CHAPTER IX

Espionage during the historical period  
(B.C. 400 to A.D. 1200) - In theory.

SECTION I

From a detailed study of the history of India we have observed that the espionage system was already well-established. It reached a high level of excellence under the Mauryas. The secret service department became a permanent feature of administrative machinery at that time. It was well balanced, systematic and its services were harnessed in all spheres of social, political, economic and cultural activities. This can be called a golden age of espionage. The contemporary Greek accounts as well as indigenous sources especially the Arthasastra of Kautilya establish the fact that espionage was the most essential adjunct of administration of the Mauryas.

The reference to India’s espionage system is to be found in the accounts of Megasthenes, Strabo, Diodorus and Arrian. Megasthenes came to the court of Chandragupta at Pataliputra as an ambassador of Seleucus. He stayed in India from about B.C. 305 to B.C. 297. Megasthenes stated that spies were profusely used by the king. But he was misled to think that the spies formed one of the seven castes of the Indian people. He divided the population of India into seven castes of which

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1 MF. 35-36
the sixth class consisted of overseers. The reporters, said
Megasthenes, were "the eyes and ears of the executive govern-
ment."2 These secret agents reported to the king or the
chiefs of the free tribes, about what happened in the country.3

Strabo (B.C. 63 to A.D. 19), Diodorus (B.C. 60 to
A.D. 36) and Arrian (middle of the second century A.D.)
referred to a class of officials termed episcopoι. According
to earlier writers, they formed a class of spies.4 Strabo tells
us, "The sixth class consists of the overseers, to whom is
assigned the duty of watching all that goes on, and making re-
ports secretly to the king. Some are entrusted with the ins-
pection of the city, and others with that of the army. The
former employ as their coadjutors the courtesans of the camp.
The ablest and most trustworthy men are appointed to fill
these offices".5 According to Diodorus, "The sixth caste
(ΕΚΤΟΝ ) consists of the overseers (εφηκαλον ). It is their
province to inquire into and superintend all that goes on in
India, and make report to the king, or, where the state is
without a king (δαπανοςάλον) to the magistrates".6 Arrian also
tells us that "the sixth class consists of those called super-
intendents. They spy out what goes on in country and town and
report everything to the king where the people have a king.

2 M M, XXVIII 3 CHI I, 369
3 M I M, 170, 'Episcopoι', trans, 'the one who watches over !
4 AIMI, 85.48
5 EHB, 143
and to the magistrates where the people are self-governed, and it is against use and wont for these to give in a false report, but indeed no Indian is accused of lying.  

ESPIONAGE IN THE ACCOUNTS OF INDIGENOUS AUTHORS:

Kautilya in his Arthasastra referred to a class of political thinkers called Ambhiyas. They were the followers of Ambhi. The Ambhiyas say, "Any one of the class-mate spies may allure the prince towards hunting, gambling, liquor and women, and instigate to attack his own father and snatch the reins of government in his own hands. Another spy shall prevent him from such acts."  

Kautilya's (B.C. 321-B.C. 300) treatment of espionage excelled his predecessors and became an example to posterity. The Arthasastra of Kautilya is the most authentic source of information about intelligence system in Mauryan age.  

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7 AIMA, 217

8 AS, RGB, Introduction, Beng. Trans, 27. This Ambhi was the Taxilan king who offered his friendship to the Greek conqueror Alexander by betraying the cause of his own country. According to Mahavirisa Tika, Kautilya was an inhabitant of Taxila. So it is possible that Ambhiyas mentioned by him were the followers of the Taxilan king Ambhi.


10 Kautilya was the Brahmin minister of Chandragupta who is believed to have ascended the throne of Magadha in B.C. 321 by destroying the Nandas with the assistance of Kautilya who was also known as Cāṇakya or Vishnugupta.
of the later political thinkers dealt with espionage system on Kautilyan style. In post Mauryan age we meet with a number of political thinkers among whom the most famous was Manu who is also considered as the greatest law giver of ancient India. He was followed by Yajñavalkya, Nārada, Brihshpati, Vishnu, Mārkaṇḍeya and others. Espionage was considered as an essential part of administration by all these authors. Among the later works dealing with espionage we may mention to Kāmandaṇaka Nitisāra, Muddarakṣhasa of Viśākhadatta, Dasākumārcarita of Daṇḍin, Krītyakalpataru of Lākshmīdharā, Mānosallāsa by king Somesvara III Bhulokamalla, Rājtarangini of Kalhana, and Sukrācarya. The

11 Manu Smṛiti (B.C. 200. A.D. 200)
12 Yajñavalkya Smṛiti (A.D. 100-300)
13 Nārada Smṛiti (A.D. 100-400)
14 Brihshpati Smṛiti (A.D. 300-500)
15 Viṣṇu-Puruṣa (A.D. 300-600)
16 Mārkaṇḍeya Puruṣa (A.D. 300-600)
17 Nitisāra of Kāmandaṇaka (A.D. 400-600)
18 Muddrākṣhasa, Viṣākhadatta (A.D. 400-800)
19 Dasākumārcarita, Daṇḍin (A.D. 600-650)
20 Krītyakalpataru (A.D. 1100-1130)
21 Mānosallāsa (A.D. 1131)
22 Rājtarangini (A.D. 1150-1160)
23 Sukrāntisāra (Early mediaeval period)
Puranas and fables like Panchatantra, Hitopadesh, Kathasaritsagar make us believe that spies were used by the ancient rulers of India to keep themselves in touch with all the affairs of the kingdom.

V.P. Wilson, 466-467. In it we are told that Citralekha was a nymph possessing magical power. She went to Dvarakā and brought with her Aniruddha, the Yadava prince in Bana's palace. He was in love with Ushā, Bana's daughter. The watchmen engaged to keep an eye over the innēr apartment found Aniruddha with Ushā and reported it to the king. The king’s men failed to capture the Yadu prince. After a consultation with the minister Bana at last succeeded in binding him with serpents. This was again reported to the Yadavas by Narada. However, Aniruddha and Ushā were released at last.

The Panchatantra III, 15; 17; 20-31. Counsel is said to have six doors, namely the self (atma), the minister, the messenger, the secret agent, performance of oblations three times a day and outward expression of men.

Hitopadesh, Trans, H.B, 85-86. In a conversation between the king of birds and his minister, the author tells us about the importance of intelligence service. The minister advised his master to employ spies (the actual eyes of the king) to report to him all the affairs of his own kingdom and the neighbouring country. They were to be stationed in pilgrimages, temples and forests in disguises of ascetics. They were to be skilled in traversing land and water.

OS, I, 18-23. In a story we are told that Putraka, the founder of the city of Pataliputra was the son of a Brahmana of the Deccan. The Brahmana and his two brothers married three daughters of a rich Brahmana Bhojika. Now, a famine broke out and the three brothers fled away deserting their wives. Now, the middle one gave birth to Putraka who, when grown up, became king by Lord Siva's grace. He then began to distribute wealth among Brahmanas so that his father and uncles might come back. The three Brahmanas were so greedy and jealous of Putraka that they employed secret assassins to kill Putraka. He found out the plot and left his kingdom. He got two magic shoes from the sons of Asura and Maya. He could fly in any place wearing those shoes. While
PERSONAL SECURITY OF THE KING:

From a study of the Greek as well as indigenous accounts it appears that much efforts were made for personal security of the king. This might not have any direct bearing upon espionage but had indirect effects on the system. There were bodyguards to keep a vigilant eye wandering he came to the desolate hut of a very old woman whom he satisfied with rich gifts and remained there. This woman gave him information about the beautiful princess of the country named Patali. The princess was kept very carefully in the upper seraglio. Putraka entered into her bed chamber one night by wearing those shoes. The princess fell in love with Putraka who started visiting her every night. They were married secretly. Once he was detected by the guards of the palace. They reported the matter to the king. The king then hid a woman in the bed chamber of his daughter. When Putraka was sleeping there the woman painted his garment with red lac as a mark of identity. In the morning the king sent spies in different directions to trace out Putraka. They discovered him in the old woman's cottage seeing red mark in his attire. The spies brought him before the king. From there he flew away with Patali in his arms with the help of his magic shoes. He came to the bank of the ganges. Being requested by Patali he founded the city of Pataliputra.

Cf. Ibid, I. Varsha demanded from his disciples Vyadi and Indradatta ten million gold coins as his fee. The two came to Ayodhya where king Nanda had died shortly. Indradatta had magical power and entered into the dead body of Nanda and ordered his minister Sakatala to pay the amount of money to Vararuchi. The minister grew suspicious and despatched spies everywhere to find out all the dead bodies and burn them. The spies came to the temple where Vyadi was guarding the dead body of Indradatta. They dragged him out and burnt his dead body.

All these stories show how spies were used to solve various intricate problems.
over the personal safety of the king. If the king was safe from internal and external danger, said Kautilya, then he was capable of protecting his subjects. The personal security of the king was the first and foremost for the security of his kingdom.

Megasthenes referred to a class of women body guards who had to look after the care and protection of the king from his waking moments. Strabo also tells us that a class of women were purchased from their parents to take care of the king. When Megasthenes visited India, the king had to remain always alert and watchful against palace intrigues and conspiracy. Megasthenes and Strabo confirm that the king was so much afraid of secret assassination that he did not use the same bed chamber for two nights at a time. Whenever the king went outside the palace during war, for judgement of cases in court, for offering sacrifices or for hunting, he was encircled by armed women and spearmen. This statement is confirmed by Kautilya who tells us that rising early in the morning the king was first received by women armed with arrows. The loyal and well-trained persons whose fathers and grandfathers had served in the royal palace, were to be employed as personal attendants of the king.

28 AS, SS, I, I, 1-4  
29 ISIS, 211  
30 AIMI, 70  
31 Ibid, 70  
32 Ibid, 70-71  
33 AS, SS, I.I, 1-4  
34 Ibid, I, XXI, 41
The food for the king was prepared in a well-guarded place and before serving dishes to the king, oblation was made to fire and birds. If the fire turned blue and the birds died after eating the food, it was then considered as poisoned.\textsuperscript{35} If metals like iron, gold and articles set with jewels which were meant for the use of the king, lost their natural colour, quality, brightness, weight and softness of touch, it was to be concluded that those things were poisoned.\textsuperscript{36} There were medical men and experts to detect the poison, if any, in food and articles used by the king.\textsuperscript{37} The toilet-makers and dressers of the king received toilets and dresses under seal from the officers-in-charge (\textit{antar-vahsika}) of the inner apartment and then only gave those things to the king. The maid servants, shampooers, bed-makers, washermen, barbers, flower-garland makers were all vigilantly checked before rendering their services to the king.\textsuperscript{38}

The dancers and actors were not allowed to use weapons, fire and poison while displaying their performances for the entertainment of the king. Moreover, their musical instruments, ornaments of horse, elephant and chariot were all kept inside the palace.\textsuperscript{39}

\textsuperscript{35} AS, SS, I, XXI, 42
\textsuperscript{36} Ibid, 42
\textsuperscript{37} Ibid, 42
\textsuperscript{38} Ibid, 43
\textsuperscript{39} Ibid, 43.
The vehicles like palanquins, carriages and horses were to be examined carefully by faithful men before the king used them. He would get into a boat sailed by a trustworthy sailor. He was to bathe in the water which was free from whales and crocodiles. The king would enter into the garden when it was cleared off from snakes and other dangerous animals, i.e., "vyālagrahaṇaparīśuddhāmuḍyāṇām gachchet".¹⁰

The king was thus guarded while taking meals, making interviews, attending festivals and shows, taking bath, wearing dresses and visiting royal garden. He had trustworthy officials and spies to keep watch over his personal security which was an essential condition for the protection of his realm i.e., "Rājyaḥ rakṣati rakṣitah".¹¹ In a later period, Lakshmīdāra (A.D. 1100-1130) suggested precautionary measures like Kautilya for the safety of the king against poisoning.¹² The personal attendants of the king were to be employed only after the examination of their loyalty, vigilance, and honesty.¹³ "The king's carriage, bed, seat, bath and toilet as well as the ornaments he wears should be examined first before he uses them. The king is advised to wear jewels containing gems which detect or cure poison".¹⁴

¹⁰ AS, SS, I, 43; AS, RGB, 29 ¹¹ Ibid, 43
¹² HAI, 98 ¹³ Ibid, 43
¹³ GOS, KBL, XI, 42
While visiting saints, ascetics and foreign envoys, military array, while going out or coming inside the capital, the king was to be surrounded by bodyguards. He shall go to witness festive trains, fairs (yātṛā), procession or sacrificial performances only when they are policed by bands of "The communities" (daśavargikā dhishtitāni). Just as he attends to the personal safety of others through the agency of spies, so a wise king shall also take care to secure his person from external danger.

The king was warned against putting implicit faith over the members of the royal family including the queens and princes by the ancient political thinkers. Kautilya advised the king to enter into his queen's chamber when her purity was examined by his old maid servant, i.e., "Antegrhagatah athavarratrusaadāhyām". The aged men and women

\[\text{AS, RGB, 29-30} \quad \text{AS, SSI, XXI, 44} \]
\[\text{Ibid, 44, Yathē ca yoganarṣaiiran yēnarājādhitiśthathāti} \]
\[\text{AS, RGB, XX; Sham Sastri, I, XX; AS, RGB, 27-28. While warning the king to enter into the queen's apartment being assured of safety Kautilya cited a number of examples of tragic end caused to some kings by their wives. The king Bhadrasena was killed by his own brother hiding in the queen's bed chamber, i.e. "Deviśharāno hi bhrātā Bhadrasenām jaṭān".} \]

The son hidden under the bed of his mother killed king Karusā, i.e. "Mātusavāntergetasā putrah Karusām". Vairanta was killed by his queen's poisoned anklet. The queen of king Sauvira killed him with the poisoned zem of her zone. Jāluka was killed by his queen with a poisoned looking glass. The queen of Viśuratha killed him with the weapon hidden in the tuft of her hair.
disguised as fathers and mothers and the eunuchs of the palace were to keep the king informed about the purity of the queens.\textsuperscript{49} Kautilya as well as the author of Kāmasūtra warned the king to keep the queens away from unnecessary association with ascetics, buffoons and maid servants or other public women outside.\textsuperscript{50} All the commodities before they were brought inside the palace or taken outside were to be very carefully examined and given marks of royal seals (mudrā).\textsuperscript{51}

\textsuperscript{49} AS, RGB, XX, p 58 (Beng. version)
\textsuperscript{50} Ibid, 57; KW, NSP, VII. 40-41, 45-54; KS, S.C.U, 196 ff; It is in Kāmasūtra that Vatsayana tells us about the use of spies to win over a woman by the king or win over refined men by women of the royal family. If the king wanted to gain a married woman he employed spies to prove the husband of that woman as a traitor and imprison his wife as punishment. The woman was then easily admitted in the royal harem. Vatsayana tells us of other dubious methods applied by the king through the village headmen, sons of revenue and agricultural officers, personal attendant women of the king and women beggars to win over the king's lady-love. All those men and women acted as secret messengers of the king to win over his desired woman.

