CHAPTER - VI
STATE CRAFT AND POLITICAL CONCEPT

Introduction - In the days of growing sophistication in the art of epic poem Kāvyas became the medium of imparting knowledge on different sastras. State-craft, popularly known as Rājadharmā became a favourite subject of the elite in times of Bhāra. The famous family feud of the Kurus, which forms the basis of the subject-matter of the Kirāt, gives the poet ample scope to illustrate the political precept prevalent at that time. The poet has demonstrated his political ideals in two aspects: one in the administration of Suyodhana and the other in the policy of Yudhiṣṭhira. The former draws our attention to the steps to be taken by a king in affluence and latter to the policy of a king in adversity.

Espionage - The introduction of the spy in the beginning of the book draws our attention to the importance of the system of espionage. Yudhiṣṭhira, a cautious Kṣatriya prince as he was, secured the services of a hunter as a spy and sent him to collect all informations about the affairs of Suyodhana, for a detailed and accurate knowledge of the conduct of his enemy was indispensable for the determination of his future policy. Yudhiṣṭhira's selection of the hunter as a spy is greatly in keeping with the advice of Nītisāstras, besides, a good diplomat cannot be expected in the
in the forest. Kautilya says, "In the forest should be placed forest dwellers such as monks, foresters and others— a series of spies, quick in their work— in order to find out news of the enemy".

The K.N.S. says, that the spies in the guise of an ascetic etc. should move about collecting the opinions of all. The spy went to the kingdom of Suyodhana in disguise of a young Brāhmaṇa, moved unsuspected, gained all the necessary informations and met Yudhiṣṭhīra in the Dvaita forest. He was truthful and did not fail to communicate to his master the progress and prosperity of his enemy, regardless of consequences. Truthfulness is enumerated as one of the essential merits of a spy. Somadeva says, "Steadiness, truthfulness and penetrative insight— these are the attributes of a spy".

Suyodhana, in course of his successful administration, paid a great heed to the system of espionage and learnt, thoroughly, the plans of all kings through faithful spies. Vanacara addresses the kings as 'cāra cakṣusah' (Rulers whose eyes are spies), a view which can be found in various law books. Kāmandaka says, "A king whose eyes are the spies, remains awake even when he sleeps".

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1. Vanavacaṣṭha kāryanāmaśaśva-vikāda-yāḥ
   Paravṛttā jāmaṁrīḥ sīgarāyaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśaśli
Somadeva Sūri relates that the spies are the eyes of kings in the observation of deeds and misdeeds of his own state and others.

**Relation between a king and his officers:** In course of reporting the administrative efficiency of Suvodhana Vanaecara, comments on the primary need of the mutual co-ordination of the king and his officers. He says that he is a bad counsellor who does not give proper advice to his master and he is a bad master who does not listen to the advice of his well-wishers, for, prosperity of every sort always remains attached to the kings when they and their ministers are mutually well-disposed. A house divided against itself cannot stand. Similarly when a king and his officers are perpetually at war and when the interest of one clashes with that of the others, no good can be expected.

Manu holds, "Even an easy task is difficult to perform by a single person devoid of associates, but a kingdom is of great dimension." Sukra betrays the same idea almost in the same language. Kautilya says, "Rulership can be successfully carried out with the help of associates. One wheel alone does not turn. Therefore he (the king) should appoint ministers and listen to their opinion. Again Somadeva Sūri says, "That counsellor is an enemy, who advises a wrong deed as worth doing,submitting to the wishes of the king".

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4. Kirat. I/20
5. 'Jvanamana hi jagarti caracaksur mahipatih'  
K. N. 3. 13/12/29.
6. "Sva para mandala karyakaryavalokane sarah khalu caksunai kartipatinam" - Niti,  
Soma Deva Sūri Ch. 14.
8. Auyat Sukara Karma  
F-53
9. Tadagnakandu duṣkarani  
Visagato asadayina
10. Kitthi raja yar n svadaya
11. Manu. 7/55.
Pacification of the conquered territory: - The spy narrates that Suyodhana strives hard to win over, by means of policy, the world which he has acquired by fraud in the game of dice. This fraudulent possession alienated the sympathy of the subjects. So he was in perpetual dread of Yudhiṣṭhīra and tried his best to win it back and to make his throne secure by judicious application of the policy. He turned over a new leaf and tried to surpass the virtues and noble deeds of Yudhiṣṭhīra by all means, and eclipse his fame totally. Here the conduct of Suyodhana tallies totally with the advice of Kautilya that after gaining new territory, he should cover the enemy's faults with his own virtues. Duryodhana tried to follow the duties of an ideal king worked out by Manu. He took particular care to please his servants, friends and relations by treating them with courtesy and considerations beyond their expectations, and thus he secured their unflinching devotion to their cause. He treated his attendants with the courtesy

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9. Yadāyālpataraṣa kārma
Tadāyākenaduskaraṃ
Purusaṇāśāhyena
Kimu rājyaḥ mahodayam

10. Saṁhasādhyanā rājatvam
Čakramakam na varṭate
Kurvita sacivam stāsmat
teśāṃ ca srupuyānmatab

11. Sā mantri satruḥ yo nṛpecchāya akāryamāṇi
kāryasyā anuśāsti

12. Kūraṭ. I/7

13. Navamavāpya labham paradosan svagunais
Chādayet, gunāvivagunyena - Kautilya 13/5/3.
courtesy and affection due to beloved friends, his friends with the respect due to his own kinsmen and out his kinsmen on a footing of equality with himself with respect to honours, powers and enjoyments. His munificence and benevolence to the subjects of the newly conquered territory remind us of the advice of Kautilya - "after gaining new territory ....... he (the king) should carry out what is agreeable and beneficial to the subjects by doing his own duty as laid down, granting favours, giving exemptions, making gifts and showing honours".

