CHAPTER II

POLITICAL CONDITIONS.

Danḍin's age envisaged a fine development of political institutions on the line chiefly of the Arthasastra of Kautilya, which occupied an important place as a manual for kings on polity and administration.

Concept of royal polity. Royal polity (danḍanīti) included both internal (tantra) and external affairs (āvāpa) of a State. It was placed, it may be admitted, on a plane quite different from that of morality, and the theory that ends justify means which was inspired by Kautilya's exposition of all-round success (sarrvarthasiddhi), was widely practised by kings. Administration was said to be based on three powers (saktis), namely, deliberation (mantra) which determines political measures, sovereignty (prabhāva) in the form of vast treasury and a strong army, which puts them into practice, and physical strength (utsāha) which realises the object. Great stress was laid on the power of deliberation by means of which kings devised measures to carry out their policies and plans and thought out remedies against dangers. On the basis of various elements

1. Danḍin refers to Kaut. and cites profusely from it; cp. DKG, pp. 191 ff; 195; also op. pp. 89; 147; ASK, p. 39.
2. DKG. p. 194; also op. lokatantra (ib. p. 198; ASK, p. 123) and rajaṭantra (ASK, p. 136) in the sense of tantra.
3. Cp. the stories of DKG., esp. of Upahāravarmañ; see above; cp. Kaut. IX. 7. 95 (Sham. trans. p. 390).
4. DKG. p. 208; also p. 189; Kaut. VI. 2. 42-5.
5. DKG. p. 208; ASK. pp. 208-9; Kaut. I. 15. 47.
constituting it, royal polity has been metaphorically described as a big tree with five-fold deliberation as its root, two-fold sovereignty as its trunk and four-fold martial power as its branches. Again, the six expedients, seventy-two constituents and power (sakti) and success have been respectively conceived as sprouts, leaves, flowers and fruit thereof. Besides, there are four stratagems (upāyas), viz., negotiation, bribery, causing dissention and open attack, which are to be employed in tackling the external enemies as well as in dealing with one's own people.

Elements of the State. The seven elements of a State were king, minister, country, fortress, military power, treasury and ally; with enemy added to the list they were known as the eight prakṛtis. Daṇḍin also refers to seventy-two prakṛtis after Kauṭilya and collectively calls them prakṛtimandala or the circle of elements. The elements were composed of twelve type of neighbouring kings classified on the basis of the king's friendly, inimical or indifferent relation with/ or with/ their neighbours, and five constituents of sovereignty, namely,

6. DKC. p. 203; for such metaphorical conception, also cp. Kāman. VIII. 42; Mālav. I; Mudrā. V. 1.
7. DKC. p. 193; ASK. pp. 50; 209; cp. Kauṭ. II. 10. 43-56.
9. DKC. p. 208; Kauṭ. VI. 2. 36-9; Kāman. VIII. 25. For prakṛtimandala, cp. ASK. p. 100; but the term often means citizens in him; cp. DKC. pp. 128; 209; ASK. p. 209; KA. II. 311; cp. Vās. p. 175. For the detail of 72 prakṛtis, cp. Sham. trans. pp. 290-1.
minister, territory, fort, treasury and army which each of these
twelve kings must possess.

Of seven elements, rāṣṭra or janapada ( territory )
comes first. The institution of janapada, which may be
traced back at least to Pāṇini's time, had become by Dandin's
age a regular political unit. Its main constituents were nagaras
(capitals or cities), pattanas ( sea-ports ), puṭabhedanas
(towns), nīgamas ( commercial centres ) and, lastly, grāmas
(villages), all of which were more a less planned places
for settlement with a large groves of fruit-trees and spacious
tanks and fields surrounding them. The different types of
villages were called kharvata ( a hill village ), ghoṣa ( a
village of cowherds ), pallī ( a village inhabited by forest
people ) and agrahāra ( a village granted by kings to learned
brāhmaṇas ).

Institution of kingship. Kingship, as the second
essential element of a State, had already established itself as
a fully developed institution. The conception of Rājalakṣmī

150; 182; 187; ASK. pp. 18; 48.
11. C.p. nagara, Dāc. pp. 157; 172; etc; pattana, ASK. p. 178
etc; puṭabhedana, Dāc. p. 187; ASK. p. 175; nīgama, Dāc.
p. 143; also cp. Hoar. p. 196; grāma, Dāc. p. 187; 182; etc.
ASK. p. 232; agrahāra, ASK. pp. 180; 195; ASKŚ. VII, 3.
For kharvata, cp. Bhāg.-P. I. 6. 11 etc. Acc. to Kauṭ. ( II. 1. 5 ), a kharvata was a centre of 200 villages.
Acc. to Yājñ. ( II. 167 ), it denoted a town of the
circumference of 200 dhanusas.
as the Goddess of Royal Majesty residing in the lotus in the form of the blood-red eye of a king signified his indisputable sovereignty based on valour and prowess. The fact that she was bitterly criticised for her fickleness reflects the political instability of the period. She is, it is said, a female elephant who is controlled by kings of extraordinary valour with the help of good in the form of political discipline imparted to them by wise counsellors.

A king must possess the quality of adventurous spirit if the wishes to be designated as Cakravartin, the ruler of cakravartikastra, or samrāj, an emperor, in which sense Dāndin also uses the title rājādhirāja with reference to Rājāhāmaśa.

About the origin of the institution of kṣattra (the warrior class), Dāndin observes that it came into being as a reaction to the state of anarchy which prevailed in the beginning. He also subscribes to the theory of divinity of king whom he regards as a beneficial combination of the particles of the regents of eight quarters, namely, Indra, Varuṇa, Yama, Kubera,

14. ASK. p. 133; also op. pp. 45; 117 etc.
15. ASK. pp. 22; 44; 47; 135; also op. Kād. paras. 104-6.
16. ASK. p. 22.
17. ASK. p. 56; also op. pp. 161; 165 etc.; DKG. p. 127 etc.; also ASK, pp. 145; 160.
19. Op. ASK. p. 73; purā kila etc.
the Sun, Moon, Fire and Wind, and describes his eight-fold duty towards his people on the basis thereof. It was ordained that he should be treated as god and that he must not be insulted or betrayed, for divine punishment befalls one who disobeys or derides him. The peculiar theory of his divinity inspired him to discharge his duties better; and thereby his status became higher and the consequent tendency among his subjects to obey his orders stronger. On the other hand, the theory never allowed him to neglect his duties as the protector of his people.

As a result of the theory, there developed the conception of some special marks, such as linear figures of a lotus, wheel and umbrella on the person of a king, besides certain characteristic features which his body was supposed to display. Thus his arms should reach to the knees, his feet should be of reddish hue, hand-palms of crimson colour, shoulders fleshy and soft, eyes milky and long and forehead broad, with a circle of hair (ūrṇā) in the middle of his two eye-brows.

