यममर्षः शीघ्रता दाक्ष्यं चोत्साहगुणाः ।

śauryamamarṣaḥ śīghratā dākṣyam cotsāhaguṇāḥ ।

वाग्मी प्रगल्भः स्मृतिमतिबलवानुदग्रः स्ववग्रहः कृतशिल्पोऽव्यसनो दण्डनाय्युपकारोपकारयोर्दृष्टप्रतीकारी ह्रीमानापत्प्रकृत्योर्विनियोक्ता दीर्घदूरदर्शी देशकालपुरुषकारकार्यप्रधानः संधिविक्रमत्यागसंयमपणपरच्छिद्रविभागी संवृतोऽदीनाभिहास्यजिह्मभ्रुकुटीक्षणः कामक्रोधलोभस्तम्भचापलोपतापपैशुन्यहीनः शक्रुः स्मितोद्ग्राभिभाषी वृद्धोपदेशाचार इत्यात्मसंपत् ।

vāgmī pragalbhaḥ smṛtimatibalavānudagraḥ svavagrahaḥ kṛtaśilpo'vyasano daṇḍanāyyupakāropakārayordṛṣṭapratīkārī hrīmānāpatprakṛtyorviniyoktā dīrghadūradarśī deśakālapuruṣakārakāryapradhānaḥ

saṃdhivikramatyāgasaṃyamapaṇaparacchidravibhāgī saṃvṛto'dīnābhihāsyajihmabhrukuṭīkṣaṇaḥ kāmakrodhalobhastambhacāpalopatāpapaiśunyahīnaḥ ślakṣaḥ smitodagrābhibhāṣī vṛddhopadeśācāra ityātmasaṃpat । (Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra: 6.1.2-6)

ii अरिषड्वर्गत्यागेन इन्द्रियजयं कुर्वीत ।

ariṣadvargatyāgena indriyajayaṃ kurvīta (Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra: 1.7.1)

iii शत्रुषड्वर्गमुत्सृज्य जामदग्न्यो जितेन्द्रियः । अम्बरीषश्च नाभागो बुभुजाते चिरं महीम् ।

śatruṣadvargamutsṛjya jāmadagnyo jitendriyaḥ । ambarīṣaśca nābhāgo bubhujāte ciraṃ mahīm । (Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra: 1.6.12)

iv तद्विरुद्धवृत्तिरवश्येन्द्रियश्चतुरन्तोऽपि राजा सद्यो विनश्यति ।

tadviruddhavṛttiravaśyendriyaścaturanto'pi rājā sadyo vinaśyati । (Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra: 1.6.4)

v एवं वश्येन्द्रियः परस्त्रीद्रव्यहिंसाश्च वर्जयेत् , स्वप्नं लौल्यमनृतमुद्धतवेषत्वमनर्थ्यसंयोगमधर्मसंयुक्तमनर्थसंयुक्तं च व्यवहारम् ॥ धर्मार्थविरोधेन कामं सेवेत, न निःसुखः स्यात् । समं वा त्रिवर्गमन्योऽन्यानुबन्धम् । एको ह्यत्यासेवितो धर्मार्थकामानामात्मानमितरौ च पीडयति ॥

evaṃ vaśyendriyaḥ parastrīdravyahiṃsāśca varjayet , svapnaṃ laulyamanṛtamuddhataveṣatvamanarthya-saṃyogamadharmasaṃyuktamanarthasaṃyuktaṃ ca vyavahāram । dharmārthāvirodhena kāmaṃ seveta, na niḥsukhaḥ syāt । samaṃ vā travargamanyo'nyānubandham । eko hyatyāsevito dharmārthakāmānāmatmānamitarau ca pīḍayati ॥ ॥ (Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra: 1.7.2-5)

vi न कञ्चिदवमन्येत सर्वस्य शृणुयान्मतम् । बालस्याप्यर्थवद्वाक्यमुपयुञ्जीत पण्डितः ॥

na kañcidavamanyeta sarvasya śṛṇuyānmatam । bālasyāpyarthavadvākyamupayuñjīta paṇḍitaḥ ॥ (Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra: 1.15.22)

vii मर्यादां स्थापयेदाचार्यानमात्यान्या, य एनमपायस्थानेभ्यो वारयेयुः, छाया- नालिकाप्रतोदेन वा रहसि प्रमाद्यन्तमभितुदेयुः ।

maryādāṃ sthāpayedācāryānamātyānyā, ya enamapāyasthānebhyo vārayeyuḥ, chāyā- nālikāpratodena vā rahasi pramādyantamabhitudeyuḥ । (Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra: 1.7.8)

viii सहायसाध्यं राजत्वं चक्रमेकं न वर्तते । कुर्वीत सचिवांस्तस्मात्तेषां च शृणुयान्मतम् ॥

sahāyasādhyaṃ rājatvaṃ cakramekaṃ na vartate । kurvīta sacivāṃstasmātteṣāṃ ca śṛṇuyānmatam ॥ (Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra: 1.7.9)

ix Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra: 1.7.1

x यौगपद्यात्तु कर्मणामनेकत्वादनेकस्थत्वाच्च देशकालात्ययो मा भूदिति परोक्षममात्यैः कारयेत् ।

yaugapadyāttu karmaṇāmanekatvādanekasthatvācca deśakālātyayo mā bhūditi parokṣamamātyaiḥ kārayet । (Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra: 1.9.8)

xi इन्द्रस्य हि मन्त्रिपरिषद्दृषीणां सहस्रम् । स तञ्चक्षुः । तस्मादिमं द्वयक्षं सहस्राक्षमाहुः ।

indrasya hi mantripariṣadṛṣīṇāṃ sahastram । sa tañcakṣuḥ । tasmādimaṃ dvayakṣaṃ sahasrākṣamāhuḥ । (Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra: 1.15.55 - 57)

xii Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra: 1.7.1

xiii राज्ञो हि व्रतमुत्थानं यज्ञः कार्यानुशासनम् । दक्षिणा वृत्तिसाम्यं तु दीक्षा तस्याभिषेचनम् ॥

rājño hi vratamutthānaṃ yajñaḥ kāryānuśāsanam । dakṣiṇā vṛttisāmyaṃ tu dīkṣā tasyābhiṣecanam ॥ (Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra: 1.19.33)

प्रजासुखे सुखं राज्ञः प्रजानां च हिते हितम् । नात्मप्रियं हितं राज्ञः प्रजानां तु प्रियं हितम् ॥

prajāsukhe sukhaṃ rājñaḥ prajānāṃ ca hite hitam । nātmapriyaṃ hitaṃ rājñaḥ prajānāṃ tu priyaṃ hitam ॥ (Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra: 1.19.34)

xiv Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra: 1.7.1

xv स्वधर्मः स्वर्गायानन्त्याय च । तस्यातिक्रमे लोकः संकरादुच्छिद्येत ॥

svadharmaḥ strargāyānantyāya ca । tasyātikrame lokaḥ saṃkarāducchidyeta ॥ (Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra: 1.3.14,15)

तस्मात्स्वधर्म भूतानां राजा न व्यभिचारयेत् । स्वधर्म संदधानो हि प्रेत्य चेह च नन्दति ॥

tasmātsvadharma bhūtānāṃ rājā na vyabhicārayet । svadharma saṃdadhāno hi pretya ceha ca nandati ॥ (Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra: 1.3.16)

व्यवस्थितार्यमर्यादः कृतवर्णाश्रमस्थितिः । त्रय्याभिरक्षितो लोकः प्रसीदति न सीदति ॥

vyavasthitāryamaryādaḥ kṛtavarṇāśramasthitiḥ । trayyābhirakṣito lokaḥ prasīdati na sīdati ॥ (Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra: 1.3.17)

xvi राज्ञः स्वधर्मः स्वर्गाय प्रजा धर्मेण रक्षितः । अरक्षितुर्वा क्षेप्तुर्वा मिथ्यादण्डमथोऽन्यथा ॥

rājñaḥ svadharmaḥ svargāya prajā dharmeṇa rakṣituḥ । arakṣiturvā kṣepturvā mithyādaṇḍamatho'nyathā ॥ (Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra: 3.1.41)

xvii Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra: 1.7.1

xviii ibid

xix नाधनाः प्राप्नुवन्त्यर्थान्नरा यत्नशतैरपि । अर्थैरर्थाः प्रबध्यन्ते गजाः प्रतिगजैरिव ॥

nādhanāḥ prāpnuvantyarthānnarā yatnaśatairapi । arthairarthāḥ prabadhyante gajāḥ pratigajairiva ॥ (Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra: 9.4.27)

xx उदा – शान्तो विनीतः कुशलः सत्कुलीनः शुभान्वितः । शास्त्रार्थतत्त्वगोऽमात्यो भवेद्भूमिभुजामिह ॥

śānto vinītaḥ kuśalaḥ satkulīnaḥ śubhānvitaḥ । śāstrārthatattvago'mātyo bhavedbhūmibhujāmiha ॥ (Yukti Kalpataru 1.18)

xxi मन्त्री धीसचिवोऽमात्योऽन्ये कर्मसचिवास्ततः । mantrī dhīsacivo'mātyo'nye karmasacivāstataḥ । Amarakośa – 2/8/4

xxii अपृष्टेनापि वक्तव्यं सचिवेनात्र किञ्चन । पृष्टेन तु ऋतं पथ्यं वाच्यं च प्रियमप्रियम् ॥

apṛṣṭenāpi vaktavyaṃ sacivenātra kiñcana । pṛṣṭena tu ṛtaṃ pathyaṃ vācyaṃ ca priyamapriyam ॥ (Pañcatantra: 3.4)

xxiii यथासामर्थ्यमिति कौटिल्यः ।

yathāsāmarthyamiti kauṭilyaḥ । (Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra: 1.15.50)

xxiv अराजबीजी लुब्धः क्षुद्रपरिषत्कः विरक्तप्रकृतिः अन्यायवृत्तिः अयुक्तो व्यसनी निरुत्साहो दैवप्रमाणो यत्किञ्चनकारी अगतिः अननुबन्धः क्लीबो नित्यापकारी इत्यमित्रसम्पत् ॥

arājabījī lubdhaḥ kṣudrapariṣatkaḥ viraktaprakṛtiḥ anyāyavṛttiḥ ayukto vyasanī nirutsāho daivapramāṇo yatkiñcanakārī agatiḥ ananubandhaḥ klībo nityāpakārī ityamitrasampat ॥ (Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra: 6.1.14)

Adhyāya: 4

Avāpādhikāra: Foreign Affairs and Strategy

प्रियो यस्य भवेद्यो वाऽप्रियोऽस्य कतरस्तयोः ।

प्रियो यस्य स तं गच्छेत् इत्याश्रयगतिः परा ॥

priyo yasya bhavedyo vā'priyo'sya katarastayoḥ ।

priyo yasya sa taṃ gacchet ityāśrayagatiḥ parā ॥

He to whom he may be dear or he who may be dear to him, which one among these two (should he approach for shelter)? He should go to him to whom he may be dear. This is the best course for seeking shelter.

(Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra: 7.2.25)

षाड्गुण्यस्य प्रकृतिमण्डलं योनिः ।[1] (Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra: 7.1.1)

"The prakṛti-maṇḍala (circle of constituent elements) is the basis of the six measures of foreign policy."

एवं षड्भिर्गुणैरेतैः स्थितः प्रकृतिमण्डले । पर्येषेत क्षयात्स्थानं स्थानाद्वृद्धिं च कर्मसु ॥[2] (Kauṭilya's

Arthaśāstra: 7.1.38)

"Situated in the circle of constituent elements, the rājā should, (in this manner), with these six measures of policy, seek to progress from decline to stable condition and from stable condition to advancement in his own undertakings."

Kauṭilya discusses foreign policy in the forthcoming Adhikaraṇas (i.e. Adhikaraṇa six to Adhikarana fourteen). To set this in perspective, we must begin with understanding what foreign policy is and how it is relevant while governing a rājya (or a state in contemporary times). It must be noted that the governance of any rājya is driven by the idea of yoga-kṣema, which stands based on acquisition of resources through various means, as well as its expansion, protection, and distribution. Three questions thereby arise: Acquisition from whom? Expansion from where? Protection against what?

When we begin to address these questions, we begin looking outside the boundaries of the rājya of the vijigīṣu. It is here that we acknowledge that no rājya exists in isolation, and within its rājamaṇḍala, it interacts with other rājyas – thus deriving the means to fulfil their individual yoga-kṣema from them. Hence, interacting with these rājyas for acquiring, expanding, and protecting own rājya from them, several well-thought policies are required to be implemented. These policies that decide the nature of any rājya's interaction with other rājyas (both friends and adversaries) are identified as foreign policies in the contemporary scenario. Since these are six in number, as mentioned by Kauṭilya, he refers to them as Ṣāḍguṇya Siddhānta. These policies, in turn, define the nature of the relationship between various actors in the rājamaṇḍala – which includes both state and non-state actors in the contemporary times and referred to as international relations.

