

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

व्याख्यान 5 – 27.11.23



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Thoughts on Polity from Mahabhatara – Kanikaniti

On hearing that the heroic sons of Pandu endued with excess of energy had become so mighty, king Dhritarashtra became very miserable with anxiety. Then summoning unto his side **Kanika**, that **foremost of minister, well-versed in the science of politics and an expert in counsels** the king said,

'O best of Brahmanas, the Pandavas are daily overshadowing the earth. I am exceedingly jealous of them. Should I have peace or war with them? O Kanika, advise me truly, for I shall do as you say'.

Kanika then freely answered him in these pointed words well-agreeing with the import of political science.

"Listen to me, O sinless king, as I answer you. And, O best of Kuru kings, you should not to be angry with me after hearing all I say.



- Kings should ever be ready with uplifted maces (to strike when necessary)
- They should ever increase their prowess.
- Carefully avoiding all faults themselves they should ceaselessly watch over the faults of their foes and take advantage of them.
- If the king is always ready to strike, everybody fears him. Therefore, the king should ever have recourse to punishment in all he does.
- He should so conduct himself that, his foe may not detect any weak side in him. But by means of the weakness detected in his foe he should pursue him (to destruction).



- He should always conceal, like the tortoise concealing its body, his means and ends, and he should always keep back his own weakness from, the sight of others.
- Having begun a particular act, he should ever accomplish it thoroughly.
- If a thorn is not extracted wholly, it produces a decaying sore. The slaughter of a foe who does you evil is always praiseworthy.
- If the foe be one of great prowess, one should always watch for the hour of his disaster and then kill him without any ethics.



- An enemy should never be belittled, however contemptible. A spark of fire is capable of consuming an extensive forest if only it can spread from one object to another in proximity.
- Kings should sometimes pretend blindness and deafness, for if incapable to punish, they should pretend not to notice the faults that call for punishment. On occasions, such as these, let them regard their bows as made of straw. But they should be always alert like a herd of deer sleeping in the woods.



- When your foe is in your power, destroy him by every means - open or secret. Do not show him any mercy, although he seeks your protection. A foe, or one that has once injured you, should be destroyed by pouring money, if necessary, because by killing him you may be at ease. The dead can never inspire fear.
- One must destroy the three (Dharma, Artha, Kama), five (Sense organs) and seven (resources/limbs of state) of your foes.



- The foe must never be let off even though he addresses you most piteously. No pity should be shown to him but slay him at once.
- You must destroy your foe's root and branch. Then you should destroy their allies and supporters. The allies and supporters can never exist if the principal be destroyed. If the root of the tree is torn up, the branches and twigs can never exist as before.
- Carefully concealing your own means and ends, you should always watch your foes, always seek their flaws.

खलः सर्षपमात्राणि परच्छिद्राणि पश्यति। आत्मनो बिल्वमात्राणि पश्यन्नपि न पश्यति॥



- You should, O king, rule your kingdom, always anxiously watching your foes.
- By maintaining the perpetual fire by sacrifices, by brown cloths, by matted locks, and by hides of animals for your bedding, you should at first gain the confidence of your foes, and when you do so, then attack them like a wolf. For it has been said that in the acquisition of wealth even the garb of holiness might be employed as a hooked staff to bend down a branch in order to pluck the fruits that are ripe. The method followed in the plucking of fruits should be the method in destroying foes, for you should proceed on the principle of selection.



- Bear your foe upon your shoulders till the time comes when you can throw him down, breaking him into pieces like an earthen pot thrown down with violence upon a stony surface.
- By the arts of conciliation (Sama) or the expenditure of money (Dana) should the foe be slain.
- By creating disunion amongst his allies (Bheda), or by the employment of force (Danda), indeed by every means in your power you should destroy the enemy.



Dhritarashtra then asked, 'Tell me truly how a foe can be destroyed by the arts of conciliation or the expenditure of money, or by producing disunion or by the employment of force.'

Kanika replied,

Listen, O King, to the history of a jackal dwelling in days of yore in the forest and fully acquainted with the science of politics.

There was a wise jackal, mindful of his own interests who lived in the company of four friends, *viz.*, a tiger, a mouse, a wolf, and a mongoose. One day they saw in the woods a strong deer, the leader of a herd, whom, however, they could not seize for his fleetness and strength.

They thereupon called a council for consultation.



The jackal opening the proceedings said, 'O tiger, you have made many efforts to seize this deer, but all in vain simply because this deer is young, fleet and very intelligent. Let now the mouse go and eat its feet when it is asleep.

And when this is done, let the tiger approach and seize it. Then, we all with great pleasure, shall feast on it.

Hearing these words of the jackal, they all set to work very cautiously as he directed.

The mouse ate the feet of the deer and the tiger killed it as was decided.

Seeing the body of the deer lying motionless on the ground, the jackal said to his companions, 'Go and perform your bathing. In the meantime, I will look after the deer.'