Control over the senses: - Kurukshetra quelled the group of six enemies namely lust, anger, greed, rejoicing at the unnecessary killing of animals, a feeling of superiority and pride. He realised that without control over the senses a king becomes hardly successful. Indra advised Arjuna, "Let the invincible enemies eyes etc., residing in your body be conquered, when they are subdued the whole world will be conquered by you".

Almost all the books on politics lay stress over the control of the senses by a king wishing his own welfare. Kamsadhana says that a king should give up the group of six, lust, anger etc. They may overthrow the king. When they are given up the king becomes happy. In course of imparting political advice Bhishma

14. Kurāt. I/10
16. Kurāt XI/32
Bhīṣma enumerated to Yudhīsthira that a king should always conquer his own self and then his enemies. How can a king who has not conquered his own self be able to conquer his enemies?

Ever-watchful Duryodhana resorted to valour, but his valour was tempered with diplomacy, for diplomacy is the handmaid of valour and without the aid of the former the latter would be reduced to impotency. He knew well how to circumvent the intellect of men by craft and overcome those who alienated from him for his beastly behaviour. As Machiavelli says, "You must know there are two ways of contesting, the one by the law, the other by force; the first method is proper to men, the second to beasts; but because the first is frequently not sufficient, it is necessary to have recourse to the second. Therefore it is necessary for a prince to understand how to avail himself of the beast and the man."

17. Kāmaḥ krodhaḥ sūtraḥ lobham
Harṣo māmahās tathā
dārsanam atsāijjedanam
Tasmimāt te sukham nṛpah.‖ - K. N. S. 1/57

18. Ātma jeyah sadā rajñā
tato jeyasa sātravah
dipātātma nara pastrīr
Viṣaya katam ripūn'n - Moh. Śanti, 69/4.

19. 'The Prince' - Machiavelli.
Chapter - XVIII, p.97.
Translated by N. K. Marriott
Triple ends: The three final objects of human endeavor viz., virtue, wealth and pleasure had been persuaded with equal importance and proper discrimination by Duryodhana. Juan never thinks of virtue or wealth, nor a Ralph Nickleby of duty or enjoyment, nor Dr. Primrose of wealth or pleasure. Authorities on Niti like Manu, Kamsadaka and the Mbh. lay stress on the persuasion of the three with equal importance. Only one without the other two would make a king disdainful to his subjects. Manu says, "(Of the three) Duty and wealth, or pleasure and wealth are more preferable or the duty only or the wealth only, but according to law the group of three is equally important." Kamsadaka relates, "Wealth is obtained from duty, enjoyment from wealth, and happiness from enjoyment. A person who does not follow the group of three properly kills himself after killing the other two." The Mbh. says, "One should not follow virtue only, nor wealth, nor enjoyment, but he should always follow all of them." But Kautilya strikes a different note as he pays importance to wealth even at the prejudice to the other two. He says, "Material well-being alone is supreme- (says Kautilya) for, spiritual good and sensual pleasures depend on material well-being." After the

20. Kirät. I/11
22. Dickens' Nicholas Nickleby.
23. Goldsmith's Vicar Wakefield.
24. Dharmarthavacye śreyah karmarthā dharma eva vā Artha evaṁ vā śreyas trivarga iti tu śhītih. Manu 11/224
the due attention to the other two Duryodhana followed the path of virtue as it has been indicated that he himself has performed sacrifices according to the instructions of the family priests.

25. Dharmād arthathā kāmāḥ
Kāmāt sukha phalosūryah
Ātmānaḥ hanti tāḥ hatvām
Yuktyā yo na niśeṣate."

K. N. S. 1/51.

26. Na dharmspara eva syat
Na ca rthaparamo narah
Na kāmaparamo vā syat
Servān seveta sarvadām

Mbh./Vans/33/39.

27. Artha eva pradhāna -iti Kautilyah
Arthatam āh hi dharma kāmā viti "

Kautilya. 1/7/6-7.

The four political expedients: Duryodhana skilfully applies the four political expedients—conciliation (sāma), gift (dāna), alienation (Śṛeda) and punishment (Danda). His policy of the constant attempt for conciliation combined with liberal gifts is ever successful. According to Kāmandaka, sweet and faithful words are called 'sāma'. "Controlling the mind the learned man should try to attain his object by means of sāma. The wise raise the success of sāma by all means". Duryodhana knows well that only the sweet words cannot do much. They should be attended with tangible gifts to ensure life-long devotion to his cause of the grantees. Kāmandaka says, "Conciliation without gift cannot find room in the wives even. Moreover Duryodhana's gifts are always accompanied with cordiality and respect. It is not that he is bountiful to all, but these gifts are made over with due regards to merits only. Such circumspection in awarding ---------------------------------------

29. Kirāt. I/13-13

30. Pralimpāninnva cētānasi
dṛṣṭyā sādhau prānānīva:
SRavānivāntam Sāma
Prayaṇjita priyena vacas
Vāgumnāvagajānān Sānāt parikṛtyate

K.M.J. XVIII/15-16.