Monarchy was the prevalent form of government and the royal fortune was inherited as a matter of course from father

20. ASK, p. 223; op. Manu. V. 96; VII. 3-8; Śukra 1, 73; 141-51; also op. ASK, p. 146; KA. II. 331.
22. DKC. p. 57; ASK. p. 124; also Ragh. IV. 83; Hoar. p. 128; Kād. para 65.
to his son. When the eldest son became capable of carrying the armour (kavacahara), he was made the crown-prince; and when the old king abdicated in his favour or died, he ascended the throne. In case of the king having no son, his son-in-law succeeded him. The crown-prince often assisted the king as his feudatory or as a viceroy. It is to be noted that Kautiya, whom Dandin closely follows, mentions yuvarāja as one of the eighteen tirthas. The ceremony of coronation was performed at the time of the prince's becoming a yuvarāja, as also at the occasion of his accession to the throne. The ceremony consisted in the bathing of the prince by senior ministers with the waters collected from holy rivers in golden jars, and besprinkling him with perfumed powder. Attainment of regal fortune was an occasion for great rejoicings and festivity. On emergent occasions when the king could not, due to his sudden death or for other reasons, anoint his successor as king, the Assembly of Councilors and Citizens

24. ASK. p. 44.
25. ASK. p. 48; op. Ragh. VIII. 94; Nuar. p. 150.
26. D&G. pp. 95; 122; 171; op. also other stories of DKC.
27. Op. the stories of DKC.
28. Op. Kaut. V. 2. 91; see below also.
29. ASK. p. 243 (lost); op. ASKS, V. 117; op. fn. 30 also.
30. ASK. pp. 8; 37; 236; op. Ragh. XIV. 7-8; op. K.P. Jayaswal: HP. II, pp. 23-4.
31. ASK. p. 134.
formally appointed him their king. In the case of a successor being minor, his regent looked after the State for him till he attained majority. Although the form of government was essentially monarchical, yet people through their representatives in the king's Assembly had a chastising influence thereon. The king always showed his eagerness to appease his people and especially his 'original' subjects and get their implied consent on matters of importance, and sometime he even took them into confidence, for he feared public revolt in case there was discontentment among them. On occasions of royal festivities, representatives of people were invited by him. His spies in various garbs detected the people's subversive activities as also ascertained their reactions to his general administration. The ideal conception which people formed about a king also made him to be alive to his responsibilities to his people. The term kṣattra applied to him became significant only when he protected his subjects from injury ( kṣatātra वत्र ). People regarded themselves as rājanvatsyaḥ ( 'possessed of a ruler' ) only when they possessed a good king.

32. ASK. pp. 154; 179.
33. DKG. pp. 128-9; 207 ( the story of Viśrūtā ).
34. ASK. pp. 49; 147 ( desc. of Janamejaya ), DKG. pp. 134; 136; also UP. p. 211.
35. DKG. p. 128.
36. DKG. p. 209.
37. King was like a father to his subjects; op. DKG. p. 146; also op. the term visāmpati for a king in ASK. pp. 39; 98.
to look after them. Dānḍin's conception of an ideal king is well illustrated in his description of the kings, Rājahamsa of Magadha, Simhavisnu of Kāñcōī and Pūnyavarman of Vidarbha, in whom be visualises great qualities of head and heart. He also makes mention of their apadānas (extraordinary deeds) and the quality of self-possession (ātma-saāmpad). But what he emphasise most is the practical knowledge of polity which a king must possess. In the absence of this essential quality, the king falls an easy prey to his foes and ultimately meets his end. A king must avoid vices like hunting, gambling, drinking, over-indulgence, extravagance in money matters and, above all, severity in speech and in punishment. Proper administration of justice evokes people's confidence in him and if he proves to be unjust, people may revolt against him. Wicked and tyrannical kings have been severely derided by Dānḍin who thus reflects the popular mind with regard both to good and bad kings. He often refers to the anger of the people which

38. ASK. p. 43; also cp. Ragh. II. 53 and Sukra I. 81-2 for the above definition of kṣattra.
41. ASK. pp. 26; 49; 94; 143 for apadāna; also cp. V.S. Agrawal: HSA. p. 103 for the word; cp. ātmasaāmpad, ASK. p. 225; DKC. p. 188; cp. kauṭ. VI. 1. 6 for the qualities of self-possession.
42. DKC. pp. 188-9; ASK. p. 9.
43. DKC. pp. 188-9; esp. cp. the story of Anantavarman in VIII.
44. ASK. p. 209; DKC. pp. 188-9; also pp. 186 ff; cp. Kauṭ.
may be provoked by an interested party among them against the ruler or by the latter's own wicked deeds.

Dandin furnishes an interesting detail with regard to the king's dress and other royal insignia which he generally wore. He refers, for instance, to his turban with golden crown beset with jewels. An emperor put a special crest on his crown, which distinguished him from feudatory kings or sā mantas who also wore crowns. There is a reference to makaramukha or makarikā, an ornament of the crown made by joining together two crocodile-mouthed points, which we observe in the crowns of the statues of the Gupta period. Imperial equipment also included a white umbrella of a lotus shape, called padmātapatra, and a pair of chowries set with gems, held on both sides of the king by the courtesans called cāmaragrāhiniś.
who followed their masters even in battlefields. There were other varieties of umbrellas like māyūrātapatra, decorated with peacock’s paintings along with those of leaves and flowers and decked with multicoloured gems, which while stretched out gave the appearance of a peacock’s feathers expanded in dance, and vārunātapatra, probably a waterproof umbrella of milky hue. The umbrella had a circle of strings of pearls and gems hanging on its fringes, and its staff was made of gold. The attendant called chaṭragṛhiniḥ held the umbrellas over kings, but at times and especially in a victory march even sons of feudatories were asked to perform this duty. Flags with legends of various kinds also formed a part of royal ensign. We may refer also to the royal throne, called lion’s seat on account of its four feet being shaped like four lions, which was richly set with variegated gems.

