IDSA Monograph Series
No. 63 March 2019

The Nitisara by Kamandaka

Continuity and Change from Kautilya's Arthashastra

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INSTITUTE FOR DEFENCE STUDIES & ANALYSES
रक्षा अध्ययन एवं विश्लेषण संस्थान

ISBN: 978-93-82169-82-6

Disclaimer: The views expressed in this Monograph are those of the author and do not necessarily reflect those of the Institute or the Government of India.

First Published: March 2019

Price: Rs.

Published by: Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses
No.1, Development Enclave, Rao Tula Ram Marg, Delhi Cantt., New Delhi - 110 010
Tel. (91-11) 2671-7983
Fax.(91-11) 2615 4191
E-mail: contactus@idsa.in
Website: http://www.idsa.in

Layout & Cover by: Vaijayanti Patankar

Printed at: M/S

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IDSA Monograph Series No. 53 July 2016

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Acknowledgements

I thank the panelists and participants in my fellow seminars in 2017 for engaging with the topic and giving valuable suggestions. I also thank Ms Neha Kohli, the Associate Editor, her team of production staff and Ms Jyoti Sahni, the copy editor, for ironing out the script. A personal thanks to the staff of the Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses (IDSA) library for their sustained help. Also, a special thanks to the two anonymous referees for their observations which helped me to reorder and revise my work.

I remain responsible for what I have written and assert my moral rights as an author.

Salutation

We are grateful for the availability of Kautilya's Arthashastra in the public domain to an unnamed pandit of Tanjore district who handed over an old commentary by (the unknown) Bhattasvamin to Dr R. Shamasastry of Government Oriental Library, Mysore, who in turn made public its English translation in 1915. We are grateful to Dr R. Shamasastry, other scholars such as Ganpati Shastri and to Professor R.P. Kangle of Bombay University who updated the entire text of Kautilya in mid-twentieth century, since extant to a high degree of authenticity and international standard. Similarly, we are thankful for availability of the work of Kamandaka in the public domain in written English, beginning the last quarter of the nineteenth century, due to the untiring efforts of Major Markham Kittoe (an enthusiastic antiquarian of that era), Raja Dr Rajendralala Mitra and Dr Sisir Kumar Mitra of the Asiatic Society, Calcutta.

Part I: Background

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

> Since Thucydides in Greece and Kautilya in India, the use of force and the possibility of controlling it have been the preoccupation of international political studies.
>
> —Robert J. Art and Kenneth Waltz[1]

> It has to be remembered that warcraft was then regarded as of statecraft and so the various works on statecraft deal also with the art of war.
>
> —Jagadish Narayan Sarkar[2]

> (T)he Arthasastra served as a model of strategic culture for the later authorities of ancient and early medieval India like Kamandaka and Somadeva Suri.
>
> —Krishnendu Ray[3]

India is one of the longest surviving civilizations. So, a question may be asked as to what has survived or what has not changed?

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1 Robert J. Art and Kenneth Waltz, 'Technology, Strategy and the Use of Force', in Robert J. Art and Kenneth Waltz (eds), *The Use of Force*, Boston: Little, Brown, 1971, p. 4. The quoted passage is very popular and also features in Kenneth Waltz's *Theory of International Politics*, Berkeley: Addison-Wesley, 1979, p.186 and K.M. Fierke, *Critical Approaches to International Security*, 2nd edition, Cambridge: Polity Press, 2015, p. 18.

2 Jagadish Narayan Sarkar, *The Art of War in Medieval India*, New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1984, pp. 1, 4.

3 Krishnendu Ray, 'Yuddha and Vijay: Concepts of War and Conquest in Ancient and Early Medieval India (up to CE 1300)', in Kaushik Roy and Peter Lorge (eds), *Chinese and Indian Warfare: From the Classical Age to 1870*, London and New York: Routledge, 2015, p.47.

In this study, I argue that many concepts and principles of statecraft have not changed. These continuities in human social behaviour seem to be unchanging and are embedded in the vocabulary and concepts in Indian traditions. They have survived due to their own enduring logic. This requires further explanation.

In relation to world politics and foreign policy, R.P. Kangle argues for the relevance of Kautilya's *Arthashastra* by giving examples, such as:

> that same distrust of one nation by another, the same pursuit of its own interests by every nation tempered only by consideration of expediency, the same efforts to secure alliances with the same cynical disregard of them in self-interest, the same kind of intelligence service maintained by one nation in the territory of another.[4]

Kangle's study states that the *Arthashastra* may have lost much of its validity with the establishment of the Mughal Empire and the partial advent of British rule. However, he qualifies this by alluding to the fact that the *Nitisara* and other works based on Kautilya did not pass into oblivion even then.[5] In the framework of warcraft and statecraft, to this day, Kautilya's *Arthashastra*, with its key concepts and vocabulary, has endured as the base text. More and more ideas have been added, and a few changed, with the passage of time, but the flavour of enduring and unchanging nature of diplomacy, statecraft and warcraft remains unchanged. This tradition can be seen in three classical texts, also considered three milestones, on political science, statecraft, warfare and security-related issues. First is Kautilya's *Arthashastra*, followed by subsequent texts such as

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4 R.P. Kangle, *The Kautiliya Arthasastra*, *Part III: A Study*, 2nd edition, 7th reprint, Delhi: Motilal Banarasidass, 2010, p. 283.

5 Ibid., p. 280.

The Nitisara (or the Elements of Polity) *by Kamandaka*, translated and edited by Rajendralala Mitra, and *The Sukraniti* .[6]

It is presumed that readers may be now familiar with the work of Kautilya. For those who are not familiar, it may be necessary to have a working knowledge of the text with its contemporary relevance. Indeed, sufficient literature now exists on this subject that, in keeping with modern technology, is freely available in the electronic format.[7] In this study, only the *Nitisara* will be examined and compared with its 'mother text', Kautilya's *Arthashastra*. The Appendix at the end of this chapter lists out the contents of Kautilya's *Arthashastra* and *Nitisara* for comparison.

Motivation of Writing and Compiling the *Arthashastra* by Kautilya

There are various reasons as to why the text was constructed, namely, for: consolidating an empire; overthrowing an unjust king (of the Nanda dynasty); internal security and governance; the threat from foreign invasion; ensuring that statecraft remains secular and the literature on *artha* survives an onslaught by the church; and so on. Traditionally, Kautilya, also known as

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[6] R.P. Kangle, *The Kautiliya Arthasastra*, *Part II: An English Translation with Critical and Explanatory Notes*, 2nd edition, 7th reprint, Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 2010; Rajendralala Mitra (ed.), *The Nitisara or the Elements of Polity by Kamandaki*, Bibliotheca Indica: Collection of Oriental Works, published under the superintendent of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, No. 179, printed by Calcutta Baptist Mission Press in 1861, revised with English translation by Sisir Kumar Mitra, Calcutta: The Asiatic Society (reprinted), 1982(1849); and Benoy Kumar Sarkar, *The Sukraniti*, 2nd edition, New Delhi: Oriental Books Reprint Corporation/Munshiram Manoharlal, 1975(1914). Two spellings are common: Kamandaka or Kamandaki. Absence of diacritical notations , the name of the treatise is Nitisara which has been used without diacritical and 's' has not been inserted (Nitishastra). In the monograph I will spell the author and text as Kamandaka and Nitisara respectively.

[7] See IDSA website for literature associated with Kautilya, available at http://idsa.in/history

Chanakya or Vishnugupta, is considered the author of *Arthashastra*; he is also known as the one who destroyed the power of the Nandas and placed Chandragupta Maurya on the throne of Magadha.[8] Although the text may not be a Mauryan document, it does have a link to that era. According to R.K. Mookerji:

> The task of liberating the country from yoke of foreign rule was beset with tremendous difficulty. The country had hardly recovered from the shock of Alexander's victorious march through it—a march which had dislocated its indigenous political organisation. It had already passed under grip and stranglehold of foreign rule. The atmosphere was full of frustration and depression. The battle of India's independence against these heavy odds called for a leader of exceptional ability and vision who would infuse new life and enthusiasm into the drooping spirits of a defeated people, and organise a fresh national resistance against alien domination. Fortunately, the country produced such a leader in Chandragupta who had already been prepared in advance for his great mission in life by the Brahmin Chanakya, better known as Kautilya. Chanakya's superior vision and insight led him to discover in this youth the disciple who would be able, under his direction, to free the fatherland of foreign rule. Kautilya infected his pupil with his hatred for foreign rule. In his *Arthashastra* Kautilya gives vent to his feeling against foreign rule as an unmitigated evil. He condemns foreign rule (*vairajya*) as the worst form of exploitation, where the conqueror, who subdues the country by violence (*parasyachchhidya*), never counts it as his own dear country (*naitat mama iti manyamanah*), oppresses it by over-taxation and exaction (*karshayati*), and drains it of its wealth (*apavahayati*). (viii.2).[9]

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[8] Kangle, *The Kautiliya Arthasastra*, *Part III: A Study*, n. 4, p. 59.

[9] R.K. Mookerji, 'The Foundation of the Mauryan Empire', in K.A. Nilakanta Sastri (ed.), *A Comprehensive History of India, Vol. II: The Mauryas and Satavahanas, 325 BC–AD 300*, 2nd edition, New Delhi: People's Publishing House, 1987(1957), pp. 1–2.

Kautilya's *Arthashastra* is secular, a work of political science. This 'secular' influence, in the words of Buddha Prakash, of Kautilya is evident:

> His ideas about centralized administration, salaried civil service, tours of officials, espionage system and money economy embody the spirit of parallel Achaemenian institutions, and his views about the primacy of *Arthasastra* over *Dharmasastra* mark the culmination of the process of the extrication of the science of political economy and secular jurisprudence from the mass of ecclesiastical and customary lore contained in the sutra literature under the impact of new thought.[10]

There were a number of schools or scholars, before Kautilya, who had treatises on *arthashastra*. For example, the schools of Manavah, Barhaspatyah, Ausanasah, Parasarah and Ambhiya; and individual authors such as Bharadvaja, Visalaksha, Parasara, Pisuna, Kaunapadanta, Vatavyadhi and Bahudantiputra.[11] However, all these other *artha* texts of individual scholars or schools of pre-fourth century BC seem to have been actually lost by this time. Thus, only the work of Kautilya has survived and that of the previous five schools and seven individual authors—which Kautilya was aware of as he quotes from them at many places—is lost as of now. D.R. Bhandarkar takes a cue from a passage occurring at the end of the last book (XV) in Shamasastry's first translation of Kautilya: 'Having seen discrepancies in many ways on the part of the writers of commentaries on the Sastras, Vishu Gupta himself has made

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[10] Buddha Prakash, 'Panjab's Reaction to Foreign Invasions with Special Reference to Achaemenian and Macedonian Invasions', in *Glimpses of Ancient Panjab*, Patiala: Punjabi University, 1966, p. 17, as quoted in my monograph *Understanding Dharma and Artha in Statecraft through Kautilya's Arthashastra*, IDSA Monograph Series No. 53, July 2016, p.41.

[11] D.R. Bhandarkar, 'Administrative History of India Part I: Literature on Hindu Polity', in *Lectures on the Ancient History of India: On the Period from 650 to 325 B.C.*, New Delhi: Rupa, 2013, pp. 53–54.

(this) Sutra and Commentary.' Bhandarkar's finding on this is apt:

> When Kautilya wrote, the study of the Arthasastra was falling into desuetude…It thus seems that the old works on the Arthasastra were being forgotten in his time. And to rescue this Science from oblivion Kautilya appears to have made a vigorous attempt to getting hold of old works, most of which he did succeed in obtaining and which he brought into requisition in composing his treatise.[12]

So, the final product that has survived is Kautilya's *Arthashastra.* It is hoped that in the millions of unexplored archives, the lost literature is found in future. In fact, Kautilya's magnum opus became a classic of that axial age. This tradition then was kept up by Kamandaka by maintaining continuity, incorporating changes and supplementing the text. This study will go into these details later, but we need to be clear as to what was the idea content of this manual by Kautilya.

Core Idea Content[13]

The Key Role of Artha

'Since very early times *artha* has been regarded as one of the *trivarga* or three goals of human existence, the other two being *dharma* (ethical and moral) and *kama* (worldly desires and expectations).'[14] *Arthashasatra* is regarded as a *shastra* concerned with general well-being on earth.

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[12] Ibid., p. 65.

[13] As it pertains to Kautilya, this part has been discussed at length in Pradeep Kumar Gautam, 'Understanding Kautilya's *Arthasastra*: Origination, Migration and Diffusion', in Michael Liebig and Saurabh Mishra (eds), *The Arthasastra in a Transcultural Perspective: Comparing Kautilya with Sun-Si, Nizam al-Mulk, Barani and Machiavelli*, New Delhi: IDSA/Pentagon Press, 2017, pp. 72–90.

[14] Kangle, *The Kautiliya Arthasastra*, *Part III: A Study*, n. 4, pp. 1–2.

> And since state activity alone can make such general well-being possible, the protection of earth and its acquisition, which are essential part of state activity, are declared the province of this *sastra*. It is thus defined as the *sastra* which shows how this activity of the acquisition and protection of the earth should be carried out.[15]

Kautilya's *Arthashastra* survived in oral traditions and in fragmentary commentaries till its textual rediscovery in 1905 and its publication in 1915 into English and other languages later. The precise date of the opus is not known and the year of its compilation varies amongst authors between the end of fourth century BC to third AD. As mentioned earlier, Kautilya's *Arthashastra* is a political manual. It is the science which is the means of acquisition and protection of the earth. The rulership of the 'earth' contemplated in the text does not however necessarily imply the conquest of the whole world. The field open for the operations of the would-be conqueror or *vijigisu* appears restricted to the region lying between the Himalayas and the sea. Territories beyond the borders of India are not included in the 'territory of the Sovereign Ruler' (9.1.17-18).[16] In this setting of political unification of common cultural Indian subcontinent, the *Arthashastra* has a twofold aim:

> First, it seeks to show how the ruler should protect his territory. This protection (*palana*) refers principally to the administration of the state. Second, it shows how territory should be acquired. This acquisition (*labha*) refers principally to the conquest of territory from others. The ends which the *Arthashastra* has in view are the *yogaksema* (protection of what is acquired) and *raksana* (protection) of subjects.[17]

Yogaksema is the purpose and the responsibility of the state by avoiding *matsyanyaya* (big fish swallowing the smaller fish).

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15 Ibid., pp. 1–2.

16 Ibid., p. 2.

17 Ibid., p. 272.

Kautilya enjoins the king to adopt policies that would lead the state to *vriddhi* (prosperity) and avoid those that result in *kshya* (decline)[18] Importantly, the normative dimension is the political unification of the Indian subcontinent with no imperialist expansion beyond the subcontinent.

Kautilya's *Arthashastra*, as a text of instructions, offers a vast range of topics and disciplines, of which defence, security, statecraft, international relations and foreign policy and diplomacy are the most relevant. Kautilya's *Arthashastra* consists of 15 books called *adhikaran*s. Each book has chapters, which have sections comprising of prose called *sutra*(*s*).[19] The first five books, known as the *tantra*s, deal with internal administration of the state; the next eight deal with *avapa* or its relations with neighbouring states; and the last two are miscellaneous in character.[20]

Over the years, the core concepts and ideas of *Arthashastra* have survived. In fact, much of what the later authors have written is based on the very core principles of statecraft in the *Arthashastra*, thus saluting and acknowledging Kautilya. The most comprehensive work that followed in this classical tradition is that of Kamandaka's *Nitisara* (the essence of politics). Kamandaka, for example, asserts that the wise Vishnugupta, who had destroyed the Nandas by his magic lore and given the earth to Chandragupta, extracted the nectar of *nitisara* from the

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[18] Book VII—'Six Measures of Foreign Policy', Chapter 1, Section 99, 'Determination of (Measure in) Decline, Stable Condition and Advancement', *sutra* 38 (7.1.38): 'Situated in the circle of constituent elements, he should, in this manner, with these six measures of policy, seek to progress from decline to stable condition and from stable condition to advancement in his own undertakings.'

[19] The word *sutra* means 'thread, string or clue'.

[20] R.P. Kangle, *The Kautiliya Arthasastra*, *Part I: Sanskrit Text with a Glossary*; *The Kautiliya Arthasastra, Part II: An English Translation with Critical and Explanatory Notes*, n. 6; *The Kautiliya Arthasastra*, *Part III: A Study*, n. 4.

ocean of *arthashastra*.[21] This consolidated and updated Kautilya's *Arthashastra* in the form of *Nitisara* can be situated at the threshold or advent of the early medieval period, around sixth and seventh century CE. The *Nitisara* also has the key role of *artha*. However, there is one major difference. While Kautilya's *Arthashastra* has the normative dimension of political unification of the Indian subcontinent with no imperialist expansion beyond the subcontinent, the same is not to be found in Kamandaka's *Nitisara*. However, the core concepts and vocabulary of *artha* remain balanced with *dharma* with differing emphasis.

Thus, it seems that the knowledge compiled by Kautilya was never lost and the basic framework has survived. It is a living tradition as we revive and update it today, and would do so in the future. We indeed need to thank Kamandaka for following and reusing a tradition for its value and worth. Shyam Saran argues:

> the attributes of a successful state as laid down by Kautilya remain relevant…Both Kautilya and Kamandaki counsel prudence in managing interstate relations…Resorting to *danda*—coercive power or war is advised only once the other means of *sama* (conciliation), *dana* (placating through gifts) and *bheda* (creating dissension) have been tried and have failed…Hundreds of years later, these principles are valid even in our transformed world.[22]

Thus, this study explores the continuities and changes by relating it to the historical context. But a word here is necessary as to why there is a need to study the post-Kautilya literature.

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[21] Kangle, *The Kautiliya Arthasastra*, *Part III: A Study*, n. 4, p. 60.

[22] Shyam Saran, *How India Sees the World: Kautilya to the 21st Century*, New Delhi: Juggernaut, 2017, p. 292.

Why the Need to Study Text of the Post-Kautilya Period?

It has been argued by A.N.D. Haksar that focusing only on *niti* or political wisdom, based on Kautilya, 'tend to overshadow other less known or distinguished ancient works which also form a part of our rich traditional literature on governance and policy...'[23] Haksar also suggests the need for a method for internal widening and a look at not only Kautilya's *Arthashastra* but also post-Kautilya traditions of writing in this field, with Kamandaka's *Nitisara* being the one on diplomatic activities. Haksar argues that M. Winternitz, the Indologist, in his writings on the history of Indian literature subsequent to Kautilya's *Arthashastra*, has listed 13 other works covering a span of 1,000 years over a geographic spread from Kashmir to Kerala and Gujarat to Bengal. To make it worthwhile, there is thus now a need to see and widen the research and exploration to establish changes, modifications and continuities in Kautilya's *Arthashastra*. There is a possibility that some texts may be repetitive or even low in quality: for example, in the 13 works on political theory, the last known is attributed to the son of Shivaji, which Winternitz has rated as of poor quality.[24]

In a landmark event of release of two books on Kautilya in January 2017 at Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses (IDSA), Haksar emphasized that the research needs to be cognizant of the fact that there was a gap of more than 2,000 years post-Kautilya. He reiterated the need to widen the research to establish changes, modifications and continuities in Kautilya's *Arthashastra.* In this context, the three texts suggested by him

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[23] A.N.D. Haksar, 'A Post-Kautilyan View of Diplomacy: The *Nitisara* of Kamandaki', in Pradeep Kumar Gautam, Saurabh Mishra and Arvind Gupta (eds), *Indigenous Historical Knowledge: Kautilya and His Vocabulary*, Vol. I, New Delhi: IDSA/Pentagon Press, 2015, p.5.

[24] Unpublished remarks of A.N.D. Haksar while chairing a meeting at IDSA on 24 November 2016 to decide on the next steps.

are: (i) *Nitisara* of Kamandaka; (ii) *Laghu Artha–Nitishastra* by Hem Chandra, a Jain from Gujarat, 1088–1172 AD; and (c) *Yukti-Kalpataru* attributed to King Bhoja.[25]

Indian literature on statecraft did move with the times. Jagadish Narayan Sarkar's list on the work on polity further includes: '*Nitivakyamritam* by Somadeva Suri, a Jain ascetic (tenth century); *Niti Ratnakara* of Chandesvara (early fourteenth century); *Sukranitisara* (early medieval period); and *Nitiprakasika* of Vaisampayana. Among the Persian works that Sarkar lists are: 'the *Adab n'l Muluk wa Kifayat ul mamluk* or *Adab u'l Harbwa'sh Shuja'at* by Muhammad bin Mansur Quraishi, also called Fakhir ud din Mubarakshah, alias Fakhri i Mudabbir; and *Fatwa-i-Jahandari* of Ziauddin Barani, fourteenth century AD.' Among technical works listed are '*Yuktikalpataru*, attributed to Bhojaraja of Malwa (*c.* eleventh century), *Samaranganasutradhara* also by Bhojaraja and *Manasollasa* or *Abhilasitartha-Chintamni* of Somesvara III (1126–1138), Western Chalukya ruler of Kalyani.' Sarkar also says that 'there are treatises on Dhanurveda, sword literature and animal literature.'[26] Then there is the rich tradition from south India of the *Kural* in Tamil. This list does not include the literature from east, north-east and Kashmir, a task which must be undertaken in later research. In this first step, the focus is on the two texts from ancient period.

Kamandaka's *Nitisara* is the next firm peg after Kautilya's *Arthashastra* that can give insights on how and why some core essences of Indic traditions of statecraft have endured. It also helps to highlight the changes that may have come about. What is most vital is that it fixes those concepts that endure even today due to their relevance. As such, it can have principles, ethos, concept and values that may now provide a new impetus to the study of statecraft, diplomacy and international studies.

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[25] Available at http://www.idsa.in/event/arthashastra-book-launch

[26] Jagadish Narayan Sarkar, *Some Aspects of Military Thinking and Practice in Medieval India*, Calcutta: Ratna Prakashan, 1974, pp.4-6.

Thus, another text, which was often ignored, will now be added to India's rich and enduring heritage.

The Common Thread

After Kautilya's *Arthashastra*, as mentioned earlier, the next classical text of the same genre is the *Nitisara*. Both the texts are not historical treatises meant to record historical developments. In fact, each work is a theoretical or a normative text and not a descriptive text. However, though they are not at all bound by the need to name any monarch, they do throw light upon the political and social milieu within which they were composed and the history of the tradition of political discourses, besides throwing in a few historical nuggets as well.[27]

Both the texts deal with the acquisition of wealth and its distribution, with an emphasis on war as the last resort. Some key common aspects adhered to in both the texts are: mastering of control over senses, including non-violence; the state of *matsyanyaya* (avoidance of laws of the jungle) and the need for a rule of law to ensure that *matsyanyaya* does not exist; *anvikshiki* (philosophy as a lamp); balance of *dharma*, *artha* and *kama*; intelligence studies; seven *prakrtis*, 12 *vijigisu*s in a circle of kings or *mandala* theory; six measures of foreign policy, the *upaya*s in which there is no warmongering and use of force is the last resort; issues of disasters (*vyasana*s) that may afflict the constituent elements (*prakrits*) and how to overcome them prior to an execution of a policy; duties of diplomats and intelligence gathering; and aspects of war and use of power by sticking to the priorities—the famous *mantra-shakti* (counsel or diplomacy), *prabhav-shakti* (economic and military power) and *utsah-shakti* (leadership).

There are dissimilarities in concepts of both the texts. For instance, Kautilya's work is inspired by his statesmanship and is of complex nature often questioning earlier scholars, whereas

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[27] I thank the anonymous referee for suggesting this explanation as opposed to the partial and inaccurate term 'ahistorical'.

Kamandaka's work is a lucid and academic work and an abridged version of Kautilya's work. In its uniqueness, Kamandaka stands out for deliberating at length on not only the four *upaya*s, as mentioned by Kautilya, of *sama*, *dana*, *bheda* and *danda* but also the powerful concept of *upeksha* (a combination of neglect or diplomatic indifference and the supreme virtue of patience). The impact of Kamandaka can be further seen on the *Hitopadesa* by Narayana, which has 90 verses of Kamandaka including 16 types of alliances.

To deliberate in some detail on these issues, in this study I will compare and analyze the enduring continuities in statecraft, diplomacy and aspects of warfare in the text of *Nitisara* with Kautilya's *Arthashastra* in recent publications.[28] The study will try to provide answers to three research questions based on issue of war or warcraft and statecraft to be more precise:

1. What are the continuities and changes in the vocabulary and concepts from Kautilya's *Arthashastra* to *Nitisara*?

2. What is the vocabulary of Kamandaka in a stand-alone mode?

3. What is the contemporary relevance of the answers to these findings?

However, dwelling on what is just given in the text may be abstract. The context, at least in its broad contours, also needs to be benchmarked and flagged. In a work such as this, there is thus a need to overcome the biggest challenge of Indology, that is, to construct a political history to the best possible accuracy in the absence or non-availability of political history as in China or the Greek traditions. This aspect is covered next.