31. Samsārtha-sidhaye vidvān yata-tata vataśāsah
Samsiddhim prasamantti sarvataśca vipācitah

Ibid XVIII/19

32. 'Nidānaṃ sāma nāyati kalatresvopī sansthitim',

Ibid XVIII/64 (Hamstich)
awarding gifts is at the root of alienation. Kamandaka says, "Gifts and respect are the chief means of alienation". His mode of conciliation is different according to the character of the person involved. Thus according to Cānkyāsātaka one should win over a greedy man with money, a virtuous man by salutation, a fool by humouring him and a learned man by the truth.

He administers justice impartially and without distinction of age or sex and creed or colour. In awarding punishment he is never motivated by personal grudge or self-interest. He passes over sentences not out of his own whims but according to the advice of the superior judges. As Nārada says, "A king being fully alert should award punishments according to the process and instructions of the book of laws and with the full consent of Prādvivāka(Judge). Duryodhana realises that the administration of justice is at the root of the stability of his kingdom. So getting rid of all selfish consideration he yields the rod simply because it is his duty.

33. Pradhānām dānamāneca bheda-pāyaḥ prakṛti-taḥ
   - K. N. S. XVIII/40

34. Luviham arthana grhnityat
    Ādhuma añjali-karmaṇaḥ
    Mūrkan chanda- środehaṇa
    Tattvārthana ca panditaṁ. "
   Cānkyā Sātaka/33.

35. Dharmasāstraṃ puraskṛtya
    Prādvivākaṃato sthīteḥ,
    Śāṁhitamatiḥ paśyey
    Vyavahārāna-nukramat "
   Nārada I/35
As it has been said that a king who punishes those who do not deserve punishment and does not punish those deserving it acquires infamy and goes to hell. Duryodhana employs trusty guards and deals with them with unsuspecting airs though inwardly suspicious. Too much credibility on the part of a king is dangerous. Thus it is found in the MBh. that a king should not rely on an unfaithful person, nor he should place a firm reliance on the faithful, because danger arising out of over-reliance destroys the root even.

Kāśyapa's view in this sphere is notable. He says, "According to Brhaspati suspicion is to be regarded as the gist of the Śāstra and the king should believe or disbelieve as far as practicable". We can support the behaviour of Duryodhana in respect of his officers from the view of Kāśyapa who warns, - "The king should constantly hold an inspection of their works, men being inconstant in their minds.

35(a) Adadyaṁ dandyān rājā
Dandyāṁ sāvēcyāṁ dandyān,
Ayaso mahādāpyoti
Marakaśchālava gacchati.
- quoted by Mālinātha in his 'Chaṭṭāpatha'. (1/13)

36. Na visvaved avisiśvaste
Visvaste nātisiśvaste
Visvased bhayamutpamanam
Mūlānām niśrṣntati

MBh/Sānti/ 133/29.

37. Brhaspater aviśvāsa,
Iti śāstraṁ niscayāḥ
Viśvāsi ca tatha ca svād
Yathā samvyavaharavān

K. N. J. 7/88
For, men being of a nature similar to that of horses change
when employed in works. 

Prosperity of a king depends upon
the proper application of these four political expedients.
Thus the four means being rightly employed lead to a steady
prosperity of Duryodhana.

Policy of a welfare state: - Duryodhana followed the
principles of a welfare state. His fertile and well-irrigated
lands yield a good harvest. The prosperity of the subjects
cannot be expected if they are to live upon the harvest of
'Yevamätrka' lands (i.e. lands the grains of which depend upon
rain-water). So Duryodhana carries on the excavation of channels
and such other methods of irrigation which ensure the well-
being of his subjects. Because uninterrupted prosperity of
the people having been expedited by his merciful nature and
contributing behaviour in an atmosphere where all disturbances
have been warded off, lead to his own prosperity. The Mbh. says,
"When the king establishes the administration of justice by
all means, the earth becomes easily ploughable and plants
grow (in excess)."

33. Karmasu caisāṁ nityaṁ pariśkām
Karavat, cittaṁityatvam manusyaṁ
Asvadhharmāc cā manusyā niyuktāh
Karmasu vikurvatā. Kaitilya 2/9/2-3

39. Damndityāṁ yadā rājā
dharmāno nityaṁ janyak kartasnaṁ vartate
dharmayopadyayastathā
Akrṣṭapacyā medini
Bhavantyo-sadhayastathā

(Hemistich) Mbh. 12/66/80
(Hemistich) Ibid 12/65/85
Secrecy of plan and programme: Secrecy of plan and programme on the part of a king is a point which has been discussed and stressed by all the authorities on the 'Mātis'. So the system of espionage came in vogue from the time of the origin of states. Kālidāsa in delineation of his ideal king refer to Dilīpa in Rāghuvrīṣṇa did not forget this trait of his character. Duryodhana pursues his objects till they are accomplished. He takes every step for the safety of his kingdom, collects all informations about the plan and programme of other kings by his faithful spies, but his own plans can only be inferred from their result. Manu praises this secrecy of the plan, — "A king, may he be purposeless, enjoys the whole of the world whose deliberations cannot be known by ordinary persons present there. Kautilya stresses almost the same thing in different language, "The enemies should not come to know of his secret. He should, however, find out the weakness of the enemy. He should conceal as a tortoise does his limbs, any limb of his own that may have become exposed".