Naturally a king was not easily accessible and, therefore, those who enjoyed royal grace (prāsāda) and were considered

54. ASK. pp. 59; 64; 65; 69; 77; 99; 121; op. Rāgh. III. 16.
55. ASK. p. 77; also op. Hoar. pp. 60; 207; Kād. para 28 etc.
57. ASK. pp. 64—77; op. Hoar. pp. 21; 59; Kād. para 79.
58. ASK. pp. 76; 121; op. Hoar. p. 176.
59. ASK. p. 64.
60. ASK. pp. 53; 222.
61. ASK. pp. 8; 59; 75; DKC. p. 184; op. T.A. Gopinath Rao; Hindu Iconography, I, p. 21.
his favourites were honoured, and feared too. A king's daily routine was guided, in a general way, by the instructions in this regard contained in Kauṭya's work, but it cannot be held to be strictly adhered to. Kings did alter their timetable according to their capacity or convenience. Due importance was given to the entertainment in royal life, but only the healthy means of amusement were emphasised. Best type of literary atmosphere prevailed in royal courts. Poets received both wealth and honour from their royal patrons. Dandin himself as also his great-grandfather enjoyed the regal patronage. Apart from the poets, there lived in royal courts also viṇās (sweet-tongued parasites, skilled in poetry and music), vidūṣakas (clowns) and pīṭhasārdas (assistant clowns), though they are not mentioned in the context of royal courts, besides kuśīlavas and actors, courtesans or dancing girls and bards who sang the songs of their master's glory and inspired him in the fields of battle.

62. DKC. pp. 158; 190; ASK. p. 94.
64. Kauṭ. (I. 19. 29) himself gives this concession.
65. ASK. pp. 9; 10-1.
66. DKC. p. 198; cp. also SD. III. 78.
67. DKC. p. 67; cp. SD. III. 76; 79.
68. DKC. p. 205.
69. DKC. pp. 109; 200; ASK. p. 36; see below also.
70. DKC. pp. 102; 196; ASK. pp. 96; 110; 115; 163; 223 etc.;
The royal harem usually consisted of a number of queens, the chief among them being called rājamahisā or māhādevī who wore a gilded plate on her forehead. Among officials of the harem (antarvāmśikas), we have a reference to straiṇā-dhyāṅga (head of the harem), āraksibala or watchmen who were mostly hereditary soldiers, nurses and wet nurses and a host of maid servants including kubjas (hunchbacked attendants), acting as secret messengers, and dancing girls, besides a number of male servants, dwarfs and hump-backed and kirāṭa attendants and eunuchs. A king's personal entourage included, among others, bhṛṅgāradhārinīs (water-pot-bearers) tambūlādāyikās (female servants carrying betel-box), jaṅghā-karikās (couriers) and the bearers of his umbrella and chowmies, referred to above. A mention may be made of the kulaputras or men of noble birth living in the court as members
of royal household. They seem to be heirs of defeated royal families adopted as sons by the king. They held sometime responsible posts in the state in sphere both of administration and army.

The eighteen tirthas. Dandin refers after Kautilya to the team of officials, called tirthas, eighteen in number, essential for the smooth running of the state administration. The eighteen tirthas are: the Council of Ministers, the Prime Minister, the royal priest, the commander-in-chief, the yuvaraja, the chief warden, the officer in charge of harem, governors, collectors, treasurers, commissioners, city-fathers, magistrates, superintendents of factories, the commissary-general, officers in charge of forts, border watchmen and forest officers. A king was expected to keep a vigilant eye on these officials.

Of the above tirthas, the Premier and his Council formed an important political institution, exercising as they did a great influence on the policies of a king who was expected to consult the Cabinet and act upon its advice, though we often see Dandin's ministers living insignificantly in royal courts with no political power in their hands. But such kings as

79. ASK. pp. 73, 94; DKC. p. 167; cp. sāmanta-putra also (ASK. p. 64); cp. Hcar. pp. 130; 153; 155 etc.
81. ASK. p. 209; also op. Ragh. XVII. 68; Kauṭ, I. 12.8.
82. Op. mantriparāśād, ASK. p. 164; also op. ib. p. 206; DKC. p. 190; cp. uttamāmātaya, DKC. p. 124; also cp. ib. pp. 188; 201; ASK. p. 209.
overlooked the advice of a veteran minister ruined themselves along with their kingdoms. Dandin speaks of three to four ministers in a Cabinet, though works on polity provide for seven or eight to twenty of them in the Council. Ministers were generally hereditary ones with trusted loyalty and inherited wisdom on whom the kings often devolved their duties in order to engage themselves in pleasures of youth. Kings also selected ministers from outside after having tested them with various trials. The requisite qualifications of a minister were his power to check the wrong movements of the king and his efficiency in putting the rules of polity into practice.

But wicked councilors did live side by side with ideal ministers, and, true to their nature, attained their selfish ends by harming their master's interest. The Kumārasinga, Vihārabhadra, who refers to ministers exhorting kings on self-control, but themselves spending money pillaged from royal treasury in brothels, is himself a bad counsellor. We cannot say what specific function a Kumārasinga, perhaps a personal

85. DKC. pp. 195; 201; ASK. p. 22; also Kauṭ. I. 3. 19–32; Manu. VII. 54.
86. Cp. ASK. p. 22.
88. ASK. p. 22; 62; for requisite qualities of a minister, also cp. ASK. pp. 224–5.
89. Cp. DKC. p. 193; also cp. ASK. p. 150; DKC. p. 129.
certain, however, that such officials became favourites of the prince when he ascended the throne and abused official authority.

Purohita or the royal priest supervised religious rites and functions in the State in general and in the king's household in particular, where he also acted as royal preceptor. He may be compared, to some extent, to the officer in charge of religious activities present in various forms in different ages and particularly to the dharmamahāmātrás of Asoka. Dandin's dharmasaiva, however, signifies a minister in general sense. Purohita occupied a prominent place in the Council of Ministers, perhaps second only to the Premier. His team included a number of sāṃvatsarikas or kārāntikas (astrologers), and Ātharvavikās (Ātharvan priests).

The Chief Warden also had under him a number of officials called kāncukīyas, wearing long gowns, who assisted him in guarding the royal gate and arranging the visitors' interview with the king. He also controlled the crowd eager to have a

90. DEK. p. 190; also op. bālaśeavaka in similar sense in ASK. p. 166; cp. also Kād. para 315.
91. ASK. p. 209 mentioned with dūddhāmātya; also cp. ib. pp. 137; 152; 166; 244.
93. ASK. p. 183; ASKS. IV. 2.
95. Cp. mahāpratihāra, ASK. pp. 37; 242; also cp. Hoar. p. 71;
Collectors and treasurers have account of, read and kept proper same to the king regularly. There were, of course, some officials who were corrupt and presented wrong accounts and embezzled public money. A king was, therefore, often cautioned to keep a strict vigil on his treasury and was asked to audit the accounts daily. A king's greatness was measured by the wealth of his treasury, and any slackness in matters of money showed his weakness and brought about his ultimate failure. A surplus budget and a proper balance of income and expenditure were deemed essential for securing happiness and prosperity of the State. Among main sources of income, Dandin refers to octroi and income tax, besides the land revenue, which people often tried to evade as today. Dandin speaks of envoys who engaged themselves in smuggling, and amassed large riches. Excessive taxation

