CHAPTER III

MILITARY ESPIONAGE

ESPIONAGE BEFORE THE OUTBREAK OF WAR

SECTION I

Military espionage consisted in the employment of spies in the hostile country to observe there the military preparations, strength and strategy. On the other hand, strict watch was to be kept over enemy spies to prevent them from knowing their own military secrets.

The institution of espionage is by far the most vital part of military administration. Its importance is nowhere so felt as in this department. The necessity of espionage as a part and parcel of military administration was felt from the very beginning of early tribal life. The war is not a new innovation to settle disputes between two contending factions. When men came to be grouped in different tribes, there was constant conflict between one tribe and the other. Some Vedic texts reflect that there was continuous warfare between the Devas and the Asuras.¹ But the existence of a separate war department cannot be traced out in ancient India.² Even in those days, instead of endangering the safety of the entire tribe, sometimes

¹ SBE, XLII. 257
² WAI, Dikshitar, 217
smaller groups were detached to procure detailed information of the strength and weakness of the enemy. Since then, the importance of espionage as a necessary military adjunct has been increasing day by day.

Before we go in details of military espionage we should have an idea of Mandala, 'the circle of states', existing in ancient India. The Mandala consisted of the conqueror (vijι- gisu), the nearest neighbouring enemy (Arι), conqueror's friend, enemy's friend, rearward enemy or rearward friend, an ally of the rearward enemy and an ally of the rearward friend.3 Besides these, there were the kingdoms of the mediatory (Madhyama) king and the neutral (Udāsina). The mediatory king was the medium and the neutral held the superior position.4 Both these powers were strong enough to help the conqueror and his enemy when situation demanded.5 Clauswitz tells us that information about the enemy country was gathered by the king-in-council through spies.6 Kautilya suggested to send informers to see what was going on in the enemy, friendly and neutral countries.7 The conquering king being motivated by the desire to conquer the enemy country used to despatch spies there to sow the seeds of dissension, conciliation, and intrigue.8

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3 AB, IV.23; XIX : 1.IV.25; 19-3 (ASB); K.N. VIII.22. TSS; Kaut. Bk VI. II
4 WAI, 309
5 ISRAI, N.N. Law, 12, 13
6 HAI, K. Aiyanger, 286-287
7 AS, I. XVI
8 Ibid. I.XIII
9 Ibid. I. XIII
10 Ibid, XIII.II
For convenience of the study of military espionage, we may divide it into three distinct phases, viz., espionage before the actual commencement of war, espionage at the time of war and, lastly, the activities of spies at the close of war. The most important is espionage before the actual commencement of hostility between two powers. As a matter of fact, espionage fights half of the war.

**Espionage Before War**: The secret agents had to play the most vital role before the beginning of hostility between two powers. In the Mahabharata, it is laid down that the enemy should always be considered as dangerous. So, the king is advised to be very tactful in dealing with the enemy. He should pose as his friend openly and do him harm secretly.  
Kanika said to Dhritarashtra that a king should disguise himself as a monk, wear saffron clothes, bear long hair, perform sacrifices for the enemy and by winning over his faith in this way he should attack the enemy like a wolf. The king is further suggested to keep his vigilant eyes over the weak points of the enemy and hide his weakness like a tortoise. The similar view was held by Sukra in a later period. He suggested to attack the enemy at the weak points. In the Agni-Purāṇa the messengers are described to have been frequently despatched to the enemy country to

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11 Mbh. S.P. CXL. 15; A.P. CXL. 66
12 Ibid. A.P. CXL. 19
13 Ibid. A.P. CXL. 8
14 Sukra. IV. 1182
gather information.\textsuperscript{15} Espionage was thus most essential in inter-state relation. There are ample evidences to show that secret agents often brought victory in war.

The department of war with its sub-department of intelligence seemed to have come into existence in the epic age.\textsuperscript{16} The spies were regarded to have formed a regular part of the army. In the \textit{Mahābhārata} the secret agents were described as one of the eight \textit{angas} (parts).\textsuperscript{17} "These men were set to reconnoitre the enemy country and report to the king on the military strength of the enemy, furnish information as to suitable sites for camps and battlefields".\textsuperscript{18} The spies carried on their services regularly in and outside the country. The \textit{chāra} (spy) was designated \textit{Vividhopāva} which means that he assumed disguises to extract information about the enemy. In the \textit{Mahābhārata} it is stated that "a king should surprisingly create troubles in the hostile kingdom by going there unnoticed. While living there he should imitate the conduct of a dog (i.e., alert like a dog), of a deer (always alert and fearful), of a crow (very clever) and at the same time, behave with apparent friendship towards the foe".\textsuperscript{19} In the same \textit{Narada} asks the king to send spies in the eighteen \textit{tirthas} of the foe to know everything and bribe the important officials of the enemy without the enemy's knowledge, with gems and jewels.\textsuperscript{20}

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{15} Agni-Puṣṭa, II, 864
  \item \textsuperscript{16} \textit{WAI}, 117
  \item \textsuperscript{17} \textit{IM}, Saremson, S.P. 58.41
  \item \textsuperscript{18} \textit{WAI}, 219
  \item \textsuperscript{19} \textit{Mbh. Santi}, C.V.15
  \item \textsuperscript{20} \textit{Mbh. Sabha}, V.20
\end{itemize}
In inter-state relation maintenance of spies was essential before the outbreak of war. In the circle of the conquering king was asked to despatch spies to each state to destroy the strength of his enemy. The secret agents were also used by a king to create dissension in the enemy country. We have specific examples to show how dissension was used often to destroy the enemy. In the sixth century B.C., constant feuds went on between Magadha and Vajjian confederacy. The king of Magadha Ajatasatru had decided to subjugate the Vajjians through the application of dissension (bheda). He decided to send his confidential minister Bhāssakar for the purpose. In a meeting pre-planned by him Ajatasatru began to blame the Vajjians but Bhāssakar supported their cause. At this the king cut off his hair, insulted him and banished him away from his kingdom. Bhāssakar pretended to take revenge of this insult. Having heard it, the Vajjians wanted to utilise his services against Ajatasatru and appointed him as the chief Amātya in the Vajjian kingdom. The Buddhist traditions tell us that Bhāssakar stayed there for three consecutive years and carried on the secret work of sowing dissension and at last succeeded in destroying the solidarity of the Vajjians.

21 AT, 349; Vide Buddha Charita, 484. There are controversies regarding the causes of war between Magadha and the Vajjians. There was a port on the Ganges, half of which was possessed by the Vajjians.
According to Kautilya, dissension was the most effective weapon to break down the solidarity of the enemy. The work of a spy, according to Kautilya, was involved in sowing seeds of dissension in such a way so that the friends of the enemy might be turned into his enemies. Even the spy might have taken the chance of murdering the enemy. The hidden spies were entrusted with such a job. The famous law-giver Manu says that a king should be well-prepared before his march against the enemy and should know everything about

and the other half belonged to Ajatasatru. Adjacent to this port there was a hill from which flowed some fragrant materials. When Ajatasatru demanded his share of the materials, the Vajjians did not give him. So he wanted to take revenge of his insult.

Vide, VGBHV, A.K. Narayana, 127. There is another view that when Ragdha and Kosala were at war, the Lichchavis helped Pramnjit secretly which enraged Ajatasatru.

Vide, BV, H.R. Ghosal, J Kumar, 24. Elsewhere, we are told that Ajatasatru was identified with Kunika of Champaranjari. He had two brothers named Halla and Vihalla whom their father gave a rare type of elephant and a god-gifted necklace. When Ajatasatru demanded those things they fled with them to their grandfather Chetaka, the king of Vaisali. Ajatasatru sent messengers again and again to return the things but Chetaka refused. This caused the war.

22 AS, SS, IX-VI
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the enemy through spies.23 These spies were expected to win over the disaffected officials of the enemy.24 The persons secretly serving the enemy or the deserters from the hostile camp should be watched over very carefully.25 Manu says, 

"Let him be very much on his guard against a friend who secretly serves the enemy and against deserters who return from the enemy's camp for such men are dangerous foes.26 He said further, "Let him instigate to rebellion those who are open to such instigations, let him be informed of his foe's doings. He should try to conquer his foes by conciliation, by well-applied gifts and by creating dissensions, used either separately or conjointly, never by fighting (if it can be avoided).27 We find, therefore, that attempts were very often made to incite rebellion or spread germs of discontent among the subjects of the enemy, very much similar to the modern concept of internal sabotage through external aids. If there are internal dissension and discontent the external aggressions at any opportune moment becomes easier.

Before the outbreak of war it is the secret agents who perform the most formidable task of assessing the military

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23 SBE. XXV, 245
24 Ibid, 245
25 Ibid, 246
26 Ibid, 246
27 SBE, XXV, 248
strength and strategy of the enemy. They go to the enemy land even at the risk of their life to find out the loopholes of the enemy, make necessary plans of operations, prepare maps and charts indicating routes of the enemy country through vulnerable fronts. They also supply details regarding opportune moments to declare war. In the epics it is stated how secret agents were sent across from one side to the other to know about military manoeuvres, modes of campaigns, formation of military strategy, to trace out the places where arms and ammunitions were kept and also to spot out arsenals with a view to destroy them during war, to plan strategic position and mobilisation of resources with a view to overpower the enemy at the earliest opportunity. The secret agents often made attempts to find out the exposed sites of the frontier regions and decide earlier how to march in the enemy country. Sometimes they entered into the camp of the enemy in disguises of mendicants, astrologers and others to get the most difficult information. They also tried to know the details about the main centres of armories, to acquire hold over them and weaken the position of the adversaries.

Both the epics, the Rāmāyāna and the Mahābhārata give specific examples of the activities of spies before the outbreak of war. The Rāmāyāna tells us that Rāma employed Hanuman to find out the actual plight of Sitā having learnt from Sugriva about his geographical knowledge of different countries
and routes, wisdom and courage. Hanumāna came to learn from Sampāti, the king of vultures, that Sita had been kept confined by Rāvana in his palace at Lanka under strict watch of demon women. While crossing over the sea Hanumāna had an encounter with two ferocious demon women named Surama and Simhikā. Hanumāna defeated both of them and also the guardian deity of Lanka guarding the capital city and entered therein. Hanumāna moved throughout Lanka hidden from the eyes of spies and well-armed guards of Rāvana and gathered detailed information for his master. He saw that Lanka was a magnificent city with broad roads and marvellous buildings. In one of the houses he saw Rāvana's spies disguised as matted-haired and shaven-headed monks. The well-armed demons were patrolling the city. Horses, elephants and chariots were also kept in proper order.

The most formidable task before Hanumāna was to find out the spot where Sita was imprisoned. He roamed about in different parts of the city in search of Jānaki and saw the houses of important persons of Lanka, named Prahasta, Mahapārava, Kumbhakarna, Bibhisana, Dharmarākṣa, Virupākṣa, Vidyumāta, Suka, Sārana and Indrajit; next he came to the palace of the demon king at night. There he saw the wonderful chariot Puṣpaṅka (which could fly in the air), entered into the bedroom of Rāvana. The king was found sleeping.

28 VR, RB, K.K. 40-46, 230 31 VR, RB, 245-246
29 Ibid, K.K. 56-60, 236
30 Ibid, S.K. 1, 243-44
with his queens and several other women. At last he came to Asoka grove and traced out Sita surrounded by ugly and ferocious female guards under an Asoka tree. He appeared before Sita at the opportune moment in the disguise of a Brähmana and gave his identity as Rama's messenger. When Sita was convinced he delivered his master's message to her and carried her message to Rama. The dialogue between Sita and Hanumāna and the revelation of his identity as Rama's agent and the system of communication of messages are continuous practices which followed generation after generation before the outbreak of war.

Hanumāna was not only endowed with valour of the highest order, he had also uncommon sagacity to realise that the Rākshasas could not be won over by the friendly measures (āma), gifts (dāna) because they were uncompromising and at the same time wealthy and dissension (bheda), because they were proud of their strength. The following sloka will justify the above statement.

"Na āma Rākshasas gunāya kaipate, na dānamarthopachitaṁ yuvijayat. Na bhedaśārdhā valadarpaṁ janān. Parākramastvaṁ mameha rochate."  

S.K. 41.3

32 VR, S.K. 2-5, 246
33 R.B. S.K. 30-40, 260-266
34 Ibid, S.K. 41-47, 267
In order to ascertain the actual military strength of the Rakshasas Hanumāna found no other alternative than war (danda) and began to destroy the trees of Asoka garden. Ravana despatched armed soldiers against him. This helped Hanumāna to ascertain the strength of Ravana's army.