On the other hand, the women members of the royal family having fascination for refined handsome young men should employ the daughters of their nurses to bring those men inside in disguises of women. Taking advantage of the lack of proper vigilance by the royal guards and absence of the king from the capital, the secret messengers of the royal harem brought those men inside the harem, sometimes even in connivance with the guards of the palace.

The man desired by a woman of the royal harem got "himself acquainted with all the spies of the king." Sometimes he made his entrance with the help of the royal guard and disguised as a guard. He could also make his way inside when there was any festival, goods were taken out, the guards changed their stations and the king was abroad for long. He, of course, entered through secret paths.

\textsuperscript{51} AS, AS, I, 41
According to Kautilya, the royal palace was to be encircled by strong walls and ditches and provided with subterranean passages for exit, underground chamber and machinery to ruin it when necessary. Sukra also held the same view. He said that "the palace is to have walls guarded by sentinels equipped with arms and weapons, and defended by strong machines..." Kautilya asked to station guards in places between two compartments. Sukra suggested to place guards in each courtyard. The watchmen were to work each for three hours at day and night. Cats, peacocks, mongooses, parrots, minas and Malabar birds, heron, cuckoo, partridge and spotted deer were to be reared in the palace to detect poison, if any.

WATCH OVER THE PRINCES: In connection to precautionary measures for the safety of the king, Kautilya suggested to keep watch over the princes through spies. The king, he said, should keep a constant vigilance over the princes from the moment they were born. "Yanna pravriti rajputrān rakṣet", because the princes like crabs have a notorious tendency to eat up their begetter", said Bharadvāja. Kautilya, in this context referred to the views of his predecessors and himself laid down safety measures and modes of conduct towards the princes to

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52 AS, SS, I, XX
53 Sukraniti, BKS, 30
54 AS, SS, I, XX
55 Sukra, 30
56 AS, SS, I, XX
57 AS, RGB, I, XVII
58 AS, SS, 32
prevent possible danger from them. Bharadvāja asked the king to kill his new-born son secretly (upāmsudandah) if he did not feel any affection for him.\textsuperscript{59} Viśalākṣhma denounced Bharadvāja and advised to bring up such a son in a particular secluded place instead of killing him.\textsuperscript{60} Pārśāera suggested to keep such a prince inside a fort of a distant province under the care of boundary guards.\textsuperscript{61} Pisuna smelt the danger of possible attack from the banished prince with the help of boundary guards. In his opinion, the prince was to be brought up in the fort of a distant foreign country.\textsuperscript{62} Kaunapādanta asked the king to send the prince to maternal relatives\textsuperscript{64} and Vātavyadhi said that it would be wise to allow the prince to spoil himself by indulging in sensual pleasures. In his opinion, there was least fear of revolt from a prince addicted to sensuality.\textsuperscript{65}

Kautilya considered it as a crime to pollute the young, innocent prince. He advised to give the princes moral lessons of righteousness and wealth (dharma, artha). The princes were to be placed under the care of Sattri spies who would say to the princes, "we are always at your service". "Tava smah i
ti vadantah pālavesuh".\textsuperscript{66} If a prince was addicted to too

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{59} AS, SS, I, XVII, 32
\item \textsuperscript{60} Ibid, I, XVII
\item \textsuperscript{61} Ibid, I, XVII
\item \textsuperscript{62} Ibid, I, XVII
\item \textsuperscript{64} Ibid
\item \textsuperscript{65} Ibid
\item \textsuperscript{66} AS, RGB, I, XVII.
\end{itemize}
much sensual pleasures such as woman and wine, gambling or hunting, it was the spies who had to correct them by applying some clever methods. If a prince had lust for women, the spies would send to him at night impure women in a solitary place, to cause his worries and anxieties. If he was addicted to wine, the spies would prevent him by giving adulterated wine mixed with narcotics (yogapāna). If he was fond of gambling, the spies skilled in the art would defeat them repeatedly and thus prevent him from doing so again. A prince having too much fascination for hunting would be thwarted by spies in disguises of highway robbers in the forest. Again, if a disaffected prince tried to rise in revolt against his father, the spies told him that such an attempt might have brought his destruction. The angry loyal subjects of the king might have killed him by hurling stones (prajābhiraikalostavahaischati), in case of his failure. When a prince was extremely arrogant, the sons of chief officials of the king acted as his spies to bring the prince under control. If they could not do so, the spies were employed to kill a rebel prince with weapons and poison or allure him with woman, wine, hunting or other dubious methods and bring him a captive to the king.

67 AS, RGB, I, XVII
68 Ibid, I, XVIII
Kautilya next turned to show how a banished prince could destroy his father's kingdom. A prince driven out by the king might have earned his bread by working in some gold or silver mines or through some magic practices, such as turning iron into gold or anything like that. He could have even robbed off the heretics (pāṇḍa), the rich widows or merchants and might have stolen the treasures from the Buddhist samghas or temples. He would, of course, do all these mischiefs secretly or by administering poison to the owners of the wealth, if necessary. He could assume different disguises, such as of a carpenter, a painter or a physician. He would then attack the kingdom of his father in the opportune moment with the assistance of spies disguised in the similar fashion.69

A study of the methods laid down by Kautilya for the destruction of a prince or of a king reflects that these were quite against the principles of morality. But if we go through the history of different countries we shall find that some such practices to meet political ends were in vogue almost everywhere. India, therefore, could not be an exception to it.

Time-table to meet the spies: Kautilya divided the day and night in eight parts (nālikas) and arranged royal duties accordingly.70 In the fifth part of the day, he

69 AS, I, XVIII
70 Ibid, RGB, I, XIX
received secret information from his spies. In one eighth part of the night, the king used to receive the spies and in the seventh part, he sent them on their operations.\textsuperscript{71} Manu also asked the king to receive regular report from the spies in a secret chamber after the performance of his evening oblations. He was to be well-armed while meeting the secret service men.\textsuperscript{72} Śukrāchārya divided the day and night in thirty mūhūrtas and prescribed royal duties accordingly.\textsuperscript{73} At night after evening prayers and dinner, the king, said Śukra, would keep two mūhūrtas to take report from his spies about his ministers, officials, soldiers, enemies, the members of the assembly, the women of the royal family and also about the opinion of his subjects. If he heard any adverse criticism against him from his spies, he would try to conceal his faults.\textsuperscript{74} Śukrāchārya said that "by making the secret spies keep information as to what are accusing his conduct, in what light the ministers and others who know it are viewing it, what is the extent of satisfaction and who are discontented with him owing to his virtues and vices, and hearing everything from them in secret, the king deserving praise should always know his own faults from the standpoint of the subjects and get rid of them, but never punish the people."\textsuperscript{75}

\textsuperscript{71} AS, RGB, I, XIX
\textsuperscript{72} SBB, XXV, 228
\textsuperscript{73} Sukra, BKS, 37
\textsuperscript{74} Ibid, 19
\textsuperscript{75} Ibid, 19
The spies, as it is observed by Sukrāchārya, had to play the most conspicuous part in preventing the king from being tyrannical by keeping him informed about all the affairs of his kingdom.

**SECRECY OF COUNSEL**: Each and every department of the government requisitioned the services of secret service men. So the utility of espionage system in the machinery of the government was unquestionable. Like secret agents, equally important was the secrecy of counsel before the undertaking of administrative measures. Counsel was the main root of political success, the author of Panchatantra expresses his view that "Counsel has six doors, namely, one's self (atma), the minister and the messenger, a secret agent, the practice of the three ablutions and the outward expressions of men ...."76 Kautilya said that the place of consultation of government policy was to be cleared off birds like mina, and parrots and lower animals like dogs because sometimes they were found to have divulged secrets.77 We may cite more examples to show how secrets were divulged by birds. Nāgasena, the king of Nāga dynasty at Fadmāvati was ruined by the divulgence of his secret policy by a mina.78

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76 Vide HIP, U.N.G., 285
77 AS, RGB, I. XV.
"Samyitah kathānāmonihśrāvo pakṣī, bhirapvanā lokvāyaśa śrutehi śuka sārikābhīḥ mantra bhinnāścha bhirannaisāḥ nirivyagābhīḥ".
78 HD III, Kane, 108 ff.
Srūtavārman the king of Srāvasti was doomed because of the disclosure of his secrets by a parrot. Kautilya suggested the king to take all protective measures to safeguard the secrets of administrative policy. The person disclosing the secrets of the government policy was to be uprooted. Sometimes changes in attitude and countenance of the king, the ministers and the envoys might have resulted in the disclosure of the secrecy of deliberations. The persons with whom the king carried on his deliberations were to be kept under strict observation so that they might not give out the secret either through carelessness, intoxication or babbling in sleep or love. Sometimes disclosure of secret policy through babbling in sleep brought destruction as we find in the case of Suvarnasuda in Mṛttikāvati. Manu, Kāṃdaka, Yajñāvalkya and the author of Yasastilaka laid equal stress on keeping all the policies of the government secret. Manu said that a king should carry on deliberations on important affairs of his kingdom with his confidential ministers in a place cleared off deaf and dumb, idiots, blind men, children and animals.

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79 H D III, Kane, 108 ff. In this connection our attention may be drawn to a very interesting news published in the Amrita Bazar Patrika on 23.1.1984. It is stated how a talking bird helped the Texas police at Bay town to detect some burglars by uttering their names.

80 AS, RGB, I. XV. "Tasya samvaranam Ayuktapurusarakshanam kāryakālādīti. Tēśāṃ hi prāmāṇḍomāsupta prātāpakāmādi- RUTESEKĀH PRACHCHAMOCHAMOTOVA MANTRĀM".

81 HD, III, Kane, 108 ff

82 Cf. HIP I, UNG.

83 SBE, XXV, 148
CLASSIFICATION OF SPIES: The old literary fragments like the Vedas, the epics, and the dramas enjoined some details of qualifications, disguises and functions of spies. But with Kautilya we come to a more elaborate, scientific, systematic and organised development of espionage. Kautilya said that with the assistance of his ministers "tried under espionage" the king would employ spies. He classified the spies into Kapatika, udāsthita, grihapati, vaidehake, tāpasa, sattri, tikshna, rasada and bhikshuke. The first five called "Panchasamstha" were stationed in a single headquarters. The latter four viz., sattri, tikshna, rasada and bhikshuke were known as "sanchāra" or wandering spies who moved from place to place to gather secret information. The secret agents called grihapati, vaidehaka and tāpasa worked under samāharta. The women were also employed as spies who were recruited from among different classes of women. Following Kautilya, Manu also classified spies into Kapatika, udāsthita, grihapatiyvanjana, vaidehakavanjana and tāpasyavani and assigned to them eightfold business.

84 AS, SS, I. XI
85 Ibid., Vid WAI, WRRD, 353 ff. Like Kautilya "Panchasamstha", there were similar institutes of spies in ancient China. These were local spies belonging to local districts, inward spies recruited from among the officials of the enemy, converted spies - the spies of the enemy being won over to the conqueror's side, doomed spies deceiving the enemy with false information, surviving spies bringing information of the enemy.
86 AS, SS, I. XI.
87 AS, RGB, II, XXXV
88 PHAI, T.C.R.C, 259
89 SBE, XXV, 154
After classifying the spies Kautilya described in detail their characteristics, modes of operation and functions. He showed how different types of men were recruited for spying operations.

a) Kāpatikā chhātra - A class of garrulous men having possessed the capacity to study human character were called Kāpatikā Chhātra, i.e., fraudulent disciples. "Paramamajñanān pragalbha chhātra kāpatika". The minister remunerated such spies with wealth and honour and employed them on behalf of the king to gather secret information about all the affairs of the country and submit their report to the king quite faithfully.

b) Udāsthita - An ascetic pure in character and possessing foresightedness was known as Udāsthita. Pravrajī ā prayavasitah prayāṇa śāchayukta udāsthitah. Such a spy was provided with a large amount of money. Accompanied by fraudulent disciples he was to carry on cultivation, trade (vṛtākarma), rear cattle in particular plots of land assigned to him. There, he was to make arrangements for subsistence of other ascetics from what they produced and profited. Now the monks (Baudhā, Jain and Pasupata monks), maintained and protected by the udāsthita and desiring to earn bread (vṛttikāma) were to be employed on espionage. The udāsthita would ask them to find out criminals connected with the wealth of the king and

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90 AS, RGB, I, XI
91 Ibid; Also AS, SS, I, XI
92 AS, SS, I, XI; vide A.S. RGB, I, XI. Dr. R G Basak says that a recluse wise and pure but deviated from the life of an ascetic (or a man initiated in asceticism) was an Udāsthita.
93 AS, RGB, I, XI
report to them at the time of their receiving salaries and subsistence. These ascetics under Udāsthita would employ their followers for the same purpose.  

c) Grihapatika - The spies appointed from among poor cultivators, possessing foresight and purity of character were known as grihapatika. "Karsakovrittikshanah prajñāsauchayukta grihapativyanjanah". Such spies known as householder spies carried on cultivation on lands given to them, along with their followers whom they used for spying.

d) Vaidehaka - A poor trader having foresight and purity of character was called vaidehaka. "Vanijako vrittikshinah prajñāsauchayukta vaidehakavyanah". Like udāsthita and grihapatika the vaidehaka (merchant spy) was allotted a land to carry on trade with his followers and act as spies.

e) Tapasa - The shaven-headed (manda) or braided-haired (jatila) desiring to earn his livelihood was a spy disguised as an ascetic. "Mundajatilya vrittikshinah prajñāsauchayukta vaidehakavyanah". Such a spy with his followers should go to suburbs of the city and pretend to subsist on a handful of grass or some vegetables at the interval of one or two months. But he might have taken his food secretly (gudhamishtamāhāram). His followers posing as his disciples

94 Ibid, AS, SS, I, XI  
95 AS, RGB, I, XI  
96 AS, RGB, SS, I, XI  
97 Ibid  
98 AS, SS, I, XI
spoke highly among the people about his supernatural power and showed him reverence publicly. As a result of this, people were drawn to him with the desire to know their future. He could forecast the future by reading palmistry having learnt "by the nods and signs of his disciples (āngavidvayā-sishyasamyābhiseha) concerning the works of high-born people of the country—viz., small profits, destruction by fire, fear from robbers, the execution of the seditious, rewards for the good, forecast of foreign affairs (videśa pravṛttikijñānam), saying, "This will happen today, that tomorrow, and that this king will do." To prove the truthfulness of the statement made by the ascetic spy his disciples would commit those offences. If the persons, who came to know their future to the tapasa were wise, eloquent and possessed foresight, he would predict them about their possibility of receiving money from the king. He would ask them to go to the minister by whom he was employed to carry on his espionage services. The minister would act in conformity with the forecasts. He would try to appease the disaffected persons (he came to know the cause of their anger from his spies) with money and honour. But he would kill secretly those persons who were displeased with the king for no reasons or involved in conspiracy against the king.