96. DKJ. p. 191.

97. DKJ. pp. 187; 191 ff.


99. It is implied in DKJ. p. 198; also op. 11b. p. 194.

100. DKJ. pp. 191; 192; ASK. pp. 29; 140; 224; for main sources of state income, op. Kauṭ. II. 6. 3-10.

101. DKJ. p. 192.
was derided and grumbled.

Justice was finally administered by the king or, in his absence, by his senior minister on the advice of a panel of judges (prāḍvīvākas). The king daily attended his Court of Justice. He was expected to be above board and also strictly vigilant against unfair means, if any, adopted by his magistrates, for if he failed in his duties, he incurred sin and infamy. He was to award punishment strictly in accordance with the established law, for it was held that punishment if inflicted indiscriminately aroused fear and anger among the people and also caused chaos in public life and finally ruined the king. There were also mediators (madhyasthas) who negotiated between the two disputants and perhaps got remuneration from both. There is a reference to witnesses and sureties also.

Dāndin refers, after Manu, to eighteen kinds of crimes or possible causes of dispute, like theft, plunder, abduction, rape, gambling, borrowing money, use of abusive language and conflict over inheritance of property, etc.  Paurāṇāyakas

102. ASK. pp. 236-7; also cp. KA. II. 311 (for praise of moderate taxation policy).
103. DKC. p. 191; also cp. pp. 124; 131.
104. DKC. p. 191; also cp. pp. 67; 146; ASK. p. 5.
105. DKC. p. 191; also pp. 131; 199; ASK. p. 209; cp. Mroch. I.3ff
107. DKC. p. 192.
with their subordinates called rājapurūṣas or nāgarikas or
dāndadharas ( policemen ) detected these crimes. Police
was known for its rough manner in handling people and especially
the suspects whom they beat mercilessly in order to elicit
truth from them. The jailor was called nāgarika or cāra-
kāñāuktta. There were also ārakaśikanāyakas or police
superintendents who seem to have had some judicial powers also.
The offence of a culprit as also the punishment meted out to him were announced in public with the beating of the
drum. Punishments were generally severe. Capital punish-
ment was for theft, robbery or deflowering a virgin. For
crimes such as helping a malefactor, the offender was
banished from the State or put behind the bars with his property
confiscated. Prisoners' hands and feet were generally fet-
tered with iron girdles. The merchant class seems to have

108. DKC. pp. 166; 199; ASK. pp. 14; 78; for surety op. DKC. p. 166.
110. Cp. māgarādhāpatī, ASK. p. 19; also rājapurūṣa DKC. p. 202; ASK. pp. 142; 197; also op. DKC. pp. 121; 126; 166; 184.
111. DKC. pp. 78; 91; 92; 99; 126; ASK. p. 31.
112. DKC. p. 92; ASK. VIII. 82; 104; for cāraka ( jail ), cp. DKC. pp. 58; 59; 91; 95; ASK. pp. 5. 26; 31; ASKS. IV. 184; 191 etc.
113. DKC. p. 91.
114. DKC. pp. 131-2.
115. DKC. pp. 59; 88; 96; 158 etc.
116. DKC. pp. 87; 89; 166 ( for abduction of maiden ); ASK. 188
( for adultery ).
been immuned from death sentence for offences like theft.
With regard to a female convict, cutting of her nose and ears
has often been referred to. The king sometimes put the
criminals to death by means of peculiar tortures, as for instance,
by causing them to be impaled or to be trampled under an elephant's
feet or by taking out their eyes or by secret means.

Pauras and Jānapadas. Population was broadly divided
into two categories, viz., urban citizens (pauras) and rural
people (Jānapadas). Representatives of both the classes
figured as active members in the king's Assembly of Selected
People which was taken into confidence in important matters.
The Assembly consisted, among others, of traders (sārthavāhas)
members of business organisations (nigamas) and guilds (drenīs)
of artisans and heads of villages (grāmaṇīs) and paliśis (palli-
patis). Pañcavīrāgoṇṭha signified probably the Assembly
Hall where the representatives of the four casts and the nīśādas
forming the fifth group met to discuss matters of moment.

117. DKG. pp. 56; 59; 61; 87; 136; 154; 175 etc.; ASK. p. 22.
118. DKG. p. 96; also cp. ASK. pp. 177-3; cp. Kauṭ. Mysore ed.,
p. 202 as pointed out by Adashe (notes).
119. DKG. pp. 88; 155; also cp. Kauṭ. IV. 10.17; 12.41; 13.50 etc.
120. Cp. DKG. pp. 57; 59; 83; 92; 96; 124; 130; 155; 153; cp.
also Madrā. II. p. 63; Manu, IX. 243. The eighteen tortures
(kāraṇaśas) in DKG. p. 92 may refer to 18 kinds of citravāda.
121. DKG. p. 193; cp. pauras DKG. pp. 72; 86; 120; 166; 170;
207 etc.; ASK. pp. 117; 187; 201; for jānapadas, cp. DKG.
pp. 120; 122 etc.; ASK. p. 211.
122. DKG. pp. 101; 166; 204; also cp. 1b. pp. 117; 193; ASK. p.
147; cp. Kauṭ. V. 2. 43; IX. 7. 77; XIII. 5. 27 etc.
It was used as public hall also when there were no Assembly meets. The goatha may also be collated with Bana's panceakula or with panceamandal of Sanchi inscription. In this form it closely resembles the modern system of local panchayats.

Foreign policy. This king's foreign policy was chiefly guided by Kautilya's conception of riamandala or the circle of neighbouring kings, which included, besides the king himself, his enemy, ally, ally of his enemy, friend of his ally, friend of his enemy's ally, a rearward enemy, a rearward friend, an ally of the rearward foe, an ally of the rearward friend and mediator and neutral. A king was expected to develop diplomatic and tactful relations with these twelve categories of kings. The peculiar conception of the circle did not in any way mean to encourage warfare, but in fact it was evolved with a view to minimising the chances of a conflict, for it advocated a judicious balance of powers among different States. A king was expected to be watchful about their motives and movements in order to secure peace and prosperity of his State and to expand his kingdom by means of discriminating alliances.

123. op. DKG, pp. 122; 143; 165; 166; 169; ASK, pp. 178; 186; op. gramar, DKG, p. 120; ASK, p. 228; pallipati, ASK, p. 166; also op. mahagrahamas who supervised agrahara villages (op. ASK, p. 180 ff. For prapati and nigramas, op. V.S. Agrawal, PB, pp. 162; 230.

124. DKG, p. 83; op. Bhag, and other commas which render it as jampadasadas.

125. op. Hocar, p. 254; op. V.S. Agrawal; HSA, p. 139; fn. 2.