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[28] See IDSA website for literature associated with Kautilya, available at http://idsa.in/history

Non-availability of Political History

The challenge is to discern continuity and change, both in the real world and in the text. The most important first step to overcome this challenge is to construct a political history, as in Indian traditions, in the medieval/pre-Islamic period. Barring Kalhana's *Rajatarangani* and its follow-through text on the Hindu kingdom of Kashmir, there exists no known political history of ancient or medieval India. B.G. Gokhale points out that :

> *The Puranas* enable us to prepare a 'skeletol outline of royal genealogies' but their defects as historical records are obvious…Only Kalhana (middle of the 12th century A.D.) comes close to being a critical historian with his precise topographical information and high regard for chronology at least for the recent period of which he speaks in his *Rajatarangani*.[29]

In Indian traditions, the closest translation of history is *itihas*. Etymologically, it means what really happened (*iti-hâ-asa*). Romila Thapar argues: 'A sense of history and historical consciousness existed, that there were historical traditions emerging from diverse historiographies and that these occasionally took the form of historical writings…In other words, it is a matter of consciousness and the mind.'[30] As Michel Danino notes: 'It is in this meaning that when we compare anything with Indian concepts, we are dealing not only with different time scales, but with different *mind* scales.'[31] Likewise, it is also known that in Indian traditions, history is 'not merely events but much more a history of processes of thought and attitude, of ideas and cultures.'[32]

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[29] B.G. Gokhale, *Indian Thought Through the Ages*, Bombay: Asia Publishing House, 1961, p. 5.

[30] As quoted in Gautam, 'Understanding Kautilya's *Arthaúâstra*: Origination, Migration and Diffusion', n. 13, p. 79.

[31] Ibid.

[32] Gokhale, *Indian Thought Through the Ages*, n. 29, p. 11.

It is the labour of ancient historians, archaeologists, philosophers, Indologists and Sanskritists that has made possible this rough and ready re-imaging. For example, Kamandaka, according to most accounts, is of the Gupta age. David N. Lorenzen has drawn attention to very little concrete information about the Gupta age or state, command structure of the army or material dimensions of power. The only sources Lorenzen uses for analyzing the ideology of the Gupta kingship are epigraphic.[33] Like Lorenzen, on kingship in ancient India, Gen'ichi Yamamzaki makes use of literary sources and inscriptions of the time of the second emperor of the Gupta dynasty, namely, Samudragupta (335–375 CE).[34] There is however one exception, the *Nitisara* of Kamandaka, in which there is a bit of history which seems to have been overlooked.

Kamandaka, the Historian of the Maurya Period

M.V. Krishna Rao had argued that 'Kamandaka , another celebrated author of polity and who came on the Indian scene, several centuries after Kautilya, reestablished the same theory' (that is in the text of Kautilya's *Arthashastra* in which Kautilya is referred to as the saviour and preceptor of Chandragupta).[35] As in the case of Kautilya, where there is a non-availability of chronological political history, Kamandaka's work also has to be read without a matching recorded political history. However, while mentioning historical figures, there is one important and unique exception. Kamandaka mentions King Chandragupta Maurya and Vishnugupta. Further, Kamandaka gives a role

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[33] David N. Lorenzen, 'The Ideology of Gupta Kingship ', in *Who Invented Hinduism: Essays on Religion in History*, New Delhi: Yoda Press, 2006, pp. 172–86.

[34] Gen'ichi Yamamzaki, 'Kingship in Ancient India as Described in Literary Sources and Inscriptions', in Noboru Karashima (ed.), *Kingship in Indian History*, New Delhi: Manohar, 1999, pp. 17–36.

[35] M.V. Krishna Rao, *Studies in Kautilya*, Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1958, p. 2.

model example of a good (*dharmic*) Yavana king, which, according to Shamasastry, is Kanishka. This aspect has been covered in some detail in Chapter 2.

Notwithstanding Kamandaka giving some evidence about King Chandragupta Maurya and Vishnugupta and just because there is no chronological political history does not mean that we close this enquiry. A rough idea can be had if the text is compared to the events of the period for a context, as in Chapter 2.

Date and Authorship

D.R. Bhandarkar mentions that Kamandaka lived in 300 AD.[36] For Charles Drekmeier, 'The *Kamandakiya* belongs to the fourth or fifth century A.D., and it is reasonable to ascribe it to the late fourth century when the empire of the Guptas had been consolidated.'[37] Drekmeier alludes to two speculations: Kamandaka 'may have been Sikhara, the minister of Chandragupta II', or 'an academic theoretician removed from active participation in politics'.[38] Upinder Singh places the text between 500–700 CE.[39] According to Krishnendu Ray, it was composed between *c.* 700–750 CE;[40] and Haksar asserts that '[i]t is obviously earlier than those of 7th century Dandin and the 10th century Narayan.'[41] Vandana Gupta finds that Dandin and Bhavbhuti considered the author to be a female, while the

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[36] Bhandarkar, 'Administrative History of India Part I: Literature on Hindu Polity', n. 11, p. 56, note 7.

[37] Charles Drekmeier, *Kingship and Community in Early India*, Bombay: Oxford University Press, 1962, p. 183.

[38] Ibid, p.183.

[39] Upinder Singh, 'Politics, Violence and War in Kamandaka's Nitisara', *The Indian Economic and Social History Review*, Vol. 47, No. 1, 2010, pp. 29–62.

[40] Ray, 'Yuddha and Vijay: Concepts of War and Conquest in Ancient and Early Medieval India (up to CE 1300', n. 3, pp. 32–54.

[41] Haksar, 'A Post-Kautilyan View of Diplomacy: The *Nitisara* of Kamandaki', n. 23, p. 6.

Arabic author Abu Salima calls him Sifara.[42] Rajendralala Mitra, in the preface to the first edition, considers Kamandaka to be a Buddhist: 'It is dedicated to Chandragupta, and the author, a Buddhist, apparently with a view not to offend the feeling of his Hindu patron with the name of a Buddhist deity, has thought fit to forego the usual invocation at the commencement of his work.'[43]

About *The Nitisara* (or the Elements of Polity) *by Kamandaka*, Translated and Edited by Rajendralala Mitra

The *Nitisara* (or the Elements of Polity) *by Kamandaka* is a substantial work of 1,192 verses (*sloka*s), of 34 *prakarana*s (sections), grouped in 20 chapters or cantos (or *sarga*s). It has the traditional branches of learning, as in Kautilya's *Arthashastra*, like the state, its constituents and preservation; the *mandala* theory on inter-state relations; various types of policies; war and peace; diplomacy and intelligence; military organization; and defects to avoid. It is an abridged treatise. *Sloka* 1.1.7-8 says:

> Having studied the learned works of that master of science (*vidyanam paradrsvana*) (i.e., Visnugupta) and out of our love for science of polity (*rajavidya*), we set ourselves to the compilation of an abridged treatise following the views of the master of science of polity (*rajavidyavidam matam*).

The dating of *Nitisara* remains debatable, as mentioned earlier, though it is definitely post-Kautilya as the author salutes the wise Vishnugupta in the introduction. The final comprehensive edited version in English by Rajendralala Mitra of 1861, revised with English translation taking into account more material

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[42] Vandana Gupta, 'Historicity of Kamandaka', *Shrinkhala*, Vol. 1, No. 12, August 2014, pp. 64–66.

[43] Rajendralala Mitra, 'Preface to the First Edition', in Mitra (ed.), *The Nitisara or the Elements of Polity by Kamandaki*, n. 6, pp. i–ii.

discovered, was by Sisir Kumar Mitra in 1982, who in the preface places the text as post-Mauryan:

> The *Kamandakiya Nitisara* is surely a post-Maurya treatise or at least not a pre-Maurya text, as it refers to the Maurya king Chandragupta Maurya (late 4th century B.C.) and is dependent on the *Arthasastra* (of Kautilya), which cannot be placed before the Maurya age. On the other hand, the reference in the *Mahabharata* to Kamanda (= Kamandaka) (*Santiparvan*, 123, 11) should place the text before completion of the growth of the Great Epic. The Mahabharata is generally considered to 'have received its present form' not 'earlier than the 4th century B.C. and not later than 4th century A.D.;' W. Winternitz, *A History of Indian Literature*, vol. I, p. 465). K.P. Jayaswal attributed the *Nitisara* to the Gupta age (*Journal of Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, vol. XVIII, 1932, p. 37). Some scholars, however, have assigned it to a later period, even to c. A,D. 700 (R.N. Saletore, *Ancient India Political Thought and Institutions*, p. 9).[44]

The text is also known to have migrated to Southeast Asia. In the context of its migration to Southeast Asia, Rajendralala Mitra, the editor to the 1861 edition, records in the preface:

> From a report submitted by Dr. Frederich to the Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences on the Sanskrita literature of Bali, it appears that the most popular work in the Island on Polity is Kamandakiya Nitisara, and all the Sanskrita books there extant are acknowledged to be the counterparts of purely Indian originals. The researches of Sir Stamford Raffles and Crawfurd shew that the predominance of Buddhism in the island of Java obliged the Hindu of that place to retire, in the fourth century of the Christian era, with their household gods and their sacred scriptures to the island of Bali, where they and their descendants have, ever since, most carefully preserved the authenticity of their literature and religion. It has also been

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[44] Sisir Kumar Mitra, 'Preface', in Mitra (ed.), *The Nitisara or the Elements of Polity by Kamandaki*, n. 6, p. ix.

> shewn by the same authorities that since the period of their exile, they have not had any religious intercourse with India; it would therefore follow that the Sanskrita works now available in Bali, including the Kamadakiya Niti are of date anterior to the 4th century.[45]

Influence of Kamandaka's *Nitisara* on *Hitopadesa*[46]

Kautilya's *Arthashastra* is to *Panchatantra* as *Nitisara* and *Panchatantra* are to *Hitopadesa* ('The Wholesome Advice'). In his introduction to the translation of Narayana's *Hitopadesa*, Haksar notes:

> Apart from the *Pancatantra*, Narayana's single main source is the verse composition of *Nitisara* of Kamandaki. Nearly ninety verses in the *Hitopadesa* are quotations from this work. Devoted chiefly to the aspects of *niti* that deal with political theory, most of these verses are contained in the third and fourth books. They discuss the subjects of diplomacy, war and peace. Good examples are verses 4.111 to 4.132 describing sixteen types of peace treaties, which are taken from *Nitisara*, 9.1 to 9.22…The *Nitisara* is based on a celebrated earlier dissertation on politics, the *Arthasastra* ascribed to Kautilya, also known as Canakya. Narayana mentions this legendary statesman (3.60) though interestingly, he has no quotation from the *Arthasastra*.[47]

The verse 3.60 of *Hitopadesa* reads:

> Canakya did Nanda destroy
> By using a skilled envoy
> The king should meet an emissary
> In brave but sober company.[48]

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45 Mitra, 'Preface to the First Edition', n. 42, p. i.

46 A.N.D. Haksar, *Naryana: The Hitopadesa*, translated from Sanskrit with an introduction by A.N.D. Haksar, New Delhi: Penguin Books, 1998.

47 A.N.D. Haksar, 'Introduction', in ibid., p. xiv.

48 Haksar, *Naryana: The Hitopadesa*, n. 45, pp. 159–60.

This continuity of key concepts, beginning from the *Arthashastra* onwards, is an important continuity and will be discussed later in Part II. But first, there is a need to examine how Kamandaka has been viewed and understood in recent times.

The Reception of Kamandaka in Recent Times

A number of Indologists commented on Kamandaka's work in the early decades of the twentieth century. K.P. Jayaswal, in his *Hindu Polity* (1924), explains how the term *dandaniti* was adopted by Usanas and *arthashastra* by Brihaspati. In tracing the changes to the name for the text in this genre of political science, Jayaswal, for the period from fourth to the fifth centuries, shows that:

> Later, the term *Niti* ('Policy' or 'Principles') and *Naya* ('Leading', 'Principles') seem to have superseded the old words *Artha* and *Danda*. Kamandaka calls his metrical treatise a *Niti-sara*. The book ascribed to Sukra, which, in its present shape, is a revised edition of an earlier well-known work, probably based on the ancient Usanas'. *Danda-Niti*, is also called a *Niti-Sara* (*Sukra-Niti-Sara*).[49]

A.B. Keith, in *A History of Sanskrit Literature* (1920), in a section following the *Arthashastra*, titled 'Later Treatises', mentions in not so many encouraging words:

> The later works are of minor importance. Based mainly on the Arthacastra is the *Nitisara* of Kamandaki, who hails Canakya as his master. But it is not merely a redaction of the *Arthacastra*. It is simplified by the omission of the details regarding administration in books ii–iv of that text, and of the subject-matter of the last two books. Moreover, in book iii and elsewhere it delights in didactic morality which is foreign to the *Arthacastra*. On the other hand, some parts of the original are taken up with special zest as in ix-xi; the theory of foreign

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[49] K.P. Jayaswal, *Hindu Polity: Constitutional History of Indian in Hindu Times*, Parts I and II, Bangalore: Bangalore Press, 1967(1924), pp. 5–6.

> policy is there developed into its fullness of theoretical elaboration, without any relation to history. In xvi-xx we find a repetition of the advice of the *Arthacastra* to engage in treacherous warfare wherever possible on the ground that, as that text says and the *Tantrakhyayika* repeats:
>
> *ekam hanyan na va hanyad isuh ksipto dhanusmata*
> *prajnena tu matih ksipta hanyad garbhagatan api.*
>
> 'The archer's arrow may slay one, or it may not; the cunning of the wise can slay foes ere they are even born.' The *Kamandakiya* is written in easy verses, and not only is it divided into cantos like an epic, but its commentator ascribes to it the character of a great Kavya. The praise is naturally not deserved, and, since the discovery of its original, its importance, not very great, is much diminished.[50]

Winternitz, tracing its origins and acknowledgement by the author as the follow-through work of Kautilya (who Kamandaka calls as his guru), argues that it is 'a work of an altogether different kind… a work of didactic poetry.'[51] With regard to the subject matter, Winternitz finds that the subject matter of *Nitisara* has some differences from that of Kautilya and Kamandaka had 'utilised some other sources in addition to the Kautilya's Arthashastra.'[52] These other sources, Benoy Kumar Sarkar tells

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[50] A.B. Keith, *A History of Sanskrit Literature*, London: Oxford University Press, 1956(1920), p. 462. Keith may have been prejudiced and this could be one reason for his evaluation of this text. Keith, as researched by the American historian and Sanskritist Thomas R. Trautmann, belonged to that school of British Sanskritists who favoured race science. He was engaged in a project of social construction of a changeless racial 'whiteness', accompanied by changeless attitudes towards non-whites. For these attitudes, see Thomas R. Trautmann, *Aryans and British India*, Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press, 1997, pp. 206–11, 216.

[51] M. Winternitz, *History of Indian Literature, Vol. III, Part Two: Scientific Literature*, translated from German into English by Subhadra Jha, Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1985(1922), p.634.

[52] Ibid., pp. 635–36.

us, include a text called '*rajavidya-vidam-matam*, i.e., the doctrines of those versed in the science of kings.'[53]

Winternitz also points out the similarities to Kautilya's *Arthashastra* Book VI ('The Circle of Kings') and Book VII ('The Six Measures of Foreign Policy'): 'The sargas VIV–XI are devoted to external politics (like Kautilya's Books VI, VII); in it the division and classification of "districts" (mandala) of hostile and friendly neighbours have been carried out to an absurd hair-splitting extent.'[54] For variety of policy decisions of *sarga* XII, Winternitz compares it with Kautilya's Book I.15; and *sarga* XIII, 'Ambassadors and Envoys', to Kautilya's Book I, chapter 1, section 12, 'Rules for the Envoy'.

Krishna Rao, in *Studies in Kautilya* (1958), argues: 'The great literary and political writers like Vatsyana, Kamandaka, Dandin and Medhatithi mention *Arthasastra* as a classical treatise on Polity.'[55] As to the hub-and-spoke concept, Krishan Rao writes:

> *Kamandaka* the great follower of Kautilyan School of diplomacy likens 'the *Mandala* to the outer rim of the wheel connecting to the spokes radiating from the axle. If the axle is strong and sound it would be capable of holding the spokes and the rim in place, in the course of the wheel's revolution. Any weakness in the hub of the wheel would be disastrous.'[56]

Kamandaka has done more detailed work on *upeksha*. Later, Chapter 6 examines Krishna Rao's lead to address the question that India's freedom struggle was based on the concept of *upeksha*.

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[53] Benoy Kumar Sarkar, *The Positive Background of Hindu Sociology: Introduction to Hindu Positivism*, Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1985(1937), p. 226. These texts are yet to be located by me.

[54] Winternitz, *History of Indian Literature*, n. 50, p. 637.

[55] Krishna Rao, *Studies in Kautilya*, n. 35, p. 10.

[56] Ibid., p. 104.

Drekmeier's *Kingship and Community in Early India* (1962) needs a special mention. For him, it is a very systematic study of various *niti* texts intertwined with social and political events of each period when the text was purported to have been codified.[57]

S.K. Mitra, in his section on Kamandaka, points out that to facilitate wider and easier understanding, the *kavya* style is used. Mitra finds: 'In the post-Kautilyan age the over-riding influence of the *Arthashastra* was so striking that, except for the *raja-dharma* sections of the *Manu Smriti* and the *Mahabharata*, we find no work on polity or economics worth the name.'[58] This may need a revision. Later, this study shows that in the case of Kamandaka at least, this type of understanding may not be very true when step-by-step textual and contextual analysis is done, though one can always sense the shadow of Kautilyan tradition in the background.

The two other scholars in the second decade of the twenty-first century that need a mention are Upinder Singh and A.N.D. Haksar. Upinder Singh from Delhi University argues to say: 'While the Arthashastra reflects a model of an arrogant, absolutist state, the *Nitisara* represents a later, less exultant reflection on political power, one in which non-violence has significantly tempered the discussion of violence, especially with regards to punishment, the royal hunt and war.'[59] Interestingly, there is no normative setting in *Nitisara*, as in Kautilya's *Arthashastra*, about the political unification of the Indian subcontinent and Singh's claim for absolutist and arrogant state may have been a necessity then. Calling it arrogant is only an opinion.

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[57] Drekmeier, *Kingship and Community in Early India*, n. 20.

[58] S.K. Mitra, 'Political and Economic Literature in Sanskrit', in Suniti Kumar Chatterji (ed.), *The Cultural Heritage of India*, *Vol. V: Languages and Literatures in Sanskrit*, Belur Math: Ramakrishna Mission, 2011, p. 342.

[59] Singh, 'Politics, Violence and War in Kamandaka's Nitisara', n. 39, abstract, p. 29. Also see Upinder Singh, *Political Violence in Ancient India*, Cambridge, MA, and London: Harvard University Press, 2017, abstract, p. 29.

Haksar alludes to the divergent comments on the text by Keith and Winternitz but considers the role of ambassadors or envoys 'treated in more detail' in the *Nitisara* than in Kautilya's *Arthashastra*.[60]

Layout of the Study

In this study, for the purpose of comparison of both the texts, there is a need to have some idea of important historical events. I assume the text to have been influenced by the events from post-Mauryan period to the Gupta period. This is one rough estimation and an exercise in dead reckoning due to the Indian tradition or theory of history called *itihas*, which, as noted earlier, has never maintained a chronological political history of that era. After this introduction, in the second chapter, some important milestones and influences in the period when the text may have been written are examined. This helps in relating the text to the history, even though it may be a rough and ready method. Chapter 3 describes the text and key points of each *sarga*. It may be a bit technical for the beginner and can be skipped initially by the novice.

Part II is about continuities and changes in the vocabulary and concepts from Kautilya to Kamandaka. In this section, the fourth chapter examines some common characteristics of both the texts to find out the continuities. The fifth chapter examines different characteristics and the changes in the *Nitisara* of Kamandaka when compared with Kautilya's *Arthashastra.* The sixth chapter discusses the uniqueness of the *Nitisara.* The concluding seventh chapter relates to these findings and picks up themes and issues for contemporary relevance and future research.

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[60] Haksar, 'A Post-Kautilyan View of Diplomacy: The *Nitisara* of Kamandaki', n. 23, pp. 5–10.

Appendix

Kautilya

Standard Text

R.P. Kangle, *The Kautiliya Arthasastra, Part II: An English Translation with Critical and Explanatory Notes*, 2nd edition, 7th reprint, Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 2010.

Table of Contents

1. **Book I—Concerning the Topic of Training**: It has one chapter with 21 sections dealing with enumeration of the sciences, control over senses, appointments of ministers, envoys and intelligence services.

2. **Book II—The Activity of the Heads of Departments**: This deals with the activity of various state departments and internal administration of a state.

3. **Book III—Concerning Judges**: This deals with the administration of justice and lays down the duties of judges and law.

4. **Book IV—The Suppression of Criminals**: This deals with maintenance of law and order with criminal offences of various kinds.

5. **Book V—Secret Conduct**: The secret conduct described in this book is that of the king and servants.

6. **Book VI—The Circle (of Kings) as the Basis**: This deals with the circle of kings (*mandala*), consisting of 12 kings, and its seven constituents/*prakrti*s (the king, the minister, the country, the fortified city, the treasury, the army and the ally) of state. The description of the *mandala* in this book serves as the introduction to Book VII which deals with *sâdgunya*.

7. **Book VII—The Six Measures of Foreign Policy**: This deals with the use of the six measures or *sâdgunya* that can be adopted

by a state in its relations with foreign states (peace/treaty, war/injury, staying quiet/remaining indifferent, marching/augmenting power, seeking shelter/submitting to another and dual policy/resorting to peace [with one] and war [with another]). This is the longest book on foreign policy and probably the most understudied by political scientists due to its complexity.

8. **Book VIII—Concerning Topic of Calamities of the Constituent Elements**: This book deals with the calamities (*vyasana*s) that affect the various constituents (*prakrti*s) of the state. It is necessary to take precautions against these before one can start on an expedition of conquest described in following Books.

9. **Book IX—The Activity of the King about to March**: The book deals with preparation to be made before starting an expedition and the precautions that have to be taken at the time. The *vijigîsu* (would-be-conqueror) in the text is expected to 'conquer the world', which implies the conquest of the whole of Indian subcontinent, designated as *cakravartîksetra* (9.1.17-18): 'northwards between the Himâvat and the sea, one thousand *yojanas* in extent across.' The book also covers the campaigning season and terrain analysis. It also gives details of the type of troops and composition of an army, like *maulabala* (hereditary/standing army), *bhrtabala* (recruited for a particular occasion), *srenîbala* (troops of guilds and mercenaries), *mitrabala* (the ally's troops), *amitrabala* (troops from enemy) and *atavibala* (troops of forest tribes).

10. **Book X—Concerning War:** Deals with aspects of camps, marching, protection of troops, types/mode of fighting, morale, functions of the four arms (infantry, the cavalry, the chariot and elephants), battle arrays and related matters. The last *sutra*, 51, is probably the most popular idea which clearly shows the importance of mind over matter: 'An arrow, discharged by an archer, may kill one person or may not kill (even one); but intellect operated by a wise man would kill even children in the womb.'

11. **Book XI—Policy toward Oligarchies**: *Samgha* (oligarchy) is a form of rule evolved from clan rule. Fairly big states were formed with council of elders to rule over them. The only chapter of the book clearly shows that a *samgha* had more than one chief or *mukhiyâ*. In some *samgha*s, the chiefs styled themselves *râjan* or king. It seems to be assumed that the *vijigîsu* has or proposes to have suzerainty over the *samgha*. The chapter shows how he should maintain strict control over them.

12. **Book XII—Concerning the Weaker King**: The book expands ideas already found elsewhere, particularly of Book VII, chapters 14–17.

13. **Book XIII—Means of Taking a Fort**: The capture of enemy forts is recommended mostly through stratagems. Chapter 5 is devoted to pacification of the conquered territory.

14. **Book XIV—Concerning Secret Practices**: Book describes various secret remedies and occult practices intended for the destruction of the enemy. A great deal of magical and other lore is incorporated here.

15. **Book XV—The Method of Science**: This single chapter explains and illustrates the various stylistic devices to elucidate a scientific subject. It refers to 32 devices of textual interpretation called *tantra-yukti* or devices of science.

Kamandaka

Standard Text

Rajendralala Mitra (ed.), *The Nitisara or the Element of Polity by Kamandaki*, revised with English translation by Sisir Kumar Mitra, Calcutta: The Asiatic Society, 1982.

Preface

In the preface to the first edition, Rajendralala Mitra, on page (iii), writes: 'The maxims of Kamandaki are arranged under nineteen different heads, and embrace almost all the subjects that may be fairly included under the term polity, besides some

which have only the voucher of Hindu writers to appear in this work.'

Later, the preface of 1982 edition written by Sisir Kumar Mitra says: 'The *Kamandakiya Nitisara* in its twenty *sargas* and thirty-six *prakarans* discusses various aspects of the science of polity.' The inner cover mentions:

> Raja Rajendra Lal Mitra was the first to edit the text published by the Asiatic Society spread over 5 Fascicles between 1849 and 1884. The Raja also undertook the English translation of the text but unfortunately white ants devoured the manuscript. The revised edition contains an analytical assessment of the treatise and in addition the first ever complete English translation of the text.