99 AS, SS, I. XI, 18-19
100 Ibid, RGB, I. XI
101 Ibid, I. XI
The king rewarded the five institutes of spies (samstha) with money and honour and employed them to find out the purity of character of the servants of the king.102

f) Sattri - The orphans who were maintained by the state and were engaged to the study of palmistry, sorcery, magic, duties of different religious orders, juggling and trickery, foretelling of events by observing the movements of birds like vultures, vocal and instrumental music were known as sattri. "Yai chaśya samvandhinośasyabharetabyāsto lakshmanamandangavidyāṁ jambhakavidyāṁ nimittamanentarachakramityadhāsānāḥ".103

g) Tikshna - The reckless persons confronting ferocious animals like elephants and tigers to earn money were known as tikshna. "Yai janapade śurāstvaktātmāno hastināṁ vyātāṁ vā dravyaketāṁ pratiyodhavayuste tikshnāḥ".104

h) Rasada - Those who were cruel, shrewd and had not any feeling of affection were called Rasada spies. Such persons were able to administer poison unhesitatingly. "Yai vandhusunisnēsāṅ ārōṣahalasāścātē rasadaṁ".105

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102 Ibid. I. XI
103 AS, RGB. I. XII; SS, I. XII
104 Ibid I. XII
105 Ibid, I. XII
i) Parivrajikas (wandering nuns), mundas (shaven-headed) and vrishalies constituted the class of women spies.106 Dr. Roy Choudhury has referred from Bhagavadi luklukyam that vrishalies were prostitutes. He has also given reference from the Arthaśāstra that courtesans were used for spying.107

The sattri, tikshna, rasada and parivrajikā formed the class of sanchāra (wandering spies). "The wives of actors and others of similar profession who have been taught various languages and the use of signs (gamthā) shall along with their relatives be made use of in detecting the wicked and murdering or deluding foreign spies".108 A class of officials designated as ganikādhakśva were officers-in-charge of brothels. They kept a strict watch over the brothels to gather information about persons who came to the prostitutes and kept an account of them. Sometimes criminals were detected in this way.109

The spies, as it is observed, were recruited, generally, from among poor, fallen men and women. But they were expected to be extremely clever, alert, loyal and true to their masters and had to do the most difficult and responsible tasks for their masters even at the risk of their lives. They had to overcome all the temptations offered by the opposite faction. We may cite, in this context, the example of Saramā the spy.

106 Ibid. I.XII
107 PHAI, 259
108 AS, SS, II, XXVII, 142
109 EI, VI, 120
of the gods who sent her to find out cattle stolen by Panis. She was so faithful that she refused valiantly all the temptations offered by Panis and restored the stolen cattle.

QUALIFICATIONS OF SPIES: Some principles of qualifications were laid down for the spies. They were to be loyal, faithful, expert in assuming disguises and skilled in many languages and fine arts. The king employed them to gather information about the important officials throughout his own kingdom. Sometimes secret messages were conveyed through the use of signs. The spies had to assume disguises of cooks, cooked-meat sellers, valets, barbers, bed-makers, make-up men, water-servants, procurer of water for bathing, hump-backed, dwarf, pigmy, deaf and dumb, blind

110 AS, RGB and SS. I.XII

111 Ibid. Vide, Mudrarakshasa. 2.11. We have an interesting specimen of using symbolic language by spies. Viradhagupta, a messenger of Rakshasa the minister of the deposed Nanda, went on spying in the disguise of a snake-charmer. He wrote a letter to Rakshasa in symbolic language, "The honey which the bee pours out after sucking it fully from a flower comes to the use of others". "Pitvānirayagaseṣāṃ kusumārasanatmanoḥ kussalatanaṣaḥ yadādgarīti bhramaroḥ anyesāṃ karoti tatkāryam". The inner meaning of the letter is, "I am your spy. I have brought the news of Kusumapura".
and idiots, actors, dancers, musicians, bards and buffoons.\textsuperscript{112}
The spies were not only to be expert in putting disguises but also to be skilled in different languages to study motives and activities of the enemy. \textit{Prayuktāśche svapakṣa para-pakṣo vamanuraktāparaakte īna iijnāśāya yahuvichadeśavesa bhāṣācharṣanschāra vedino nānāvyjananāḥ pranidhayāḥ}.\textsuperscript{113}

In the \textit{Agni-Purāṇa} as in the \textit{Arthasastra} of Kautilya mention is made to different disguises of spies, such as of traders, physicians, astrologers and ascetics.\textsuperscript{114} In the

\textsuperscript{112} \textit{AS}, I.XII; \textit{A.P.}, II, 790-791; Mudrārākshasa 1.10. In it we are told that Chaṇākya deputed his class-mate Indusarma in the disguise of a shaven-headed monk to find out the whereabouts of Rākshasa. Indusarma succeeded in his mission. He won over the confidence of Rākshasa himself; 

MR, S.C.C. 62 ff. Another spy of Chaṇākya roamed about with a scroll of pictures of Yama, the god of death. The spy came to the house of a jeweller named Chandana-dāsa. There he got a ring which fell from the finger of a lady. On it was engraved Rākshasa’s name. From this signet ring Chaṇākya got Rākshasa’s information; MR. 2.23. Rākshasa, on the other hand, despatched Siddharthaka in the disguise of a chandāla to espy on the activities of Chaṇākya whose wisdom, foresight and sagacity have been keenly observed by, in the words – “Rākshasa has not the prudence to understand Chaṇākya”. \textit{“Amātya Rākhasenaḥi anavyapitapūryam Ārya Chaṇākya charitam”}.

\textsuperscript{113} \textit{AS}, I. XII

\textsuperscript{114} \textit{AP}, II, 790-791
Dasākumārcharita of Daṇḍin, the Magadha ruler is found to have despatched his spy in the disguise of a monk to Mālavā. The disguised spy brought him all the information concerning the secrets of Mālavā.  

The importance of spies increased more and more with the march of time. In Śukraniti we find two views as regards the number of officials in the administrative department of the king. "The priest, the viceroy, the premier, the commander, the suamātraka, as well as spies"...were mentioned as "the ten departments of the king". Elsewhere, it is said, "The spy who is well-up in (the art of reading) emotions and gestures (expression) is a servant of these eight", viz., suamātra, scholar, minister, pradhāna, sachiva, amātya, justice and viceroy. In the first list, the spy is one of the ten departments and in the second list, he is mentioned as the follower (anuṣaṇa) of the eight main officials in administration. Among these officials, the priest occupied the highest position, next to him were successively the viceroy, the premier, the sachiva, the minister, the justice, the...

115 D.C, 133; Returning back from Mālavā the spy said, "Lord! I carried out your order and went to the capital of Mālavā in the disguise of a mendicant, stayed there unwatched and I have come to know their secrets", i.e., "Deva! Sirasi devasvāvāmedā vaiteśi nirvita vasiṣṭā vidvatā Mālavendraṇavācā pravīśya tātā gudhataram vartamastasvā Rajanah samastaṃudantvātāh vidvitā pratyāgamam".

116 Śukra, II, 141-143, p.68
117 Ibid, 149, 68
118 Ibid.
The spies were to be "adepts in understanding the activities of enemies, subjects and servants" and were to "faithfully reproduce what they hear".

**REMUNERATIONS**: As regards the remunerations of spies, Kautilya said that they were "encouraged with honour and money rewards" for their services. In the *Arthasastra*, Kautilya said that the stationary spies received 1,000 panas, each, the wandering spy (sanchāra) 500 panas and servants leading the spies got 250 panas or in proportion to services, per annum. Sukra in a later period told us that the salaries of the king's officials varied according to their position and rank. We do not get any reference as to the exact amount of money received by each official, but he said that everyone of them got 'one-tenth more than those of subsequent men up to spies.'

**FUNCTIONS OF SPIES**: The functions of spies were multifarious and covered every range of the administrative machinery. In Māgha's Śiśupāla-Vadha the maxim says, "Politics without espionage is a failure". "Na bhāti rājanīti rasapasaṁ."
There is no exaggeration in this statement because its utility in the political system of ancient India has never been disregarded or minimised. The spies were used to test the sincerity and loyalty of ministers, purity of character of the queens and princes, get information about public opinion, works of the officials, foreign affairs, to sow dissension among the enemies and many others.

ASCERTAINING THE PURITY OF CHARACTER OF MINISTERS BY SPIES:

Before recruitment of ministers (amātya) in different branches of administration, they were put to test by spies through different temptations. If a priest having been asked by a king to teach the Vedas to an outcaste or perform sacrifice for him, refused, was dismissed by the king. The dismissed priest employed class-mate (sattri) spies to instigate every minister against the king. The spies further sought the opinion of the minister as to the dethronement of the king, and proposed for the installation of another righteous king either of the same family or a neighbouring king or a wild chief, in his place. If the minister refused to do so, then he was declared pure. Such a test was known as dharmo-pādha.  

Similarly, a commander-in-chief removed by the king from his office for taking unfair means (asaatpragraha), would

126 AS, 1. 8
127 Ibid
employ spies (sattri) to offer lucrative gifts of money to every minister and instigate him to kill the king. If the minister refused, he was considered to be pure. This test was termed as arthropadha.  

A wandering woman spy who had an easy access in the royal harem would place a tempting proposal to the Prime Minister that the queen liked him and she would make arrangements for their union which would bring him immense wealth. If the minister could overcome this allurement, he was pure. Such a test was known as Kāmopadha.  

A faithful minister of the king would invite other ministers to go on sea voyage by boat (prahavananimittam). The king out of fear for danger imprisoned them. A spy disguised as a fraudulent disciple pretending to be insulted by the king, instigated the ministers deprived of wealth and honour to kill the king and set another to the throne. The minister discarding this evil conspiracy was said to be pure. This was bhavopadha.  

The ministers tested by dharmonadha, i.e., religious temptation were appointed in civil and criminal departments (dharmaśṭhāmiyakapāka śodhana), those who were tested by

128 AS, 1. X  
129 Ibid 1.X  
130 AS, SS, 16 Prahevanas were boats by which the sea-going merchants sailed.  
131 Ibid, 1.X.
arthopadha i.e., monetary allurements were to be employed as samaharta (revenue collector) and sannidhati (treasurer); those who were to be employed as the superintendent of pleasure ground (vihara) both inside and outside; those who were tested by bhavopadh (temptation by fear) were to serve as body guards of the king; those who were proved pure in character by all the temptations were to be employed as Prime Ministers. Those who were found impure in all temptations were to be employed in mines, timber and elephant forests and various farms.

Kautilya tells us that his predecessors suggested to test the purity of character of his ministers by four allurements, viz., dharmopadh, kamaopadh, arthropadh and bhavopadh. But he said that the chief queen should never be made an object of allurement; an external object should be made as the target for four kinds of temptations to examine the purity of ministers, through satiri spies. We do not know, however, definitely whether these principles were actually practised.

VIGILANCE OVER OFFICIALS, MINISTERS AND OTHERS:

Espionage was the principal means of the king to keep a sharp vigilance over his ministers and other officials. The spies who were faithful, loyal, expert in assuming disguises and skilled in different languages and arts were employed to gather information about his eighteen mahamtyas (mahamtyas

132 AS, SS, RGB, 1.X.
or tirtha), viz., the Prime Minister (pradhān amātya), the royal priest (Rāja-curchita), commander-in-chief (minister-in-charge of the army or mahasenānāyaka), successor to the throne (yuvarāja), the chief door keeper of the palace (Dauvārika), the superintendent of the harem (antarvandisika), the jailor (praśāstā), the collector general (samāharta), the treasurer (sannidhata), the commissioner (pradestā), the city police (nāyaka), the chief supervisor of the city (paura), the superintendent of transactions (vyavahārika), supervisors of mines and other factories (karmāntika), the head of the council of ministers (Mantri-parisadadhvakṣa), the head of the army (Dandapala), officers-in-charge of fortifications, boundaries and forests. According to Kautilya it was the spies who could effectively ascertain whether national wealth was squandered by any high ranking officer for his own purpose (Apasarpānauvopa-lahyata). If a mean minded fellow inspite of possessing huge wealth hoarded money secretly in his own house, deposited it with some citizen or sent it to a distant country, then the spies (sattri) were employed to gather information about the friends, advisers, servants and also the income and expenditure of that suspected person. A parsimonious fellow transacting monetary and other business with his own king's enemy was to be observed carefully by spies (sattri) disguised as friends or servants of that man. Having learnt

133 AS, RGB, 1.XII
134 Ibid, II, IX
135 Ibid, II, IX
through spies the secret intention of such transactions, the king would make that person killed by the orders of his vowed men. 136

Manu, too, suggested the king to send trustworthy spies to keep watch over his high ranking officials, dishonest physicians, clever prostitutes and non-Aryans in disguises of Aryans. 137 He says, "officials of high rank and physicians acting improperly ... clever harlots and non-Aryans should be detected by means of trustworthy persons who disguising themselves (pretend to follow the same occupation) and by means of spies, wearing various disguises, he must cause them to instigate (to commit offences) and bring them into power". 138 In the Agni-Purāṇa the dishonest official was looked down upon as the most dangerous enemy of the state. 139 The author asks to employ informers as the eyes of the king to behold everything without letting people know about their secret operations. 140 The author of Yasastilaka warned the king against placing too much confidence on the officials and ministers. 141 The author's suggestion to employ spies to keep watch over the conduct of his officials is explicitly stated in the second extract of this Jain

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136 AS. II. IX
137 SBE XXV, 388
138 Ibid
139 AP. II, CCXX, 790-791
140 Ibid
141 Yasas, III, 367-74
romantic tale. In it a spy submitted his report to the king about his most powerful and confidential minister. While reporting against the minister, he referred to a number of satires composed by fourteen noted poets against that minister. These lampoons, said the spy, reflected that the minister lacked all virtues and qualities, viz., high birth, learning, sagacity, bravery and power to save the country in the wake of danger. He warned the king to guard himself against the minister whose miserable misrule might have resulted in disaffection among the important persons, friends and relatives. His misconduct went so far as to cause those persons go against their own king. This discourse shows how wise, truthful, honest and loyal the spies were expected to be. They were to be brave also to speak the truth even against the most influential but dishonest official of the king.142

PROCESS TO GATHER INFORMATION ABOUT OFFICIALS:

Kautilya suggested some clever tricks to bring to light the secrets about the officials. The wandering spies (tikshnas) were to be employed as confidential servants of high officials to know their public character (yahyam chūram). The sattri spies received the report from tikshnas and conveyed it to sansthā (sāṃsthāyarpaveyuh).143 The tikshna termed as firebrands were often used for secret murder of

142 Yasas, III, 407-61
143 AS, SS, 1.XII.
the enemy. In Kalhana’s Rājaratnagiri, Lalitāditya Muktāpiḍa of Kashmir killed treacherously the king of Gauḍa through fiery spies. These spies again entered into a conspiracy to kill a rebel chief. A prince of Kashmir named Harsa attempted to assassinate his father through fiery spies but failed. The rasada (poisoners) spies in disguises of

144 Cf. R.T. Stein, I 152 ff
145 Ibid.
146 Ibid, I 318, 319 p,152. “The word tikshna is very frequently used in the chronicle in the meaning of despe­rado, assassin, bravos…” The references to tikshnas are to be found in VI. 171, VII.627, 629, 655 sqq. 1016, 1045, VII, 1282, 1326, 2085.