126. op. ASK, p. 208 for the circle of 12 kings; op. riamandala, DKG, p. 101; ASK, pp. 54; 56; 77 etc; op. Kaut. VI, 2, 36-8; Kaman. VIII, 45 ff.
He was to keep vigilant eye also on his own allies and officers who might be entering into secret alliances with his enemies. The peculiar mandala theory was circumstance by the prevalent condition which visualised the division of the country into a number of small states and the presence of an ambitious conqueror anxious to establish his supremacy over them. From the standpoint of position, allies and foes were either asahaja (those by birth, as paternal uncle and his sons) or prakṛtiṣa (those of adjacent territory) or kṛtrima (those friendly or inimical by action). A king was expected to discern them rightly and to deal with them with discrimination.

Success of foreign policy was chiefly based on the proper employment of the six political expedients (gunas), namely, peace, war, mobilisation of army, halting or indifference, duplicity and seeking shelter. A king should be fully conversant with these expedients and by judiciously employing them, he should endeavour to pass from the state of deterioration (kṣaya) to that of stagnation (sthāna) and from the latter to that of progress (vṛddhi). These are the three aspects of taking position. Closely related to these policies are the four strategic means (upāyas), referred to above. Military alliance, which...

129. DkK. p. 134; Kaut. VI. 2. 25 ff; Śis. I. 36. 
130. DkK. pp. 137-8; 208; Ask. pp. 62; 150; 208; 209; cp. Kaut. VII. 1-2 ff; Shām. trans. p. 293. 
131. Ask. p. 208; cp. Kaut. VII. 1; esp. VII. 1. 54 and VI.2.5.
which was considered necessary to meet a powerful enemy was
effected by means of making rich gifts, giving allurements and
administering secret overtures (upajāpa) which last formed
the chief strategic means. A king should fully understand
the various preliminaries of marching against his foes and
should be able to assess the proper time, place and conditions
therefor. He should march against them, for instance
when there is time to spoil their seed-corn or ripe harvest.
Actual attack, if deemed necessary and feasible, should be
preceded by a besiegement of the enemy's town on all sides in
order to harass his kingdom. Before destroying (ucañadana)
an enemy, a king should oppress (piñāna) him and reduce him
in strength (karsana) — which actions form the three stages
of military operation. One who did not follow these poli-
tical measures was sure to fall a prey to his enemy's plots.

The medium of executing foreign policy was as today the
institution of envoys who were of three categories, viz.,
nisṛtārtha (charge d'affaires), possessing ministerial powers,

---

132. Cp. fn. 7 above.

133. DKC. pp. 200-1; AśK. p. 201; cp. Kauṭ. IX. 3. 48; 66;
Sham. trans. p. 376.

134. DKC. p. 192; ASK. p. 208; Kauṭ. IX. 1; also cp. VII. 6.9ff.

135. DKC. pp. 121-2; cp. Kauṭ. IX. 1. 34-5; also VIII. 2. 35;
XIII. 4. 6-7 etc.; cp. Sham. trans. pp. 356; 363-9; Kāman.
 XV. 4; Yājñ. I. 340.

136. DKC. pp. 101 and 134 for pārīśrāmika; cp. Kauṭ. I. 18; 11;
IX. 3. 23; cp. Manu VII. 195-6.

137. ASK. p. 209; also cp. DKC. p. 148; cp. paračakrapīḍā in
ASK, p. 12.
parimitārtha, an agent entrusted with a definite mission and 
dāsanahara, a conveyor of royal write. The envoys, even if they belonged to an opponent State, were accorded due 
honour. The king usually received them early in the morn-
ing or late at night. Dâpâdin refers to such double-faced 
emissaries as got salary from two kings and cheated both of them 
by creating faked missions and conveying false messages. They 
got from one country to another at short intervals and minted 
money by import and export business carried on secretly. 
There were also spies who lived in enemy's camp in different 
garbs, mostly disguised as ascetics, and detected his secret 
overtures, if any. They also took part in destroying the 
enemy, behind the scenes, with the help of men-at-arms. 
Bardin refers to such double-faced girls ( yorâhâgânas ) with secret instructions to entice enemies 
and to poison them. Dâpâdin describes in detail a number of sabotaging 

140. Aâk. pp. 54 ff. 
141. Dâk. p. 192. 
143, Dâk. pp. 196; 209; Aâk. p. 38; cp. Kauṭ. V. 2. 48; 3.24; 
Kâman. XII. 26. 
144. Dâk. pp. 192; 196; 199-200; cp Kauṭ. XII. 4; Sham. trans. 
205; 207; etc. V.S. Agrawal ( Hâ. pp. 143; 156 ) regards 
them as infantry soldiers. Kale translates the term as 
bard-warrior. But above interpretations do not seem to 
be sound.
activities of the spies of Aśāmaka ruler who completely demoralise thereby the army of Anantavarman.

Feudatory kings. Related closely to the matters of foreign policy was the institution of feudatory kings (sāmantas), which appears in developed form in 7th century A.D. The antecedents of this system go back as far as the period of the Śakas and Kuśāṇas. When a king vanquished his foe, he either annexed his territory to his own or restored him to his kingdom reducing him to the position of his sāmanta who obeyed him and paid him regular tribute. An imperial ruler often commanded a number of feudatories of which some were termed mahā-sāmantas due to their relatively superior position. They wore different kinds of coronets and paṭṭas (a sort of ribbon) on their forehead and also held umbrellas according to their ranks. They often visited their sovereign and presented him with rich gifts including excellent horses and elephants, and also assisted him in his expedition against foes.

145. DKG. pp. 199; 200; cp. Kauṭ. XI. 1. 53.
146. DKG. pp. 199; 200 where at least 21 such activities have been described.
148. DKG. pp. 59; 136; ASK. p. 38 (utkhaṭapratīropita); also cp. Allahabad insc. of Samudraguḍa.
149. Anantavarman had 7 sāmantas and the Kuntala ruler was called mahāsāmanta amongst them; cp. DKG. pp. 200-1; also cp. ASK. pp. 29; 59; 77; 99; 100; 136; DKG. p. 134.
150. ASK. pp. 63; 63; 75; 76; 136; for umbrella, cp. ASK. pp. 71; 100; 115; for coronets and paṭṭas of sāmantas, cp. Sukra. I. 183-4; cp. V.S. Agrawal: HSA. p. 44 and fn.
151. ASK. pp. 91-3; also cp. ASK. p. 172 (the elephant Bhadra-
Sometimes they were assigned to menial jobs like holding an umbrella over their emperor. The sāmantas were often on the lookout of the ruin of their overlord and they even conspired against him, so that they may regain their independent status.