4.1. Contextualizing the Positioning of Avāpādhikāra in Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra

In his seventh Adhikaraṇa, Kauṭilya introduces the aspect of foreign policy, that he refers to as Ṣāḍguṇya. The positioning of this segment reflects a seamless flow and sequencing of issues concerning statecraft. In

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[1] sāḍguṇyasya prakṛtimaṇḍalaṃ yoniḥ ।
[2] evaṃ ṣaḍbhirguṇairetaiḥ sthitaḥ prakṛtimaṇḍale । paryeṣeta kṣayātsthānaṃ sthānādṛddhiṃ ca karmasu ॥

an era when countries are facing multiple-front security threats, this becomes particularly relevant. In the current context, India confronts what can be described as a 2.5-front war scenario. This means that India is simultaneously dealing with threats and challenges on two external fronts and facing internal disturbances within the country. The two external fronts refer to the neighboring nations of China and Pakistan, which pose significant geopolitical challenges and potential security threats to India.

Alongside these external adversaries, India also contends with internal disturbances and insurgent movements within its borders. These internal challenges constitute the remaining "half front." Despite being internal, these disturbances are formidable and demand substantial attention and resources from India's defense apparatus.

It is crucial to note that addressing internal security concerns is paramount, as they not only require significant allocation of resources but also have a direct impact on the stability and security of the nation. Therefore, prioritizing internal security is essential before dealing with external threats. This prioritization resonates with Kauṭilyan sequencing of Adhikaraṇas in his Arthāśāstra. Since most of threat perception for any rājya or state is directed at securing oneself from war-like situations (when looked at in the foreign policy domain), before delving into the tools of foreign policy and their adequate usage, decoding this threat perception becomes essential. What is the nature of these perceived threats? Is it solely equal to war? How do we define war?

4.2 Defining the Phenomenon of Yuddha (War)

In this context, an understanding of war as a phenomenon becomes essential. Two terms have mainly been used while referring to "war": vigarha and yuddha. However, in other contexts, terms like vikrama and saṅgrāma have also been used. For defining war, one considers the Kauṭilyan definition where he says that using apkāra or 'injury' is called 'vigraha' (अपकारो विग्रहः[3]) whose nature may or may not necessarily be kinetic (Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra: 7.1.7). This expands the very idea of wars causing physical harm. An act of destruction that includes major economic losses, or loss of image of a state, or internal chaos through instigations – each of these may be encapsulated under an act of causing some form of injury. This may be derived from understanding how 'vigraha' (or 'yuddha', another term for war) has been defined in various contexts. The dictionary meanings state: "परस्पराभिघातार्थं शस्त्रादिक्षेपणव्यापारे विग्रहः[4]", meaning that war involves opposing adversaries attacking each other through weapons or any other means. Similarly, a

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[3] apakāro vigrahaḥ
[4] parasparābhighātārthaṃ śastrādikṣepaṇavyāpāre vigrahaḥ

derivation for the term vigraha suggests, "विगृह्यन्ते शत्रवो यस्मिन्[5]" meaning "to control your adversary is war." Another explanation for the term reflects a similar idea stating, "युध संप्रहारे[6]" which means "war is to destroy the adversary" - suggesting the implementation of whatever means it takes to do so. This has been dealt with in different forms throughout the āvāpādhikāra adhikaraṇas, which may be listed as follows: -

Adhikaraṇa No.	Adhikaraṇa	Topics Discussed
8.	Vyasanādhikārikam	The Adhikaraṇa discusses the topic of calamities of the Prakṛtis of a Rājya (Seven constituent elements of the Saptāṅga Rājya). This touches on the calamities of the Rājās, the vices of humans, the afflictions, hindrances, and stoppages of payments to the treasury.
9.	Abhiyāsyatkarma	The Adhikaraṇa discusses the activity of the Rājā who is about to march. This Adhikaraṇa touches on the relative strength of powers, place and time; seasons for marching on an expedition; employment of different troops; equipping troops for war employing; suitable troops against enemy troops; revolts in the rear; measures against risings by constituents; consideration of losses, expenses and gains; dangers from officers; dangers from traitors and enemies; dangers with advantage; disadvantage and uncertainty; and overcoming dangers by different means.
10.	Sāṅgrāmikam	This deals with issues concerning war and touches on setting up of the camp march from the camp guarding troops during calamities and at the time of attack covert fighting; encouraging the troops; disposition of troops; grounds suitable for fighting; functions of infantry, cavalry, chariots and elephants; arrangement of battle-arrays; distribution of strong and weak troops ; modes of fighting of infantry, cavalry, chariots

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[5] vigṛhyante śatravo yasmin
[6] yudha saṃprahāre

		and elephants; staff, snake, circle and diffuse arrays; and counter-arrays against them.
11.	**Saṅghavṛttam**	This deals with Oilgarchies and how Rājās should be managing their power with respect to the rājya's interests. It discusses the policy of sowing dissensions within the oligarchies to break them from within and the forms of silent punishment.
12.	**Ābalīyasam**	This focuses on issues concerning the weaker rājā. Here, Kauṭilya touches upon the mission of the envoy; the fight with the weapon of diplomacy; the possibilities and methodologies of assassination of army chiefs; stirring up the circle of rājās; secret use of weapons, fire and poison; destruction of supplies, reinforcements and raid; overreaching the enemy by trickery; overreaching by force; and victory of the single rājā.
13.	**Durgalambhopāyaḥ**	This discusses the means of taking a fort. This elaborates on instigation to sedition; drawing the enemy out by means of stratagems employment of secret agents; laying siege to a fort; storming a fort; and pacification of the conquered territory.

Table 4.1: The Avāpādhikāra Adhikaraṇas discussing war as a policy measure

Please note that the seventh Adhikaraṇa introduces the policy measures within this framework and shall be discussed in detail as this adhyāya proceeds. This expanded definition of vigraha warrants an inquiry into the various kinds of wars, as have been listed by LN Rangarajan in his book titled *Kauṭilya Arthashastra* [i]:-

4.2.1 Mantra yuddha signifies a "war by counsel" or diplomacy where envoys, ambassadors, etc., play a crucial role. Here, strategizing and manipulating adversary's policy decisions in favour of self-interest is undertaken through means of diplomatic maneuvers. However, the interesting aspect is that this kind of yuddha expands to all other means of causing injury including open, concealed, and clandestine techniques. The third adhyāya called "Mantra Yuddha" of Ābalīyasam (12th Adhikaraṇa) that specifically deals with the same – however its elements are scattered throughout the treatise.

4.2.2 Prakāśa yuddha signifies open warfare, meticulously planned with specified time and location, resembling a set-piece battle. A number of adhyāyas discuss prakāśa yuddha in detail: beginning on when to wage a prakāśa yuddha; how to prepare for it; how to march and attack; how to protect a raja who has

been taken hostage; how to maintain the wins from a yuddha that has been won; how to conduct oneself if the yuddha has been lost by covert and overt means.

4.2.3 Kūṭa yuddha, or cognitive warfare, delves into psychological tactics like instigating treachery within the enemy ranks, emphasizing the importance of subterfuge and manipulation. Stating the significance of use of intellect in winning wars, Kauṭilya categorically states, "एकं हन्यान्न वा हन्यादिषुः क्षिप्तो धनुष्मता । प्रज्ञानेन तु मतिः क्षिप्ता हन्याद्गर्भ-गतानपि ।।[7]" translating as "An arrow, discharged by an archer, may kill one person or may not kill (even one); but intellect operated by a wise man would kill even children in the womb." (Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra: 10.6.51)

4.2.4 Gūḍa yuddha, termed as "clandestine war," relies on covert methods to achieve objectives without engaging in direct conflict, often utilizing assassinations or other clandestine actions. Here, the ruler mobilizes a diverse array of agents, including allies, vassal rājās, tribal chiefs, and even individuals sympathetic to the enemy's cause, to accomplish the mission.

4.3 Aupaniṣadikaṃ: War by Means of Auṣadhī

In this interesting adhikaraṇa, foreign policy measures are supported through application of clandestine methods through auṣadhī or chemical mixtures. This includes manuals on how to prepare chemical mixtures that impact the enemy, their troops, or their elephants and cavalry in various ways: blind them, paralyze their tongue, infect their bladder, kill them in a month/fortnight/immediately, etc. It resonates with the idea of biological and chemical warfare in contemporary times that includes the use of chemical and biological weapons to impact the adversary. Instances of the Japanese military impacting the population of China through targetted spreading of typhoid, cholera, etc., during the 1940-42 phase of World War II are one among the many instances in this regard.[xii] This continues to a discussion of remedies for various ailments and calamities by means of superstitious customs and rituals – something that might have lost relevance today.

4.4 Ṣāḍguṇya Siddhānta: The Six Foreign Policy Instruments

Having explored the nuances of the concept war, as purva-pakṣa (objection to an assertion in any discussion) from few previous scholars like Vātavyādhi believe that war and peace are the only two situations – and all other policies emerge as outcomes or continuation of these policies, Kauṭilya disagrees.

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[7] ekaṃ hanyānna vā hanyādiṣuḥ kṣipto dhanuṣmatā ၊ prajñānena tu matiḥ kṣiptā hanyādgarbha-gatānapi ॥

Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra: Timeless Strategies for Modern Governance

While quoting previous teachers, he states, "सन्धिविग्रहासनयानसंश्रयद्वैधीभावाः षाड्गुण्यम् इत्याचार्याः |[8]"

(Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra: 7.1.2), translating as "Making an agreement/treaty, war, staying quiet, marching, seeking shelter, and dual policy constitute six measures, say the preceptors."

These are individually defined as:-

Fig 4.1: The Seven Principles of Foreign Policy as listed by Kauṭilya
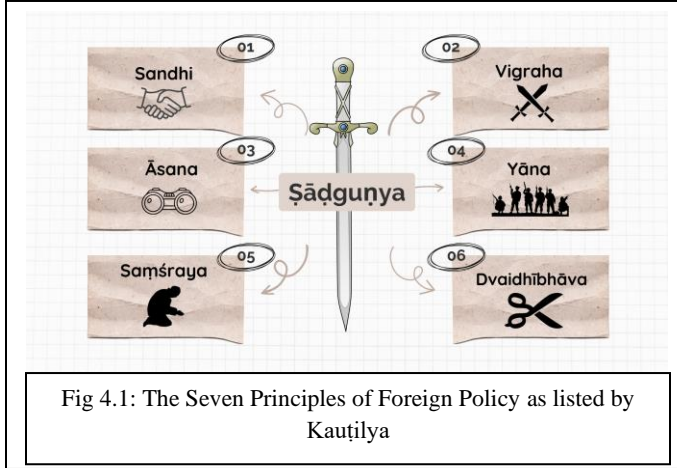
- **Sandhi**: Kauṭilya defines Sandhi as "तत्र पणबन्धः सन्धिः[9]" (Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra: 7.1.6), meaning "entering a treaty". This principle refers to treaty-making or establishing alliances. It involves diplomatic efforts to negotiate agreements and settlements between nations to avoid conflicts or resolve existing ones. This includes the Simla Agreement between India and Pakistan of 1972[ii] which resulted in the conversion of the ceasefire line to the Line of Control as it stands today.

- **Vigraha:** Kauṭilya defines it as, "अपकारो विग्रहः[10]" (Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra: 7.1.7), meaning "injury is war." It involves strategies to address aggression or threats from other states, which may include defensive measures or retaliatory actions. For instance, the conflict between Russia and Ukraine that started in 2022 is a classic example of an act of vigraha. Here, it must be noted that war has not been defined just as a conventional armed conflict but goes beyond that to include unconventional means of warfare. This shall be discussed in detail as the adhyāya proceeds.

- **Āsana:** Āsana represents indifference or keeping quiet i.e. "उपेक्षणम् आसनम्[11]" (Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra: 7.1.8). This principle suggests the strategic use of silence or non-engagement in certain situations to observe and assess developments without overtly revealing intentions or positions. This may be likened to the idea of strategic silence that has been utilized by India on several occasions where its silence was deemed more powerful and beneficial for its national interests than any activity. The formation of the Non-Aligned Movement during the Cold War between the United

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[8] sandhivigrahāsanayānasaṃśrayadvaidhībhāvāḥ ṣāḍguṇyam ityācāryāḥ
[9] tatra paṇabandhaḥ sandhiḥ
[10] apakāro vigrahaḥ
[11] upekṣaṇam āsanam

States and Soviet Union in the 20th century by a set of countries that chose to keep themselves out of the power struggle between the two countries.[iii]

- **Yāna:** Yāna denotes preparing for an eventual war or marching which is opted as a state policy while waiting for the enemy to weaken or face difficulties (अभ्युच्चयो यानम् । गुणातिशययुक्तो यायात्[12] ।). Instances involving deterrence form the primary examples of this strategy. This may include military exercises and maintaining inventory of weapons and equipment. The Chinese military exercises close to the coast of Taiwan during state visits of US officials is a prime example of making a statement through deterrence. Operation Brasstacks led by General Sundarji (Chief of Army Staff during Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi's tenure) presented a similar example when an extraordinarily large force was stationed near the Pakistan border across Rajasthan, such that a near-war like panic was generated among the Pakistani security establishment. This military excercise, by means of its sheer scale, managed to create unparalleled deterrence. Note, it only included "marching."

