THE KAUTILIYA ARTHASAstra

PART II
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PREFACE

Dr. R. Shamasastry's translation of the Kauṭiliya Arthaśāstra was first published nearly five decades ago. In subsequent editions he, no doubt, added notes derived from Bhaṭṭasvāmin's Commentary as well as the Malayalam Commentary. However, in view of the discovery of fragments of other Commentaries, and particularly in view of the many important contributions made to the study of this text by a large number of scholars since then, it has long been felt that a new English translation of the text is a necessity. The present is an attempt to supply this need.

This translation is prepared after consulting the available ancient Commentaries—unfortunately none of them complete—as well as the works of many modern scholars. Among the latter I must make special mention of R. Shamasastry himself, the pioneer of studies in this field, T. Ganapati Sastri, editor of the text and author of a complete Sanskrit Commentary on it, J. J. Meyer, author of the German translation with voluminous notes, and B. Breloer, the author of three volumes of penetrating studies of this text. My debt to these and numerous other scholars is inestimable. The Russian translation of this work, which was published a few years ago, came to my hands only after most of the present translation was already printed; it was, therefore, not possible to make use of it in the body of the notes. Some of the noteworthy renderings found in that translation are added at the end.

This translation aims at providing as accurate a rendering of the text as is possible. The Arthaśāstra is admittedly a difficult work, and very often it is not possible to be quite sure of the exact meaning of the author. Hence, in the notes a reference is made to the different interpretations found in the ancient commentaries as well as to those offered by modern scholars. In most important cases, the source of the interpretation adopted in the translation is mentioned, while brief comments are made on interpretations not found acceptable. An endeavour is also made in the notes to bring out the meaning of passages where the literal translation does not seem to make it quite clear. All important variant readings are, of course, referred to and discussed in the notes, though the discussion could not be very detailed in every case for obvious reasons.

During the course of the printing of the translation it was found that the text as printed in Part I needs revision in a few places. In about a dozen cases the translation presupposes readings different from
those adopted in the text. These are listed separately at the end of this volume, along with misprints in the text that had escaped notice.

A few points referred to in the Introduction to Part I require further elaboration:

(1) In connection with the transcript in the Government Library at Munich, viz., G₂, it was suggested there that the transcript was made from the Malayalam ms. M₁ rather than from any Grantha ms., as stated in the Punjab Edition. Subsequently I had occasion to visit the Staatsbibliothek in Munich and to go through the transcript myself. That left no room for any doubt that the ultimate source of that transcript is M₁. It seems that the transcript was made in 1907 by one Venkayya in Madras. And it is not unlikely that use was made by him of M₂, an earlier transcript of M₁, that was in Madras at that time. G₂ thus loses much of its independent value. Of Grantha mss. of the Arthaśāstra, therefore, we have only one, viz., G₁.

(2) Before this translation could go through the Press, the rest of Cb, the Malayalam Commentary, became available in print: Bhāṣā-kautāliyam, 4-7, edited by K. N. Ezhuthachan (University of Madras, 1960). Fortunately, it was possible for me to make use of this Commentary in the notes on Books 4 to 7 as well. In a learned Introduction, Ezhuthachan has analysed in detail the structure of the language of this Commentary and has argued that though it shows some Tamil forms and words, the language is different from Tamil. It represents, according to him, the earliest form of Malayalam, as it evolved from West Coast Tamil about the 12th Century A.D. It is, therefore, not correct to say that the language of the Commentary is Tamil or that it is a hotch-potch of Tamil and Malayalam.

(3) As regards the Commentary referred to as Cj, it transpires that it really contains fragments of two different Commentaries. The Commentary on Book 1 alone is a fragment of the Jayamaṅgalā, the rest being a fragment of another Commentary called Cānakyaṭīkā. It is only the latter which is the work of Bhikṣu Prabhamati. The author of the Jayamaṅgalā fragment is probably the same as the author of the Commentaries on Vātsyāyana’s Kāmasūtra, Kāmandaka’s Nītisāra and other works, which also bear the name Jayamaṅgalā. This is shown by G. Harihara Sastri in the Introduction to his edition of the Jayamaṅgalā on Book 1 (published by The Kuppuswami Sastri Research Institute, Madras, 1958). The fragment of the Cānakyaṭīkā by Bhikṣu Prabhamati is also being edited by G. Harihara Sastri and published in the pages of the Journal of Oriental Research, Madras. I regret that when I went through the transcript in the Government
Oriental Manuscripts Library in Madras, I failed to realise that it really contained fragments of two separate Commentaries.

(4) The fragment of the Devanagari ms. from Patan, D, is now published along with the fragment of Yoghama's Commentary, Cnn, by the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay: *A Fragment of the Kouṭalya's Arthaśāstra alias Rājasiddhānta*, edited by Muni Jina Vijay (Bombay, 1959).

In an article in the Schubring Commemoration Volume, Prof. L. Alsdorf refers to the existence of Folios 12-88 of a Commentary on the *Arthaśāstra* found in the Baḍā Bhaṇḍāra at Jaisalmer. My attention to this reference was kindly drawn by Sir Harold Bailey at Cambridge. I made inquiries about this fragment, especially of Muni Punya Vijayaji of Ahmedabad and Muni Jina Vijayaji now in Jaipur. Neither of them is aware of the existence of any such Commentary on the *Arthaśāstra* from the Jaisalmer Bhandar. Muni Jina Vijayaji tells me that he has ransacked all Jain Bhandars for anything that may concern the *Arthaśāstra*, and that if there really had been in existence such a fragment in the Jaisalmer Bhandar, he would have certainly obtained it and published it along with the other fragments from Patan. In any case, I have not succeeded in getting any fresh help as a result of the reference by L. Alsdorf.

This new translation of the *Arthaśāstra* is offered not without diffidence. I am keenly aware of the possibility that I may have very often misunderstood the text, and that such a misunderstanding may sometimes well be due to my own shortcomings rather than to the difficult nature of the text. Nevertheless, I am hopeful that scholars will find the translation generally acceptable. They will, no doubt, set me right where I may have gone astray.

I must repeat my feelings of gratefulness to the authorities of the University of Bombay for making the publication of this entire work possible.

Finally, I must record my sincere thanks to Shri B. A. Olkar, Superintendent of the Publications Section of the Bombay University, whose unstinted help in seeing this work through the Press has been of inestimable value to me. And to Shri V. G. Moghe, Superintendent of the Bombay University Press and his staff my best thanks are due for the great patience and diligence with which they carried out this rather exacting job.

The Errata at the end will, it is hoped, not be found inordinately long in a work of this nature.
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ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE NOTES

AO
Br. Samh.
Cb
Cj
Cn
Cnn
Cp
Cs
D
G
G1
G2
HD
HPT
IA
IC
IHQ
India in Pāṇini
JBORS
JRAS
KSt

Archiv Orientalní (Praha)
Bṛhat Samhitā of Varāhamihira
Commentary Bhāṣāvyākhyānam or Bhāṣākautalīyam (in Malayalam) on Books 1 to 7
Commentary Jayamaṅgalā on Book 1 and Cāṇakyaṭīkā of Bhikṣu Prabhamati on 2.1 to 3.1
Commentary Nayacandrīkā of Mādhavayājvan on 7.7.1 to 12.4.11
Commentary Nītinirṇīti of Yoghghama on 2.1.1 to 2.4.1, with marginal notes from it on Book 1
Commentary Pratipadaṇcīkā of Bhāṭṭasvamin on 2.8.5 to end of Book 2
Commentary Śrīmula by T. Ganapati Sastri in his Edition of the Arthasastra (Trivandrum, 1924-25)
Fragment of a Devanagari ms. from Patan
Grantha mss.
Grantha ms. from Tanjore, now in the Mysore Government Oriental Library
Transcript in the Staatsbibliothek at Munich
History of Dharmaśāstra by P. V. Kane, Vol. III (Poona, 1946)
A History of Hindu Political Theories by U. N-Ghoshal (London and Calcutta, 1923)
Indian Antiquary (Bombay)
Indian Culture (Calcutta)
Indian Historical Quarterly (Calcutta)
India as known to Pāṇini by V. S. Agrawala (Lucknow, 1953)
Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society (Patna)
Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (London)
Kauṭaliya Studien by B. Breloer: I Das Grund-eigentum in Indien (Bonn, 1927)
II Altindisches Privatrecht bei Megasthenes und Kauṭalya (Bonn, 1928)
III Finanzverwaltung und Wirtschaftsführung (Leipzig, 1934)

*Les Théories etc.*

*M*
Malayalam mss.

*M₁*
Malayalam ms. from Edappalli

*Rev. Sys.*
*Contributions to the History of the Hindu Revenue System* by U. N. Ghoshal (Calcutta, 1929)

*s.*
sūtra

*Some Aspects etc.*
*Some Aspects of Ancient Hindu Polity* by D. R. Bhandarkar (Benares, 1929)

*Studies etc.*
*Studies in Ancient Hindu Polity* by N. N. Law (London, 1914)

*Über das Wesen usw.*
*Über das Wesen der altindischen Rechtschriften und ihr Verhältnis zu einander und zu Kauṭilya* by J. J. Meyer (Leipzig, 1927)

*Yāj.*
Yājñavalkya

*ZDMG*
Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft (Leipzig)

*ZII*
Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik (Leipzig)
BOOK ONE

CONCERNING THE TOPIC OF TRAINING

CHAPTER ONE

ENUMERATION OF SECTIONS AND BOOKS

Om. Salutation to Śukra and Bṛhaspati.

1 This single (treatise on the) Science of Politics has been prepared mostly by bringing together (the teachings of) as many treatises on the Science of Politics as have been composed by ancient teachers for the acquisition and protection of the earth.

2 Of that (treatise), this is an enumeration of Sections and Books:

The first of the fifteen Books in this work deals mainly with the training of the prince for the arduous duties of rulership. It also discusses the question of the appointment of ministers and other officers necessary for the administration of a state. This prepares the ground for the establishment of a benevolent monarchy.

1.1 The First Chapter of this Book is called prakaraṇādikaraṇa Śasānamuddesāḥ in the colophon in D. The other mss. do not give this name. But that is the only appropriate name for this chapter which gives a table of contents of the work.

The work begins, as usual, with a maṅgala. The sacred syllable om is auspicious for purposes of all study. The homage to Śukra and Bṛhaspati, the preceptors of the demons and the gods respectively and the supposed promulgators of the science of politics, is quite appropriate in a work dealing with that science.

1 Pṛthivyā lābhe pālane ca: the aim of the Arthaśāstra is thus to teach the ruler how to acquire and protect a kingdom. 15.1.1–2 below state that artha refers to pṛthivi and that Arthaśāstra is the science dealing with its acquisition and protection. The plu. in Arthaśāstraṇi refers to the numerous earlier works on the science. — pārvaśāraṁ: many of these earlier teachers and the schools founded by some of them are mentioned in the present work. — prasthāpitaṁ: 'established,' i.e., composed. The reading prastāvitaṁ has the sense of 'set going, promulgated'.

— prāyasas tāni saṁhyta: this implies that the work is in the main based on earlier works, though in a few places the author expresses different views. The idea in saṁhyta is that of bringing together rather than that of abridgment.