There is a reference to colonising activities in the story of Puṣpodbhava whose father settles at Kālayavana island and is elected ruler there by the merchant guild. He returns from the isle after sometime with his wife in ships loaded with rich valuables.

War and army. Wars were comparatively more frequent in those days of small political divisions. At the time of his anointment as yuvarāja, the prince usually set out for quarter-conquest and thereby renewed his power and influence. A battle was deemed an occasion for great festivity; it was glorified as an easy entrance to the world hereafter. It afforded worldly glory to one surviving it and supreme bliss to him who died a heroic death, and so a true kṣatriya awaited either victory or death in battle. It was conceived as a

vāhana ); also op. Ragh. IV. 79; 84; Hoar. p. 58; etc.

152. Op. the sāmantas of Magadha king; also op. ASK. p. 99; DKG. p. 134.

153. ASK. p. 64; also op. Hoar. p. 67.


155. ASK. p. 191.

156. The Tale of the Ten Princes is, in fact, a story of quarter-conquest; also op. ASK. p. 205.
great sacrifice which, if the body was offered as an oblation therein, ensured heaven for the sacrificer. More often
is a soldier put into the fire of war, more brilliantly does he shine; and wretched is one who shuns it when chanced to face it, come after a hundred solicitations. The kaśtriyas or the warring people as a class were held in high esteem. The requisite qualities of a soldier (bhaṭa, vīra,
sainika or yaudha) were his warring spirit, fearlessness, bravery, untiring nature and his firm resolve to fight to the last and, above all, his unflinching loyalty to his master. Soldiers underwent a regular military training and were conversant with various war tactics. The older system of forming various military arrays lingered on in Dāṇḍin's age, though in a diminishing form. Mobilisation of army (bala-samutthāna) consisted in keeping the different parts of the forces ready for war and infusing a spirit of heroism in the soldiers through vīragoṭhīs (heroic meetings) and pānagocāthīs (drinking

157. Op. ASK, pp. 58; 74; 94; 95; 110; 111; KA. II. 269.
158. Op. ASK, pp. 73; 96; also cp. above references.
159. ASK. pp. 58; 73-4.
160. ASK. pp. 73-4.
161. ASK. pp. 74-5.
162. ASK. pp. 73; 74; also cp. p. 43.
163. ASK. pp. 74-5; 94; 96; 97; 98; 111; 145; for bhaṭa, vīra etc. cp. ASK. pp. 21; 58; 96; 100; 102; etc.; DKŚ. 130; mā. 134; 200 etc.
164. ASK. pp. 96; 97.
clubs). War-preparedness was a characteristic feature of ancient rulers and their army. A king inspected his forces regularly and in the days of war he actively associated himself with them. He was expected to be proficient in the art of warfare, for it was he who acted as the Supreme Commander of his army in the battle. Besides him, other chief military officers referred to in Daṇḍin's works are balādyakaṣa or senāpati (the Commander-in-chief), pilupati (the Chief of the Elephant Troop and haryadyakaṣa (the Chief of Cavalry), who were collectively called mukhyamanḍala.

Army was broadly divided into four parts and was collectively called for the reason caturaṅgabala. The four āṅgas were the array of chariots, the elephant troop and the cavalry and infantry. Of these, the chariots which had gone into disuse much before Daṇḍin's age seem to have been described

166. Daṇḍin mentions the arrays durjaya (ASK. p. 101; op. Kauṭ. X. 22; 28) nāga, prakṛti, maṇḍala, sarvatoḥadra (ASK. p. 100; op. Kauṭ. X. 6) and prativyūha (counter-array) (ASK. p. 56; Kauṭ. X. 6).

166. ASK. p. 39; DKC. p. 200; op. saṁyasaṁmāna, ASK. pp. 59; 72; 96; DKC. p. 177; for heroic and drinking clubs, op. ASK. pp. 57; 96; also op. Hsār. pp. 71; 189.

167. ASK. pp. 78 ff; 90 ff; also op. DKC. p. 192.

168. ASK. pp. 25; 111; 209.

169. Op. (a) ASK. pp. 59; 76; 78; 80; 90; for senāpati, op. pp. 13; 101; 167; DKC. p. 192; op. Kauṭ. II. 33; 12; (b) ASK. VII. 30 (c) ASK. p. 90; op. Kauṭ. II. 30; 31; in I. 4. 33, he also refers to rathādyakaṣa and pattyadyakaṣa.

170. DKC. p. 200.

171. ASK. p. 110; DKC. p. 192; op. Ragh. IV. 30; Kauṭ. II. 33. 12.
of regard for convention, and it is significant that while detailing Anantavarman's army the writer omits a mention of the chariot troops. The most important division of the royal militia was the elephant force (gajanikāya) which determined the real strength of an army. The aspiring kings were especially keen on expanding this particular division of their army. There were elaborate arrangements for procuring best elephants from different jungles and training them (śikṣā or vinayakārman) through various processes of regular exercises which the author sets forth in detail. In accordance with the type of training they were capable of receiving, elephants were classified into four kinds, viz., tameable elephants, those fit for war, those suitable for riding and lastly the rogueish elephants. War-elephants were especially trained in different gaits and movements, in grasping various spur of a rider's feet and particularly in fighting with their iron-tipped tusks (parināmana or radānsakārman).

172. Cp. ASK, pp. 21; 95-8; 103-14.
173. ASK, pp. 21; 52; 63; 111 eto. ĐKC. p. 115.
174. ĐKC. p. 194; also cp. its omission in ASK, p. 101.
175. ASK, pp. 77-83 for desc. of elephant troop; also cp. ASK, pp. 32; 95; ĐKC. pp. 194; 201; cp. Kauṭ. II. 2. 14.
176. ASK, pp. 80-4; cp. Kauṭ. II. 2. 7-8; 16-7.
177. Cp. śikṣā or vinayakārman, ASK, pp. 22; 31; 83; 84. For elaborate process, cp. ASK, pp. 84-6; also cp. pp. 68; 107-8.
178. ASK, pp. 203-4; cp. Kauṭ. II. 32.
training was processed through seven stages, namely, drill, turning, advancing, trampling down and killing, fighting with other elephants, assailing forts and cities and, lastly, fighting battles. According to bodily constitution, elephants were classed into four varieties of bhadra, manda, mrga and samkirnīa. The class of scent-elephants, whose strong smell was unbearable to other elephants, was considered to be of the best breed. From the point of view of the condition of mada (ruttihiess) in elephants, seven stages, each of the duration of ten years, have been described. The king had his own elephants of excellent varieties, separately for war and vehicular purposes. These favourite elephants were richly decorated with golden ornaments; their temples were thickly anointed with vermillion paste, ears were adorned with cones and cowries hanging thereon, tusks were plated with iron or gold, flank was tied with girth and neck with chain; the mouth was covered with a piece of red cloth and the back was overlaid with a sheet of red leather upon which was placed golden saddle, with jewels hanging on all sides of it, overspread with variegated blankets and cushions with their scabbard embroidered with gold thread.