In Rājaratnagiri we have other instances of spies. A story runs thus : RT, I, 347-348 :

Dhammāṭa a relative of Harsa hatched a conspiracy with the latter's half-brother Jayarāja to kill Harsa to occupy his throne. Jayarāja employed some desperados and two or three women of the seraglio for the purpose. When this conspiracy was going on, Harsa sent Dhammāṭa to Sahasramāṅgala’s court, as an envoy. Jayarāja came there and discussed about the matter secretly in a hall. But a servant hiding behind a wall listened to it and reported it to Prayaga who, on the other hand, brought it to the notice of the king. Dhammāṭa was not allowed to go back. When Jayarāja found that he had failed in his design, he appointed two brave Damaras of Samala, viz., Vaga and Paja. This time, too, Jayarāja’s own servants deserted him and betrayed his design. Jayarāja was put to death by the king.

R.T. V, II, p 6 VIII.63. Ucchala who "descended from a side branch of Ōhara" and reigned from 1101-11, A.D. had employed spies to bring to his notice all that happened in his kingdom.
cooks, bed-makers, barbers, water-servants, shampoors, humpbacked, dwarfs, deaf and dumb, idiots, blindmen, actors, dancers, singers and players of instrumental music were employed to ascertain the private character of the important officials of the kingdom. Having learnt through rasadas, the mendicant women sent report to the samstha. The members of the institution of espionage (samsthāmanteśvinah) often used signs or symbolic language (saminālipihī) to communicate secret messages. According to Kautilya, both the stationary (samstha) and wandering (ānchara) spies were to remain unknown from each other. The Agni-Purāṇa says "..... care should be taken to prevent their mutual recognisance". Kautilya said that when the report submitted by three different spies, unknown to each other, corroborated it was rather reliable. But if they differed frequently they were either punished secretly or dismissed. The same view is echoed in the Agni-Purāṇa ".....the king should not trust the statement of a single spy unless corroborated by informations received on the subject from different sources".

The mendicant women were used to bring about secret information regarding the higher officials (samātya). If
they were not allowed to get inside their houses, the line of door keepers, spies disguised as fathers or mothers of servants employed in those houses, the hair dressers of the ladies, women skilled in music or other fine arts, or maidservants brought out the secret information. The guṭha-purūsa conveyed information to a particular place (chāram virharevuh) under the pretext of taking musical instruments or by cipher writing (guḍhalekha) or other signs, or the spies stationed inside went out with the secret message sometimes pretending to be diseased or lunatic or by setting fire or administering poison.153

Kautilya referred to a very interesting class of spies known as ubhaya-veṭanachāra.154 They acted as spies of both the countries - the conquering king (vijigisu) and his enemy and received salaries from both of them.155

Now, the question is whether the king could trust the spies of this class. A spy of this kind as a friend of 'A' might bring information regarding 'B' which might damage 'B'. We may presume that he might follow the same policy regarding 'A'. Under such circumstances, was it justified to believe or use these spies for the interest of the state?

153 AS. I.XII
154 AS, RGB. I.XII
155 Ibid., I.XII.
The spies were to keep the king informed about the citizens as well as the country people.\textsuperscript{156} The secret emissaries, besides espying on amātyas, the subjects and others, were expected to help the king in carrying out justice in administration. Both the Greek accounts and indigenous sources confirm us about their honesty and efficiency. If they brought about any adverse report against any local official he was to produce his account in the capital.\textsuperscript{157} The informers, therefore, theoretically appear to have performed functions quite satisfactory from the point of view of administration. But was it a fact that they always acted properly? The king had to depend much on the information furnished by them. We can presume, that after all, the secret agents being human beings, were sure to be influenced or biased and, as a result, their statement might not be truthful all the time. It was best that the king in the greater interest of the state should examine seriously all the statements put forward by them. In this context we may remember the wise suggestion of Kautilya who asked the king to examine carefully the reports of the spies.

\textbf{ASCERTAINING PUBLIC OPINION:} Kautilya suggested some tactics to be followed by spies to ascertain the public opinion. The classmate (sattri) spies being divided into two

\textsuperscript{156} AS, I.XIII
\textsuperscript{157} CHI, I, 257-258
contending factions, should go to pilgrimages, hotel, liquor shops, assemblies or some public gatherings and carry on quarrel among themselves - a group praising the king for his virtues and the other blaming him for his oppressive rule. In this way, they were to watch the popular reaction. The munda or jatila (shaven-headed or matted-haired) had to know about the men who had received benefaction from the king in the shape of grains, animals, and money; those who were expected to help the king in the face of danger and the men appointed to remove disaffection from among the king's relatives, friends and subjects of the troubled provinces; those who were asked to drive away the enemy and the wild tribe. The persons who were reported to be contented were remunerated and honoured by the king. The disaffected persons were also to be rewarded for appeasement. But even if they were not pleased, the king would then try to sow dissension among them and alienate from the immediate neighbouring enemy - any wild chief or a banished or imprisoned prince. In case of failure, the king would employ them in such services (tax-collection, inflicting of punishment, etc.) as to cause public wrath against them, and murder them secretly; otherwise, apprehending danger of secret association of such persons with the enemy, the king might send them to work in mines by bringing their wives and sons under state control.

158 AS, I.XIII
159 Ibid. I.XIII
160 AS, I.XIII
The spies disguised as astrologers (kārtintika), foretellers making predictions of omens (naimittika) and men knowing the past, present and future (mohūrtika) were to ascertain the relation among the disaffected men. They were also to know whether such men had entered into conspiracy with the enemy.\(^{161}\) Besides maintaining a regular and organised institute of espionage to gather all sorts of information inside and outside, the king had hunters and forest rovers to guard forests against thieves, robbers and enemies. Seeing thieves or enemies approaching, the forest-rangers might send information by blowing conch-shells or beating drums or through pigeons with passes (mudrā) or by causing fire and smoke at successive distances.\(^{162}\)

**SPIES UNDER IMPORTANT OFFICIALS** The machinery of government was modelled in a very orderly way providing a number of officials - high and low - to carry on administration with the assistance of spies. Among the officials the highest was samāhartā (collector general), the head of the revenue department. The others were pradeshtā (commissioners), gopas (accountants of villages) and athānika etc. All these officers had spies. The samaharta divided the kingdom (janapada) into four districts and a number of villages. Each district was subdivided into three categories, viz., best and lowest. He thus had to keep detailed

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\(^{161}\) AS, I.XIII

\(^{162}\) Ibid, II. XXXIII
accounts of villages which were not liable to taxation; villages which supplied soldiers (Āyudheva); villages which supplied grains, cattle, gold (hiraṇya), raw materials (kavya) and free labour (viśti) in lieu of taxes. The samaharta employed village accountants (gopas) to keep accounts of five or ten villages. The villages were the units of administration. They were divided into groups of ten, twenty, hundred and thousand. Every village headman had to inform all the affairs of the village under his jurisdiction to his immediate superior. Each village was headed by (grāmisva adhipati) grāmika who had to report to the head of ten villages about crimes committed in his village (grāme doṣāṇ samut panām) and the lord of the ten had to report to the lord of twenty, the head of twenty reported to the lord of hundred and the lord of hundred had to submit reports to the lord of a thousand.

The village accountants fixed the boundaries of villages by numbering cultivated and uncultivated plots of land, gardens, vegetables and fruit gardens, forests, temples, pasture grounds, irrigation works, crematorium, feeding houses (sattrā), places where travellers were supplied drinking water, roads and pilgrimages. Having ascertained the number of houses in the villages the accountants (gopas) registered the number of total

163 AS, II. XXXV
164 Ibid, II. XXXV
165 MS. VII. 114-117
166 MS. VII. 114-117
167 AS. II. XXXV
population of four castes in each village, keep an account of cultivators, cow-herds, traders, artisans, labourers, slaves and even animals. He had to ascertain further, the exact amount of gold, tax and money received as fines. He was also to gather information about the number of men, women - young and old - in each house, their particulars (charitra) occupation (ajiva), income and expenditure (aya) and vyay.\textsuperscript{168} The commissioners (pradesta) inspected the work done by officials called gopas and sthanikas.\textsuperscript{169}

The collector general employed spies called grihapatika and vaidehaka under him to ascertain the validity of the accounts put down by district and village officials. Besides that, they had to take further accounts of men arriving in or leaving the village, the causes of their arrival and departure, the women and men of suspicious character.\textsuperscript{170} Moreover, the merchant spies under samahart\textsuperscript{a} ascertained the amount of total goods produced in land forest, mines and water, mercantile goods imported from foreign countries through land and water, prices of commodities, toll, road-cess, conveyance-cess, military-cess, ferry fare, the amount of money charged on merchants for their subsistence, provision for their goods

\textsuperscript{168} AS. II. XXXV
\textsuperscript{169} Ibid. XXXV.
\textsuperscript{170} AS. II. XXXV. "samahtrirpradistascha grihapatikavajian\textsuperscript{a} ye\textsuperscript{a} gramesu pranihitastes\textsuperscript{a} gramesam khetragrakahita-
gram vidyu\textsuperscript{a}. Manasailetabhvam kshetran\textsuperscript{i}, bhogaparihar-
bhvan grihani, varnakarmanabhvam kulani cha. Tesan jam-
ghanramavaye\textsuperscript{a} cha vidyu\textsuperscript{a}. Prastitagatann\textsuperscript{a} cha prava-
savasakaranamanathvar\textsuperscript{a}n\textsuperscript{a} cha stripurusamsah\textsuperscript{a} cha
vidyu\textsuperscript{a}.", 
in warehouses (panyakara). The ascetic spies despatched to samaharta brought him information about the cowherds, merchants and government officers. Another group of spies under samaharta in disguises of thieves were stationed in altars, cross-roads, solitary, deserted places, vicinity of tanks, rivers and wells, pilgrimages, hermitages, thick forests and mountains to keep watch over notorious thieves, enemy spies, men of undue courage coming and going.

Like the samaharta in the district, the nagarika was in charge of the capital city. He was also assisted by sthanikas, gonas and spies in carrying out city administration in the same way as in the villages. Spies under nagarika

171 AS.II.XXXV. "Evaṃ vaidehakavyaivaivaiva samahartru pradistapastaṇaḥ samahartru pradistastapasawa Ivanah karsakāorakshaivaidehakunanamahyakahānām cha saucchā" āruṣrāntarāpravasaiśāhavanā gahanaus tenāmāpravara-purusānām cha pravesanamānāmane pravojanayu palabherat."

172 AS. II.XXXV. "Evaṃ samahartru pradistāstapasa-vaiyavanā karsakagorakshakāvaidehaka-anamahyakahānām cha sauchā āruṣrāntarāpravasaiśāhavanā gahanaus tenāmāpravara-purusānām cha pravesanamānāmane pravojanayu palabherat."

173 Ibid. II. XXXVI
went to deserted houses, liquor shops, gambling houses, the
Buddhist abodes, hotels, cooked-meat selling shops in search
of suspicious persons. The nāgarika himself was to make
inspection of water reservoirs, roads, hidden passes for
going out of the city, forts, walls of forts and other works
of defence. It appears, therefore, that officials-in-
charge of districts, cities and villages, were not only to
spread a network of spies throughout the country to gather
information but they themselves were also to be vigilant
enough to chalk out a welfare programme for the state.
Vigilance, in a word, was considered to be the key to success
in administration throughout the entire period of our study.
The espionage system was neither neglected nor went out of
existence in the traditional history of Indian administration.
In the Mārkandeya Purāṇa queen Madalasa while giving advice
to her son regarding royal duties said, "The king should set
his spies upon his subjects in the towns, upon his ministers
and friends just as the wind moves secretly among all men.
Not a single department of government was free from the omni-
presence of secret agents. Now the question may be raised as
to the justification of such a vigorous system of espionage
in which persons at the helm of powers might turn dictators
to create unnecessary fear among men. In an atmosphere like
this, nothing good can flourish. But it was not the fact in

174 Ibid. II. XXXVI. "Evaṁabhavantare sūrvanivesāvahānagun-
dikandanika pākkamamsikdyu tāpāsandāvāsesu kuryuh."
175 Ibid. II. XXXVI
176 Mār Pur. 27. 21-5
India. "Among the Aryan people there has never arisen that despotism which blots out man as in Egypt, Babylon, China and among the Mussalmans and Tartar tribes or if it has appeared it has not been of long duration". Espionage, therefore, in India was resorted to as a part of the welfare programme of the state. That is why it has been said, "A king when observes through his spies the acts of all persons and thus what is for the general good he is said to assume the form of Aditya." Total good of the total number was the political maxim in ancient India.

