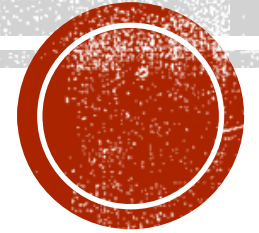


मास्टर्स इन कौटिल्य राज्यशास्त्र और अर्थशास्त्र
पेपर 02 - भारतीय राजकीय, आर्थिक और
सामाजिक विचार

व्याख्यान 9 – 05.12.23



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Administrative Duties of the King – Appointment of Ministers

He shall appoint seven or eight ministers, with respectable status, versed in law, of heroic temperament, experienced in business, born of noble families, and thoroughly tested.

मौलान् शास्त्रविदः शूरान् लब्धलक्षान् कुलोद्भवान् ।
सचिवान् सप्त चाष्टौ वा प्रकुर्वीत परीक्षितान् ॥

Even an undertaking that is easy is difficult to be accomplished by a single man, specially by one who has no assistant; how much more so is the work of the king, which involves great issues.

अपि यत् सुकरं कर्म तदप्येकेन दुष्करम् ।
विशेषतोऽसहायेन किं नु राज्यं महोदयम् ॥



With these he shall always discuss all ordinary business relating to peace and war, as also the 'state', the sources of revenue, the means of protection, and the consolidation of what has been acquired.

तैः सार्धं चिन्तयेन्नित्यं सामान्यं सन्धिविग्रहम् ।
स्थानं समुदयं गुप्तिं लब्धप्रशमनानि च ॥

Having ascertained the opinion of each of the ministers individually and also collectively, he shall, in his affairs, do what is beneficial to himself.

तेषां स्वं स्वमभिप्रायमुपलभ्य पृथक् पृथक् ।
समस्तानां च कार्येषु विदध्याद् हितमात्मनः ॥



With the learned Brahmana, however, who is the most distinguished of them all, the king shall discuss the highest secrets pertaining to the six-fold state-craft.

सर्वेषां तु विशिष्टेन ब्राह्मणेन विपश्चिता ।
मन्त्रयेत् परमं मन्त्रं राजा षाड्गुण्यसंयुतम् ॥

He shall always, in full confidence, entrust all business to him; and having, in consultation with him, formed his resolution, he shall do what has to be done.

नित्यं तस्मिन् समाश्वस्तः सर्वकार्याणि निक्षिपेत् ।
तेन सार्धं विनिश्चित्य ततः कर्म समारभेत् ॥



He shall also appoint other ministers, who are pure, wise, firm, experts in collecting revenue and thoroughly tested.

अन्यानपि प्रकुर्वीत शुचीन् प्राज्ञानवस्थितान् ।
सम्यगर्थसमाहर्तृनमात्यान् सुपरीक्षितान् ॥

He shall appoint as many industrious, clever and skillful men as may be required for the accomplishment of his business.

निर्वर्तेतास्य यावद्भिरितिकर्तव्यता नृभिः ।
तावतोऽतन्द्रितान् दक्षान् प्रकुर्वीत विचक्षणान् ॥



From among them he shall employ the brave, the expert, the high-born and the honest ones in work relating to finance, - such as mines and stores - and timid ones in the interior of the palace.

तेषामर्थे नियुञ्जीत शूरान् दक्षान् कुलोद्भूतान् ।
शुचीनाकरकर्मन्ते भीरून्तन्निवेशने ॥



Art of Government –

He shall strive to obtain what has not been obtained; what he has gained he shall preserve with care; he shall augment what has been preserved and what has been augmented he shall bestow upon suitable recipients.

अलब्धं चैव लिप्सेत लब्धं रक्षेत् प्रयत्नतः । रक्षितं वर्धयेच्चैव वृद्धं पात्रेषु निक्षिपेत् ॥

He shall recognize the 4 kinds of the means for accomplishing the purposes of man; and he shall always diligently and properly carry them into execution - What has not been gained he shall seek to obtain by means of force; what has been gained he shall save with careful attention; what has been saved he shall augment by adding to it; and what has been augmented he shall bestow on suitable recipients.

एतच्चतुर्विधं विद्यात् पुरुषार्थप्रयोजनम् । अस्य नित्यमनुष्ठानं सम्यक् कुर्यादतन्द्रितः ॥

अलब्धमिच्छेद् दण्डेन लब्धं रक्षेदवेक्षया । रक्षितं वर्धयेद् वृद्ध्या वृद्धं पात्रेषु निक्षिपेत् ॥



He shall have his force always operative; his manliness always displayed, his secrets constantly concealed, ever following up the weak points of his enemy.