179. Cp. ASK. pp. 68; 107-8; for parināmana, cp. Ask. pp. 103; 192; DKC. pp. 81; 124.
180. ASK. pp. 203-4; cp. Kauṭ. II. 32. 6.
181. ASK. p. 107; also cp. p. 80 for first three species; cp. Kauṭ. II. 31. 18.
182. ASK. pp. 21-2; 31; 53; 82-3; 149; DKC. p. 160; cp. Ragh. V. 48.
183. ASK. pp. 87-8; 203; also cp. Har. p. 65.
184. Cp. Hemakūṭa, ASK. pp. 77-9; and Jayalakṣmī, ib. p. 64;
War-elephants were well-equipped with various weapons and drums and bells and with fluttering ensigns. The staff entrusted with their training and looking after comprised of parikarmins (instructors), hastibhiṣajās (elephant doctors), netrō or yantroś (expert riders), ādheranās (grooms) and niṣādins (keepers of elephants).

The next important part of the army was its cavalry.

Like elephants, horses also were procured from different sources and were trained, with great care, into riding of various kinds (aupavāhyakarman) like circular gait, slow movement, jumping, gallop and response to signals, with their numerous sub-varieties, as also into warring skill (sāmnāhyakarman) of different varieties. Dapan describes rather in scholastic detail various feats of dexterity of trained horses and as many as thirteen kinds of horse-battle. At the time of commencement and completion of journeys, horses were consecrated; a priest waved lights (nirājana) invoking blessings on them.

---

for various ornaments and decorations of elephants, also cp. ib. pp. 4; 65; 69; 80; 95; 96; 101; etc.; DKJ. p. 184; op. Vās. p. 285; Acar. pp. 37; 58; 59; 64-9; 148 etc.

185. ASK. pp. 64; 69; 77-9; 80; 96; 98; 99; 101; 102; 108; 109; DKJ. p. 184 etc.

186. ASK. pp. 64; 69; 93; 110; 204; DKJ. pp. 61; 61; 124-5; cp. Kauṭ. II. 32. 20.

187. ASK. pp. 91-2; also cp. pp. 66; 94; cp. Acar. p. 62; also cp. Kauṭ. II. 30. 32-4.

188. ASK. pp. 65-8; 106; cp. Kauṭ. II. 30. 37-43.
The writer records a number of species of horses referring to their colour, movements, bodily construction and marks and so on. Among various means of their equipment, he notices the bridle, thorny reins, stirrups (urevadhrā), soft double leather on the back, a girth tying the sides and the tail, leather-covering on eyes and iron soles on hooves.

Horses were also well-equipped with various medicines and surgical instruments. There is a reference also to the various ornaments they were decorated with, namely, the rings on their forefeet, a chowrie-string on forehead and a necklace of pure gold as also the string of eight or more lucky things (aṣṭamaṅgalamālās) which we observe in the arch pillar of Sanchi and in copper-plates of Mathurā.

189. ASK, pp. 94; 105-7; 110-1; op. Kaut. II. 30. 36.

190. ASK, pp. 105-7; 110-1.

191. There is a general ref. to nīrūjana of śīhara in ASK, p. 25; also op. Kaut. II. 30. 57; Raikh. IV. 25; Meier. pp. 14; 63.

192. ASK, pp. 91-4; also op. pp. 65 (eight years old horses as best steed); 67 (bhadravāha); 100 (ājāneya); op. also Meier. pp. 62-3 and Śāmkara thereon.


194. ASK, p. 96; op. Meier. p. 31; op. for detail of its history, V. S. Agrawal: HSA. pp. 25; 148.

195. ASK, p. 96.


197. ASK, pp. 83; 89; 96-7; 102; op. Viṣṇ. pp. 255-6; Meier. pp. 23; 32 etc. For aṣṭamangalakammā, op. ASK, p. 94; op. V. S. Agrawal; HSA. p. 120.
Infantry also formed an essential part of the army. The soldiers of infantry kept their loins well-girded up, put on clothes and armours of various colours, tied tightly their locks of hair and wore gold or emerald bracelets on their hands as good omens in war. They were skilled in the use of all kinds of weapons and always kept themselves ready and well-equipped for war.

The writer in his vivid description of the Magadha-Mālava battle, presents a graphic picture of the war of these days. Of its preliminaries, he describes the mobilisation of army and its march in the midst of the sound of the beating of war-drums, trumpets and conches, elaborate performance of march rites by priests, cheers of victory uttered by bards and accompanied with the sounds of kettle-drums, trumpets, kāhalas (a kind of wind-instrument known today as kāhli), mardalas (small drums) and cymbals and conches, showering by ladies

198. ASK. pp. 97-8; 101; DKG. p. 194.
199. ASK. pp. 97-8; 101; op. hemāṅgada, KA. I. 79.
200. ASK. pp. 104-5.
202. Op. nataha and dundubhi (drums), ASK. p. 62; also op. 42; 95; 138; 236; 243 etc.; op. tūrya (trumpet), ib. pp. 62; 72; 114 etc.; op. saṁkha, ib. pp. 62-3; 168 etc.
203. ASK. p. 64 (ālokaśabda, lit. = the 'behold'); also op. p. 72; op. Kāgh. II. 9; Hār. p. 203 etc.; op. also jaya-jaya (victory, victory !) ASK. p. 115; Hār. pp. 125; 203 etc.
204. ASK. p. 64; also op. kāhala, ib. pp. 95; 168; Hār. p. 204;
of handfuls of parched rice (lājas) on the king and soldiers, tremendous amount of dust of the army, encampment of army at different places on the way, singing of auspicious songs by the bards at daybreak during march-journey, organisation of viragosīhas, selection of suitable field for battle, inspection of army by the king and, above all, offering of prayers to gods and giving cows in gift to the brāhmaṇas. The programme of the days preceding the battle included the king's ablution, thrice a day, in holy waters containing five jewels (gold, diamond, sapphire, ruby and pearl), performance of fire sacrifice, offering of rich gifts, adoration of weapons and vehicles and announcement of battle with the beating of drums and blowing of wind-instruments and lastly the formation of arrays and arming of forces. The day of battle visualised the king's holy bath and other sacred rites with the chanting of victory hymns, and then ensued the actual fight amidst the sounds of drums and trumpets and other instruments which included, besides those referred to above, viṣāpa (wind-instrument made of horn), anaka (a large drum

mardala and kāmasyatāla (cymbals), also cp. ASK. p. 95.