The knowledge about routes leading to the enemy country and the actual man power, the location of main centres of military outposts, concentration camp including weapons, is an essential part of warfare and success is imminent only when such informations are made available through tactful intelligence services. Hanumāna had the capacity to fully utilise the situation by making minute observations all round. This is proved from his report submitted to Sugriva about the number of forts, soldiers, the vulnerable gates, arrangements for the defence of the city, location of houses of the royal personages and other officials and number of horses and elephants, at Lanka. He observed that the city-gates were strongly guarded. In front of four big entrances, machines were placed to throw stones and arrows at the enemy. Hundreds of iron missiles (satakhni) were always kept ready. The capital of Lanka was surrounded by invincible walls and deep ditches of cold water filled in with crocodiles. There were bridges over the ditches to the gates of the city. There were machines to operate against the enemy trying to cross over the bridge to the city gate. One of the bridges was

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35 VR, S.K, 41-47, 267
very big and strong ornamented with gold plated pillars and altars. Rāvana inspected his army personally. Lanka was situated on insurmountable mountains; there were different kinds of forts. The city was far away from the sea and boats could not reach there. Many armed Rākṣasas with four divisions of soldiers guarded the city and horse regiments were stationed in the camp situated at the centre of Lanka.\textsuperscript{36}

All these detailed information about Lanka gathered by Hanumāna shows his undaunted courage and observation. Hanumāna, thus, played the most significant role as a spy. Rama's victory over Rāvana was, no doubt, greatly due to Hanumāna's excellent intelligence services. Besides Hanumāna, other spies, too, were despatched by Bhhīṣṭhaṇa from Rama's camp in disguises to Lanka. Anala, Panaa, Sampāti and Pramati were Bhhīṣṭhaṇa's spies who came to learn that Prahasta, Mahāpārṣva, Mahodaro, Indrajit and Rāvana were guarding the east, the south, the west and the north frontiers of Lanka, Birupākṣa was protecting the centre of the capital. They also ascertained the approximate number of elephants, chariots, horses and demon soldiers.\textsuperscript{37}

The Mahābhārata shows how important was spying operation to avert political crisis attempting life. In the

\textsuperscript{36} \textit{YR, Y.K.}, 1-5, 289
\textsuperscript{37} \textit{YR, Y.K.}, 37-40, 311
Adi-Parva of this great epic, the Jataugrihadāha is a specific instance highlighting the importance and necessity of secret informers to save the life of imperial persons from sudden and surprise attacks. Here we are told that the Kaurava prince Duryodhana had conspired to burn alive the Pāṇḍavas along with their mother Kunti. He, therefore, employed his ministers to tempt the Pāṇḍava princes to go to the place called Vārnāvat. Yudhishthira apprehended some sort of danger in the proposal. But being subject to situation, Yudhishthira was compelled to shift there along with his brothers and mother. Duryodhana had sent his faithful minister Purochana earlier there to build a house for the Pandavas with lac and other inflammable articles. 38 But the pious Vidura of Kaurava camp could smell some danger in Duryodhana's plan. He was also a friend of Yudhishthira and his well-wisher. Vidura as well as Yudhishthira were conversant with Mlechcha-bhāsa (foreign language ?). Before the departure of the Pāṇḍavas, Vidura said to Yudhishthira in Mlechcha bhāsa the following, "One who is aware of the enemy's conspiracy can find out a way of escape. Arms other than iron made can destroy life. Fire burns the dry forest but a clever fellow can be saved by sheltering himself underground. One who is capable of ascertaining direction through stars and is acquainted with roads can save himself as well as others". Both the speaker and the person spoken to understood each other. 39 When the

38 Mbh. R.B. 63
39 Ibid, A.P. 63-64
Pāṇḍavas reached Vārṇāvat they were given the most warm welcome by the people there. Purochana took the Pāṇḍavas to the house constructed for them. Yudhishthira got the smell of inflammable articles there. Bhima advised his elder brother to vacate the house immediately. But Yudhishthira denounced this suggestion because Duryodhana's spies were stationed everywhere to keep watch over them. On the other hand, Yudhishthira made a proposal to go out at day time on the pretext of hunting and know the roads well, dig out an underground passage inside the house and live there secretly at night. One day a man came and gave his identity as Vidura's spy. He was asked by his master to dig out a subterranean path from the dwelling place of the Pāṇḍavas. But everything was to be done secretly. At day the Pāṇḍavas roamed about from one forest to the other for hunting and at night they remained hidden underground. In this way a year passed. Purochana was confirmed now that the Pāṇḍavas were surely not aware of his evil design. By this time Yudhishthira, too, hatched a conspiracy to burn Purochana to death in the darkness of night and leave that place unwatched with his mother and brothers. One night the Pāṇḍavas set fire to the house secretly and escaped through the subterranean way. They came to the ganges where Vidura had placed his faithful followers. The Pāṇḍavas crossed the river with the help of those men in a boat which was equipped with arms and had the capacity to

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40 Mbh, AB, A.P, 64
withstand wind and wave. "Sarvāvatāsaham navam yantra, yuktam".41

In the Mahābhārata the king is advised to prepare himself for the destruction of the enemy after being informed everything about him through spies. "Cārairvi-ditvā satruśeṣa ai rājāmantraaśeṣah. Nānāpatiḥ puruṣa- airdurād ghatavṛtā narādhipa".42 In the same book it is mentioned that when the Pāṇḍavas were at exile incognito Karna said to his spies, "Wander through ..... kingdoms and populous provinces, prying into assemblies of the learned and delightful retreats of ascetics, in the inner apartments of palaces, in shrines and holy spots, in mines and diverse other regions. Let the search be made on the banks of rivers, in holy regions, in villages and towns and retreats of ascetics, in mountains and mountain caves".43 "Cārāṃśeṣa vidvāt prahītān pareṇa Bharatasaṃ. Āpaneṣu vihāreṣu samājeṣu cha vikṣhauv. Ārāmeṣu tathdvāna panditā- nam samāgane. Deṣeṣu chatvare chaiva sabhāśvāparaṣeṣu cha Evam vichinuyād rājā parashāres vāchaksanah chāre hi vidita pūrva hitam bhavati Pāṇḍavaḥ."44 Duḥśaṇa, too, sent his spies with the same instructions to trace out the Pāṇḍavas. "Yathoddhistam charaḥ sarva mṛgavanty yatastatah. Eta chānte cha bhūṣām deśaṃ deśāṃ yathāvidhi".45 The spies were always given instructions to be very skilful and clever

41 Mbh. A.P, 65
42 Mbh. P.C. Ray, Āśrama Vāsika Parva, V.37-8
43 Ibid, S.P. LXIX
44 Ibid 45 Mbh. V.P. XXVI, 15-16
in gathering information so that they might not be identified or detected.46 Duryodhana's secret emissaries, too, tried to trace out the Pāṇḍavas in many villages, towns and countries but failed.47 They reported to Duryodhana, "Lord, we tried utmost to trace out the Pāṇḍavas in solitary spots, forests, inaccessible mountains, populous cities, public gatherings and marshes. We also tried our best to track their footprints but in vain".48 When Karna despatched his faithful and reliable secret informers in search of the Pāṇḍavas he asked Duryodhana to give them proper requisites for travelling.50 But Drona who was fully aware of the capabilities of the Pāṇḍavas said that the spies of the Kuru camp would fail to find out the honest as well as clever Pāṇḍavas.51

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46 Mbh. S.P. LXIX. 8
47 Mbh. Vana, H.B. 5-6, 224
51 Mbh. R.B. V.P. 286
Like Yudhishtira Duryodhana, Krishna too, sent spies to the Kaurava camp to bring information about their military resources and arrangements.\textsuperscript{52} He said, "an enemy's abode should be entered through a wrong gate and a friend's through right one".\textsuperscript{53} Krishna further suggested to create troubles in the enemy country through spies. He said, "a king should surprisingly create troubles in the hostile kingdom by going there unnoticed. While living there he should imitate the conduct of a dog (i.e., alert like a dog), of a deer (always alert and fearful), of a crow (very clever) and at the same time behave with apparent friendship towards the foe."\textsuperscript{54}

Not only the epics but other literary fragments like the Jātakas, the Kathāsarit sāgara etc., tell us about the activities of spies before the outbreak of hostility between two rival powers. In Mahāvīrārīdhra Jātaka we are told that in ancient time when Vidisha was ruling over Mithilā he had a very wise counsellor named Mahāsattva. This Mahāsattva despatched spies to the neighbouring kingdoms to bring him information about the activities of the ruling princes there. The spies sent to a kingdom ruled over by one Samhāpa\textsuperscript{54} informed Mahāsattva that the king was making military preparations. Mahāsattva then sent a Suka bird to bring about him further details from other kingdoms. The bird flew over North Pānchāla.

\textsuperscript{52} Mbh, R.B. Drona, 429-32
\textsuperscript{53} Ibid, P.C. Roy, Sabha, XXI
\textsuperscript{54} Ibid, Sānti V.15
and saw there that the king Churani Brahmmadatta was carrying on plans with his chief minister Kaivarta to invade the whole of Jambudvipa. He had already subjugated the rulers of all countries except Mithilā. But Brahmmadatta did not attack the kingdom of Mithilā immediately because he had some other plan behind it which the spies sent by Mahāsattva could not bring out. Brahmmadatta, however, hatched a conspiracy with his minister to kill the vanquished rulers by administering poisoned drinks to them. But the plan was set at naught by Mahāsattva's spies.55

There might have been some literary concoction and exaggeration in such stories. The historicity of such fictions may not be authentically established but there is little doubt that in the garb of literature some useful informations were supplied. Such practical instances cannot be the by-products of fanciful imagination because in most cases objectivity of such instances cannot be challenged and the system of military espionage and its modus operandi referred to therein came down to posterity. We are not, however, going to swell the number of such literary fragments but we may refer to another story to show how important was the information procured by spies about the rival faction before the outbreak of war. Such strategic information of the enemy gathered earlier often saved a kingdom from imminent danger. The Vatsa king and the Rājā of Vāraṇāsi were at enmity with each other. The Vatsa king

55 ZG. IG, VI, 269 ff
was keen to attack Vārānasi. But the clever minister of Vatsa king Yau̇gandharāyana (who had once helped his master to run away with his lady-love Vāsavadattā through the assistance of spies), now also came forward to help his master. He sent his spies to Vārānasi to know what was going on there. The spies were disguised as fraudulent monks. One of them posed as a preceptor possessing supernatural power. His followers gave a propaganda as to the supreme power of the pretending guru. People rushed to him. The prince of Vārānasi also came to him. The fraudulent spy leaked out some military secrets from the prince by trickery. The minister Yogakaranda of Vārānasi had poisoned trees, flower plants, grass and water on both sides of the route through which would march the soldiers of Vatsa king Udayana. Yogakaranda the minister of the king of Vārānasi named Brahmadatta had stationed poisonous girls, dancing maids and secret assassins around the places where the Vatsa soldiers pitched their camp.

All such activities of spies are the potent facts of history. That is why effective steps are always taken to guard water reservoirs, granaries etc., so that the destructive activities of the secret agents can be stopped.

56 See Chapt. I.
57 See Section V
58 KS, K.K.S, I. 110
FOREIGN INVASIONS: A critical study of historical facts at the time of foreign invasions of India establishes more firmly the importance of military espionage. From the sixth century B.C. India had fallen a victim to foreign invasions again and again. These invaders had quite a good idea about the routes to India, the means of overcoming natural barriers on their way, the internal political and socio-economic condition of India, the disaffected elements if any, military strength and weakness before any invasion. This arduous task of collecting information about a country was done by their efficient espionage system which had been a part and parcel of military system of every country from the very beginning of its existence. Besides these the invaders made their invasion successful, easier and quicker through various acts of internal sabotage. Sometimes the enemy won over the betrayers and disaffected elements inside the country through espionage network. The history of India offers a number of examples of internal sabotage and acts of treachery which made invasions successful and easy. This was witnessed from the beginning of Persian invasion down to the incoming of the British.

In the middle of the sixth century B.C. when the Persian king Cyrus approached the borderland of India, the country presented a picture of disunion and conflicts. "The whole region was at once wealthy and disunited and formed the natural prey
of the strong Achaemenian monarchy which grew up in Persia*.59 The extent of suzerainty of the Persian monarch Cyrus, the first foreign invader of India over the frontiers of the country, is not definitely known. Xenophon tells us that he had some sort of earlier relation with a ruler over some part of northern India.60 An Indian king sent an embassy to Cyrus with gifts of money which Cyrus had demanded from him. This embassy in Xenophon's opinion helped Cyrus with espionage at the time of his campaign against Croesus and in Asia Minor.61 But we do not know the details about the nature of this espionage work.

Darius, the son of Cyrus, had annexed undoubtedly the Indus valley, some places adjacent to the Punjab and Gandhara. Before his campaign he sent a naval expedition under Skylax in about 517 B.C. to supply him the knowledge about the route to Indus.62 The discovery of this route helped Darius to take hold over the Indus and the adjoining areas. But the Persians could not move towards the gangetic regions63 because at that time Magadha and its adjoining areas Kasi and Kosala were very strong and well protected. We have already observed that these kingdoms had efficient espionage system from a very earlier period. So it can be apprehended that the rulers of

59 PHAI, 210
60 Cyrop VI. 2. 1-11. Xenophon
61 CHI, I, 296
62 PHAI, 212
63 CHI, I, 302
these regions were kept informed about the movements of the enemy through spies. The Persian domination over India con-
tinued till the time of Xerxes who had collected his soldiers
from among the Indians during his march against Alexander.

In the 4th century B.C. the land of the five rivers
and the places near about were explored by the Greeks before
Alexander's invasion. He had learnt about the routes leading
to the country and other details from the accounts of travellers
and traders who had visited India frequently from time to time.64
One such account was left by Ctesius in his book *Indica* during
his stay in the Persian court at the beginning of the 4th
century B.C.65 He had this knowledge about India from the
envoys who came to the court of the Persian king with tributes
from the Indian ruler and also from other Persian officials
visiting India for some business and travellers and traders of
both the countries.66 The accounts of Ctesius are said to have
contained hearsay and therefore less authentic, but it gave
definitely some idea about India.