40. Tasya samvrtā mantrasya
Gudākarīn gitasya ca
Phalānumayāḥ pramebhāḥ
Semākāraḥ prāteṇā lva
— Rāghu I/30

41. Tasya mantram na jānti
Samāṣāmya prthas janaḥ
Sa kṛtesām prthivim bhunkte
Koṣṭhinōpi pārthivah
— Manu/VII/147.

42. Masya guhyām pere vidyāś
Chidraṁ vidyāḥ parasya ca
Gūhat kūraṁ lvaṁ gani
yat syāt vīrteṁ ātmaman
— Kautilya I/13/60
Morality of the state: Draupadi's speech represents emotional reaction of her mind to the report of the enemy's well-being. She tries to inflame the passion of Yudhisthira to seek vengeance on his enemy and the arguments she employs are those of a seasoned politician. She complains against Yudhisthira's inaction in various ways though he got a number of devoted and faithful followers. We get a support of this view of Draupadi in Kamadaka who says, "Royal glory(sri) becomes the constant companion of a king who is untiring in his exertions, who has noble allies and who is possessed of great intelligence and she follows him like his own shadow." Draupadi says that simplicity should not be the policy against the crooked and fraud must be met with fraud. Yudhisthira should not be guided by the philanthropic ideals of morality. Draupadi means to say that morality of the state differs from that of individual citizen. So leaving aside his sage-like morality Yudhisthira should be up and doing to regain the royal power which has been lost to fraud. If he is not spirited enough to call a spade a spade and his forbearance still obscures his vision, he should exchange his bow for a hermit's rod and wear

43. Kirat I/23-46.
44. Udyogāni-vrttasāya
   Asāyasya dhimataī
   Chayevanugata tasya
   Nityam āriśa sahaçārini - K. N. J. V/91,

According to Upādiyagānirūpa
see Jayagānāla pp. 140.
wearing matted locks of hair he should offer oblations to fire. We find here an echo of the words of Mr. Machiavelli who says, "...... Because how one lives is so far distant from how one ought to live, that he who neglects what is done for what ought to be done, sooner effects of his ruin than his preservation; for a man who wishes to act entirely up to his professions of virtue soon meets with what destroys him along so much that is evil. Hence it is necessary for a prince wishing to hold his own to know how to do wrong and to make use of it or not according to necessity."

**Anger** - (a friend or an enemy?) : - Anger has been looked upon as an internal enemy. But Draupati finds out an utility of it, because people spontaneously submit to those persons whose anger is not barren. But a person devoid of wrath cannot command reverence or awe from people, may he be a friend or a foe. Anger in the right occasion is sometimes, essential, for it goads one to take revenge upon his enemies. Kautilya says, "For, heroism born of grief and resentment makes one fight bravely like a forest fire."

45. The Prince - Machiavelli Chap XV pp.83
Translated by W. K. Marriott.

46. Kirat I/33.

47. Aranyo agniriva hi duhkhamarṣajam
Tejo vikramayati; - Kautilya 7/3/11
Breach of agreement;—In Draupadi’s estimation.

Yudhisthira is more than a match for his enemy. He is not bound to abide by the agreement which was forcefully exacted from him under trying circumstances. His enemy is bent on deceit. Kings desiring victory do not hesitate to break a promise under some pretext or other in opportune moments. As Machiavelli says, "Therefore a wise lord cannot, nor ought he to, keep faith when such observance may be turned against him, and when the reasons that caused him to pledge it exist no longer. If men were entirely good this precept would not hold, but because they are bad, and will not keep faith with you, you too are not bound to observe it with them. Nor will there ever be wanting to a prince legitimate reasons to excuse this non-observance." 43

Bhima too like a practical man is not ready to wait for the expiry of the period of contract and accept the share of the kingdom as a matter of gift, because Duryodhana who has manifested his wicked conduct is not expected to part with royalty even after the period agreed upon is over.

Subtle nature of politics;—The science of politics is not easily intelligible. Maham makes Balarajay that only the enumeration of the six gunas etc. does not prove one’s knowledge of this science. Even this intricate ‘śāstra’

43. The Prince—Machiavelli Chapter XVIII
Translated by W. K. Marriott.

49. Sisu. II/26
'śāstra' may be well-grasped by a close-study. Considering all pros and cons of the situation in the light of this science, one is to find out a path of action which will be beneficial in the end. Śukraṇiti narrates the importance of the śāstra, "The science of morals is to be waited upon by all, it ensures the existence of all, it is the root of the triple ends, viz., virtue, wealth and pleasure and it also leads to salvation". Bhima refers to such intricate nature of this science in course of his appreciation of Drāupadī's words.

The four sciences:—The four branches of learning has been referred to by Bhima. They are (1) metaphysics (2) the three Vedas, (3) agriculture, cattle rearing and commerce(vārtā) and (4) the eternal science of politics. Most of the 'Dhāraṇāśāstras' admits of the fourfold division. Kāmandaka enumerates those four-fold division of learning and also informs that they are the causes of the existence of this mankind. Opinion differs in respect of the division of learning. Kāmandaka records that according to Manu learning is three-fold. The science of metaphysics is included in the three Vedas. Disciples of Brhaspati admits two — (1) 'Vārtā', (2) 'Dandaṇīti', whereas the followers of Usānā accepts dandaṇīti as the only 'vidyā'.

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50. Sarvopajājīvakam lokā- 
Sthitikramti śāstrākam, 
Dharmārtha-kāmān lām hi 
Śārtaṁ moksam-pradān yatah. // — Sukra 1/5.