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8. *Sarga* VIII

   Prakarana 12: The nave of the interstatal circle

   Prakarana 13: Purification of the *mandala* by necessary expedients

9. *Sarga* IX

   Prakarana 14: Types of *sandhi* or alliances

10. *Sarga* X

    Prakarana 15: *Vigrahavikalpa*—Varieties of war

11. *Sarga* XI

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19. Sarga XIX

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Chapter 2

Some Important Milestones and Influences in the Likely Period When the Text was Written

As has been mentioned in the introductory chapter, there is an absence of a chronologically listed history of political events in the ancient and medieval period. Yet, it may possible to get an idea by examining the broad events as known in the general history of that period. What is certain is that in the time bracket when Kamandaka compiled the work, there were, as during the time of Kautilya, multiple traditions such as Buddhism and Jainism that coexisted with various traditions of Hinduism. There were also multiple kingdoms with a type of 'warring state' period, interspersed with ideas of peace and a *dharmic* king. In this chapter, a broad chronology of events is given related to major themes in the text. Figure 2.1 lists the kingdoms of ancient and medieval India and Figure 2.2 depicts early India and the extent of the Mauryan, Gupta and Harsha empires. It is clear that south India was never part of these political empires, as also some part of the north-east.

Broad Chronology

Shunga and Kanva Period

In 187 BCE, the Mauryan Empire came to an end. The last Mauryan king, Brihadratha, was assassinated by Pushyamitra, the Brahmin commander-in-chief of the Shunga family.[1] Pushyamitra was an enthusiastic supporter of orthodox Brahmanical faith and a persecutor of Buddhism.[2] Ten Shunga

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1 Upinder Singh, *A History of Ancient and Early Medieval India: From the Stone Age to the 12th Century*, Delhi: Pearson/Longman, 2008,pp. 317–72.

2 D.N. Jha, *Early India: A Concise History*, New Delhi: Manohar, 2004, p. 118.

kings ruled for 112 years. They fought a number of wars against kingdom of Vidarbha (Berar), and also against the Greeks on the north-west and against Kalinga in the south-east, and enlarged their domain in Gangetic Valley till river Narmada.[3] Shungas rule was followed by the rule of the Brahmin Kanva dynasty.[4] Kanvas fell by 28 BC.[5]

Indo-Greeks, Followed by Shakas (Scythians) and Parthians

Post-Kanvas period was followed by the rise of independent and fragmented political entities. From the north-west came incursions. 'The first to cross the Hindukush were the Bactrian Greeks. They were known in early Indian literature as the Yavanas.'[6] They occupied a much larger area than conquered by Alexander, but 'They failed to establish a united rule in India.'[7] Two Greek dynasties ruled on parallel lines, of which Menander or Milinda is the most famous.[8] D.N. Jha argues that King Menander had reached Pataliputra and 'ruled from 155 BC to 130 BC and gave some kind of stability to Indo-Greek power in India."[9] Menander's kingdom broke up after his brief rule, leaving a lasting legacy of Gandhara art and of minting coins (a first).

Now the path was open for foreign invaders, including the intrusion by nomadic tribes such as Scythians (known as Shakas

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3 D.N. Jha, *Ancient India: An Introductory Outline*, New Delhi: People's Publishing House, 1977, p. 72.

4 Singh, *A History of Ancient and Early Medieval India: From the Stone Age to the 12th Century*, n. 1, pp. 317–72.

5 Jha, *Ancient India: An Introductory Outline*, n. 3, p. 73.

6 Jha, *Early India: A Concise History*, n. 2, p.119.

7 R.S. Sharma, *India's Ancient Past*, 24th impression, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2016, p. 191.

8 Ibid.

9 Jha, *Ancient India: An Introductory Outline*, n. 3, pp. 73–74.

in Patanjali's *Mahabhasya*) who migrated out of Central Asia towards India destroying Greek power. The Shakas (later termed Shahis) became a dynasty. They were ousted by Vikramaditya. About the identity of Vikramaditya, Jha argues:

> Tradition has it that a king of Ujjain drove them out for a while, called himself Vikramaditya, and established the Vikram era to commemorate his victory over them in 57 BC. How far this is reliable is difficult to say, for we have no less than fourteen Vikramadityas in Indian history up to the twelfth century.[10]

There is another era which followed as '[a]fter 135 years, another Shaka king vanquished the dynasty of Vikramditya and started a new era.'[11] Based on these stories, in the Indian calendar, we have 'the Vikram era, which started in 58 BC and the more important Shaka era beginning in AD 78 (adopted officially by the government of independent India), historians are still debating this issue.'[12] Then came the Parthians, called Shaka-Pahlavas in ancient Sanskrit, who moved from Iran to India: '[T]hey occupied only a small portion of north-western India in the first century AD.'[13] The Kushan Empire, discussed next, may be an important clue to relate the work of Kamandaka.

The Kushans

In first century AD, the Kushan Empire was established in north-west India by the Yueh-chi tribe of nomads in Central Asia who

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[10] Jha, *Early India: A Concise History*, n. 2, p. 120.

[11] Hermann Kulke and Dietmar Rothermund, *A History of India*, 3rd edition, London and New York: Routledge, 1998, p. 73.

[12] Ibid. Both R.S. Sharma and A.L. Basham give the following dates for the two calendars and eras: Vikram era, 58 BC by King Vikramaditya; and Shaka era, 78 AD by Kanishka. D.N. Jha also suggests the most probable date for the Kushan (Shaka) era as 78 AD; see Jha, *Ancient India: An Introductory Outline*, n. 3, p. 75.

[13] Sharma, *India's Ancient Past*, n. 7, p. 192.

were 'neither Tibetans nor Chinese'.[14] They came under Hindu and Buddhist influence and Kanishka consolidated the Kushan Empire which included, 'the Central Asian province of Kashghar, Yarkand and Khotan, and extended to the borders of Parthia and Persia.'[15] Because of its spread, 'the Kushan empire in India is sometimes called central Asian empire.'[16]

This spread of Indian influence to Central Asia, across Himalayas, in the Kushan period is an important indicator of extended *chakravartikshetra* in post-Kautilya's *Arthashastra* due further north. Besides the areas to the north, it has been shown by Dilip K. Chakrabarti that the Kushans had a centralized structure:

> From their base at Peshawar in the north-west they could control their possession of the entire Oxus-Indus orbit including Panjab and Sindh. At Mathura, they were conveniently placed to exert control in the eastern direction of Ganga plain and also towards Rajasthan and Malwa. Gujarat was accessible both from Sindh and Malwa.[17]

The explanation by Chakrabarti for the Kushan paramountcy was that they 'did not believe in interfering with the local forces as long as they did not interfere with the central structure of Kushan supremacy.'[18] This indicates some sort of federalism. Kushan dynasty came to an end in the middle of the third century AD.[19]

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[14] Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India, 'Appendix I: Historical Background of the Himalayan Frontier of India', in *White Paper No. II: Notes, Memoranda and Letters Exchanged between the Government of India and China, September–November 1959, and A Note on the Historical Background of the Himalayan Frontier of India*, 1959, p. 126; hereafter referred as *White Paper II*.

[15] Ibid., pp. 126–27.

[16] Sharma, *India's Ancient Past*, n. 7, p. 193.

[17] Dilip K. Chakrabarti, *The Geopolitical Orbits of Ancient India: The Geographical Frames of the Ancient India Dynasties*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2010, pp.155-156.

[18] Ibid., p.156.

[19] Jha, *Early India: A Concise History*, n. 2, p.123.

Here, I would like to digress a little to first examine the relationship of Kanishka as analyzed by R. Shamasastry, and then match it with an important and rare account of history as given in *White Paper II*, first published in 1959 by the Government of India.

Kanishka in the Text as Understood by R. Shamasastry

In 1915, in the preface to the first English translation of Kautilya's *Arthashastra*, R.Shamasastry's most important observation in this regard is: 'Kamandaka speaks of the long reign of a benevolent Yavana king. It is possible that this refers to Kanishka.'[20] In examination of the text, this evidence is clear. *Sarga* I, *prakarana* 1, 'Control of the Sense Organs', *sloka* 1.1.16 states: 'It is only by adhering to the righteous path king Vaijavana (of the Sagara dynasty) ruled over the earth for a long period, but for unrighteous king Nahusa (of the lunar race) was condemned to hell (*rasatala*).' Clearly, Vaijavana is derived from Yavana.

As mentioned earlier, 'the Bactrian Greeks, known in early India literature as the *Yavanas;* the word was derived from old Persian form *yauna,* signifying originally Ionian Greeks but later all people of Greek nationality.'[21] We know that the Kushan Empire was at its peak under Kanishka in 78 CE, with Bactria as centre, extending into Ganga Valley and south-west into Malwa.[22] We also know that Kanishka was not a Bactrian Greek but from the Yueh-chi tribe of nomads in Central Asia. It is possible that in Shamasastry's understanding, Kanishka, although not being a Bactrian Greek, may have been also understood as a Yavana. We may assume Yavana being a blanket term for those who were migrating to India.

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[20] *Kautilya's Arthasastra*, translated by the late Dr R. Shamasastry, with an introduction by the late Dr J.F. Fleet, Delhi: Low Price Publications, 2012(1915), p. viii.

[21] Jha, *Ancient India: An Introductory Outline*, n. 3, p.73.

[22] Singh, *A History of Ancient and Early Medieval India: From the Stone Age to the 12th Century*, n. 1, pp. 376–77.

Another explanation may be that 'Vaijavana' refers to Indo-Greek Menander (ruled from 155 to 130 BC), who 'attained fame as Milinda in the Buddhist text, *Milindapanho* (Milindaprashna, literally *The Questions of King Milinda*), which records discussions with the philosopher Nagasena that resulted in his conversion to Buddhism.'[23] Milinda or Menander had conquered a large part of north India, Ganga–Jamuna Doab and 'even reached Patliputra'.[24] This mention of Vaijavana of Sagara dynasty has not been found in commentaries by other authors. However, according to Kulke and Rothermund, Milinda was the 'only Indo-Greek ruler commemorated in India literature'.[25] It seems that this is a clear historical reference to a *dharmic* king in the text. More archival research may have to be done to resolve the new 'questions of the righteous Vaijavana of Sagara dynasty, and unrighteous king Nahusa (of the lunar race)'.[26]

What makes this fact interesting, contemporary, and relevant is the very fact that *White Paper II* also makes a mention of the Kushan king, Kanishka, and also texts such as that of Kalidas. This compels an examination of the texts and history.

'Historical Background of the Himalayan Frontier of India' in White Paper II of Government of India

In the 1950s, with tension across the Himalayas rising over the Sino-Indian boundary dispute and Tibet, the Government of

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[23] Jha, *Early India: A Concise History*, n. 2, p. 120.

[24] Kulke and Rothermund, *A History of India*, n. 11, p. 70. R.S. Sharma records Menander's rule from 165–145 BC. See Sharma, *India's Ancient Past*, n. 7, p. 191.

[25] Kulke and Rothermund, *A History of India*, n. 11, p. 71.

[26] The genealogies of *Raghuvamsa* and Ramayana are different. Sagara, the illustrious ancestor of Rama in the Ramayana, is 'scarcely' mentioned in *Raghuvamsa*. It may be correct to assume that he was the righteous king, as mentioned by Kamandaka. The unrighteous King Nahusa (of the lunar race) mentioned by Kamandaka may be a king called Nahusa who features in the genealogy of Ramayana. For genealogy, see Upinder Singh, 'The Power of a Poet: Kingship, Empire, and War', in *The Idea of Ancient India: Essays on Religion, Politics, and Archaeology*, New Delhi: Sage, 2016, p. 345, note 13, p. 366.

Indian published a *White Paper II* which made references to India's geostrategic sphere and the historical background of the Himalayan frontier of India.[27] In that history, Kushans or Yueh-chi tribe of nomads in Central Asia, as mentioned earlier, were 'neither Tibetans nor Chinese'.[28] This is an important historical period of India . Hinduism and Buddhism coexisted in the Kushan empire under Kanishka. It is important to reiterate and highlight at the cost of repetitiveness that the empire included 'the Central Asian province of Kashghar, Yarkand and Khotan, and extended to the borders of Parthia and Persia.'[29]

It seems probable that the mention of Yavana (implying King Kanishka) by Kamandaka is based on this historical period. Clearly, this indicates that Kamandaka's text was posterior to Kanishka and was obviously influenced by the experience of statecraft of that era. We notice that Kamandaka has nothing derogatory to say about these Yavanas or the Mlecchas. In the words of the official Indian history of 1959, the Kushans were rightly called 'naturalized' Indians and:

> the Guptas, who ruled the greater part of India from about 320 to 647 A.D., were of Indian stock…The literature of the period shows that Himalayas were a part of India…Kalidas in the *Raghuvamsa* says that Raghu conquered areas to the north of the Himalayas, from Hemakuta (Kailas) to Kamarupa, thereby suggesting that this Indian kingdom (which is now Assam) stretched even beyond the Himalayas…Another drama written perhaps by a younger contemporary of Kalidas, the *Mudrarakshasa*, states that the empire of Chandragupta II Vikramaditya extended from the Himalayas to the southern ocean.[30]

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[27] Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India, 'Appendix I: Historical Background of the Himalayan Frontier of India', n. 14.

[28] Ibid., p. 126.

[29] Ibid., pp. 126–27.

[30] Ibid., p. 127.

Kalidasa Raghuvamsam, in canto 4 on King Raghu, under the section, 'March to Victory', has verses on the conquest to the east, south, west and north, which also mention Kerala, Kaveri River, Yavana, Kambojas, Utakal, Kalinga, Lohit River, Kamrupa and so on.[31] In his conquest of the north, Raghu crosses the Indus River, encounters the Hunas, and in verse 71:

> Thereafter, riding on his horse,
> He went up the Himalayan mountain
> Embellishing its peak with dust
> Raised from its wealth of minerals.[32]

Interestingly, the text has something to offer on foreign relations beyond the *chakravartikshetra* of Kautilya's *Arthashastra*. *Sarga* VIII, *prakarana* 13, '*Mandalasodhana* (*carita*) (Purification of the *mandala* by necessary expedients)', *sloka* 54, reads: 'The *vijigisu* in order to achieve predominance in the *mandala* (inter-statal circle) should cultivate cordiality with (independent) governors (*mandalikas*) of distant regions (frontier beyond his own dominion) and other captains or governors of forts (may be of forest forts).' This may mean foreign relations beyond the Kautilyan circle of *chakravartikshetra*.

In summary, the post-Mauryan period saw the Shungas (185–74 BCE), Yavanas (from second century BCE to first century), Shakas (first century BCE) and Kushans (from first to second century).[33]

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[31] A.N.D. Haksar (translator), *Kalidasa Raghuvamsam*, New Delhi: Penguin Books, 2016, pp. 63–73.

[32] Ibid., p.70. Shonaleeka Kaul relates this *Raghuvamsam digvijay* (conquest of the quarters) 'on the military expedition of Gupta king Samudragupta circa 4th century CE.' See Shonaleeka Kaul, *The Making of Early Kashmir: Landscapes and Identity in Rajatarangini*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2018,p 112, note 22.

[33] Peter Robb, *A History of India*, New York: Palgrave, 2002, p. 40, box 3.

Huns

In fifth century came the invasion of the Huns. The numerous invasions in the five centuries after the end of the Mauryas led to fragmentation, till the emergence of Guptas. The period has been called the 'dark period', though at the same time it was a period of intensive economic and cultural contacts, qualifying it as 'The splendour of the "dark period" '.[34] All these historical events would have made an impact on the discourse of statecraft and its text. After this period of invasion and fragmentation, the Gupta period began. This period could have been another major influencing factor for the work by Kamandaka and thus cannot be ignored. It is, therefore, discussed in detail next.

Gupta Period

Revivalist Brahmanic Religion in Gupta Period and Beyond

In mid-seventh century, Hsuan Tsang, the Chinese pilgrim to India, found a large number of Buddhist sites in the Indo-Gangetic Plains. But in the eleventh century, al-Biruni saw only Brahmins.[35] The Gupta period was the starting point of this change. The period of the Gupta dynasty, from 300 to 600 CE, is seen as a phase of 'Brahmanical revival' or the consolidation of Brahmanical ideology. This is also the period when, 'In India it (Mahayan Buddhism) had to face the challenge of revivalist Brahminic religion starting with the Gupta kings (A.D. 320–540) and specially after the advent of Sankaracarya, the greatest exponent of Advaita Vedanta towards the end of the seventh

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[34] Kulke and Rothermund, *A History of India*, n. 11, p. 73.

[35] Muzaffar Alam, *The Languages of Political Islam in India*: *c. 1200–1800*, Delhi: Permanent Black, 2004, p. 167.

century.'[36] Some indicators of the ideology were: (i) establishment of Sanskrit as the language of royal inscription; and (ii) increased popularity of temple-based sectarian cults, while patronage was also extended to Buddhism.[37]

In the political sphere, like the pre-Nanda/Mauryan period, the Indian subcontinent with its centre at Magadha had again been fragmented, although there was partial success by the Guptas to consolidate. Two competing interpretation of historians of the Gupta period are common: the understanding that it was either a 'golden age' marked by brilliance in all spheres, to a feudal age marked by political fragmentation and economic decline. Both interpretations have not been found convincing by historian Upinder Singh.[38] However, as the study of the text indicates, there is evidence of some 'Brahmanical revival'. Jha, commenting on the Gupta period, argues in his chapter, 'The Myth of the Golden Age', that there was not a large organized army as in the time of Mauryas, nor an organized bureaucracy, along with feudal development, languishing trade, decline in status of women, proliferation of castes and modification of *varna* system with increase in the Kshatriyas due to influx of Huns, for example.[39]

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[36] Manoj Kumar Pal, 'Old Wisdom and New Horizon', in D.P. Chattopadhyaya (ed.), *History of Science, Philosophy and Culture in Indian Civilization*, Vol. XV, Part 5, Project of History of Indian Science, Philosophy and Culture (PHISPC), Centre for Studies in Civilizations, New Delhi: Viva Books, 2008, p. 172.

[37] Singh, *A History of Ancient and Early Medieval India: From the Stone Age to the 12th Century*, n. 1, p. 509.

[38] Ibid., p. 545.

[39] Jha, *Ancient India: An Introductory Outline*, n. 3, pp. 96–116.

Warfare in the Gupta Period

The Gupta period was characterized by a number of wars and annexations, which, importantly, 'made a permanent impact on Indian history'.[40] Spanning from 319 to 415 CE, the kingdom was ruled by Chandragupta I (319–335), Samudragupta (335–376) and Chandragupta II (376–415).[41] In this period:

> Gupta king Chandra Gupta I (early CE fourth century) adopted the epithet *Maharajadhiraja* and thereby he might have shown his superior status to his contemporary powers…Samudra Gupta (CE fourth century)…established conquest (*vijay*) over a large territory covering Punjab, western India, Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh and West Bengal…The Allahabad *Prasasti* shows that Samudra Gupta conquered all south Indian kings.[42]

In fact, Michael S. Neiberg, in *Warfare in World History*, equated Samudragupta with Napoleon.[43] Thus, was an intense period of warfare, with no written history of the wars. In his epigraphic analysis, David N. Lorenzen argues: 'that the ideology of kingship espoused in the Gupta inscriptions is primarily one of legitimation through the king's prowess on the battlefield as opposed to legitimation either through his moral virtues or through his status as chief sacrificer and earthly representative of political power (*kshatra*).'[44] Gen'ichi Yamamzaki picks up an

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[40] Kulke and Rothermund, *A History of India*, n. 11, p. 73.

[41] Robb, *A History of India*, n. 32, p. 40, box 3.

[42] Krishnendu Ray, 'Yuddha and Vijay: Concepts of War and Conquest in Ancient and Early Medieval India (up to CE 1300)', in Kaushik Roy and Peter Lorge (eds), *Chinese and Indian Warfare: From the Classical Age to 1870*, London and New York: Routledge, 2015, pp. 41-42.

[43] Michael S. Neiberg, *Warfare in World History*, London and New York: Routledge, 2001, p. 13.

[44] David N. Lorenzen, 'The Ideology of Gupta Kingship', in *Who Invented Hinduism: Essays on Religion in History*, New Delhi: Yoda Press, 2006, p. 173.

important clue on the use of force: 'Samudragupta's valour and military success were praised throughout the inscription… Samudragupta's conquest of the world was brought about by the skillful use of the *danda*, which was recommended to the *ksatyiyas* by orthodox Brahmana.'[45]

Gupta emperors also expanded to the coastal regions in the east. Chandragupta II Vikramaditya annexed western Malwa and Gujarat–Kathiawar territories. 'Thus the reflections of the Kautilyan open war (*prakasayuddha*) and diplomatic war (*kutayuddha*) may be noticeable in the conquests of the Gupta emperors for economic gains for the sake of their power and authority.'[46]

It can be concluded that Kamandaka's work may be reflective of the political experiences and lessons of the bracket from post-Kautiyan period to Kushans and Guptas. The Gupta period could have been the main experience for composing the text. In the next step, I will engage with the vocabulary and concepts to discern what may be enduring and what may have mutated and changed or been extinguished. The next chapter describes some key parts of Kamandaka's *Nitisara*.

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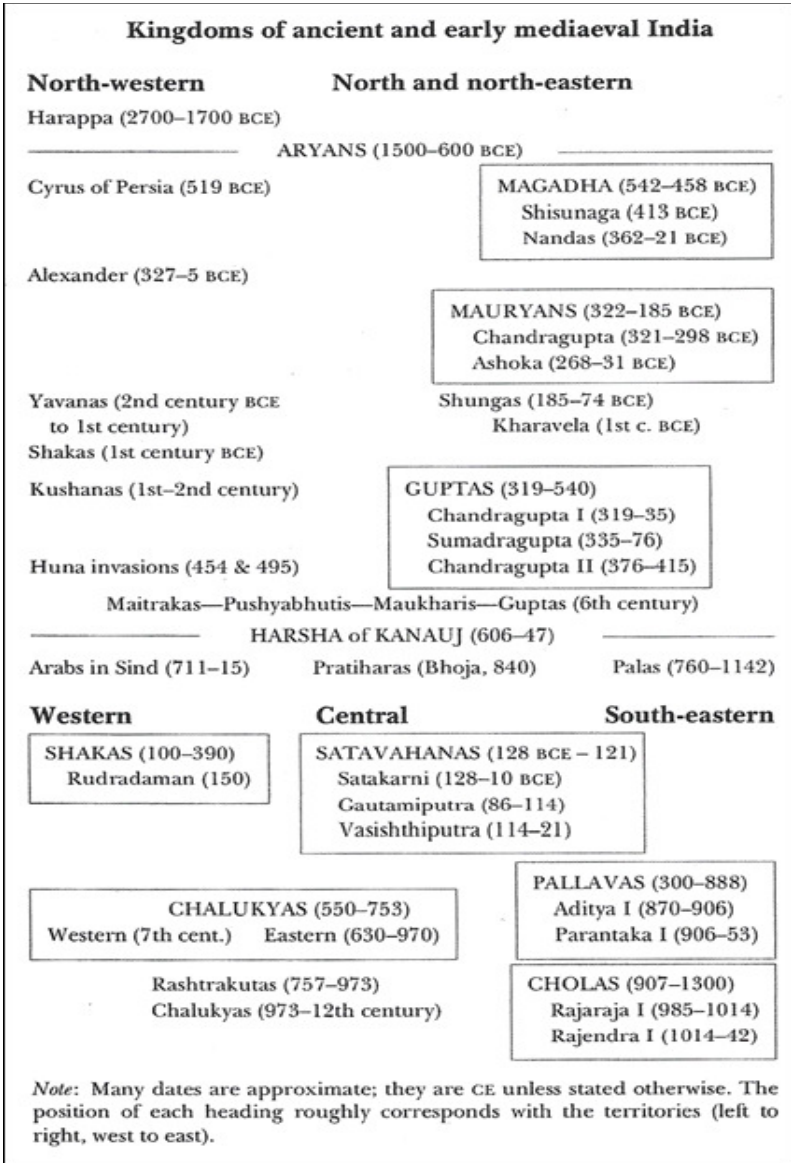
[45] Gen'ichi Yamamzaki, 'Kingship in Ancient India as Described in Literary Sources and Inscriptions', in Noboru Karashima (ed.), *Kingship in Indian History*, New Delhi: Manohar, 1999, p. 27.

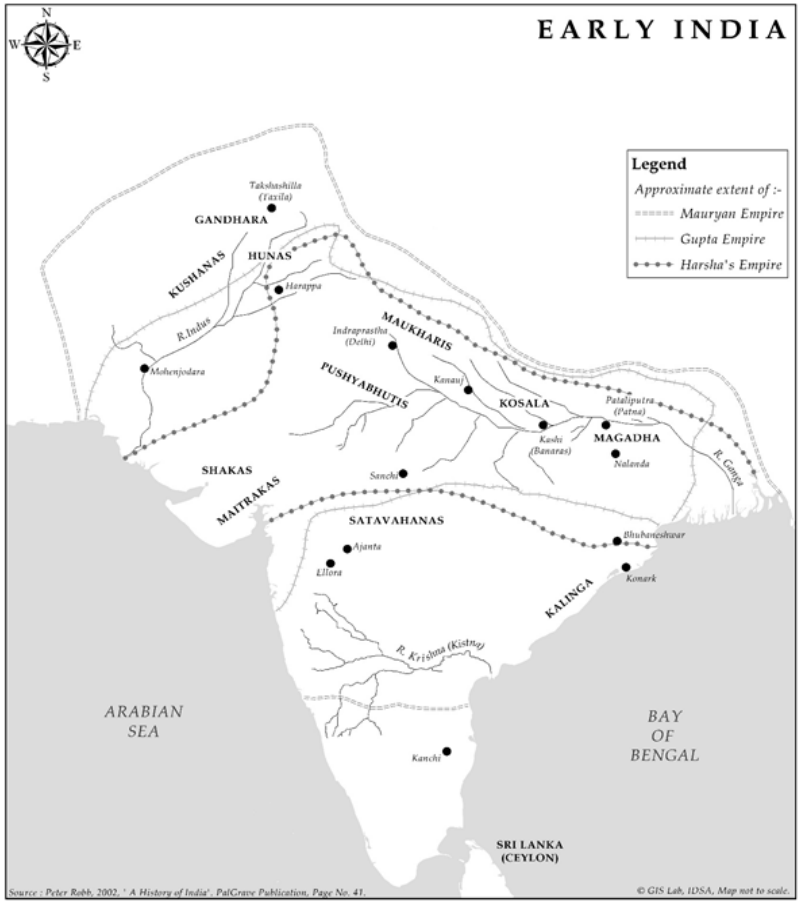
[46] Ray, 'Yuddha and Vijay: Concepts of War and Conquest in Ancient and Early Medieval India (up to CE 1300)', n. 42, p. 42.