In places near the five rivers and North-Western India
there were a number of tribal republics which were in contin-
uous strife with the neighbouring kings on the eve of

64 CHI, I, 300 ff
65 Ibid, 305. Vid, Anc. Ind. as described by Ctesius,
  McCrindle, 3-4
66 CA, II, 39-40
Alexander's invasion. There was no powerful kingdom under an efficient strong single monarch. The rulers or chiefs occupying small kingdoms were not on friendly relations with one another. The knowledge of routes to the land as well as the distracted condition of North-West India offered a golden opportunity to the Macedonian king to conquer 'the land of milk and honey'.

When Alexander departed India leaving behind the ruins of his plunder, Chandragupta Maurya laid down the foundation of a vast empire with the help of his shrewd and wise minister Chāṇakya or Kautilya whose treatment of the espionage system in ancient India excelled his predecessors and became an example to the posterity. Espionage was practised vigorously at the time of the Mauryas. During the time of Chandragupta, Seleucus of Syria crossed the Indus in order to recover the lost territories of Alexander in India. This expedition was not successful and Seleucus entered into a treaty with Chandragupta and ceded Kabul, Kandahar, Herat and Baluchistan to the latter. Apart from it we have no other recorded instance of any foreign invasion at the time of the Mauryas. It was surely due to the efficient intelligency services of the Mauryas.

Immediately after the downfall of the Mauryas Ptolemy

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67 CHI, I. 309
Cuergetes II was the ruler of Egypt. At that time his watchmen guarding the coast of Persian gulf brought before him an Indian sailor who was in half-dead condition. But as the man could not speak any other language, they could not understand from where he had come. The king made arrangements to teach that stranger Greek. When the man was acquainted with Greek language, the king came to learn from him that he was an Indian sailor who started from Indian Ocean, lost his way and had come to Egypt. All his companions had died. The king agreed to let him return to his own country if he showed the Greeks the way to India. The Indian proceeded towards India having been accompanied by some Greeks including Eudoxus of Cyzicus. The Greeks were offered an opportunity to make their way in the desired land.

Taking advantage of the distracted condition of the country due to internal dissension, downfall of a powerful dynasty or the death of a great monarch, the foreign invaders attacked the country. Half a century after the demise of Aśoka, the Greeks from Bactria intruded through the Hindukush when the vast Mauryan empire was in great political turmoil under Aśoka's weak successors. The Northern provinces were practically lost to the Mauryas. Immediately

68 TTRAI, 79
69 PHAI, 309
70 Ibid, 321
after Asoka's death one of his sons named Jalakka established an independent kingdom and extended his sway upto Kanauja, Gandhara was usurped by one Viraśena. Virdarha or Berar became independent of Mauryan rule. According to Polybius, Sophagaśena or Subhagaśena succeeded Viraśena. At that time Antiochus the Greek crossed the Hindukush and came to Gandhara. He entered into a diplomatic relation with the Indian king Subhagaśena. It is said that "Antiochus, Sophagaśena alliance may also have been directed against the imperial Mauryas of Pataliputra. Greek intrigue may have played a part in the disintegration of the empire before the Greek raids."

A critical study of foreign incursions of India from time to time makes it clear that the invaders ventured to attack the country after having a good deal of knowledge through diplomatic envoys, accounts of travellers and efficient espionage services. The Persians, the Greeks, the Bactrian Greeks, the Sakas, the Hunas and the Muslims were helped in some way or other by the espionage services of their messengers who played quite a significant role in bringing victory to one and ruin to the other. With efficient espionage was coupled their military strength, innovation of new military tactics, the spirit of adventure:

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71 PHAI, 321
72 Ibid, 321-322
which brought them laurels of victory. The Indians, on the
other hand, inspite of having efficient espionage could not
withstand the onslaught of invasions due to their ignorance
about the outside world, internal strife, jealousy against
their own kinsmen and treachery. Their espionage services
were mainly utilised in rivalry against their own neighbours.
They were hardly used to bring them the news of the outside
world, causes of which are clearly shown in the observation
of the historian, "...Indian rulers had no occasion or
temptation to carry on campaigns outside India. They lived
and fought in their little world, vast enough for their
personal ambitions and enterprises and cared little for what
was happening in the outside world".73
We have already discussed about the role of secret agents before the outbreak of any war. Now let us see what part the spies did play at the commencement of war and even after it. At the beginning of hostility between two powers, services of spies were requisitioned to get information regarding enemy's plans, military strength, as well as resources. Such services of spies, we find, were rendered in the epic wars. Both Rāma and Rāvana used spies to ascertain their respective military strength and strategy. Rāvana's spy Śārdūla informed his master of the huge army of Rāma. He suggested Rāvana to send messengers to Rāma's camp to know the actual position of his army and then apply conciliation (āma) and gift (dāna) if required, for the subjugation of the rival enemy. Consequently, Rāvana sent his messenger Śūka to Sugriva asking him to remain aloof in the ensuing battle between Rāma and Rāvana. The monkeys were vigilant enough to catch sight of the enemy spy. They beat him severely. Spying, if detected, was recognised as a punishable offence and that was, as in modern times, a political practice. Śūka was, however, released by Rāma. Bibhīsana, once again, detected Śūka along with Sārana, disguised as vānaras and observing Rāma's military arrangements. But this time too, Rāma relieved them of corporal

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74 Ram, Y.K. 20-21, R.B, 301
75 Ibid, 20-21, 301
76 Ibid, 23-30, 304
punishment. On the contrary, he allowed them to go back to their own camp. Rāvana was greatly annoyed at the failure of the spies and summarily dismissed them and employed some other spies along with Sārdūla to have information about the activities of Rāma and his ministers. But when Sārdūla and his companions were spying, they were detected by Bibhiṣana and were greatly assaulted by the monkeys.

Rāma's spies were very efficient and well-trained and their superiority over Rāvana's spies is established from their successful operations before the outbreak of war and even during war. The inferior quality of Rāvana's espionage system becomes clear because of its failure to detect the true identity and secrets of the opponent wing. Moreover, each and every time Rāvana's spies were caught red-handed and the secret agents like Sūka, Sārana and Sārdūla had neither the calibre nor the capacity of spies par excellence. The weakness of Rāvana's intelligence system, as we have already pointed out in a previous chapter, is shown in Marīcha's and Surpanakha's remorseful comment about 'Ayukta-chāram' i.e., weak spying system of Rāvana.

For the destruction of enemy "the use of deceit and

77 Ram, 305
78 Ibid, A.K, 35-41; 37. 12-3; 41-43
poison for killing the opponent has been justified on the
ground that gods defeated demons with the help of deceit. 79
Both the epics bear testimonies as to the destruction of
enemies by deceit. In the Mahabharata, Arjuna had to pro-
cure information of specific nature for the death of Karna
who was believed to be invincible until the secrets of his
death were discovered. Krishna told Arjuna that as long
as Karna was in possession of Kundala amulet he could not
be killed in any way. Karna was very generous. Krishna
sent Indra in the disguise of a Brahmana to take the amulet
from Karna by some pretext. Karna gave it and was killed
by Arjuna in the Kurukshetra war. 80 This shows that even
during war, spies were employed to get some informations
which are necessary to achieve success in war. The Pandavas
found themselves in a state of serious disadvantages to
fight against Karna. So they utilized a skilled spy who
could procure the information relating to the secret of
Karna's death.

In the Ramayana, too, details of similar incidents
are not rare. Bibhisana who deserted his brother Ravana
and joined Rama, served as his informer. It is from him
that Rama came to learn that Indrajit was granted a boon

79 Mbh, XXXIII. 60-61
80 Kt, S.M. D.P. 741-742
by Brahma that if he attacked his enemies after the performance of Nikumbhila sacrifice, all his enemies would be destroyed. But if the enemy could attack him prior to the beginning of the sacrifice, then he would be killed.81

The death secret of Ravana was also disclosed by Bibhisana. He said to Rama that the death arrow of Ravana was kept hidden by Mandodari in her own chamber. But it was almost an impossible task to get inside because the place was under continuous vigilance and no stranger was allowed inside. Hanumana, on hearing this, disguised himself as a very old Brahmana astrologer and came to the place where Mandodari was worshipping goddess Parvati. The queen was greatly delighted to see the Brahmana who confirmed her about his supernatural power of making future predictions. The Brahmana asked Mandodari to put Ravana's death arrow in a secret place. The queen being overpowered by the forecast of Hanumana in the disguise of a Brahmana showed him the pillar inside which the arrow was hidden. Hearing this, Hanumana kicked down the pillar and ran away with the arrow.82

In the Mahabharata, we have examples, when the war was on, that espionage receiving information earlier might

81 Rama, RSB, Y.K. 341-342
82 Ibid, Y.K. 88-90, 343-345
have averted political crisis and catastrophe. Such an earlier report of spies served as an warning to the Pandavas and saved them from danger. Yudhishthira's faithful emissaries returned from the Kaurava camp and reported to him that Duryodhana had conspired with his general Drona to capture Yudhishthira by separating him from Arjuna in the battlefield and send him again to exile along with his brothers and mother by defeating him at dice again. But due to the disclosure of this evil conspiracy by the spies of the Pandavas, Arjuna became very cautious at the time of his battle with Drona. When Drona was approaching Yudhishthira, Arjuna advanced forward and compelled the Kuru general to retreat.

There are some incidents not directly connected with espionage but having indirect effects on the institution. We have examples of application of charms and incantation through spies during war. Display of evil omens in the darkness of night, living vampires, blood-stained limbs, demons, dropping of stones and rain, creating darkness were the miracles to threaten enemies and disillusion them. Such instances are cited both in the Ramayana and the Mahabharata to frustrate and break the morale of the enemy. In the Ramayana, Rāvana employed a Rakshasa named Vidyujjihav  

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83 *Mbh, R.G.B, 413, 414, 415
84 Ibid, D.P. 415
having magical power to show Sītā the severed head of Rāma. But Bibhīsana's wife Sārama spying on behalf of Sītā brought her information that Rāma was marching towards Lankā with his huge vānara army. So Rāma was not actually killed. Indrajit, too, tried to break the morale of the vānara soldiers by showing them the dead body of false Sītā. But Bibhīsana confirmed the news that it was a conspiracy of Indrajit to demoralise the monkeys.

In the Mahābhārata, too, we find reference to the display of similar supernaturalism to frustrate the enemy. When Abhīmanyu was killed by Jayadṛatha, Arjuna vowed to kill him before the sun-set. In case of failure, he promised to burn himself to death. Having learnt it through spies Jayadṛatha was greatly alarmed. In the battlefield he was surrounded by six great charioteers. Finding to kill him impossible before sun-set Krishna applied his supernatural power and covered the sun with his Sudārśana-chakra. The Kauravas were delighted to see that Arjuna's death was inevitable. The fire was ready. Jayadṛatha also came there to witness Arjuna's death. Just at that moment, Arjuna was directed by Krishna to kill Jayadṛatha.

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85 Ram, Y.K. 31-32
86 Ibid, 33-34
87 Ram, Y.K. 80-84
88 Bhā, R.S.B. D.P. 429-432
89 Ibid, 432
90 Ibid, D.P. 429-432
Actually warfare means the movement of the army. The importance of spies, as we have observed, was felt at that time to correlate the movements of different wings of the army during the commencement of war. It keeps a close watch over military generals and soldiers so that they may not be purchased or betray the mother country in lure of gold or silver. Even they may spread rumour with a purposeful motive of outmanoeuvring the enemy. Sometimes through military espionage the reverses of war may be suppressed so that it may not break the morale of the army. During war the spies act as watchmen and look after the movements of the opponents.

Like the spics the Buddhist Jātakas, too, offer examples of spying operations during war to foil the conspiracy of the enemies as well as to destroy them. A Jātaka story tells us that North Pāṇchāla king Brahmaddatā’s minister Kaivarta tried to seize the Nithilān capital by stopping water supply inside the city from outside. But the conspiracy was disclosed earlier by Nithilān spies stationed secretly in the enemy camp. So Kaivarta could not capture the capital of Nithilā.

In another Jātaka story it is described how an earlier information about military tactics brought victory of Prasennjit over Ajātaśatru. The story tells us that when the Magadhan king Bimbisara married the Kośala princess he received the

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90a J.G, I.G. VI. In later period of history we shall discuss similar instances in the same chapter.

91 Ibid, 269 ff
village of Kāśi from his father-in-law. When Ajātasātru ascended the throne killing his father Bimbisāra, Prasenjit was highly offended and snatched away the village. But in an encounter between Ajātasātru and Prasenjit the latter was defeated. Prasenjit then consulted with his confidential ministers how to take revenge of this insult. The ministers urged the king to send spies to Buddhist abodes because some among the Buddhist monks were often conversant with military strategy. Following the advice of the ministers the king sent spies to a Buddhist hermitage where those secret agents came to overhear about the techniques of success in war from a dialogue between two monks. They discussed about three types of military array (vyuhas), viz., cart-like array (Sakata vyuha), circular array (Chakra-vyuha) and lotus array (padma-vyuha). In order to win success, said the monks, the king should place brave soldiers over a hill and on both sides. Then he should march ahead with terrible battle cry. This secret information regarding the movement of the army during war helped Prasenjit to win victory over Ajātasātru. We do not know how much reliance can be put to such stories but similar instances of services rendered by spies during war are found in the epics, the

92 J.G. I.G. VI, 269-324. 22. According to Kautilya, (trans, p. 433) "In case of any obstruction the army should march in crocodile array in the front, the cart-like array behind and on the sides in diamond-like array (i.e., in four or five rows—all sides)." We have similar instances in the AP, 242-48; Manu, VIII. SIIHC 67-68, D.C. Sarkar, C.U. 107.
93 JG, IC, IV, 232. 94. AIU, BVB, 52
other literary fragments and even in historic period.