51. Anviksikā trayā vārtā 
Dandaṇītica sāsvatī 
Vidyā sāstrāṇa evaitē. 
Loka sāstātiḥ-hetāvah. // — K. N. S. II/2
Generally fourteen 'vidyas' are mentioned. They are: four Vedaśa, six 'vedāṅgas', 'purāṇas', 'Nyāya', 'Mīmāṃsā' and 'Dharmaśāstras'. Somadeva Sūri and Yājñavalkya enumerate them as such. Some deva admits 'Itihāsa' in place of 'Dharmaśāstras'.

Tolerance: Bhīma says that the rise of the enemy may well be tolerated, if it is to have a very bad end but not even their fall if it is likely to lead to prosperity again. Sometimes the seed of fall lies hidden in the expansion of the kingdom and in the increase of the prosperity of a king. After careful calculation it becomes evident to a king who is also a politician. He then takes to the policy of 'wait and see', calculating that the fall

52. K. X. J. II/3.
53. Ibid II/4
54. Ibid II/5.
55. Catvaro vedaḥ śikṣā, kalpa, vyākarāṇam Chandovicitir jyotiṣam, niruktaṃ iti saddāntāni, itihāsa purāṇa nyāya Mīmāṃsāsceti caturdasa vidyāsthānāni : - Nīti/Chap VII/ pp. 15.
56. Purāṇa nyāya mīmāṃsa
Dharmaśāstraṇa vistarāḥ
Vedāḥ śāttānāti vidyānām
Dharmaśya ca caturdasa - Yājñavalkya. Pṛcāraj. I/3
fall of the enemy is imminent and it is reverse with regard to himself. Each arguments forwarded by Bhima have been corroborated by Kautilya in the Arthasastra. He says, "My advancement will be quicker or greater or leading to a greater advancement in the future, the reverse that of enemy, he should remain indifferent to the enemy's advancement". As far as Bhima calculates there is hardly any chance of the fall of aseya in near future. Rather their negligence towards his progress will prove very fatal to them. Intiring energy is the source of riches. Kamadaka says, on this point, - "As fire is increased with fuel, a king should increase his power by energy. Even a week but energetic king enjoys the favour of royal fortune".

Sources of power:—Bhima is aware of the fact that they are living in the forest without any help. But according to him energetic action with a right policy is the source of army and treasure. This policy is to be ascertained carefully considering the five items - (1) the allies, (2) the means, (3) consideration of time and place of action, (4) remedy for emergencies and (5) success.
A self-respecting king has to depend upon his own prowess if he wishes to attain a lofty position. Bhima discussed the three sources of regal power viz., (1) the power of sovereignty which arises out of army and treasure, (2) the power of counsel which depends upon the intelligence of the king and his advisers, and (3) the success of a deliberation awaits energetic action of the king. On the three-fold power of the king, Kautilya says, "Power is threefold; the power of knowledge is the power of counsel, the power of the treasury and the army is the power of might, the power of valour is the power of energy." These three sources of power are inter-related and one without the others is of no use. To Bhima, own prowess is the only means to attain royal fortune and his arguments have been adduced from a hero's stand-point. He says, "In the case of a self-respecting man desirous of a lofty position, his own prowess capable of averting the disaster is considered to be his only support." In so many

60. Sāvayāh sādhana-pāya
Vibhāgo jīva-jalajōh
Vipattutoṣa prati-kārah
Siddhiḥ pañcāgā āsya-te-. K. N. 3. XII/30.

61. Sakti strividhā-jñāṇavalam manaśāktīn,
Kośaṇādavalam prabhuśāktī valam
Utsāhaśāktīn”.
Artha. 6/2/33 33

62. Kirāt. II/13
many words Bhīma pressed the necessity of the use of valour which can be supported from the statement of Kauṭilya and Kāmandaka. Kauṭilya says, "When the king is active, servants become active from his example. If he is remiss, they too become remiss along with him and they consume his works. Moreover he is over-reached by enemies. Therefore, he should himself be active". Kāmandaka says, "An idleman though he is endowed with 'śvetākṣara' intelligence, but whose mind is engrossed in vice is defeated by fortunes (cannot retain fortune) like an elephant by woman".

Yudhiṣṭhira: A perfect diplomat: - In spite of the provocation and the protest of Draupādi and Bhīma respectively, Yudhiṣṭhira's mental equipoise does not suffer the least. Patience, forbearance, and regard for ethical values constitute the basement of Yudhiṣṭhira's defence. He

63. Raṣṭram utthitaṁ muttiśṭhaṁte bhṛtyaṁ 1
Pramādyanteṣu su-pramādyanti 2
Karmāni caśya bākṣyaṇāti 3
Dviśajbiṣcāti sandhyaye 4
Tasmād utthiṁnaśātmakaṁ kurvita 5

- Artha 1/19/1-5,

64. Sattvavādhyapapannoceti
Vyasa-grastemānaṁ 1
Sribhiḥ sandhyāva strīthīr
Alaṁ gairbhyate 2

- K. N. 3. 14/20/8
He appreciates some points of the arguments advanced by
Shiima but he cannot approve of any hasty measure in
violation of the sanctity of promise. Besides his decisive
arguments draw our attention to the worth-considering
points before any serious undertaking:

(1) Cool deliberation before an enterprise:

According to Ādhiśthūra there are innumerable complexities
in working out a policy and it is not easy to take up a
hasty decision on each of the intricate points. All
undertakings should be taken up after cool deliberations.
Kāntilya says, "All undertakings should be preceded by
consultation". Ādhiśthūra says, "One should not do
anything precipitately. Want of deliberation is a great
source of calamities. Fortunes that are ever-attracted
to merits, seek, of their own motion, one who acts with
circumspection". Importance of deliberation is stressed
by Kāmandaka, because he says, "By one possessing the
strength of deliberation any undertaking should be care-
fully thought out beforehand. The power of counsel is
superior to the power of one's arms. It was the strength
of deliberation only which made Indra successful in achiev-
ing victory over the demons".