2 prakaraṇādikaraṇa Śasānamuddesāḥ: A prakaraṇa is a 'section' dealing with a particular topic of the śāstra. An adhikaraṇa is a 'book' dealing with one of the fifteen principal topics into which the entire śāstra is divided. There is no reference here to the division of the work into chapters.
3 Enumeration of the Sciences, Association with Elders, Control over the Senses, Appointment of Ministers, Appointment of Councillors and Chaplain, Ascertainment of the Integrity or the Absence of Integrity of Ministers by means of Secret Tests, Appointment of Persons in Secret Service, Rules for Secret Servants, Keeping a Watch over the Seducible and Non-seducible Parties in One's Own Territory, Winning over the Seducible and Non-seducible Parties in the Enemy's Territory, The Topic of Counsel, Rules for the Envoy, Guarding against Princes, The Conduct of a Prince in Disfavour, Behaviour towards a Prince in Disfavour, Rules for the King, Regulations for the Royal Residence, Concerning the Protection of the King's Own Person,—these constitute the First Book 'Concerning the Topic of Training'.


4 ‘ucchrápidhānam is from D as in 2.2 below. There is little doubt that this is the original reading. -ucchrávidhānam of M is an obvious corruption, which G has tried to correct to -ucchéravidiham. -chidra presupposes apidhāna 'covering'.

- G M read durganivieceṭh here, but even they show durganivieceṭh in the colophon of the actual chapter 2.4. — G reads -ceyakarma for -nicayakarma; that is faulty.

- Ch reads, koṣapräceṣya- both here and in 2.11. — D G read ghapeṭi- here, but the form ghapatika- is found even in them in other places.
5 Determination of (Valid and Invalid) Transactions, Filing of Law-suits, Concerning Marriage, Partition of Inheritance, Concerning Immovable Property, Non-observance of Conventions, Non-payment of Debts, Concerning Deposits, Law concerning Slaves and Labourers, Undertakings in Partnership, Rescission of Sale and Purchase, Non-conveyance of Gifts, Sale without Ownership, The Relation of Ownership, Forcible Seizure, Verbal Injury, Physical Injury, Gambling and Betting, Miscellaneous, — these constitute the Third Book 'Concerning Judges'.

6 Keeping a Watch over Artisans, Keeping a Watch over Traders, Remedial Measures during Calamities, Guarding against Persons with Secret (Means of) Income, Detection of Criminals through Secret Agents in the Disguise of Holy Men, Arrest on Suspection, with the (stolen) Article and by (Indications of) the Act, Inquest on Sudden Deaths, Investigation through Interrogation and through Torture, Keeping a Watch over (Officers of) All Departments, Redemption from the Cutting of Individual Limbs, The Law of (Capital) Punishment, Simple and with Torture, Violation of Maidens, Punishment for Transgression, — these constitute the Fourth Book 'The Suppression of Criminals'.

7 Concerning the Infliction of (secret) Punishment, Replenishment of the Treasury, Concerning the Salaries of (State) Servants, Conduct (proper) for a Dependent, Concerning Proper Behaviour (for a Courtier), Continuance of the Kingdom, Continuous Sovereignty, — these constitute the Fifth Book 'Secret Conduct'.

8 Excellences of the Constituent Elements, Concerning Peace and Activity, — these constitute the Sixth Book 'The Circle (of Kings) as the Basis'.

9 Enumeration of the Six Measures of Foreign Policy, Determination of (Measures in) Decline, Stable Condition and Advancement, Conduct when Seeking Shelter, Adherence to Policies by the Equal, the Weaker and the Stronger (King), Peace-treaties by the Weaker King, Staying Quiet after Making War, Staying Quiet after Making

5 G M read prakr̥panakāni for prakr̥panakam of D. The actual passage, 3.20.14, supports the latter and there seems little doubt that the sing. is to be preferred as the name of a title of law.

6 G M read aticāradanadha in the sing. The plu., however, though not quite necessary, seems more appropriate. The word aticāra is found with a short ā as in 3.3.32 or a long ā as in the colophon after 3.3.29. The reading adopted here as well as in 4.13 is supported by Cb.

7 G has sāmayācārikam for samayācārikam; the latter is found in the actual Chapter 5.5.

9 sāmayāyita- in G is due to the usual confusion between ka and ta in Grantha mss. — G and Cb read saṁādhimokṣaḥ, but the actual passage at 7.17.32 supports saṁādhi-mokṣaḥ of the other mss.
Peace, Marching after Making War, Marching after Making Peace, Marching together (with other Kings), Considerations regarding an Attack on a Vulnerable King and the (Natural) Enemy, Causes leading to Decline, Greed and Disaffection among the Subjects, Reflection on Confederated Allies, Concerning the March of Two (Kings) who have entered into a Treaty of Alliance, Treaties with Stipulations, without Stipulations and with Deserters, Peace and War connected with the Dual Policy, Conduct (proper for the King about to be Attacked, The Different Kinds of Allies Fit to be Helped, Pacts for (securing) an Ally, Money, Land and an Undertaking, Considerations regarding the King Attacking in the Rear, Recoupment of Powers that have become Weak, Reasons for Entrenching Oneself (in a Fort) after Making War with a Powerful King, Conduct (proper) for the King Surrendering with his Troops, Conduct (proper) for the King Subjugating (other Kings) by Force, The Making of Peace, Liberation of the Hostage, Conduct towards the Middle King, Conduct towards the Neutral King, Conduct towards the Circle of Kings,—these constitute the Seventh Book 'The Six Measures of Foreign Policy'.


11 Ascertainment of the (relative) Strength or Weakness of Powers, Place and Time, Seasons for Marching on an Expedition, Occasions for the Employment of (the different kinds of) Troops, Merits of Equipping (the different kinds of Troops) for War, The Work of (employing suitable) Troops against Enemy Troops, Consideration of Revolts in the Rear, Counter-measures against Risings of Constituents in the Outer Regions and in the Interior, Consideration of Losses, Expenses and Gains, Dangers from (Officers in) the Outer Regions and the Interior, (Dangers) Connected with Traitors and Enemies, (Dangers) Associated with Advantage, Disadvantage and Uncertainty (as to either), Overcoming These (Dangers) by the Use of the Different Means,—these constitute the Ninth Book 'The Activity of the King about to March'.

12 Setting up of the Camp, March from the Camp, Guarding (Troops) during the Calamities of the Army and at the Time of Attack, Various Types of Covert Fighting, Encouraging One's Own Troops, Disposition of One's Troops to Counter-act Enemy Troops, Grounds

12 G₁ has-sanḥhatavyūhanam, which is clearly faulty for-sanḥhatavyāhavāyu-
hanam; cf. 10.6.
Suitable for Fighting, Functions of the Infantry, the Cavalry, the Chariots and the Elephants, Arrangement of Battle-arrays in Wings, Flanks and Front in accordance with the Strength of Troops, Distribution of Strong and Weak Troops, Modes of Fighting of the Infantry, the Cavalry, the Chariots and the Elephants, Arrangement of the Staff, the Snake, the Circle and the Diffuse Arrays, Arranging Counter-arrays against Them,—these constitute the Tenth Book 'Concerning War'.

13 (Ways of) Resorting to the Policy of (sowing) Dissensions, Forms of Secret Punishment,—these constitute the Eleventh Book 'Policy towards Oligarchies'.

14 The Mission of the Envoy, Fight with (the weapon of) Diplomacy, Assassination of (the enemy's) Army Chiefs, Stirring up the Circle of Kings, Secret Use of Weapons, Fire and Poison, Destruction of (the enemy's) Supplies, Reinforcements and Foraging Raids, Over-reaching (the enemy) by Trickery, Over-reaching (the enemy) by Force, Victory of the Single King,—these constitute the Twelfth Book 'Concerning the Weaker King'.

15 Instigation to Sedition, Drawing Out (the enemy) by means of Stratagems, Employment of Secret Agents, The Work of Laying Siege (to a Fort), Storming (a Fort), Pacification of the Conquered Territory,—these constitute the Thirteenth Book 'Means of Securing a Fort'.

16 Secret Practices for the Destruction of Enemy Troops, Deceiving (by means of Occult Practices), Counter-measures against Injuries to One's Own Troops,—these constitute the Fourteenth Book 'Concerning Secret Practices'.

17 Devices used in the (treatment of the) Science,—this constitutes the Fifteenth Book 'The Method of the Science'.

18 The enumeration of the (contents of the) Science amounts to fifteen Books, one hundred and fifty Chapters, one hundred and eighty Sections and six thousand ślokas.

13 M₁ has prāṃśudarśaṇaḥ which is an obvious corruption.

14 Cb reads vīvadha for vīvadha; the latter form is, however, preferred in the text; cf. 7.6.8; 7.7.2; &c.

18 sapaṃcāsād adhyāyaśatam: it is to be noted that the 150 chapters include this First Chapter, though it does not contain any prakarana, but gives only a table of contents. The 180 prakaraṇas are distributed over the other 149 chapters. — sāṣṭiḥ of M₁ is clearly faulty. — saḥ ślokasahasraṃsi: it is a bit strange that a work which is mainly in prose but which has about 380 actual ślokas should be described as containing ślokas only. Moreover, on the usual basis of 32 prose syllables constituting a śloka, we get not 6,000, but less than 5,000 ślokas in the present text. It does not also appear very likely that 6,000 refers to the number of sūtras, of which there are about 5,370 in the present edition.
19 Easy to learn and understand, precise in doctrine, sense and word, free from prolixity of text, thus has this (work on the) Science been composed by Kauṭilya.

CHAPTER TWO

SECTION 1 ENUMERATION OF THE SCIENCES

(i) Establishing (the necessity of) Philosophy

1 Philosophy, the three Vedas, economics and the science of politics, — these are the sciences.

2 'The three Vedas, economics and the science of politics (are the only sciences),' say the followers of Manu. 3 'For, philosophy is only a special branch of the Vedic lore.'

4 'Economics and the science of politics (are the only sciences),' say the followers of Bṛhaspati. 5 'For, the Vedic lore is only a cloak for one conversant with the ways of the world.'

19 sukhagrahāṇavijñeyam: despite the rather unusual form of the compound, 'easy to learn and understand' seems better than 'easy to understand even for those with a weak, ease-loving intellect' (Cs). grahaṇa in the sense of buddhi would be unusual. tatātra 'doctrine, teaching'. — Kauṭilyena: many ms. show Kauṭalya as the form of the name, though a few of them, e.g., D and M, sometimes show the form with tī, with an attempt made to correct it to tā. The question is considered in a separate Study. — Cb does not read these two ss. which state the extent of the work and refer to its author. It is quite possible that they do not stem from the author himself, but are due to some later hand.

G reads rājāyātiḥ 'the king's life' in the colophon, apparently as the title of this chapter. But the word is more appropriate as a description of the entire work than as the title of a chapter. D M and Cj include the word at the beginning of the next chapter. There it seems out of place. It can hardly be construed with the other words in sūtra 1.2.1. For the word, cf. 1.9.4.

1.2

The first prakaraṇa is spread over three chapters 1.2–4.