An important strategy of success in war is to prevent the enemy from offering united resistance. Alexander, during his invasion of India took the "strategy in breaking the centres of Indian resistance one by one, so as to prevent them from forming a united front". To this was added the treacherous submission of some of the Indian princes to the invader. Moreover, some among them served as informers to the Greek against their own kinsmen. When Alexander reached the gate of India, he received a welcome note from the Taxilan prince Ambhi who was at enmity with his powerful neighbouring king Poru. From Nicaea Alexander sent his emissaries to the rulers of the western part of the Indus and also to Ambhi with the message of his contemplation of the conquest of India. Ambhi sent his envoys to Alexander with rich valuable gifts and peace proposal. Thus the European at his first arrival at the gates of India found India divided against itself. It was the hand of an Indian prince which unbarred the door to the invader. In Indian history it was for the first time that a prince acted as a traitor to the country out of jealousy, narrow and hostile feelings towards a powerful neighbour. Ambhi's desire to root out

95 CA, II, 39-40
96 CHI, I, 313
his internal enemy with the help of foreign invaders made an easy access to external aggression which brought destruction and untold sufferings to the Indians. It was Ambhi who showed Alexander's army the route towards the Indus through Kabul.\textsuperscript{97}

The army destroyed the city of Pushkalavati situated on the northern bank of the Kabul river. Astes the king of Pushkalavati having suffered reverses at the hands of the Greek soldiers took shelter in another town surrounded by walls. But the soldiers chased him there and killed him. This kingdom was given to one Sanjaya 'a hanger-on of the Raja of Taxila' serving as a faithful informer to the Greeks.\textsuperscript{98}

The chiefs of hill states, viz., Ashmaka, Ayudha, Jivisaka, Kataka, Kshudraka and Malaya followed the footsteps of Ambhi.\textsuperscript{99} Another traitor was an Indian chief of some hill state near the Hindukush, Sasigupta by name, who helped the Greeks to penetrate inside the country.\textsuperscript{100}

In another frontier hilly place called Massaga by the Greeks a number of soldiers from the Punjab were hired by its chief to fight against Alexander. When Massaga was on the verge of ruin, the hired soldiers decided to join Alexander. But they changed their decision to join the enemy

\textsuperscript{97} CHI, I, 313 \textsuperscript{100} CA, II, 44
\textsuperscript{98} Ibid, 318
\textsuperscript{99} CA, II, 44
against their own countrymen and tried to return back to their own native land in the darkness of night. But the Greek soldiers having received the news through some informer surrounded those unfortunate soldiers and killed all of them quite mercilessly.\footnote{CHI, I, 316}

While taking hold over Aornus, a place near the Indus, Alexander came to learn from some local informers that the guards of the city fort had fled to the country of Abhisara where the king had kept sharp vigilance over the advancement of the Greeks.\footnote{Ibid, 320} Before the outbreak of the battle of Hydaspes the king of Abhisara acted as a double agent of both Alexander and Poru. He assured the Paurava ruler to help him against Alexander. But at the same time, he sent rich gifts to Alexander through his envoys.\footnote{Ibid, 323} This shows that the political traditions of winning over a paramount or superior power by valuable gifts was even known when Alexander invaded India. Poru, on the other hand, kept a sharp vigilance over the advancement of the Greeks.\footnote{CHI, I, 324} The Greek soldiers resorted to a very clever trick to confuse the Indians. They posed as if they would make an immediate attack but they did not do so. The historian observes that it must be a tactic to induce the enemy to loosen guards and throw off strict vigilance.\footnote{Ibid, 324} The Yavanas
put the Indians on suspense that they would wait till the winter. The spies of Poru gave him information that the Greeks had provisions for 'a long halt.' Meanwhile, the Greeks constructed a bridge of boats through a part of the river to outwit the enemy by surprise attacks. These manoeuvres of Alexander are reflections of his calibre as a military general of extraordinary genius. His capture of a strong fort of Sindimon, the capital of Samboe "by making a passage underground", is another instance of the Macedonian's wonderful exploits.

When Alexander pitched his camp on the banks of the rivers of the Punjab, Sasigupta was in charge of the fort of Aornus which he received earlier from Alexander. Sasigupta now informed Alexander of the revolt of some hilly tribes near Swat valley. It was immediately suppressed by Alexander. The king of Abhisāra after the adversity of Poru renewed his loyalty to Alexander offering him rich gifts through messengers. Alexander stopped his advance ment towards Magadha, a very dominant power in eastern India. He had the knowledge about the military strength and immense wealth of Magadha from its neighbouring king Bhāgala who had...

105 CHI, I, 325
107 Ibid, 325 ff
108 AMAI, 133
109 CHI, I, 330-331
110 PHAI, 230
A study of Alexander shows clearly that his success was due to his military genius as well as his espionage system. But his success was short lived. He could not annex the Punjab and Sindh in his empire. The causes of his failure was pointed out by some Indian sages with whom Alexander made an interview. They said, "the futility of his ambitions by showing how, as he trod on a piece of dried up hide and pressed on one end, the rest would fly up. By this symbol it was hinted that Alexander could not consolidate his conquests so far away from the centre of his empire."

After Alexander, Chandragupta Maurya established an empire with the assistance of Chanakya. He had a very well organised and efficient espionage system which helped him to establish a stable government and build up his empire. Incidentally, we may here refer to a story told by Buddhist and Jain traditions, to cite how secret information about a military strategy helped Chandragupta Maurya to conquer territories for his empire. At the outset of his career, Chandragupta liberated Punjab from the foreigners and then turned to wrest the territories under the Nandas. Being

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111 Phageis in MSS of Curtius, IX.2.2, Phageus in Diodorus, XVII

112 AIU, B.V.8, 52. According to Dr. Smith (Oxford History of India, 84) "intrigue, spies, winning over the enemy's people, siege and assault had much to do with the creation of the Maurya empire" (MSAI, 64)
assist by Chānakya Chandragupta collected soldiers from Punjab and at first conquered the frontier parts (Antajana-padam pavishitvā) in order to establish his sovereignty (rājam ichchanto). Chandragupta conquered the frontiers and penetrated far into the capital of Pataliputra and Magadha. But at first he made a strategic blunder and the right one dawned upon him through an incident related by his spy. From the story it appears that "in one of these villages a woman by whose hearth Chandragupta's spy had taken refuge, baked a chapathy and gave it to her child. He, leaving the edges, ate only the centre, and throwing the edges away, asked for another cake. Then she said, "This boy's conduct is like Chandragupta's attack on the kingdom". The boy said, "Why mother? What am I doing and what has Chandragupta done?" "Thou, my dear", said she, "throwing away the outside of the cake, eatest the middle only. So Chandragupta in his ambition to be a monarch, without beginning from the frontiers and taking the towns in order as he passed, has invaded the heart of the country and his army is surrounded and destroyed. That was his folly". Having heard it from spy, Chandragupta changed his manoeuvre, began his operations from the frontiers (pachchantato patthaya) and then took hold of many places.

113 Mahāvaṃsa Tīkā, 123, Appendix I
114 Ibid
on his way. But he again made another mistake. He did not
station his troops in the places which he conquered. The
people there combined against Chandragupta to overthrow him.
At this failure Chandragupta realised his blunder and then
posted his troops in the kingdom conquered by him (ugra-
hitanyā valam samvichāya). Chandragupta occupied the
frontiers of Magadha and then captured Pataliputra by
killing Dhana Nanda.

Dr. R.K. Mukherjee referred to a similar story re-
garding Chandragupta's strategy from the Jain work (Pari-
sataparyam). "Like a child burning his finger which he
greedily puts in the middle of the dish, instead of eating
from the part which was cool Cānakya had been defeated
because he had not secured the surrounding country before
attacking the stronghold of the enemy. Profiting by this
advice, Cānakya went to Himavatkuta and entered into alli-
ance with Parvataka, the king of that place....They opened
the campaign reducing the provinces." The same story tells
that both Chandragupta and Cānakya failed at first to capture
a town. Then Cānakya resorted to a stratagem to throw the
defenders off their guard. They at first took hold of a
country called Nandadesam and then Pātaliputra where the
Nanda ruler surrendered to him with his diminished wealth

115 MT, 123, Appendix I
116 Ibid
117 CMT, R.K.M, 33-34
Espionage reached a high level of perfection particularly under Chandragupta Maurya. His able and efficient minister Cānaka or Kautilya enumerated various modes and procedure of services to be utilised by intelligencers after the commencement of war. In his Arthāṣāstra Kautilya suggested different ways and means by which the spies were supposed to act according to need. The general principle was to strengthen the interest of his own country and to weaken the adversary. The main spirit of Kautilya's contention was that innocent people should not suffer and a wise king very often distinguished between innocent people and the traitor. If influential persons were involved in seditious activities, any direct attempts of coercion might lead to some serious consequences. That is why Kautilya suggested that attempt should be made to bifurcate them from the ring leader who in turn might be taken to task by clever diplomatic means. He should be separated from the people and measures should be adopted to find out principal agents through whom the enemy's work was essentially carried out and Kautilya believed in the principles of cohesion between friends and enemies whenever situation
demanded. He thought that by the application of conciliation and force in some cases, the desired results might be achieved. Sometimes when friends and foes were combined together, Kautilya said that in such cases the friend should be won over after separating him from the enemy through spies. Diplomatically a virtuous king might be won over by laudable praises and eulogistic notes showing the traditional relation with the dynasty. A king having good intentions or having suffered reverses might be brought into friendship through conciliation, while a greedy king might be won over by making lavish gifts. The enemy king might be weakened by bringing dissension among two or more kings, nursing ill feeling between one and the other. Sometimes economic dislocation might be created by spreading rumours, offering temptations of tributes, sometimes making the opponent apprehensive of a combination of powers on the other side. Merchandise might be supplied by spies under the garb of merchants and even sometimes by spreading the news that the merchandise was supplied by the enemy.

Kautilya also suggested some other means that the highly treacherous people of the enemy should be pleased by the conqueror with rich gifts and then might be caused to live with the enemy with weapons, poison and fire. Sometimes a spy

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119 AS, S.S. Bk IX VI, 386 121 AS, S.S, 387
120 Ibid, 387 122 Ibid, 387
having won over the confidence of the enemy might ask him to "guard his own person from such and such chief." 123 Then the recipient of salaries from both the kingdoms might put to death the chief by instigating the king to destroy him. 124 The spies very often might create confusion and even panic that the kings of the opposite sides were aiming at his life and even might instigate him to destroy "the commissariat and the followers of one of the kings." 125

According to Kautilya, dissension was the most effective weapon of a spy. His work was involved in sowing seeds of dissension so that the friends of the enemy might be turned into its enemies and vice versa. Even the spy might take the chance of murdering the enemy and most of the hidden spies did the work by means of weapons, poison and fire. Kautilya classified conciliation as a single quality, gift twofold, dissension threefold and coercion fourfold and a spy might use them overlapping each other to suit his specific need. 126 The similar methods might be practised in dealing with local enemies by way of tension, rumour, fear or favour. The spies might take the aid of the neighbouring king, a wild chief, an imprisoned prince, a scion of the enemy to destroy

123 AS, S.S, 388
124 Ibid, 388
125 Ibid, 386
126 Ibid, 389
the local enemies outside the kingdom. When there were a large number of local enemies in the country, the spies might destroy them by giving poisonous drinks, the clever enemy might be killed by spies or by poisonous flesh.

Sometimes a conqueror sent spies in different disguises to forts, villages and district borders of the enemy country. There they often made attempts to seize the enemy land by bribing the secret agents of the enemy. Spies disguised as vintners, employed to serve the enemy often killed the officers there by administering poison in liquor. Similarly, spies disguised as traders or merchants dealt with articles like cooked meat, rice, cakes, milk, curd, ghee, oil and articles like grass and water for animals and mixed poison with those articles to kill men and animals of the enemy.

For the devastation of the enemy in every possible way the spies could let loose the cruel beasts, elephants and poisonous snakes in the vicinity of the enemy camp. The spies were used to kill the chiefs of infantry, cavalry, chariots and elephants by fire. The borderlands, stores and other things of the enemy were destroyed by spies. The enemy king might be killed by a spy while giving direction to attack, marching in a narrow passage or over a

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127 AS, 55, 389
128 Ibid, 389
129 Ibid, XII. IV, 426
130 Ibid, XII. IV, 426
131 AS, 5SI, 427
mountain or near any big tree. The spy might again cause the enemy king to be swept away by the current of water of a dam, lake or pond destroyed earlier. The spy could even use poison, fire or cruel beasts to kill the enemy king.  

If a king was extremely fond of animals like horses or elephants, fond of wealth, addicted to women or devoted to ascetics, should be tempted, says Kautilya, with those objects and then treacherously killed.  

To take possession of the fort of the enemy the spies disguised as hunters or meat-sellers should be stationed near the gate and should make friendship with the watchmen. In this way by winning over the confidence of the defenders of the fort they might cause "the gate opened by the watchman under the enemy's order or by others in confidence and "they may strike the enemy with the help of the army."  

Sometimes birds like vultures, parrots, pigeons, crow, napte etc., were used to carry on inflammable powder to the enemy fort. Mongooses, monkey, cats and dogs were also made use of for the same purpose. Kautilya said, "Having captured the birds, such as the vulture, crow, napte, bhasa, parrot, maina and pigeon which have their nests in the fort walls and having tied to their tails inflammable powder (anniyagam).