- **Saṃśraya:** Saṃśraya refers to surrender ("परार्पणं संश्रयः[13]"). This principle involves recognizing when it is strategically advantageous to yield or submit to a stronger adversary to avoid further losses or gain concessions through negotiation. Seeking refuge is not something one witnesses in the modern scenario very frequently. However, often alliances between two unequal partners that end up making the weaker country dependent on the stronger one are reflections of this situation. However, the Treaty of Versailles at the end of the First World War or the Paris Peace Treaty at the Second World War resulted in unconditional surrender of the Germany against the allies. Giving up acquired or own territory for truce is another kind of surrender or Saṃśraya that has been witnessed galore at the end of the Second World War as well as various decolonization movements (Vietnam, etc.).

- **Dvaidhībhāva:** Dvaidhībhāva ("सन्धिविग्रहोपादानं द्वैधीभावः[14]") embodies the concept of dual policy. It encompasses the ability to employ multiple and sometimes contradictory strategies simultaneously, such as engaging in diplomacy with one adversary while also engaging in war against other, or overtly being in alliance with one adversary and covertly knitting means to attack or injure them. This principle essentially deals with the idea of deception and covert activities while keeping the adversary under the impression that they are at peace with you. A classic case is the

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[12] abhyuccayo yānam । (Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra: 7.1.9); guṇātiśayayukto yāyāt (Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra: 7.1.16)
[13] parārpaṇaṃ saṃśrayaḥ । (Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra: 7.1.10)
[14] sandhivigrahopādānaṃ dvaidhībhāvaḥ । (Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra: 7.1.11)

instance of Hilter's Germany having come in an alliance with Soviet Union in the late 1930s so that when Poland is attacked, Soviet Union and Germany can both benefit out of it. However, after Poland was attacked and overrun, the German troops, not respecting the treaty with the Soviets, marched on till the borders of Soviet Union and caught them unprepared. [iv]

He emphasizes that each of these exists as distinct policies applied individually, in combination, or in succession – depending on the situation's demand. For instance, as situations demand, a rājya can utilize either only sandhi; or sandhi and yāna; or after an initial samśraya marching against the adversary (yāna) when he's in a calamity. He shuns the simplistic understanding of the interaction of two rājyas/empires (nation states in today's context) aiming to attain their individual yoga-kṣema to approach foreign policy at a nuanced level. This can be understood as how multiple instruments of foreign policy are often used at the same time – overtly and covertly. For instance, what might look like a simple sandhi between two rājyas, might be a policy of dvaidhībhāva by one rājya waiting to attack when the time is right (enemy is in calamity, own resources are in a position of strength, etc.). Contrary to popular belief associating Kauṭilya with war, his wisdom truly shines in his focus on subduing adversaries without waging an actual war. He shares similarities with Sun Tzu in prioritizing strategic maneuvering over direct confrontation. Kauṭilya's emphasis on winning without war underscores his nuanced understanding of diplomacy and power dynamics.

The realist in Kauṭilya emphasizes the concept of yoga kṣema such that the act of acquiring can never be at the cost of expanding, guarding, and enjoying what one already has. Here 'yoga' and 'kṣema' hold equal weightage, hence highlighting that the best policy decision is one that offers you maximum gains at a minimum cost. In a later text in the tradition that builds on Kauṭilya's work, the Pañcatantra, Viṣṇu Śarmā elaborates on this aspect. He mentions that any war of aggression shall be undertaken if it bears at least one of three things: Land, Resources, or Ally [v] (Pañcatantra: 3.15). He takes from Kauṭilya and places them in the same order of preference.

4.4.1 Vṛddhi, Kṣaya, Sthāna: Outcomes of Policy Choices

Elaborating on the same, Kauṭilya introduces three terms referring to three possible outcomes of any policy decision: Vṛddhi (advancement or progress), Kṣaya (decline); and Sthāna (stability).
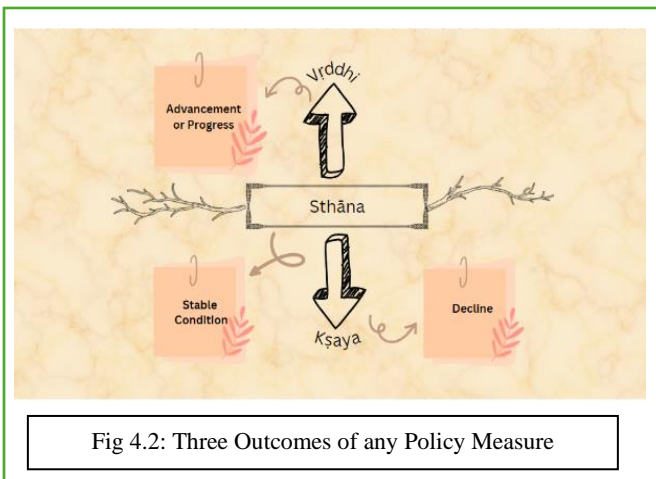

Fig 4.2: Three Outcomes of any Policy Measure

Kauṭilya states that "शमव्यायामयोर्योनिः षाङ्गुण्यम् । क्षयः स्थानं वृद्धिरित्युदयास्तस्य"[15] । (Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra: 6.2.4-5)" which means," the source of yoga-kṣema is the ṣāḍguṇya. Vṛddhi, kṣaya, and sthāna (decline, stability, and advancement respectively) are the consequences of that (policy)."

Here, a Vṛddhi policy refers to one that leads to advancement of the rājya; Kṣaya refers to one that leads to an overall decline: and Sthāna refers to one that helps attain a stable situation. Kauṭilya states, "इहस्थः शक्ष्यामि दुर्गसेतुकर्मवणिक्पथशून्यनिवेशखनिद्रव्यहस्तिवनकर्माण्यात्मनः प्रवर्तयितुं, परस्य चैतानि कर्माण्युपहन्तुम् इति तमातिष्ठेत् । सा वृद्धिः" (7.1.20-21). Here, Kauṭilya says that advancement encompasses a strategic approach aimed at promoting one's own initiatives while simultaneously undermining those of the adversary. This involves prioritizing endeavors related to forts, waterworks, trade routes, settlement of unused land, mines, material forests, and elephant forests. By focusing on these key areas, individuals can strengthen their territorial control and military capabilities through the development and fortification of strategic locations. Efficient waterworks contribute to agricultural productivity and facilitate mobility, while safeguarding trade routes ensures economic prosperity and influence. Additionally, initiatives to settle waste land expand territorial control and resource availability, while exploiting mines, material forests, and elephant forests drives economic prosperity and military power. The overarching objective is to advance one's own agenda while disrupting and weakening the enemy's foothold and capabilities. Hence, any policy that leads to this trajectory is categorized as a vṛddhi guṇa. Similarly, any policy that leads to the ruin of the rājya's resources while positively impacting the adversary rājya is termed as a policy of kṣaya. A classic example shall be the use of vigraha (war) as a policy instrument. For instance, Japan's act of threatening the US interests during the Second World War is a classic example of the use of war as a kṣaya guṇa. This must be understood against the fact the US participation in the World War began only after the Japanese act of aggression at the Pearl Harbour in 1941 (almost three years after the war had already started) – preceding which the US had followed a clear policy of isolationism from European wars and restrained from its participation. The direct involvement of the US against the Japanese was triggered by an act of war that could be considered an ill-policy decision. Pakistani act of infiltration and aggression against the Indian territory during the 1999 Kargil conflict could be considered another example in the same context.

A policy in which neither the advancement nor the decline occurs may be called a sthāna policy. This is essential to maintain stability of a rājya's growth trajectory by making sure that it is not harmed or hampered

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[15] śamavyāyāmayoryoniḥ ṣāḍguṇyam ı kṣayaḥ sthānaṃ vṛddhirityudayāstasya

by avoidable acts of aggression against another rājya. This might not be directly translated as inaction since it comprises a critical analysis of the situations facing the rājya, the personal strengths and weaknesses, as well as a sound knowledge of the adversary rājya.

4.4.2. Conditions Appropriate for Each Guṇa

For every guṇa, Kauṭilya lists several conditions that shall result in the most fruitful outcome for the rājya if that guṇa is applied.

For Sandhi, it lists over 15 such conditions[vi], some of which are: -

- **Entering a Sandhi while ruining the enemy's undertakings:** This strategy involves maintaining a treaty while subtly undermining the enemy's plans through covert actions or diplomatic maneuvers, allowing one's own endeavors to flourish while hindering the enemy's progress. A recent, classic example could be the Galwan clash that occurred at the Line of Actual Control (LAC). This clash occurred between Indian and Chinese soldiers in 2020 and led to casualties on both sides. This clash initiated by the Chinese troops occurred against the spirit of the existing Border Peace and Tranquility Agreement that restricts and regulates the use of firearms at the LAC. The Chinese troops used medieval, yet fatal weapons like nails and iron rods – taking the Indian troops by surprise. Due to the existing treaty agreements, the Indian troops did not foresee a harm approaching them in this manner.

- **Creating confidence through peace to ruin the enemy's undertakings secretly:** By appearing cooperative and trustworthy through treaty or negotiations, one can gain the confidence of the enemy while simultaneously employing clandestine methods to negatively impact their plans. Assuming there are two states A and B who get into a treaty or an agreement. While engaging in Sandhi with B, if A employs covert means including assassinations, creating dissentions, extracting confidential information, etc., intending to destroy the state B without waging an actual, conventional war, this type of Sandhi shall be a Vṛddhi Sandhi.

- **Exploiting alliances and conflicts between the enemy and stronger rājās:** Sandhi can be pursued to take advantage of alliances between the enemy and powerful rulers, causing internal strife and ultimately weakening the enemy's position. Let us assume that there is a rājamaṇḍala (circle of rājās), of which the vijigīṣu is not a part. However, the vijigīṣu's ari is a part of that rājamaṇḍala. If the vijigīṣu, by entering a Sandhi with the ari, can break into their rājamaṇḍala and create internal strife between the mitra-rājās - this shall be considered another fruitful condition of Vṛddhi Sandhi.

- **Prolonging the enemy's war with a mutual adversary:** Engaging in a Sandhi with a common enemy of the adversary can prolong their conflict, diverting their attention and resources away from oneself. A situation like this can arise when a vijigīṣu enters a Sandhi with their ari. The Sandhi must be such that he can predict a negative impact of this Sandhi on his ari and their subsequent adversaries. If the ari is involved in a war situation already with another rājā, the Sandhi must be such that while seeming supportive of the ari, it must prolong the war leading to a drain of resources of the ari. Hence, the awareness of the ari's situation and dynamics with other rājās becomes key in this situation. A similar instance occurred during the World War when the United States engaged in a "Lend-Lease Agreement" with the Allies (the British, French, and others against the Axis Powers that majorly comprised Japan and Germany) during the World War II. Through this, while the US kept itself practically out of the war, it kept supporting the Allies through war equipment to fight against the Nazi threat – which could have been a bigger threat to the Americans had the Europeans been defeated by the Nazi Germany under Hitler. Through this agreement and strategic isolation, while the US could delay their active participation in the war as well as restricted a direct confrontation against the Nazis – which was inevitable had the European Allies lost sooner in the War years.[vii]

Among similar other situations that are listed by Kauṭilya, it must be noticed that each of these refer to Vṛddhi Sandhi, Kauṭilya also mentions different types of Kṣaya Sandhis: Koṣopanata Sandhi (offering the rājā's treasury); Daṇḍopanata Sandhi (making an offer of the army); Ātmopanata Sandhi (surrendering oneself) and Deśopanata Sandhi (surrendering territory)[viii]. Each of these, sandhis of decline, are undertaken as policy measures if the rājya or the vijigīṣu is in a weaker position – often signifying either helplessness or an act of buying time. The Treaty of Versailles after the First World War that included heavy war reparations on Germany (that lost the War against the Allied powers) as well as a war trial of Kaiser William of Germany for leading war efforts reflect the Koṣopanata and Ātmopanata sandhis. Moreover, the disbanding of the Nazi troops and surrendering of occupied territory by the Nazis in Poland and adjoining areas reflected the remaining two as well: Daṇḍopanta and Deśopanata sandhis.[ix] The incident of a surrender of over 90,000 troops by the Pakistan Army after the Bangladesh Liberation War in 1971 along with the surrender of the territory of East Pakistan (that eventually became Bangladesh) also reflects similar instances.[x]

Moving to vigraha, the following conditions have been stated[xi]: -

- **Country consisting mostly of martial people or protected by natural barriers:** If one's country is predominantly populated by warriors or strategically fortified with natural defenses like

mountain-forts, forest-forts, or river-forts, it suggests a strong defensive capability that can repulse enemy attacks effectively. In such a scenario, initiating war might be favorable to exploit this defensive strength and potentially expand territory or neutralize threats. Several war economies function based on this idea where the requirement of continuing wars that feed those economies becomes essential. This industry often influences policy decisions in favour of keeping the war economy going. This concept is called the Military-Industrial Complex. The Military-Industrial Complex at the base of the wars waged by the United States[xii] Claims suggest that this industry that survived on the sale of war equipment had a significant stake in policy making pertaining to the wars that must be waged.