1 This is clearly the traditional enumeration of the vīdyās, though some schools held different views.

2 Mānavāḥ: this refers to a school of Arthashastra and not to the Manusmrīti. The latter, in 7.43, recommends all the four vīdyās and not three only. All other references to Mānavāḥ in this work are also unconnected with the Manusmrīti.

3 Trayāśīśa-hyānukṣikī: Āvānukṣikī as described below can hardly be regarded as a branch of the Vedic lore, though Sāmkhya and Yoga claim to hold the Veda as authoritative.

4 Bṛhaspatyāḥ: the Bṛhaspatya Arthashastra published in the Punjab Sanskrit Series is a very late work and does not represent the views of this school as referred to in this work. 5 saṃvaraṇa 'a covering, a cloak.' As Cb says, it only serves the purpose of preventing people from calling him a nāstika.
6 'The science of politics is the only science,' say the followers of Uśanas. 7 'For, with it are bound up undertakings connected with all the sciences.'

8 'Four, indeed, is the number of the sciences,' says Kauṭilya.

9 Since with their help one can learn (what is) spiritual good and material well-being, therefore the sciences (vidyās) are so called.

10 Sāṅkhya, Yoga and Lokāyata — these constitute philosophy. 11 Investigating, by means of reasoning, (what is) spiritual good and evil in the Vedic lore, material gain and loss in economics, good policy and bad policy in the science of politics, as well as the relative strength and weakness of these (three sciences), (philosophy) confers benefit on the people, keeps the mind steady in adversity and in prosperity and brings about proficiency in thought, speech and action.

12 Philosophy is ever thought of as the lamp of all sciences, as the means of all actions (and) as the support of all laws (and duties).

6 Ausanasāk: the Śukranītisāra is an extremely late work and is not to be understood as representing the views of the school of Uśanas referred to here.

8 The four vidyās, on the study of all of which Kauṭilya himself insists, practically cover all branches of learning known at the time.

9 tāhān etc.: the etymology of vidyā is given in the manner of the Brahmaṇa works. Only dharma and artha are mentioned, not kāma also, as objects of study; apparently a work on kāma would not constitute a vidyā, at any rate for a ruler, according to the author.

10 Sāṅkhyaḥ Yoga Lokāyatam ca: this enumeration of the philosophical systems is interesting. Sāṅkhya and Yoga, it is admitted, are the oldest among the philosophical systems of India. The Lokāyata, it appears from this passage, once held an equally honourable place. It is the system said to have been founded by Bṛhaspati and later associated with the name of Cārvāka. Cj says ’Lokāyatam Bṛhaspatyam. lokāya buddhir tanotī iti nairuktam’, i.e., it gives knowledge about worldly affairs. Similarly, Somadeva in the Nītivākyāmṛta (sec. 6) says ‘aikhāya-vacāhāra-prasādhana-param Lokāyatikam; Lokāyatato hi rājā rāṣṭra-kaṇṭakān ucchedayatī.’ According to Cb, however, Lokāyata is the Nyāyaśāstra as taught by Brahman, Gārgya and others. But if by Nyāyaśāstra is meant the science of reasoning, this cannot be a correct explanation. — Ānvikṣiki, as the present passage shows, is so called because of the use of reasoning for arriving at conclusions (hetubhir anvīkṣyamāṇa). This led to its identification with Tarkavidyā (cf. Mahābhārata, 12.173.45 etc.) and the Nyāyaśāstra, even with the Nyāyasūtras of Gautama (cf. Vatsyāyana in his Bhāṣya on 1.1.1). But in this text Ānvikṣiki is not the science of reasoning or logic, but certain philosophical systems based on reasoning. 11 navaparanaṇyaḥ: see 6.2.6–11 for these terms. — Cs (following in the main Cb) reads a stop after Dāṇḍanītyām and supplies prādhānyena pratipādaṇya as the predicate for the clauses. It seems better, however, to construe dharmanādivaraṇa etc. also with hetubhir anvīkṣyamāṇa. That is shown by the ca after balabale and supported by pradvipā sauvavidyādām in s. 12 below.

12 Every chapter in this text closes with one or more stanzas. This stanza is found in Vatsyāyana’s Bhāṣya on the Nyāyasūtras 1.1.1, where the last line appears as vidyoddesh prakīrtitā. This clearly shows that Vatsyāyana had the present text before him; for the present section does bear the name vidyāsamuddeśa.
CHAPTER THREE

SECTION 1 (Continued)

(ii) Establishing (the necessity of) the Vedic Lore

1 The Sāmaveda, the Rgveda and the Yajurveda,—these three are the three Vedas. 2 (These three), the Atharvaveda and the Itihāsa-veda are the Vedas.

3 Phonetics, Ritual, Grammar, Etymology, Prosody and Astronomy,—these are auxiliary sciences.

4 The law laid down in this Vedic lore is beneficial, as it prescribes the respective duties of the four varṇas and the four stages of life.

5 The special duties of the Brahmin are: studying, teaching, performing sacrifices for self, officiating at other people’s sacrifices, making gifts and receiving gifts.

6 Those of the Kṣatriya are: studying, performing sacrifices for self, making gifts, living by (the profession of) arms and protecting beings.

7 Those of the Vaiśya are: studying, performing sacrifices for self, making gifts, agriculture, cattle-rearing and trade.

8 Those of the Śūdra are: service of the twice-born, engaging in an economic calling (viz., agriculture, cattle-rearing and trade) and the profession of the artisan and the actor.

9 Those of the householder are: earning his living in accordance with his own special duty, marrying into families of the same caste but not of the same gotra, approaching the wife during the period, worship of the gods, manes and guests, making gifts to dependents and eating what is left over (after the others have eaten).

1.3

1–2 Cs does not read the stop after Trayī, so that a single s. is understood to enumerate the five Vedas. An explanation of Trayī by itself would, however, seem to be necessary as in the other cases. It is not unlikely that the text originally read Sāmargyajurvedas Trayī. Trayī Atharvavedetilhāsavadau ca Vedāḥ. — The Chāndogya Upaniṣad (7.1.2) refers to Itihāsa-Purāṇa as the fifth Veda.

4 Trayīdharmah: actually it is only in the Dharmasūtras, a branch of the Vedāṅga Kalpa, that the duties of the varṇas and āśramas are laid down in detail.

8 The Smṛtis generally allow to the Śūdra only service of the twice-born as his duty (cf. Manu, 9.384; Gītā, 18.44). Gautama (10.60) and Yājñavalkya (1.120) allow him trade or an artisan’s profession only if service of the twice-born is not possible. The present text represents the actual state of things more accurately.

9 svadharmājīvaḥ from D seems preferable to svakarmajīvaḥ. — tulyaḥ, i.e., those belonging to the same varṇa. — asamanārṣibhiḥ, i.e., not belonging to the same gotra, marriages between sagoṇras being prohibited. — D’s -itihipūjā bhṛtyeṣu tyāgaḥ is distinctly better as shown by s. 11 below.
10 Those of the student of the Veda are: studying the Veda, tending the (sacred) fires and (ceremonial) bathing, keeping the vow of living on alms only, residing till the end of his life with the preceptor or, in his absence, with the preceptor’s son or with a fellow-student.

11 Those of the forest-anchorite are: observing celibacy, sleeping on bare ground, wearing matted locks and an antelope-skin, worship of the (sacred) fires and (ceremonial) bathing, worshipping the gods, manes and guests and living on forest produce (only).

12 Those of the wandering ascetic are: having full control over the senses, refraining from all active life, being without any possessions, giving up all attachment to worldly ties, keeping the vow of begging alms, residing not in one place and in the forest, and observing external and internal cleanliness.

13 (Duties) common to all are: abstaining from injury (to living creatures), truthfulness, uprightness, freedom from malice, compassionateness and forbearance.

14 (The observance of) one’s own special duty leads to heaven and to endless bliss. 15 In case of its transgression, people would be exterminated through (the) mixture (of duties and castes).

16 Therefore, the king should not allow the special duties of the (different) beings to be transgressed (by them); for, ensuring adherence to (each one’s) special duty, he finds joy after death as well as in this life.

17 For, people, among whom the bounds of the Aryan rule of life are fixed, among whom the varṇas and the stages of life are securely established and who are guarded by the three Vedas, prosper, do not perish.

10 bhaṅkaṛastraicām from D seems better. Cb explains the other reading (with -vratatvam) ‘begging alms and observing vratas ending with godāna.’ Two ideas do not appear intended.

12 bhaṅkaṛastra anekatra aranye ca vāśah is again from D; others read bhaṅkaṛ and omit ca. In view of s. 10, bhaṅkaṛastra seems preferable and as aekatra is to be construed with vāśah, ca seems better. — The stop after ca sāucam is necessary; what follows forms a new sentence, laying down duties for all varṇas and āśramas, as in Manusmṛti, 6.91–93, Āpastamba, 1.8.23.6, Mahābhārata, 12.60.7–8, etc.

14 anantyāya: this is mentioned over and above svarga ‘heaven,’ and hence obviously indicates the ‘endless’ bliss of mokṣa. — 15 saṁkara: this refers to karmasaṁkara doing the duties of a different varṇa; it also refers to varṇasaṁkara, ‘mixing’ of the varṇas through inter-marriages.

16 na vyabhicārayet is causal and hence ‘should not allow the people to transgress.’ — saṁvaṁdaḥānaḥ: the substantive is clearly rājā, ‘ensuring adherence to.’

17 Trayyābhīrakṣito is from D; the hi in the other reading has little significance.
CHAPTER FOUR

SECTION 1 (Continued)

(iii) Establishing (the necessity of) Economics, and
(iv) the Science of Politics

1 Agriculture, cattle-rearing and trade, — these constitute economics, (which are) beneficial, as they yield grains, cattle, money, forest produce and labour. 2 Through them, the (king) brings under his sway his own party as well as the party of the enemies, by the (use of) the treasury and the army.

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 the bestowal of (things) augmented on a worthy recipient. 4 On it is dependent the orderly maintenance of worldly life.

5 'Therefore, the (king), seeking the orderly maintenance of worldly life, should ever hold the Rod lifted up (to strike). 6 For, there is no such means for the subjugation of beings as the Rod,' say the (ancient) teachers.

7 'No,' says Kauṭilya. 8 For, the (king), severe with the Rod, becomes a source of terror to beings. 9 The (king), mild with the Rod, is despised. 10 The (king), just with the Rod, is honoured.

11 For, the Rod, used after full consideration, endows the subjects with spiritual good, material well-being and pleasures of the senses. 12 Used unjustly, whether in passion or anger, or in contempt, it enrages even forest-anchorites and wandering ascetics, how much more

1.4

1 The word vārtī is clearly derived from vṛtti 'livelihood.' — viṣṭi 'labour,' i.e., labourers. The root in the word is viṣ 'to be active.'

3 yogakṣema: yoga is the acquisition of things and kṣema is their secure possession; the two together convey the idea of security and well-being or prosperity. 4 loka-yātrā 'the going of the world,' i.e., worldly intercourse. — Mayer would include this s. in the opinion of the ācāryāḥ, stated in the following sūtras; but it seems that Kauṭilya does not object to the statement in this s.; his objection is to nityam udgatadānata only.

6 vāsopanayānam 'a means of bringing under subjugation.'