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132 AS, S.S.I, 427
133 Ibid, Bk. XIII. II. 437-438
134 Ibid, Bk.XIII. III, 441
he may let them to fly to the forts. If the camp is situated at a distance from the fort and is provided with an elevated post for archers and their flags, then the enemy's fort may be set on fire. Spies living as watchmen of the fort, may tie inflammable powder to the tails of mongooses, monkeys, cats and dogs and let them go over the thatched roofs of the houses. A splinter of fire kept in the body of a dried fish may be caused to be carried off by a monkey or a crow or any other bird to the thatched roofs of the houses. We have also an example of using trained birds (parrots) to bring foodgrains for the army and people during war. The story

135 AS. SS, Bk.XIII, IV, 444. The need for "Pigeon service" is felt even today during war, for national security and emergency. It is reflected from the following news published in the "Amrita Bazar Patrika" dated 6.2.1984:

"Pigeons prime need in Spain's defence:

Madrid, Feb. 5 (AFP) : Carrier pigeons are so important to Spain's national security that in the future, people will need the defence ministry's permission keep them, a royal decree said yesterday. From now on, the defence ministry's "pigeon service" will be responsible of pure strains, the decree added.

The new law, which will affect some 4,000 Spanish pigeon fanciers, was necessary because of "the danger to national security that uncontrolled use of pigeons could represent", the decree said. Breeders who obtain the necessary license will be entitled to financial help from the government, but "in time of war" or in any national emergency, the defence ministry will be able to requisition the available birds.

Under the decree, which also imposes a total ban on pigeon shooting, anyone finding a stray pigeon must immediately hand it over to the nearest police station or military post."
runs thus: Pari was a ruling chief in the Pandyas country comprising three hundred villages surrounded by a fortified hill Kodungunram or Piranmalai. This land was very fertile and Pari had strongly fortified his country. He greatly patronised the Tamil poet Kapilä, who stood by him when the three other Tamil kings besieged his kingdom for long. Some poets tell us that Kapilar trained a large number of birds (parrots, according to one) to fly out from Pari's beleaguered fortress in the open country behind the enemy's lines and bring in corn to feed the city and the army for several months. 136

Regarding services of spies during war, Manu says that a king should be well-prepared before his march against the enemy, know all the details of the enemy. Spies were to be despatched to the enemy land to win over the disaffected elements there. 137 The persons secretly serving the enemy or the deserters from the hostile camp were to be watched over very carefully. 138 Manu states further, "Let him instigate rebellion those who are open to such instigations, let him be informed of his foe's doings. He should try to conquer his foes by conciliation, by well-applied gifts and by creating dissension, used either separately or conjointly, never by fighting (if it can be avoided)." 139 The

136 HSI, N.S, 121-122
137 SBE, XXV, 245
138 Ibid, 245
139 Ibid, 248
policy of winning over the enemy by conciliation, gift and dissension was a traditional practice in India from a very early period. The Paniḥ tried to win over Saramā by gifts. In the epics we are repeatedly told about the application of the four expedients viz., conciliation, gift, dissension and war in inter-state relation. These expedients did not lose their utility even in later days. Sometimes attempts were made often to incite revolt or spread germs of discontent among the subjects of enemy camp very much similar to the modern concept of internal sabotage through external aid. If there is internal dissension and discontent, external aggressions at any opportune moment become easier. A critical study of the views held by different ancient political thinkers shows that they were in parity with one another. Some of these political maxims have not yet fully lost their values and are universally applied in internal administration and external policy of states.

We have already referred to Greek invasion after Asoka's death (282 B.C.). It was undertaken by Antiochus in 206 B.C. 140 The Greeks must have had the knowledge about the distracted condition of India through spies. We have seen that the invaders used to gather information about the country which they desired to conquer through espionage. A quarter of

140 PHAI, 322
a century after the demise of Asoka, we come to learn from the Yuga Purâna section of the Garai Samhitâ, the Greeks invaded Madhysadaga when Sâliśuka's reign was over.

"Tatât ākramya
Panchâlân Mathurâśthathâ
Yayana dushtavikrântâh
Prâpâyanti kusumadhâvâjâm
Tatâh Pushpapura prâpte
Kardame prâhite hite
Ākuṭâ vishâyâh sârve
Bhavishyanti hâ saṁsârayâh."

"Then the viciously valiant Greeks after reducing Saket (in Oudh), the Pâñchâla country and Mathurâ, will reach (or take) Kusumadhâvâjâ Pushpapura (Pâtaliputra) being reached .... all provinces will undoubtedly be in disorder."

The last Mauryan ruler was Brihadratha who was assassinated by his general Pusâhyamitra Sunga. Pusâhyamitra occupied the throne and founded a new dynasty. The Greeks proceeded to the interior of Sunga dominion through a passage of Delhi. Pusâhyamitra was quite aware of the advancement of the enemy to the very heart of his dominion. At that moment he sent his messenger to his son Agnimitra to make arrangements for horse sacrifice. It was a political strategy to have an idea of the strength of the enemy. It was not merely a sacrifice to declare supremacy over all powers and commemorate victory, rather it was a means of the conquering (vilioisu) king to

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141 PHAI, 314; Vide Brihat Samhitâ, Kern, 37
142 Ibid, 328
143 CHI, I, 468
gather information about the strength and strategy of the enemy. A hundred royal princes clad in armour, a hundred warriors armed with swords, a hundred sons of heralds and headmen bearing quivers fitted with arrows; a hundred sons of attendants and bearing staves and a hundred exhausted worn-out horses amongst which having let loose that(sacrificial) horse they guard. 144 The followers of the sacrificial horse undoubtedly performed some sort of espionage work such as gathering secret information of neighbouring, neutral, friendly and enemy countries. Pushyamitra's intention to perform horse sacrifice at the time of the intrusion of the Yavanas is significant. The sacrificial horse set free by Pushyamitra was guarded by his grandson, Vasumitra and other hundred princes. The horse came wandering on the right bank of the Indus. 145 We may conjecture here that there were surely spies on behalf of the Sunga prince and his followers to give them information about the encampment on that particular spot. So they approached there with the horse. The Yavana soldiers captured the horse. A fight ensued and the Greeks suffered reverses at the hands of Pushyamitra who performed the sacrifice to celebrate victory over his rivals. 146 We do not know definitely the name of the Yavana leader but he was undoubtedly a Bactrian Greek. 147

144 SBE, 98, 355; XIII. 4.2.7.15
145 CHI, I. 468
146 Ibid, 468
147 PHAI, 337
The Bactrian Greeks who penetrated earlier into the Indian soil were in possession of a large part of Northwestern India for a considerable time. When the Greeks grew weak due to internal strife they were overthrown by a nomadic race of Central Asia called the Sakas. The most significant feature of ancient Indian history is that she fell a victim to invasion when there was the downfall of a powerful dynasty. Does it not lead us to think that they had the information earlier regarding the distracted condition of the country caused by the passing away of a strong monarch and succession of a weak ruler to the throne? It was done surely through spies. Besides making use of spies to get secret report of the enemy country, the invaders sometimes won over success through friendly negotiations with some chiefs of bordering provinces, e.g., Antiochus-Subhagasena alliance, friendly relation of Kadphises with the Gandhara ruler. Another strategy during war, viz., winning over the enemy's disaffected subjects, was often resorted to by the invaders. Such a strategy brought success to the Sakas and the Muslims in a later period.

After the Bactrian Greeks, the Sakas were the principal invaders of India. The Mathurā and Nasik Inscriptions refer to Saka domination from the Yamuna to the Godāvari.148 The Saka chief Nahapana wrested a large area from the Satavahana

148 CHI, I, 479
rulers. It is said that they established their sway as far as Ujjain. The people of Ujjain being oppressed by two great tyrants known as Gondabhilla and his son Vikramaditya were disaffected. In order to get rid of those two tyrants the people of Ujjain invited the Sakas to attack the kingdom. The Sakas came out victorious and ruled over Ujjain until they were driven out by the great Gupta emperor Chandragupta II. The employment of "Samchārāntaka" spies by Saka rulers reminds us of Sanchāraka spies of Kautilya.

The Parthians who had occupied lower Indus valley from the Sakas became powerful during the reigning period of Gondophares. After the Parthians came the Kushanae. According to Stān Konow the Kushanae were a branch of Yueh-chi nomads. They had established relation with borderland of India at the time of Gondophares. The imperial Guptas had not yet then come to the limelight of political power in India. The Kushan chief Kadphises was at first on friendly terms with the ruler of Gandhara and later on destroyed the Parthian rule and occupied the borderland of India.

In the middle of the fifth century A.D. India was menaced by the Hunae when Skandagupta was on the Gupt
throne. He successfully repulsed the invaders of these barbarians. Skanda "deliberated for days and nights before making up his mind who could be trusted with the important task of guarding the lands of the Surastras". 152 Allan deduces from this and from the words "sarveahu deśeṣu vidhaya gopatrīn" "appointing protectors in all provinces" "that the emperor was at particular pains to appoint a series of wardens of the Marches to protect his dominions from future invasion. One of these wardens was Parnadatta, governor of Surastrā. 153

Having been repulsed by Skandagupta, the Hūnas settled in a land between the Hindukush and the Indus. 154 From this place the Hūnas must have kept a sharp watch over political affairs of India. Otherwise, how could they venture to attack India after Skandagupta if they had not any knowledge about the weakness of the later Guptas? After the demise of Skandagupta, the Hūnas made further penetration upto Central India. A large part of West India (Saugar district of Madhya Pradesh) was occupied by Toramānā. 155 The possession of this place was done when Buddhagupta had passed away. We are told that the brother of an administrator of a district under Toramana served under Buddhagupta. 155 Toramānā's attack of India after Buddhagupta, was, therefore, quite significant. He had

152 PHAI, 511
153 Ibid, 511
154 Comprehensive Hist. of Ind. III
155 CA, III, 35
surely gathered information about India through the Huna officer who served Buddhagupta. We find that though the Gupta empire was saved from the first attack of the barbaric Hunas due to strong, heroic resistances, vigilance and security measures of Skandagupta, it could not survive the onslaught of second incursion under the weak resistance of the later Guptas. While analysing the causes of the downfall of the Guptas it is pointed out, "The Guptas did not realise the vital necessity of keeping an effective control over the Punjab and the Khyber pass if the political integrity of the rest of India was to be maintained. The Guptas showed in this respect less political insight than the Mauryas .... Had they effectively garrisoned the Khyber pass the critical battle with the Hunas would have been fought beyond the Indus".156

The Guptas had their downfall in about 550 A.D. With it ended the glory of Magadha in the east. Kanauja in the north came to the limelight of political ascendency under the Pushyabhuti rulers. There were some changes in the military system of this period but "...in matters of recruitment, encampment, fortification, battle array, espionage and general strategic plans, there was no appreciable departure".157 It is to be noted that no invaders

156 RSAI, 82; Vide, A New History of the Indian People, VI. 3
157 RSAI, 90-91
ventured to attack India at this time. They had quite a good idea about the strength, power and vigilance of the great Pusyabhuti emperor Harshavardhana. He laid the foundation of a vast empire roughly extending from the Himalayas in the north to the Narmada in the south, through wars and conquests. On the bank of the Narmada Harshavardhana had an encounter with the mighty Chalukya king Pulakesin II. Harshavardhana sustained defeats at the hands of Pulakesin and the limits of his empire remained confined to the Narmada.158

Harsha's death marked the collapse of his empire. One Arjuna usurped the throne but could not maintain his power. In the 8th century A.D. Yosavarman restored the glory of Kanauja for a short time. He was finally defeated by Lalitaditya Muktāpiḍa of Kashmir.159 Sometime before 836 A.D. Nāgabhanna II occupied the city of Kanauj.160 The period from the death of Harsha to the invasion of Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni there was no supreme power exercising control over the whole of India. In different parts of the country emerged numbers of small independent states ruled by Rajputs, who being goaded by perpetual jealousies were often engaged in mutual struggle. "Despite occasional struggle among themselves for power, these brave Rajputs opposed tooth and nail the advance of the Arabs, Turks and Afghans. Even after their power of resistance had frittered away, they remained stout defenders of their hearth and home."161

158 EL. VI.10
159 Rajatarangini, Stein's Eng. tr. I. 88-92
160 MSAI, 101
161 Ibid, 102
When, in India, Harsa's empire was falling to pieces, there was the rise of Islam in Arabia. Within twenty years after the demise of the Prophet, the Muslims brought Egypt, Syria, Palestine, Persia and Afghanistan within their domain. They were planning to move towards Sindh in India along the sea coast of Arabia. Before the invasion of Sindh the Arabs had all necessary information about the land through the accounts of Arab travellers. The Arab rulers maintained spies who reported to their masters about the countries they desired to invade. Men and women from different stratum of society were recruited for spying. Sometimes military and naval officers went to the enemy land in disguises to know about the state of affairs. The spies gathered information about geography, military strategy, bases, number of soldiers and other arrangements of defence of their invading countries. The secret agent from Arab named Hakim was despatched by Caliph Osman to the confines of Hindustan to gather information about the country. This paved the way for the Arab conquest of Sindh.