- **Taking shelter in an impregnable fort on the border:** If there exists an inaccessible fortress at the border of one's territory, it provides a secure base for launching offensive actions against the enemy while simultaneously protecting one's own lands. Initiating war from such a fortified position can disrupt the enemy's plans and lead to the advancement of one's objectives. For instance, for the longest time, the Indian subcontinent has been protected from attacks and invasions from the north which is protected by the Great Himalayan ranges that act as a protective barrier. The Great Wall of China was built for a similar purpose of protecting the Chinese from successive invasions – making the interior impregnable and secure.

- **Enemy weakened by calamities or internal troubles:** If the enemy is facing internal turmoil or external calamities that have drained their energy and resources, they may be vulnerable to attack. Initiating war during such a period of weakness can lead to the collapse of their undertakings and facilitate the advancement of one's own interests. Attacking an adversary can happen in two scenarios: when they're dealing with internal turmoil like a coup, uprising, or health crisis, and when the attacker stirs up trouble within the enemy state and then strikes from outside. Understanding the enemy's weaknesses, when they might erupt, and what triggers them is crucial for launching such attacks. For instance, if there are two states A and B. Assuming that B is suffering through a food crisis due to successive years of drought. Monitoring state B closely till its resistance, reserves, and external aid perishes – leaving in a helpless state – the state A may attack B. Since B is already at its lowest with a helpless population and an unfed army, defeating it would be much easier than in times of sunny days for the state.

- **Enemy engaged in fighting elsewhere:** If the enemy is preoccupied with conflicts or engagements in other regions, it presents an opportunity to launch an offensive and seize territory or resources while they are distracted. Initiating war under such circumstances can allow for the exploitation of the enemy's divided attention and achieve strategic gains. The overtaking of Rome by the Italian nationalists while the French were engaged with the Germans on another front in the late 19th

century is a case in point. As the French troops guarding the Rome moved out to reinforce troops fighting against Germany during an ongoing war, the Italian nationalists seized the opportunity and overtook the capital city without much violence.[xiii]

For Yāna, when the enemy's resources can be destroyed or impacted by means of marching, while the vijigīṣu has taken steps to secure own undertakings, marching is considered beneficial[xiv]. As explained previously, this includes activities like military exercises and maintenance of stockpile of weapons – both to create deterrence or minor panic. Adding and partly deviating from Kautilya, Pañcatantra elaborates on who should be engaged in a yāna. It states, "बलोत्कटेन, दुष्टेन, मर्यादारहितेन च । न सन्धिर्विग्रहो नैव, विना यानं प्रशस्यते ॥[16]" (Pañcatantra: 3.34) meaning, "an adversary who is extremely powerful, of an evil character, and devoid of dignity shall neither be engaged in war, nor sandhi, but tackle through yāna". Here, another aspect to the idea of yāna is introduced. According to this, a vijigīṣu temporarily leaving the home-ground in search of security is considered one of the forms of yāna. This is among the two forms that Pañcatantra discusses, the other one being a "vijaya yātrā" by a victor rājā to create an impression on the adversary. Viṣṇu Śarmā states, "द्विधाऽऽकारं भवेद्यानं, भयत्रस्तप्ररक्षणम् । एकमन्यजिगीषोश्च यात्रालक्षणमुच्यते ।[17]" (Pañcatantra: 3.35).

For 'Āsana' or staying quiet for the moment (उपेक्षणम् आसनम्, न मां परो नाहं परमुपहन्तुं शक्त इत्यासीत[18]), he suggests when the Vijigīṣu thinks that neither the enemy can harm him, nor can he, he may stay at āsana. Viṣṇu Śarmā elaborates upon this stating that sticking to one's home ground may also be considered as a state of āsana. Just like a crocodile inside water which is its natural habitat can pull in a beast as huge as an elephant, a vijigīṣu is the safest near their fort or area of dominance. Outside water, the crocodile is threatened even by a dog because that is not his area of comfort and dominance[xv]. He says that staying close to the home-ground benefits in both ways: "if you live, you enjoy the land that remains...if you die, you attain svarga (heaven)[xvi]" (Pañcatantra: 3.50).

The conditions where āsana is considered the most feasible include[xvii]: -

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[16] balotkaṭena, duṣṭena, maryādārahitena ca । na sandhirvigraho naiva, vinā yānaṃ praśasyate ॥

[17] dvidhā"kāraṃ bhavedyānaṃ, bhayatrastaprarakṣaṇam । ekamanyajigīṣośca yātrālakṣaṇamucyate ।

[18] upekṣaṇam āsanam, na māṃ paro nāhaṃ paramupahantuṃ śakta ityāsīta

Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra: Timeless Strategies for Modern Governance

- **Ongoing engagements between the adversaries:** When two of the vijigīṣu's adversaries are engaged in a conflict among themselves, and it seems that they shall end up destroying each other's resources such that both are weakened in the end, āsana is most favourable. The policy of US isolationism, as also clearly stated in George Washington (first President of the United States) in his farewell address in 1769, reflected a similar policy choice.[xviii] He advocated in non-involvement in European politics[xix] such that the United States could grow in isolation, without getting impacted from the wars that did not concern them directly. It must be noted that in both the World Wars, the entry of the United States happened only in the later phases when the country's interests were directly involved or threatened. It is equally notable that after the two World Wars, the European countries were left weakened and dependent on the United States - the newest superpower - due to the conflicts that occurred primarily between the Europeans themselves.

- **Enemy's Internal Weakness:** If the adversary, despite possessing power, exhibits signs of weakening internally due to mistreatment of their subjects or indulgence in vices like hunting, gambling, etc., they become vulnerable to external pressure. In such cases, practicing āsana or silence allows for observation and assessment of the enemy's deteriorating state without immediate confrontation. In the contemporary sense, this is reflected in implementation of bad or ill-thought policies by countries that end up becoming self-destructive. In such situations, no external effort is required to harm the countries. The case of Pakistan's ill-thought push to fueling terrorism in its adjoining regions eventually impacting its own security is a case in point. The Peshawar military school attacks led by the Tehrik-e-Taliban Pakistan (TTP) that resulted in the death of over 130 school children reflected this reality.[xx]

- **Strategic Vulnerability:** When the enemy's military forces are dispersed or the leader is found in a vulnerable (prone to harm) position, such as being away from their stronghold or lacking the support of allies, they become easier targets. By maintaining silence and refraining from immediate action, the vijigīṣu can exploit these strategic vulnerabilities at a later, more opportune moment. This is only emphasizing on the waiting for the opportune moment when the attack on the adversary shall create maximum impact. For instance, if one knows that a constituency within an adversary state is rebellious, a foresighted vijigīṣu will keep a close check on that constituency while avoiding any activity on the same. When the time is right or when the vijigīṣu wants to get something done by the adversary, they may use this information as a bargaining chip or an inlet to create internal chaos in the enemy rājya. If a state like A lacks support from its people, it becomes easily threatened by even small internal problems. When another state, B, is keeping a close watch on A, the ruler of B, called the vijigīṣu, can use A's rebellious people to pressure it into making decisions that benefit B.

Apart from independent activity and inactivity, seeking protection when threatened by a stronger rājā or themselves depleted in power, the vijigīṣu should seek either Saṃśraya (परार्पणं संश्रयः; शक्तिहीनः संश्रयेत् ।[19]) or resort to Dvaidhībhāva - prioritizing the latter over the former when most possible. Conditions for Saṃśraya and Dvaidhībhāva appear interlinked such that while in Saṃśraya, a dual policy is being waged by either buying time to strategically attack when the adversary is weak or creating multiple alliances and covertly manipulating them to one's advantage. Conditions for the same shall be elaborated upon together[xxi]: -

- **Seeking shelter with someone stronger than the neighboring enemy (Saṃśraya):** When faced with a formidable neighboring enemy, seeking shelter with a stronger ally provides protection and security against potential threats. Aligning with a more powerful entity enhances one's defensive capabilities and deters aggression from the neighboring adversary. The case of Taiwan that is heavily dependent on the US aid and protection against a stronger neighbouring enemy – the People's Republic of China is a classic example.

- **Taking refuge with the enemy if no stronger ally is available (Saṃśraya):** In the absence of a superior ally, seeking shelter with the enemy itself can offer protection and security. This strategy ensures survival and possibly advancement by exploiting the enemy's resources or weakening them from within. For instance, let us assume that there are two states A and B, where B is a stronger enemy and A has no allies as strong as B. In such a situation, when A finds itself defenseless against B, it may take refuge from B with a covert strategy of buying time. When the time is right, and reinforcements have been fulfilled, A might attack B.

- **Taking advantage of the enemy's vulnerabilities (Saṃśraya and Dvaidhībhāva):** Expecting possible conflicts or difficulties within the enemy's group or from external sources that could weaken them, seeking shelter offers a chance to exploit their weaknesses, ensuring personal progress and safety. An example of the same has been witnessed in the context of Porous after he had taken refuge under Alexander, the Greek conqueror. When Kautilya was preparing for protecting Bhārata against the Greek invasion, while being under Alexander, Porous actively helped Kautilya. Despite being in saṃśraya, a tinge of hope to recover drove him to implement dvaidhībhāva or a dual policy.

- **Seeking shelter with a protective ally or exploiting dissension between two stronger rājās (Saṃśraya and Dvaidhībhāva):** When situated between two stronger rājās, seeking shelter with

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[19] parārpaṇaṃ saṃśrayaḥ; śaktihīnaḥ saṃśrayet ।

one capable of providing protection or exploiting dissension between them allows for securing safety and possibly gaining advantages by aligning with the more favorable party. The dynamics facing Singapore between its two stronger neighbours (US and China) depict this situation. While Singapore is supported by the US, it maintains its relations with China with equal rigour. This is often called "hedging" in contemporary times – which implies smaller countries tagging along a powerful country as per its immediate interests.[xxii]

- **Resorting to employing dissension between two stronger rājās (Dvaidhībhāva):** When caught between two stronger adversaries, resorting to diplomatic maneuvers or causing dissension between them through false accusations enables the vijigīṣu to navigate the precarious situation and secure safety or advantages. Without any more explanation required, this may be applied as an efficient strategy of foreign policy.

- **Finding shelter with the circle of rājās or with justly behaved rulers (Samśraya):** In dire circumstances, seeking shelter with a collective of rājās or with rulers known for their fairness and justice provides refuge and protection against threats from multiple adversaries. Aligning with morally upright rulers ensures safety and possibly opportunities for advancement.

4.4.3 Choice of Foreign Policy in Conflicting Situations

While offering conditions for making policy choices, in cases of conflicts between two policies – Kautilya offers insights into how it shall be tackled. For instance, choosing between sandhi and vigraha, marching and staying quiet, and employing a dual policy versus taking shelter all hinge upon a ruler's assessment of the prevailing circumstances and their potential impact on advancing their interests.

Sandhi and vigraha present contrasting paths, with sandhi preferred when both options promise equal advancement. The inherent losses, expenses, and logistical challenges of war make Sandhi a wise choice, unless the benefits of military action clearly outweigh its costs. Choosing between yāna and āsana depends on whether military action can effectively disrupt the enemy's plans without causing too much harm or risk. Āsana is favored when peace or covert actions offer comparable advancements, avoiding the hazards and expenses associated with military campaigns.

The choice between a dvaidhībhāva and samśraya depends on the balance of power and strategic considerations. Dvaidhībhāva prioritizes one's own interests while engaging with multiple parties. Kautilya adds, that the policy offers flexibility and autonomy of decision making, serving one's objectives directly. In contrast, taking shelter with a stronger ally or within a fortified position may be necessary when confronted with overwhelming threats or when opportunities for independent advancement are limited.

However, samśraya should be approached cautiously, ensuring that it serves one's interests rather than merely aligning with the interests of others.

4.5. Conclusion

In conclusion, understanding Kauṭilya's discussion on foreign policy is crucial for comprehending the broader principles of governance he advocates for a rājya. Foreign policy, in the context of Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra, is not merely about diplomacy but encompasses the strategic acquisition, expansion, and protection of resources and territory. The idea of yoga-kṣema underpins these actions, ensuring the state's stability and prosperity. By addressing the questions of acquisition, expansion, and protection, Kauṭilya provides a framework for rulers to navigate the complex interplay of power, resources, and security. This holistic approach highlights the enduring relevance of his insights in contemporary statecraft, emphasizing the timeless nature of strategic governance. Moreover, the principles discussed in this chapter extend beyond traditional governance and offer valuable lessons for institutions and other domains including the corporate world. The strategic management of resources, effective expansion strategies, and robust protective measures are critical for the success and sustainability of any organization, making Kauṭilya's wisdom applicable across various modern contexts.