65. Manusūrvah sarvarambhah - Artha. 1/15/2.
67. Aripunā mantralāvanditenā
prāgeva karo nīpumam vicārah
Doṣnaṃ valām mantralāvam sarāyah
Sahro asuraṃ mantralāvad viṣikṣaṇa - K.N.S. 16/24/5
(2) **Caution** :- Yudhisthira says that the cautious proceeding in the execution of an undertaking is a primary need. The success of a rash action is accidental, but the pursuit of a right policy is sure to be crowned with success. A correct knowledge of the sastras should be the guide in conflicting situations. Even the failure due to adverse fate, of a person following the right path is not to be blamed. In support of this view Kāmandaka says, "When an undertaking begun properly comes to naught, the person concerned whose power has been baffled by Providence, is not to be blamed".

(3) **Use of force** :- Force(Danda) is one of the four political expedients, the other three being 'sāma', 'dāna', and 'bheda'. One should be very cautious about its use. Manu warns that one should try to subjugate one's enemies by means of 'sāma', 'dāna' or 'bheda', either conjointly or separately, but never by fighting. From this prohibition it appears that force should be the last resort of a king, because when other means fails, force remains, but when force fails, nothing remains. So, Yudhisthira says, "Men desirous of conquest, overcome the force of anger having calculated that the accomplishment of their desired end will be very great and

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68. Yattu saṃyag upakrāntaḥ
Kāryam ati viparyayam
vamanastātrāṇaṃ labhyo
Dāvāntāraitāruṣaḥ. — K. N. S. 12/17/19

69. Saṃna dānena bhedena
Samastāḥ rhuta va arthāk
and will have no adverse future, direct their prowess 70
to the favourable means". Kāmandaka seems to corroborate
this view, because he says, "The wise should not do the
work which is fruitless, hazardous, or uncertain conse-
quence and always resulting to a great anxiety". Kings
really bent on conquest do not take a leap in the dark,
but carefully calculate the time, place and means before
they take up a course. It is only when they feel sure of
their success, that they should start their direct action
with all resources at their disposal.

(4) The ideal process of action of a king: - It is
a counsel of prudence that a king should be mild or severe
according to the needs of the situations. Yadhīṣṭhira says,
"The king who maintains an even course of conduct and
assumes mildness or displays severity at the proper time,
subjugates the whole world like the sun by his lustre".

69. Sāmā dānena bhṛdeṇa
Samastai rūta vā prthak
Nijātum prayatərən
Ma yuddhena kādācana
- Maṇu VII/193.

70. Kirāt. II/35

71. Niṣphalam klesavahulam
sandigdha phalamevasca
Na karma kuryān matimān
Makavairānvandhi ca
- K. N. J. 12/17/22

72. Kirāt. II/38
In the Mbh. Shīma says to Yudhīsthīra, "A mild king is disregarded. People are afraid of the severe. You should be neither mild nor severe. But be mild and be severe". (According to the needs of the situations). In this connection Kaṭiliya says, "For (the king) severe with the rod, becomes a source of terror to beings. The king mild with the rod is despised. The king just with the rod is honoured". Manu is also of the same opinion as he says, "Observing the situation closely the king should be mild or severe. The king who is both mild and severe is praised".

(5) Vices of anger: - Control of passions is a great virtue. Yudhīsthīra says, "Fortunes flitting like the autumnal clouds and full of pretexts cannot be retained well by those whose senses are unsteady". Pointing to the vices of anger Yudhīsthīra says that anger produces ignorance and thereby destroys one's wealth of power, it

73. Mrdumasya varanyante
Tikṣṇā duṇijate janaḥ
Mā tikṣṇo mā mrdrbhūstvam
Tikṣṇo bhava mrdrbhava - Mbh/34/103/34.

74. Tikṣṇa-dando hi bhūtāṃ udvejaniyo
Bhavati, mrdudandaḥ paribhūyate, yathārtha-
dandaḥ pūjyate; - Artha 1/4/9-10

75. Tikṣṇaścāva mrduscā syāt
Kāryaṃ viśṣya mahāpatiḥ,
Tikṣṇaścāva mrduscāva
Rāja bhavati smarataḥ - Manu. VII/140.

76. Kirāt II/39.
it afflicts one's body and mind and mars the success of an undertaking. All these vices of anger have been enumerated in the books of politics. Manu records eight types of vices produced from anger. He says, "Mischievousness, violence, trick-some injury, jealousy, envy, monetary fault, harshness relating to speech and harshness relating to punishment - these constitute the eight-fold group springing from anger". Of these the three-severity of punishment, harshness of words and abuses of wealth-are the most painful.