8 udvejanīyah 'one who is to be feared,' i.e., a source of terror or fright.

12 avajñānād is from D for ajñānād. The former is more likely to lead to rage than the latter. It is proposed to read a vā after avajñānād, as it is necessary. It seems to have dropped out because of the vā- with which the next word begins. —
then the householders? 13 If not used at all, it gives rise to the law of the fishes. 14 For, the stronger swallows the weak in the absence of the wielder of the Rod. 15 Protected by him, he prevails.

16 The people, of the four varṇas and in the four stages of life, protected by the king with the Rod, (and) deeply attached to occupations prescribed as their special duties, keep to their respective paths.

CHAPTER FIVE

SECTION 2  ASSOCIATION WITH ELDERS

1 Therefore, the three sciences have their root in the (just administration of) the Rod. 2 (Administration of) the Rod, (when) rooted in self-discipline, brings security and well-being to living beings.

3 Discipline is (twofold), acquired and inborn. 4 For, training disciplines suitable stuff, not one unsuited. 5 A science imparts discipline to one, whose intellect has (the qualities of) the desire to learn, listening (to the teacher), learning, retention, thorough understanding, reflection, rejection (of false views) and intentness on truth, (and) not to any other person.

6 But training and discipline in the sciences (are acquired) by (accepting) the authoritativeness of the teachers in the respective sciences.

13 māśyanyāya 'the law of the fishes,' according to which the bigger fish swallow the smaller ones. Cf. 1.13.5 below. 15 sa tena guptaḥ prabhavati: tena seems to refer to the dāṇḍadhara rather than to dāṇḍa. G M omit sa, but it seems necessary as referring to the abala. After sa D adds ca, which is not necessary. It is impossible to see in guptaḥ any reference to a patron of the author.

16 vartmasu: M reads vēśmasu which yields a very colourless idea. Cb text shows karmasu, but the actual comment has mārga, which presupposes vartmasu. Moreover, karmasu is little likely, as the people are already karmacābhirata.

1.5

1 dāṇḍamālās tisro vidyāḥ: this is so because unless there is a just administration, no pursuit of learning or avocations would be possible. 2 vinayamālo etc.: the idea is, administration by a disciplined ruler alone can lead to prosperity and security of the people.

4 kriyā hi dravyam etc.: cf. Raghuvamśa, 3.29, where Mallinātha quotes the present passage as from Kaṇṭhila. Cf. also Muddarākṣasa, 7.14. 5 śūrśāṣā etc.: these are called prajñāgūṇāḥ 'qualities of the intellect' in 6.1.4 below. — abhini-viṣṭa may be understood in the sense of abhinivesa or as standing for abhinivesayukta.

6 vidyāṇām is to be construed with vinayo niyamas ca, though it has also to be understood with yathāsvam. Whereas vinaya refers to actual instruction, niyama seems to refer to the life of discipline that is to accompany the period of study.
When the ceremony of tonsure is performed, the (prince) should learn the use of the alphabet and arithmetic. When the initiation with the preceptor is performed, he should learn the three Vedas and philosophy from the learned, economics from the heads of departments (and) the science of politics from theoretical and practical exponents.

And (he should observe) celibacy till the sixteenth year. Thereafter (should follow) the cutting of the hair and marriage for him.

And (he should have) constant association with elders in learning for the sake of improving his training, since training has its root in that.

During the first part of the day, he should undergo training in the arts of (using) elephants, horses, chariots and weapons. In the latter part, (he should engage) in listening to Itihāsa. The Purāṇas, Itivṛttta, Ākhāyikā, Udāharaṇa, Dharmaśāstra and Arthaśāstra, — these constitute Itihāsa. During the remaining parts of the day and the night, he should learn new things and familiarise himself with those already learnt, and listen repeatedly to things not learnt. For, from (continuous) study ensues a (trained) intellect, from intellect (comes) practical application, (and) from practical application (results) self-possession; such is the efficacy of sciences.

For, the king, trained in the sciences, intent on the discipline of the subjects, enjoys the earth (alone) without sharing it with any other (ruler), being devoted to the welfare of all beings.

7 vṛttacaukarmaḥ: the tonsure ceremony is to be performed in the first year or third after birth. — upayuñjita, i.e., should learn to make use of. 8 śiśeṣabhyaḥ 'those who are trained,' i.e., the learned teachers. — vaktprayokytybhyaḥ 'those who teach the theory and those actually engaged in practising it.'

9 a godaśad varśād: as 3.3.1 shows, a man is supposed to have attained majority when he has completed his sixteenth year. 10 godānām, also known as kṣánta, is the second tonsure, done at puberty. Cf. Raghuvaniśa 3.28–33 which are clearly based on the present passage. For the sanākāras mentioned here, see works on Dharmaśāstra. — G, reads a stop after ca and includes asya in the next s. That makes an odd beginning for that s.

14 Itivṛttam 'such as the Rāmāyaṇa, Bhārata etc.' (Cj). — ākhyāyikā is 'dīva-manuṣyādāśīcaritam' (Cb). — udāharaṇam 'e.g. Tantrākhyāyikā, etc.' (Cj). — G, and M omit Arthaśāstram. — It is not unlikely that s. 14 is a marginal gloss (in explanation of Itihāsa occurring in s. 13) which later got into the text. 16 prajñāyā: G M and Cj read prajñāyā; D has the original jñā changed to jña. A ms. collated in M, shows the former reading, which is supported by Cb. The ablative would appear preferable as in the other clauses. — G, reads ātmavidyāsāmarthyyam and Jolly-Schmidt prefer it; however, a reference to the science of the supreme spirit is out of place here. ātmavattā 'self-possession' is what is intended for the ruler.
CHAPTER SIX

SECTION 3  CONTROL OVER THE SENSES

(i)  Casting out the Group of Six Enemies

1 Control over the senses, which is motivated by training in the sciences, should be secured by giving up lust, anger, greed, pride, arrogance and foolhardiness. 2 Absence of improper indulgence in (the pleasures of) sound, touch, colour, taste and smell by the senses of hearing, touch and sight, the tongue and the sense of smell, means control over the senses; or, the practice of (this) science (gives such control). 3 For, the whole of this science means control over the senses.

4 A king, behaving in a manner contrary to that, (and hence) having no control over his senses, quickly perishes, though he be ruler right up to the four ends of the earth. 5 For example, the Bhoja king, Daṇḍakya by name, entertaining a sinful desire for a Brahmin maiden, perished along with his kinsmen and kingdom; and (so did) Karāla, King of the Videhas. 6 Janamejaya, using violence against Brahmins, out of anger, (likewise perished); and (so did) Tālajāṅgha, (using violence) against the Bṛgus. 7 Aila, extorting money from the four varnas out of greed, (perished); and (so did) Ajabindu of the Sauviras. 8 Rāvaṇa, not restoring the wife of another through pride,

1.6

The third prakaraṇa is spread over two chapters, 1.6-7.

1 viḍyācīnayahetukā: this is a Bahuvisri compound (Cj Meyer) rather than a Tatpurusā (Cb Cs). — māna appears to be the feeling of great conceit owing to an exaggerated opinion about oneself; madā is arrogance resulting from the possession of great power; ḫarpī appears to be the feeling of great exhilaration resulting in playful pranks and foolhardy behaviour (atiķriṅanomatī or kriṅsukham — Cj). 2 avipratipattih: this is the absence of vipratipati (viruddhā pratitti or improper behaviour, i.e., over-indulgence). 3 kṛṣṇāṁ hi śāstṛam etc.: apparently a study of a work on the political science like the present text is expected to give the ruler control over the senses.

5 Daṇḍakya Bhoja: the Rāmāyaṇa, 7.80-81, narrates how King Daṇḍa who had violated Araja, the daughter of his chaplain Uṣanās, was destroyed together with his whole kingdom by the latter's curse; thus was the Daṇḍakāranya made. Cn in D gives Bhadāśva as the name of this king. — Karāla Vaideha: he seems to have been known also as Karāla Janaka, King of the Videhas. The Buddhacarita 11.31 refers to him as Maithila and mentions him along with Daṇḍaka.

6 Janamejaya: he is said to have whipped the Brahmin priests, whom he suspected of having violated his queen when it was really Indra who had done that (Cj). — Tālajāṅgha was a descendant of Saryāti, according to the Mahābhārata. The Saundarananda 7.39, 44 refers to these two kings in the same connection. Āsvaghoṣa had clearly the present passage before him. 7 Aila is Purūravas, the son of Ilā and Budha. He is said to have seized the golden vessels in the sacrifice he was called upon to protect. — atyāḥṛ to extort money from. — Sauvira Ajabindu:
(perished); and (so did) Duryodhana (not returning) a portion of the kingdom. 9 Dambhidhava, treating creatures with contempt out of arrogance, (perished); and (so did) Arjuna of the Haihayas.
10 Vätäpi, trying to assail Agastya, out of foolhardiness, (perished); and (so did) the clan of the Vṛṣṇis (trying to assail) Dvaipāyana.

11 These and many other kings, giving themselves up to the group of six enemies, perished with their kinsmen and kingdoms, being without control over their senses.

12 Casting out the group of six enemies, Jāmadagnya, who had full control over his senses, as well as Ambāriṣa, the son of Nabhāga, enjoyed the earth for a long time.

CHAPTER SEVEN

SECTION 3 (Continued)

(ii) The Life of a Sage-like King

1 Therefore, by casting out the group of six enemies he should acquire control over the senses, cultivate his intellect by association with elders, keep a watchful eye by means of spies, bring about security little is known about him. 9 Dambhidhava: the Mahābhārata, 5.94.5ff. narrates how Dambhidhava wanted to fight with Nara and Nārāyaṇa, but was rendered helpless by them with a handful of grass and was asked to give up his haughtiness.
— Haihaya Arjuna is well-known; he is credited with the possession of a thousand arms. His over-bearing attitude towards Jāmadagni cost him his life. 10 Vätäpi: the Mahābhārata 3.94—97 and the Rāmāyaṇa 3.11.55—66 narrate the story of the demon Vätäpi and his brother Ilvala. The latter by his magic powers used to change his brother into a goat and offer him to Brahmans at a śrāddha. After they had taken their meals, Ilvala used to call his brother, who came out tearing open the bellies of those Brahmans and causing their death. Vätäpi met his doom when the same trick was tried on Agastya, who managed to digest Vätäpi. — aтыśдда-yan: ‘encountering, going very near’; the idea of an actual assault is probably not intended. — Vṛṣṇisarṅga: N. C. Banerjee states that the account of the downfall of the Vṛṣṇis by Dvaipāyana does not tally with the account in the Mahābhārata; but agrees with the tradition in the Ghaṭa Jātaka (IHQ, I, p. 97 and n.). According to the Mahābhārata, it was Nārada of whom the Vṛṣṇis made fun.

12 Jāmadagnya: this is clearly the celebrated Parasurāma. But he is not elsewhere known to have ‘enjoyed the earth for a long time,’ though he had repeatedly cleared it of Kṣatriyas. He is said to have made a gift of the earth to Brahmans, especially to Kaśyapa. Cf. Rāmāyaṇa, 1.75.25 etc. — For Ambāriṣa, see Mahābhārata, 12.29.