DETECTION OF CRIMINALS BY SPIES: The secret agents were said to have been used to find out anti-social elements like thieves, adulterers and other criminals. Kautilya (Kantaka śodhana Bk.IV) referred to thirteen categories of criminals among whom were men leading dishonest life (oudhajivi), government officials receiving bribes, manufacturers of counterfeit coins, dealers of counterfeit gold, poisoners (rasadas) and men applying charms and magic to gain women for libidinous men. The collector general detected such criminals through spies (e.g. disguised as thieves etc.) pretending to commit similar offences. Sometimes to find out adulterers and men of criminal tendencies, the spies instigated them to commit those offences (like burglary,
plundering, articles or money already marked with identification). They were to be put under arrest while buying, selling or mortgaging those things or when they were intoxicated with medicinal drinks (yogosurāmattā).\footnote{181}

Manu asked to send spies to find out open as well as secret thieves. He said, "Let the king who sees everything through his spies discover the two sorts of thieves who deprive others of their property, both those who show themselves openly and those who lie concealed....."\footnote{182} The categories under open thieves were fortune-tellers, dishonest traders, officers, gamblers, cheats, rogues and person taking bribes. The burglars were secret thieves. Manu suggested methods similar to those of Kautilya to punish the offenders. A number of spies disguised as offenders, said Manu, would induce the suspected ones to commit offences. When they did so, were caught red-handed by spies and brought to the king for punishment.\footnote{183} Sometimes the clever but reformed thieves were engaged as spies of the king to detect criminals. A judge, said Manu, would ask a spy to deposit gold to the suspected thief. If that man did not return the same on demand, he was to be accused of theft and punished accordingly.\footnote{184}

To prevent theft the king was asked to set well-armed patrolling soldiers and spies in assembly houses, brothels,

\footnotesize
\begin{itemize}
\item \footnote{181}{AS, Bk VI.IV.}
\item \footnote{182}{SBE, XXV, 387-256}
\item \footnote{183}{SBE, XXV, IX. 256.60}
\item \footnote{184}{Ibid. 256.60}
\end{itemize}
cross-roads, liquor stalls, festive gatherings, well-known trees, play-houses, forests, natural and artificial groves, shops of artisans and empty houses. It is quite interesting to note how modern was the outlook of ancient political thinkers like Kautilya, Manu and others. Some methods suggested by them for the detection of anti-social elements like thieves and other offenders, by spies disguised as same, are quite applicable even today.

DETECTION OF CRIMINALS BY FOOTMARKS: The detection of criminals by following footmarks was prevalent from a very early period. In the Mahābhārata after the battle of Kurukshetra, Yudhishthira dispatched spies expert in tracing out culprits seeing impressions in search of Duryodhana who took shelter in Dvaita lake. In the Viśnu Purāṇa we have examples of finding out miscreants by footmarks. A king named Sagara in order to perform horse sacrifice let loose the sacrificial horse which was guarded by his sons. Following the foot-marks of the horse Sagara's sons came to the underground chamber where they found the horse roaming about freely.

There is another interesting story in the Harivamsa of the Viśnu Purāṇa narrating how culprits could be detected through footmarks. Vasudeva Krishna the chief of the Yādavas,

185 VS, 340
186 VP, 301
showed his liking for a costly gem, viz., svamantaka possessed by Satrajit of Satvata clan - another part of the Yādavas. The gem was fixed in the necklace of Prasena, the younger brother of Satrajit. Now, one day Prasena went on hunting never to return back. Satrajit and his followers suspected Krishna to have killed Prasena for the gem. Krishna resolved to bring to light the actual fact. He came to the forest where Prasena had gone on hunting. Following his foot marks, he came to a spot and found out Prasena's dead body lying along with that of a lion, but the gem was missing. The clever Krishna followed further the footmarks and came to the other end of the forest. There he saw the house of an aboriginal chief named Jamvavat. Krishna kept an watch over there from a distance and saw a nurse consoling the weeping little son of Jamvavat with that gem. Krishna tried to snatch it away from her who started shouting. A battle ensued between Krishna and Jamvavat and the former restored the gem from the latter. Krishna told everything to Satrajit who was convinced of his innocence and gave his daughter Satyabhama in marriage to Krishna.187

ESPIONAGE IN RELATION TO POLICE: The spies capable to trace out marks of feet and hoofs formed a part of the police department in ancient India.188 If there was any loss of cattle and properties the spies traced the tract upto last.189

187 VP, 340-341
188 CPJ, I, 1953, 10-11
189 Ibid.
In *Narada smriti* it is said, "When the footmarks after leaving that ground, are lost, cannot be traced any further, the neighbours, inspectors of the roads and governors of the region shall be made responsible for the loss".\(^{190}\) Besides, the police apart from being assisted by spies tracking foot impressions, received the co-operation of *suchaka* in finding out culprits. The *suchaka* was actually an informer of the police and the *Jänuka* was always at his knees. In Kalidasa's drama *Sâkuntalam* a police officer seems to have been helped by *suchaka* and *Jänuka* in catching hold of a fisherman on suspicion of stealing a precious ring of the king with his name engraved on it.\(^{191}\) But the *suchaka*, in the later period seems to have been appointed by the king for the detection of criminals.\(^{192}\) We do not know definitely whether the *suchaka* continued to serve as a police informer even in the later period.

Both the police and the spies acted in co-operation to prevent escape of prisoners from jail and find out other offenders. The policemen's main functions were confined to the investigation of crimes, detection of criminals and placing them before judges for punishment. But the finding out

\(^{190}\) SBE, XXXIII, 12
\(^{191}\) KAS, RMB, VI.I.14.
\(^{192}\) Sukra IV.V.138-139; IV.V.135-136: In it we also find a class of spies called *stobhaka* who were not employed by the king. They reported about a crime in lieu of money. The sûstras censured such a conduct.
of a criminal was only a part of the spy's numerous functions. Spies were expected to have a greater measure of responsibility, morality and integrity of character because their activities were extended in all the departments of the government, viz., administrative, military and diplomatic. Moreover, the peace-loving common people were generally afraid of policemen. Sometimes the higher police officers became oppressive and disturbed people. Naturally, the common people became hesitant deliberately to co-operate with the police. That is why the kings in Eastern India while granting lands or villages to scholars strictly prohibited the entrance of policemen and soldiers there. It clearly shows that the policemen unhesitatingly made some commissions or omissions for the purpose of gain, but if a spy turned corrupt, he might not have only put the king's safety in danger but also have led the country to a perilous ruin.

ESPIONAGE IN RELATION TO FOREIGN COUNTRIES: Kautilya asked to employ spies to find out disaffected elements in the enemy country and utilise their services for the destruction of the enemy itself. He classified such persons into four categories, viz., disaffected (krudha-varga), alarmed (bhita-varga), greedy (lubdha-varga) and ambitious (mane-varga).^194

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193 SBE, XXV, VIII (Laws of Manu. Rules. 314,315,316)
194 AS, I. XIV.
Let us now go in details of characteristics of these persons.

a) Disaffected (kruddha-varga) Persons who were deceived with false promises of rewards, those who did not receive proper remuneration inspite of being more skilled in artistic works than others, those were unnecessarily put to troubles by the king's favourites and courtiers, those who were invited but not treated properly, those who were banished, those who could not fulfil their purpose even at the cost of large sums of money, those who were deprived of legal rights of inheritance, those who had lost their rank and position from government services, those who were pushed by the relatives of the king, those whose wives had been assaulted, those who had been imprisoned without definite reasons, those who had received secret punishment, those whose properties were confiscated and those whose kinsmen suffered banishment, belonged to the class of disaffected persons (kruddha-varga)\textsuperscript{195}

b) Alarmed Persons (bhita-varga) The men who polluted themselves with offences, those who were insulted or oppressed, those who were blamed publicly for their sins, offenders who were alarmed seeing similar men receiving punishment, those who occupied forcibly others' land, those who had amassed much wealth suddenly, those who were disliked by the king and vice versa, were alarmed persons.\textsuperscript{196}

\textsuperscript{195}AS, I.XIV
\textsuperscript{196}Ibid.
c) The greedy (lubāha-varga) Persons having been reduced to poverty or taxed heavily, miserly men, or men addicted to women and wine or men amassing wealth by dishonest means constituted the group of greedy persons. 197

d) The ambitious (manī-varga) Persons of fiery spirit, or highhanded in manner, or proud, envious and discontented were ambitious men. 198

Kautilya suggested the king to send disguised spies to provoke all the disaffected persons of the enemy against their own king, and win over them. 199 The spies were also to bring them under oath to work in combination with them to achieve the same object. 200 But spies designated as apasarpas were to keep a sharp watch over the enemy spies. 201 Among the disaffected persons in the enemy country some were to be won over by conciliation and gifts, and those who could not be appeased in this way might be separated from their master by dissension and threat which corresponds to the Sanskrit sloka: "Labhet sāmadānābhyāḥ kṛityāṁścha parābhāmisu. Akṛityān bhedadanda-bhyāḥ paraśāmscha darsāyet." 202

The king, according to Manu, should despatch spies to the hostile country to ascertain the military strength and manoeuvre, arms and enemies, before marching against it. Manu,
too, like Kautilya suggested similar views to win over the important officials and disaffected elements in the enemy country. He said, "As the wind moves everywhere entering in the shape of the vital air, all created beings, even so let him penetrate everywhere through spies." In the Agni-Purāṇa the disguised secret agents are found to have moved in the enemy country to ascertain the activities of the enemy. The Kathāsarit sāgara which contains a number of allegorical stories, deals with kingship and administration and suggests the king to keep an eye over the enemies. In the Hitopadeśa, the king is advised to send spies to the enemy country to find out disaffected elements there. It is further stated that deliberations on foreign affairs should be undertaken secretly. The spies disguised as ascetics, should go to the enemy country and in the pretext to discuss religious scriptures in temples, hermitages and pilgrimages; they should gather secret information about the enemy.

ESPIONAGE IN RELATION TO POSTAL SYSTEM: The system of sending secret messages, letters and communications brought postal department into existence. "Espionage involved collection and transmission of news for state purposes... news-writing, espionage and postal system were inextricably connected". The success of espionage, depended to a great extent,

203 SBE, XXV.245.149 204 Ibid
205 AP, II, CCXL. 864. 11-14 206 Hitopadeśa, 85-86
207 NWMI, J.S.S, 110
upon relaying or transmitting communications and maintaining co-ordination with all the branches of administration. But this line of communication was to be kept secret. That is why the secret messages in some cases were transmitted through samāhāli or quḍhalekhvā. The system of sending secret messages through a class of men (couriers) was prevalent in India from a very ancient period. The postal system in India had its further development from B.C. 700 to B.C.185. The ḍūtasa, particularly šāsanha ḍūtasas carried on postal service. They also carried on the royal writs. When Magadha came under the Mauryas, the central government established a department headed by Lekhaka (Minister of correspondence) to keep itself in touch with provincial governments through the system of correspondence. News writing was linked with espionage. Hence transmission of news presupposed the postal department.

208 AS, I.XVI
209 CHI I, 117; It reminds us of the system of conveying confidential secret messages in Arab administration; - Masudi Murūj al-dhahab. VII, 127. Messages were conveyed either by runners or by carriers mounted on horses or camels for a shorter distance. Most confidential messages were despatched in this way. In the previous chapter we have referred to 'carrier pigeon service' prevalent in ancient India. Sometimes trained pigeons were employed to carry on secret messages in Arabia.
210 GI, II, P.N.C, 122
211 Ibid
212 FHAL, 252
213 NWMI, 110
PUNISHMENT OF SPIES: The spies, as we come to learn from different sources, were given good remunerations for their services. But they were severely punished if they supplied false news. The spies gathering information in the enemy country were harshly treated or given corporal punishment if detected there, especially when the espionage was military in character. At the time of war the spies had to go to the enemy camp even endangering their lives. But the severity of punishment inflicted upon a spy depended upon the character of the monarch or the authority in power. In the Rāmāyana when Rāvana's spies Śuka and Sārana, as well as Śārdūla were detected by Vānara host and assaulted, Rāma allowed them to go free. But the reverse was the treatment of Rāvana who went so far as to set fire in Hanumāna's tail when found out to be a spy of the enemy. Sometimes spies were not only treated brutally but also killed in utter disregard to justice and humanity. One such example we may cite from the Mṛcchakathā, the minister of the Nandas named Rākshasa engaged his spy Abhyadatta to kill Chandragupta by mixing poison in his medicine. Disguised as a medical man, he prepared the medicine for Chandragupta. Chānakya was suspicious and poured the medicine in a golden bowl and its colour changed at once. Chānakya administered the poisonous medicine to Abhyadatta and he died instantaneously. The same drama tells us that Rakshasa made another attempt to kill Chandragupta secretly. A few spies were sent by him to
dig an underground passage in Chandragupta’s bed chamber. They acted accordingly and a spy named Bibhatsaka along with his followers remained hidden there. When Chānākya entered into the room his vigilant eyes fell over the rows of ants coming out through a hole of the wall with particles of foodgrains. The clever minister could at once realise that there was someone hiding near. He set fire into the room and the spies died immediately.215

Kautilya asked to dismiss or inflict punishment on spies supplying wrong information again and again. If a report supplied by three informers was of same nature then it was to be accepted. "Travānāmekavākyo sampratvayāḥ. Tesaṁabhinavi-
nipātē tupalnidandaḥ pratiseṣha vē".216 “An informant”, says Kautilya, "who fails to prove (his assertion) shall be liable to monetary or corporal punishment, and shall never be acquitted."217 “When the charge is proved, the informant may put the tale bearing to someone else or clear himself in any other way from the blame. Any informant who withdraws his assertion prevailed upon by insinuations of the accused shall be con-
demned to death”.218 The Manimekhala records219 and the Rājtarangini220 have left us evidences of death punishment to spies. Sukra said that the king who did not punish the spy

215 MR, 2.16
216 AS, II, XVI
217 AS, Sham Sastri, VII, Bk II, 69
218 Ibid. II, XIII
219 MHS, S.K.A, 187
220 Rājtarangini, VIII.2200
supplying false information was liable to ruin the life and properties of his subjects. He further warned the king to be well-armed while meeting with the spies. The king, said Sukra, should always test the validity of the statements of spies. Otherwise, they might have supplied false information. But at the same time, Sukra asked the king to protect the honest spies from the officers-in-charge of different administrative departments, during the period of their services and punish those who were dishonest. It may be observed in this connection that though a number of literary fragments refer to the names of some spies, history hardly records any one of them. The government, in fact, could never function smoothly and efficiently without the cooperation of the spies. Many a time the king's life was saved through previous intimation by spies about any evil conspiracy. Before the outbreak of war, the correct information regarding military strength and strategy of the enemy through spies, brought laurels of victory to the conquering (vijigisu) king. But their names passed into oblivion. Not only that, the question may be raised as to whether the secret agents received recognition, honour and remuneration in proportion to their services rendered for the country. It was, however, prescribed by the political thinkers of ancient India that the spies should be properly honoured and remunerated before they were sent for gathering information. But it

221 Sukra, I, 46
is not possible to know definitely how far these rules were followed. Was it the fact that lack of proper remuneration and honour created a feeling of reluctance in them to be more vigilant and cautious for the prevention of the enemy's penetration from time to time in India?
We have already discussed that espionage was a regular feature of administration in ancient India. But it is very difficult to construct a connected history of espionage in the period of our study due to paucity of materials. It is only the Mauryas that give the details of its working while most others give only incidental reference to it. But that does not mean that espionage lost its utility. From a study of historical facts we can conclude that espionage system continued its existence with full vigour throughout ages.