Figure 2.1: Kingdoms of Early and Ancient Medieval India



***Source*:** Peter Robb, A *History of India*, New York: Palgrave Publication, 2002, p. 40.

Figure 2.2: Map of Early India



***Source*:** Peter Robb, A *History of India*, New York: Palgrave Publication, 2002, p. 41.

Chapter 3

Description of the Sargas

Both the texts of Kautilya (in *sutra*s) and Kamandaka (in *sloka*s) have ideas, concepts and vocabulary spread across various books and chapters. In this chapter, some of the contents of the 20 *sarga*s are described. There are many similarities, and also differences, in both the texts. These have been collated in the following two chapters (that is, Chapters 4 and 5), with some unique features of Kamandaka described in Chapter 6. As this is not an exercise in rearranging and editing the original text, the method I use is as follows: the selected *sloka* from Kamandaka, as in the text, is reproduced exactly as in the translation in English in quotes. Where necessary, my explanation is given. With this method, I hope that even if the text of Kamandaka is not available, the reader can still get the 'idea-content'. Some commonalties and differences between the two texts also feature in this chapter.

Preface to the First Edition(1849) by Rajendralala Mitra[1]

The preface to the first edition introduces the key points about the maxims which are under 19 different heads. They embrace almost all the subjects under the term polity. The broad topics (*sarga*s or chapters) are: chapter 1—inculcation, in the princes, of the necessity of study and controlling their passions; chapter

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[1] Rajendralala Mitra (ed.), *The Nitisara or the Elements of Polity by Kamandaki*, Bibliotheca Indica: Collection of Oriental Works, published under the superintendent of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, No. 179, printed by Calcutta Baptist Mission Press in 1861, revised with English translation by Sisir Kumar Mitra, Calcutta: The Asiatic Society (reprinted), 1982(1849). All quotes in this section and other chapters are taken from this text. same.

2—division of learning, the duties of different castes and the importance of criminal jurisprudence; chapter 3—exposition of the duty of princes to their subjects, of the necessity of impartial justice and the impropriety of tyrannizing over their people; and chapter 4—description of essential constituents of a good government, that is, the seven constituent elements of a 'good government', namely, king, minister, kingdom, castle, treasury, army and ally. Rajendralala Mitra highlights:

> The first desideratum for a king is to attain royal qualities and having attained them he should look for them in others. A flourishing sovereignty cannot well be obtained by the worthless; he (only) who has qualified himself is fit to be a king.
>
> Royal prosperity, so difficult to be obtained and more to retain, and which depends on the goodwill of multitudes, rests steadily only on moral purity, as water in a (fixed) vessel.[2]

Chapter 5 has duties of masters and servants. Chapter 6 is mode of removing difficulties/punishing the wicked. Chapter 7 is on royal security. Chapter 8 is about mode of consolidating a kingdom. Chapters 9, 10, 11 and 12 deal with rules regarding negotiations and disputes with foreign powers, conferences, embassies and spies. Chapters 13 and 14 are about exhortation of constant activity and *vyasana*s or 'defects' which are to be avoided. Chapter 15 is 'a dissertation on military expeditions'. Chapter 16 has 'fortification, intrenchment and encamping of armies for its subjects and though short, is highly interesting, for, the rules it contains on matters in which the modern Hindus are so entirely ignorant.'[3]

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[2] Ibid., p.iii.

[3] Ibid.,p.iv. It is interesting to know that Rajendralala Mitra made the observation about ignorance of the Hindus on military matters. It may be the colonial rule that made him say that, or maybe no tradition or text of warfare was known then. Kautilya's *Arthashastra* was only rediscovered in 1905 and this preface is of 1849.

Rajendralala Mitra continues:

> The different expedients for overcoming enemies such as reconciliation, wealth, shew of military power, domestic discord, diplomacy, feigning, and stratagem are detailed in the following chapters and those failing a king is recommended to enter into actual warfare, and the mode of carrying it on including surprises, guerilla fights, pitched battles and military strategies, the use of the different members of an army such as infantry, cavalry and elephant; the array of soldiers into column lines, squares etc., the duties of commanders, and the principle of selecting one's ground the two subsequent chapters containing the most curious details.[4]

Preface to the Revised Edition by Sisir Kumar Mitra in 1982

Sisir Kumar Mitra mentions that *The Nitisara by Kamandaka*, edited by Rajendralala Mitra, was published in parts from 1849–84:

> Since then a few new editions and translations of the text have come to light…These publications and certain writings on the *Kamndakiya Nitisara*, now a recognised Indian text on the science of polity, have made a new revised edition of R.L. Mitra's work a desideratum. An attempt has been made here to fulfil this need.
>
> In accomplishing this task we have taken help of the available manuscripts of the texts and a commentary on it in the library of the Asiatic Society, Calcutta…and also another manuscript. Variations in the reading have been duly noted. A new English translation of the text has been furnished.[5]

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[4] Ibid, p.iv.

[5] Sisir Kumar Mitra, 'Preface' of 1982, p. ix.

Breakdown of the *Sargas*

Sarga I

Prakarana 1: Control of the Sense Organs

Saluation to the wise Visnugupta, born of a great family with descendants renowned all over the world for their sage-like conduct in not accepting gifts of any kind; (salutation) to him who appears to be as effulgent as the sacrificial fire (*Jataveda agni*, the symbol of all-pervasive knowledge or *Brahmatejah*), well-versed in the Vedas (the repository of the Supreme wisdom or *paramartha*) so much so that with his own inherent faculty he mastered all the four Vedas as if they were one (*i.e.*, he perfectly realised the inner significance of all the Vedas, the oneness and indivisibility of the Ultimate Truth); (salutation) to him who by his magical powers as irresistible as thunder in fury, (*abhicara-vajra*) totally uprooted the great and powerful Nandas (the Nanda dynasty) (*suparva Nandaparvatah*); (salutation) to him who like the god *Saktidhara* (*Kartikeyan*, the war-god) single handed by the exercise of his power of counselling (*mantrasakti*) secured the world (*medini* or the state) for Candragupta (Maurya), the prince among men (*nrcandraya*); salutation to that learned one, who produced the nectar of *Nitisastra* (the eternal law of human conduct) out of the mighty ocean (extensively wide) of *Arthasastra*. (*sloka*s 1.1.2-6)

A king, who governs justly conforming to the traditional laws (*nyayapravrttah*), acquires merits of *Trivarga* (three ends of life, viz., *Dharma*, *Artha* and *Kama*) for himself as well as for his subjects, whereas his failures leads to total ruination. (*sloka* 1.1.15)

It is only by adhering to the righteous path king Vaijavana (of the Sagara dynasty) ruled over the earth for a long period, but for unrighteous king Nahusa (of the lunar race) was condemned to hell (*rasatala*). (*sloka* 1.1.16)

Dharma (piety or observance of duties in accordance with Sastric injunctions) leads to *Artha* (acquisition of wealth), and the latter to *Kama* (fulfilment of desires), which ultimately produces

> happiness. (So Dharma Artha and Kama, the *trivarga*, should be equally attended to)..(*sloka* 1.1.51)

Prakarana 2: Vidyavrddhasamyoga (Association with the learned)

Sloka 1.2.71 states: 'A powerful ruler, apparently invincible, may be easily subjugated by his enemies for lack of self restrain. But a weak ruler practicing self restrain as prescribed in the Sastras, never suffers defeat.'

Sarga II

Prakarana 3: Vidyavibhaga (Vidyasamuddesa) (Branches of learning)

> *Anviksiki* (Science of reasoning), *Trayi* (the three Vedas), *Varta* (agriculture, cattle rearing and trade) and *Dandaniti* (laws of government) are essential sciences to be learnt from those well versed in theories and practical application of these by a disciplined ruler, and he should deliberate on them. (*sloka* 2.3.1)

There is no expansion of what constitutes *Anvikshiki* the way Kautilya does it to include the schools of philosophy of Samkhya, Yoga and Lokayata. However, at *sloka* 13, Kamandaka dwells on: '*Vedangas* for each of the four Vedas (including Atharveda) as four in number, —*Mimamsa* (one of the six branches of Philosophy, *Saddarsana*), *Nyaya* (logic, another branch of Philosophy), *Dharmasastra* (legal code) and *Puranas* (ancient compilation of semi-historical accounts).

Prakarana 4: Varnasrmavyavasthapana (The social order of varnas and asramas)

This enumerates the social order and *varna* system from *sloka* 1–31. *Sloka* 32 is on non-violence on lines similar to Kautilya: 'Ahimsa (non-injury to beings), excellence of speech, truthfulness, purity (external and internal), mercy and forgiveness are common duties of man of all castes.'

Prakarana 5: Dandamahatmya (The merits of danda)

A balanced or just punishment is suggested. *Sloka* 43 has views on society which clearly show political anthropology as a fact

of life, even if it is an unpleasant thought for the idealists: 'In the society of ours men always run after material pleasures and are dominated by them unless restrained by *danda*. A righteous person is indeed rare…'.

Sarga III

Prakarana 6: Acaryavyavasthapana (Rules of conduct)

Besides Kautilyan tradition of *dharma*, *sloka* 6 emphasizes compassion and mercifulness for the poor subjects.

Sarga IV

Prakarana 7: Prakrtisampat (The importance of the state elements)

> The king (*Svami*, lord), ministers, territory (the state), fortifications (*durga* or fortified area), treasury, army (in full complements, *caturanga*), and allies (*suhrt*) constitute the seven component elements or limbs of the State (*saptangam rajyam*). These elements are interrelated and interdependent, so much so that if any of them is out of order the whole system (administrative organisation) breaks down. Hence careful attempts should be directed towards all round development of the elements collectively. (*sloka*s 1–2)

The qualities of the seven constituent elements are elaborated in priority akin to what is given by Kautilya. Honesty is emphasized in *sloka* 4.7.13: 'After securing material prosperity (*bibhuti*), it should be made available for enjoyment to the honest (law-abiding) people. Because prosperity is useless if the good people cannot participate in it.'

In *sloka*s 4.7.28-31, a dozen or so qualities of a worthy minister are listed, of which three essential ones are given in *sloka* 31: 'memory for the purpose of taking prompt and quick decisions in the context of past events, power of deliberation for correct judgement, and firmness (devotion) for maintaining secrecy of policy decisions.' In *sloka*s 65–67 on *bala*, in the composition of

the army, Kamandaka says that for prolonged and difficult military operations, the best troops considered are of '*ksatriya* extraction (the warrior caste, the special feature of whom is loyalty and devotion).'

Sarga V

Prakarana 8: Svamyanujivivrttam (Relation between the Lord and his dependents)

This *sarga* elaborates on the *dharmic* ruler and how subordinates are to behave, are to be selected and how they perform. A good king is glorified in *sloka* 59 as rain-bearing cloud and an incapable king is forsaken by all as a dried-up tree. For subordinate development and the need to reward professionalism, which sounds rather modern, *sloka* 5.8.69 states: 'Necessary steps should be taken to promote employees of middle and lower cadres endowed with high qualities, to higher positions. Entrusted with great responsibility they would strive for increasing the prosperity of the monarch.'

Sloka 5.8.80 is about ' A ruler who, even if weak, should promote the interests of the trading class (*panyopajivinam*), particularly of the importers of commodities), and not cause obstruction (*samrodham*) to the free flow of it (by imposing embargo or tariff).' On the theory of taxation, *sloka* 5.8.84 has the same concepts embedded as in all Indic texts on *artha*: 'Just as the cow maintained properly yields milk in time and the creeper sprinkled with water yields flowers, so also the subjects (yield revenue in time when their interests are promoted by the ruler).'

A gem of a sound counsel to the king is found in *slokas* 82-83 on the need to eliminate five causes of fear in the subjects (what we understand today as 'freedom from fear'): '(Oppressive) state officials, thieves, enemies, king's friends or relatives and the lust of the king himself are the five sources of fear to the subjects. The King, by removing the five-fold fear reaps full benefit (revenue from the subjects) in time so as to secure the merits of *trivarga* (*Dharma*, *Artha* and *Kama*).'

Sarga VI

Prakarana 9: Kantakasodhana (Removal of thorns)

This is about criminal law. *Sloka* 6.9.15 emphasizes a fine balance between severity and leniency: 'Severity of punishments terrifies the people (and the king becomes repulsive to them), and leniency makes him contemptible. Hence punishment should be meted out impartially and proportionate to the seriousness of the offence (*yatharhato*).'

Sarga VII

Prakarana 10: Rajputra Raksanam (Protection of princes)[6]

How to bring up a prince for his future task by proper education and training is the theme. The chapter is like a manual of security for the king and lists the types of precautions to be taken for his safety.

Sarga VIII

Prakarana 12: Mandalayoni (The nave of the interstatal circle)

On this topic of *Mandalayoni* or circle of kings, *sloka*s 16, 17, 18 and 19 give the 12 *vijigisu*s as would-be-conquerors, as in Kautilya's *Arthashastra.*

Prakarana 13: Mandalasodhana (carita) (Purification of the mandala by necessary expedients)

Sloka 8.13.54: 'The *vijigisu* in order to achieve predominance in the *mandala* (inter- statal circle) should cultivate cordiality with (independent) governors (*mandalikas*) of distant regions (frontier beyond his own dominion) and other captains or governors of forts (may be of forest forts).' This may mean foreign relations beyond the Kautilyan *chakravartikshetra.*

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[6] There seems to be no *prakarana* 11.

Sloka 8.13.56 specifies two kinds of enemies: 'Sahaja (natural or a born enemy), one born in the family or a blood relation, (one whose kingdom is immediately proximate is also designated as *sahaja* enemy or *prakrtya-mitra*), and the *Karyaja*, whose hostility is derived from acts (or *krtrima*).' This is followed by *sloka* 8.13.57:

> Destruction of enemy territory, forcing loss or waste of his powers, taking oppressive and harassing measures against him and his subjects, these are the four expedients to be adopted suitably by the *Vijigisu* against his enemy, as recommended by expert in the science of polity.

Sloka 8.13.57 is unlike Kautilya who lays great stress on treatment of defeated people with dignity and has no *sutra* on destruction of enemy territory, except defeat and destruction of its combatants. This *sloka* indicates the difference between the two eras. Kautilya was suggesting consolidation of a pan-Indian empire, whereas Kamandaka suggests only brutal ways of fighting and subjection of the conquered people.

Sarga IX

Prakarana 14: Sandhivikalpa (Types of sandhi or alliances)

This chapter begins with the *sloka* 9.14.1, which is addressed to a weak king: 'Attacked by a stronger foe and finding himself in a critical situation, a ruler, incapable of adequate power of resistance, should seek peace and bide time (in expectation of a suitable opportunity for retaliation).'

The next three *sloka*s then list out 16 types of alliances. It needs to be noted that the same 16 are also found in verses 4.111–4.132, Book IV on *sandhi*/peace, in Narayana's *Hitopadesa*.[7] Kamandaka lists them in *sloka*s 9.14.2-4: 'Experts in matter of

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[7] A.N.D. Haksar, 'Introduction', in *Naryana: The Hitopadesa*, translated from Sanskrit with an introduction by A.N.D. Haksar, New Delhi: Penguin Books, 1998, p. xiii.

peace-making identify sixteen well-known types of alliances, viz., *Kapala*, *Upahara*, *Santana*, *Samgata*, *Upanyasa*, *Pratikara*, *Samyoga*, *Purusantara*, *Adrstanara*, *Adista*, *Atmamisa*, *Upagraha*, *Parikraya*, *Ucchinna*, *Paribhusana* or *Paradusana* and *Skandhopaneya*.'

These alliances are, in fact, various permutations and combinations of the six measures of foreign policy and four *upaya*s (*sama* and *dana* being the most obvious) common to both Kautilya and Kamandaka. In short, Kamandaka, in subsequent *sloka*s, lists these treaties as: *Kapala* based on parity; *Upahara*, giving of a gift by one side; *Santana*, marriage alliance of daughter; *Samgata*, on friendship; *Upanyasa*, gaining only one's end by those who know diplomacy; *Pratikara*, reciprocating based on help in the past; *Samyoga*, well-defined peace agreement with a single purpose, may be between two parties (enemies of each other) for marching unitedly to secure identical objective; *Purusantara*, assured agreement with a weaker power, with each side's interests secured; *Adrstanara* or *Adrstapurusha*, the enemy ruler (the weaker or vanquished) will have to endeavour for the accomplishment of an objective of the conqueror; *Adista*, when peace is concluded with a more powerful enemy on conditions of cession of a portion of territory; *Atmamisa*, peace with stronger enemy by presenting himself and his armed forces; *Upagraha*, offering of all resources to retaliate and recover another day; *Parikraya*, to surrender a part of wealth, forest and mineral resource or the whole of accumulated wealth (as ransom) to secure safety of other *prakrti*s; *Ucchinna*, cession of richly fertile (or productive of resources) lands; *Paribhusana* or *Paradusana*, 'when the total yield of lands is surrendered (so that it may later rouse excitement of the people against the enemy)'; and *Skandhopaneya*, 'The kind of peace in which the indemnity (in the form of products from lands) is payable in instalments.'

Variations are given and it seems that key concepts from Book VII of Kautilya have been incorporated with some gems of sound advice spread across the text. A few examples are:

(i) *Sloka*s 9.14.23-27: Twenty characteristic features of rulers are listed and it is mentioned that no alliance or peace should

be concluded with such rulers: a minor (prince) or one too old; sick, outcast ruler; coward, covetous and greedy ruler; one whose *prakrti*s (such as, elements of state, ministers and subjects) are disaffected; addicted to material pleasures; confused by too many counsels; disrespectful towards god and Brahmins; one struck by adverse fate (or suffering from natural calamities or divine dispensations) or too much reliant on divine power; struck with famines or natural calamities; with corrupt or indisciplined armed forces; a refugee prince; one beset with multiple foes; one who is hesitant; and a ruler devoid of righteousness and legal norms.

(ii) There is repeated emphasis on righteousness and *sloka* 9.14.44 sums it up: 'A righteous ruler is actively supported by all (all elements of state, *prakrtis*) when assailed (by an enemy). So a righteous ruler by virtue of his love and attachment for his subjects and for *Dharma* (virtue) becomes invincible.'

(iii) *Sloka* 9.14.55 is about taking shelter when weak and to invoke assistance of a more powerful ally. *Sloka* 9.14.59 is on pragmatism, as it quotes Brihaspati: 'If the prospects of victory in war appear doubtful, the *Vijigisu*, should conclude peace even with an adversary of equal powers and resources. Brahspati says no venture should be made if the result seems doubtful.'

(iv) War is last resort as its consequences are disastrous. *Sloka*s 9.14.73 and 75, in essence, are exactly what Kautilya suggests, as war involves loss of men, material, heavy expenditure, various physical and mental difficulties, and death of principal offices, etc. *Sloka* 9.14.74 has advise against a king being a warmonger.

(v) In the last *sloka* of *sarga* IX, 9.14.78, it is concluded:

These are the different forms of peace or alliances enumerate by experts (the great sages of yore) in the theory of peace-making. A ruler should apply those theories in regulating the conduct of his enemies (and

bringing them over to the path of peace) after a thorough assessment of possible good and evil consequences.

This separate chapter on 'theory of peace-making' is a remarkable contribution, with some very pertinent *sloka*s that appear to be quite modern.

Sarga X

Prakarana 15: Vigrahavikalpa (Varieties of war)

This part lists out the sources (or causes of war), kinds of hostilities, various strategies based on four *upaya*s and the need for intelligence and prudence. This *sarga* X is important in helping discern and compare some subtle changes. A few *sloka*s are reproduced next, with my assessment where necessary.

Seized with revengefulness and agitated by feelings of resentment due to mutual harmful actions men take to recourse to war (*vigraha*). (*sloka* 10.15.1)

War is also resorted to by one aspiring after elevation of his status (aiming at over-lordship) or one suffering from harassment at the hands of his enemies, provided his territorial and military resources and time are advantageous to him. (*sloka* 10.15.2)

The sources (or cause) of war (*vigrahayonayah*) have been enumerated as follows: usurpation of the kingdom, abduction of women (of the royal family), occupation of forts and portions of territory, capture of mounts and vehicles (horses, chariots etc) as well as treasure (*yamasya ca dhanasya ca*), or enticing away of the learned men and soldiers (by the enemy), (one's own) arrogance and false sense of pride, erosion of material resources (due to enemy action, *pida vaisayiki*), infliction of damage to learning (or to the academic institutions), to sources of wealth (or income), to the sources of royal power (state officers and men of the armed forces) and/or to religion (or religious beliefs and institutions of the people), influence of Destiny (or divine afflictions), for the sake of friends (to render aid to them in their difficulties), aggrieved by insulting behaviour

> (of the adversary), (to avenge) the destruction or killing of friends (at the hands of the latter's enemy), interference or trespass into the dominion of one's dependent previously assured of protection, incitement or disaffection among the rulers of the inter-statal circle and earnestness for the acquisition of the same object or status by both the contending rulers. (*sloka*s 10.15.3-5)

*Sloka*s 10.15.6-8 relate to policies from *upaya*s of conciliation and restraint (*dama*) to mitigate the evils of war. But in case the enemy indulges in destruction of material resources, counter-measures need to be taken. *Sloka* 10.15.8 is about a total destructive war causing damage to means of transport and academic institutions, which 'may be stopped by showing forbearance and indifference and forsaking them calmly (i.e., by the assailed king) and restitution of them (by the assailant).' *Sloka* 10.15.14 suggests sowing dissention in alliances of a stronger party. *Sloka*s 10.15.16-18 also provide the remedy of the four *upaya*s to overcome disaffection arising in the *mandala* or internal elements.

Kinds and types of hostilities

*Sloka*s 10.15.16-23 give the opinion of previous experts or teachers on the typology or kinds of hostilities:

> …Experts in the science of war recognise five kinds of hostilities (on the basis of their root causes), viz. *Sapatnam* (rivalry as between co-wives or contending foes), *Vastujam* (relating to land and properties), *Strijam* (relating to women), *Vagjatam* (arising out of offensive and insulting remarks) or alternatively (as found in the Commentary) *Carajam* (caused by reports of spies) and *Aparadhajam* (as sequel to commission of wrongs or transgression of law).
>
> In the opinion of Vahudantisuta (Indra, the son of the sage Vahudanti, a political philosopher), hostilities are classified to be of four kinds, viz., arising out of appropriation of land or portion of territory (by enemy action), acts prejudicial to the exercise of royal powers (*Sakti-parbhusakti*, *mantrasakti* and *utsahasakti*),

> disputes with bordering states or boundary disputes and disaffection among the *mandala* elements (internal or external).
>
> The Manavas (the school of Manu) recognise only two kinds of hostilities, viz., *Kulaja* or that which is inherited from forefathers (continuing for generations, *sahaja* or natural enmity) and *Aparadhaja* caused by wrongs and transgressions i.e., *krtrima*.

Types of hostilities which should not be embarked upon or prosecuted

*Sloka*s 10.15.19-23 then caution by listing 16 kinds of hostilities that should not be embarked upon:

> …such military expeditions as are of a little prospect, of no prospect and doubtful prospect, such as are likely to produce immediate damages and infructuous in future too, hence causing damage both at present and in future, expedition against an adversary of unknown military strength, and that launched by a wicked or deceitful foe (imputing false allegations), one undertaken for the sake of others (however apparently laudable), or for the sake of women (as in the case of Ravana abducting Sita), one that is long-drawn (as that is ultimately ruinous) or one against the venerable Brahmanas (or their interests), one undertaken out of season (i.e., when troop movements are difficult due to climatic reasons), one against an adversary possessing divine grace or enjoying the support of powerful allies, an expedition immediately prospective but ultimately infructuous, or gainful in future but fruitless at present.

This last advice, that is, 'gainful in future but fruitless at present', is contradictory and it is difficult to understand the message here. It shows lack of long-term strategic thinking. It is possible that there was no long-term strategy or end state of unification of India, as by Kautilya, and tactical victories were considered adequate.

Best course of action

*Sloka*s 10.15.24-25 advice prudence and a careful consideration for a king to embark upon such wars or expeditions as are

prospective of immediate as well as future gains. *Sloka* 10.15.26 re-emphasizes the need for control over greed:

> A ruler should avoid taking action under the influence of lust for wealth or for material pleasures in this world or such as is likely to prejudice his spiritual benefits in the next world. This being the view of the Agamas (the Sastras), the wise ruler should always devote himself to acts for all-round welfare.