1.7

rājārśiśṛttam, i.e., the kind of life that would be appropriate to a sage-like king.
1 kuruṣṭa is to be understood with all the following clauses as well. — vinayavi vidyopadesena: this seems to refer to the ruler’s own training rather than to that of the subjects. — arthasamayogena: this seems to refer to doing beneficial things rather
and well-being by (energetic) activity, maintain the observance of their special duties (by the subjects) by carrying out (his own) duties, acquire discipline by (receiving) instruction in the sciences, attain popularity by association with what is of material advantage and maintain (proper) behaviour by (doing) what is beneficial.

2 With his senses thus under control he should avoid another man's wife or property as well as doing injury to others, also (avoid) sleepiness, capriciousness, falsehood, wearing an extravagant dress, association with harmful persons and any transaction associated with unrighteousness or harm.

3 He should enjoy sensual pleasures without contravening his spiritual good and material well-being; he should not deprive himself of pleasures. 4 Or, (he should devote himself) equally to the three goals of life which are bound up with one another. 5 For, any one of (the three, viz.,) spiritual good, material well-being and sensual pleasures, (if) excessively indulged in, does harm to itself as well as to the other two.

6 'Material well-being alone is supreme,' says Kautilya. 7 For, spiritual good and sensual pleasures depend on material well-being.

8 He should set the preceptors or ministers as the bounds of proper conduct (for himself), who should restrain him from occasions of harm, or, when he is erring in private, should prick him with the goad than only to acceptance and proper disposal of money (as in Cb Cs). — hitena vrttim: this may refer to the ruler himself leading a life that is beneficial or to his securing for the subjects a livelihood by doing beneficial things. The former seems meant.

2 swapnalaulyam of G1 is obviously faulty. — Cj seems to support D's uddhatavesam for -vestavam. — anartha- is a common word in the sense of 'a harmful person' such as a dancer, actor, singer, etc. (Cj). anartha- for it (as in G1) is unlikely, as anarthasinghyukta cyavahāra is separately mentioned.

4 After anyonyānubāddham, D adds parasparānupaghātakam, which seems to be a marginal gloss on the former expression, which has got into the text. 5 The reading kāmānātmānam is due to the dropping of the letter mā between mā and tmā through a scribal error. The genitive is obviously necessary.

6-7 D omits s. 6; also, it seems, Cj. But s. 7 definitely presupposes it. The ki in it would otherwise have no significance. It appears that Kautilya was the first to assign a high place to artha as against dharma and kāma.

8 maryādām, i.e., the boundary beyond which he must not go; in other words, he must not transgress their advice. — chayānālikāpratodena; the ācāryas are to use the goad in the form of either chayā or nālikā, which are the two ways of ascertaining time. For nālikā see 2.20:34-35 and for chayā 2.20:39 below. The idea is that the teachers are to remind the prince of the time and the specific duties fixed for him at that time. This reminder serves like a goad to the erring prince. pratoda can hardly refer to the 'striking' of a drum or gong to indicate time, as F. E. Pargiter, JRAS, 1915, pp. 701-702, says. As abhitudeyuh shows, the idea of pricking an elephant with a goad, when he strays from the right path, is at the basis of the metaphor. As Cj has 'paśum ivā; iyam anuṣṭhāntaravelvā varīte iti.' pratoda
in the form of (the indication of time for the performance of his regular duties by means of) the shadow (of the gnomon) or the nālikā (water-clock).

9 Rulership can be successfully carried out (only) with the help of associates. One wheel alone does not turn. Therefore, he should appoint ministers and listen to their opinion.

CHAPTER EIGHT

SECTION 4 APPOINTMENT OF MINISTERS

1 'He should make his fellow-students his ministers, their integrity and capability being known (to him),' says Bhāradvāja. 2 'For, they enjoy his confidence.'

3 'No,' says Viśalākṣa. 4 'Having been his play-mates, they treat him with disrespect. 5 He should make those his ministers who are of a like nature to him in secret matters, since they have the same character and vices. 6 For, through fear that he is conversant with their secrets they do not offend him.'

7 'This defect is common (to both),' say the followers of Parāśara. 8 'For, through fear that they too are conversant with his secrets, he would acquiesce in what they do and what they omit to do.

has the same root tud and must mean a goad. — rahasi is to be construed with pramādyantam (Cb) rather than with abhītudeyuḥ (Meyer).

9 saciād is a general term for all who help in the work of administration, mantrin, adhyakṣa, dāta etc. — Cb includes ss. 8–9 in the next chapter at the beginning; but though they appear more appropriate there, the śloka in s. 9 indicates rather the end of a chapter.

1.8

1 Bhāradvājaḥ: he is generally identified with Drona, the celebrated teacher of the Kuru princes. But unlike Bhīṣma he is not known to have been a teacher of politics. Jolly-Schmidt identify him with Kāññaka Bhāradvāja mentioned in 5.5.11 as a minister who ran away in time on noticing certain signs of his master’s displeasure. The Mahābhārata 12.58.3 mentions Bhāradvāja as a teacher of rāja-dharma, and contains a discourse on politics by Kāññaka Bhāradvāja in 12.188.

3 Viśalākṣaḥ: this is the name of Śiva. In the Mahābhārata 12.59.80ff. he is said to have abridged the Daṇḍaniti composed by Svayaṁbhū, his work being known as the Viśalākṣa Śāstra. 5 guhyasadharmāṇaḥ, lit. 'those who possess the same characteristics in respect of secret affairs', i.e., his associates in secret affairs. 6 Here as well as in s. 8, marmajña seems to stand for marmajñatva. Cj, it appears, did read marmajñatva, though one cannot be sure.

7 Pārāśarāḥ: G M read Parāśaraḥ here; but in 1.15.23 and 1.17.9 even they
9 'To as many persons the lord of men communicates a secret, to so many does he become subservient, being helpless by that act (of his).

10 'He should make those his ministers who may have helped him in calamities involving danger to life, since their loyalty is (thus) proved.'

11 'No,' says Piśuma. 12 'This is devotion, not a trait of intellect. 13 He should make those his ministers who, when appointed to tasks, the income from which is calculated (beforehand), would bring in the income as directed or more, since (thus) their qualities are proved.'

14 'No,' says Kaunapadanta. 15 'For, these are not endowed with other qualities necessary in a minister. 16 He should make those his ministers who have come (as hereditary servants) from his father and grandfather, since their pure conduct is known. 17 They do not desert him even when he misbehaves, being of the same kin. 18 This is observed even among animals. 19 For, cattle, passing by a herd of cattle not their kin, abide only with those that are their kin.'

20 'No,' says Vātavyādhi. 21 'For, bringing under their control everything belonging to him, they behave like masters (themselves). 22 Therefore, he should make new men well-versed in politics his ministers. 23 New men, indeed, looking upon the wielder of the Rod as occupying the position of Yama, do not give offence.'

show the former. Cj has Pārāśarāḥ. 9 The śloka makes it highly probable that we have here a regular quotation from a work of this school.

11 Piśunaḥ: he is usually identified with the sage Nārada. It is possible, however, that he is the same as the minister Piśuna mentioned in 5.5.11, who ran away on seeing signs of his master's displeasure. 13 sanikhyātārthesu: in view of sanikhyāta 'calculated,' artha should mean 'income, revenue,' accruing from the undertaking.

14 Kaunapadantaḥ 'with goblin's teeth' is said to be a nickname of Bhīṣma; pūtīdantaśya Śaṅtānoraśya putra iti, says Cj. Cnn remarks that Śaṅtānau had 'stinking teeth,' because of a curse of Gaṅgā. 16 druḍācādadānavētā: this is from D. We have to distinguish avadāna 'good or pure conduct' from apadāna 'offence, crime.' For the latter, cf. 2.36.36; 3.12.35 etc. Cnn paraphrases avadāna by upadākuḍhā integrity proved by a secret test. Cb renders it by parākrama, which unnecessarily restricts the sense. 17 sagandha: Cnn paraphrases gandha by 'paricayañjanitasneha affection produced by close acquaintance.' sagandha, however, seems rather to convey the idea of kinship. 19 sagandheṣu etc.: Śākuntalā 5.21.27 seems influenced by the present passage.

20 Vātavyādhiḥ: this is said to be the name of Uddhava, a minister of Krṣṇa. Little is known about this teacher of politics. 21 avagṛha: the root av-a-grah is common in this text in the sense of 'to check, to bring under control.' — iti at the end of s. 21 found in some mss. is clearly out of place.
24 ‘No,’ says Bāhudantiputra. 25 ‘One, conversant with the science, (but) not experienced in practical affairs, would come to grief in (carrying out) undertakings. 26 He should appoint as ministers such (persons) as are endowed with nobility of birth, intellect, integrity, bravery and loyalty, because of the supreme importance of qualities (in this matter).’

27 ‘Everything (stated above) is justifiable,’ says Kauṭilya. 28 For, from the capacity for doing work is the ability of a person judged. 29 And in accordance with their ability,

by (suitably) distributing rank among ministers and assigning place, time and work (to them), he should appoint all these as ministers, not, however, as councillors.

CHAPTER NINE

SECTION 5 APPOINTMENT OF COUNCILLORS AND CHAPLAIN

1 A native of the country, of noble birth, easy to hold in check, trained in the arts, possessed of the eye (of science), intelligent, persevering, dexterous, eloquent, bold, possessed of a ready wit, endowed with energy and power, able to bear troubles, upright, friendly, firmly

24 Bāhudantiputraḥ ‘the son of one whose teeth are her arms’ is said to be Indra. According to Cau, Bāhudantī is the name of Indra’s mother. The Mahābhārata, 12.59.82–83, refers to a further abridgment of Svaśāhālā’s work by Indra; it was called Bāhudantaka.

27 sarvam upapannam: this evidently means that all considerations for and against the various views can be justified according to circumstances. Meyer thinks that Kauṭilya agrees with Bāhudantiputra, though he does not discard altogether the opinions of others. Cj also seems to understand that a person endowed with abhiṣkaraṇa etc. (mentioned by Bāhudantiputra) is able to accomplish anything. 28 Cb Cs read the stop not after kalpyate but after sāmarthyaṣṭa ca and explain ‘the capability of a person (such as viśvāyatvā etc.) for different kinds of duties is established by the power (sāmarthya) of such actions as fellow-studentship, etc. (kārya), and by the possession in a greater or less degree of wisdom, study of science and other qualities (sāmarthyaṣṭa).’ This appears hardly possible; sāmarthyaṣṭa ca quite obviously belongs to the stanza that follows.

29 sāmarthyaṣṭaḥ amāṭyaśivhavacāṁ vibhajya, i.e., assigning the position or rank of amāṭya according to the capacity of the persons. — sarva eva etc., i.e., sahādhāyāyaṁ etc. mentioned above. Cau remarks that each of the 18 principal officers in a state has three subordinates, so that 72 posts have to be filled in all. That allows room for choice from among sahādhāyāyaṁ and others.