The Mauryas: It was due to the efficient services of espionage that Chandragupta Maurya could consolidate his newly acquired kingdom. He proved his excellence not only as a conqueror but also as an administrator. The king as the head of the state enjoyed extensive powers in the spheres of executive, military, judicial and legislative affairs. He was a despot but not an oppressor. He looked upon his subjects as his own children and felt responsibility for their welfare. As the executive head of the kingdom, Chandragupta stationed watchmen, received the accounts of income and expenditure, employed ministers, priests and superintendents, established communication with the Mantri-parishad or Council of Ministers, received secret reports
from spies and also received the envoys. The king laid down the principles of guidance to be followed by his officials and people. He exercised his control over the officials appointed in the distant parts of the kingdom through secret informers. The overseers and the Inspectors referred to by Arrian and Strabo, during the reign of Chandragupta, were same as the Rāshtrīya of the Junāgadh Inscription or the Pradeshrī or the Guḍha Purusha of the Arthasastra. Pradeshrī may be derived from Pradis which means 'to point' to communicate. These Inspectors were recruited from among the most efficient and trustworthy persons. They supervised everything and submitted their reports secretly to the king. According to Strabo, the Inspectors of the city as well as of the camp were assisted by 'city courtesans' and women of 'easy virtue'.

Kautilya divided the spies into two groups, viz., stationary spies (sāṃstha) and the wandering spies (sāṃchāra). According to him "the superintendents shall carry on their duties with the assistance of accountants, scribes, coin-examiners, stock-takers and additional secret overseers".

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222 AS, Bk I.XVI; XVII; Bk. VIII.I
223 HJAI, 249
224 Ibid, 259
225 Ibid, 259
226 Ibid, 254
It is probable that through royal scribes "a constant touch was kept up with the distant provinces by means of a regular system of correspondence and also with a class of inspecting officers or overseers, whose duty it was to watch all that occurred and make report to the central government".\textsuperscript{227}

In the Mauryan age the espionage system was so efficient that the spies could say about the entire inhabitants of the locality including their domestic animals.\textsuperscript{228} The entry of the foreigners was also recorded, their activities were spied over by city magistrates.\textsuperscript{229} From the accounts of Megasthenes and the Arthasastra of Kautilya we come to learn about the existence of self-autonomous city in the Mauryan administrative system. The entire city administration was controlled by a council of thirty. It was divided into six departments each consisting of five members. This council of thirty looked after the various aspects of civil administration. The watch and ward staff and the police department of the big metropolitan city like Pātaliputra maintained the details quite correctly about all the affairs of the city.\textsuperscript{230} "The grain, wool, sugarcane and other produce had to be converted into use value before the state

\textsuperscript{227} PAAI, P.N.B. 49
\textsuperscript{228} AS. II. XXXV
\textsuperscript{229} Ibid
\textsuperscript{230} AHI, 123
could barter them advantageously. A good deal of money was to be quietly recovered by royal spies disguised as merchants selling goods at double price to the soldiers during the campaign.\textsuperscript{231} The merchant spies were employed by the king to acquire wealth in the form of gold, silver and other precious articles from merchants and others by trickery.\textsuperscript{232} Megasthenes refers to the department of secret agents (\textit{Gudha Purushah}) under a minister called \textit{Mahāmātrāpāsarpa} or \textit{Mahāmatvāpāsarpa}.\textsuperscript{233} In view of the highly responsible character of their work, the members of the secret service were recruited from the tried men of the civil service, the Amatyas, whose purity and integrity were proved by all tests.\textsuperscript{234} (\textit{Upadhābhīḥ śudhāmātyavargo gudhapurusūḥānūthādayet}).

The administrative system of Asoka showed no marked difference in its structure as is reflected in the classical accounts and the \textit{Arthasastra}. Asoka followed the time-table of his predecessors. He declared himself to be ever ready to despatch business (\textit{artha karma}) and receive reports (\textit{prativedanam}) at all time and at all places, "when he is dining, or in his harem (\textit{arodhanam}) or in the ranches (\textit{vachanam}) or in the place of religious instruction (\textit{vinitam}) or in the parks (\textit{wanesu})"\textsuperscript{235} Asoka employed agents and reporters

\begin{footnotes}
\item[231]{ISIH, D.D.K. 221}
\item[232]{TTRAI, M.C. 87}
\item[233]{Megas, I. II. 12; IV.4,5; Vide, CMT, R.K.M. 120}
\item[234]{CMJ, 121}
\item[235]{RE, VI. cf. CHHT, 57}
\end{footnotes}
and also the Inspectors of higher rank to examine the work of
different organisations, gather information about public opi­
ion and submit reports to the king. A class of judges tra­
velling in circuit were employed by Aśoka to exercise his
control over the officials in distant lands.236 "The fre­
quency of inspection and the existence of spies must have
carried with it the flavour of a totalitarian state, since
there was no elected representative body to assist the king
in governing he could have recourse only to such means of
eliciting public opinion...."237

Aśoka laid great stress on vigilance as an essential
part of his welfare programme. He said, "I am never complete­
ly satisfied with my work of wakefulness or despatch of busi­
ness. I consider that I must work for the welfare of all
people; and the attainment of this is rooted in wakefulness
and due despatch of business...."238 Aśoka employed Mahā­
mātta who went on inspection of judiciary in cities every
five five years.239 Besides, there were a class of provin­
cial officers inspecting every three years. They dealt with
city administration mainly concerned with artisans, merchants
and other people.240

The provinces, at the time of Aśoka, were subdivided

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236 PHAI, 249
237 ADM, R.T, III
238 EA, G.S.M, VI.4, 19
239 Ibid, I.9, 59-60
240 ADM, 103
into districts. There were three major officials in each district, viz., the Prādesīka, the Rājuka and the Yuktā who in turn were assisted by many officials. Every district was headed by Pradestr who toured about to inspect the activities of district and village officials and reported to the Chief Collector Samāhartā. The Pradestr also had to check the work of superintendents and other junior officials. There is a controversy regarding the question whether the Prādesīkas were Reporters in the actual sense. According to Thomas pradeśa meant 'report'. In his opinion, Prādesīkas or prādesīkas were identical with the pradeshtris of the Arthaśāstra. The Pradeshtris were entrusted mainly with the collection of taxes, punishment of obstinate and disobedient officials, administration of criminal justice, tracing out of thieves and inspection of the works of superintendents and their officials. They served as medium between the samāhartri and the gopas, sthānikas and adhyakshas. "It is, however, doubtful if the prādesīkas can really be equated with Reporters".

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241 R.E. III, Gérard Bloch Les Insc. d'Asoka, 96
242 ADM, 106
243 JRAS, 1915, 97
244 PHAI, 283
245 Ibid, 283-284
246 Ibid, 284
A class of officials called Pulisañi probably belonged to subordinate rank and like modern Public Relation Officers, they informed the king about public opinion. Hultzsch identified Pulisa (Agents) with Gudha-Purusas who, in his opinion, were classified into high, low and middle ones. The highest in rank among them were closest to the king and helped him in taking decisions on policies. "The Pativedakas or Reporters are doubtless the chāras mentioned in Chapter XVI of the Arthasastra." Elsewhere, we are told that the Pativedakas were entitled to submit their reports to the king at all places and at all time about what was happening throughout the country (atthe me janasya pativedetha iti). The king had great confidence on the Pativedakas. The Pulisañi and the Pativedakas served as a connecting link between the central government and the provincial government.

From contemporary accounts, Aśoka's edicts and renovations introduced by him, we find that Aśoka changed some of the features of administration by appointing new officials (as, for example, dhammaḥamāṃtvas, dharma-vutas for the propagation of dhamma) and introducing new laws and policies.

247 R.E. IV. BLIA, 164
248 Cf. PHAI, 284
249 RE, VI.
250 Cf. PHAI, 284
251 RE, VI
252 ADM, 110
As there is no reference to the abolition of espionage of Asoka, we may take it for granted that it existed at that time. But it is clear that the institution became weak and its activities were circumscribed. Asoka gave himself to a higher philosophy of life. So he laid little emphasis on police, espionage and military establishment. Under such circumstances, deterioration in the quality of espionage must have adversely told upon the administrative set-up of the Mauryas. We can conclude that in such a state of affairs Asoka was unable to save his empire and soon after his death, both internal and external troubles started resulting in the downfall of the Mauryas.

**THE SUNGAS:** On the other hand, the Sungas most probably had some machinery to find out the weakness of the empire. Otherwise, it would not have been possible for Pushyamitra Sunga to kill the last Mauryan ruler Brihadratha. None of the successors of Asoka was competent enough to carry on efficient administration and the provincial rulers became ambitious. This political turmoil inspired Pushyamitra Sunga to assert his right by putting Brihadratha to sword. The degradation of espionage, was no doubt, one of the prime causes of the collapse of the empire. Pushyamitra established a vast empire which extended up to the river Narmada including within its domain the cities of Pataliputra, Oudh, Vidiśā and most probably Jalandhar and Sākala. Was it possible for him to build up such a large empire without the help of espionage?

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253 PHAI, 329
We do not, however, find any direct reference to it either in administration or in military affairs. But in the post-Mauryan era the administrative machinery was framed more or less on the principles laid down by Kautilya. So it may be presumed that espionage was surely there. Pushyamitra died in about B.C. 151 and was succeeded by his son Agnimitra who, in turn, by Vashumitra. The last ruler of this dynasty was Devabhuti or Devabhumi who was overthrown by his amātya Vasudeva. The different evidences tell us that the king Devabhumi or Devabhuti was extremely lustful. Vasudeva entered into a conspiracy with his emissaries to bring about his ruin. The king was treacherously murdered by the daughter of his slave woman disguised as his queen.254

THE KĀNVAS: To maintain continuity I had to refer to the political history of different dynasties in ancient India not directly connected with espionage. When the Śuṅgas grew weak, the Kānvas came to power. According to the Puranas, four Kānva kings viz., Vasumitra, Bhumimitra, Nārāyana and Susarman ruled over for fortyfive years (from about B.C. 75 to B.C. 30). The extent of their kingdom was confined only to Magadha.255

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254 PHAI, 351; There are however, differences of opinion as to whether the last Śuṅga ruler overthrown by Vasudeva was named Devābhuti or Bhāgavata.

255 Cf. PHAI, 353 ff.
THE SĀTAVĀHANAS AND CHETAS: At the time of petty quarrels going on among the Śuṅgas and the Kāṇvas, new powers like the Sātavāhana and Cheta or Cheti came to the limelight in Andhra and Kaliṅga kingdom respectively. We are not going in details of controversies regarding the exact reigning period of the Sātavāhanas. Some historians like Dr. Smith and Dr. Gopalchari held the view that the Satavahanas ruled for 460 years (B.C. 235 to about A.D. 225). Simuka the founder of the dynasty destroyed the Śuṅgas and the Kāṇvas. Among the Sātavāhana rulers, the most important were Gautamiputra Śrī Sātakarni and Pulumayi II. It was during the time of Pulumayi IV that the Sātavāhana dynasty ruled no longer in Andhra. The empire had its downfall. The Sātavāhanas followed the principles of Dharmaśāstra in framing their administrative machinery. Espionage found due emphasis in the Dharmaśāstras. So it was surely a part of administration of the Sātavāhanas. They could not have ruled for such a long period without taking recourse to the system of espionage which was essential to keep the king abreast of all that happened inside the country and outside.

The history of Kaliṅga from the death of Aśoka to the rise of the Chetas in the first century B.C. is obscure.

256 Cf. PHAI, 356 ff
257 H.I. V.D.M., 201
258 Ibid, 205
Kalinga again became very prominent with the ascendency of power by Kharavela belonging to Cheta dynasty. He was entitled Maharāja of Kalinga in B.C. 28. In the first year of his reign he repaired the gates and ramparts of his capital, Kalinganarara. After making proper arrangements for the defence of his capital city in the year B.C. 27, he led his campaign in the city of Musika (Āsika ?) nagara.260 In the west, the Rāthika and the Bhojakas were subdued by him. In the north, he penetrated upto Gorathgiri (Barabar Hills near Gaya) and also ravaged Rājagrīha.261 He probably repeated his attack on the north in the tenth and the twelfth year of his reign. According to some scholars, Kharavela raided the countries of upper India and harassed the rulers of Uttarāpatha. His North-western expedition did not bring him permanent success, but his North-eastern campaign brought him success. Nest he subjugated Magadha, plundered Anga and turning to the south, took hold of Pihunda (probably a place in the interior of Mauṣalipatam) and also made his way as far as in the Tamil country and even disturbed the prominent king of the Pāṇḍyas.262 Unfortunately, we are not told whether Kharavela utilised the services of spies in his successful

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259 PHAI, 370
260 PHAI, 371; Vide Cf. EI, 79.87. According to Barua the name of the city is Aśvaka or Aśika (old Brāhmi Insc. 176; Aśika, IHQ, 1938, 263). Dr. F.W. Thomas did find reference to Musika capital (JRAS, 1922.83) He interpreted it as Aśika. Cf. Bühler, Indian Palaeography,39.
261 PHAI, 371
262 Ibid, 371 ff.
campaigns. But a study of facts of history reflects that a *viliqisu* (conquering) king had to requisition the services of spies both for the defence of his own country and for offense against the enemy. We, however, come to know that Khāravela at the beginning of his reign made arrangements for the defence of his capital. Espionage must have formed a vital part of his defence.