*Sloka*s 10.15.27-30 are on the appropriate moment to attack, conditions being:

> own armed forces satisfied and strong, and that of enemy the reverse…when own statal elements (*prakrti mandala*) prosperous and loyal, and that of his enemy the reverse…and when divine grace is patently in his favour or may be favourable to him whereas that of his enemy in the reverse…when he finds his ally (in front) and those in the rear (*akranda* and *asara*) are strongly devoted to him and those of his enemy not so.

Gains in war by territory, allies and wealth

The next *sloka*, 10.15.31, is the central message of the gains: 'Territory, allies and wealth are the three gains in war. So a ruler should embark upon a war when there is clear prospect of these gains.' Like Kautilya, Kamandaka now prioritizes gains in *sloka* 10.15.32:

> Gain of wealth is of course important, gain of an ally is more important than that, but the acquisition of territory is the most important of all gains, as all round prosperity as well as friends and allies are obtainable as a result of land or territorial acquisition.

Use of force the last resort

Sloka 10.15.33 says that when both sides are equal '[i]n a war with an adversary equal in all respects, the wise ruler should first apply the political expedient (upayan), failing which, he may take up arms.' Notice that like Kautilya, the use of force is the last resort. Further, Kamandaka combines *upaya*s with prudence and a sound military appreciation in the next *sloka*, 10.15.44: 'Even when a war is thrust upon him, the prudent

king should try to pacify it by application of political expedients. As victory in war is always uncertain (*anitya*), it should not be launched upon without careful deliberation.'

Tactical postures and intelligence

*Sloka*s 10.15.35-36 have policy when overwhelmed, so as to be able to fight another day:

> Attacked from all sides by powerful enemy (finding himself in a helpless position) the ruler for his own security should adopt the policy of canes (vaitasivrtti i.e., to yield to him) and not that of snakes (that bites on the slightest provocation, bhaujangi). Because by adopting the conduct of canes one may hope to earn sufficient prosperity in time, whereas that of a snake may lead to his own death and destruction.

Then, *sloka* 10.15.37 says: '(Having adopted the policy of canes) the ruler should wait like a mad or intoxicated fellow (indifferent to his circumstances) for the opportune moment, and like a lion (the king of beasts) pounce upon the strong enemy to crush him completely.' Further, *sloka* 10.15.38 states:

> A ruler has to bear the attack from a strong assailant by adopting the policy of the tortoise (that withdraws its limbs within its shell) (i.e., the ruler should withdraw from battle and take shelter within his own fortifications). It is only when time is found to be opportune that an intelligent king should strike at his enemy like a furious snake.

Sloka 39B inserts a human psychological issue of all men being selfish and self-interested. This needs to be seen in the context, that is, this *sloka* is in *sarga* X on war; and this is common sense. *Sloka*s 10.15.40 and 41 are surprisingly 'Machiavellian', but such situations may well happen in war.

> (Having submitted to the strong adversary) a ruler should cultivate intimate relations with him win his absolute confidence by show of apparent satisfaction (*prasadvrttya*) for the trust reposed on him and eager for his welfare, and thus knowing the enemy's plans and policies strike him furiously at the

> opportune moment so as to be able to carry off the latter's Goddess of Fortune by holding her locks. (*sloka* 10.15.40)

Kamandaka then tells the *vijigisu* to be conscious of the type of enemy that is being engaged, that is, the good and the bad, in *sloka*s 10.15.41 and 42. This is remarkable as it shows the need to even value an adversary.

> It is said that a high born person who is truthful and liberal, but brave, resolute, grateful, intelligent and ever-energetic, munificent and affectionate makes an enemy invincible (extremely difficult to be won over). (*sloka* 10.15.41)

> Whereas untruthfulness, cruelty, ingratitude, fearfulness (cowardice), carelessness, idleness, cheerlessness (pessimism), false pride, procrastination and addiction to passion of lust for women and gambling (on the part of a ruler) cause ruination of his prosperity (and he is easily defeated and destroyed). (*sloka* 10.15.42)

Kamandaka then advises to be watchful of these above-mentioned defects and in the penultimate *sloka*, 10.15.43, he gives the importance of power and intelligence thus:

> Observing these defects in an army the *Vijigisu* equipped with his three powers (*Saktis,—Prabhusakti, Mantrasakti* and *Utsahasakti*) promptly marches against him. As otherwise if he acts according to the dictates of dishonest people (counsellors) due to his lack of intelligence he will bring about his own destruction.

It is clear that all the attributes and conditions which are needed can only be possible on a sound intelligence analysis. The last *sloka*, 10.15.44, sums up this vital aspect of the foundational need of intelligence:

> Desirous of elevating the status of his already well organised state and keeping himself well-informed through the spies of the movement of his *mandala* (internal elements and external power), a ruler (*vijigisu*) should wage war against his enemy with firm resolve and energy for achieving sure success.

Sarga XI

Prakarana 16: Yana-sanadvaidhibhavasamsrayavikalpa (Varieties of marching, encampment, dual movement and political alliances or seeking protection of stronger power)

This section lists various kinds (varieties) of *yana*s (marching), from *sloka* 2 to *sloka* 10: *Vigraha-yana* (powerful *Vijigisu* undertakes a march against an enemy well equipped), *Sandhaya-gamana* (marching against an enemy after making an alliance or treaty with the *parsnigraha*, his enemy in rear), *Sambhuya-gamana* (collective march with reliable *samantas*/subordinate chiefs for example alliance between Rama and Sugriva in Ramayana), *Prasamga-yana* (change of ally originally planned for, like Salya of Madra who set out to join Yudhisthira was persuaded by Duryodhana to join the latter in Mahabharata) and *Upeksa-yana* (the expedient of indifference as the *Vijigisu* disregarding chance of his sure success against the assailed enemy, directs his movement against the latter's strong ally).

Sloka 11.16.12 explains personal vices and natural calamities or *vyasana*s in enemy camp and thus, it being the right moment to be marched against. *Sloka* 11.16.13 gives five types of *asana*s or postures in conditions of parity, or what we understand today as a tactical or even strategic pause:

> When it is observed that the striking power (or the power to inflict damages) of both the *Vijigisu* and his enemy is identical, the former undertaking a march should take recourse to *asana* (encampment or laying a siege). *Asanas* (or the forms of it) are said to be of five kinds (viz., *Vigrhyasana, Sandhyasana, Sambhuyasana, Prasamgasana* and *Upeksasana*).

*Sloka*s 11.16.14-21 elaborate the conditions when these five types of *asana*s are most suitable. For example, a halt to encamp in an intermediate station is called *Prasamgasana*. But unique is that of *Upeksasana*.

Upeksasana

Sloka 11.16.22 states: 'The show of indifference to a more powerful rival is called *Upeksasana*…'. Example is spelt out by quoting from mythology. Further, in *sloka* 23, example is from the epic Mahabharata (like Rukmin the brother of Rukmani, at the time of her abduction by Krishna). Sloka 11.16.24 is:

> When attacked by two powerful enemies from either side (finding his own means of resistance inadequate), a ruler submits to both with flattering words only (so as to deter them from open hostility) and remain stationed in his own fortification (biding for an opportune moment), adopting (the *asana* of) *dvaidhibhava* or double dealing like a crow's eyeball (*kakaksivad-alaksita*, which moves between the right and left sockets as necessary) and of course keeping it undetected.

In *sloka*s 11.16.25-26, further contingencies are given with submitting to the stronger of the two (*samsrayet*). There are examples of the fifth and sixth measures from the the classical (Kautilyan) six measures of foreign policy or *Sadgunya* – *samsarya* (seeking shelter with another king or in a fort) and *dvaidhibhava* (the double policy of *samdhi* with one king and *vigraha* with another at the same time) , with some insertions which are not of a Kautilyan characteristic . These *sloka*s of 31, 32, 32A and 32B, with a philosophical argument, are inserted as the last resort under diplomacy to be taken when overwhelmed by an enemy:

> (Finding no other alternative) an assailed ruler should seek alliance with the very assailant by surrendering to him his army or treasury or land and its products, as it is injudicious to remain without a protector (*anapasrayah*). (*sloka* 11.16.31)

> Afflicted by perilous circumstances the ruler should forsake everything (i.e., all his resources) in order to save his own self (so that, if alive those may be regained under a favourable situation). King Yudhisthira (having lost everything to the Kauravas) later regained his kingdom. (*sloka* 11.16.32)

> An inspiring popular verse (*laukiki*) says that a living man is likely to secure happiness even after the lapse of a hundred years (i.e., at a future date, as one's suffering and joys move in a cyclic order). (*sloka* 11.16.32A)
>
> (It is also said that if such a contingency arises) a particular person (however near and dear) should be forsaken in the interest of the family (*kula*), the family should be forsaken in the interest of the village, and the village should be forsaken in the interest of the country (*janapada*). But for the larger interest of self-preservation he may even abandon his own life after careful deliberation. (*sloka* 11.16.32B)

Kamandaka, in the end, debates and compares *sadgunya* at 11.16.36-41. Then, he concludes to say in 11.16.42:

> On reasonable analysis *vigraha* stands out to be the one and only one political expedient (for a *Vijigisu*) and *sandhi* and other expedients arise out of it. It is the consider opinion of our Guru (the preceptor, i.e., Visnugupta) that according to needs of political circumstances expedients are six in number (*Sadgunyam*).

Sarga XII (Continuation of sarga XI)

Prakarana 17: Mantravikalpa (Varieties of policy decisions)

In this chapter, various types of guidance and advice are given spread across the *sloka*s, for example: being well-grounded in principles of *sadgunya* (the six political expedients); expert counsel; three *shakti*s in priority; use of the *upaya*s; avoidance of rashness; need for trustworthy ministers; doable action; and intelligence appreciation and analyses. In Kamandaka's work, reliance on fate (12.17.20) shows drift (from secular work of Kautilya) towards Brahmanism, in keeping with the context in the Gupta period: 'In spite of the predominance of Fate in order to gain success, one should put reliance on one's own exertions aided by clear intelligence, (failing which) recourse should be taken to measures for propitiation of Fate with help of experts in sacrifice etc.'

Sloka 12.17.31A is similar to the advice of Kautilya: 'A Vijigisu should devote his energy and exertions (*viryayama*) to both acquisition of things (or status) not acquired before (*alabhdahnan*) and proper preservation of things (or status) already acquired (*labdhanan*).'

War and peace

Let us compare what more Kamandaka has to offer on the issue of war and peace. Kamandaka, in his policy decisions at *sloka* 12.17.4, says something similar to what Kautilya suggests: 'All matters of state should be decided upon after deliberation with trustworthy ministers. Trustworthy fools and untrustworthy counsellor must be avoided.' Though this is sound advice, unlike Kautilya, who has tough selection criteria for his *amatya*s, Kamandaka does not include the selection process as given in detail by Kautilya. But interestingly, even if Kautilya had done a deep selection, which may appear draconian today, the psychological makeup of a person may change over time and thus the given *sloka*, 12.17.4, is an enduring *sloka* relevant to this day.

The advice given in succeeding *sloka*s is similar to that of Kautilya in its latent meaning. For example, *sloka* 12.17.7 would seem very familiar with the three types of power or *shakti* as proposed by Kautilya. The first part of the *sloka* 12.17.7, which is of relevance, reads: 'Of the three *saktis* (sources of power) *mantra-sakti* (the power of good counsel) is of greater significance than either *prabhava* (or *parbhu-sakti*, the power of the lord based on his treasury and army) or *utsahasakti* (energy)…'. Then, another *sloka* of enduring wisdom follows:

> Desirous of acquisition (of territory or wealth), a ruler should undertake a march (against his adversary) finding the opportune time for it only after applying necessary political expedients (*upayas*, like conciliation etc). Too much reliance on military power alone (*vikramai-karasajnata*, one who knows the taste of valour only) leads to repentance (*pascattapa*). (Because valour is successful if aided by reasonable judgement or *mantrasakti*). (*sloka* 12.17.10)

*Sloka*s 36 and 37 also have counsel which seems even more relevant today as it seems to be of management theory by objectives:

> In undertaking any state matter, counsel (or deliberation) should be of five counts or *pancanga* (i.e., considerations): viz., state's own equipment, ways and means (*sadhanopaya*), suitability of particular place and time, provision against unforeseen dangers and prospect of successful completion (*siddhi*). (*sloka* 12.17.36)
>
> Counsels or deliberations should be aimed at completion of the work undertaken, of (new) projects not yet taken up (*anarabdham*), and ensuring perfection of accomplished works. (*sloka* 12.17.37)

Further, there are *sloka*s which stress on matters of counsel, execution of plans with promptness, maintaining security and secrecy of deliberation and plans and being aware of impulsive behaviour as a sure recipe for disasters (*vyasana*s).

The last *sloka*, 12.17.58, sums up the key to success, namely, deft diplomacy: 'It is only by virtue of possessing *mantrabala* (power generating from sound counsel) that a ruler following the track of *naya* (science of polity), becomes capable of subjugating the powerful enemies of nature of viscous serpents.'

Sarga XIII

Prakarana 18: Dutapracara (Ambassadors and envoys) and Prakarana 19: Caravikalpa (Varieties of spies)

Unlike Kautilya's *Arthashastra* Book I, chapter 16, section 12, 'Function of the Envoy', or Book II, chapter 35, section 55 on secret agents, Kamandaka has this *sarga* dealing with all aspects of intelligence, all combined into one. The essence in both texts is similar.

Sarga XIV

Prakarana 20: Utsahaprasamsa (In praise of energy and initiative)

In this *sarga*, *prakarana* 20 is an important contribution on how power is understood and exercised. *Sloka* 14.20.29 is on the

inherent security provided by a fort (*durga*) and Kamandaka gives an indication of application of the famous *tusnim-yuddha* to say:

> It is from the secure shelter of the fort that intrigues and secret wars (*tusniyuddha*) are conducted, necessary steps for amelioration of people's distress are taken, friends and foes are accommodated and disturbances created by the (disaffected) feudatories and foresters are remedied. Hence it is called *Durga* (or an invincible bastion).

Prakarana 21: Prakrtikarma (Functions of constituent elements of the State)

This *prakarana* begins with listing the calamites or *vyasana*s that must be remedied before action and then, the functions of various constituent elements are given, including how these functions suffer under the influence of *vyasana*s (vices). Further, the calamites, or *vyasana*s, that are to be avoided are elaborated. *Sloka* 14.21.20 gives five kinds of providential calamites, namely, 'Fire, Flood, Diseases, Famine, and Pestilence: the rest are caused by human actions (omissions and commissions).'

Prakarana 22: Prakrtivyasana (Vices or corruption of statal elements)

This section revises the attributes of vices which may befall all the statal elements with geographical and seasonal factors of campaigning season, and those which may befall an army. On issues of morale and self-esteem, like Kautilya, Kamandaka, in *sloka* 14.22.74, says: 'Soldiers, not receiving due recognition earlier, will surely fight if given their due honour and rewards, but not so the disgraced ones for its burning fire of indignation.'

Redundancy in command

The text also indicates a general tendency of over-reliance on a single leader in combat. For example, *sloka* 14.22.78 says: 'A defeated army, revitalised by brave warriors, fights again, but the army whose leaders are slain and the vanguard crushed will not be able to face the battle again.' Received wisdom in Indian history has been that troops panic and flee when they see their

commanders killed. However, Kautilya's *Arthashastra* has taken care of this sort of a crisis, or *vyasana*, and ensures redundancy. In Book VIII of Kautilya, one such *sutra*, 8.5.18, does have this problem envisaged: 'As between an (army) with head broken and a blind (army), the one with head broken would fight under the command of another (commandant), not the blind one, being without a guide.' At 8.5.21, Kautilya summaries to say: 'The (king), ever diligent, should take steps right beforehand against that cause because of which he might suffer a calamity of the constituents.' This *sutra* is an enough warning to ensure the command being taken over by the second-in-command in case the commander gets killed or wounded.

The lack of redundancy in command is clearly noticed in Kamandaka and it shows that military science was not updated and followed up. *Sloka* 14.22.91 is the last verse about the army and says: 'An army, blind to (or ignorant of) the situation of the theatre of war, cannot fight due to its own foolishness. A war should be launched upon only after careful assessment of military power (of the enemy) and the *vysanas* it is susceptible to.' Kamandaka has made an important contribution to this timeless advice on sound military appreciation.

Sarga XV

Prakarana 23: Saptavyasanavarga (A comparative estimate of lapses of the seven component elements of state)

Like the previous *sarga*, this *sarga* also gives details of *vyasana*s afflicting all the seven constituent elements. They are repeated in detail, with emphasis and in priority, beginning with the king. Three emanate from anger, *krodhaja* (*sloka* 15.23.6): 'harshness of speech, severity of punishment and injustice in financial dealing'. And *sloka* 15.23.7 mentions: '*Vyasanas* emanating from attachment to sensual pleasures (*kamaja*), according to those conversant with its implications, are four in number, —addiction to hunting, gambling, women and wine.' At *sloka* 15.23.26, Kamandaka rules out physical exercise based on hunting having any benefit for its inherent evil of killing.

It seems that Kamandaka lays great emphasis on overcoming *vyasana*s. Kamandaka's repeated injunctions also indicate that on the whole, the prince and other leaders fell short of the ideal-type expectations. Emphasis on not falling into traps of disasters show the enduring need of right education and control over senses. To that end, this has contemporary relevance.

Sarga XVI

Prakarana 24: Yatrabhiyoktrpradarsana (Circumstance suitable for expeditions)

As in Kautilya's time, *sloka* 16.24.19 is about:

> comparative seriousness of internal and external dangers (i.e., arising out of disaffection of internal elements and of external elements), the internal dangers are considered more potential of harm. Hence before marching out, the cause of internal disturbances should be properly remedied (by conciliation, rewards, etc) and also of external factors by contributing to their welfare.

This is similar to Kautilya's Book IX, 'The Activity of the King about to March', which has a discussion on the three *shakti*s. Here, Kautilya first states the views of previous teachers, then rejects them and gives his *sutra*s on the priority of the three *shakti*s (*mantra, prabhav* and *utsah*). Kamandaka has discussed them elsewhere and they have not been changed. This is sensible as they are enduring even till today.

Here, I would like to deviate a little and discuss the issue of citizenship and internal rebellion, as deliberated by Kautilya and other scholars.

Citizenship

The *sutra*s of internal rebellion during the time of Kautilya have raised a few questions on citizenship. According to scholars, there are two opinions on citizenship. One view is that the *janapad*s (country/countryside/territory) of the *vijigisu* were separate countries. The other is that the people of *janpad* were

common to both the kings and to consider the people as citizens of sovereign nations, as in twenty-first century, may not be the correct analogy. It is not possible to get evidence of this citizenship. This aspect has been commented by me in a previous work on Kautilya where I have argued:

> In the text there are two dominions (*visayas*): the *sva-visaya* (the dominion of the conqueror-to-be) and the *para-visaya* (dominion of the enemy). It is possible that city dwellers had a clear understanding of citizen ship while those in the countryside (*janapada*) had overlapping jurisdiction as 8.1.26-27 indicate: 'And city-dwellers are stronger than the country people and being steadfast (in loyalty) are helpful to the king in times of trouble (8.1.26). Country people, on the other hand, are common to the enemy (8.1.27).'[8]

I have then referred to Torkel Brekke's essay:[9]

> According to Torkel Brekke's understanding which is based on the work of Andre Wink, 'The peoples living in the country regions between two kingdoms belong to *both* the king and his enemy…the *janapada* is shared with the enemy'. This is not the case with R.P. Kangle who in a note to the sutra 27 says 'this is because when they are over-run by the enemy they easily transfer their allegiance to him'.[10]

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[8] Pradeep Kumar Gautam, 'Understanding Kautilya's *Arthaúâstra*: Origination, Migration and Diffusion', in Michael Liebig and Saurabh Mishra (eds), *The Arthashastra in a Transcultural Perspective: Comparing Kautilya with Sun-Si, Nizam al-Mulk, Barani and Machiavelli*, New Delhi: IDSA/Pentagon Press, 2017, p. 72 and note 32.

[9] Torkel Brekke, 'Between Prudence and Heroism: Ethics of War in the Hindu Tradition', in Torkel Brekke (ed.), *The Ethics of War in Asian Civilizations: A Comparative Perspective*, London and New York: Routledge, 2006, pp. 113-144.

[10] Gautam, 'Understanding Kautilya's *Arthaúâstra*: Origination, Migration and Diffusion', n. 5, p. 72 and note 32.

Upinder Singh, on the other hand, argues that this co-mingling of borders of the territory of the king and that of the enemy is an incorrect understanding.[11] This aspect of citizenship is important as there may have been no concept of 'nationalism' as we know today. The people were rather loyal to their kings. Thus, it was a bit fuzzy and there was a greater overlap of external and internal politics. However, if Kautilya's Book X, 'Means of Taking a Fort', is studied, then in chapter 4, under section of laying siege, although the enemy entrenched in the fort is to be destroyed including its supplies, safety is to be provided to people in the countryside. The key Kautilyan *sutra* is 13.4.5: 'For, there is no country without people and no kingdom without a country, says Kautilya.' Kangle, in his note to *sutra* 13.4.5, writes: 'The point of this dictum is that the *vijigisu*, while engaging in conquest, should see to it that the country is not ravaged nor the people exterminated; otherwise the conquest will be fruitless.'[12] This sort of guidance is not found in Kamandaka.

Campaigning season and military analysis

Coming back to the topic under discussion, Kamandaka also advises on the right campaigning season and suitable battle formations with security measures. At the level of policy and strategic thinking, some *sloka*s stand out and show how important it is to respect the enemy and that there should be no passion or anger but only cool intelligence analysis:

> Enemies, however small in stature, if endowed with power and resources, may cause serious danger to the *vijigisu* from the rear (*pascatprakopam*). Therefore a cool headed and accurate assessment of the (political) situation must precede launching of an expedition. No risk should be taken in staking what is

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[11] Upinder Singh, *Political Violence in Ancient India*, Cambridge, MA, and London: Harvard University Press, 2017, p. 103.

[12] R.P. Kangle, *The Kautiliya Arthasastra*, *Part II: An English Translation with Critical and Explanatory Notes*, 2nd edition, 7th reprint, Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 2010. All quotes from Kangle in this chapter are from this book.

> seen (i.e., the territory under possession) for that what is unseen (i.e., uncertain of acquisition, *drstamadrstahetoh*). (*sloka* 16.24.14)

In terms of attack from the rear, the Achilles heel, Kautilya's *Arthashastra* 7.13.13 is translated by Kangle as: 'An enemy's destruction shall be brought about even at the cost of great losses in men, material and wealth.' In context, this *sutra* is in Book VII, chapter 13, section 117, 'Consideration Regarding the King Attacking in the Rear'. Kangle, in his translation, notes that in 7.13, the question discussed is: when is it profitable to attack in the rear while he is engaged in fighting in front? It begins with *sutra* 1, where Kangle explains in a footnote: 'the discussion assumes a rivalry between the *vijigisu* and his enemy in the matter of *parsnigrahana* (rearward enemy or heel catcher)[13]; each has an enemy engaged in fight elsewhere and each can attack his own enemy in the rear.' Kangle translates 7.13.33 as: 'Even with very great losses and expenses, the destruction of the enemy must be brought about.' Patrick Olivelle, in chapter 13, topic 117, 'Reflections on the Attacker from the Rear', translates 7.13.33 as: 'Even by incurring very great losses and expenses, he must bring about the defeat of his foe.'[14] Thus, when attacked from the rear, the same text of Sanskrit is translated differently: '…destruction of the enemy' by Kangle to '…the defeat of his foe' by Olivelle. This indicates that an attack from the rear was the most dreaded one or the 'Achilles heel' of any *vijigisu*. Kamandaka also has similar advice:

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[13] Equating *parsnigrahana* (rearward enemy or heel catcher) by Kangle shows that, remarkably, he may also have been familiar with Greek mythology and the Trojan War. Achilles gets killed when injured in the heel. In the Indian epic Mahabharata, Krishna, the divine, also perishes when hit by an arrow in his heel. In modern military terminology, the heel may be the weak centre of gravity or the vulnerability to be attacked.

[14] Patrick Olivelle, *King, Governance, and Law in Ancient India: Kautilya's Arthasastra*, annotated edition, New York: Oxford University Press, 2013, p. 314.

> Between the potential dangers at the rear and chance of success at the front, the former (i.e., dangerously potentially behind) is of a greater proportion…. (*sloka* 16.24.15)
>
> When the *vijigisu* is confident of his strength both frontward and rearward (i.e., about subjugating his enemy in front and also in rear), he should set out on an expedition. Otherwise in spite of his strength in successfully meeting the enemy in front, if rear side is left unprotected, serious damage may befall from hostile action by the enemy at the rear. (*sloka* 16.24.16)

Another important aspect is warning to avoid war of attrition. *Sloka* 16.24.23 says:

> Loss of personnel (soldiers and non-combatants) and of transport animals (or means of transport, *yugya*) is destruction or wastage (of resources)—*ksaya* , and loss of gold (or money), grain and provision constitute drain (of economic wealth) or *vyaya*. Hence an expedition likely to involve in both *ksaya* and *vyaya* should not be embarked upon.