Hearing what the jackal said, they all went into a stream. And the jackal waited there, deeply meditating upon what he should do.

The mighty tiger returned first of all to the spot after having performed his ablutions.

And he saw the jackal there plunged in meditation. The tiger said, 'Why are you so sorrowful, O wise one! You are the foremost of all intelligent beings. Let us enjoy ourselves today by feasting on this corpse.'

The jackal said, 'Hear, O mighty-armed one, what the mouse has said. He has even said, O, fie on the strength of the king of the beasts! This deer has been slain by me. By might of my arm he will today gratify his hunger.'



When he has boasted in such a language, I, for my part, do not wish to touch this food.'

The tiger replied, 'If, indeed, the mouse has said so, my sense is now awakened. I shall, from this day, slay with the might of my own arms, creatures ranging the forest and then feast on their flesh.'

Having said this, the tiger went away.

And after the tiger had left the spot, the mouse came. Seeing the mouse coming, the jackal addressed him and said, 'Blessed are you, O mouse, but listen to what the mongoose has said. He said, the body of this deer is poison (the tiger having touched it with his claws). I will not eat it. On the other hand, if you, O jackal, permit it, I will even slay the mouse and feast on him.'



Hearing this, the mouse became alarmed and quickly entered his hole. And after the mouse had gone, the wolf, came there having performed his ablutions.

Seeing the wolf coming, the jackal said to him, 'The king of the beasts has been angry with you. Evil is certain to overtake you. He is expected here with his wife. Do as you please.'

Thus, was the wolf also, fond of animal flesh, got rid of by the jackal. And the wolf fled, contracting his body into the smallest dimensions.

It was then that the mongoose came. And, O king, the jackal, seeing him come, said, 'By the might of my arm have I defeated the others who have already fled. Fight with me first and then eat of this flesh as you please.'



The mongoose replied, 'When, indeed, the tiger, the wolf, and the intelligent mouse have all been defeated by you, heroes as they are, you seem to be a greater hero still. I do not desire to fight with you.'

Saying this, the mongoose also went away.

"Kanika continued, 'When they all had thus left the place, the jackal, well-pleased with the success of his policy, alone ate up that flesh.'



If kings always act in this way, they can be happy. Thus, the timid by exciting their fears, the courageous by the arts of conciliation, the covetous by gift of wealth, and equals and inferiors by exhibition of prowess should be brought under your sway.

Besides all this, O king, that I have said, listen now to something else that I say.'

Kanika continued,

- If your son, friend, brother, father, or even the spiritual preceptor, anyone becomes your enemy, you should, if desirous of prosperity, slay him without conscience. (Example of Bhradvaja from Arthashastra – About the Prince)



- By curses and incantations, by gift of wealth, by poison, or by deception, the foe should be slain. He should never be neglected from contempt.
- If both the parties be equal and the success is uncertain, then he that acts with diligence grows in prosperity.
- If you are angry, show him as if you are not so, speaking even then with a smile on your lips.
- Never rebuke any one with indications of anger (in your speech). Speak soft words before you strike and even while you are striking!
- After the smiting is over, pity the victim, and grieve for him, and even shed tears.



- You should ever smite so effectively that your foe may not again raise his head.
- You should never trust the faithless, nor trust too much those that are faithful, for if those in whom you confide prove to be your foes, you are certain to be annihilated.
- After testing their faithfulness, you should employ spies in your own kingdom and in the kingdoms of others.
- Your spies in foreign kingdoms should be apt deceivers and persons in the garb of ascetics.



- Your spies should be placed in gardens, places of amusement, temples and other holy places, drinking halls, streets, and with the (eighteen) *tirthas* (*viz.*, the minister, the chief priest, the Prince, the commander-in-chief, the gate-keepers of the court, persons in the inner apartments, the jailor, the chief surveyor, the head of the treasury, the general executant of orders, the chief of the town police, the chief architect, the chief justice, the president of the council, the chief of the disciplinary department, the commander of the fort, the chief of the arsenal, the chief of the frontier guards, and the keeper of the forests), and in places of sacrifice, near wells, on mountains, in forests, and in all places where people congregate.



गूढपुरुषप्रणिधि: - गुप्तचर या जासूसों की योजना



स्थायी

कापटिक

उदास्थित

गृहपतिक

वैदेहक

तापस



- कापटिक** - दूसरों के गुप्त रहस्य जाननेवाला, छात्रवेष में रहनेवाला प्रगल्भ इन्सान
- उदास्थित** - संन्यास लेकर फिर उस मार्ग से भ्रष्ट हुआ लेकिन बुद्धिमान और प्रामाणिक इन्सान
- गृहपतिक** - जिसकी खेती अच्छी नहीं चल रही ऐसा गरीब किसान
- वैदेहक** - व्यापार में पूरी तरह से डूबा हुआ व्यापारी
- तापस** - जीविका की इच्छा करनेवाला मुण्डन किया हुआ या जटाधारी