The only reliable source of history of Sindh is Chachanamah, which tells us that a Brähmana named Chach, his brother Candar and his son Dahir occupied the throne of Sindh after the Rai dynasty (ruled from 450-463 A.D.). Chach was a powerful king. The frontiers of his kingdom extended

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162 SHS, S.A. Ali, 104  
163 HI, Elliot, Dowson, 5, 25, 36  
164 Idrisi, tr. Jaubert, 146; OUC, J.N.S. 33  
165 Hist. of Ind., Mahajan, 17  
166 Chāčanāmā (also called Tarikh-i-Hind, Uasind or Fathrama)
upto Kashmir. Mukram, Suiistan, the lower Indus valley and some portions of Baluchistan were included in his kingdom. He increased his power and prestige by defeating Mahrat, the chief of Jaipur, Jodhpur or Chiter in about 623 A.D. Chach and his son Dahir were ready to give resistance to the Arabs who had started plundering the coast in 637 A.D. The Arabs were, however, the pioneers to show the rest of the Muslim world the gateway to India. They tried on several occasions to penetrate into the country. In 636-37 A.D. Caliph Omar's naval expedition to capture Thana near Bombay failed. In 644 A.D. Caliph Osman sent another expedition under Abdullah-bin-Qmar for the annexation of Sindh. He proceeded through Mukran and took hold of Sindh and Mukran. But this conquest did not help the Arabs to annex Sindh. Inspite of a number of difficulties the Arab attempts to conquer the frontiers of Sindh did not cease. They concentrated themselves in a hill near Bolan pass. At last they captured Baluchistan and automatically tried to move towards Sindh. Finally, Al-Hajjaj sent an expedition under his general Muhammad-bin-Qasim who annexed Sindh in 712 A.D. Before the undertaking of this invasion, a section of Buddhists of Neerun near modern Hyderabad had established treasonable communication with Hajjaz and Muhammad Qasim conquered a number of towns with least difficulty.

167 HB, I, 279  
168 HI, 17  
169 HI, 17  
170 CA Vol. III, 170
Muhammad-bin-Qasim whose exploits are of "the romances of history" found out a route to India through a bridge in a place near Basil. He started to reconstruct the bridge to make his way to Sindh. Dahir could never imagine in his wildest dream that the Muslims would advance through that pass. So he quietly ignored to set watchers to guard the pass.\footnote{171 Elliot and Dowson, I, 121}

When the Arab general Muhammad-bin-Qasim marched towards Sindh the town of Debal was well protected by strong walls. At that time a Brahmana from the chief temple of the capital deserted to the Arab camp. He reported that a red flag was flying over the top of the temple and at its base was tied a talisman. The Hindus believed that so long the flag would remain flying over there, the town could not be captured. Qasim tried to overthrow the flag-stuff and achieved initial success. This encouraged the Muslims to climb up the walls. The Hindus offered them stern resistance but were defeated.\footnote{172 SD, 14-15} The non-Hindu Buddhist subjects of Dahir joined the enemy and helped them Muslims with all necessary details.\footnote{173 Ibid, 10} The Hindus were defeated and the Muslims plundered Debal, the most important sea port. From there Qasim advanced towards Nerun, the part of Brähmanabad where the people surrendered. Dahir was fully aware of the
advancement of the Muslims. Dāhir offered stiff resistance but he was slain, the Hindus fled away and the Muslims indulged in massacre. The queen of Dāhir Rani Bai and her son, too, came forward to resist the Muslims but failed. Muhammad-bin-Qasim next conquered Multan. Thus the entire Sindh passed virtually to the Arabs. A critical analysis of the causes of Dāhir's failure shows that the treachery of the disaffected section of his subject was responsible for his failure. "The conquest of Sind", it is said, "should not be regarded as indicating in a general way the superiority of the Muslims over the Indians from a military point of view .... To the inexplicable want of strategy on the part of Dāhir and the treachery of the Buddhists of the South, we must add the base betrayal of the chief officers and grandees of Sind to account for its ruler's ignominious end."174 "The Jāts and the agricultural classes who helped Muhammad-bin-Qasim in his invasion of Sind did so not out of love for the conqueror but to wreak vengeance on the Brahmins whose tyranny they could not forget, and especially on king Dāhir, the Brahmin usurper of the throne of Sind whose previous King was a Buddhist.175 The same treachery by the people of Siwistan against their ruler Bajrah paved the way for the Arab conquest of Sind. Qasim was guided by a Sāmāni Buddhist to Siwistan. Seeing the Muslims

174 MSAI, 106
175 The Vision of India, S. K. Mitra, 87
advancing, the Samanis advised Bajrah to come to terms with the Arabs to avoid bloodshed. Bajrah turned a deaf ear to it and Qasim came to learn through spies about the disaffection among the subjects of Bajrah. The Samanis informed Qasim of displeasure of the trading class, farmers and lower caste people towards Bajrah. They further reported that Bajrah was not well-armed to resist the invaders. Qasim marched ahead with his army and came out victorious.

The Arab conquest of Sindh was, however, "a mere episode in the history of India and of Islam, - a triumph without results and it affected only a fringe of that vast country." According to Mir Masum, two years after the death of Qasim, the Indians revolted against the Arabs and threw off their yoke. Only in Debalpul to the Salt Sea was confined the Muslim rule. The Muslims could not penetrate beyond Sindh due to sharp vigilance and opposition of the Gurjara-Pratihāras, the Chalukyas and the Karkotās of West, South and North India.

Three centuries lapsed after the Arab aggression and in the tenth century A.D. the Muslim domination was established in India by the Turks. Subuktigin, the successor of

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176 Elliot and Dowson, I, 158-159
177 SD, 17
178 CHI. III, 10
179 Elliot, I, 438
180 AHI, 182
Alpti-gin of Ghazni led his first expedition against the adjacent Hindu kingdom of Sahis extending from the Punjab to Lamghan (Kabul) and Kashmir to Multan. Jaipāl, the contemporary Sahi king of Sabuktigin had made arrangements for national defence apprehending danger of Muslim attacks. The existence of such a strong ruler at the strategic point of India's North-West frontier stood in the way of the Muslims' progress towards India. According to Firiṣta, Jaipāla himself guarded the fort of Bhātinda and from there he kept a sharp watch over the Muslims. He was ready to offer resistance to the Muslims.181 "On the military strength and valour of this prince depended to a large extent the safety of the interior, as he occupied the key position of the gateway to India. When that line of defence was broken through, practically all Hindustan lay exposed to the Muslim arms".182 It was from the time of Alpti-gin that the Muslims started their raid in India. The situation became critical when Sabuktigin ascended the throne of Ghazni. Jaipāla found that the security of the western part of his kingdom was threatened by the Turks. He marched against the Sultan with a large army and reached Lamghan. But severe calamities befell Jaipāla and he sued for peace. As soon as Sabuktigin returned back Jaipāla relaxed the demands put by Sabuktigin and imprisoned his men who were sent to see whether the demands were fulfilled.

181 MSAI, 109
182 Ibid, 109
The spies of Sabuktigin at once communicated the news to him.\textsuperscript{183}

For this, Sabuktigin attacked Jaipāla again in about 991 A.D. During his second invasion, the spies informed him that Jaipāla had gathered an army of more than a lakh. To verify the report, Sabuktigin ascended a hill and found it correct.\textsuperscript{184}

This system of sending spies to the enemy camp to ascertain its strength and strategy during war was a traditional practice of both the Hindus and the Muslims. The efficient espionage was by far the best instrument of diplomacy of the Muslim invaders of India. Sabuktigin, however, occupied the land from Lamghan to Peshwar. Sabuktigin’s son and successor Sultan Mahmud continued his struggle against the Sahis till they were totally destroyed. Sultan Mahmud was lured by enormous fabulous wealth of India and raided the country from 1001 to 1025 A.D., on several occasions. His second invasion in 1001 A.D. was against Jaipāla. It was a surprise attack. Jaipala was defeated and captured by Mahmud. When he was released, he abdicated his throne in favour of his son Anandapala. Mahmud led an expedition against Anandapala in 1004 A.D. Then he plundered Bhera and Multan, and next fell upon Lahore in 1008 A.D. Anandapala sent his ambassadors to different rajas of Hindustan seeking their help in this national calamity. It was rare occasion in ancient Indian

\textsuperscript{183} Elliot, I. 21-22
\textsuperscript{184} Ibid, 23
history when the Hindus being inspired by patriotic fervour, were united for a common cause - the national defence. The Rajas of Ujjain, Gwalior, Kanauj, Delhi and Ajmer collected a large army and marched towards Punjab. The Muslims were at first cornered but, unfortunately, Anandapala's elephant became unruly and fled away from the battlefield. The Hindus were panic stricken seeing their general deserting and they also fled away. Anandapala's successor Trilocanapala offered heroic resistance to Mahmud but was slain in the battle in 1021 A.D. The capture of Somnath was the most devastating operation of Sultan Mahmud. It was a fine commentary on the efficiency of espionage. It is said that a number of Brahmins gave the Sultan the information about the huge wealth accumulated in the temple of Somnath at Kathiwara. They also induced the Sultan to attack the temple. When Mahmud reached Somnath he saw a strong fort on the sea shore. The people of the fort were on the walls, amusing themselves at the expense of the confident Mussalmans, telling them that their deity would cut off the last man of them and destroy them all. On the morrow, which was Friday, the assailant advanced to the assault and when the Hindus beheld the Muhammodans fighting, they abandoned their posts and left the walls. The Muslims planted their ladders against the walls and gained the summit. Then they proclaimed their success with their religious war cry and exhibited the prowess of Islam. Devastation and slaughter followed and Mahmud

185 Alberuni's India, Sachau II, 13
186 Rajputana Gazette, 236-237
187 CHI, III, 23
188 Elliot, II, 470
declared his triumph.

After the capture of the temple of Somanath Mahmud led his expedition to Anhiluara. The invader was reported by his informers that the king Bhimdeo of Anhiluara had taken shelter in an island situated in the extreme north-western part of Kathiwara. The local guides led the Sultan to the island. Seeing the invader marching, Bhimdeo fled away in mean disguise. Mahmud plundered the city, killed man and enslaved women including the ladies of Bhimdeo's family. But Mahmud’s expedition in the desert of Rajputana was a failure. According to a Persian chronicler, Mahmud somehow escaped. Mahmud's followers, both men and women, were captured by the Indian soldiers. The Turk, Afgan and Mughal female prisoners were married to the Indian soldiers.

From the Rājatarangini we come to learn that after the capture of Touai (modern Punch) from Trilocanapāla of Lahore in 1013 A.D. Mahmud marched towards Kasmira, and returned back with immense booty. Firishta tells us that he renewed his attack on Kasmira for the second time but this campaign was a failure. Neither the Ghaznivides nor Muhammad Ghori in a later period tried to subjugate this well protected valley by nature.

189 CHI, III, 25
190 Tarikh-i-Sorah, Tr. Ranchodji Amjari, 112
191 Stein, Eng. tr. I, 107
192 Brigg's tr. I, 54-55
After the Pushyabhutis there was the rise of the Prati-
hārās in Kanauja in the 9th century A.D. This excellent,
wealthy and fortified city on the confines of the ganges
became the capital of the Pratihāra empire which extended
from the Punjab to the borders of Bengal. Bhoja I was the
greatest ruler of the Pratihāra dynasty. But frequent raids
by Indra III, the Rāshtrakuta king of the South over Prati-
hāra power sapped its vitality. So, when Sultan Mahmud
attacked Kanauja in 1018 A.D. the Pratihāra king Rājyapāla
surrendered. However, Kanauja came under the possession of
Chandradeva of the Gāhadvāla dynasty in the second half of
the eleventh century A.D. He occupied Ajodhya and Vārānasī
too, and reduced the Tomaras of Delhi to vassalage. The
greatest king of this dynasty was Govindachandra (1114-1154).
He was the son of Madanapāla who with the assistance of his
son extended his influence upto south Bihar, defended Benaras
and other sacred cities against Turkish raids. The early
Gāhadvāla rulers made permanent arrangements for the military
defence of their country against the Muslims and in
connection with the Muslim raids the Gahadvalas levied a tax
on their subjects called "Turuṣka-danda". Jayachandra
was the last ruler of this dynasty. He was defeated by
Muhammad Ghori in the battle of Chandrawar which brought the
destruction of this dynasty.

193 CHI, III, 509-510
194 Ep. In. IX. 324, 327; Ep Ind. VII. 115-116; JASB. V. 1922
195 IHQ June, 1949; Smith EHI, 400 fn.
Shihab-ud-din Muhammad Ghori was the real founder of Muslim empire in India. The kingdom of Ghore was situated in the hills between Ghazni and Herat. Muhammad Ghori was very ambitious and wanted to conquer Hindustan and spread the religion of Islam among the Hindus. His first invasion was directed against Multan and he achieved an easy success. From there in 1175 A.D. he proceeded towards Uch in Upper Sindh. A story tells us that the queen of Uch fell a prey to Muhammad Ghore and was instigated by the Turk to poison her husband to death. She did the same and Uch was occupied by the conqueror. But there is some doubt among some scholars about the truthfulness of this story.

The importance of secret diplomatic tie through secret agents reveals when we read that the Raja of Jammu named Chakra Deo gave assistance to Muhammad Ghore against Khusrav Malik of the Punjab. Chakra Deo was not on friendly relations with Khusrav and invited Muhammad Ghore to attack his kingdom.

The possession of Ajmara was essential for Muhammad Ghore to make his way to the plains of the Ganges. Even in the face of such a grim danger Jayachandra did not forget his jealousy and ill-feeling towards Prithviraja who had carried off Jayachandra's daughter. He did not realise the common danger and Dr. H. C. Ray points out "there is no evidence to

196 SD. Srivastava, 73
197 CHI, II, 39
show that Jayachandra, even from an intelligent perception of
his own self-interest, co-operated in any way with the Cha-
hamanas.  