नित्यमुद्यतदण्डः स्यान्नित्यं विवृतपौरुषः ।

नित्यं संवृतसंवार्यो नित्यं छिद्रानुसार्यरेः ॥

Of him who has his force constantly operative, the whole world stands in awe. He shall, therefore, subdue all men by means of force.

नित्यमुद्यतदण्डस्य कृत्स्नमुद्विजते जगत् ।

तस्मात् सर्वाणि भूतानि दण्डेनैव प्रसाधयेत् ॥



He shall always behave without cleverness, and never with guile; well protected himself, he shall fathom the guiles employed by his enemies.

अमाययैव वर्तेत न कथं चन मायया।

बुध्येतारिप्रयुक्तां च मायां नित्यं सुसंवृतः ॥

His enemy should not know his weak points, but he must know the weak points of the enemy; he should hide the departments (of government) as the tortoise does its limbs; and he should guard his own weak points.

नास्य छिद्रं परो विद्याद् विद्याच्छिद्रं परस्य च।

गूहेत् कूर्म इवाङ्गानि रक्षेद् विवरमात्मनः ॥



He shall ponder over his plans like the heron, and like the lion he shall exert his power; he shall snatch like the wolf, and like the hare he shall double in withdrawal.

बकवच्चिन्तयेदर्थान् सिंहवच्च पराक्रमेत् ।
वृकवच्चावलुम्पेत् शशवच्च विनिष्पतेत् ॥

While he is thus engaged in conquest, if there should be any opponents for him, all these he shall bring under subjugation by means of conciliation and other expedients.

एवं विजयमानस्य येऽस्य स्युः परिपन्थिनः ।
तानानयेद् वशं सर्वान् सामादिभिरुपक्रमैः ॥



If, however they should not be stopped by means of the first three expedients, then he shall gradually bring them under subjection by force.

यदि ते तु न तिष्ठेयुरुपायैः प्रथमैस्त्रिभिः ।
दण्डेनैव प्रसह्यैतांशनकैर्वशमानयेत् ॥

For the prosperity of kingdoms the wise ones always recommend Conciliation and Force from among the four expedients.

सामादीनामुपायानां चतुर्णामपि पण्डिताः ।
सामदण्डौ प्रशंसन्ति नित्यं राष्ट्राभिवृद्धये ॥



Just as the weeder plucks out the weed and preserves the corn, so shall the King preserve his kingdom and destroy his opponents.

यथोद्धरति निर्दाता कक्षं धान्यं च रक्षति ।

तथा रक्षेत्रूपो राष्ट्रं हन्याच्च परिपन्थिनः ॥

The King, who, through folly, thoughtlessly oppresses his kingdom, becomes, 'along with his relations', deprived, without delay, of his kingdom and life.

मोहाद् राजा स्वराष्ट्रं यः कर्षयत्यनवेक्षया ।

सोऽचिराद् भ्रश्यते राज्याज्जीविताच्च सबान्धवः ॥



About War -

When the king undertakes an expedition against the enemy's kingdom, he shall advance slowly towards the enemy's capital, in the following manner.

तदा तु यानमातिष्ठेदरिराष्ट्रं प्रति प्रभुः ।
तदानेन विधानेन यायादरिपुरं शनैः ॥

The king shall start on his expedition in the auspicious month of Margashirsha, or towards the months of Phalguna and Chaitra, according to the condition of his forces.

मार्गशीर्षे शुभे मासि यायाद् यात्रां महीपतिः ।
फाल्गुनं वाथ चैत्रं वा मासौ प्रति यथाबलम् ॥



At other times also, if he perceives certain victory, then he shall pick up a quarrel and march forward; also when some trouble has arisen for the enemy.

अन्येष्वपि तु कालेषु यदा पश्येद् ध्रुवं जयम् । तदा यायाद् विगृह्यैव व्यसने चोत्थिते रिपोः ॥

Having duly made arrangements at the base, as also those pertaining to the expedition, having secured a basis, and having duly deputed his spies, having cleared the three kinds of roads, and having equipped his own six-fold force, he shall advance against the enemy's capital in the manner prescribed for warfare.

कृत्वा विधानं मूले तु यात्रिकं च यथाविधि । उपगृह्यास्पदं चैव चारान् सम्यग् विधाय च ॥

संशोध्य त्रिविधं मार्गं षड्विधं च बलं स्वकम् । साम्परायिककल्पेन यायादरिपुरं प्रति ॥



He shall be very much on his guard against an ally who may be secretly serving the enemy, as also against one who has gone away and returned; as he is the more dangerous enemy.