1.9 1 saavagrahaḥ: Cb explains ‘having good relations’; Cj has ‘possessed of benevolent friends,’ or ‘who is able to restrain (the king) gently.’ The word, however, rather means ‘easy to control,’ as contrasted with anavagraha ‘unrestrained,’ also used of a minister in 1.15.36 below; cf. also 6.1.6. — dhārayiṣyuḥ ‘with a good memory’ (Cj Cs); but prajñā includes memory as its guṇa. — stambha ‘rigidity’
devoted, endowed with character, strength, health and spirit, devoid of stiffness and fickleness, amiable (and) not given to creating animosities, — these are the excellences of a minister. 2 One, lacking in a quarter and a half of these qualities is the middling and the lowest (type, respectively).

3 Of these (qualities), he should make inquiries about nationality, nobility of birth and tractability from (his) kinsmen, test his (training in) arts and possession of the eye of science through those learned in the same sciences, learn about his intelligence, perseverance and dexterity from his handling of undertakings, test his eloquence, boldness and presence of mind on occasions of conversation, his energy and power as well as ability to bear troubles during a calamity, his uprightness, friendliness and firmness of devotion from his dealings with others, learn about his character, strength, health and spirit as well as about freedom from stiffness and fickleness from those living with him, (and) about his amiability and absence of a disposition to animosity by personal observation.

4 For, the affairs of a king are (of three kinds, viz.,) directly perceived, unperceived and inferred. 5 What is seen by (the king) himself is directly perceived. 6 What is communicated by others is unperceived (by him). 7 Forming an idea of what has not been done from what is done in respect of undertakings is inferred. 8 But, because of the simultaneity of undertakings, their manifoldness and their having to be carried out in many different places, he should cause them to be carried out by ministers, unperceived (by him), so that there may be no loss of place and time.

So Far the Work of (Appointing) Ministers.

9 He should appoint a chaplain, who is very exalted in family and character, thoroughly trained in the Veda with its auxiliary sciences,

seems to refer to haughtiness. Cnn explains 'mithyābhimānād śivinayāh, insolence due to false pride.' — cātpalāhīnāh from D is supported by Cb.

8 abhijanam is missing in G M, evidently through a scribal error. — M Cj read āpyataḥ and the latter explains it by 'svajanataḥ'; that is also Cb's explanation of āptataḥ. The word āpta may also mean 'a reliable person.' — āpadyutsaḥaprabhācau klesasahatvān ca is missing in D, clearly through a scribal error.

4 rājavṛttīḥ seems to refer to the carrying out of all kinds of state work. This is pratyakṣa, or parokṣa or anumeya from the king's point of view. The discussion brings out the necessity of appointing ministers. 8 ayaugapadyāt of Gj is clearly corrupt. The idea is, because a number of state works have to be carried out simultaneously, some works must be done when the king is not present and hence ministers become necessary.

9 udiditakulasālam: the repetition of udīta seems only to emphasize the exalted character of the kula and śīla. Cb has 'when there is nothing blameworthy for four generations'; Cj 'when the ancestors and descendants up to four or seven genera-
in divine signs, in omens and in the science of politics and capable of counteracting divine and human calamities by means of Atharvan remedies. 10 And he should follow him as a pupil (does) his teacher, a son his father (or) a servant his master.

11 Kṣatriya power, made to prosper by the Brahmin (chaplain), sanctified by spells in the form of the counsel of ministers, (and) possessed of arms in the form of compliance with the science (of politics), triumphs, remaining ever unconquered.

CHAPTER TEN

SECTION 6 ASCERTAINMENT OF THE INTEGRITY OR THE ABSENCE OF INTEGRITY OF MINISTERS BY MEANS OF SECRET TESTS.

1 After appointing ministers to ordinary offices in consultation with the councillors and the chaplain, he should test their integrity by means of secret tests.

2 The king should (seemingly) discard the chaplain on the ground that he showed resentment when appointed to officiate at the sacrifice of a person not entitled to the privilege of a sacrifice or to teach

ations are pure in birth and conduct.’ Cs however has ‘whose family and character are such as belong to those richly endowed (udita) with qualities prescribed (udita) in the śāstra.’ This is too involved and seems due to the influence of the Mitākṣarā on Yājñavalkya 1.313, where, however, the word is only uditoditam (curtailed apparently for metrical reasons). — saṅge vede of D is clearly a better expression than saṅge vede of the other mss. — Cb reads sāmudre daicaminitte for daice nimitte and explains ‘signs connected with palmistry etc., and omens due to divine agencies such as earthquakes etc.’ sāmudre is not found in any ms.; and Daiva and Nimitta would appear to be two distinct sciences, that of divine portents and that of omens such as the flight of birds etc., respectively.

11 edhitam and mantrimantrābhimantrītam contain a punning reference to the kindling of fire and its sanctification by mantras. Cb renders abhimantrita by ‘possessed of weapons in the form of obedience to the śāstra,’ or ‘possessed of weapons on account of obedience to the śāstra’ (Cb). Cj however explains ‘following the śāstra (śāstrāṇugam), though not making use of weapons (aśāstrītam).’ Jolly-Schmidt refer to a pun, apparently in the word śāstrīta ‘possessed of a weapon’ and ‘accompanied by a hymn of praise or litany (śastra).’ The reading -nugama- is obviously better than -nugata-.

1.10

upadhā ‘a secret test’ is a term peculiar to this science.

1 -sakhaḥ ‘in the company of,’ i.e., in consultation with. — sāmānyeṣu: ‘common,’ i.e., not carrying any responsibility. — sōdhayet from D Cj is preferable to saucayet; the latter is unusual and has to be understood in the sense of ‘saucam parikṣayet.’

2 Cb shows ayājyayājane for ayājyaayājanādhyāpana. That would appear better, for adhyāpana can with difficulty be construed with ayājya. — avākṣipet:
The king is impious; well, let us set up another pious (king), either a claimant from his own family or a prince in disfavour or a member of the (royal) family or a person who is the one support of the kingdom or a neighbouring prince or a forest chieftain or a person suddenly risen to power; this is approved by all; what about you? If he repulses (the suggestion), he is loyal.

This is the test of piety.

The commander of the army, (seemingly) dismissed by reason of support given to evil men, should get each minister individually instigated, through secret agents, to (bring about) the king's destruction, with (the offer of) a tempting material gain, (saying): 'This is approved by all; what about you?' If he repulses (the suggestion), he is upright.

This is the test of material gain.

A wandering nun, who has won the confidence (of the different ministers) and is treated with honour in the palace, should secretly suggest to each minister individually: 'The chief queen is in love with the root ava-kṣip 'to throw out, discard, dismiss' is common in this text; cf. 5.4.10; 11.1.20; 13.3.8. — 3 sapathapūrcam, i.e., the amāyas are first made to swear that they will not disclose what is being suggested to them. — tattuṣṇa: this word is used to refer to a claimant or pretender to the throne from the ruler's family. — aparuddha: see Chapter 1.18 below. — kula is any other member of the royal family. — ekapraqrāha: in view of 5.6.28, this can only refer to the chief minister who is the 'one support' of the dynasty. Cj Cnn explain 'honoured equally with the king (rājā sahaikapūjām — Cj).' — aupapādikam: Cj explains 'a person suddenly risen to power' and adds the illustration of Candragupta. Similarly Cnn. 'One belonging to a region at the foot of a mountain or one who is to be considered or determined by us' (Cs) appears little likely. Cf. 5.2.39. — dharmapadhā: this name is given to the test apparently because the dhārmikata of the king is supposedly denied in it or because the officer's devotion to dharma (represented by the purokita) is put to test.

asatapraqrāha: according to Cb Cs, the senapati is ordered by the king to honour evil men, which he refuses to do; that is then made the ground for his dismissal. This is hardly possible in view of the expression elsewhere, specially in 7.5.19. It is the support given to worthless persons by the senapati (may be at the king's secret instance as in Cj) that is made the ostensible ground for his seeming dismissal. arthopadhā: the name is due to the offer of money involved in it.

parivrājīkā, also called bhikṣukī, is a secret agent. See 1.12.4 below. — te after ca is from Cj and seems necessary; cf. Śaṁkarārya on Kāmanda, 4.26. — Cj offers an alternative explanation of mahānarthāḥ 'a great calamity will befall you etc.' That is hardly likely.
you and has made arrangements for a meeting (with you); besides, you will obtain much wealth." 8 If he repulses (the proposal), he is pure.

This is the test of lust.

9 On the occasion of a festive party, one minister should invite all the (other) ministers. 10 Through (seeming) fright at this (conspiracy), the king should put them in prison. 11 A sharp pupil, imprisoned there earlier, should secretly suggest to each of those ministers individually, when they are deprived of property and honour, (in this manner): 'This king is behaving wickedly; well, let us kill him and install another; this is approved by all; what about you?' 12 If he repulses (the suggestion), he is loyal.

This is the test of fear.

13 From among them, he should appoint those proved loyal by the test of piety to posts in the judiciary and for suppression of criminals, those proved upright by the test of material gain to offices of the Administrator and in the stores of the Director of Stores, those proved pure by the test of lust to guardianship of (places of) recreation inside (the palace) as well as outside, those proved loyal by the test of fear to duties near the (person of the) king. 14 Those proved honest by all tests, he should make (his) councillors. 15 Those (found) dishonest by every test, he should employ in mines, in forests for material produce, in elephant-forests and in factories.

16 He should appoint ministers, who have been cleared by the (tests of the) group of three (goals of life) and fear, to duties

9 prahavanā is from D G1 Cj; pravahaṇa of the other mss. means practically the same thing. prahavanā is a festive party (prabhāyante 'smin svajanamitrāṇī prahavanam udvahādir utsaṣaḥ—Cj) or a picnic (pritiḥbojana—Cb). 10 tena udegena: the fright is due to an apparently suspected conspiracy of the ministers, 11 kāpatikas cātra is from D. It is easy to see how the other readings kāpatikas chātraḥ and kāpatikacchātraḥ arose successively out of this, under the influence of 1.11.2. Cj reads kāpatikas ca tatra. — Jolly-Schmidt read sahasainam for sādhu enam on the authority of Śaṅkaraṛya on Kāmandaka, 4.26. But the reading of the mss. seems quite all right. Cj seems to have read āta enam. — bhayaśpadha: the name has reference to the fear in which the arrested ministers live.

13 dharmasthiya: cf. Book 3. — kaṇṭakasodhana: cf. Book 4. — samahartṛ: cf. 2.6 below. — saṁvidhaṭṛnicayakarma: cf. 2.5 below. — bāhyābhyanantaravihāraraśāsana: Cnn rightly explains ‘bāhyam uddyānādī, ābhyantraram antahpurādi’ understanding vihāra in the sense of vihārasthāna. The explanation of Cb Cś ‘vihāra, objects of pleasure, i.e., women, and bāhya, i.e., mistresses (bhogini) and ābhyantrara, i.e., queens (deri)’ is hardly acceptable. 15 sarvatrāsūcin: on the analogy of Manu 7.62, Meyer suggests that sarvatra śucin should be read. That is hardly right, since it would place the councillors practically on the same footing as miners and factory workers. The Manusmr̥ti has evidently misunderstood the present passage.

16ff. From these stanzas it is clear that Kautilya does not agree with the
appropriate to them in accordance with their integrity; thus have the (ancient) teachers laid down.