Summary

- Avāpādhikāra, or foreign affairs and strategy, in Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra, encompasses policies of vṛddhi (advancement), kṣaya (decline), and sthāna (stability).
- Vṛddhi policies aim at advancing the state's agenda while undermining the adversary's initiatives, focusing on areas like forts, waterworks, and trade routes.
- Kṣaya policies lead to the ruin of the state's resources while benefiting the adversary, exemplified by war as an ill-policy decision like the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor.

- Sthāna policies maintain stability by avoiding aggression against other states, critical for ensuring steady growth trajectory.
- Conditions appropriate for each guṇa include strategies for Sandhi, Yāna, and Vigraha, based on prevailing circumstances and objectives.
- Āsana, or staying quiet, is favored when ongoing engagements between adversaries or the enemy's internal weakness present opportunities for strategic observation and planning.
- Seeking protection involves Samśraya with stronger allies or Dvaidhībhāva

employing dual strategies, depending on the balance of power and strategic considerations.

- The choice of foreign policy in conflicting situations emphasizes Sandhi over Vigraha, Yāna over Āsana, and Dvaidhībhāva over Saṃśraya, based on the evaluation of costs, risks, and benefits.
- Kauṭilya's principles extend beyond diplomacy to encompass strategic

acquisition, expansion, and protection of resources, ensuring state stability and prosperity.

- His wisdom applies to modern contexts, offering insights into corporate strategies and emphasizing resource management and protective measures for organizational success.

Review Questions

1. What are the three possible outcomes of policy decisions according to Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra, and how are they defined?

2. Explain the concept of vṛddhi, kṣaya, and sthāna policies in the context of foreign affairs and strategy, providing examples for each.

3. Discuss the key areas emphasized in vṛddhi policies and their significance in advancing a state's agenda and military capabilities.

4. What are the conditions appropriate for Sandhi, according to Kauṭilya, and how do they contribute to strategic outcomes in foreign policy?

5. Describe scenarios where āsana, or staying quiet, would be considered the most feasible strategy in foreign affairs, providing historical or contemporary examples.

6. Compare and contrast the concepts of Saṃśraya and Dvaidhībhāva in seeking protection in foreign affairs, highlighting their implications for state security and advancement.

7. Evaluate the factors that influence the choice between Sandhi and Vigraha in conflicting situations, considering the costs, risks, and benefits associated with each.

8. Analyze the significance of seeking shelter with a stronger ally or within a fortified position, discussing the strategic considerations and potential outcomes.

9. How do Kauṭilya's principles of foreign policy apply to modern contexts, such as corporate strategies and organizational success?

10. Imagine a scenario where a small nation is caught between two powerful neighboring states with conflicting interests. Apply Kauṭilya's principles to develop a foreign policy strategy for the small nation, considering its objectives, resources, and the balance of power in the region.

End Notes

[i] Rangarajan, L. N. (Ed.). (1992). The Arthashastra. Penguin Books India.

[ii] Ministry of External Affairs, India. (1972, July 2). *Agreement between the Government of India and the Islamic Republic of Pakistan on Bilateral Relations (Simla Agreement).* https://www.mea.gov.in/Portal/LegalTreatiesDoc/PA72B1578.pdf

[iii] Lüthi, L. M. (2016). The Non-Aligned Movement and the Cold War, 1961–1973. Journal of Cold War Studies, 18(4), 98–147. https://www.jstor.org/stable/26925642

[iv] Anne Frank House. (1939, August 23). Germany and the Soviet Union sign a non-aggression pact. Retrieved from https://www.annefrank.org/en/timeline/60/germany-and-the-soviet-union-sign-a-non-aggression-pact/

[v] भूमिर्मित्रं हिरण्यं वा विग्रहस्य फलत्रयम् ।

bhūmirmitraṃ hiraṇyaṃ vā vigrahasya phalatrayam । (Pañcatantra: 3.15)

[vi] यदि वा पश्येत् 'सन्धौ स्थितो महाफलैः स्वकर्मभिः परकर्माण्युपहनिष्यामिः महाफलानि वा स्वकर्माण्युपभोक्ष्ये, परकर्माणि वा; संधिविश्वासेन वा योगोपनिषत्प्रणिधिभिः परकर्माण्युपहनिष्यामिः सुखं वा सानुग्रहपरिहारसौकर्यं फललाभभूयस्त्वेन स्वकर्मणां परकर्मयोगावहं जनमास्त्रावयिष्यामि; बलिनाऽतिमात्रेण वा संहितः परः स्वकर्मोपघातं प्राप्स्यति, येन वा विगृहीतो मया संधत्ते तेनास्य विग्रहं दीर्घं करिष्यामि; मया वा संहितस्य मद्द्वेषिणो जनपदं पीडयिष्यति; परोपहतो वाऽस्य जनपदो मामागमिष्यति, ततः कर्मसु वृद्धिं प्राप्स्यामि; विपन्नकर्मारम्भो वा विषमस्थः परः कर्मसु न मे विक्रमेत; परतः प्रवृत्तकर्मारम्भो वा ताभ्यां संहितः कर्मसु वृद्धिं प्राप्स्यामि; शत्रुप्रतिबद्धं वा शत्रुणा संधिं कृत्वा मण्डलं भेत्स्यामि, भिन्नमवाप्स्यामि; दण्डानुग्रहेण वा शत्रुमुपगृह्य मण्डललिप्सायां विद्वेषं ग्राहयिष्यामि, विद्विष्टं तेनैव घातयिष्यामि इति संधिना वृद्धिमातिष्ठेत् ।

yadi vā paśyet 'sandhau sthito mahāphalaiḥ svakarmabhiḥ parakarmāṇyupahaniṣyāmiḥ mahāphalāni vā svakarmāṇyupabhokṣye, parakarmāṇi vā; saṃdhiviśvāsena vā yogopaniṣatpraṇidhibhiḥ parakarmāṇyupahaniṣyāmiḥ sukhaṃ vā sānugrahaparihārasaukaryaṃ phalalābhabhūyastvena svakarmaṇāṃ parakarmayogāvahaṃ janamāstrāvayiṣyāmi; balinā'timātreṇa vā saṃhitaḥ paraḥ svakarmopaghātaṃ prāpsyati, yena vā vigṛhīto mayā saṃdhatte tenāsya vigrahaṃ dīrghaṃ kariṣyāmi; mayā vā saṃhitasya maddveṣiṇo janapadaṃ pīḍayiṣyati; paropahato vā'sya janapado māmāgamiṣyati, tataḥ karmasu vṛddhiṃ prāpsyāmi; vipannakarmārambho vā viṣamasthaḥ paraḥ karmasu na me vikrameta; parataḥ pravṛttakarmārambho vā tābhyāṃ saṃhitaḥ karmasu vṛddhi prāpsyāmi; śatrupratibaddhaṃ vā śatruṇā saṃdhiṃ kṛtvā maṇḍalaṃ bhetsyāmi, bhinnamavāpsyāmi; daṇḍānugraheṇa vā śatrumupagṛhya maṇḍalalipsāyāṃ vidveṣaṃ grāhayiṣyāmi, vidviṣṭaṃ tenaiva ghātayiṣyāmi' iti saṃdhinā vṛddhimātiṣṭhet । (Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra: 7.1.32)

[vii] United States Department of State. (n.d.). *Lend-Lease and Military Aid to the Allies in the Early Years of World War II.* Office of the Historian.

[viii] Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra: 7.3.22

[ix] United States Department of State. (n.d.). *The Paris Peace Conference and the Treaty of Versailles.* Office of the Historian.

[x] La Porte, R. (1973). Pakistan in 1972: Picking up the Pieces. Asian Survey, 13(2), 187-198.

[xi] यदि वा पश्येत् 'आयुधीयप्रायः श्रेणीप्रायो वा मे जनपदः शैलवननदीदुर्गेक- द्वारारक्षो वा शक्ष्यति पराभियोगं प्रतिहन्तुमुः विषयान्ते दुर्गमविषह्यमपाश्रितो वा शक्ष्यामि परकर्माण्युपहन्तुमुः व्यसनपीडोपहतोत्साहो वा परः संप्राप्तकर्मोपघातकालः; विगृहीतस्यान्यतो वा शक्ष्यामि जनपदद्मपवाहयितुम् इति विग्रहे स्थितो वृद्धि- मातिष्ठेत् ।

yadi vā paśyet 'āyudhīyaprāyaḥ śreṇīprāyo vā me janapadaḥ śailavananadīdurgeka- dvārārakṣo vā śakṣyati parābhiyogaṃ pratihantumḥ viṣayānte durgamaviṣahyamapāśrito vā śakṣyāmi parakarmāṇyupahantumḥ vyasanapīḍopahatotsāho vā paraḥ samprāptakarmopaghātakālaḥ; vigṛhītasyānyato vā śakṣyāmi janapadadmapavāhayitum' iti vigrahe sthito vṛddhi- mātiṣṭhet । (Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra: 7.1.33)

[xii] The Military-Industrial Relationship. (n.d.). The University of Michigan and the Great War. https://michiganintheworld.history.lsa.umich.edu/greatwar/exhibits/show/homefront/war_industry/the-military-industrial-relati

[xiii] Italian unification. (n.d.). New World Encyclopedia. https://www.newworldencyclopedia.org/entry/Italian_unification

[xiv] यदि वा मन्येत 'यानसाध्यः कर्मोपघातः शत्रोः, प्रतिविहितस्वकर्मारक्षश्चास्मि' इति यानेन वृद्धिमातिष्ठेत् ॥ yadi vā manyeta 'yānasādhyaḥ karmopaghātaḥ śatroḥ, prativihitasvakarmārakṣaścāsmi' iti yānena vṛddhimātiṣṭhet ॥ (Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra: 7.1.35)

[xv] नक्रः स्वस्थानमासाद्य गजेन्द्रमपि कर्षति । स एव प्रच्युतः स्थनाच्छुना ऽपि परिभूयते ॥ nakraḥ svasthānamāsādya gajendramapi karṣati । sa eva pracyutaḥ sthānācchunā'pi paribhūyate ॥ (Pañcatantra: 3.44)

[xvi] तिष्ठ मध्यगतो नित्यं युद्धाय कृतनिश्चयः । जीवन् सम्प्राप्स्यसि क्ष्मान्तं मृतो वा स्वर्गमेष्यसि ॥ tiṣṭha madhyagato nityaṃ yuddhāya kṛtaniścayaḥ । jīvan samprāpsyasi kṣmāntaṃ mṛto vā svargameṣyasi ॥ Pañcatantra: 3.50)

[xvii] यदि वा मन्येत 'न मे शक्तः परः कर्माण्युपहन्तुं नाहं तस्य कर्मोपघाती बाः व्यसनमस्य, श्ववराहयोरिव कलहे वा, स्वकर्मानुष्ठानपरो वा वर्धिष्ये' इत्यासनेन वृद्धिमातिष्ठेत् । yadi vā manyeta 'na me śaktaḥ paraḥ karmāṇyupahantuṃ nāhaṃ tasya karmopaghātī bāḥ vyasanamasya, śvavarāhayoriva kalahe vā, svakarmānuṣṭhānaparo vā vardhiṣye' ityāsanena vṛddhimātiṣṭhet । (Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra: 7.1.34)

[xviii] United States Department of State. (n.d.). *American Isolationism in the 1930s.* Office of the Historian.

[xix] Ibid.

[xx] Tehrik-e-Taliban Pakistan (TTP). (n.d.). Counter-Terrorism Guide. https://www.dni.gov/nctc/ftos/ttp_fto.html#:~:text=Peshawar%2C%20North%2DWest%20Frontier%20Province,and%20wounding%20more%20than%20100.