शत्रुसेविनि मित्रे च गूढे युक्ततरो भवेत् ।
गतप्रत्यागते चैव स हि कष्टतरो रिपुः ॥

He shall march on this road arraying his army in the form of a staff, or in that of a cart, or a boar, or an alligator, or a needle or the Garuda (an Eagle).

दण्डव्यूहेन तन्मार्गं यायात् तु शकटेन वा ।
वराहमकराभ्यां वा सूच्या वा गरुडेन वा ॥



From where he apprehends danger, there he shall extend his forces; and he himself shall always encamp in the 'lotus-array'.

यतश्च भयमाशङ्केत् ततो विस्तारयेद् बलम् ।
पद्मेन चैव व्यूहेन निविशेत् सदा स्वयम् ॥

The Commander-in-Chief and the General he shall station in all directions; the quarter from which he apprehends danger, that he shall regard as the 'East' (Front).

सेनापतिबलाध्यक्षौ सर्वदिक्षु निवेशयेत् ।
यतश्च भयमाशङ्केत् प्राचीं तां कल्पयेद् दिशम् ॥



On all sides he shall station reliable pickets, with whom signals have been arranged, who are experts in standing firm as also in charging, fearless and loyal.

गुल्मांश्च स्थापयेदाप्तान् कृतसञ्ज्ञान् समन्ततः ।

स्थाने युद्धे च कुशलानभीरून्विकारिणः ॥

He shall make a small number of men fight in close formation; but a large number he may extend as he likes. He shall make them fight, arraying them in the form of the 'needle' and the 'thunderbolt.'

संहतान् योधयेदल्पान् कामं विस्तारयेद् बहून् ।

सूच्या वज्रेण चैवैतान् व्यूहेन व्यूह्य योधयेत् ॥



On even ground he shall fight with chariots and horses; on marshy ground with boats and elephants; on ground covered with trees and thickets with bows; and on firm ground with swords and shields and other weapons.

स्यन्दनाश्वैः समे युध्येदनूपेनोद्विपैस्तथा ।
वृक्षगुल्मावृते चापैरसिचर्मयुधैः स्थले ॥

Men born in the countries of Kurukshetra, Matsya, Panchala, and Shurasena, he shall make these fight on the forefront; as also those that are tall and light.

कुरुक्षेत्रांश्च मत्स्यांश्च पञ्चालान्शूरसेनजान् ।
दीर्घाल्लघूंश्चैव नरानग्रानीकेषु योजयेत् ॥



Having arrayed his forces, he shall encourage them and thoroughly test them; even while they are engaging the enemy, he shall mark their behaviour.

प्रहर्षयेद् बलं व्यूह्य तांश्च सम्यक् परीक्षयेत् ।
चेष्टाश्चैव विजानीयादरीन् योधयतामपि ॥

After having besieged the foe, he shall halt, and proceed to harass his kingdom and continually vitiate his supply of fodder, food, water and fuel.

उपरुद्धारिमासीत राष्ट्रं चास्योपपीडयेत् ।
दूषयेच्चास्य सततं यवसान्नोदकैन्धनम् ॥



He shall destroy the tanks, as also walls and ditches; he shall assail the enemy and shall frighten him - during the night.

भिन्द्याच्चैव तडागानि प्राकारपरिखास्तथा ।
समवस्कन्दयेच्चैनं रात्रौ वित्रासयेत् तथा ॥

He shall alienate all who are alienable, keep himself informed of the enemy's doings, and when fate is propitious, he shall fight, devoid of fear and determined to conquer.

उपजप्यानुपजपेद् बुध्येतैव च तत्कृतम् ।
युक्ते च दैवे युध्येत जयप्रेप्सुरपेतभीः ॥



By conciliation, by gifts and by dissension, - either severally or collectively, - he shall try to conquer his enemy - never by war.

साम्ना दानेन भेदेन समस्तैरथ वा पृथक् ।

विजेतुं प्रयतेतारीन्न युद्धेन कदाचन ॥

Since between two combatants victory is found to be uncertain, as also defeat - therefore he shall avoid fighting.

अनित्यो विजयो यस्माद् दृश्यते युध्यमानयोः ।

पराजयश्च सङ्ग्रामे तस्माद् युद्धं विवर्जयेत् ॥



But in the event of the three aforesaid expedients failing, he shall fight in such a manner as to conquer his enemies completely.

त्रयाणामप्युपायानां पूर्वोक्तानामसम्भवे ।
तथा युध्येत सम्पन्नो विजयेत रिपून् यथा ॥



Consolidation of Conquered Territory –

Having gained victory, he shall worship the Gods and the righteous Brahmanas, grant remissions and proclaim amnesties.