**NORTH-WEST INDIA**: In the intervening period between the fall of the Mauryas and the rise of the Guptas the North Western part of India came to be dominated by the Bactrian Greeks, the Scythians (*Sakas*), the Parthians (*Pahlavas*) and the Kushāns. It was long after Alexander that an intrusion of the land was made by the Bactrian Greek Demetrios. He extended his sway over Kapisa, Śākala (Śiālkot) and a large part of the interior in India. He was the son of Euthydemos and was followed by a line of successors viz., Apollodotos, Antimachos, Agathokles, Agathokleia, the Stratos, Menander, Dionysios, Zoilos, Hippostratos and Apollophanes. Another Bactrian Greek Eukratides made himself the master of Nicea, Takshasila and Pushkaravati, Kapīśā and Bactria. His descendants were Heliodoros and Antialkidas. The internecine quarrel between the two lines of successors made them weak in the North-West and they succumbed before the onslaught of

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263 PHAI, 372 f
264 Ibid, 372 f
fresh invaders, viz., the Scythians and the Parthians. From the original homeland of the Sakas (the Scythians) was Central Asia. From there they made their way through west and south Afghanistan and Baluchistan by following the modern Bolan Pass. They at first occupied Kipin identified by St. Levy with Kashmir but by Sten Konow with Kapisa. However, though the Sakas overpowered the Greek meridarchs (governors) of Kipin (Kapisa-Gandhara) they could not hold permanent sway over Kabul. In India they occupied Sind which was known to the Greeks as Indo-Scythia. They had their metropolis in the north-west, but also had considerable command over Jumna in the east and Godavari in the south. They penetrated as far as Mathura and Paithan in the south by destroying the Mitras and the Satavahanas respectively. The North, North-west and the Western parts of India were ruled over by two or more lines of Saka kings. The names of the earliest Saka kings were Damijada and Mathes. Mathes was a great king.
and occupied Chuksha near Taxila, Kapiṣi,273 Pushkaravati, Taxila274 and places near Mathura.275 Among his successors most important were Azes and Azilises. A line of the Sakas known as Kshaharata occupied Broach of Mahārāṣṭra. The most important of the Kshaharata line was Nahapāna who is supposed to have included in his domain Broach, Kāthiivara, Ajmer, Pushkara and Ujjain of Mālwa.276 It is supposed that Nahapāna was ousted from Mahārāṣṭra by Gautamiputra Sātakarnī.277 The Saka Kshatrapas of Ujjain, according to Rapson, belonged to the dynasty probably known as Kṛddāmaka.278 Chashtana and Rudradēman were two famous rulers of this lineage. Rudradēman occupied east and west Mālwa, the Māhishmati region, places surrounding Dwārkā, the district around Junāgaḍh, the place on the river bank of Sābarmati, Mārwār, Cutch, the lower Indus region, north Konkan, the places Saraswati and western Vindhyas etc.279 He had his capital at Ujjain. We are not going in details of other rulers of this dynasty. The Saka power was on the wane when Samudragupta rose to power. The last ruler of this dynasty was killed treacherously by Chandragupta II. It is stated that the Saka ruler was offering his love to queen

273 CHI, I 590  
274 Ibid., I. 701  
275 HAI, 387  
276 HAI, 429  
277 Ibid, 484  
278 Ibid, 446  
279 Ibid, 448
Dhruvadevi. Chandragupta disguised himself as the queen and killed the last Saka descendant of the Kārdamaka line secretly. "Ar (i ?) ānure cha para-kalatra kāmukam kāmīni-vēsaqupta-tāscha Chandraguptah śaka-patim asatavadi." 280

When Mātṛes-Mogha was ruling over North-western India, some princes of Saka-Pahlava origin were appointed satraps in North India. 281 The Parthians are believed to have overthrown the Šakas from some places of Gandhāra in the middle of the first century A.D. 282 The Parthian king Gondophernes was at the beginning a ruler of south Afganistan. 283 Later on he took possession over Peshwar. 284 Most probably Eastern Gandhāra (Taxila) was wrested by him from the family of Azes. The author of the Periplus tells us that the Parthian princes drove away the Šakas from the lower Indus valley. 285 According to the Christian writers Gondophernes and his brother Gad were

280 PHAI, 452; Vide, Harsha-charita of Bana (Sastha Uchhasa) Desa - 1.28.84, Art. Sukumar Sen - p.3. Bana narrated several stories in connection with espionage. These are as follows:
A Yavana king was reading a secret report in the court. The report was reflected on the diamond of his crown - His female attendant saw it and as a result of this, the Yavana king was killed.
The Chamunide king Puskarā was killed by the spies of Shampa king when he was hunting in Gandāka area.
The Maikhari king Kshatravarma liked to listen to songs of praise by the Prisoners. The maga spies (maugah) of the enemy while singing his praise loudly in disguises of prisoners killed him.

281 PHAI, 399
282 Ibid, 399
283 JRAS, 1913. 1003-1010
284 PHAI, 401
285 Ibid, 401
After the death of Gondophernes his empire was divided in small parts. From epigraphic and numismatic evidences we come to learn that the Parthians were finally supplanted by the Kushāns from Afghanistan, the Punjab and Sind. Kadphises I, the head of the Kushān branch of the Yueh-chi tribe extended his powers from the frontiers of Persia to the Indus and probably Jhelum by ousting the Indo-Greeks and the Parthians. He was succeeded by Kadphises II, Vima, Wima or Wema who is supposed to have established his sway upto the ganges valley as far as Benaras. Kanishka, the greatest ruler of this dynasty and the founder of the Saka era 78 A.D. exercised his power over a vast realm embracing Kapiśā, Gandhāra, Kashmir and Benaras. His capital was at Purushpur or Peswar. Kanishka was succeeded by Vasishka, Huvishka and Vasudeva I. After Vasudeva, the Kushan empire had its downfall.

This long era of foreign domination in the post-Mauryan age is known as "Scythian period." During this period the foreign rulers gave a good administrative system. It was an admixture of both the foreign and Indian elements. The Persian system of satrapy ushered in some parts of Northern, Western and South India. There were officials bearing Greek titles of

286 PHAI, 400
287 Ibid, 403
288 Ibid, 418
289 Ibid, 454; vide CR, Sept. 1925
Meridarch and Strategos; and side by side were the functionaries of Indian designation of Amātya and Mahāsenapati. The Scythian rulers did not part with the ideas of the Arthasastra and maintained officials like Mahāmātras, Rājju-kas, and Samcharaṅtaka or Sanchārī spies especially in South India. In this connection we may quote Dr. H. C. Roy Choudhury, "A less pleasing feature of ancient Indian polity in the Scythian, as in other times, was the employment of spies, particularly of the "samcharaṅtakas" or wandering emissaries, whose functions are described with gruesome details of the Arthasastra". From this we can say definitely that the espionage did not go out of existence. The Kushāṇa who came after the Parthians were also able administrators. Inspite of paucity of details, the Kushan administration, as we come to know, ensured safety, security, progress, prosperity and happiness of their subjects. Besides, they made large number of donations and dedications for all. The Kushans created a class of officials who were called Dandanāyaka and Mahādandanāyaka. These officials are supposed to have performed military, judicial as well as police functions. As espionage has always been a part of police

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290 PHAI, 455
291 Ibid, 454; vide Lüders Ins. Nos. 937, 1144
292 Ibid, 454; vide Ind. Nos. 416, 1195
293 Ibid, 454, Ins. No. 1200; Cf. IA, 5, 52, 155
294 Ibid, 464
295 IUK, B.N. Puri, 85
296 Ibid, 83-84
department, we can presume that it might have been under the jurisdiction of Dandanāyaka and Mahādandanavaka, so far his police functions were concerned.

On the whole, India had a special type of village administration which was in practice from a very early time. The Kushans most probably did not part with this set-up of villages in their administration. Each village was headed by the Gramika. The villages were self-autonomous units but the central government had authority over the village administration, and the village officials. A minister (sachiva) was employed to inspect the work of the village officials. The town superintendent (sarvārthachintaka) was appointed by the central government to visit village officials by turns. The sarvārthachintaka had spies to keep watch over the officials in their districts so that they might not trouble people by over taxation and other oppressive measures. The villages, as was the Indian tradition, were divided into groups of ten, twenty, hundred and one thousand. Every village headman had to inform all the affairs of the village under his jurisdiction to his immediate superior.

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297 KSISSPMPS, B.C. 196 ff; vide, MI, 11.101.102
298 Ibid
299 Ibid
300 Ibid
THE GUPTAS: It was long after the downfall of the mighty Mauryas that India witnessed the rise of the Imperial Guptas who had successfully stemmed the tide of the Scythian conquest. Sri Gupta who is said to be the founder of the dynasty was followed by a good number of successors among whom the most prominent were Samudragupta, Chandragupta, Kumārgupta and Skandagupta. Our knowledge about espionage in the Gupta and post-Gupta era is limited for want of necessary documents and evidences of dependable nature. It is often said in some quarters that the people in the Gupta dominion enjoyed peace and prosperity without being disturbed by police control and vigorous espionage system. But we cannot agree with it because the contemporary literary and other documents confirm us about the existence of espionage system along with the police at that time. The chief minister of the king called Sechya has been described as the third eye of the king, i.e., "Rājāh tritiyamava chak-shuh". The Head of province was attended by a staff of private secretaries to act as intermediaries between him and the administration and communicate his orders to them. They are designated as Dūtas, Dūtakas or Ānādāpasas. These offices involved great trust and responsibility and were given only to the higher officers of the rank of a Rājaasthāniya and a Upārīka, as the mouthpiece of the sovereign or the Head of the administration. In Gunāigarh Inscription

301 MR, I.16.20; 2.1.15 etc; Kiratarjuniya, 1.19; Sisupāla-vadh, 11.82.113; XX.23
302 PHAI, 496-497
303 G.E, R.K.M, 151
304 Ibid, 152
of Vainyagupta there is reference to royal scribe called Karana Kāyastha who used to write the royal order and also held the office of the minister for war and peace, viz., Sandhivigrahaka. The officers like Dandapaśādhikarānika and Chauradharanika were the head of the police and the Inspector General of Police respectively. There is reference to the existence of record office named Akshapatāla headed by Mahākahanatalika. The clerks viz., Divir-rāga, Lekhakā used to write and copy records and documents (Karanas). The officer who kept these documents under his custody was designated as Karanika and the officer who drafted these documents was known as Kartri or Sāavyitri.

The district superintendent (Sarvādhyakṣa) used to appoint high-born men (Kulaputra) to guard against corruption. The governors and the district officials were assisted by officials like the Dandika, Chauradharanika, Dandapaśika, Nagarareshthi, Śārthavāha, Prathamakulika, Prathama Kāyastha (the chief scribe), Pustapāla and others.

From the existence of police officers, the village watchman and royal scribes, it is proved that sharp vigilance was kept over all spheres of administration. The institution

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305 GE, 152
306 Ibid, 152
307 Ibid, 152
308 Ibid, 153
309 PHAI, 496; cf. JASS, 1916, 30.
310 PHAI, 496
of espionage maintained its continued existence along with the police department and attained considerable importance as a necessary adjunct of administration. The brilliant achievements of some of the Gupta emperors, named Samudragupta, Chandragupta II, Skandagupta and Naresihagupta in supplanting both internal and external enemies, conquering territories aptly testify to the existence of the institution of spies. But it may be pointed out that the Gupta emperors laid great emphasis on literary and cultural development of the empire and tightened the services of secret agents particularly in the sphere of conflict and war. An atmosphere of freedom, good will and co-operation pervaded in every aspect of their activities. Hence the activities of spies gratifying its intensification became less significant.

It may be presumed in this connection that there was probably some gap between the theoretical treatises of espionage narrated in the Arthasastra and its practical application. The historian observes, "The over-all picture of Kautilya espionage was not perhaps applicable with equal exactness to all the periods of ancine India". According to Dr. A.L. Basham, "The function of the secret service was not confined to the suppression of criticism and sedition, and it was looked on not as a mere Machiavellian instrument for maintaining power, but an integral part of the state machinery".

311 NSAI, 65
312 QHI, 84
A European scholar says, ".....it is an application of
Dharma to national defence". Asoka, as for example,
maintained espionage to see that his subjects were not
oppressed by the government officials and his laws of
piety were observed. However, we have little knowledge
as to the methods by which the central authority exer-
cised control over local, district and provincial admin-
istration. It is a fact that imperial control and super-
vision were exercised through official bureaucrats like
Samāhārta, Nāgarīka etc., periodical tours prescribed by
Manu and undertaken by Asoka and Harshavardhan and through
direct royal orders carried on by messengers named Wallabhā-
jāanāchārinah. We have already referred to the exis-
tence of postal arrangements in ancient India. The system
of relay through runners and mounted couriers at intervals
as witnessed by Ibn Batuta in the first half of the fourteenth
century A.D. was prevalent in India from a very early period.

The espionage system enjoyed a new lease of life and
revived back its former glory with the establishment of poli-
tical power under Harshavardhan. Like Asoka, Harsha perso-
nally toured frequently through his vast kingdom to know
about the condition of his subjects and the affairs of
administration. Huien Tsang refers to 'couriers' who

313 CI, 104
314 The Rāṣṭrakūtas and their times. A.S.A.
315 Ibn Batuta, Gibs, 183
316 HPS, D.D. 150; vide Hsi-yi-chi text.
(Cf. Bessal, i, pp 344, H.C. text. 203)
continuously reported to the king about the transaction of business. In Bāna's Harsha charita there is reference to Sancharakas and Sarvagatah. The Sāncharakas were 'messengers' but in an inscription they are described as officials employed to carry on message - "Sarvādhyakaha vallabha śāsana sanc-
chārinah".317 The Sarvagatah was "one who could reach every-
where". They formed the confidential courier service who kept the king well informed about public opinion, their condition and criticism.318

But inspite of Harsha's personal inspection and supervision of administration through spies, deterioration in public character could not be avoided. It had its beginning after the passing away of the imperial Guptas. Even Harsha's efficient system of administration could not prevent degradation. The cases of theft and robbery in isolated parts of the kingdom and forests are often referred to by Huien Tsang who himself fell a victim to robbers and was miraculously saved by the outbreak of storm. At the end of the great festival at Prayag there was an attempt on Harsha's life but he was somehow saved.319

After the downfall of the imperial House of Kanauj, there was political disintegration in northern India. A

317 HPS, 152, vide Hsi-yi-chi (text); Cf. Beal i, 215-18; n 36 Walters i. R 344
318 El. VIII.162
319 Ibid. VIII. 162
large number of states came into existence. There was a struggle for supremacy, viz., Kanauj, Kashmir, Magadha and the Rāṣṭrakutas. At Kanauj the Pratihāras estab-
lished their supremacy. In the west and in the south of the Deccan the Rāṣṭrakutas became the chief political power. The Northern part of India was divided among some powers such as the Chālukyas at Anhiliura, Chandellas of Jejābhukti, Kachchhapaghaparas of Gwalior, Chedies of Odel, Paramafas of Nālava, Guhilas of southern Rajputana and Chahamana of Sakambhari.