17 ‘However, under no circumstances must the king make himself or the queen the target for the sake of ascertaining the probity of ministers;’ this is the opinion of Kauṭilya.

18 He should not effect the corruption of the uncorrupted as of water by poison; for, it may well happen that a cure may not be found for one corrupted.

19 And the mind, perverted by the fourfold secret tests, may not turn back without going to the end, remaining fixed in the will of spirited persons.

20 Therefore, the king should make an outsider the object of reference in the fourfold work (of testing) and (thus) investigate through secret agents the integrity or otherwise of ministers.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

SECTION 7 APPOINTMENT OF PERSONS IN SECRET SERVICE

1 (i) Creation of Establishments of Spies

With the body of ministers proved upright by means of secret tests, the (king) should appoint persons in secret service, (viz.), the sharp pupil, the apostate monk, the seeming householder, the seeming trader and the seeming ascetic, as well as the secret agent, the bravo, the poison-giver and the begging nun.

2 A pupil, knowing the secrets of others, (and) bold, is the sharp pupil. 3 Encouraging him with money and honour, the minister

traditional view regarding the tests in its entirety. 17 Kauṭilyadārśanaṃ: dārśana here is no philosophical or other ‘system,’ only ‘opinion, view.’ 19 nāgadvāntar (m p) is clearly faulty. — dhṛti is ‘firm will’ rather than ‘intellect.’ 20 adhiṣṭhānam: Can suggests that a traitorous officer should be substituted for the king and the wife of such an officer in place of the queen for purposes of the tests. — It is not easy to see how the tests can retain their efficacy in such a case. — kārte: M reads cārte and Cs explains ‘for the employment of a test.’ kārte, however, seems better.

1.11

1 śuddhāmātāvargahāḥ: this is a Bahuvrīhi, describing the king, and not a Karmadhāraya, as Meyer thinks. A group of ministers could hardly be concerned with the appointment of spies.

2 kāpāṭikāḥ: derived from kāpāṭa ’deceit,’ (kāpāṭena caratī iti—Cj Cnn). — chātraḥ ’a pupil’ or ‘an apprentice.’ Cb explains ‘who has only his own person to care for (sārīramātraparicchadāḥ).’ Cnn has ‘kapālikāmātra-paricchadāḥ’ implying the idea of a beggar. It is not unlikely that the word is derived from chad ‘to conceal, to cover’ and implies the idea of one concealing his movements, intentions etc. — 3 mantri: it is the sumāhārat, who may have been meant.
should say, 'Regarding the king and me as your authority, report to us at once any evil of any person which you may notice.'

4 One, who has relinquished the life of a wandering monk, (and) is endowed with intelligence and honesty, is the apostate monk. 5 Equipped with plenty of money and assistants, he should get work done in a place assigned (to him), for the practice of some occupation. 6 And from the profits of (this) work, he should provide all wandering monks with food, clothing and residence. 7 And to those (among them), who seek a (permanent) livelihood, he should secretly propose, 'In this very garb, you should work in the interest of the king and present yourself here at the time of meals and payment.' 8 And all wandering monks should make similar secret proposals to (monks in) their respective orders.

9 A farmer, the means of whose livelihood are depleted, (and) who is endowed with intelligence and honesty, is the seeming householder. 10 In a place assigned (to him) for agricultural work, he should etc. — exactly as before.

11 A trader, the means of whose livelihood are depleted, (and) who is endowed with intelligence and honesty, is the seeming trader. 12 In a place assigned (to him) for his trade, he should etc. — exactly as before.

13 A hermit with shaven head or with matted hair, who seeks a (permanent) livelihood, is the seeming ascetic. 14 (Living) in the vicinity of a city with plenty of disciples with shaven heads or with matted hair, he should eat, openly a vegetable or a handful of barley at intervals of a month or two, secretly, (however), meals as desired. 15 And assistants of traders (who are secret agents) should adore him

In the case of grhapatikavyan'jana and others, the samâharâr is in charge, as is shown by 2.35.8–13. — prayâdiśa 'report, intimate,' a rather unusual sense.

4 pravrajyapratyavasitah, i.e., one who wants to give up the monk’s life and return to the householder’s life. 5 vârttâkarma: according to Meyer, vârttâ is here the profession of spying, karma is the work of spying and phala the remuneration for this work. This is hardly likely. vârttâ in the usual sense is quite all right. — anteçâsin is used in the sense of an assistant in general, not merely an assistant. 6 karmaphalât, i.e., from the income derived from agriculture or trade or cattle-rearing. 7 vîttikâmân: those who are anxious to find a secure livelihood and not depend on a life of mendicancy. — etenaîcâ vîsêpa, i.e., the peculiar outward garb of the particular ascetic sect is not to be given up. 8 svâh svâh vâram: the different orders of wandering monks are to be under a member of the same order.

10 samâmaî purîvenâ, i.e., other indigent farmers are to accept secret service under him.

13 mûndajâtila: Cn has 'munda such as Sâkya, Ājîvaka and others, jatîla such as Pâsùpata and others.' 14 yovasaamùsim of GM is obviously corrupt: 'grass' could not have been intended. — 15 vaidehakântevâsinâh: these are assistants of the trader-spy. — samiddhayogair 'practices which are intended to
with occult practices for becoming prosperous. 16 And his disciples should announce, 'That holy man is able to secure prosperity (for any one).’ 17 And to those who have approached him with hopes of (securing) prosperity, he should specify events happening in their family, which are ascertained by means of the science of (interpreting the touch of) the body and with the help of signs made by his disciples, (events) such as a small gain, burning by fire, danger from thieves, the killing of a traitorous person, a gift of gratification, news about happenings in a foreign land, saying, 'this will happen today or tomorrow,' or 'the king will do this.' 18 Secret servants and agents should cause that (prophecy) of his to be fulfilled. 19 To those (among the visitors) who are richly endowed with spirit, intelligence and eloquence, he should predict good fortune at the hands of the king and speak of (their imminent) association with the minister. 20 And the minister should arrange for their livelihood and work.

secure prosperity.’ (Cb paraphrases by ‘pūrṇamanorathayoga’). Meyer suggests that samiddha is a Prakritism for samriddha; that seems likely in view of samedhā and sāmedhika presently used in the same sense, the root edh being synonymous with ṛdh, not with idh. — 16 asau siddhāḥ sāmedhikāh: Cb Cs Meyer regard siddhaḥ also as predicate. It is better to understand sāmedhikaḥ alone as the predicate. sāmedhika is ‘one who gains prosperity.’ — 17 samedhāśāstī ‘hope or expectation of prosperity.’ — aṅgavīdā: according to Cn, it is the science by which one touches the body of the person putting the question and finds the answer to it in that touch (yāyā praṣṭuḥ praśnasamaye aṅgasparśāṁ drṣṭvā ādesāḥ kriyate). Cf. 1.12.1. — abhijanepitām of D is not likely, as aṅgīdāha, corahāya can hardly be regarded as ḫipī ‘desired.’ avasita in the reading adopted means ‘what has happened,’ implying also the idea of ‘what is going to happen.’ — ādīṣet with the implied sense of ‘to foretell’ is preferable to pratvādīṣet of D. — tuṣṭadānām ‘a gift in consequence of gratification’ is preferable to tuṣṭadānam, though the latter can mean ‘a gift to one who is contented (with the ruler).’ — idam vā rājā etc.: G M do not read ca; but it is necessary to show the option between the two kinds of prophecies. Cb seems to have read a single prophecy—idam aṣṭa ca vā rājā karisvati. For aṣṭaḥa, aṅgīdāha and corahāya, however, idam bhaviṣyati seems necessary. 18 gudhāḥ satraṇas ca: gudha would refer to agents other than satraṇ. D omits ca; in that case gudha merely emphasizes the secret character of the satraṇ. 19 vākyasakti – speech and power (Cb); rather ‘power of speech, i.e., eloquence’; cf. 1.14.9 below. — rājabhāṣyam is from Cb Cj. D has rājyabhāṣyam, the others rājabhāṣyam. bhāṣya is distinctly preferable to the colourless bhāṣya ‘what is going to happen, future.’ What is meant is ‘good fortune at the hands of the king (asya rājñīḥ sakāśtā tava bhāṣyaṁ lakṣmīr bhaviṣyati—Cn).’ Cj seems to have some kind of honour in mind (puṭṭasasanabandhādi). D’s rājya- does not yield a very happy sense. — Meyer would interchange ss. 19 and 20, making mantri the subject for anuyādharet. There is no doubt, however, that tāpasaḥ is to be understood as the subject for this verb; with mantrisānyogam also as the object in the same s., mantri cannot possibly be the subject. And sattvaprājñā- etc. describes visitors to the tāpasa, not the spies as Meyer thinks. brūyāt isn’t quite necessary. G M do not show it. 20 eṣāṁ refers to sattvaprājñā- etc.; they are to be given employment in state service, may be in secret service. — viyateta ‘should arrange for’; cf. 1.17.25.
21 And he should pacify with money and honour those who are resentful for good reason, those resentful without reason, by silent punishment, also those who do what is inimical to the king.

22 And favoured by the king with money and honour, they should ascertain the integrity of the king’s servants. Thus these five establishments (of spies) have been described.

CHAPTER TWELVE

SECTION 7 (Continued)

(ii) Appointment of Roving Spies

SECTION 8 RULES FOR SECRET SERVANTS

1 And those who are without relations and have to be necessarily maintained, when they study the (science of the interpretation of) marks, the science of (the touch of) the body, the science of magic, that pertaining to (the creation of) illusions, the duties of the āśramas,

21 ye ca etc.: this clearly refers to kāpatika and other agents described in this chapter. That is shown by the next s. — rājāṁh kāraṇakruddhāṁ is found in D; kāraṇakruddhāṁ in it goes better with akāraṇakruddhāṁ that follows. — tūṣṇiṃdanaṇḍena, i.e., by assassination, poisoning, etc.

22 saṁsthāḥ are so called because they are stationed in one place (samyag ekasmin sthāne sthitāḥ—Cnn).

1.12

prāṇidhi seems to mean ‘what is laid down, what is prescribed, duties, rules for conduct, etc.’ Cf. rājaśaṣṭāṇidhiḥ 1.19, niśaṇṭapraṇidhiḥ 1.20. It can also mean in some cases ‘employment, appointment.’

1 ye cāpyasāṁbandhino vāsyabhartavyāḥ: we have to understand ca api asāṁbandhino, the last word meaning ‘without relatives, orphans’; these are to be maintained by the state as we read in 2.1.26 (anāthāṁ ca rājā bibhṛyā). Cb Cj read ye cāṣya etc. and explain ‘the relatives of the king who have necessarily to be maintained by him.’ It is doubtful if spies were to be recruited only from the ranks of the king’s relations. Cj mentions the former reading, but explains āpya by ‘related’; that is little likely, when saṁbandhino is there. Cn can explains ‘āpyānāṁ mantripeṣṭhitopādhyāyādināṁ saṁbandhinoḥ, relations of ministers, chaplain etc.’ These could hardly be referred to as acaśyabhartavyāḥ for the king. — laksanam, i.e., the science of interpretation of the marks on the body. — aṁgavīdyā: see 1.11.17 above. — jambhakavīdyā is the ‘magical lore by which one brings others under control, becomes invisible and so on’ (Cb). — antaracakra is, according to Cb Cs, the science of the omens of birds, according to Cj, the cries of jackals and other animals. According to Meyer, it may indicate the magic circle of Tantric or other mystic sciences. In Bhūtasaṁhitā, ch. 87, antaracakra refers to the interpretation of omens from the dikacakra which is divided into 32 parts in a building. — satṭrin is apparently derived from sattra frequently used in the sense of ‘an ambush’ from sad ‘to sit in ambush or to lie in wait unseen’; cf. 7.17.56; 10.2.15; 8.5.11 etc.
(the science of) omens, the 'wheel with the spaces' and so on, are the secret agents; or, (when they study) the art of association (with men).