पूजिताश्चार्थमानाभ्यां राज्ञा राजोपजीविनाम्।
जानीयुः शौचमित्येताः पञ्च संस्थाः प्रकीर्तिताः॥



सञ्चारी

सत्री /
संसर्गविद्य

तीक्ष्ण

रसद

भिक्षुकी

उभयवेतन



सत्री / संसर्गविद्य - जिनके कोई सम्बन्धी न हो, जिनका भरणपोषण राजा को करना पडे ऐसे पुरुष जब हस्तसामुद्रिक, मुखपरीक्षा, वशीकरण, इंद्रजाल, आश्रमधर्म, शकुनविद्या, पक्षिशाल्स्त्र (पंछियों द्वारा शुभाशुभ बतानेवाला शास्त्र) आदि जाननेवाला

तीक्ष्ण - अपने देश में रहनेवाले शूरवीर, खुदकी परवाह किए बिना हाथी/ बाघ आदि प्राणियों से द्रव्य के लिए मुकाबला करने वाले

रसद - भाई-बन्धुओं में स्नेह न रखनेवाले, क्रूर इन्सान जो विषप्रयोग करने में कुशल होते हैं



भिक्षुकी - दरिद्र, प्रौढ, विधवा ब्राह्मणी जिसे जीविका की इच्छा हो। इसकी राजा के अन्तःपुर में व्यवस्था लगाकर अमात्य आदि के घर आने जाने की व्यवस्था करवाई जाती है।

उभयवेतन - राजा से वेतन लेकर शत्रु के प्रदेश में रहनेवाले। सरहद पर देखरेख करनेवाले।



राजा ने इन गुप्तचरों की योजना शत्रु, मित्र, मध्यम, उदासीन और उनके मंत्री, पुरोहित, सेनापति आदि १८ अनुचरों के पास ऐसे सब स्थानों पर करनी चाहिए।

मन्त्री, पुरोहित, युवराज, भूपति, द्वारपाल, अन्तर्वेशिक (Chamberlain), कारागाराधिकारी, द्रव्यसञ्चयकृत् (कोषाध्यक्ष), अर्थानां कृत्याकृत्येषु विनियोजक (Distributor of finances), प्रदेष्टा (Commander-in-chief), नगराध्यक्ष, कार्यनिर्माणकृत् (Head of the artisans), धर्माध्यक्षः (Judge), सभाध्यक्ष (Chief of the assembly), दण्डपाल (Magistrate), दुर्गपाल, राष्ट्रान्तपालक (Officer appointed to guard the borders/ frontiers), अटविपालक (Forest officer)



ये गुप्तचर कुबडे, बौने, नपुंसक, कारीगर स्त्रियाँ, गूंगे, और अन्य अनेक प्रकार के बहानों को लेकर नियुक्त किए जाँएँ।



- In speech you should ever be humble, but let your heart be ever sharp as razor. And when you are engaged in doing even a very cruel and terrible act, you should talk with smiles on your lips. (विषकुम्भं पयोमुखम्)
- If desirous of prosperity, you should adopt all arts - humility, oath, conciliation, worshipping the feet of others by lowering your head, inspiring hope, etc
- A king should ever keep to himself his counsels without fear of defamation, and while beholding everything with the eyes of his spies, he should take care to conceal his own emotions before the spies of his enemies. Like a fisherman who becomes prosperous by catching and killing fish, a king can never grow prosperous without tearing the vitals of his enemy and without doing some violent deeds.



- One who is desirous of prosperity should with diligence seek allies and means, and carefully conduct his wars. His exertions in these respects should always be guided by far-sightedness.
- A practical king should ever act in such a way that friends and foes may never know his motive before the commencement of his acts. Let them know all when the act has been commenced or ended, and as long as danger does not come, so long only shall you act as if you are afraid. But when it overtakes you, you must grapple with it courageously.

तावत् भयात्तु भेतव्यं यावत् भयमनागतम्।
आगतं तु भयं वीक्ष्य प्रतिकुर्यात् यथोचितम्॥



- He who trusts in a foe who has been brought under subjection by force, summons his own death.
- A person desirous of prosperity should always exert with prudence, adopting his measures to time and place. It is well-known that time and place (if taken into consideration) always produce the greatest good.



* मन्त्र के ५ अंग –

१. कर्मणाम् आरम्भोपायः - कार्यों के आरम्भ करने का उपाय
२. पुरुषद्रव्यसम्पत् - पुरुष (मनुष्यबल) द्रव्यसम्पत्ति
३. देशकालविभागः - देश और काल का विभाग
४. विनिपातप्रतिकारः - आए हुए/ संभाव्य विघ्नों का प्रतिकार करने की क्षमता
५. कार्यसिद्धिः - कार्य का फल - उन्नति/अवनति/ सम अवस्था