The Kashmir valley which was isolated politically from the rest of India was the rise and downfall of many dynasties. Jayāpida the grandson of Lalitāditya Muktapida came to the limelight of political power by leading victorious expedition against Kanauj and Nepal. Kalhana's 'Rājatarangini' gives details about the reign of this ruler. Avantivarman, Sankarvarman and Jayasiha were the distinguished rulers of Kashmir. It was Jayasiha who patronised the famous Kashmiri poet Kalhana. Kashmir came to be dominated by the Muslims in the fourteenth century A.D. 320

At Vārānasi there was the rise of the Gāhadvālas in 1089-90 A.D. The Ganga-Yamuna doab came under the Gāhadvālas; in the last quarter of the eleventh century they established their supremacy over the last territory stretching from Delhi

320 HI, V.D. Mahajan, 310-311
to Mongolia and from the Himalayas to the Yamuna. It was till twelfth century A.D. that they remained as a supreme political power over a large part of India. The Gahadvālas were able administrators and gave a stable government. Govinda Chandra was the greatest ruler of this dynasty. His efficient ministers and officials helped him greatly to attain success and glory. Among his ministers the most famous was Lakshmīdhara the Mahāsancbhiyogihaka, the minister of war and peace. Govinda Chandra was indebted to him for his success and glory.321 Lakshmīdhara and his Kritya Kalpataru, an authentic work on polity, is a source of information about the reign of Govinda Chandra.

We are not, however, going in details of administration of all these ruling dynasties. But we can say definitely that espionage received the same impetus as before. The contemporary works give proof to it. Dr. P.C. Chakravorty has rightly observed: "In later works on Arthasastra and Niti the functions and disguises of spies are delineated more or less in the pattern of Kautilya".322 The part of a Sanskrit drama 'Lalita-vigraharaśa' preserved in an inscription at Ajmer tells that king Vigraharaśa of Sakambhari sent his spy to his enemy Hammira's camp to gather information about the strength and resources of the enemy.323 The Rājatarangini often referred

321 HGD R.N. 43. 65. 78. 79. Cf. Tat sarvam khali vasya 
mantramahina śahryam sāh Lakshmīdhara.
322 AWA, 67 ff
323 Ibid. Vide, Chronicles of the Pathan king of Delhi 50, n; 
Lane Poole - Coins of the Sultanate of Delhi, XXV
to Tlkahna spies used for secret murder.\textsuperscript{324} The Kritye Kalpatey, as we have already mentioned in the same chapter (Section 1) laid stress on espionage as an important adjunct of administration.\textsuperscript{325} The king has been advised to keep everything secret and know every thing of the enemy. He should keep vigilance over his officers through spies (chāra).\textsuperscript{326}

**Espionage Under the Palas and the Senas:** There are evidences justifying the claim of espionage playing quite a significant part in the administrative machinery of Bengal. The institution of espionage became active under the Palas and the Senas. The Mahāsāndhivigrahika was the minister for war and peace. In the Sena grants he was styled Dūtaka. Sometimes efficient and learned persons were recruited to hold this responsible job. The famous scholar Bhavadeva Bhatta held the office of Sāndhivigrahika of Harivarmadeva in East Bengal. His grandfather Adideva was the Sāndhivigrahika of Lakshmana Sena.\textsuperscript{327} The Lekhakas were there to keep record of income and expenditure, receive and deliver goods and make entries into the register. They also carried on correspondence i.e., informed the supreme authority of some important affairs in administration.\textsuperscript{328} We do not know how far the lekhakas were

\textsuperscript{324} Rajatarangini. VII.3311; VII.627; VII : 71; VII.629; 1016, 1045, VIII. 1326, 2095; 2200 etc.
\textsuperscript{325} GOS, KSL. XI. 41, 43, 43, 48
\textsuperscript{326} Ibid
\textsuperscript{327} EHB, 116; HB, I, 277
\textsuperscript{328} EHB, 129
connected with espionage. The Mahāsandhyavigrhaika and the Dūta who were related to foreign affairs, employed spies to gather secret information of the countries to which they were linked diplomatically. 329 As regards Dūta, Dr. B. C. Sen says, "The Dūta held the post of an ambassador. The Irda grant of the Kamboja family seems to show that a Dūta, who must have been employed as a representative of his sovereign at the court of another king, was assisted by a number of oukha purushas (officers of the secret service). 330

In connection with espionage there is the mention of some officials, viz., Khola, Abhittaramāṇa, Gaṃagamika and Dūta-praiseika. There are differences of opinion as regards the functions of Khola. According to Dr. B. C. Sen, "The term 'khola' means in Sanskrit a lame person. What the functions of the officer designated khola were, have not yet been correctly ascertained" 331 Elsewhere, he is referred to along with the Dūta. He was a spy but performed the task of an envoy frequently. 332 The Abhittaramāṇa were a class of officials who carried on urgent messages. 333 The Gaṃagamika communicated messages of the central government to the provinces and vice versa. 334 About these two officials Dr. B. C. Sen says, "...Gaṃagamika is one who goes and comes..."

329 H.B. I, 277
330 SHAIB, B.C. Sen, 539
331 Ibid
332 EHB, 277
333 Ibid
334 Ibid, 122
...Abhittararana is one who hurries.... It is probable that Getaapamika was appointed to carry out functions of an urgent character in connection with the diplomatic departments of the state, requiring frequent visits to neighbouring kingdoms or to the dominions of vassals. The Abhittaramanvnag duty was probably to be actively responsible for an expeditious dispatch of official business of either some or all the departments of the state. 335 The literal meaning of Duta-preisanika is "sender of messages". 336 But there are differences of opinion as to the exact meaning of the term. Some historians hold the view that Duta and Praisanika might have been two different officials. 337 Again, there is another view that Duta-preisanika was either the sender of Dutas or the carrier of Dutas message. 338

Another important official mentioned before Chauredharnika - the High Police officer was Dauhsadhanika, Duhsadhyasadhanika or Dauhsadhyasadhanika. Dr. R.G. Basak says that he was a porter or the village superintendent. We do not know the technical meaning of the term but it means literally one who is in charge of difficult affairs. He might have been the superintendent of spies. He was related to various departments of the government but was

335 SHAIB, 540
336 HB, I, 285
337 HB, 285
338 Banglar Itihaa, Nihar Roy, 415
mainly connected with the Police department. 339

The Senas also maintained the tradition of espionage in their administrative set-up. They were perhaps well aware of the rapid eastward expansion of Islam through their spies. The posting of garrison at the exposed frontier of Nadiah and the panic-stricken capital on the eve of Baktyar's sack give clear proof of the activities of spies under the Senas. 340 But the administrative machinery of the kingdom including espionage must have suffered a terrible set-back during the last phase of Lakshmana Sena's rule and the following years. 341 The last Sena ruler owing to internal feuds or old age began to devote time in intricate social problems and in enumerating the principles and practices of Kulining. Naturally, the quality and the efficiency of espionage deteriorated to such inconceivable extent that it adversely told upon the smooth working of the government. This may be accounted for the easy success of the Muslims.

**ESPIONAGE IN THE SOUTH**

The Hindu kingdoms of the South gave due emphasis on espionage which guided their actions in diplomatic relations with the northern kingdoms. The important ruling dynasties in the South were the Satavahanas, the Cholas, the Pandyas, the Cheras, the Pallavas, the Chalukyas, and the Rashtrakutas. We are not going to

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339 EHB, 147-148
340 cf. H.B.J.N. Sarkar
341 HSB, M.R. Tarefder, 29
discuss the details of all these ruling dynasties. It is, however, from different sources that we come to learn about the existence of espionage especially during the time of the Pallavas, the Chola, the Chalukya and the Rashtra-kutas, the Kakatiyae and the Kalachuris. The Tamil literature, too, tells us about spies. The Tamil classic Tolkāppiyam gives different description of spies who moved about in the enemy country to gather information and reported faithfully everything to the king. The espionage, as in the north, was an inseparable feature of administration in the South.342

Another South Indian author named Tiruvalluvara of the fifth century A.D. wrote a political treatise 'Kurāl Venba' in which he devoted two chapters on espionage. He treated the subject exactly on Kautilyaan style. He said, "Amāṭyaṃ u podrāṃ āaudhavety, dharmopadhā, arthopadhā, kampadā, bhayopadhā"343 i.e. "Having put one to the fourfold tests of dharma, wealth, pleasure and fear, a selection must be made." Elsewhere, the same idea is expressed that all the officers before their employment were to be tested by the temptations of virtue, wealth, lust and fear.344

The Southern kings had spies to keep watch over the officials. The Kalachuris of Karnāta ka had five royal

342 WAI, 353 ff
343 WAI, 353 ff; Kurāl LI and LIII
344 Ibid, 353 ff.
censors called 'Karanams' who were regarded as five senses of the royal government. They were to see if the administration was carried on efficiently and honestly. The Chola rulers had auditors and inspectors to check the accounts of the temples and local officials. The local officials received the directions of the central government through special messengers. They were entrusted with great responsibility and from Vakataka records we know that these messengers belonged to noble origin. In Pallava records, they were termed as premier's messengers.

The Anaimkondā inscription of Kākatiya king Rudradeva tells us that the king maintained spies. In the tenth century A.D. flourished the famous Jaina monk Somdeva. He was patronised by the western Chalukyas of Kalyani. In his famous political dram Nitivākyamtrā the author emphasised the importance of espionage by saying, "a king may learn wisdom from a fool as one gets gold from a rock . ... and should glean information from spies as a gleaner gets ears of corn". The Rāṣhtrakūta kings also had spies. The Rāṣhtrakūta king Amoghavarsana I had covered all the territories of the numerous chieftains and hostile kings with thousands of courtesans. It would appear that the sovereign rulers used to compel their feudatories to accept some courtesans in their courts. These used to be in

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345 E.C. VII. Shikārpur, Nos. 102-103
346 EI, XIV, 182-188
347 EI., XXII, 167
348 IAV, 153
349 IA, XX 201 et seq.
350 Nitivākyamtrā, 59
immediate attendance on the kings and therefore must have served
as ideal spies. In Kautilya we find that these women of easy
virtue were used as spies. As the Southern administrative system
was more or less a prototype of the north, it will not be unusual
to conclude that courtesans served as confidential secret agents
of the king. Somadeva referred to dancing girls and courtesans
serving as attendants of the Rāṣhtrakūta king. Al Idrisi, too,
found these courtesans and dancing girls in the court of the
Chālukyaś of Anhilpattana. It is not definitely known how
the central government exercised its control over the provinces
and districts of the empire. But the Rāṣhtrakūtas went on tours
of inspection in their kingdom. They had also agents to keep
watch over the empire and the agents kept the central government
informed of everything. As regards espionage in the South,
we may quote Burton Stein, "In the Arthasastra model an autocrat
manages what might be a large territory of diverse peoples through
administrative specialists augmented by a spy system and agents
provocateurs.

351 The Rāṣhtrakūtas and their times, A. S. Altekar, 155
352 Nitivākyamtra XXIV. 29.51
353 EAWD O. 1. 66
354 CHI, 329
355 SAOMSI, B. Stein, 82
When the Muslims came to India as a conquering power, the espionage received great impetus because it was a link between the orient and occident and was found in the political traditions of both. The Muslims had the rich heritage of Byzantine, Roman, Persian, Afgan and other systems of government. Naturally, their machinery of intelligence appeared quite efficient to cope with the trying circumstances. It was due to the services of intelligence that the Muslims could easily win astounding victory over Indian chieftains with limited number of men at their disposal.

The early Muslim rulers of Delhi took care to develop espionage under the political traditions and established practices. In order to prevent corruption from among the government officials, judges, provincial rulers and revenue officers the Sultan was expected to employ trustworthy, truthful, reliable, high-born, confidential and careful intelligence officers to keep watch over them and keep the ruler informed of everything.\textsuperscript{356} The intelligence officers were not much given to social and connival intercourse so that his object, which is obtaining correct information for the king's business, may be attained.\textsuperscript{357} The Muslim rulers were quite conscious about the possibilities of corruption and bribery among the intelligence officers. So they took measures to keep the secret agents above corruption. The early

\textsuperscript{356} SIT, 501

\textsuperscript{357} Ibid, 501-502
Muslim rulers at the initial phase established military regime and, naturally, espionage started its career as an instrument of political as well as the technique of military strategic operations. The basic aim, however, was to stamp out revolts both in the court and the opposite camps. The question of personal safety of the rulers at the time was linked up with it. The maintenance of the institution of spies by the Muslim rulers in India was a well calculated step to make themselves safe from both internal as well as external danger. The fear of Hindu reaction was no less a potent factor in preserving the secret service by them. The Hindu reaction against Muslim rule sometimes assumed serious dimension owing to constant antagonism of the decadent Rajputs who flared up occasionally only to be extinguished. The frequent raids of the Hindu kingdoms to disturb the consolidation of power by early Muslims in India also warranted the necessity of perfecting the espionage system.

A study of Muslim espionage system makes it clear that in spite of its having some similarities with the Indian system, there were marked differences of motive and intentions between the two. The Muslims were mainly plunderers while the Indians were not. They were self-preserving and the Muslims were aggressive. The Muslims felt the necessity of creating a regular

358 Fatwa-yi-Jahandari, Barne (Eng. Trans) 
Habib, Begum, I
359 Syaast-Namah, 60-68
Espionage system with a view to extend empire beyond their limits. The Caliphs maintained secret service as a part of military strategy and operations. The Caliph Omar I thought of making conquest of India but owing to certain practical difficulties had to abandon the idea. The collection of details in respect of matters of military intelligence for further conquests and details regarding routes and resources of the enemy continued to complete the conquest of India. So, naturally, the Muslim intelligence was mainly utilised for military purposes such as, ascertaining combatant military resources, geographical location and potential weakness of the country which they desired to conquer.

The Indians thought that no meaningful purpose could be served by the institution of espionage unless it was social welfare oriented. This idea was deeply rooted in the ancient administrative decorum of India and the spies were employed to see whether the rules of welfare framed by the state were strictly adhered to or not. The Hindu rulers had hardly ever turned it into an instrument of oppression which we have witnessed at the time of the Muslim rulers like Gyaauddin Balban or Alauddin Khalji. During Alauddin's reign the institution of espionage became so much oppressive that it created unnecessary horrors in the minds of the people. It was so alarming that amirs and omrahs exchanged their views.

360 Al-Baladhuri, 420; Chach Nainah, 58-59
through the medium of signs. There was a regimented society where no initiative of something noble or good would come up. The people were placed in such a position when they had nothing more but to abide by the highest command, seldom questioning the validity of such orders. Thus Alauddin Khalji transferred espionage into an instrument of terror.

Inspite of that it is significant that the other political institutions went out of existence but the intelligence system maintained itself with full glory. It played its part under the early Sultans, the Mughals, the English and the like, and its significance as a necessary adjunct of administration is increasing day by day. The history of espionage is, therefore, a history of unbreakable continuity.