206. ASK. pp. 68-9; it is often described in Sans. poets; cp. Ragh. IV. 29; VII. 39-40; Kād. paras 118-20; etc.

207. ASK. pp. 69 ff; also cp. kātaka (ASK. pp. 69; 80 etc.); dībira (ASK. pp. 26; 68; 71; 111; 138; 141; 168 etc.).

208. ASK. p. 76; cp. its desc. in Dāndin with Kauṭ. X. 4.3.

209. ASK. pp. 94-5.
beaten at one end), pinchāla (a blowing pipe) and gomukha (drum shaped like a cow's mouth).

There were certain rules to be observed during battle, which insisted on a fight between equals with the same weapons and condemned an attack on one who is unarmed or asleep or lying wounded or on one who has surrendered weapons or is running from the battlefield. These who preferred to be dharma-yodhins (righteous fighters) abided by these rules, though it is difficult to affirm that the rules were universally or strictly adhered to.

Weapons and armours. Among the weapons to be shot at from a distance (astras), bows occupied supreme place. They were made of palmyra or cāpa variety of bamboo, or dāru or kṛmuka wood or of horn, on the basis of which they were variously named. There is reference to a bow with mechanical contrivance at one of its ends for tightening the string and letting off the arrow. Of different varieties of arrows,
Sara (made of sara reed), nārāca (steel-pointed one),
bhalla (a large arrow with crescent-shaped blade at the end),
karmi (one with ear-shaped point), and gosīrqa (probably one
made of sandal wood) have been referred to. Arrow-points
were also poisoned or heated into fire for quicker and deadlier
effect. Arrow were stored in quivers placed on soldiers' back or in the ear-cavities of war-elephants.

Sword (asi er nillata) has been mentioned along-
with its numerous varieties like mahāsi (a long sword),
nistriṃā (a sword more than thirty angulas in length, with
crooked handle), mandalāgra (erect sword provided with
da disc at the top), paraśu or paraśvatha (a semi-circular
scimitar, twenty-four inches in length), pāṭasa (a long;

217. Cp. a) ASK. pp. 75; 96 etc.; (b) ib. pp. 65; 101; DKC. p. 146; (c) ib. p. 155; (d) ASK. pp. 110; 168; (e) ib. p. 105.

218. ASK. p. 110; DKC. p. 94.

219. ASK. pp. 32; 65; 97; 99; DKC. p. 110.

220. ASK. pp. 68; 69; 99; 101; 103; 169 etc; DKC. pp. 90; 173; 206; also cp. khaḍga, ASK. pp. 8; 32; 76 etc; kṛpāṇa, ib. pp. 15; 113 etc.; ārīgarbha, ib. p. 113.

221. ASK. p. 103; also mahākṛpāṇa, ib. p. 108.

222. ASK. pp. 37; 38; 76; DKC. p. 90; KA. II. 319.

223. ASK. p. 21; cp. Kauṭ. II. 18.

224. ASK. pp. 7; 99; 109; 209; cp. Kauṭ. II. 18; 16 and comm.; cp. Sham. trans. p. 111; it may be a battle-axe (cres-
double-edged sword), kaukṣeyaka (a scimitar, so named for being kept in kūksi, 'sheath'), asidhenukā or pattra or āsatrikā (dagger) and makhara (a nail-shaped poniard). Swords were generally kept into sheaths (kōsas). We may here refer to shields also which were circular in shape and were wrought with gems and decorated with engraved golden leaves.

Other weapons referred to are (1) krakaca (a saw-like weapon), (2) mādā (a club), (3) vāsyā (an axe), (4) danda (pointed rod made of catechu wood), (5) cakra (disc with pointed circle, six hands in circumference), (6) śatagrīṇī (a pillar-like weapon set with sharp iron daggers on all sides, or a cannon), (7) muḍgara (hammer-like weapon), (8) muṣala (a mace), (9) kuddāla (spade-like weapon), (10) prāśa (a dart or a barbed missile twenty-four inches in length, with two handles), (11) kūnta (a sharp iron-tipped rod, about five or six hands in length), (12) sakti (a metallic weapon four hands long, provided with bells emitting dreadful sound and moving at the speed of lightning, leaving behind a line of fire), (13) parigha (a rod with iron thorns about it).

226. ASK, pp. 141; 177; DāC, p. 77; cp. Pāṇ. IV. 2. 96.
227. ASK, pp. 97; 167; 173 etc.; DKO, p. 96; pattra, ASK, p. 109; āsatrikā, ib. p. 173; DĀC, p. 130; 169 etc.; also chirikā, ASK, p. 99; DKO, pp. 102; 121 etc.
228. ASK, pp. 57; 103; 159; DKO, pp. 61; 63; and Bhūṣ.
229. ASK, pp. 53; 101; 173.
(14) kacagrahaṇi (a kind of spear), (15) bhūndipāla (a rod with heavy top, thrown off like a bomb, or a small spear let off through a pipe), (16) kaṃṣa (a metallic rod with triangular ends about twenty-four inches long, to be handled in the middle), (17) kaṃṣapa or karpaṇa (an arrow with crooked point and heavy top to be thrown off by hand), (18) tamaṇa (javelin), (19) hala (a ploughshare weapon), (20) guli-keṇa (a mechanism to let off balls as missiles), (21) pāda (a noose), (22) ankhusa (an iron-tipped hook), (23) kṣullakā (poleaxe), (24) hṛllekhana (a spear-like weapon) (25) heti (a missile) and (26) sūla (a pointed rod of varying length).

Of different varieties of armours (varman or kaṅkata), kavaca was an iron coat made of detached plates to cover head, trunk and arms, extending as far as the knee-joints. Vārabāṇa,

230. ASK. pp. 15; 169; 169 (asicarman or carmacanuḍala).


232. ASK. pp. 103; 168; DKC. p. 58.

233. ASK. pp. 96; 103; 115 etc.; cp. Kaut. II. 18. 17.
originally a Persian war-dress, was a long mail reaching up to heels. Lohajāla was a net-coat covering the whole body together with head and arms. These armours were of variegated colours. Other armours were sirastrāṇa (a helmet) and godhā (a leather-fence wound round the left arm) and aṅgu-litra (a finger-protector, comparable to Kauṭilya’s nāgedarika or gloves) both to be worn to prevent injury from bowstring.

234. ASK. p. 64; Kauṭ. II. 18. 18; cp. V. S. Agrawal: HSA. pp. 78–80; 150.

235. ASK. p. 97; Kauṭ. II, 18. 17.

236. ASK. pp. 35; 112; also p. 64 (citra-vārabāṇa).

237. ASK. p. 96; cp. Kauṭ. II. 18. 18; also cp. MW.