In *sloka* 16.24.25, it is given that lapses occur when unachievable things or purposes are the aim. *Sloka*s 16.24.26-27 are about the dangers of having no control over senses, poor leadership and man management, hubris, malice, cowardice and so on, leading to hindrances to success.

*Sloka*s 16.24.28-31 and 35 give qualities of men, parties, allies, the king; repeated importance of the three *shakti*s; and wisdom derived from study. *Sloka* 32, unlike in Kautilya's text, also describes the *shakti*s, or choices or decisions, at the personal level: 'proper use of *kosa* and *danda* (treasury and army) depends on *prabhusakti* (personal ability of the ruler) and *utsahasakti* (energy) generates initiative and forceful exertion.'

*Sloka*s 16.24.39 onwards give the suitability of different wings of the army in various types of terrain and weather conditions, their inspection and need for exercise, etc. *Sloka* 44 is about precautionary and security measures at night when halted in

encampments. It also states that for being alert, the *vijigisu* '…should sleep like a *yogi* (i.e., alert even in sleep)'.

Sloka 16.24.52 is on the need of intelligence by the intelligence corps and the ambassadors. *Sloka*s 55–56 are on how to befriend foresters and frontier guards when in enemy territory and to be wary of double-crossers. *Sloka* 57 again repeats the importance and superiority of power of counsel (*mantrabala*) over armed forces.

Sarga XVII

Prakarana 25: Skandhavaranivesana (Establishment of encampments)

This section has 22 *sloka*s about important points to be considered when camping, including patrolling and security measures. Reconnaissance patrols to collect intelligence are mentioned, along with laying of obstacles. These *sloka*s emphasize the need for proper inspection of ground.

Prakarana 26: Nimittajnana (Knowledge of signs and portents)

Inauspicious portents followed by auspicious signs are listed in *prakarana* 26, from *sloka*s 23 to 41, and will be commented upon in Chapter 5.

Sarga XVIII

Prakarana 27: Upayavikalpa (Varieties of expedients)

This single *sarga*, with its only *prakarana*, is an elaborate treatment of the varieties of *upaya*s or expedients. As against four in Kautilya's *Arthashastra—sama* (conciliation), *dana* (gifts), *bheda* (sowing dissention) and *danda* (use of military force)—Kamandaka adds three more to make it seven expedients: 'display of deceitful tactics (*maya*), neglect (*upeksa* or diplomatic indifference) and conjuring tricks (*indrajala*)…' (*sloka* 18.27.3).

Then, further subdivisions of each of the *upaya*s are explained. *Sama* is the best and wisest option as given in *sloka* 17/2

*Sloka*s 31–37 list out the disgruntled or alienable parties (*bhedyah*) which need to be won over:

> Such persons are known to be alienable parties (*bhedyah*), and should be alienated from the enemy camp, and when they come over should be honoured by fulfillment of their desires, but men of such character in one's own camp should be appeased by conciliatory measures. (*sloka* 18.27.37)

As to use of force, *sloka* 18.27.41 is a straightforward advice: '*Vijigisu*, equipped with excellent energy and power, taking advantage of favourable time and place and supported in his venture by strong allies, as had been the case with Yudhisthira, should subjugate his enemies by application of *danda* (military power).' And *sloka* 18.27.42 tells the king: 'Reviewing one's power (and directing it properly), one can subjugate his enemies even if they are more powerful and many in number, just as Rama (Parasurama) of redoubtable power killed the ksatriyas (twenty one times).'

Maya, or deceitful tactics, includes hiding within the image of deities or some form of disguise, and features from 51–54 with examples from the epics. These *sloka*s also include divine or superhuman *maya* under the influence of *mantra* or magical rites. *Upeksha*, as diplomatic neglect, is given from *sloka*s 55–57. *Indrajala* or conjuring tricks and devices of hallucination are added to terrorize the enemy.

Sarga XIX

Prakarana 28: Sainyabalabala (Points of strengths and weakness of the army)

Use of force, as found in all Indian traditions, is the last resort. Upfront in the first *sloka*, 19.28.1, Kamandaka writes: 'When the three expedients of *sama*, *dana* and *bheda* are found to be ineffective, the ruler versed in the law of polity and of punishment (or military science) should attempt to subjugate the enemy deserving punishment (or to be proceeded against).'

Sloka 19.28.2 betrays Brahmanical influence in some of the verses, rarely seen in Kautilya's *Arthashastra*. Kamandaka writes: 'He should (at first) worship the (family or state) deities, honour the Brahmanas (for their blessing), watch the auspicious planets and constellation of stars and march with his six-fold army arrayed in formation (*vyuha*) toward his enemy.' Compare this with what Kautliya writes in Book IX (The Activity of the King about to March), *sutra* 9.4.26: 'The object slips away from the foolish person, who continuously consults the stars; for an object is the (auspicious) constellation for (achieving) an object; what will the star do?'

But this does not mean that Kautilya does not appeal to the spiritual and religious aspects of the troops in motivating them to seek battle, as is the normal practice in units with their regimental traditions of mandir/gurdwara/masjid/church/ *dharmasthan* 'parades' even today. Kautilya also suggests that appropriate prayers be held. The concept of martyr achieving heaven seems to be a transcultural phenomenon across all faiths. In Book X, 'Concerning War', from 10.3.27 to 10.3.43, Kautilya writes:

> Collecting of troops together, he should address them. 'I receive wages like you; this kingdom is to be enjoyed together with you; the enemy should be attacked by you at my request'. (10.3.27)
>
> Even in the Vedas, on the occasion of the concluding baths of sacrifices in which fees have been fully received, it is declared, 'That will be your condition after death, which is obtained by the brave (fallen on the field).' (10.3.28)
>
> Moreover, there are two stanzas in this connection: (10.3.29)
>
> Brave men, giving up their lives in good battles, reach one moment even those (worlds), which Brahmins, desirous of heaven, reach by a large number of sacrifices, by penance and by many gifts to worthy persons. (10.3.30)

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[15] Kangle in a footnote clarified, '31 *navam saravam* clearly refers to the vessel from which libations of water are offered to the deceased.'

> A new vessel filled with water, properly consecrated, with a mantle of darba grass—may this not be the share of him and may he go to hell who would not fight for the sake of the lump food received from the master. (10.3.31)[15]

Jean Langlois-Berthelot, in 'Kautilya's Teaching on How to "Create" Loyal Soldiers in One's Side but Sedition in the Enemy's Army', explains how fear as related to god is purposely spread in the enemy camp to target an enemy who is obviously superstitious, and thus foolish, by reiterating 13.1.1 of Kautilya's *Arthashastra*: 'The conqueror, desirous of capturing the enemy's (fortified) town, should fill his own side with enthusiasm and fill the enemy's side with terror…'.[16] Langlois-Berthelot shows the technique of instilling fear:

> Kautilya offers a number of techniques using fear as a prerequisite to attack a stronghold. This fear is primarily that related to the gods. It should be noted in a scathing *Arthashastra* pragmatism regarding the divinisation. It could be used for instigating fear in the enemy. It is well-reported that magical illusions were used to impress and influence the enemy.
>
> According to Kautilya, 'the soothsayers, interpreters of omens, astrologers, seers, reciters of Puranas, and secret agents, those who have helped and those who have witnessed' the power of the king in his own territory must interpret all his appearances as 'the proclamation of association with divinities.' These interpretations are mainly of two types: First, the gods deliver a message which means that the King is seen as powerful in comparison with the enemy target and the enemy would lose if it is attacked. This message is delivered to the people of his kingdom. Second, the enemy king is low and the gods want his destruction, this message is then delivered within the enemy camp by the people who have managed to infiltrate into

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[16] Jean Langlois-Berthelot, 'Kautilya's Teaching on How to 'Create' Loyal Soldiers in One's Side but Sedition in the Enemy's Army', in Pradeep Kumar Gautam, Saurabh Mishra and Arvind Gupta (eds), *Indigenous Historical Knowledge: Kautilya and His Vocabulary*, Vol. I, New Delhi: IDSA/Pentagon Press, 2015, p.99.

[17] Ibid., pp. 99-100.

> positions that allow them to make public speeches. These people were the secret agents as inculcated by the Kautilyan techniques.[17]

Composition and classification of the army

Kamandaka combines the types and classification of the army. The six types of troops, with their priorities of reliability, are the same as in Kautilya's *Arthashastra*. In Kautilya's explanation at 9.2, sections 137–39, troop composition of various classes is: *maulabala* (hereditary); *bhrtabala* (the hired); *srenibala* (the banded); *mitrabala* (troops of the ally), *amitrabala* (alien/enemy troops); and *atavibala* (forest troops/tribes such as Sabaras, Pulindas and others). In *sloka* 19.28.3, the six types are explained in greater detail:

> Veterans (soldiers in service hereditarily, *maula*), regular forces (or mercenaries, *bhrta*), organized bands of martial tribes of the dominion (*srenibala*), forces of allies (*suhrd-bala*), soldiers alienated from the enemy camp (*dvisad-bala*) and forces of forest tribes (*atavika bala*) are the six branches of the army, each of the preceding one is more important than the one following, so also in matters of their defections (*vyasana*).

Kamandaka explains as to why there is the highest regard for *maulabala* and the least for *atavikabala*. On *atavikabala* or forest troops, *sloka* 19.28.8 says: '…by nature dishonest, greedy, uncultured and faithless, the soldiers from the enemy camp are more dependable than the forester troops.' Both *atavikabala* and *dvisad-bala* are also branded and grouped together as opportunistic for plunder, with a propensity for defection. Kamandaka is very clear in *sloka* 12 and suggests that the well-cared *maulabala* are ideal for protracted campaigns and war. In *sloka*s 15–17, it is mentioned that when the troop strength of *maulabala* and the regular army of both the belligerents is low,

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[18] Pradeep Kumar Gautam, 'The Cholas: Some Enduring Issues of Statecraft, Military Matters and International Relations', *Journal of Defence Studies*, Vol. 7, No. 4, October–December 2013, pp. 47–62.

then *mantra-yuddha* (that is, diplomatic warfare, avoiding open war) is preferred. The treatment of foresters by Kautilya and Kamandaka shows no difference and much more research is yet to be done as to why this thought existed. In the Chola Army of south India, *atavibala* (forest troops) were next to the standing army or *maulabala*.[18] Does it indicate a central/north Indian Madhyadesh bias? This puzzle is yet to be solved by me. It is possible to come to some understanding when the *Kural* is studied with other south Indian texts.

Employment of troops in advance guard

Kamandaka has further suggestions which go beyond what is given in the Kautilya's *Arthashastra* (KA):[19]

> KA has devoted many chapters to *yana* that is an advance in a campaign or military expedition which later culminates in battle of *vigraha* or *yuddha*. Kamandaka's *Nitisara* (NS) has further improved upon KA…The Nitisara text suggests that troops such as *aribala* (enemy troops now fighting on behalf of the king) should always be kept engaged with difficult assignments lest they become a source of danger to the state. For forest troops, it says thus: The foresters (*atavika bala*) should also be employed in similar task of weeding out thorns (*kantakasodhana*) in the fortified areas of enemy dominion. While entering the enemy territory they are placed in the forefront by a wise *vijigisu*. (*sloka* 19.28.23)

On Brahmins, Kautilya does not agree with the previous teachers who say at 9.2.21 : 'Among Brahmana, Ksatriya, Vaisya and Sudra troops, each earlier one is better for equipping for war than each later one, on account of superiority of spirit.' Kautilya famously challenges this in *sutra*s 9.2.22-24 and says: 22 'No'

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[19] Pradeep Kumar Gautam, 'The Army: Then and Now', in Pradeep Kumar Gautam, Saurabh Mishra and Arvind Gupta (eds), *Indigenous Historical Knowledge: Kautilya and His Vocabulary*, Vol. III, New Delhi: IDSA/Pentagon Press, 2016, p. 72.

says Kautilya.23 'By prostration, an enemy may win over Brahmana troops. 24. 'A Ksatriya army, trained in the art of weapons, is better, or Vaisya or Sudra army, when possessed of great strength.' Unlike Kautilya, Kamanadaka does not or dare not pass strictures on the reliability of Brahmin troops. Also, Kamandaka is silent on Vaishya and Sudra troops.

Prakarana 29: Senapati Pracara (The qualification of a commander-in-chief)

This gives the qualities and qualifications of the army chief from *sloka*s 27–44, which are surely relevant to this day. Interestingly, *sloka* 37 expects the army chief to be well-versed in languages and characteristics/traits of people of different countries, and also of their scripts.

Prakarana 30: Prayanavyasana-raksana (Remedies of lapses in marches)

In this *prakarana*, battle formations, employment of troops and tactical details have been included.

Prakarana 31: Kutayuddha Vikalpa (Deceitful tactics in warfare)

In this, the first *sloka*, 54, says:

> When a *vijigisu* finds himself endowed with requisite powers and with favourable situation as regards time and place, and the *prakrti* or elements of the enemy disaffected and lacking in coordination (*bhinna*), he may indulge in open war (*prakasayuddha*), otherwise i.e., the reverse being the condition, *kutayuddha* or deceitful war (i.e., by dubious methods) should be adopted.

In the later parts, *Kutayuddha* is morally justified in the last sloka, 19.31.71:

> Thus the *vijigisu* should always adopt guileful tactics (*kuta-yuddha*) in annihilating his enemy, and by killing the enemy by deception, he will not be transgressing *dharma* (righteousness, for there is nothing unfair in war). The son of Drona (Asvatthama) killed

with his sharp weapons the sons of the Pandavas completely unaware, while they were asleep.

In *sarga* XIX, often *kutayuddha* is suggested, but *tusnim-yuddha* does not feature here as in Kautilya's work. As noted earlier, Kamandaka uses the term *tusnim-yuddha* in *sarga* XIV when a fort has to be taken by intrigue (*sloka* 14.20.29).

Also, in this *prakarana*, like Kautilya, Kamandaka has similar humanitarian laws of war, though in a very brief form. *Sloka* 19.31.69/1 says: 'The soldiers of the enemy who have turned their back or have become hopeless of life or have lost their mobility (besieged from all sides) should not be struck down as they have (practically) surrendered (*bhagna*).'

Sarga XX

The various *prakarana*s in this *sarga* are as follows:

1. *Prakarana* 32: *Gajasvarathapatti-karma* (Position and function of the elephant force, cavalry, charioteers and infantry during march)
2. *Prakarana* 33: *Pattyasvarathagaja-bhumi* (Tracks convenient for movement of infantry, cavalry, contingents of chariots and elephants)
3. *Prakarana* 34: *Danakalpana* (Scales of rewards for the fighting forces)
4. *Prakarana* 35: *Vyuhavikalpa* (Varieties of array of the army)
5. *Prakarana* 36: *Prakasa yuddha* (The conduct of open war)

This *sarga* thus deals with the situation when both armies clash in close combat or encounter battle as we know today. Great reliance is placed on elephants. It does not relate to the typology of *prakash-yuddha* of Kautilya.

Part II: Continuities and Changes

CHAPTER 4

SOME COMMON CHARACTERISTICS OF KAUTILYA AND KAMANDAKA

This chapter attempts to figure out the broad and general common characteristics of the key concepts and vocabulary. The commonalties are addressed in a compressed manner under the following clusters:

1. general commonalities;
2. five components of counsel;
3. acquisition of wealth and its distribution;
4. war and peace;
5. and no warmongering.

GENERAL COMMONALITIES

In general**,** some enduring traditions, vocabulary and concepts of Kautilya are found in Kamandaka's *Nitisara*, such as: mastering of control over senses, including non-violence; the state of *matsyanyaya* and the need to ensure that it does not exist; *anvikshiki*; balance of *dharma*, *artha* and *kama*; intelligence studies; seven *prakrit*s, 12 *vijigisu*s in a circle of kings or *mandala* theory; six measures of foreign policy, the *upayay*s, issues of disasters (*vyasana*s) and how to overcome them; duties of diplomats; and aspects of war.

Both the texts emphasize repeatedly, at a number of places, the use of power by sticking to the priorities: the famous *mantra-shakti*, *prabhav-shakti* and *utsah-shakti*.

FIVE COMPONENTS OF COUNSEL

Like a contemporary theory of management, five components to accomplish a task find direct mention in not only the two texts under study but also in the *Hitopadesa*:

1. Kautilya's *Arthashastra*: 'Counsel has five components: strategy for initiating the undertaking, men and material of exemplary quality, allocation of place and time, precautions against failure, and bringing the undertaking to a successful conclusion' (*sutra* 1.15.42).

2. Kamandaka's *Nitisara*: 'In undertaking any state matter, counsel (or deliberation) should be of five counts or *pancanga* (i.e., considerations): viz., state's own equipment, ways and means (*sadhanopaya*), suitability of particular place and time, provision against unforeseen dangers and prospects of successful completion (*siddhi*)' (*sloka* 12.17. 36). In the next *sloka*, 12.17.37, it is advised: 'Counsels or deliberations should be aimed at completion of the work undertaken, of (new) projects not yet taken up (*anarabdham*), and ensuring perfection of accomplished works.'

3. *Hitopadesa*: '…There are five subjects to be determined through counsel and consultation. These are: the method for initiating a measure; the maximum mobilization of men and money; the management of time and space; insuring against accidents; and the successful conclusion of an enterprise' (4.54).

Acquisition of Wealth and its Distribution

In *sarga* XII, *prakarana* 17, *Mantravikalpa* (Varieties of policy decisions), *sloka* 31A is also like the advice of Kautilya: 'A Vijigisu should devote his energy and exertions (*virya-vyayma*) to both acquisition of things (or status) not acquired before (*alabhdahnan*) and proper preservation of things (or status) already acquired (*labdhanan*).' Both the texts of this genre go further and tell the king what to do with the wealth so acquired, preserved and secured. Tradition of disturbed justice of wealth has been studied by R.G. Bhandarkar who had essentially theorized that the original essence of homogeneity of the text continued with four related and sequential aims: preservation of what has been acquired; acquisition of new territory;

augmenting of what has been preserved; and distribution among the deserving.[1]

In Kautilya's *Arthashastra*, in Book I, 'The Topic of Training', chapters 2–4 have enumeration of the sciences. What D.R. Bhandarkar meant is as in *sutra*s 1.4.3-4 of Kautilya's *Arthashastra*:

> 3 The means of ensuring the pursuit of philosophy, the three Vedas and economics is the Rod (wielded by the king); its administration constitutes the science of politics, having for its purpose the acquisition of (things) not possessed, the preservation of (things) possessed, the augmentation of (things) preserved, and bestowal of (things) augmented on a worthy recipient. 4 On it is dependent the orderly maintenance of worldly life.

K.J. Shah has also highlighted this aspect, which is central to the last (but not the least) or fourth science of Kautilya's prescribed syllabus under the head of *Dandaniti*:

> It enables us to gain what we do not have, to protect what we have, to increase what is protected, and to bestow it on worthy recipient. Thus the use of power is not narrow and selfish, as it is very often supposed to be, but manifold.[2]

The same philosophy resides in Kamandaka's text. In *sarga* IV, *prakarana* 7, *Prakrtisampat* (The importance of the state elements), *sloka*s 6–9, there is a passage relating to the qualities of a worthy ruler. Qualities which need also to include 'ambition (to effect expansion of territory and augmentation of wealth, *sthulalaksya*)…'. *Sloka*s 4.7.13-14 say: '13. After securing material prosperity (*bibhuti*), it should be made available for enjoyment to the honest (law-abiding) people. Because prosperity is useless

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1 As quoted by S.C. Mishra, *Kautilya's Arthasastra: An Inscriptional Approach*, Delhi: Anamika Publishers, 1997, p. 26. The work of Bhandarkar quoted is D.R. Bhandarkar, *Some Aspects of Ancient Hindu Polity* (second edition,) Varanasi, 1963, pp.49-50.

2 K.J. Shah, 'Of Artha and the Arthasastra', in Anthony J. Parel and Ronald C. Keith (eds), *Comparative Political Philosophy: Studies Under the Upas Tree*, New Delhi: Sage, 1992, p. 144.

if the good people cannot participate in it. 14. Wealth and properties in the hands of the wicked bring no benefit to the king or the state, just as fruits of *kimpaka* trees (*makala*) are consumed by the crows (*dhvanksah* or *kakah*) only and none else.'

This continuity of the tradition of distribution of wealth has not been commented upon or analyzed sufficiently in contemporary times. What is striking is that it is a continuity of the tradition and no economist of modern times should have any problem with this distributive justice.

War and Peace

It needs to be noted that plunder is seldom found in the text. As to issues of war and peace, one account has the argument that in the Gupta age, 'the ideas in connection with launching a war changed a little from c. CE 300 onwards.'[3] This is very true. However, on how war was to be waged has been interpreted wrongly. Accepting a play, *Mudrarakshaka* by Vishakadatta, which is full of intrigues as evidence is accepting fiction as fact. It is thus incorrect to say that in the Gupta period, 'Kautilyan principles of *kutayuddha* (unjust war) over set-piece battle as regards launching and conducting war is supported.'[4]

I need to dispute this interpretation further based on the original work by Kangle. It has been clarified by R.P. Kangle that there are three levels of *yuddha*: *prakash*, *kuta* and *tusnim*. Kangle highlights that it is clear that *kutayuddha* refers to the commonly recognized tactics of battlefield and contains nothing to which objection can be taken from a military point of view.[5] This is a reality and the way things happen. In the text, Kautilya never

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[3] Krishnendu Ray, 'Yuddha and Vijay: Concepts of War and Conquest in Ancient and Early Medieval India (up to CE 1300)', in Kaushik Roy and Peter Lorge (eds), *Chinese and Indian Warfare: From the Classical Age to 1870*, London and New York: Routledge, 2015, p. 41.

[4] Ibid.

[5] R.P. Kangle, *The Kautilya Arthasastra*, *Part III: A Study*, 2nd edition, 7th reprint, Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 2010, p. 258, as quoted in Pradeep Kumar Gautam, 'Understanding Kautilya's *Arthaśâstra*: Origination, Migration and

suggests what is to be done; but he gives options even of what the enemy may do.

No Warmongering

Both texts have the central message that war is the last resort. This tradition can be seen in the four *upaya*s and six *sadgunya*s. In both, the first option is peace or treaty. In *sarga* IX about types of alliances, *sloka*s 73 and 75, in essence, are exactly what Kautilya suggests, as war involves loss of men, material, heavy expenditure, various physical and mental difficulties, death of principal offices, etc. *Sloka* 74 advises against a king being a warmonger (*atvigrahi*). In *sarga* XII on policy decisions, it is advised that '[t]oo much reliance on military power alone (*vikramai-karasajnata*, one who knows the taste of valour only) leads to repentance (*pascattapa*). (Because valour is successful if aided by reasonable judgement or *mantrasakti*).'

It appears that this continuity of diplomacy of peace and *mantra-shakti* has not been well-researched or appreciated. An incorrect understanding persists that Kautilya and by default Kamandaka advise kings to be plunderers and/or greedy conquerors only to amass wealth. Nothing can be further from the truth. This wrong understanding may be existing as the root text of Kautilya has not been studied. In fact, the normative objective of political unification of one geo-cultural India (and thus 'imperial' in this unique sense of the Indian traditions) is either not grasped or even ignored by most to confirm to biases and prejudices.

Conclusion

It is clear that the enduring values of statecraft embedded in the vocabulary and concepts of the text did not evaporate. Because of their enduring nature, they were re-emphasized. A look at them shows, in no uncertain terms, that they are relevant even to this day in early twenty-first century.

Diffusion', in Michael Liebig and Saurabh Mishra (eds), *The Arthashastra in a Transcultural Perspective: Comparing Kautilya with Sun-Zi, Nizam al-Mulk, Barani and Machiavelli*, New Delhi: IDSA/Pentagon Press, 2017, p. 98.

CHAPTER 5

DIFFERENT CHARACTERISTICS OF KAUTILYA AND KAMANDAKA

This chapter is a broad survey and attempts to figure out the different characteristics of key concepts and vocabulary.

To begin with, Kautilya salutes Sukra and Brihaspati, the former being the teacher of demons and latter the originator of the Lokayata tradition and also the preceptor or guru of the *deva*s. Kamandaka salutes Sri Ganesha and there is no mention of Sukra or Brihaspati. What does this indicate? Had a Brahmanical standard milieu come to be established? Had it something to do with religious inclinations of the Maurya and Gupta empires, or Brahmin revivalism under the Guptas? This is covered in this chapter under the heading, 'Drift Away from Heterodox to Orthodox'. It is very clear that unlike Kautilya who took into account all knowledge streams, in the time of Kamandaka, as is in Gupta period, Brahmanism was on the ascend. As has been mentioned earlier in chapter 1, in the preface to the first edition, Rajendralala Mitra had opined: 'It is dedicated to Chandragupta, and the author, a Buddhist, apparently with a view not to offend the feelings of his Hindu patron with the name of a Buddhist deity, has thought fit to forego the usual invocation at the commencement of his work.'