[xxi] यदि वा मन्येत 'नास्मि शक्तः परकर्माण्युपहन्तुं, स्वकर्मोपघातं वा त्रातुम् इति, बलवन्तमाश्रितः स्वकर्मानुष्ठानेन क्षयात्स्थानं स्थानाद्वृद्धि चाकाङ्क्षत । यदि वा मन्येत 'संधिनैकतः स्वकर्माणि प्रवर्तयिष्यामि, विग्रहेणैकतः पर कर्माण्युपहनिष्यामि' इति द्वैधीभावेन वृद्धिमातिष्ठेत् । yadi vā manyeta 'nāsmi śaktaḥ parakarmāṇyupahantuṃ, svakarmopaghātaṃ vā trātum' iti, balavantamāśritaḥ

svakarmānuṣṭhānena kṣayātsthānaṃ sthānādṛddhi cākāṅkṣata ꞉ yadi vā manyeta 'saṃdhinaikataḥ svakarmāṇi pravartayiṣyāmi, vigraheṇaikataḥ para karmāṇyupahaniṣyāmi' iti dvaidhībhāvena vṛddhimātiṣṭhet ꞉ (Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra: 7.1.36,37)

[xxii] Cai, D. (n.d.). Hedging for Maximum Flexibility: Singapore's Pragmatic Approach to Security Relations with the US and China. Pointer, Journal of the Singapore Armed Forces, 39(2). https://www.mindef.gov.sg/oms/content/dam/imindef_media_library/graphics/pointer/PDF/2013/Vol.39%20No.2/2)%20V39N2_ Hedging%20for%20Maximum%20Flexibility%20Singapore-s%20Pragmatic%20Approach%20to%20Security%20Relations%20with%20the%20US%20and%20China.pdf

Adhyāya: 5

Upasaṃhāra: Conclusion

एवं शास्त्रमिदं युक्तमेताभिस्तन्त्रयुक्तिभिः । अवाप्तौ पालने चोक्तं लोकस्यास्य परस्य च ॥

धर्ममर्थं च कामं च प्रवर्तयति पाति च । अधर्मानर्थविद्वेषानिदं शास्त्रं निहन्ति च ॥

येन शास्त्रं च शस्त्रं च नन्दराजगता च भूः । अमर्षेणोद्धृतान्याशु तेन शास्त्रमिदं कृतम् ॥[1]

"This comprehensive science (the Arthaśāstra), elaborated with meticulous precision, is designed for the acquisition, and safeguarding of both worldly prosperity and spiritual salvation. It brings forth and sustains spiritual virtue, material prosperity, and joy, while simultaneously eradicating spiritual malice, material adversity, and enmity. Crafted by the one (referring to Kauṭilya himself) who, spurred by resentment, swiftly revitalized knowledge, power, and dominion that had fallen under the sway of the Nanda dynasty, this science stands as a testament to the enduring power of wisdom and resilience." (Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra: 15.1.71-73)

Having explored the text as an overview, we acknowledge that Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra, a seminal text dating back to the 3rd century BCE, presents an intricate and comprehensive framework for statecraft, encompassing various facets of governance, diplomacy, and military strategy. Notable for its unique features, the Arthaśāstra distinguishes itself from other ancient strategic texts through its self-commentary, innovative terminology, and exhaustive coverage of subjects. The inclusion of a commentary alongside its sūtras serves to mitigate the risk of misinterpretation, ensuring a more nuanced understanding of its principles. This treatise's richness, however, lies in its writing style and the means that it has used, described in its final segment: the Tantrayukti (15th Adhikaraṇa).

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[1] evaṃ śāstramidaṃ yuktametābhistantrayuktibhiḥ ꘡ avāptau pālane coktaṃ lokasyāsya parasya ca ॥
dharmamarthaṃ ca kāmaṃ ca pravartayati pāti ca ꘡ adharmānarthavidveṣānidaṃ śāstraṃ nihanti ca ॥
yena śāstraṃ ca śastraṃ ca nandarājagatā ca bhūḥ ꘡ amarṣeṇoddhṛtānyāśu tena śāstramidaṃ kṛtam ॥

Essentially, Tantryukti is a type of device which is used to explain the "Tantra", i.e. science or treatise. This is one of the technical devices for research used by ancient Indian scholars. Contemporary scholars have called these as: -

- Methodology in Sanskrit text on science - K. V. Sharma
- Forms of scientific argument - S. C. Vidyabhushan
- Plan of treaties etc.

The term "Tantrayukti" itself is a compound word, comprising "Tantra" and "yukti". The essence of "Tantra" lies in its expansive nature, serving to elucidate theories and concepts. It is derived from the root "तन्यते विस्तार्यते सिद्धान्तः अनेन[2]", signifying "One which expands or explains the theory." Tantra, therefore, encompasses the domain of science or scientific treatises. It is further explicated:

$$तनोति विपुलानर्थान् तत्त्वमन्त्रसमन्वितान् ।$$
$$त्राणञ्च कुरुते यस्मात् तन्त्रमित्यभिधीयते ॥$$

tanoti vipulānarthān tattvamantrasamanvitān |
trāṇañca kurute yasmāt tantramityabhidhīyate ||[3]

Tantra may be described as that which both discusses and elucidates subjects and concepts, while also serving as a protector. The term Tantra encompasses a myriad of meanings, often used synonymously with Ayurveda, a branch of Veda, education, aphorism, wisdom, śāstra, and definition. Furthermore, that which harbours treatises is also denoted as Tantra.

The purpose of Tantrayukti is to connect unrelated sentences and reveal hidden or improbable meanings. Some, like yoga, nirdeśana, and uddeśya, are for connecting sentences, while adhikaraṇa, etc., are for arthayojana, i.e., connecting meanings.

In Arthaśāstra Kauṭilya used 32 Tantrayuktis to explain his treatise. Some of these are Vidhānam, Yojnā, Padārtha, Atideśaḥ, etc. Each of these aids the readers to appropriately navigate through

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[2] tanyate vistāryate siddhāntaḥ anena
[3] Ajitāgama 1.115

the text, ensure its authentic interpretation, and correct usage. A few examples of the same help us better appreciate their relevance: -

- Vidhāna: This yukti refers to sequencing or indexing of segments for an orderly reading the text. The first adhyāya of the first adhikaraṇa depicts this yukti clearly.
- Yojanā: This yukti refers to the arrangement of the sentences. This becomes important since a number of times the sentence arrangement is such that the prior sentences set the context for the upcoming sentence. Here the logical arrangement becomes essential. For instance, while explaining indriyajaya, the previous sentence sets context before introducing the context of the concept.
- Padārtha: This yukti refers to words that contain the entire meaning within the word itself without requiring any explanation. Terms like 'mūlhara' used in the text are examples of such self-explanatory words.
- Atideśa: This yukti refers to cross-referencing within a text and has been extensively used throughout the treatise to avoid repetitions and knitting various segments together by drawing links to one another. While explaining saptāṅga in the sixth adhikaraṇa "Maṇḍalayoniḥ", the text does not explain the qualities of amātya. It simply refers it to the first adhikaraṇa where the qualities of amātya have been explained.

An exhaustive list of the same has been attached as part of the Appendix - 4 at the end of this book.

Overall, the comprehensive exploration of the Bhāratīya Arthaśāstra Tradition through this book has attempted to reveal profound insights into the ancient Indian system of governance, administration, and international relations. One of the most striking aspects of the Arthaśāstra is its linguistic innovation. Kauṭilya meticulously crafts terms tailored to the context of the treatise, each elucidated within the accompanying commentary. This commitment to clarity and precision reflects Kauṭilya's proficiency in presenting complex concepts in a clear and understandable manner through his profound understanding of the complexities inherent in governance. By creating a vocabulary set that resonates with the nuances of statecraft, Kauṭilya enables a deeper engagement with the text, laying the foundation for a robust understanding of its teachings. Some of these might be listed as: Janghākārikā (courier); Sambhūya-yojnā (Joint Plan); Saimika (Border forces); etc.

At the core of the Arthaśāstra lies a holistic vision of governance, which extends far beyond the mere exercise of power. Contrary to common misconceptions, Kauṭilya's pragmatic approach is firmly rooted in the concept of Yoga-kṣema, which emphasizes the protection of Dharma as the cornerstone of governance. Here, Dharma provides a yardstick to incorporate a broader ethical framework that guides the actions of rulers and subjects alike. In upholding Dharma, Kauṭilya advocates for a governance model that prioritizes the welfare of the people and the preservation of social harmony.

The breadth of topics covered in the Arthaśāstra is truly fascinating, ranging from domestic affairs such as marriage and household management to advanced concepts like psychological, chemical, and biological warfare and sophisticated surveillance techniques. Such an exhaustive treatment underscores the comprehensive nature of Kauṭilya's approach to governance, leaving no aspect of statecraft unaddressed. This encyclopedic scope speaks to Kauṭilya's deep understanding of the multifaceted challenges faced by rulers and administrators, and his commitment to providing practical solutions to navigate them.

Navigating the intricacies of internal administration as part of the Tantrādhikāra, we delve into the Vinayādhikaraṇa (training of the rājā), Adhyakṣa Prachāraḥ (exploring the role of departmental superintendents), Dharmasthīyam and Kaṇṭakaśodhanam (the administration of justice in civil matters and the suppression of criminals). The adhikaraṇa titled Yogavṛttam unveils the subtle art of secret conduct, emphasizing the importance of discretion and confidentiality in governance.

Furthermore, the examination of Prakṛti Sampat elucidates the constituent elements of a well-ordered state, from the Saptāṅga to Maṇḍalayoni encapsulated within the framework of Yoga-kṣema. Through the lens of Svāmī, Amātya, Janapada, Kośa, Daṇḍa, and Mitra, we gained a comprehensive understanding of the interconnectedness of various organs of the state and their roles in ensuring stability and prosperity.

In delving into Avāpādhikāra, the realm of international relations, we uncover the principles and strategies guiding diplomatic endeavors, armed conflicts, and conflict resolution. The Ṣāḍguṇyam presents a nuanced approach to foreign policy, emphasizing the importance of strategic choice and adaptability in the face of changing circumstances. The classification of treaties and types of war

offers valuable insights into the dynamics of interstate relations and the tactics employed in times of conflict.

With this brief overview, we acknowledge that despite the passage of centuries, the relevance of Kauṭilya's foresighted approach to governance remains unparalleled. His teachings continue to offer invaluable guidance to leaders and policymakers across diverse domains, ranging from town planning and irrigation to military organization and intelligence gathering. In an age marked by rapid technological advancements and geopolitical upheavals, the wisdom distilled in the Arthaśāstra serves as a beacon of light, illuminating the path towards a more just, prosperous, and harmonious society.

Through its meticulous commentary, innovative terminology, and comprehensive coverage of subjects, the enduring legacy of the Arthaśāstra extends beyond its immediate historical context, resonating with contemporary challenges and aspirations. In an era characterized by rapid globalization, technological advancement, and geopolitical uncertainty, Kauṭilya's insights offer a timeless roadmap for navigating the complexities of governance. By prioritizing ethical conduct, strategic foresight, and holistic welfare, Kauṭilya presents a vision of governance that transcends temporal and spatial boundaries, offering a blueprint for building resilient, equitable, and sustainable societies.

In conclusion, the Bhāratīya Arthaśāstra Tradition embodies a timeless repository of wisdom and insight, offering invaluable guidance for navigating the complexities of governance in an ever-changing world. As the sun sets on our exploration, it illuminates the path forward—a path guided by the timeless wisdom of the Arthaśāstra, where ethics and efficacy intertwine to shape a brighter future for humanity. Through the lenses of history, philosophy, and practical governance, we glimpse the contours of a society governed not only by laws but by the principles of justice, compassion, and righteousness. In embracing this legacy, we honor not only the legacy of Kauṭilya but also the enduring spirit of inquiry and innovation that defines the Bhāratīya Arthaśāstra Tradition as a whole.

Appendix - 1

Suggested Readings

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Suggested Videos

➢ Rishi Chanakya's Arthashastra by Ms Ami Ganatra - https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Gl3z43D5z0g&list=PLrrbJ0HMXRgTi-MDuyotXMXT4ZKJhSDxl

➢ Arthashastra And Its Contemporary Relevance In India by Sriram Balasubramanian - https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Yg_yOUPrB5s

➢ Ancient Indian Statecraft - An Introduction to Arthashastra by Dr. Vinayak Rajat Bhat - https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8Q7GhUvOXiE

➢ Kautilya and the Arthashastra: Lessons in Statecraft - https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8_eNQ462nXo&t=472s

➢ Kautilyanomics: A deeper insight into Chanakya's mind & Arthashastra - https://www.youtube.com/results?search_query=arthashastra+kautilya

➢ कौटिल्य अर्थशास्त्र Kautilya Arthashastra - https://www.youtube.com/results?search_query=arthashastra+kautilya

➢ Koutilya by Shatavadhani Dr. R Ganesh (In Kannada) in three parts - https://www.youtube.com/results?search_query=arthashastra+kautilya

➢ A free-wheeling conversation on some possible aspects of Kauṭilya's personality by Radhakrishnan Pillai: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=25vwv8MglVs