198 Muhammad Ghore directed his attack against Pri-
thvira\(\tilde{a}\)ja at Tarain - a village in the midst of Thane\(\tilde{a}\)wara and
Karnal.  

199 But the Muslims received reverses. This crushing
defeat taught the Muslim that he required more strength, re-
sources, good understanding and co-operation to win over the
Hindus. So when he renewed his attack upon Prithvira\(\tilde{a}\)ja, the
next year, 1192 A.D. in the same battleground of Tarain, he
was more well-prepared. Prithvira\(\tilde{a}\)ja, too, did not remain
idle. He sought the hands of the neighbouring Rajput princes
who offered co-operation to resist the advance of the Muslims.
Within a short time Prithvira\(\tilde{a}\)ja gathered a huge army. There
was a terrible battle but it was lost to the Hindus. Prithvi-
ra\(\tilde{a}\)ja tried to escape but was captured and killed. While ana-
lysing the causes of Hindu failure, we find that Ghuri's pro-
gress from Ghur to the Eastern Punjab by way of Peshawar was
uninterrupted.  

200 Does it not reflect the inefficiency of
Indian espionage system? There was not surely the vigorous
intelligence system to keep a vigilant eye over the progress
of the Muslims. Moreover, Prithvira\(\tilde{a}\)ja committed strategic
and tactical blunder. "It is sad to reflect that after the
first battle of Tarain (1191 A.D.) in which he (Prithvira\(\tilde{a}\)ja)

198 EI, I, 122 ff.
199 AWAI, 196
200 AIA, 122
did not press his advantage to the fullest limit. Instead, he halted his troops, leisurely besieged Sirhind and neglected to take adequate precautions against the return of the Ghorian chief. It is true when next year Muhammad came back with a large force, Prithvirāja fought out the issue with courage and determination, but no gallantry and no heroism can save a people from the results of neglecting war preparations. A large part of India was conquered by Muhammad and he returned back to Ghazni. After his death, his vast empire extending from Afghanistan to Kabul was divided among his slaves. Qutb-ud-din Aibak was in possession of India. Within a short time Qutb-ud-din conquered Meerut, Kol and Delhi. Delhi was the seat of government. Qutb-ud-din was the most efficient slave of Muhammad Ghori and may be regarded as the real founder of Muslim rule in India. He led a campaign against Baran or Bulandshah. It was ruled by a Rajput chief Chandraghona. Aibak bribed Ajaipala a relative of the king and the traitor helped the enemy to bring ruin to the king and his family as well as to the country.

Kalinjara was the military capital of Chandella king Paramārdideva. Qutb invaded the city in 1202-3 A.D. The battle was a long drawn one. The king took refuge in a well-protected fort. The water was supplied inside the fort from

201 NBSAI, 122
202 SD, Srivastava, 77
a hilly spring. The local spies divulged the secret of the strength of the Chandellas. The Muslims diverted the course of the spring. This led to the surrender of the city.\textsuperscript{203}

From a study of Muslim invasion of India it is reflected that their success was greatly due to their efficient espionage. The Muslim conquerors, as we have already discussed, had quite a good idea about India through their secret agents. Moreover, they succeeded in a number of cases, to win over the enemy's disaffected elements who served as their most faithful informers. This placed the Muslims definitely in an advantageous position to make their conquests easier. On the other hand, we have little knowledge about the military espionage of the Indian princes during Muslim attacks. But from their failure, the inferior quality of their intelligence system is positively reflected.

MILITARY ESPIONAGE UNDER THE PĀLA AND SENA RULERS :

The Pālas and the Senas were at constant war with their neighbouring countries for the domination over Northern India. The Pāla kings were at war with their neighbours like the Pratihāras of Kanauja and the Rāṣṭrakutas of Malkhed.\textsuperscript{204} The Pālas had secret service officers (Gudhapuruesas) and Mantrapālas to advise them on political affairs. The Pālas as well as the Senas had made proper arrangements to defend the country.

\textsuperscript{203} SD, Srivastava, 77
\textsuperscript{204} JIRI, I, 141
against foreign attacks. Gauda or Lakhnauti was strongly
fortified to check the invasion of the outsiders from the
west following the bank of the Ganges through Rajmahal hill.
The military headquarters was at Nadia to keep watch over
the advancement of the invaders through South Bihar, Birbhum,
Orissa and Midnapore. A number of forts were there at the
strategic points to defend the country from external and in-
ternal attacks. The rulers of the provinces and the offi-
cials of the districts maintained garrisons to have peace
everywhere. Thus Gauda or Lakhnauti and Nadia were two
strong and well-protected bases of the Palas and the Senas
for a long time to prevent the advance of the invaders.

Sack of Nadia: When Qutb-ud-din Aibak was busy
in conquering Northern India, one of his commanders Ik-
tiyar-uddin Muhammad-bin-Baktiyar Khalji contemplated the
conquest of Bihar and Bengal. Baktiyar conquered Bihar with
two horsemen in 1197 A.D. The king of Bihar, Indruman fled
away. From Bihar he proceeded towards Bengal and Nadia was
sacked probably in 1199-1200 A.D. Minhaj tells us,
"Baktiyar caused a force to be prepared, pressed on from
Bihar, and suddenly appeared before the city of Nadia. The
march was so swift and rapid that only seventeen of his
horsemen could keep pace with him, who entered the gate

205 JIRI, I, 145-146
206 Ibid, 96
unsuspectingly and were taken to be dealers in horse by the gate-keepers. They were not suspected because such men frequently visited the city and on such occasions they had spied over the secrets of the place. Minhaj further states, "Entering the inner palace, he surprised the inmates and began slaughter. The king was at his dining table and took a boat by the back-door of the palace". Baktiyar spread great terror throughout Bihar and Bengal. It is said that Rai Lakshmania of Bihar sent spies to see secretly whether Baktiyar's personal appearance was in parity with that of prophesied Turkish invader of his kingdom. They reported that he was the same as described. Hearing this, the rich traders and Brahmanas were afraid and fled away to Sylhet, Bangla and Kamarupa.

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207 JIRI, I, 96
208 H.B. II, Jadunath Sarkar, 7
209 Ibid.
SECTION III

We have thus plenty of instances of the most vital part played by espionage at the time of war, before the beginning and even after the end of it from the earliest history of war. The growing importance of espionage system can be understood from the very fact that a handful of Muslims who were practically surrounded by multitude of infidels ruled for a considerable period in an alien land practically detached from their great Islamic empire. The services of spies utilised by them during war and at peace time in internal civil administration and in external relationship must have brought their success. So we cannot ignore the importance of the institution of espionage considering the subjective and objective circumstances of the age. The Muslims after establishing themselves to power in India maintained the espionage institution vigorously in their bid to reorganise the administrative machinery. But the basic objectives and working of espionage remained the same throughout the reigning periods of different dynasties. There were certain changes in course of time with a view to meet the growing complexities in every sphere of administration. The existence of the system of espionage in both the political traditions of India and Islam perhaps gave them a moral stand

210 MHE, J.N.S, 38
to infuse a new vigour to espionage.\textsuperscript{211} The tremendous success and prolonged nature of Islamic rule in India may be described as the outcome of highly-spun espionage system.

During war, the services of secret informers were essential. The espionage system facilitated the movements of the army, exposed sides could be effectively guarded by them, further detachment could be sent through them. The co-ordination between rear, forward, vanguard and scouts could be maintained by spies. It served the purpose of reconnoitring work, passivity or inactivity of any part of the army could be detected by spies. In fact, the operation of the army could be fashioned, to a great extent, on the basis of maps or charts prepared by commanders and general on the basis of the report of the spies.\textsuperscript{212} The success or failure, death and such other allied informations were maintained through secret agents. At the close of war, when treaties were concluded, sometimes the two rulers ascertained the loss sustained by both the parties - the victor and vanquished, through spies. After war, the spies had a vital role to play because with the defeat and fall of a country, they were used to poison water tanks, destroy resources of the enemy. After the conquest of a country, the secret service men tried to sense or assess the sentiments of the people of the newly acquired territory. "Having

\textsuperscript{211} Life and Conditions of People of Hindustan, K.M. Asraf, 190

\textsuperscript{212} Idrisi, Tr. Jaubert, 416
acquired a new territory it is said that secret agents should contrive to impress on the leading men of districts, villages, castes and corporations, the vices and defects of the late government and the high esteem and favour with which they are regarded by the conqueror and his devotion to their interests. 213

With the development of science, the techniques of espionage have become more developed. The modern warfare may be most reasonably characterised as the war of espionage. There is relation between the ancient, mediaeval and modern in respect of espionage as an essential part of warfare. The only difference is that the techniques and modus operandi have undergone changes with the rapid advancement of science and technology and methods of transmitting news. The high ambition of aggrandizement of the powerful nations has led them to make secret diplomacy as the instrument of expansion. The twentieth century world has experienced the horrors of two devastating wars. There is a real urge among peace-loving people to abolish war and force from the arena of politics. But war seems to be the main device of progress of aggressive nations. So long war and secret diplomacy remain, espionage will not cease to operate.

213 EHB, Monahan, 135
SECTION IV
CAUSES OF INDIA'S FAILURE TO RESIST FOREIGN AGGRESSIONS.

War, diplomacy and espionage were the most significant features in ancient India's political system. The Indian rulers established empires, maintained trained soldiers, espionage and fortified their cities. But India had been menaced by foreign aggressions from time to time. In analysing the causes of India's failure to resist foreign inroads, a few points may be raised for consideration. The vulnerable north-west frontier forming the chief gateway to India through land had endangered the security of the country again and again. The defence of the north-west frontier became the most serious problem after the downfall of the imperial Mauryas (185 B.C.). Repeated incursions by the Persians, Greeks, Sakas, Parthians, Kushānas, Hūnas and lastly the Muslims show definitely the inferiority of Indian military system as well as of espionage. From the observation of historian, it is pointed out that Kautilyan espionage was not applied equally in all the periods of ancient Indian history. On the other hand, the invaders must have kept a sharp watch over India's political developments through espionage. Otherwise, how was it possible that they attacked the country during political turmoil caused by internal dissensions following the

214 MSAI, 65
downfall of a powerful dynasty or at the time of a weak ruler? Facts of history will testify the truth of this statement.

India had diplomatic and commercial relations with the outside world from pre-historic age. Merchants from Babylon and other Yavana countries came to India for trade both by sea and land routes. Taxila and Punjab were connected with central and western Asia through land routes. Pataliputra was connected with the Indus delta and Kabul valley through a number of roads. The interior places of the country were connected through a number of good roads which were used by merchants and travellers of different countries in peace time and soldiers at the time of war. The knowledge of these routes helped the Yavanas from Bactria, the Parthians and the Sakas to penetrate inside the country.

The Greeks had their first-hand information regarding India from the accounts of Skylax of Caryanda, Hecataeus of Miletus, Herodotus, Ctesias, Megasthenes, Strabo, Pliny, Arrian and others. The most important among these was the account of Megasthenes who has given a graphic picture of

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215 CHI, I, 189-91
216 Ibid, 191
217 Ind. Polity, XVII, Chesney (Quoted in Imp. Gaz. III, 402-403)
218 CHI, I, 465
the social, economic and political condition of India. From Megasthenes's, Strabo's and Arrian's reference to secret agents of India, it is proved that they studied deeply the political condition of the country. The minutest details regarding the fortifications of Indian cities and towns show how keen was their observation of each and every aspect of defence arrangements.  

The accounts of the Chinese travellers like Fa-hien (5th century A.D.), Hiuen Tsang, I-tsing (7th century A.D) and Ma-huan are also sources of information about India.

From the eighth century A.D. the Arabs were attracted to India. The details of Indian borderland, frontier facing western coast, hilly regions in the north-west found mention in the historical chronicles of the Muslims. These informations were much helpful to the later invaders. Among the early geographers, the accounts of merchant Sulaiman, Al-Masudi, Al-Idrisi, Suru-I-Buldam gave an idea of natural resources, minerals, different routes connecting the country with the outside world, the fabulous wealth and treasures of the Indian kings.  

A few pockets established by the Arabians on the western track of the upper Indus not only helped the succeeding Mohammedan invasions but they provided also a base for the future success of the Muslims. Those Arab kingdoms kept

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219 ANWAI, 132
220 Elliot and Dowson, III, 3-4
continuous diplomatic intercourse with Hindu Indian kingdoms. Naturally, they had the occasion to know about strategic position and other details which gave them a fair chance to come out victorious in the succeeding streams of Muslim invasions. On the other hand, the Indians were quite indifferent to the political developments outside, when their enemies were gathering information about their country. Seldom, except on few occasions, the Indians were alert about the grim danger of foreign incursions. Hardly they could rise above their petty quarrels and mutual jealousy. They had little knowledge about superior weapons and military tactics of their enemies. The military system which enabled Chandragupta Maurya to reach to the height of power and ascendency was discredited in the later days. The deterioration in the art of war was greatly responsible for the gradual decay and downfall of the Hindu kingdoms and their loss of independence. Moreover, “The rise of political powers or new political combinations, the evolution of military tactics and the invention of new military weapons or fresh equipment, even in Central or Western Asia, not to speak of remoter countries, hardly ever interested India, though as events proved, she fell a constant victim to one or other of them. The details of the defensive campaigns waged by Indian rulers leave no doubt that they were either unaware of the impending danger, and consequently not sufficiently prepared, as were outmatched by the new military formations or weapons.
to which they were complete strangers. 221

To this ignorance about new military strategy and tactics of the invaders was added the vanity of the Indian chiefs, which was partly responsible for their failure. Al-Biruni observes, "The Indians believe that there is no country as theirs, no king like theirs, no religion like theirs, no science like theirs....." This spirit of isolation and exclusiveness coupled with their indifference made them incapable to stand the foreign inroads. The debacle of the Rajputs was possible owing to their internal disunity, racial vanity and above all, the potential weakness of their military operations. The Muslims fought only the pitched battles while the Hindus made consequently frontal attacks. Profuse use of elephant resources further resulted in suicidal state which very often destroyed the morale of the army. "The elephants running amok and doing havoc on the battlefield were responsible for the defeat of such stout heroes as Puru and Anandapala of the Punjab". 222 The swift horses used by the enemy in military engagements adversely told upon the efforts of the Rajputs. Naturally, inspite of their heroic resistance they could not withstand the reverses.