जित्वा सम्पूजयेद् देवान् ब्राह्मणांश्चैव धार्मिकान् ।
प्रदद्यात् परिहारार्थं ख्यापयेदभयानि च ॥

Having briefly ascertained the wishes of all the people, he shall set up there a member of the same family and then conclude the treaty.

सर्वेषां तु विदित्वैषां समासेन चिकीर्षितम् ।
स्थापयेत् तत्र तद्वंश्यं कुर्याच्च समयक्रियाम् ॥



He shall make authoritative all that is declared to have been lawful (in the kingdom), and shall honor with precious gifts the king along with the leading men.

प्रमाणानि च कुर्वीत तेषां धर्मान् यथोदितान् ।
रत्नैश्च पूजयेदेनं प्रधानपुरुषैः सह ॥

The seizing of desirable property is productive of displeasure, and the giving of it is productive of pleasure; each is commended if done at the proper time.

आदानमप्रियकरं दानं च प्रियकारकम् ।
अभीप्सितानामर्थानां काले युक्तं प्रशस्यते ॥



All this undertaking is dependent upon the ordering of Destiny and of Human Exertion. Of these two, Destiny is incomprehensible, and action is possible only in regard to Human Exertion.

सर्वं कर्मैदमायत्तं विधाने दैवमानुषे ।

तयोर्दैवमचिन्त्यं तु मानुषे विद्यते क्रिया ॥

Or, having made peace with his enemy, he, may return, accompanied by the latter,—finding in this the due fulfilment of the threefold reward consisting of an ally, gold and territory.

सह वाऽपि व्रजेद् युक्तः सन्धिं कृत्वा प्रयत्नतः ।

मित्रं हिरण्यं भूमिं वा सम्पश्यंस्त्रिविधं फलम् ॥



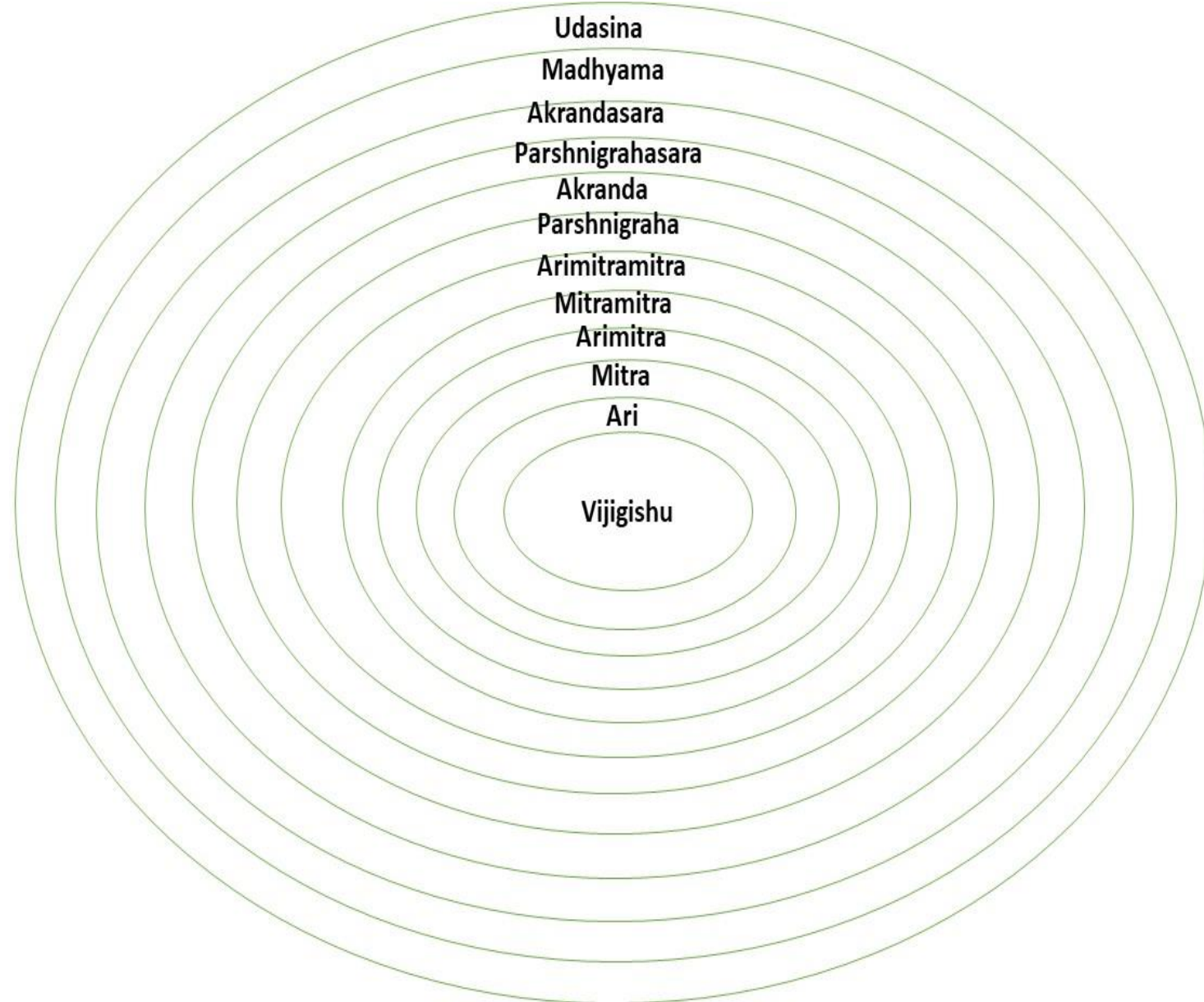
In his 'circle' (Rajamandala), having paid due attention to the ally who forms his rear guard, and also to the ally who occupies the position next to the said ally, the king shall obtain the result of his expedition either from his friend or from his foe.