Besides being a scholar and thinker, Kautilya had practical experience in statecraft and governance being chancellor to Chandragupta Maurya. He was, in other words, a statesman. Kamandaka is not known to have had any experience as a statesman or a minister. Kamandaka's work, in fact, is an academic one derived from previous traditions. Kamandaka does make a mention of a *cakravarti* ruler in 1.1.39: 'How can one, who is incapable of controlling his own mind, hope to conquer the earth bounded by the seas (in the extensive dominion of a *cakravarti* ruler)?' The second mention is in 3.6.38 : ' A king also

by intently adopting this course (of *sadvrtti*[1]) conquers his enemies (including the inimical sense organs, *ripurapi*, i.e., he becomes a *jitendriya*) and wins permanent friendship of honest people. Such a ruler by virtue of his disciplined conduct achieves mastery of the world (becomes a *cakravarti ruler*).'Further partial reference to the ocean is made by Kamandaka in *sarga* XVI on circumstances suitable for expedition, in *sloka* 16.24.39: '…Acting always in this manner he acquires dominion over the earth washed by the oceans (i.e., become the *cakravarti*, emperor).' However, there is no normative setting in the *Nitisara* as given clearly in Kautilya's *Arthashastra* about the political unification of the Indian subcontinent which hinges on Kautilya specifying the geographic region or the *chakravartikshetra* as in Book IX of Kautilya, 9.1.17-18: '17 Place means the earth. 18 In that, the region of the sovereign ruler extends northwards between the Himavat and the seas, one thousand *yojanas* in extent across.'[2] There is also no mention of *yogaksema* as in Kautilya's *Arthashastra*, but the meaning exists in a latent form. In *sarga*s and *sloka*s pertaining to control over sense and the defects that are to be avoided, Kamandaka makes much more references to examples of vices, or not following the dictums of control over senses, and ills of gambling or hunting from mythology, epics and legends.

This now leads to another major difference. Both Kautilya and Kamandaka work on a theory of *rajmandala* of 12 kings. Kautilya

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1 Attributes of *Sadvrtti* are listed out in previous *slokas* 32 to 37 which are about humility, noble sentiments, not indulging in slanderous criticism, of a friendly disposition, good conduct, not boastful and so on.

2 For arguments and evidence on the Kautilyan text being fundamental to the political unification of a politically fragmented and geo-culturally linked subcontinent, see Michael Liebig and Saurabh Mishra, 'Introduction', in Michael Liebig and Saurabh Mishra (eds), *The Arthaúâstra in a Transcultural Perspective: Comparing Kautilya with Sun-Zi, Nizam al-Mulk, Barani and Machiavelli*, New Delhi: IDSA/Pentagon Press, 2017, pp. 3–4 and Subrata K. Mitra and Michael Liebig, *Kautilya's Arthashastra—An Intellectual Portrait: The Classical Roots of Modern Politics in India*, Baden-Baden, Germany: Nomos, 2016, pp. 123–24, 140, 192, 210, 378 (Indian edition published in 2017, New Delhi: Rupa).

is very clear to show how, in the final consolidation of an empire, both the middle king (*madhyama*) and neutral king (*udasina*) are to be integrated or conquered. This can be seen in Kautilya's *Arthashastra*, Book XIII, 'Means of Taking a Fort', reflected in *sutra*s 13.4.54-61. None such *sloka*s can be found in the *Nitisara* of Kamandaka. Rather, in *sarga* XIV, it is given in *sloka* 14.21.49 that only the attitude of the middle king, *madhyama*, and neutral king, *udasina*, are to be known for the king to 'utilise them favourably for the purpose of his own success (by conducting suitable alliances with them), to provide support to friendly powers and to harass those who are hostile.'

The *Nitisara* of Kamandaka also does not have equivalent of a list of contents as in Kautilya's Book I (Concerning the Topic of Training); duties of heads of department as in Book II; and civil and criminal law as in Books III and IV. Unlike Kautilya, there is no mention of republican states by Kamandaka, indicating importance of monarchy. There is thus no book on oligarchies as Book XI of Kautilya's *Arthashastra*. Maybe the oligarchies existing in the time of Kautilya may not have existed by then. Further, the methodology of enquiry, as found in Book XV of Kautilya's *Arthashastra*, also finds no mention in *Nitisara* of Kamandaka.

More and Repeated Emphasis on Righteousness

An observation by S.K. Mitra is apt: 'Unlike Kautilya, however Kamandaka often took delight in using didactic tales and morals to illustrate the theories, particularly with regards to the righteous conduct of the ruler.'[3] What explains this? Maybe that wars were so frequent and Kamandaka wanted the kings to be conscious of being moral rulers.

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[3] S.K. Mitra, 'Political and Economic Literature in Sanskrit', in Suniti Kumar Chatterji (ed.), *The Cultural Heritage of India, Vol. V: Languages and Literatures in Sanskrit*, Belur Math: Ramakrishna Mission, 2011, p. 343.

Complexity versus Simplicity of Text

At many places in Kautilya's *Arthashastra*, very complex arguments on treaty and war-making have to be laboriously unpacked.[4] In comparison, Kamandaka's work is an abridged treatise (1.1.7-8). It does not have so many complexities and gives many sets of *sloka*s, aphorism and dictums which do sound simple or self-evident, though there is a lot of repetition. In *sarga* IX, *prakarana* 14, *Sandhivikalpa* (Types of *sandhi* or alliances), in Kamandaka's work, the author lists out and explains 16 well-known types of alliances and various contingencies in 78 *sloka*s (see Chapter 3). A comparison of this with Kautilya's work is a massive exercise which needs to be undertaken.

Drift Away from Heterodox to Orthodox

As is shown in Chapter 1 , it is well established that Kautilya's work was a work on political science and not a scriptural work of theology. However, the secular type of work of Kautilya cannot be found later. As noted earlier, the post-Mauryan period and in the likely time span of the composition of Kamandaka's work, Madhyadesh and the Indo-Gangetic Plains came under the influence of Gupta dynasty. Indeed, reliance on fate (*sloka* 12.12.20) shows drift towards Brahmanism in keeping with the Gupta period.

It clearly shows that unlike the free will as found in Kautilya's *Arthashastra*, there is determinism in the text. Also, though it does mention *anvikshiki* as a branch of learning exactly as in Kautilya's *Arthashastra*, Kamandaka is silent on listing the three components, that is, Samkhya, Yoga and Lokayata. To my way of understanding, all the three components of *anvikshiki* imply reasoning and inquiry with no role of the divine. Without the three components, *anvikshiki*, with its heterodoxy, is incomplete. This is a result of orthodoxy.

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[4] Mark McClish, 'Non-Aggression Pacts and Strategic Partnership in Kautiyan Foreign Policy', in Pradeep Kumar Gautam, Saurabh Mishra and Arvind Gupta (eds), *Indigenous Historical Knowledge: Kautilya and His Vocabulary*, Vol. III, New Delhi: IDSA/Pentagon Press, 2016, pp. 16–32.

In the post-Mauryan and also post-Kautilya's *Arthashastra* period, there was a reassertion of the orthodox traditions. The is reflected in Kamandaka's work. For example, unlike in Kautilya's *Arthashastra*, under *sarga* XI, *prakarana* 16, 'Varieties of marching, encamping, dual movement and political alliance or seeking protection of the stronger power', in *sloka*s 11.16.31, 11.16.32, 11.16.32A and 11.16.32B, a philosophical argument is inserted as the last resort under diplomacy to be taken when overwhelmed by an enemy (see Chapter 3).

An emphasis on determinism as against free will as in Kautilya's work is explained by M.V. Krishna Rao in his chapter, 'Nature of Kautilya's Genius':

> To *reason* and not to emotion, Kautilya addresses the final appeal. The shadow of fatalism which rested over the Epics is removed and Kautilya like Aristotle, stresses the importance of individuality and individual responsibility, and the *value* of human endeavour in securing the best in this life…His philosophy of History is not fatalistic. History is no longer the result of the vengeance or jealousy of superhuman powers, but the expression of human intelligence. Kautilya's analysis of Mantra-sakti, Prabhu-sakti and *Utsaha-sakti* is penetrating, and he seeks to discover through them a rational basis for political conduct…Kautilya says that a change is either *Daivam* or *Manusham* ; and by *Daivam*, Kautilya does not mean Fate or Divinity but only that which cannot be foreseen, and which is beyond man's control; and Manusham is obviously that which man can thoroughly see and control…The interpretation of human life in terms of divine determinism was very common with Sanskrit writers, for theology and metaphysics had an irresistible appeal to the Hindu mind, which always displayed an emotional flow and vibration which largely militated against rigidity and organisation…While interpretation of human life in terms of the divine was popular with Indian thinkers, a kind of materialist interpretation that the ruler is the maker of history '*Raja Kalasya Karanam*' came to be substituted during

> the period of Sukra and other *Arthasastrakaras* as a sort of Royal determinism in the place of Divine determinism.[5]

Rituals

As shown in Chapter 3, unlike Kautilya, Kamandaka lists many rituals.

On rituals, R.S. Sharma had noted:

> It is true that rituals helped to strengthen the authority of the ruler. But they were deliberately created and elaborated for this purpose by privileged social and political power groups once they came into existence. Ancient thinkers and writers such as Kautilya and Banabhatta were rational enough to reject the efficacy of rituals…Kautilya did not believe in the theory of destiny.[6]

Superstitions

In *sarga* XVII, *prakarana* 26, *Nimittajnana* (Knowledge of signs and portents), inauspicious portents followed by auspicious signs are listed from *sloka*s 23 to 41. Unlike Kautilya, there is clear evidence of superstitions and lack of what we call today scientific 'temper' in listing inauspicious portents.

Inauspicious Signs and Portents

Inauspicious signs and portents include epidemic diseases, worries and apprehension without any reason, snow or hailstones, stormy winds, overcast sky, dust storms, breakdown of royal flagstaff, mutual dissention among inmates in camp, fright and alarm, camp infested with crows, vultures and unlucky birds, sudden heat waves, negative astrological conjunction of

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[5] M.V. Krishna Rao, *Studies in Kautilya*, Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1958, pp. 22, 28.

[6] R.S. Sharma, *Rethinking India's Past*, 6th impression, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2015(2009), pp. 126–27.

horoscope, when rutting elephants stop emitting ichor and other evil omens.

Auspicious Signs and Portents

Auspicious signs are: people happy and content; music, dance, songs; Vedic hymns; good and clear weather; chirping of auspicious birds; and so on. Few *sloka*s give advice to take precautions without spelling them out. *Sloka* 17.26.34 sums this up:

> The encampment, where these (auspicious) signs prevail, is indeed commendable. With these in one's own camp, he may hope to break the bone of the enemy (i.e., defeat him), but without these the reverse will be the result (i.e., *vijigisu* may have to court defeat).

This shows how inauspicious signs, including astrology bordering on superstitions, figure in the text. None of this is found in Kautilya's *Arthashastra*.

Thus, it is evident that in the case of Kamandaka, with the changed context, there was dilution of the idea of free will, along with an influence of determinism.

Conquests or *Vijai* and Combat or *Yuddha*

No Mention of the Three Types of Conquests/*Vijais*

The three famous signature Kautilyan concepts of *dharmavijai* (conquest by justice), *lobhavijai* (conquest for greed) and *asuravijai* (conquest by plunder and scorched earth) are not found in Kamandaka. The absence of the concepts of victors/victories is a crucial evidence of its dilution in Kamandaka. These were the high ideas that were generated in the times of the flowering of *artha* literature. It is in this period, between sixth/seventh century BCE till the second century BCE or the Indian axial age, when rich competing orthodox, heterodox and other Indian traditions debated their philosophies. The age of the *Arthashastra* thus can be called the classical age, but not so the age of Kamnadaka's *Nitisara*, though it did retain, in an abridged form, the digest of Kautilya's *Arthashastra* and on its own merit contributed some different features to which I now turn.

Yuddha

Unlike Kautilya, Kamandaka does not mention or list the types of *yuddha*. Chapter 3 has elaborated on this. Mention of *prakash yuddha* and *kutayuddha* is found in sloka 19.31.54. And in 19.31.71 *kutayuddha* is morally justified. *Tusniyuddha* is found in capturing a fort by intrigue and secret war in sloka 14.20.29. For Kamandaka, intrigue and secret war were the best ways to capture a fort without a fight.

In her study on political violence in ancient India, Upinder Singh argues:

> While Kamandaka justifies violent means to attain political ends, a careful reading of the text suggests a more complex and nuanced perspective towards political violence, one that is rather radical in the context of political thought of the time. The *Arthashastra* puts forward a brilliant vision of an arrogant all-powerful state, one that was omniscient, omnipresent, and omnipotent. The *Nitisara* represents a post-Kautilyan reflection on political power, one that is cautious and restrained, especially with regard to issues related to political violence. Compared with Kautilya, Kamandaka was somehow more concerned with the ethical dimension of politics.[7]

It is difficult to agree with this interpretation, argued by Singh, on the ethical dimensions of politics by Kamanadka. As noted in Chapter 3, *sloka* 8.13.57 is an important indicator. Here Kamandaka suggests destruction of enemy territory as the main method. Kautilya does not mention such a brutal policy. Further, at no place does Kamandaka advices as to how (as argued by Kautilya) the defeated people are to be treated with dignity and integrated.

The main aim of Kautilya was to unify India, and the end state of *yogaksema*. No such grand ideas are found in the *Nitisara*.

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[7] Upinder Singh, *Political Violence in Ancient India*, Cambridge, MA, and London: Harvard University Press, 2017, p. 204.

Importantly, Kautilya's *Arthashastra* has the core philosophy of *dharmavijai*, a conquest by justice, very much like the Buddhist philosophy. What the Mauryan empire of Chandargupta till Ashoka achieved was a successful *vijigisu*. This feat, we know, was only partially achieved by the Mauryan rulers in fourth/third century BCE, tallying with the normative aim of Kautilya's *Arthashastra* on a political unification. Indeed, after the break-up of the Mauryan Empire, there was incessant warfare—today what appears to be a war amongst the people of ancient India. There is an argument which blames the struggle of competing *vijigisus* for perpetual warring states. On the *vijigisu*-centric *mandala* theory, historian Nilakanta Sastri has argued:

> Almost every important writer has worked out the implications of this theoretical construction of Power Politics in tedious detail with little reference to the facts of inter-state relations…It is indeed often true that neighbouring states are not friendly to each; but the *mandala* theory erects this into a principal and bases all inter-state relations on this assumption. We need not pursue here the details of the four upayas (instruments of policy), the sixfold strategy (sadgunya), the concept of *madhyastha*, *udasina*, *parsnigraha* and so on, which are closely interwoven with this theory. But we must note that its implicit exhortation to constant war tended to make inter-state relations perhaps the worst blot on Indian polity.[8]

It is possible that Kamandaka was witness to this warfare and did not want to see such violence. But nowhere can it be proved that 'Kamandaka was somehow more concerned with the ethical dimension of politics'[9] more than Kautilya.

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[8] K.A. Nilakanta Sastri, 'International Law and Relations in Ancient India', in Charles Henry Alexandrowicz (ed.), *The Indian Year Book of International Affairs, 1952*, Madras: The Indian Study Group of International Affairs, University of Madras, 1952, pp. 108–09.

[9] Singh, *Political Violence in Ancient India*, n. 7, p. 204.

CHAPTER 6

SOME UNIQUE FEATURES OF KAMANDAKA

One of the unique features of Kamandaka is that there are more examples from epics as compared to Kautilya. Other unique features are described next.

INFLUENCE OF SANSKRIT POETS AND PLAYWRIGHTS ON *NITISARA*

Poets, such as Kalidas and Bhasha, and playwrights, such as Vishakadatta, flourished in the Gupta period. This literary influence can be noticed in the versified text of Kamandaka in its English translation—it seems to be much more ornate. In *sarga* VIII, *prakarana* 12, on the topic of *Mandalayoni* or circle of kings, *sloka*s 16–19 give the 12 *vijigisu*s as would-be conquerors, just as in Kautilya's *Arthashastra*. And at the end of this *prakarana*, a poetic way is employed, describing the *mandala* as the simile of the tree:

> Comparing the *Mandala* to a tree it is said to be possessed with eight branches (a friend or an ally of each of the four cardinal rulers), four roots (*Vijigisu*, *Ari*, *Madhyama* and *Udasina*), and sixty leaves (five *prakrtis* of each of twelve rules of the *mandala*) standing on two trunks (i.e., all actions are either divinely ordained or engineered by human efforts, *daiva* and *purusakara*) and producing six flowers (positive political expedients *Sadgunya* viz., *sandhi*, *vigraha*, *yana*, *asana*, *samsrayyavrtti* and *dvaiddhibhava*) and three fruits (loss, preservation and enlargement of territory). He who realises the full import of the simile of the tree in respect of the *mandala* is indeed a true politician (*nitivid*). (*sloka* 8.12.42)

SEVEN *UPAYAS*, RATHER THAN FOUR

There are seven *upayas*. To the classical four *sama*, *dana*, *bheda* and *danda*, three more are included at 18.27.3: 'display of

deceitful tactics (*maya*), neglect (*upeksa* or diplomatic indifference) and conjuring tricks (*indrajala*).' Kamandaka's *maya* and *indrajala* are related to occult practices and magic and not much is known about them today. But *upeksha*, which is diplomatic neglect, is a powerful philosophical idea which seems to have survived and has contemporary relevance. Let us examine the changing emphasis on *upeksha* with time. But, first, let us pause and see the varieties of *yana* (marching).

Five Varieties of *Yana*

In *sarga* XI, *prakarana* 16, setting out on a march against an enemy, called *yana*, is explained in great detail. Five kinds or varieties are listed in this regard: *Vigrhya*, *Sandhya*, *Sambhuya*, *Prasamgata* and *Upeksha. Vigrhya-yana* is when a powerful *vijigisu* marches against an equally powerful enemy with allies on both sides. *Sandhya*, also called *Sandhya-gamana*, is when a *vijigisu* makes a treaty or alliance with the *parsnigraha* (his enemy on the rear). *Sambhuya-gamana* is when the *vijigisu* collectively with faithful allies or *samanta*s and/or enlisting support of weaker allies assured of future reward marches against an enemy. The fourth variation, *prasamgata*, is taken out straight from the epic Mahabharata. *Sloka* 11.16.9 says:

> Setting out for the achievement of a purpose, if (for some reason or other) the movement is directed towards another, it is known as *Prasamga-yana*. The case of Salya (the Madra ruler, who set out for joining ranks of his nephew Yudhisthira in the Kuruksetra, was persuaded by Duryodhana to join the latter) is an apt illustration.

The fifth, *Upeksha-yana*, stands out as the most important variation as it is also linked to the *upaya* of *upeksha*.

Upeksha

V.R. Ramachandra Dikshitar, in his work, invites attention by focusing not only on the four *upaya*s as by Kautilya, but on three more, namely, *upeksha*, *maya* and *indrajala*. Dikshitar says that the application of the six methods of foreign policy was through

four means of *sama*, *dana*, *bheda* and *danda* in various permutations/ combinations. The Puranas and later *niti* works, like Kamandaka, have added three more *upaya*s of *upeksha*, *maya* and *indrajala*.[1] In this case, *upeksha* may have evolved further post the Kautilyan period. If we examine Kamandaka's *Nitisara*, in *sarga* XVIII, *prakarana* 27, *Upayavikalpa* (Varieties of expedients), *sloka* 18.27.3, we find the total seven: (i) conciliation (*sama*); (ii) gifts (*dana*); (iii) (sowing) dissension (*bheda*); (iv) use of military power (*danda*); (v) display of deceitful tactics (*maya*); (vi) neglect (*upeksha* or diplomatic indifference); and (vii) conjuring tricks (*indrajala*).

Kautilya, in Book VII (The Six Measure of Foreign Policy), has one policy as 'staying quiet' or 'sanyas' at *sutra* 7.1.2. In the original Sanskrit, *sutra* 7.1.8 is known as *Upekshanmasanam*, translated as 'Remaining indifferent is staying quiet'. *Upeksha*, as mentioned earlier, is also found in *sarga* XI, *sloka* 11.16.2, as a one kind or variety of *yana*.

The Strategy of *Upeksha*

Sloka 11.16.10 says: 'The *Upeksayana* (the expedient of indifference) is so called as the *Vijigisu* disregarding chance of his success against the assailed enemy, directs his movement against the latter's strong ally.' This is not a thumb rule. *Sloka* 11.16.22 clarifies that *Upeksasana*a is to show of indifference to more powerful rival. What we can infer is that *upeksha* is also like a tactical or strategic pause, or doing nothing, or being defensive, called *asana*. And Kamandaka, at 11.16.22, calls it *Upeksasana*. Therefore, it can be said that *upeksha* is a very flexible concept.

For contemporary relevance, it has intuitively more to do with a weaker party having a moral high ground. In continuation of this tradition, in *Sarga* XI, Kamandaka emphasizes the doctrine of *upeksha* as a cardinal principle of neutrality. And unlike

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[1] V.R. Ramachandra Dikshitar, *War in Ancient India*, Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1987(1944), pp. 326, 335.

Kautilya who does not expand much on *upeksha*, Kamandaka lays out the most powerful strategy of *upeksha*. *Upeksha* is a tool for freeing a nation from foreign domination or slavery and for realization of self-determination. This strategy of long-term patience and struggle is inherent in Indian traditions. In India's latent and subconscious mind, these concepts reside and do show up in case of need, duly reinterpreted and reused from Kautilya and Kamandaka to M.K. Gandhi. Let me explain the strategy of *upeksha*.

Upeksha as a strategy by an inferior power—as a part of *udasina* attributed to Kautilya and continued and deliberated by Kamandaka as *upeksha*—is the most important and enduring idea from India's vocabulary of strategic culture. It should be noted that in Buddhism also, *upeksha*, or *upekha* in Pali, is defined as an 'Attitude of not clinging to or rejecting our feelings is the attitude of letting go.'[2] Krishna Rao has given a good theoretical understanding of the concept of *upeksha*. He compares M.K. Gandhi's strategy during Indian freedom struggle with *upeksha* to argue:

> The use of the expedient '*Upeksha*' in Kautilyan diplomacy is remarkably modern and is reminiscent of the great gospel of *Upeksha* that the Father of the Indian Nation adopted during the second decade of this century. It was discovered during the time of Kautilya that an inferior power which could not confront a stronger power in open warfare, had to resort to *Upeksha* an attitude of complete indifference toward its separate and superior powers in the neighbourhood…Upeksha is mentioned in Arthashastra as an expedient of *Udasina* attitude…the supreme virtue of patience and endurance against the worst provocation…The doctrine of Upeksha was emphasized later on, as one of the cardinal tenets of neutrality by Kamandaka in his Nitisara.[3]

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[2] Thich Nhat Hanh, 'Glossary', in *Transformation of Healing: Sutra on the Four Establishment of Mindfulness*, New Delhi: Full Circle, 1997, p. 78.

[3] M.V. Krishna Rao, *Studies in Kautilya*, Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1958, pp. 101–02.

This concept of *upeksha* can be now further analyzed from the concepts and vocabulary of Kamandaka to see how the sinews of India's strategic culture survived and mutated in various forms. Of course, it is clear that *upeksha* is not only use of just military or kinetic force but also, as M.K. Gandhi said, it is soul force or *satyagraha*. It is now possible to relate both *satyagraha* and *upeksha* as two sides of the same coin.

Kamandaka Does Not Question or Disagree with any Previous Schools or Teachers or Says 'No'

Unlike the fiery Kautilya, who often rejects and challenges the old schools or teachers of the *arthashastra* by saying 'No' and then gives his 'own voice', no such practice is noticed in Kamandaka's work. One explanation may be that there was a reassertion of *dharma* texts like *Manusmriti*, where it was a great sin to disagree with a teacher.

Various *Mandalas*

Kamandaka does refer to previous teachers or schools in the case of number of would-be conquerors, *vijigisu*s, and the constituent elements, *prakrti*s. In *sarga* VIII, *prakarana* 12, *Mandalayoni* (The nave of interstatal circle), from slokas 20 to 40, Kamandaka gives the opinion of various thinkers on composition of *mandala*.[4] Some examples are as follows:

1. *Sloka* 20: Maya, the reputed expert, has been shown to say that the *mandala* is composed of four principle sovereigns: *vijigisu*, *ari*, *madhyama* and *udasina*.
2. *Sloka* 21: In the opinion of both Puloma and Indra, the *mandala* includes six rulers, namely, *vijigisu, ari*, *mitra*, *parsnigraha*, *madhyama* and *udasina*.
3. *Sloka* 22: According to Usanas, *udasina* and *madhyama*, along with the *mandala* rulers of *vijigisu* (10 in number), make a *mandala* of 12 rulers in all.

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[4] I thank Group Captain K.K. Khera for bringing this to my notice.

4. *Sloka* 23: These 12 kings, together with an ally and an enemy of each, constitute a *mandala* of 36 is also held by Maya.
5. *Sloka* 24: The Manavas (the school of Manu) compute five constituent elements of *mantri* and others (*prakrtis* or *dravya prakrtis*, operative organs) for these 12 sovereigns (that is, 5 x 12 = 60 elements).
6. *Sloka* 28: Visalaksa says that these 18 sovereigns, each with an enemy and ally, constitute a *mandala* of 54 rulers (18 x 2 = 36 + 18 = 54).
7. *Sloka* 29: These 54 rulers, each with their *prakrti*s of ministers and others (five in number), make a *prakrti mandala* of 324 elements (54 x 5 = 270 + 54 = 324).

Kamandaka only lists out what others schools or scholars of *artha* text had suggested; and, as just mentioned, he never has the word 'No' for them. Kamandaka concludes in 8.12.41: 'In this way various types and forms of the *Mandala* have been enunciated (by different authorities). But it is clear that the *mandala* of twelve rulers is recognised universally.'