(u) Importance of forbearance: - Yudhiṣṭhīra enumerates virtues of forgiveness. He says, "There is no means like forgiveness which is highly conducive to future prosperity, which is the source of immense success in an undertaking and which is an unfailling destroyer of enemies". In course of the praise of restraint Bhīśma relates to Yudhiṣṭhīra in the Mbh., "Restraint increases valour and it is very much pure. Having endowed with the viceless valour of a person attains

77. Paisunyama sahasma droha
Irṣayasyārthah dūsanam
Vagdaujajeh ca purusyam
Krodhajoh api ganeaṣṭaka
- Manu 7/43

78. Dandasya pataṇam caiva
Vāk purusyārthah dūsanah
Krodhajoh api ganevidyāt
Kastanemata trikam sadal
- Manu VII/51

79. Kirāt. II/43
attains greatness" and again he says, "We have never heard of such virtue as restraint in the three worlds. It is the supreme thing in this world and it is good for the men of every line". Bhīṣma further says, "The only demerit of forgiveness and none other, is that people may take him who forgives, to be a coward". But it is nothing in comparison to its numerous merits. It is only for this superior virtue that Yudhīṣṭhira has become an object of criticism of Draupadi and Bhīma.

80. Dāmasējo vardhayaṣī
davitram ca damah param:
Vipāpna tajasā yuktaḥ

81. Dacnā sadrṣam dharmaḥ
Nyayaṃ lokeṣu aśrūma
Dano hi parama loke

82. Śka eva dame doso
Dvitiyo nopapadyate
Yadeṣaṃ kṣamayā yuktaḥ
Āśaktam manyata janaḥ- Ibid 160/34.
farsightedness is clearly evinced by the estimate he makes of the future of Duryodhana. He states that Yadavas will not always be devoted to Duryodhana for they have regard and natural affection for them (the Pandavas), and their friends will follow the suit. Other self-respecting kings likely to be insulted by haughty Duryodhana are liable to be seduced by their spies. Yudhishthira's study of the situation is in keeping with the advice of the science of politics. Kautilya says, "Those, however, who are enraged or greedy or frightened or proud, are likely to be seduced by enemies."

A proud and arrogant king like Duryodhana is sure to act foolishly. Thus dissatisfaction prevailing in his country will greatly contribute to his eradication. Kautilya holds a similar view to that of Yudhishthira, for he says, "He should march against the strong king unjustly behaved. The subjects do not help the strong but unjust king when attacked, they drive him out or resort to his enemy."

A truthful king like Yudhishthira shudders to think of the breach of promise. But Bhima will not adhere to the words of virtue. So Yudhishthira utters a word of caution.

33. "Kruddha-luvita-bhita-maninastu
Paraśaṁ kṛtyāḥ" - Artha. 1/13/22.

34.瓦lavaññavāyu vṛttim yayāt ;
Valavatamālaya vṛttim abhiyuktam
Prakṛtaya nāmugrhanti, nisvatayanti
Amitram va sasya bhajante - Artha. 7/5/15-17.
that an untimely attack before the time limit agreed upon by the two parties expires, the neutral kings may be enraged against them and go over to the side of Duryodhana. Moreover, in the event of the breach of stipulated promise on his part the Yadavas and their allies may be alienated.

(3) Neutrality:—Yudhíṣṭhīra concludes that the progress of Duryodhana may be neglected, for the wealth of the hotheads gives rise to a number of evils. Yudhíṣṭhīra takes up a policy of 'wait and see'. This may be called a policy of neutrality. Yudhíṣṭhīra says, "A wise man of foresight may be indifferent to the prosperity of his enemy outraging right conduct. Such a person can be easily vanquished when there is a weak point. For, surely the fortune of an ill-behaved arrogant person ends in disaster". Thus Yudhíṣṭhīra expects that Duryodhana will soon be weakened by both internal and external dissension on account of his wickedness. In the meantime Yudhíṣṭhīra takes an attitude of indifference which has been regarded as the fifth political expedient. In the Bhāg., Bhīṣma, in course of his advice to Yudhíṣṭhīra on 'Rāja dharma', says, "Oh king! conciliation, (sāma) gift (dāna) dissension (shēda), punishment (danda) and the fifth indifference (upekṣā) have been widely illustrated (by the authorities on law)".

85. Kirât. II/53.

86. Sāma bhedaḥ prādānāca
dandaśca pārthiva,
Upekṣā pañcamī cātra
Kārtṣīnaḥ samudāḥrātā — Bhāg./Jānti/50/35.
Counsellors.- Vyāsa's advice draws our attention to the utility of a good counsellor. The power produced by good counselling is regarded as one of the three types of regal strength. The three strength are (1) Power of army and treasure (Prabhu Sakti), (2) Power of counselling (Mantra Sakti), (3) the power of energy (Utsāha Sakti). In order to encourage Yudhishthira Vyāsa refers to the weak point of his adversary. He says, "Why will not the success in the objects to be gained, fail him who depends upon Karna and the like for decision when an intricate point of policy arises? It goes without saying that associations with the wicked are obstacles to success and they are also the root causes of crushing calamities!" So a king should always be on guard against a bad counsellor. Like Duryodhana by Karna he will be led to a total annihilation. Kāmandaka says, "Enemies devour up the king who is led by a bad counselling like the Rākṣasas a sacrifice. So he should resort to a good counselling." Śomadeva Sūri also utters a word of caution, "A king whose counsellors are addicted to vices falls easily in danger like one who has mounted upon a wicked elephant."