पार्ष्णिग्राहं च सम्प्रेक्ष्य तथाक्रन्दं च मण्डले ।
मित्रादथाप्यमित्राद् वा यात्राफलमवाप्नुयात् ॥

The king does not prosper so much by gaining gold and territory as he does by obtaining a firm ally, even though this latter be weak, if fraught with future possibilities.

हिरण्यभूमिसम्प्राप्त्या पार्थिवो न तथैधते ।
यथा मित्रं ध्रुवं लब्ध्वा कृशमप्यायतिक्षमम् ॥





The king who, being possessed of good character and best-fitted elements of sovereignty, is the fountain of policy, is termed the conqueror (**Vijigishu**).

The king who is situated anywhere immediately on the circumference of the conqueror's territory is termed the enemy (**Ari**).

The king who is likewise situated close to the enemy, but separated from the conqueror only by the enemy, is termed the friend (of the conqueror) (**Mitra**).

In front of the conqueror and close to his enemy, there happen to be situated kings such as the conqueror's friend (Mitra), next to him, the enemy's friend (**Arimitra**), and next to the last, the conqueror's friend's friend (**Mitramitra**), and next, the enemy's friend's friend (**Arimitramitra**).



In the rear of the conqueror, there happen to be situated a rearward enemy (**Parshnigraha**), a rearward friend (**Akranda**), an ally of the rearward enemy (**Parshnigrahasara**), and an ally of the rearward friend (**Akrandasara**).

The king who occupies a territory close to both the conqueror and his immediate enemy in front and who is capable of helping both the kings, whether united or disunited, or of resisting either of them individually is termed a **Madhyama** (mediatory) king.

He who is situated beyond the territory of any of the above kings and who is very powerful and capable of helping the enemy, the conqueror, and the Madhyama king together or individually, or of resisting any of them individually, is a neutral king (**Udasina**), - these are the (twelve) primary kings.



Even a weak ally is highly commended, if he is righteous and grateful, has his people content, and is loyal and persevering in his actions.

धर्मज्ञं च कृतज्ञं च तुष्टप्रकृतिमेव च ।

अनुरक्तं स्थिरारम्भं लघुमित्रं प्रशस्यते ॥

The wise ones describe that enemy to be most troublesome who is intelligent, of noble race, brave, clever, charitable, grateful and firm.

प्राज्ञं कुलीनं शूरं च दक्षं दातारमेव च ।

कृतज्ञं धृतिमन्तं च कष्टमाहुररिं बुधाः ॥



Gentlemanliness, knowledge of men, bravery, compassionate disposition, and constant liberality are the qualities to be sought for in a Neutral.

आर्यता पुरुषज्ञानं शौर्यं करुणवेदिता ।
स्थौललक्ष्यं च सततमुदासीनगुणौदयः ॥

Even though the land (occupied by him) be safe, fertile and conducive to the increase of cattle, yet he shall quit it, not minding his own selfish interests.

क्षेम्यां सस्यप्रदां नित्यं पशुवृद्धिकरीमपि ।
परित्यजेन्नृपो भूमिमात्मार्यमविचारयन् ॥