221 VA, I, 106
222 MSAI, 150
According to some writers, e.g., C.V. Vaidya, the caste system was greatly responsible for the destruction of Hindu independence.\textsuperscript{223} It has often been found that the lower stratum of the Hindu society being despised and tortured by the authoritarian priestly section were easily won over by the enemies, especially by the Muslim invaders.\textsuperscript{224}

It has already been pointed out that most of the invasions took place at the time of political upheaval. In such a critical state of affairs everything in administration including espionage must be in collapse.

In the transitory period that marked after the downfall of the imperial House of Kanauja and Muslim invasion, India was sliced in numerous compartments, administration became loose, rivalry was rampant, and the internal feuds were most disastrous in character. In such a condition, espionage had the most insignificant part to play to check the influx of invaders.

Besides these drawbacks, was the most disgraceful act of treachery which made India an easy access to the invaders. India has witnessed such acts of treachery beginning from the Greek invasion down to the foundation of British imperialism in India.

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\textsuperscript{223} Mediaeval India, III, XXII, 355
\textsuperscript{224} Islam in Bengal, Jagadish Narayan Sarkar, 21
Art. The Rajput clan in his Tribes and Castes of the North Western Provinces and Oudh, 305. Here we are said that addiction to opium was greatly responsible for degeneration among the Rajputs.
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In Sanskrit literature we find mention of poisonous girls who were employed to kill the enemy. The Kathāsarit Sāgara refers to such poisonous damsels. The political drama 'Mudrā Rākshasa' written in about the seventh century A.D. tells us about poisonous maids. Rākshasa the minister of the deposed Nanda says, "As Karna in order to kill Arjuna reserved a strong lance capable of destroying only one person once and for all, I too kept a vigorous poisonous maid to kill Chandragupta."

"Kṛṣṇenāva visāṅganaika-purusāvapādini rakhita. Hantum āaktirvārjunam valavati yā Chandraguptamavā". But this poisonous girl killed Parvata, a friend of Chandragupta. But in the Parisīsta Parvana it is said that Nanda himself prepared a poisonous girl and Rākshasa had no part to play here. A story runs that when Chandragupta Maurya along with Parvata entered into the palace of Nanda to take possession of his treasures, they beheld a very beautiful girl. But this girl was fed on poison from her childhood and was brought up by Nanda. Parvata was seized with passion for the girl and Chanakya decided to give her to Parvata. When the ceremony of

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1 KS, I, tr. VSM, 110
2 OS, II, tr. Tawney, 284
3 MR, 2.15
4 OS, 285
uniting their hands was going to be held, their perspiration caused by the heat of sacrificial fire was mixed together. At this, Parvataka died then and there on the spot.  

There are many such popular tales about these poisonous girls but we do not know how far these stories contained truth. But there was great fear regarding poison-maiden. In the seventyfirst tale of the Suvābahuttari Kāthā, we are told that one Dharmdat sought the hands of the daughter of king Kamsundara. His clever minister prevented Dharmdat by saying that the girl was poisonous.

A question is, however, raised whether there was really any poisonous girl, physical contact with whom brought fatal death. It is supposed that there were some signs in horoscopes showing that some girls would become poison-girls when grown-up. However, we are not going through any controversy. But we come across a good number of interesting stories about these poisonous girls, throughout different parts of the world.

When Alexander was leading his eastern campaigns, Aristotle warned him not to employ women for the care of his body, because many kings in the past were killed by poison-girls. He said to Alexander, "Remember! What happened when

5 OS, II, 285; vide LSP, Bloomfield, 198
6 Ibid, 285-286; vide Uber die Suvābahuttarikātha, Johannes Hertel, Testschrift für Ernst Windisch Leipzig, 1914, 146-147
7 OS, II, 285-286
the king of India sent the rich gifts, and among them that beautiful maiden whom they had fed on poison until she was of the nature of a snake, and had I not perceived it because of my fear, for I feared the clever men of those countries and their craft, and had I not found by proof that she would be killing thee by her embrace and by her perspiration, she would surely have killed thee". 8

In Spain, too, this incident was well known, and it has been referred to by C Gullem de Cervera in his Romania XV, 9, verse 1000. This story is told differently by different writers.

A king came to learn from an astrologer that a child named Alexander was born to bring his ruin. Hearing this, he gave orders secretly to feed some infant girls belonging to good families on poison. Only one girl survived among them. She became extremely beautiful and could play on harp. But she was so poisonous that all who came near her died immediately. Once he sent his army with the girl in the enemy camp at night to play harp before the king. The king charmed by her beauty invited her in his tent. When he kissed her, he died. The same was the fate of his followers. The army, sent along with the girl, won over the enemy easily. At this success the king was very pleased and the girl was nourished

8 Os. II, 291
with more purer poison.

When Alexander defeated Darius, the king in order to fulfil his long cherished desire to kill Alexander, sent five beautiful girls dressed nicely, to him. The fifth was the poison maiden who was more beautiful and richly clad. Seeing her Alexander was seized with so much passion that he rushed towards her. But Aristotle recognised her and prevented Alexander from touching that girl. In order to prove it, Aristotle sent two slaves who by kissing her died at once. Alexander then killed the girl.9

Another story tells us that a wise queen ruled in the land of Sire. She had a magical power by which she came to learn that an Olympian named Alexander would destroy her. There were many big snakes in her country. Their eggs were very Large. She put a baby girl in an egg which was hatched out by the snake mother with her other eggs. The girl came out with the other snakes. The mother snake fed her. When the snakes grew up the queen brought her in the palace and put her in a cage. She made hissing sound. If any one came to her, died or was attacked with disease. After forty-two days the queen gave her bread to eat. She was taught language, and could speak. The girl was accustomed to human

9 OS, II, 293; vide, Histoire Littéraire (XXX, 565) Earnest Renan, Le Cuerde Philosophie, Antoine Warard - the tale "Pucelle Venimeuse".
food. In course of time, she grew to be a very beautiful young woman. When Alexander came to that country, the queen offered him the girl. But Aristotle could recognise her and prevented Alexander from having any physical contact with the girl. The tale of poisonous girl became so popular in Europe that it found a place in the noted collection of stories named *Gesta Romanorum*.

Recently, the American poet Nathaniel Hawthorne tells in "Rappacini's Daughter" that a doctor named Padua had the habit of making curious experiments. He had a garden of poisonous plants. He took his daughter regularly there and asked her to inhale the poison. The girl became so poisonous that whenever she touched any flower, it withered away. The maiden was very beautiful and a young man wanted to marry her. Her father's friend prepared a lotion for the lover to apply to the girl for the neutralisation of poison. But when it was applied to her, she died.

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11 OS, II, 296 ff.

12 Mosses from an old Mause, Peterson's Shilling Lib, New England Novels, Edinburgh, 1883, 95
In Persia there is a story which tells us that a queen wanted to kill her husband. She knew that her husband used to kiss the neck of his favourite concubine. She rubbed poison in her neck. But the plot was disclosed by a slave.\textsuperscript{13}

In all these stories, the poisonous girls appear to be extremely beautiful to attract the victims. It is said that poison was transferred to the body of the victim through bite upon the lips by the poisonous girls.\textsuperscript{14}

There was a belief that a deadly poisonous plant elbes was found in India. When an Indian king wanted to win over his enemy king, he took a new-born girl and put that poisonous plant for some time under her cradle, then under the mattress and lastly under her dresses. Finally, she was given poison in her milk. The girl was habituated to take poison without any harm. When she grew up, she was sent to the enemy king with other gifts. The king having an intercourse with the girl, died.\textsuperscript{15}

\textsuperscript{13} Persian version of the Fables of Pilpay 'The Anvar-i-Suhati', tr. Eastwick, 1859, 582
\textsuperscript{14} OS, II, 305
\textsuperscript{15} OS, II, 312; Vide, In al-Qazwini's (Silvastre de Sacy, Chrestomathic Arabe, 2nd ed, Paris, 1826, III 398; J. Gildemeister Scriptorum Arabum de Rebus Indicis loci, 219, Gutschmid in Zeitschr d deutschen morg Gesel, XV, 95) Kosmographic.
We have another interesting tale narrated by Varthema about the king of Gujrat, Mahmud Shah, who was fed on poison by his father to foil the attempt of enemies to administer him poison. The story was current in about 1500 A.D. Mahmud Shah used to take a certain amount of poison daily. When he wanted to destroy an important person, he made him come before him naked and stripped. He ate some fruits called chofores, herbal leaves looking like leaves of sugar orange and also lime of oyster shells mixed together with those things. He chewed them well and then spurted out it on the enemy desiring to kill him. The enemy died within half an hour. He had three or four thousand women and he slept with one of them every night. Every morning the woman was found dead. Each and every time he wore new garments. The dresses which he took off, if touched by anyone, caused his death.

Barbosa tells us that he used to eat poison in a very small quantity which could not do any harm to him. But he became so poisonous that even a fly sitting over his body perished. The woman having physical contact with him died instantaneously. So he kept a ring which could neutralise the effect of poison when put in the mouth of a woman cohabiting with him. But he could not leave the habit of eating poison because if he did so, he would die. It is

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found that a man addicted to opium would die if he does not eat it. On the contrary, a man who is not accustomed to such habit, would also die if he takes it.\textsuperscript{17}

From all these stories we come to learn that poison damsels and poison were used to cause destruction of the enemy. Manu asks the conquering king to destroy grass, food, fuel and water of the enemy.\textsuperscript{18} In Suśruta Samhitā we find "A sheet of poisoned water becomes slimy, strong smelling, frothy and marked with (black coloured) lines on the surface. Frogs and fish living in the water die without any apparent cause. Birds and beasts that live (in the water and) on its shores roam about wildly in confusion from the effects of poison and a man, a horse or an elephant by bathing in this poisoned water is afflicted with vomiting, fainting, fever, a burning sensation and swelling of the limbs. These disorders (in men and animals) should be immediately attended to and remedied and no pains should be spared to purify such poisoned water. The cold ashes of Dhava, Asva Karna, Asana, Paribhadra, Patala, Siddhaka, Mokshaka, Rajadruma and Somavalka burnt together should be cast into poisoned pool or tank whereby its water would be purified as an alternative. An anjali measure (half a sheer) of the said ashes cast in a Ghata

\textsuperscript{17} OS, II, 300-301; Vide "The Travels of Duarte Barbosa, M. Longworth Dames, Hakheyt Society, 1918, vol.I, 121 f
\textsuperscript{18} Manu. VII. 195 (Buhler's tr. SBE. XXV, 247)
measure (sixtyfour seers) of the required water would lead to its purification.\(^1\)

If poison is applied in land, stone slab and desert country, bodies of people and animals like elephants, horses, camels, asses, bullocks, get swelled, in those places. They will feel burning sensation and their nails and hair fall off. To purify these areas, solution of Ananta and Sarva gandha (the perfumed drugs) mixed in wine or black clay dissolved in water or with the 'decoction of Vidanga Patha and Katabhi', should be sprinkled over there.\(^2\)

"Poisoned hay or fodder, or any other poisoned food stuff produces lassitude, fainting, vomiting, diarrhoea, or even death (of the animal partaking thereof). Such cases should be treated with proper anti-poisonous compounds (Agadas) should be beaten and sounded (round them). Equal parts of silver (Tara), mercury, (Sutara) and Indragopa insects with Kuru Vinda equal in weight to that of the entire preceding compound, pasted with the bile of a Kapila (brown) cow, should be used as a paste over the musical instruments (in such cases) the sounds of such drums etc. (pasted with such anti-poisonous drugs) are said to destroy the effects of the most dreadful poison.\(^3\)

\(^{2}\) Ibid
\(^{3}\) OS, II 276, Vide Cf. Kautilya's Arthasastra New ed., J Jolly, R Schmidt, Lahore, 1923, IX, 6, 86, XII, 4, 6-8, 14
The application of poison for the destruction of the enemy is, even in modern days, practised. During the war between the British and the Nepalese, the Gurkhas destroyed the British army by poisoning water of the wells with crushed aconite. In Tasmania, poison was used to destroy utterly the aborigines. A similar havoc met the fate of the Australians. In great war, poisonous gases were used. "In General Botha's campaign in German south-west Africa, the poisoning of wells was both authenticated and admitted. It is believed that the poison used to make the wells unserviceable was chloride of mercury which was available as it was employed in the gold mining industry.

From all these evidences, it is clear that inhuman methods to destroy the enemy by poisoning has been applied at the time of war from the dim past to the modern days. A modern civilised man has not been basically changed from his primitive ancestors.

22 Account of the kingdom of Nepal, Francis Hamilton, Edinburgh, 1819, 99
23 Journals of Expeditions of Discovery into Central Australia, 1845, Vol I, 175-179 Rowick - Last of the Tasmanians, 58
24 OS II, 280
25 Ibid, 281