The large number of kings in Kamandaka's *sarga* VIII indicate that there were a number of smaller kingdoms; and the text was not on how to govern and rule a consolidated Indian empire. This question also comes up when Kautilya's *Arthashastra* is examined. In a previous work, I had analyzed this aspect based on very valid arguments by Romila Thapar and Hermann Kulke and Dietmar Rothermund:[5]

> Romila Thapar, who considers the text to be a Mauryan document, also wonders: 'It has long been a puzzle as to why, if Kautilya had known a large imperial state, his work should be concerned with smaller states.'… Hermann Kulke and

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[5] Pradeep Kumar Gautam, 'Understanding Kautilya's *Arthaśâstra*: Origination, Migration and Diffusion', in Michael Liebig and Saurabh Mishra (eds), *The Arthashastra in a Transcultural Perspective: Comparing Kautilya with Sun-Si, Nizam al-Mulk, Barani and Machiavelli*, New Delhi: IDSA/Pentagon Press, 2017, pp. 68–112.

> Dietmar Rothermund… argue:Kautalya depicts a situation in which several small rival kingdoms each have a chance of gaining supremacy over the other if the respective ruler follows the instruction given by Kautalya. In ancient Indian history the period which corresponds most closely to Kautalya's description is that of the mahajanapadas before Magadha attained supremacy. Thus it seems more likely that Kautalya related in normative terms what he had come to know about this earlier period than his account actually reflected the Mauryan empire during Chandragupta's reign. Thus the *Arthaúâstra* should not be regarded as a source for the study of the history of the empire only but also for the history of state formation in the immediately preceding period.[6]

Upinder Singh argues:

> Although the *Arthaúâstra* does have a certain element of unity, it is very likely that there were later interpolations and remouldings. The crux of the problem is: In view of debate over its age and authorship and its normative nature, how is this text to be used as a source of history? There do not yet seem to be sufficient grounds to abandon the idea that *some part* of the text was composed in the Mauryan period by a person named Kautilya, allowing for later interpolations stretching into the early centuries CE. Since it has some moorings in the Mauryan period, the *Arthaúâstra* can be used as a source for certain aspects of the period. At the same, we have to be careful not to read the book as a description of Mauryan state or society.[7]

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[6] The two works quoted in note 5 above are Romila Thapar, ' The Mauryas Revisited'in Romila Thapar, *Cultural Past: Essays in Early Indian History* , New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2000, p469 and Hermann Kulke and Dietmar Rothermund, *A History of India*, 3rd edition, London and New York: Routledge, 1998, pp. 44–45.

[7] Upinder Singh, 'Power and Piety: The Mauryan Empire c. 324–187 BCE', in *A History of Ancient and Early Medieval India: From the Stone Age to the 12th Century*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2008, pp. 323–24.

We know that Kautilya also talks of 12 kings. However, no other explanation is given by Kamandaka who relies and accepts Kautilya's teachings of 12 kings as the best. Why did Kamandaka stick to 12? Possibly, the answer may be that 12 were closest to the historical times when Kamandaka compiled the text; besides this number was also found useful, relevant, flexible and enduring.

Some Ideas about Other Authors/Schools of *Artha* Text

The mention of previous authors or schools of the *artha* text by Kamandaka may also corroborate that barring Kautilya, all other *artha* texts of individual scholars or schools of pre-fourth century BC may have actually been lost by this time (this has been covered briefly in Chapter 1). One final *sutra* of Kautilya at the end of his text needs to be repeated here: 'Having seen discrepancies in many ways on the part of the writers of commentaries on the Sastras, Vishu Gupta himself has made (this) Sutra and Commentary.'

It thus appears that Kamandaka had access only to Kautilya's *Arthashastra*. With regards to Kamandaka referring to previous teachers in the case of *mandala* theory and constituent elements, we need to remember that, besides Kautilya's *Arthashastra*, this was also available in other texts such as *Shanti Parva* or texts on *dharmashastra*. To be fair, this non-availably of other differing *artha* texts may be one explanation for Kamandaka not rejecting the views of other schools or teachers of the *arthashastra*. Hopefully, in future, as and when pre-Kautilyan texts on *arthashastra* are rediscovered, a better idea may emerge from a comparative study. Ashok S. Chousalkar, in 'Rethinking Political Thought of Ancient India', throws much light on the lost pre-Kautilan texts to argue:

> Ancient Indian political thought is one of the important parts of world Political Science which have originated in Sixth century B.C. and the last book on it was written by Malhar Ramrao Chitnis in 1810. The dominant theme of the Hindu thought was influenced by Dhamashastra tradition which held that the

purpose of the state was the maintenance of Dharma and protection of Varna order. There was a deep impact of the Hindu metaphysical ideas on it. The study of pre Kautilyan Arthashastra tradition was neglected and later on hegemonically appropriated. In the light of its salient features, we have to rethink nature of Ancient Indian Political thought as there is a considerable departure from the dominant Dharmashashtra tradition.

There was long line of prominent Arthashastra teachers before Kautilya's Arthashastra. These teachers wrote their own Arthashastras and Kautilya claimed that his book on the Arthashastra was based upon the Arthashastras written by earlier teachers. Though there were considerable differences among the teachers, there were certain uniformities also. Following can be considered as the salient features of Arthashastra Tradition:

1. The science of politics is based on the 'Atharvaveda', 'Itihas veda' and it is 'Drushtarth smriti' that means, it is a science based upon the empirical observations. Human experience is the source of Science of politics and not the Vedic dogma.

2. Human efforts are more important than the belief in fate. It is because of human efforts that great cities were established, vast tracks of land were cultivated, mountains were scaled and oceans were crossed hence human endeavour is supreme.

3. It is the responsibility of the king to protect his kingdom from all sorts of calamities. We have to use human reason and intelligence to overcome the dangers. We have to anticipate danger and take adequate measures. There is no permanent friend or foe in politics as friendships change on the basis of self-interest. There is no place for morality in interstate relations.

4. Instead of performing costly sacrifices that damage environment and force slaves and workers to work hard

> which created conditions of anarchy and lawlessness in the kingdom; the minister of the king advised him to give land to cultivators, money and material to traders and jobs to people so that they would get means of livelihood. The advice of the minister was followed by the king and within few years the kingdom became prosperous—thus development and not the religious ceremonies bring about the change in the society.[8]

It seems from this study that Kamandaka (as around the Gupta period) seems to be balancing between the resurgent *dharmashastra* tradition and the classical *arthashastra* tradition. But clearly, the overall essence or tilt is towards *arthashastra* tradition. This is a rather tentative finding and one has to be very careful in discerning the difference. Both *arthashastra* and *nitishastra* were and will remain pure works of political science. Mixing up *dharmashastra* tradition with *arthashastra* is to be avoided.

Kamandaka Proceeds from War to Peace Unlike Kautilya Who Proceeds from Peace to War

Although there is no warmongering in the text, as shown in Chapter 4, there is a shift in emphasis in the use of force. In *sloka*s 11.16.36-41, Kamandaka, in the end, debates *sadgunya* in great detail. For Kamandaka , it seems *Vigraha* is more appealing. Let us revisit chapter 3, *sloka* 42:

> On reasonable analysis *vigraha* stands out to be the one and only one political expedient (for a *vijigisu*) and *sandhi* and other expedients arise out of it. It is the consider opinion of our

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[8] Ashok S. Chousalkar, 'Rethinking Political Thought of Ancient India', available at https://liveencounters.net/2018-le-mag/12-december-vol-one-2018/professor-ashok-s-chousalkar-rethinking-political-thought-of-ancient-india/, accessed in October 2018. I thank Dr Namrata Goswami for drawing attention to this important source. I am yet to get hold of the work of Malhar Ramrao Chitnis of 1810, as quoted by Ashok S. Chousalkar.

> Guru (the preceptor, i.e., Visnugupta) that according to needs of political circumstances expedients are six in number (*Sadgunyam*).

It seems that unlike Kautilya who gives first priority to peace, Kamandaka inverts the relation by making peace an offshoot of war. This is a very nuanced change and it could be that Kamandaka was influenced by warfare without an end state of a unified Indian subcontinent or *chakravartikshetra* of his time, reflecting the wars of pre- and post-Gupta period.

Chapter 7

Contemporary Relevance and Conclusion

It is now possible to summarize the answers to the three questions for which this study was undertaken: (i) what are the continuities and changes in the vocabulary and concepts from Kautilya's *Arthashastra* to *Nitisara*; (ii) what is the vocabulary of Kamandaka in a stand-alone mode; and (iii) what is the contemporary relevance of the answers to these findings? Two strands can be discerned. First is the continuity of core traditions of statecraft. The second is linking Kamandaka to contemporary matters of history. The latter is more relevant and has been ignored so far.

Continuity of Core Indian Traditions of Statecraft

Ever since Kautilya's *Arthashastra* was rediscovered, so to speak, and made public in the beginning of the twentieth century, it has generated an unending debate. It appears that the knowledge compiled by Kautilya was never lost. It is a living tradition that is being revived and updated today. Almost all the concepts and vocabulary are also found in Kamandaka's *Nitisara*, and also in fables of statecraft, such as *Panchatantra* and *Hitopadesa*, and other texts. All of this confirms that the key concepts of Kautilya have been widely known in both oral and written forms. Of course, subjects of methodology, inquiry and logic, although not in Kamandaka's work, reside in medical literature. For example, Book XV of Kautilya explains and illustrates the various stylistic devices to elucidate a scientific subject. It refers to 32 devices of textual interpretation called *tantra-yukti* or devices of science. These methods of science are derived from *anvikshiki* and are in four categories, as theorized by Michael Liebig from the German translation by J.J. Mayer:

1. 1st Category Cluster - The Principle of Causality;
2. 2nd Category Cluster - Preliminary Explanations;

3. 3rd Category Cluster - Explanation and Conclusion; and

4. 4th Category Cluster - Inference and Prognostics.[1]

This methodology is also found in *Charaka Samhita* and *Sushruta Samhita*, two authoritative treatises on medicine which have origin in Kashmir. It is found in *nyaya* philosophy too.[2]

As shown in the introduction, Shyam Saran makes a cogent case for the continuity and relevance of the core principles and concepts of statecraft of Kautilya and Kamandaka in the twenty-first century world.[3] These core principles, discussed in Chapter 4, show a common strand running through both the texts on general commonalities. Though there are many commonalities, the following show undeniable continuity: five components of counsel; acquisition of wealth and its distribution; matters of war and peace; and peace being top priority with no warmongering.

Key Timeless Concepts in Statecraft

In summary, on comparing Kautilya with Kamandaka, the following are some continuities:

1. Both argue for a balance by *dharma* to achieve *artha* and *kama*.
2. Both Kautilya and Kamandaka emphasize non-violence and control over senses in great detail. For both, people matter.

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1 Michael Liebig, 'Statecraft and Intelligence Analysis in the *Kautilya-Arthashastra*', in Pradeep Kumar Gautam, Saurabh Mishra and Arvind Gupta (eds), *Indigenous Historical Knowledge: Kautilya and His Vocabulary*, Vol. III, New Delhi: IDSA/Pentagon Press, 2016, pp. 49–50. Also see Ashok S. Chousalkar, 'Methodology of Kautilya's *Arthashastra*', *The Indian Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 65, No. 1, January–March 2004, pp. 55–76.

2 Satis Chandra Vidyabhusana, *A History of Indian Logic: Ancient, Mediaeval and Modern*, Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1971(1920), pp. 22–24. Also see Chousalkar, 'Methodology of Kautilya's *Arthashastra*', n. 1.

3 Shyam Saran, *How India Sees the World: Kautilya to the 21st Century*, New Delhi: Juggernaut, 2017, p. 292.

3. Both give priority to *anvikshiki* (reasoning and inquiry).
4. Both give the fundamental objective of statecraft by four related and sequential aims: '…the acquisition of (things) not possessed, the preservation of (things) possessed, the augmentation of (things) preserved, and bestowal of (things) augmented on a worthy recipient. On it depends the orderly maintenance of worldly life.'
5. Both have the same five components of counsel: strategy for initiating the undertaking; men and material of exemplary quality; allocation of place and time; precautions against failure; and bringing the undertaking to a successful conclusion.
6. Both are not warmongers. For both, the first option is peace or treaty, and then war. *Sloka*s 9.14.73 and 74 have a Kautiyan advise, relevant to this day, against a king being a warmonger: 'the consequences of war are always disastrous…an intelligent ruler should not indulge in frequent warfare (i.e., he should not be a warmonger (*ativigrahi*).'
7. The value of diplomacy is emphasized. And this is a fundamental continuity of universality of statecraft from these Indic texts today. Thus Kamandaka is very clear on giving top priority to reasonable judgement or *mantrasakti* to say that : 'Too much reliance on military power alone...leads to repentance'.
8. The priority of the three powers or *shakti*s is given: *mantra-shakti*, the power of counsel and diplomacy; *prabhav-shakti*, the power of the army and treasury; and *utsah-shakti*, the personal energy and drive of the ruler himself.
9. Both are foundational texts on intelligence studies and guidance on duties of a diplomat.
10. There is continuity in the seven *prakrit*s or *saptanga* (constituent elements of a state) and need to take care of them. These are: the *swamin* (king or ruler); *amatya* (body of ministers and structure of administration); *janapada/rastra* (territory being agriculturally fertile with mines, forest and

pastures, water resources and communication system for trade); *durga/pura* (fort); *kosa* (treasury); *danda/bala* (army); and *mitra* (ally). The *vyasana*s (calamities) may infect them. It is necessary to take precautions against those before one can start on an expedition of conquest.

11. In political theory, there is a continuity in four *upaya*s (approaches or ways) of *sama* (conciliation)*, dana* (gifts), *bheda* (rupture) *and danda* (force), with *upeksha* elaborated by Kamandaka in detail. *Danda* is always the last resort for both.

12. *Sadgunya* or the six measures of foreign policy continue to be used. The six *guna*s or measures are:

    i. *Sandhi*, making a treaty containing conditions or terms, that is, the policy of peace.

    ii. *Vigraha*, the policy of hostility.

    iii. *Asana*, the policy of remaining quiet (and not planning to march on an expedition).

    iv. *Yana*, marching on an expedition.

    v. *Samsraya*, seeking shelter with another king or in a fort.

    vi. *Dvaidhibhava*, the double policy of *Samdhi* with one king and *Vigraha* with another at the same time.

13. *Rajmandala* or circle of kings, consisting of 12 kings:

    i. *vijigisu* (the would-be conqueror);

    ii. *ari* (the enemy);

    iii. *mitra* (*vijigisu*'s ally);

    iv. *arimitra* (ally of enemy);

    v. *mitramitra* (friend of ally);

    vi. *arimitramitra* (ally of enemy's friend);

    vii. *parsnigraha* (enemy in the rear of the *vijigisu*);

    viii. *akranda* (*vijigisui* ally in the rear);

    ix. *parsnigrahasara* (ally of *parsnigraha*);

x. *akrandasara* (ally of *akranda*);

xi. *madhyama* (middle king bordering both *vijigisu* and the *ari*); and

xii. *udasina* (lying outside, indifferent/neutral, more powerful than *vijigisu*, *ari* and *madhyama*).

Changes in the Vocabulary and Concepts from Kautilya's *Arthashastra* to *Nitisara*

As mentioned earlier, Kautilya was a scholar and thinker and he had practical experience in statecraft and governance being chancellor to Chandragupta Maurya. Kamandaka, in comparison, is not known to have had any experience as a statesman or a minister. Thus, his work, derived from previous traditions, is an academic one. Being an abridged version, Kamandaka displays simplicity of text, whereas Kautilya's work, at many places, has very complex arguments on treaty and war-making which have to be laboriously unpacked. So, the sets of *sloka*s, aphorism and dictums in Kamandaka's do sound simple or self-evident, though there is a lot of repetition.

Some topics discussed by Kautilya, such as those given in Books I, II, III and IV, have been excluded by Kamandaka. One major difference is on the normative part. Whereas Kautilya's treatise aims at the concept of a political unification of the *chakravartikshetra* as defined in sutra 9.1.17-18, Kamandaka does not mention this clearly. There is also no mention, as is done unambiguously by Kautilya, of the defeat and integration of both the middle king (*madhyama)* and neutral king (*udasina*) by Kamandaka. Kamandaka instead suggests alliance with both middle and neutral kings.

In Kamandaka's *Nitisara*, there is more and repeated emphasis on righteousness. Probably, Kamandaka wanted the kings to be conscious about being moral rulers as the wars were so frequent at his time.

There is also a visible shift from the Kautilyan heterodoxy to orthodoxy in Kamandaka's work. Indeed, Brahmanism was on

the ascend in the time of Kamandaka, with a reassertion of orthodox traditions. Kautilya's *Arthashastra* is about free will and is absent of determinism. In Kamandaka's work, there is superstition, much more reliance on fate or determinism and a shift towards Brahmanism, with an absence of free will. Also, though Kamandaka's text has *anvikshiki*, it does not specify the three foundational components of *anvikshiki*—Samkhya, Yoga and Lokayata, which imply reasoning and inquiry with no role of the divine—as given by Kautilya.

On types of conquest, there is no mention of the Kautilyan concepts of *dharmavijai*, *lobhavijai* and *asuravijai* by Kamandaka. Also, the grand ideas of unifying India and achieving the end state of *yogaksema*, found in Kautilya, are not found in *Nitisara*.

Vocabulary and Concepts of Kamandaka in a Stand-alone Mode

Notwithstanding the dilution of high ideals and heterodoxy of Kautilyan times by Kamandaka, overall the core concepts and vocabulary of statecraft seem enduring. With regards to dilution, although war is considered the last resort by both, there is a shift in emphasis in the use of force. Kamandaka proceeds from war to peace, unlike Kautilya who proceeds from peace to war (see Chapter 6). Thus, Kamandaka makes peace an offshoot of war, whereas for Kautilya, peace is the first priority. The reason for this change is not very clear but it could be due to the wars of pre- and post-Gupta period. When further research is carried out, keeping in mind the political history as sketched in Chapter 2, it may provide fresh insights.

One unique feature of Kamandaka is his focus on not only the four *upaya*s of *sama*, *dana*, *bheda* and *danda* like Kautilya, but on the detailed elaboration of the powerful *upaya* of *upeksha*, as discussed in Chapter 6. A Kautilyan scholar, Krishna Rao, compares M.K. Gandhi's strategy of *satyagraha* or 'soul force' during the Indian freedom struggle with *upeksha*. *Upeksha* or *upekha* (in Pali) is also a key concept of an attitude in Buddhism. Could it be that Kamandaka, being a Buddhist, dwelt at length

on *upeksha*/ *upekha*? Thus, *upeksha* counters the use of military force and is a long-term strategy of how a weak king can defeat a powerful king by the primacy of moral power.[4] But the most important takeaway from Kamandaka is related to contemporary matters of history.

Linking Kamandaka to Contemporary Matters of History

Two examples are directly related to matters of history:

1. Sisir Kumar Mitra, in placing the text as post-Mauryan, makes a mention of a reference to Chandragupta Maurya: 'The *Kamandakiya Nitisara* is surely a post-Maurya treatise or at least *not* a pre-Maurya text, as it refers to the Maurya king Chandragupta Maurya (late 4th century B.C.)…'.[5] This shows that Kamandaka's *Nitisara* not only traces its lineage to Kautilya but also names a historical emperor, Chandragupta Maurya. One part from *sloka* 1.1.2-6 is the key to this historical evidence and I repeat it here:

> …(salutation) to him who like the god *Saktidhara* (*Kartikeya*, the war-god) single handed by the exercise of his power of counselling (*mantrasakti*) secured the word (*medini* or the state) for Candragupta (Maurya), the prince among men (*nrcandraya*); salutation to that learned one, who produced

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[4] In a forthcoming edited volume, I have expanded and universalized the scope and powerful value of *upeksha*. See Pradeep Kumar Gautam, 'Comparing Kamandaka's *Nitisara* and Kautilya's *Arthashastra* on Some Aspects of Statecraft, Diplomacy, and Warfare', in proceedings of a seminar, 'Exploring Roots of India's Strategic Culture', held at IDSA on 5 October 2017, forthcoming, YouTube presentation available at https://idsa.in/event/exploring-the-roots-of-indias-strategic-culture

[5] Sisir Kumar Mitra, 'Preface', in Rajendralala Mitra (ed.), *The Nitisara or the Elements of Polity by Kamandaki*, Bibliotheca Indica: Collection of Oriental Works, published under the superintendent of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, No. 179, printed by Calcutta Baptist Mission Press in 1861, revised with English translation by Sisir Kumar Mitra, Calcutta: The Asiatic Society (reprinted), 1982(1849), p. (ix).

the nectar of *Nitisastra* (the eternal laws of human conduct) out of the mighty ocean (extensively wide) of the *Arthsastra*.

This passage gives a clear indication about the historical Vishnugupta or Kautilya being the advisor to Chandragupta Maurya.

2. As noted earlier, Shamasastry had pointed out that Kamandaka's mention of a benevolent Yavana king in *sloka* 1.1.16 was none other than Kanishka.[6] Surprisingly, the inclusion of Kanishka, as rightly noticed by Shamasastry, has been ignored so far. However, it has immense geo-cultural implications. As we saw in the *White Paper II* in Chapter 2, there is a mention of Kushans (hence Kanishka) as naturalized Indians, the Guptas and importantly, Raghu, the conqueror from Kalidas' *Raghuvamsa*. The region mentioned is beyond the Himalayas. This aspect can be further researched, as it redefines the *chakravartikshetra* of Kautilya, by crossing over the Himalayas to Central Asia. There is thus a need to undertake a detailed historical study to further advance knowledge beyond *White Paper II*, by unearthing archives and study of edicts in Brahmi and Kharoshti scripts, as has been recently done by Vishnu Saksena in his paper, 'Brahmi Script and the Roots of Pan-India Culture'.[7]

Conclusion

In this study, I have compared and contrasted the trajectory of continuation of Indian traditions of statecraft in Kamandaka's *Nitisara* from the earlier foundational root text of Kautilya's

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[6] *Kautilya's Arthasastra*, translated by the late Dr R. Shamasastry, with an introduction by the late Dr J.F. Fleet, Delhi: Low Price Publications, 2012(1915), p. viii.

[7] Vishnu Saksena, 'Brahmi Script and the Roots of Pan-India Culture', in proceedings of a seminar, 'Exploring Roots of India's Strategic Culture', held at IDSA on 5 October 2017, forthcoming, YouTube presentation available at https://idsa.in/event/exploring-the-roots-of-indias-strategic-culture

Arthashastra. I have demonstrated commonalities, dissimilarities and uniqueness of the text. Key values and concepts across time do not seem to have changed. This continuity can be attributed to the powerful and universal vocabulary of Indian traditions of statecraft. This exercise also points to that fact that the *shastra* tradition is a lived and thriving dynamic tradition which moves in parallel with the political history.

Reading the text of Kamandaka and Kautilya, besides demonstrating the continuity of foundations of Indian traditions of statecraft, also highlights and opens a window to understand the expanded geo-cultural space of India, beyond the Himalayas and to regions of Central Asia, as given in our literature. This exercise needs to be further progressed.

It needs to be pointed out that both the texts which have been compared, that is the translation of Kautilya's *Arthashastra* by R.P. Kangle[8] and Kamandaka's *Nitisara*[9] are not available in electronic format in open-access on the world wide web. Readers need to be aware of this and treat blogs and websites purporting to be the original text with care. Those brought up with digital familiarity of the web and Twitter may be disappointed to begin with. Research of Indian heritage is too serious a matter to be left to the virtual digital world alone. Hopefully these texts will be made public by the publishers and copyright holders in the future. But can readership and scholarship await for that moment? It has been stated that 'This exercise needs to be further progressed'? What this implies is that such research and work

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[8] Kangle, R.P. 2010. *The Kautiliya Arthasastra*, *Part II: An English Translation with Critical and Explanatory Notes*, 2nd edition, 7th reprint. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.

[9] Mitra, Rajendralala (ed.). 1982(1849). *The Nitisara or the Elements of Polity by Kamandaki*. Bibliotheca Indica: Collection of Oriental Works, published under the superintendent of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, No. 179, printed by Calcutta Baptist Mission Press in 1861, revised with English translation by Sisir Kumar Mitra. Calcutta: The Asiatic Society.

needs to be carried out in the time tested and classical mode of having the hard copy or kindle version if available in personal possession or else referring to them in libraries. The fact is that many libraries may not have the texts. It is with this in mind that in chapter 3 and elsewhere I have listed out some important *slokas* of *Nitisara* in their English translation without diacritical marks, knowing that these monograph series are in open access to all cost-free.

Thus this monograph in your hands or on your electronic screen is not only a bridge between Kautilya and Kamandaka as a preliminary effort to revisit Indic traditions and heritage: it is also to reinforce and strengthen global International Studies.

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This study compares Indian traditions of statecraft in Kamandaka's *Nitisara,* or the Elements of Polity, with the earlier foundational root text of Kautilya's *Arthashastra.* There are commonalities, dissimilarities and uniqueness in the texts. However, key values and concepts across time do not seem to have changed and remain relevant even today. This continuity can be attributed to the powerful and universal vocabulary of Indian traditions of statecraft to show that the shastra tradition is a lived and thriving dynamic tradition. Reading the texts of Kamandaka and Kautilya not only demonstrates the continuity of the foundations of Indian traditions of statecraft but also highlights and helps us understand the expanded geo-cultural space of India.

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