88. Durmantranam ripavago
   Yatudhānā iva kratum,
   Samantato vilumpanti
   Tasman mantra paro bhabet - K.N.S.12/17/3.
89. 'Savyasanasa civo hi rājā rūdhavyāla gaja iva sulabhāpayah' -
Arms and the Army: An important point of the policy of war has been noted in the advice of Vyāsa. He says, "The earth is to be regained by you with valour alone, the enemy i.e., however, stronger (than you) in valour, missiles and the army. Measures therefore must be taken to gain superiority (in men and means)." It is true that Yudhiṣṭhira is to win back his kingdom by his valour, but the adversary is powerful in men and arms. So we should find out means to enhance his power. Victory in a battle depends much upon the improved provisions of men and arms. The unconquerable Bhīṣma, Droṇa and Kaṭya can, any how, be uprooted only by Kaṃkatana when he wins victorious missile by practising nonence in the process instructed by him. Vyāsa's superior prudence puts an end to their dispute and they get a definite follow-up.

Weakness in weapons has, all along, been a neglected point in Indian military strategy. An Indian soldier is, in no way, inferior to any other soldier of the world when they are personally compared. But their over-reliance on the conventional arms is one of the main causes of their defeat in various battlefields. We may not cite the instance of the Mughals who were, individually, better soldiers than their adversaries, had to submit to the superior provision of arms of the Mughals. Kaṭhāṅya has stressed this point in relating excellences of an

90. Kirāṭ, III/17
an army as he says, "skilled in the sciences of all types of war and weapons". Again he says, "The king endowed with personal excellences and those of his material constituents, the seat of good policy, is the would-be conqueror" and he also states again, "when possessed of a preponderance of excellent qualities, he should march".

Embassy: - Gems of political wisdom remain scattered here and there in the Kirat. For example, the 'dāta' of the king of the Kiratīs delivers a fine speech before Arjuna, which is to be regarded as the practical illustration of the aptitudes of the best emissary delineated in the book of politics. Arjuna appreciates the merits of the Kiratās, a messenger of their king in the following manner. He says, "Oh! the performers of great doeds, the master's entrusted deputy, you, though a Kirata, having boldly composed this speech with the merits of clearness, elegance etc., have placed yourself at the head of all speakers". It is not

91. 'Sarvāyuddha praharaṇa vidyā viśaraṇa' - Artha. 6/1/11
92. 'Rājā atma dravya prakṛti sampanno	nayasya dhīṭhānaṁ vijīṣaṁ' - Artha. 6/2/13.
93. 'Gunātīsaya yukto yāyāt' - Artha. 7/1/16
not mere a courtesy of the hero like Arjuna, but a true appreciation of the merits of the messenger. Manu says, "(The success of) peace and war depends upon the ambassador".

Boldness and gift of the gab which have been finely displayed by the Kirāta, are the most essential quality of a 'Duṣṭa'. Manu says, "A messenger of the king, who is of good physique, bold and a good orator is preferred".

Importance of alliance: -- In his speech the Kirāta stresses the importance of an ally more than wealth. He says, "One's own welfare is attained, many good qualities spring up and dangers stop; many such are the results of association with the honest (friend). Why should you not have a desire for it". Manu says, "A king cannot flourish so much by possession of gold and land as by securing an ally who may be weak but steady". Kautilya warns, "He who would remain negligent about an ally who had deserted with or without reason and who has returned with or without reason, ...

95. 'Dute sandhiviparyayam' - Manu VII/65.
96. 'Vapumān viśabhīr vāgmī
dūto rājñah prasasyate' - Manu VII/44.
97. Kirāta. XII/69.
98. 'Hiranyakṣipūrṇa samprāntyā
dvārthivā na tathāidhate
Yathā mitreṇ dhrūva mlavdhvā
Kṛṣamāpyayati kṣaṃm' - Manu VII/208.
embraces death. Even in the delineation of erotic matters, Bhāravi does not lose the opportunity of stressing the importance of an ally. He says, "A king, though powerful, enough cannot attain the wealth of victory without an ally. So Karna, though strong enough, finds out an ally in the moon and then holds up his conquering bow." We also notice a warning against a wicked friend in Arjuna's speech. He says, "Our friendship with the sons of Dhrtarāstra produced enmity against us. Verily, friendship with the wicked is faulty like a resort in the shade of the bank of a river." So Arjuna is cautious in making friends and he rejects the offer of friendship of the king of the Kirātas through his messenger. He says, "How can that 'Kirātapati' who wantonly oppresses a person engaged in penance, be my fit friend? For, the wicked who are averse to the excellence required for earning merit, are naturally, the enemies of the good." But a steady and faithful ally is greatly needed in times of danger and the search for an ally of friendly power is, till to-day, a guiding policy of the foreign affairs of a country.

99. Kiraṇā karaṇādhvastaṁ
Karasa karaṇāgataṁ
Yo mitraṁ samupekṣeta
Sa mrtyum upaguhati - Artha. 7/9/49

100. Kirāt. IX/33.

101. Ibid XI/55.

Integrity of Army:- Integrity of army is of prime importance for a successful operation. This view has been upheld by Bhāravi in connection with the failure of the seasons to divert Arjuna's attention, as they were in conflict with one another. The poet says, "The strong force having a conflict within itself cannot conquer the adversary. So the seasons which conquer the world could not make Arjuna perturbed even for a moment! Conflict of interest is a great hindrance to the application of the full force in an operation and the result becomes inevitable defeat in spite of better provisions. So Kautilya counts of 'not having a separate interest because of the prosperity and adversity shared (with the king) as one of the excellences of the army'.

Thus the science of politics which is though intricate a favourite topic of the learned gains ground in the body of the poem and it incorporates diverse views which conform to the advice of the standard law-books and it also helps Bhāravi to create poetry in science which enhances its charm and gravity to a great extent.