CHAPTER V

STATE AND DIPLOMACY
CHAPTER - FIFTH

THE STATE AND DIPLOMACY

Diplomacy has a vital role to play in the affairs of the State. No state can exist without some kind of proper foreign policy. In ancient times the state and governments had developed a very shrewd foreign policy and in some ways, it was more admirable than the modern views and ideals of the state foreign policy. Today the technique have changed with the advancement of science and technology but the aims and ideals were of tremendous importance in ancient times. Diplomatic channels were always considered essential for safety and defence of the country and the state and governments always worked out the detailed programmes and techniques of ancient Indian concept of the foreign policy.

In ancient India we find six attributes of statecrafts which are known as sandhi (peace), vīgraḥa (war), yāna (expedition), āsana (taking cover or besieging), aśāya (refuge), and dvādhibhāva (duplicity).¹ Those actions by which the powerful foe becomes friendly constitute sandhi of treaty. It was therefore, felt that the entire situation should be carefully studied.² The state should adopt such means as that might lead to rivalry or conflict between the

1. SNS., IV, 7.465-7.
2. Ibid., 466-67.
commander-in-chief and councillors of the enemy and strife among their subjects or women. That is said to be vigraha or war by which the enemy is oppressed and subjugated. The king should study this with his councillors. The yāna is an expedition for the furtherance of one's own objects and destruction of the enemy's interests. An āsana is said to be that from which oneself can be protected and the enemy is destroyed. The āśraya or refuge is said to be that by which even the weak becomes powerful. The dvādhihāva is the stationing of one's troops in several regiments.

SAHA (PEACE)

A king attacked by a powerful enemy should desire peace in an honourable manner if he is unable to counteract him by any other means. There is no other form of peace than offering of gifts; because an aggressor never returns without receiving something. These gifts should be given according to the strength of an adversary. The services should even be offered or the daughter, wealth and property may be given as a token of friendship. Sukra recommends to make peace with one's own feudatories in order to conquer other external enemies.

3. SNS., IV., 7.468-69.
4. Ibid., 470.
5. Ibid., 471.
6. Ibid., 472.
7. SNS., 473.
8. Ibid., 474-75.
9. Ibid., 478-79.
10. Ibid., 480.
11. Ibid., 481.
12. Ibid., 481.
Sukra recommends that peace should be made even with the Anaryas for (otherwise) they can overpower the ruler by attack. He underlines this idea by a fine allegory: "just as a cluster of bamboos can not be destroyed by thick thorny trees, so the ruler should be like a bamboo surrounded by clusters." Peace should be made with the very powerful enemy; war with the equal, and expedition (aggression) against the weak; but to friends should be granted refuse as well as residence in forts. Sukra advised the ruler to examine the number of enemies working against him and also their power before negotiating for peace: "The wise should make peace with the powerful if there be danger, and protect oneself at a proper time if the foes be many." Sukra categorically states that there is no precedent of rule that war should be undertaken with a powerful enemy. The cloud never moves against the current of the wind. He counsels the king to bow down to the powerful at the proper time, just as rivers never leave their downward course. Citing an example of the Puranic literature of Indra killing Vritra during the truce time, the king is cautioned to remain vigilant even after concluding peace.

13. SNS., 482-83.
14. Ibid., 7. 484.
15. Ibid., 485-87.
16. SNS., IV, 488-89.
17. Ibid., 490-91.
18. Ibid., 492.
19. Ibid., 494-95.
VIGRAHA (WARFARE)

Sukra dilates upon the circumstances, conditions and motivations under which a king should wage war: "One should commence warfare when one is attacked and oppressed by somebody, or even when one desires prosperity, provided one is well placed as regards time, region and army."\(^{20}\) He clearly indicates the types of enemies against whom the king should declare war. The ruler whose army and friends have been lessened; who is in the fortress; who has come upon him as enemy; who is very much addicted to sensual pleasures; who is the plunderers of the people's goods, and whose ministers and troops have been dissatisfied.\(^{21}\) War declared against anybody else or under the circumstances other than those indicated above is not considered to be war (vigraha) in true sense of the term; it is a mere quarrel (kalaha). Finally he cautions that a king with a small army should never engage himself in war with a valorous ruler backed by a powerful army.\(^{22}\)

YANA (EXPEDITION)

Sukra describes five types of expeditions - Vigrihya, Sandhya, Sambhuya, Prasanga and Upaksha.\(^{23}\)

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20. SNS., 496-97.
22. Ibid., 502-03
23. Ibid., 506-07.
In the vigrihya type of expedition, the army proceeds by gradually overpowering groups of enemies or in which one's own friends fight with the adversary's friends on all sides, and the main army proceeds against the enemy. 24

The sandhaya expedition of the man desiring victory is that which proceeds after peace is made with certain supporters of the enemy (paranigraha). 25

The sambhuya expedition is that which proceeds under the personal leadership of the king aided by faudatories skilled in warfare well-equipped with physical and moral resources. 26

The prasanga expedition is that which begins against a certain objective but incidentally proceeds against another. 27

The upakṣaya expedition is that which neglects the enemy and retreats after encountering adverse fate. 28

Sukra then describes in detail the attitude of the king towards the army in the course of expedition: "If the king rewards well, the army becomes attached to him though his conduct is unrighteous and he comes of a low family. 29