Appendix – 2

Seducible and non-seducible factions in the state

S.No	Title	Meaning in Sanskrit	Meaning in English
	Krudhha Vargaḥ (क्रुद्धवर्गः)		
1.	विप्रलब्धः (vipralabdhaḥ)	ददामीति प्रतिज्ञाय तददानेन वञ्चितः (dadāmīti pratijñāya tadadānena vañcitaḥ)	Someone to whom the promised reward was not given
2.	विमानितः (vimānitaḥ)	अनभिनन्दितः (anabhinanditaḥ)	One who is humiliated
3.	वल्लभावरुद्धः (vallabhāvaruddhaḥ)	राज्ञः परमाप्तसेवकैः प्रतिषिद्धराजकुलप्रवेशः (rājñā: paramāptasevakaiḥ pratiṣiddharājakulapraveśaḥ)	Someone out of favour due to a favourite of a king
4.	समाहूय पराजितः (samāhūya parājitaḥ)	द्यूतक्रीडार्थमाहूय हृतधनः (dyūtakrīḍārthamāhūya hṛtadhanaḥ)	Defeated after having challenged in gambling
5.	प्रवासोपतप्तः (pravāsopataptaḥ)	राजकृतेनावरोधेन स्वेप्सितदेशवासप्रतिबन्धः (rājakṛtenāvarodhena svepsitadeśavāsapratibandhaḥ)	One who is suppressed by the king in living in a country of interest
6.	कृत्वा व्ययमलब्धकार्यः (kṛtvā vyayamalabdhakāryaḥ)	कार्यार्थं राजवल्लभादिभ्यः उत्कोचं दत्वाप्यलब्धप्रयोजनः (kāryārthaṃ rājavallabhadibhyaḥ utkocaṃ datvāpyalabdhaprayojanaḥ)	Someone who has not gained anything after spending lots on bribery to kings officials
7.	स्वधर्माद् दायाद्याद् वोपरुद्धः (svadharmād dāyādyād voparuddhaḥ)	यः राज्ञा स्वधर्माचरणात्, दायत्वेन भोग्यात् धनाद् वा प्रतिषिद्धः (yaḥ rājñā svadharmācaraṇāta, dāyatvena bhogyāt dhanād vā pratiṣiddhaḥ)	Someone who is thwarted from doing his duty or obtaining his inheritance

8.	मानाधिकाराभ्यां भ्रष्टः (mānādhikārābhyāṃ bhraṣṭaḥ)	अर्थः स्पष्टः (arthaḥ spaṣṭaḥ)	A government servant who lost his fame or dismissed/reduced in rank
9.	कुल्यैरन्तर्हितः (kulyarantarhitaḥ)	बान्धवैः अप्रकाशं गतः (bāndhavaiḥ aprakāśaṃ gataḥ)	Someone suppressed by his own kings-men
10.	प्रसभाभिमृष्टस्त्रीकः (prasabhābhimṛṣṭastīkaḥ)	बलात्कारधर्षितदारः (balātkāradharṣitadāraḥ)	Husband(a male relative) of a raped woman
11.	काराभिन्यस्तः (kārābhinyastaḥ)	बन्दीकृतः (bandīkṛtaḥ)	Someone who is taken captive or imprisoned
12.	परोक्तदण्डितः (paroktadaṇḍitaḥ)	अविचार्यैव परवचनप्रत्ययमात्रेण कृतदण्डः (avicāryaiva paravacanapratyayamātreṇa kṛtadaṇḍaḥ)	Someone who I punished just by the complaint of another and without thinking over it
13.	मिथ्याचारवारितः (mithyācāravārith)	मिथ्यान्यायेन यज्ञादिसत्कर्मानुष्ठानाद्वारितः (mithyānyāyena yajñādisatkarmānuṣṭhānādvāritaḥ)	Someone who is prevented from doing holy rituals like yajna by false judgment
14.	सर्वस्वमाहारितः (sarvasvam āhāritaḥ)	हृतसर्वस्वः (यस्य सर्वं धनं स्वं वा हृतम्) (hṛtasarvasva: (yasya sarvaṃ dhanaṃ svaṃ vā hṛtam))	Someone whose entire property has been confiscated
15.	बन्धनपरिक्लिष्टः (bandhana parikliṣṭhaḥ)	कार्येष्वयथार्हनियन्त्रणया पीडितः (kāryeṣvayathārhaniyantraṇayā pīḍitaḥ)	Someone who is troubled by binding in works
16.	प्रवासितबन्धुः (pravāsitaba ndhuḥ)	स्वदेशान्निष्कासितः बन्धुः यस्य सः (svadeśānniṣkāsitaḥ bandhuḥ yasya saḥ)	Someone whose relative got exiled

S.No	Title	Meaning in Sanskrit	Meaning in English
		Bhīta Vargaḥ (भीतवर्गः)	
1.	स्वयमुपहतः (svayamupahataḥ)	धनार्थं स्वकृतेन परमरणादिना नृशंसकर्मणा दूषितः (dhanārtham svakṛtena paramaraṇādinā nṛśaṃsakarmaṇā dūṣitaḥ)	One who is offended
2.	विप्रकृतः (viprakṛtaḥ)	तिरस्कृतः (tiraskṛtaḥ)	Someone who has excelled(an important person)
3.	पापकर्माभिख्यातः (pāpakarmābhikhyātaḥ)	ब्रह्महत्यादिपापकर्माभिशस्तः (brahmahatyādipāpakarmābhiśastaḥ)	Someone who is accused of sins
4.	तुल्यदोषदण्डेनोद्विग्नः (tulyadoṣadaṇḍenodvignaḥ)	स्वसमानदोषेऽन्यस्मिन् दण्डं प्रयुक्तं दृष्ट्वा, मय्यपि दण्डः पतेदिति भीतः (svasamānadoṣe'nyasmin daṇḍam prayuktam dṛṣṭvā, mayyapi daṇḍaḥ patediti bhītaḥ)	Someone who fears the same punishment, as given to another for the same offense.
5.	पर्यात्तभूमिः (paryāttabhūmiḥ)	भूम्यपहर्ता (bhūmyapahartā)	Someone who has occupied someone else's land
6.	दण्डेनोपहतः (daṇḍenopahataḥ)	दण्डेन कर्शितः (daṇḍena karśitaḥ)	Someone weakened by punishment
7.	सर्वाधिकरणस्थः (sarvādhikaraṇasthaḥ)	सर्वेषु राजकीयनियोगस्थानेषु प्राप्तस्वाम्यः (sarveṣu rājakīyaniyogasthāneṣu prāptasvāmyaḥ)	Someone who has dominion in all the government commissions
8.	सहसोपचितार्थः (sahasopacitārthaḥ)	अकस्मात् साहसेन वा वर्धितधनः (akasmāt sāhasena vā vardhitadhanaḥ)	Someone whose wealth got increased

			suddenly or by force or violence
9.	तत्कुलीनोपशंसुः (tatkulīnop aśaṃsuḥ)	राज्ञः दयावान् आश्रितवान् यः सः (rājñaḥ dayāvān āśritavān yaḥ saḥ)	One who has taken the shelter of kings kinsmen
10.	राज्ञा प्रद्विष्टः (rājñā pradiṣṭaḥ)	अर्थः स्पष्टः (arthaḥ spaṣṭaḥ)	Hated by the king
11.	राजद्वेषी (rājadveṣī)	अर्थः स्पष्टः (arthaḥ spaṣṭaḥ)	One who hates the kings

Lubdha Vargaḥ (लुब्धवर्गः)			
S.No	Title	Meaning in Sanskrit	Meaning in English
1.	परिक्षीणः (parikśḥīṇaḥ)	विनष्टसर्ववैभवः (vinaṣṭasarvavaibhavaḥ)	The impoverished
2.	अत्यात्तस्वः (atyāttasvaḥ)	राज्ञा दण्डकररूपतया अतिमात्रं गृहीतं धनं यस्य सः (rājñā daṇḍakararūpatayā atimātraṃ gṛhītaṃ dhanaṃ yasya saḥ)	Someone who has lost property to another (king etc.)
3.	कदर्यः (kadaryaḥ)	कृपणः (kṛpaṇaḥ)	A miser
4.	व्यसनी (vyasanī)	स्त्रीपानादिव्यसनवान् (strīpānādivyasanavān)	Someone who is addicted to women, alcohol, etc.
5.	अत्याहितव्यवहारः (atyā hitavyavahāraḥ)	अतिमात्रप्रयुक्तधननिमित्तव्यवहारः (atimātraprayu ktadhananimittavyavahāraḥ)	Someone involved in risky over transaction

Māni Vargaḥ (मानिवर्गः)			
S.No	Title	Meaning in Sanskrit	Meaning in English
1.	आत्मसम्भावितः (ātmasambhāvitaḥ)	अहमतीव विद्वान् शूरः इति यः भावयति सः (ahamatīva vidvān śūraḥ iti yaḥ bhāvayati saḥ)	One who feels that he is a great scholar and warrior/mighty
2.	मानकामः (mānakāmaḥ)	धनमवधीर्य पूजामात्राभिलाषी (dhanamavadhīrya pūjāmātrābhilāṣī)	One who desires honour having disregarded the money or wealth One who is fond of honours
3.	शत्रुपूजामर्षितः (śatrupūjāmarṣitaḥ)	अनेन मम शत्रुः पूजितः इति प्राप्तामर्षः (anena mama śatruḥ pūjitaḥ iti prāptāmarṣaḥ)	Resentful of honours given to their rivals
4.	नीचैरुपहितः (nīcairupahitaḥ)	दुर्जनैः क्वचित् कार्ये अभिनिवेशितः (durjanaiḥ kvacit kārye abhiniveśitaḥ)	Someone who is appointed at work by the wicked
5.	तीक्ष्णः (tīkṣṇaḥ)	आत्मत्यागी (ātmatyāgī)	Self-abandoning
6.	साहसिकः (sāhasikaḥ)	अतर्कितप्रवृत्तिवान् (atarkitapravṛttivān)	Inconsiderate
7.	भोगेन असन्तुष्टः (bhogena asantuṣṭaḥ)	अर्थः स्पष्टः (arthaḥ spaśṭaḥ)	Someone unhappy because of thought being paid too little or placed in too low a position.

Appendix – 3

Salaries for officials of Rājya

Sl. No.	Designation	Salary
1.	Rājapurohita	48,000 paṇas
2.	Prāsatra	24,000 paṇas
3.	Chancellor	24,000 paṇas
4.	Treasurer	24,000 paṇas
5.	Princes (Other than the Crown Prince)	12,000 paṇas
6.	Queens (Other than the senior most)	12,000 paṇas
7.	Ministers	12,000 paṇas
8.	Governor General of the City	12,000 paṇas
9.	Head of Manufacturing Establishment	12,000 paṇas
10.	Provincial Governors	12,000 paṇas
11.	Governors of Frontier Regions	12,000 paṇas
12.	City Commandant	12,000 paṇas
13.	Magistrates	8,000 paṇas
14.	Chief Commanders of Infantry	8,000 paṇas
15.	Chief Commanders of Horses	8,000 paṇas
16.	Chief Commanders of Elephants	8,000 paṇas
17.	Chief Commanders of Chariots	8,000 paṇas
18.	Chief Elephant Forester	4,000 paṇas
19.	Chief Superintendent of Productive Forests	4,000 paṇas
20.	Divisional Commanders of Infantry	4,000 paṇas
21.	Divisional Commanders of Horses	4,000 paṇas
22.	Divisional Commanders of Elephants	4,000 paṇas
23.	Divisional Commanders of Chariots	4,000 paṇas
24.	Grade 1 Courtesan	3,000 paṇas
25.	Grade 2 Courtesan	2,000 paṇas
26.	King's Charioteer	2,000 paṇas
27.	King's Physician	2,000 paṇas
28.	Elephant Trainer	2,000 paṇas
29.	Horse Trainer	2,000 paṇas
30.	Chief Engineer	2,000 paṇas
31.	Animal Breeder	2,000 paṇas
32.	Camp Superintendent	2,000 paṇas
33.	Grade 3 Courtesan	1,000 paṇas
34.	Soothsayer	1,000 paṇas
35.	Reader of Omens	1,000 paṇas
36.	Astrologer	1,000 paṇas
37.	Narrator of Purāṇas	1,000 paṇas

38.	Story Tellers	1,000 paṇas
39.	Court Poets	1,000 paṇas
40.	Bard/Praise Singers	1,000 paṇas
41.	Deputy Purohitas	1,000 paṇas
42.	Intelligence Officer	1,000 paṇas
43.	Agents under the cover of monks, householders, merchants, and ascetics	1,000 paṇas
44.	Instrumental musicians and instrument makers	500 paṇas
45.	Accountants	500 paṇas
46.	Clerks and similar subordinates	500 paṇas
47.	Village level secret agents	500 paṇas
48.	Assassins	500 paṇas
49.	Poisoners	500 paṇas
50.	Female agents disguised as wandering nuns	500 paṇas
51.	Commandos	500 paṇas
52.	Specialist Soldiers	500 paṇas
53.	Minstrels	250 paṇas
54.	Actors	250 paṇas
55.	Occasional Secret Agents	250 paṇas
56.	Artisans	120 paṇas
57.	Sculptors	120 paṇas
58.	Servants in charge of animals and birds	60 paṇas
59.	Labour foremen	60 paṇas
60.	Valets (of the king)	60 paṇas
61.	Bodyguards of King	60 paṇas
62.	Mahout of the King's elephant	60 paṇas
63.	Manavaka	60 paṇas
64.	Miners	60 paṇas
65.	King's servants not elsewhere specified	60 paṇas

Appendix – 4

Tantrayukti

In the Arthaśāstra, Katilya used 32 Yuktis, and he compiled all of them in his last Adhikaraṇa. These thirty-two are:

S.No.	Tantrayukti	Meaning[1]	Example
1	Adhikaraṇa	Subject matter (the object with respect to which a statement is made)	This singular Treatise on Artha has been composed for the most part by drawing together the Treatises on Success composed by former teachers for gaining and administering the earth" (1.1.1)
2	Vidhāna	Arrangement (the sequence of topics in the treatise)	"Pañcāṅga Mantra constitutes the means of starting undertakings; the available material resources and human facilities; the suitability of time and place; the provisions against potential hurdles and failures; and the final accomplishment of the work." (in this order) (1.15.42)
3	Yoga	Employment (the arrangement of sentences)	"People belonging to the four social classes and orders of life" (1.4.16).
4	Padārtha	Meaning of a term (the term as its limit)	"…encircling him (Vijigīṣu) on all sides, with territory immediately next to his is the constituent called the Ari." (6.2.14)
5	Hetvartha	Goal of a reason (a reason that accomplishes a goal)	For Artha is the foundation of Law and Pleasure." (1.7.7).
6	Uddeśa	Allusion (a terse sentence)	"An arrow, discharged by an archer, may kill one person or may not kill (even one); but intellect operated by a wise man would kill even children in the womb." (10.6.51)
7	Nirdeśa	Explanation (a comprehensive sentence)	"Control over the senses, which is motivated by training in the sciences, should be secured by giving up lust, anger, greed, pride, arrogance, and foolhardiness. Absence of improper indulgence in (the pleasures of) sound, touch, colour, taste, and smell by the senses of hearing, touch and sight, the tongue, and the sense of smell, means control over the senses; or the practice of (this) science (gives such control). For, the whole of this science means control over the senses." (1.6.1-3) Or "The rājā, the minister, the country, the fortified city, the treasury, the army, and

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[1] Meaning and example is extracted from: **Ollivelle Patrick (2013).** "King, Governance and Law in Ancient India: Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra", Oxford University Press, New York.

			the ally are the constituent elements of the state." (6.1.1)
8	Upadeśa	Advice (Thus should a man behave)	"For the king trained in the sciences, intent on the discipline of the subjects, enjoys the earth without sharing it with any other, being devoted to the welfare of all beings." (1.5.17)
9	Apadeśa	Reference (Thus says so and so)	"He should constitute a council of counselors consisting of 12 ministers," state the Mānavas." (1.15.47)
10	Atideśa	Extension (is exposition by means of what has already been said)	The non-payment of debts has also explained the non-delivery of gifts" (3.16.1).
11	Pradeśa	Intimation (exposition by means of what will be said)	or through conciliation, gifts, dissension, and military force as we will explain in the section on dangers" (7.14.11).
12	Upamāna	Analogy (the exposition of what is unknown through what is known)	"Just like a single wheel does not turn the Vehicle, one must appoint ministers as co-wheels and listen to their opinion." (1.7.9)
13	Arthāpattiḥ	Implication (when something, although unstated, is discerned by the very connotation)	An internal revolt (9.3.12), because of the snake-like danger it poses, is more harmful than an external revolt; likewise, a revolt among the interior ministers is more harmful than an internal revolt. (8.2.3)
14	Saṃśaya	Doubt (an issue for which there are reasons on both sides)	Should it be the ruler with destitute and greedy subjects or the ruler with rebellious subjects?" (7.5.12
15	Prasaṅga	Correspondence (when the matter is the same as that given within a diff erent topic)	In a place assigned to him for agriculture . . .—the rest is the same as above" (1.11.10).
16	Viparyaya	Inverse (the exposition of something through its opposite)	"(He should interpret) the inverse of these (as signs that) he is displeased" (1.16.12).
17	Vākyaśeṣa	The rest of a sentence (what completes a sentence)	The king's activities come to an end, like those (of a bird) with its wings clipped"
18	Anumata	Agreement (when the statement of another is not contradicted)	Two wings, breast, and reserves—that is the arrangement of battle formations according to Uśanas
19	Vyākhyāna	Elucidation (a thorough description)	In particular, moreover, dissension caused by gambling affects confederacies and royal houses having the character of confederacies, and they are destroyed on account of that. Thus, favoring evil people, it is the worst of all vices, because it causes ineptitude in administrative work" (8.3.64)
20	Nirvacana	Derivation of words (tracing the origin of a word by means of its component parts)	What provides enterprise and security (6.2.1 n.) to critical inquiry, the Triple, and economics is punishment (daṇḍa); its administration (nīti) is government (daṇḍa-nīti)" (1.4.3)
21	Nidarśana	Illustration (the exemplification using an example)	For, in initiating hostilities against someone stronger, he is as if engaging

			in a fight with an elephant while on foot" (7.3.3).
22	Apavarga	Exception (retraction of a general rule)	"When all laws are perishing, the king here is the promulgator of laws, by virtue of his guarding the right conduct of the world consisting of the four varṇas and four āśramas." (3.1.38)
23	Sva-Saṃjñā	One's own technical term (a word not used by others)	Mūlhara
24	Pūrva-Pakṣa	Prior view (a statement that must be rejected)	"Making an agreement/treaty, war, staying quiet, marching, seeking shelter, and dual policy constitute six measures, say the preceptors." (7.1.2)
25	Uttara-Pakṣa	Subsequent view (a statement presenting the verdict on it)	Therefore, he should make himself energetic" (1.19.5).
26	Eka-Anta	Absolute rule (what is pertinent to all occasions)	"…artha alone is supreme as the rest of the puruṣārthas depend on the prosperity of Artha" (1.7.6-7)
27	Anāgata-Avekṣaṇa	Reference to a future statement (This is determined later)	We shall discuss balances and weights in the section on the Superintendent of Standardization"
28	Atikrānta-Avekṣaṇa	Reference to a past statement (This was determined earlier)	"The exemplary qualities of a minister have been given above." (6.1.6)
29	Niyoga	Restriction (This way, and in no other way)	"He must not let the enemies discover his secret but discover any weakness of the enemy; and he should hide anything of his that may be exposed, like a tortoise its limbs." (1.14.60)
30	Vikalpa	Option (This way or that)	or by his daughters born in the most righteous marriages" (3.5.10)
31	Samuccaya	Combination (This way and that)	If fathered by oneself, he is the heir to the estate of his father and of his relatives" (3.7.13).
32	Ūhya	What is to be inferred is doing what is not prescribed	Experts, moreover, should arrange a cancellation in such a way that neither the donor nor the receiver is harmed" (3.16.5)

Appendix – 5

Glossary

- **Avāpādhikāra** — The latter books (7-13) of Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra. that deal with foreign policy
- **Adhikaraṇas** — Referring to "books" of Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra.
- **Adhyakṣa** — Superintendent
- **Adhyāya** — Referring to "chapters" of Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra.
- **Ākranda** — Ally in the rear
- **Ākranda-Āsāra** — Rear ally's friend
- **Amātya** — A minister
- **Amitra** — Soldiers of hostile rājās or of conquered countries and recruited like slaves
- **Aṅgas** — Elements
- **Ānvīkṣikī** — The knowledge of Sāmkhya, Yoga, and Lokāyata, representing a philosophical and logical inquiry into the nature of existence (one of essential elements of a Rājā's training)
- **Ari** — Enemy
- **Ari-Mitra** — Enemy's ally
- **Ari-Mitra-Mitra** — Enemy's ally's friend
- **Arthaśāstra** — The science of statecraft
- **Āsana** — To stay quiet (a foreign policy measure)
- **Atavi or Atavika** — A kind of army constituting tribal soldiers consisting of Nisadas, Mlecchas and other mountain tribes
- **Audaka durga** — Water fort
- **Auṣadhī** — Chemical Mixture
- **Autsahika** — Living in different countries, without any leader and invaders
- **Bheda** — Dissention (one of the four Upāyas)
- **Bhrtaka/Bhrta** — A kind of army constituting paid soldiers
- **Charitram** — Tradition or customs as part of the four sources of legal judgements
- **Dāna** — Gifts or bribery (one of the four Upāyas)[2]
- **Daṇḍa** — Force/Coercion (one of the four Upāyas)
- **Daṇḍa** — Law and Order, Punishment, Penalty or Army
- **Daṇḍnīti** — The Science of Governance (one of essential elements of a Rājā's training)
- **Dāsas** — Male Servants
- **Dāsīs** — Female Servants
- **Dhānvana durga** — Desert fort
- **Dharmaśāstras** — Legal texts by various ancient scholars
- **Dharmastha** — Judge (one who follow the path of dharma)
- **Durga** — Fort
- **Dvaidhībhāva** — Dual Policy (a foreign policy measure)
- **Gaṇikas** — Courtesans
- **Grihapatika** — Seeming farmer and householder
- **Gūḍha** — Secret/Hidden
- **Guru** — Mentor
- **Indriyajaya** — One who has attained control over all senses

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[2] This is in the context of Four Upāyas or strategies - sāma, dāna, daṇḍa and bheda. In other conteḻt dāna may have other meaning too.

- **Janapada** — Territory inhabited by a population
- **Kāpaṭika** — The sharp pupil
- **Karmakāras** — Working class
- **Kośa** — Treasury
- **Kṛshi** — Agriculture
- **Ksatriyas** — The warrior-class
- **Kṣaya** — Decline
- **Kūṭa** — Strategic/Psychological
- **Lokāyata** — A school of philosophy
- **Madhyama** — Middle rājā
- **Maṇḍala** — A circle of Kings
- **Mantra** — A secret
- **Mantrī** — One who protects the secret or takes part in council (A Minister)
- **Maula** — A kind of army constituting permanently recruited soldiers by the state (akin to a standing army)
- **Mitra** — Ally
- **Mitra** — Soldiers of friendly rājās
- **Mitra-Mitra** — Friend of the ally
- **Nīti** — One which leads or guides
- **Paṇa** — Currency
- **Parivrajikā** — Begging nun
- **Pārṣṇigraha** — Enemy-in-the-rear
- **Pārṣṇigrahāsāra** — Rear enemy's ally
- **Pārvata durga** — Mountain fort
- **Pāśu-pālya** — Animal Husbandry
- **Pīdaṇīya/Kārṣaṇīya** — An enemy whose support system exists in form of strong prakṛtis, hence is a source of continuous distress for the Vijigīṣu
- **Pradeśṭṛ** — Magistrates
- **Prakāśa** — Open/Overt
- **Prakṛti** — Constituent Elements of the Rājya
- **Prakṛti-maṇḍala** — The circle constituting the various Constituent Elements of the Rājya
- **Prayoktā** — Practitioner
- **Puruṣārthas** — The aims of life
- **Pūrva-pakṣa** — Literature Review
- **Rājā** — Akin to a king
- **Rājamaṇḍala** — The circle of various Rājās
- **Rājaṛśi** — A sage-like Rājā
- **Rājaśāsanam** — Royal edicts as part of the four sources of legal judgements
- **Rājya** — Akin to kingdom (one which is taken care by the rājā)
- **Rasada** — A secret agent tasked with being a Poison-giver
- **Ṛṣi** — Sage
- **Saciva** — A minister
- **Ṣāḍguṇya** — Six Principles
- **Sahāyakas** — Associates
- **Sāma** — Conciliation (one of the four Upāyas)
- **Sāmkhya** — A school of philosophy
- **Samśraya** — To take/seek refuge (a foreign policy measure)
- **Sandhi** — Treaty/Agreement (a foreign policy measure)
- **Satri** — A type of a spy
- **Śatru** — Enemy
- **Śreni** — A well-organized group of soldiers trained in the art of war

- **Siddhānta** — Principle
- **Sthāna** — Stability
- **Svāmī** — Master
- **Tapas** — A secret agent seeming/disguised as an ascetic
- **Tikshna** — A secret agent who is a bravado
- **Trayī** — The three Vedas (one of essential elements of a Rājā's training)
- **Ucchedanīya** — An enemy that has no support system due to weak six prakṛtis and can be easily uprooted
- **Udāsīna** — A Neutral Rājā in a Rājamaṇḍala
- **Udastitha** — A secret agent seeming/disguised as an Apostate Monk
- **Upāyas** — Four means to attain any policy outcome
- **Vaidehika** — A secret agent seeming/disguised as a trader
- **Vaktā** — Scholar
- **Vana durga** — Forest fort
- **Vāṇijya** — Trade
- **Vārttā** — Economic Activities (one of essential elements of a Rājā's training)
- **Vedāṅgas** — The six Vedāṅgas
- **Vigraha** — Waging a war (a foreign policy measure)
- **Vijigīṣu** — The Rājā who wishes to be a conqueror
- **Vinaya** — Training
- **Vṛddha** — Elderly, experienced or Scholar
- **Vṛddhi** — Progress/Advancement
- **Vyavahāra** — Evidence or witnesses as part of the four sources of legal judgements
- **Yāna** — Marching (a foreign policy measure)
- **Yātavya** — An enemy who can be marched upon
- **Yātrā** — A march
- **Yoga** — Union
- **Yoga-kṣema** — Acquisition and Protection, Expansion, and Distribution
- **Yuddha** — War
- **Yuvrāja** — Crown Prince

A Textbook

KAUṬILYA'S ARTHAŚĀSTRA

TIMELESS STRATEGIES FOR MODERN GOVERNANCE

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