Considerable space has been devoted elsewhere in this thesis to describe various types of the battle arrays (vyuhas)

24. SNS. IV, 508-11.
27. Ibid., 516-17.
28. Ibid., 518-19.
29. Ibid., 520.
in which the troops should be arranged or stationed in the battlefield. Eight types of battle arrays are mentioned in the Sukranitisara. The classification has been made keeping in view the nature of the obstacles to be encountered, i.e. dangers ahead, behind, on the sides or on all sides. In case of dangers ahead, the commander is advised to march in one of the three types of battle arrays: (1) the makara or crocodile array, (2) the syena or bird array having two wings, and (3) the suchi or needle array having a sharp mouth. The makara or crocodile order is that which has four legs - long and thick mouth and two lips.

The bird or syena order is that in which the wings are large, the threat and tail medium, and the mouth small. The suchi or needle order has a thin mouth; it is a long rod and has a heel at the end.

If there be danger behind, the troops should form into the sakata or carriage array.

The carriage array has the aspect of a vehicle.

The Vajra (thunder) array is recommended when the danger is on the sides. The vajra array has one passage and has eight concentric rings.

31. Ibid., 560.
32. Ibid., 559.
33. Ibid., 561.
34. Ibid., 565.
35. Ibid., 562.
Three types of arrays are recommended when the danger is felt on all sides (1) Octagonal (asvatobhadra), (2) Wheel (chakra) and (3) Snake (vyāla). 36

The octagonal array is the battle order which has eight sides in all directions. 37

The wheel array has no passage; it has eight concentric rings and face in all directions. The snake array has the aspect of a snake. 38

Sukra lays down a general principle on the formation of battle arrays. He says that the array should be determined according to the nature of the region in such a way as to pierce the enemy's array. 39 Finally, Sukra describes the pigeon array (kraunchavyūha) which should be formed according to the nature of the region. In this way the troops are aligned in the same rows as the movements of pigeons in the sky. 40 One, two or more of these vyuhas or mixture of them should be devised according to the number of troops and the character of roads and battle-fields. 41

The signs for the formation of battle arrays should be kept strictly secret. Communicated by means of bugle sounds, the signs should be known to no one else besides one's own

36. SNS, 529-31.
37. Ibid., 563.
38. Ibid., 565.
39. Ibid., 566.
40. Ibid., IV. 7. 556-58.
41. Ibid., 566-67.
troops. Diverse forms of battle arrays for horses, elephants and foot soldiers should be devised according to the needs.

Sukra enumerates various purposes for which these arrays are to be formed – grouping, expansion, circling, contraction, straight movement, a rapid march, backward movement, forward movement in rows, standing erect, lying down, standing like octagon, wheel, needle, carriage, half moon, separation in parts, standing in serial rows, holding the arms and weapons, fixing the aim and striking the objectives, flinging of missiles, striking by weapons, swift use of arms, self-defence, counteraction by movements of limbs or use of arms and weapons, movements in rows of two, three or four, movement forward or backward or side wards.

ASANA (SIEGE)

A careful consideration should be made before laying siege to the territory of the enemy. The aggressor should always choose a place of vantage whence the enemy's army could be easily over-powered by arms and weapons, and those people who help the enemy by carrying food, water and provisions could be totally destroyed. Sukra recommends a regular, obstinate and protracted siege through which enemy's provisions are cut short; his provisions, food and fuels are diminished and his subjects are oppressed. Sukra describes a particular

42. SNS, IV. 7. 532-33.
43. Ibid., 539-50.
44. Ibid., 568-71.
45. Ibid., 572-73.
type of ḍāsana called sandhaya-āsana or truce which signifies a neutral desire for, cessation of the hostilities when in a war both the enemy and the aggressor have got tired. 46

ĀŚRAYA (REFUGE)

Two kinds of refuge (āsraya) has been described by Sukra—human and physical forts. One should take refuge with a powerful ruler who is truthful, honest and has good family connections. 47 The friends, relatives and kins folks are the allies of the aggressors. Other rulers are either paid friends or sharers in the spoils of victory. 48 In the absence of these one should take refuge in the forts. 49

DVAŁDHIBHĀVA (DUPLICITY)

Sukra suggests the king to resort to duplicity when he is not sure of the method of work to be adopted and is waiting for the opportune time. Like the crow’s eyes he should display one move but should really adopt another. The crow has only one pupil but it moves through both eyes. So the same man is to follow both purposes at the same time. This, however, should be unnoticed as the crow’s pupil.

46. SNS, IV. 7. 574-75.
47. Ibid., 576-77.
48. Ibid., 578.
49. Ibid., 580.
UPAYAS (POLICY)

Sukra advises the king to follow the right policy or method of work: "Even ordinary people get their desired objects through good methods, good policies, and preserving efforts, why cannot the princess." A work can be successful only through efforts not through mere wish. Thus the elephant does not, at his own accord, enter the mouth of sleeping lion. Even the hard iron can, by proper methods, be converted into a liquid. It is also a noted fact that water extinguishes fire. By the man who exerts, the fire can be extinguished. It is the policy by which the feet can be placed on the heads of elephants. Sukra considers separation as the best of all methods or policy of work.
CHAPTER VI

SOCIETY