2 Those in the land who are brave, have given up all (thought of) personal safety (and) would fight, for the sake of money, an elephant or a wild animal, are the bravoes.

3 Those who are without affection for their kinsmen and are cruel and indolent are the poison-givers.

4 A wandering nun, seeking a (secure) livelihood, poor, widowed, bold, Brahmin (by caste) and treated with honour in the palace, should (frequently) go to the houses of high officers. 5 By her (office) are explained (similar offices for) the shaven nuns of heretical sects.

These are the roving spies.

6 The king should employ these with a credible disguise as regards country, dress, profession, language and birth, to spy, in conformity with their loyalty and capability, on the councillor, the chaplain, the commander-in-chief, the crown-prince, the chief palace usher, the chief of the palace guards, the director, the administrator, the director of stores, the magistrate, the commandant, the city-judge, the director of

The satattrin's work is akin to an ambuscade without the element of an actual attack. Cnn explains 'sāt) vidyañanaṃ api trāyati gopāyati iti satattrin chadma, tad vidyate yēpāh te'. — saṁsarga-vidyā 'the art of association,' i.e., the science of love and allied arts, such as singing, dancing etc. (Cb). So Cnn 'saṁsṛtyānte janā yasyāṁ sā saṁsarga-vidyāṁ gitanātyādikā.'

2 D adds puruṣam agnyādikai vā after vyālaṁ vā; the words do not appear to be original. — The point of janapade, according to Cb, is that people from the countryside tend to be so foolhardy.

4 vidhāvā: Cj states that some read avidhāvā and explain it by puṁsākāmā 'longing for a man.' That is not at all likely. — Brāhmaṇī: apparently women of the Brāhmaṇa varṇa alone could become parivrājikās. — abhyagacch from D is necessary for sense. — 5 munḍā vṛṣāyāḥ: Cb Cs explain 'Buddhist nuns and Śudra females'; the 'and' seems hardly justified. Meyer too has 'shaven nuns and dissolute women' which accords with Cj as to the explanation of vṛṣali, 'parītyaktacārītradhārma'. Cnn's explanation of vṛṣali, 'cēṣyāma tāro devatālīṇadhārīnyah, old prostitutes showing themselves as devotees' is also doubtful. It seems that vṛṣala in this text refers to the follower of a heretical sect and munḍā describes the custom of shaving the head prevalent among nuns of such sects. — saṁcārāḥ: these are not settled in one place and do not belong to a saṁsthā. They also work individually. Cb adds that the saṁsthāḥ are appointed by the minister, the saṁcārāḥ by the king himself.

6 mantripurohita- etc.: we have here obviously a list of the 18 tīrthas referred to in s. 21 below. — prāśiṣṭr so high in the list can hardly be the same as the officer who looks after the camp and its supplies according to 10.1.17. Like the dawārika and the äntarvaṇāsika he seems to be a palace official in charge of its administration. — paurovācaḥārika: such an officer is not mentioned elsewhere in the text except in the salary lists in 5.3. Perhaps he is the same as the nāgarika of 2.36. Cj understands the dharmastha of Book 3.
factories, the council of ministers, the superintendents, the chief of the army staff, the commandant of the fort, the commandant of the frontier-fort and the forest chieftain, in his own territory.

7 Bravoes, (serving as) bearers of umbrella, water-vessel, fan, shoes, seat, carriage and riding animal, should (spy on and) ascertain the out-of-door activity of those (officers). 8 Secret agents should communicate that (information) to the (spy-) establishments.

9 Poison-givers, serving as cooks, waiters, bath-attendants, shampooers, bed-preparers, barbers, valets and water-servers, those appearing as humpbacks, dwarfs, Kirātas, dumb, deaf, idiotic or blind persons, (and) actors, dancers, singers, musicians, professional story-tellers and minstrels as well as women should (spy on and) ascertain the indoor activity (of those officers). 10 Nuns should communicate that (information) to the (spy-) establishments.

11 Assistants of the establishments should carry out the transmission of spied out news by means of sign-alphabets. 12 And neither the establishments nor these (assistants) should know one another.

13 In case of prohibition of (entry into the house for) nuns, (secret agents) appearing at the door one after another (or) appearing as the mother or father (of servants in the house), or posing as female artists, — kārmāntika 'the officer in charge of factories' is also mentioned again only in 5.3.7. — maṇtriṇaṇaḥ-adhyakṣa: this is usually understood as 'the president of the council of ministers.' However, such a president is unlikely, when the king is there to preside. Moreover, adhyakṣa in the sense of 'president' is doubtful for this text. Clearly, two categories, council of ministers (i.e., each of its members) and superintendents (i.e., heads of departments) are to be understood. — 'pāla is to be construed with each of daṇḍa-, durga- and anta-. Of these daṇḍapāla seems to be a sort of chief of staff. —  añvika 'the forest chieftain' is strictly not a fīrtha or high state officer. We get the number 18 by excluding him. — bhaktitāḥ: Cb Cs explain 'making him appear as the devotee of that god whose devotee the officer (spied on) happens to be.' The expression, however, seems to mean only 'in conformity with the devotion (of the spy) to the king.' — sāmarthyaṣṭogāt: Meyer understands sāmarthya and yoga as two ideas. A single idea, however, appears better.

7 cāra lit. 'movement, activity' which is spied upon, hence, also 'information spied out.'

9 sūdārālikā: according to Cb, sūda is the cook, ārālikā is one who serves food. — kūśiluce, though often used to include actors, dancers etc., seems here restricted to minstrels or rhapsodes.

11 saṁjñālipiḥ: 'a secret alphabet previously agreed upon' (Cb) is better than 'signals and writing' (Meyer).

13 dvākṣṭhaparaviparā: this refers to spies disguised as acrobats, beggars, jugglers etc. who appear at the door at intervals and beg or do their acts. Spies in the house take advantage of their appearance to communicate information to them.

— mātāpitrvyājanāḥ: these claim to be the parent of some servant in the house,
singers or female slaves, should get the secret information that is spied out conveyed outside by means of songs, recitations, writings concealed in musical instruments or signs. 14 Or, a secret get-away (from the house should be made by the spies) by (taking advantage of a pretended) long illness or madness or by setting (something) on fire or administering poison (to some one).

15 When there is agreement in the reports of three (spies), credence (should be given). 16 In case of continuous mistakes on their part, 'silent' punishment is (the means of) their removal.

17 And spies mentioned in 'The Suppression of Criminals' should live with enemies receiving wages from them, in order to find out secret information, without associating with one another. 18 They are 'persons in the pay of both.'

19 And he should appoint 'persons in the pay of both,' after taking charge of their sons and wives. And he should know such agents when they are employed by the enemies. And (he should ascertain) their loyalty through (spies of) their type.

whom they wish to visit and from whom they get the secret information. — gīta-pāthya- etc.: it seems best to understand four items, viz., gīta, pāthya, vādga-bhāyagādāghalekhyā and sāṁjñā. Apparently, the vā shows the option between these alternatives in the compound. 14 agnirasavisarga, i.e., setting something on fire or poisoning some one and then escaping in the commotion that would follow. Meyer, however, has 'by pretending a fire (in his own house) or a case of poisoning (at his place) or for evacuation of the body (visarga, i.e., clearing of the bowels).' This is hardly possible.

15 saṁpratīyaṇaḥ 'belief, credence.' 16 vinīpāta 'falling away', i.e., bringing in false information. — pratiṣedha 'removal from office, dismissal from the job.' In the present case, it is brought about by death.

17 kauṭikesodhanoktāḥ: spies mentioned in 4.4.3 are to be thought of. — D alternates between avasarpa and apasarpa, but has mostly the former. However, apasarpa is usual later. Cf. Raghuvamśa, 17.51 etc. — It is proposed to read saṁpātinas cārārtham, 'not associating together, for the sake of spying out information secretly.' The idea is, the ubhayacetanas are to operate independently in the enemy's territory, each being unaware of the other ubhayacetanas though from the same country. saṁpāta, in this text, has the sense of 'coming together, crowding etc.'; cf. 4.6.2; 9.2.2; 2.25.3 etc. For saṁpātin cf. 2.36.21. Meyer proposes saṁpātinas cārārtham 'going out there for the work of spying.' Most mss. read saṁpātaniścārārtham; it is possible that niścāra means 'sending out (spied out information from the enemy's territory)'; in that case, saṁpāta would have to mean 'information spied out,' which seems hardly possible. Cb renders saṁpāta by 'spy' and explains 'in order that his own spies may be able to work easily and the enemy spies may be unable to operate.' This is equally unsatisfactory.

19 grīhāpūtradārāṇi ca: i.e., the sons and wives of the ubhayacetanas are held as hostages. — ariprahītān, i.e., when ubhayacetanas are used by the enemies against him. — tadvidhāya: if the ubhayacetana is disguised as a kuśilava, the spy to watch over him should also appear as a kuśilava and so on.
20 Thus he should sow spies among the enemy, the ally, the middle king, the neutral king, as well as among the eighteen high officers of (each of) those (kings).

21 Humpbacks, dwarfs, eunuchs, women skilled in arts, dumb persons and different types of Mleccha races (should be employed as spies) living inside their houses.

22 In fortified towns traders (should constitute) the spy-establishments, on the outskirts of fortified towns ascetics, farmers and apostate monks in the country-side (and) herdsmen on the borders of the country.

23 In the forest should be placed forest-dwellers (such as) monks, foresters and others, — a series of spies, quick in their work, — in order to find out news of (the activity of) the enemy.

24 And such (spies) of the enemy should be found out, those of the different types by (his own spies) of the same types, (whether) roving spies or spy-establishments, secret servants not bearing the marks of a secret servant.

25 In order to discover espionage by enemies, he should station at the frontiers principal officers, who are non-seductive, but are shown to be impelled by motives for action that are associated with seductive parties.

21 -panḍakāh of most mss. means the same as -saṇḍakāh of Cb. — citrāś ca mlecchajātayaḥ, such as Kirāta, Śabara etc.
22 rāṣṭra is the same as janapada, distinguished from durga or pura.
23 It is to be noted that Śramaṇas, i.e., Buddhist or Jain monks (Cm) are here included among vanacaras. — Cj shows -jānārtatham (for -jānārtthāḥ). That seems also Medhātithi’s reading on Manu, 7.154. That would appear a more usual expression.
24 gūḍhāś cāgūḍhasāṁjñītāḥ: in spite of the ca being placed after instead of before gūḍhāḥ, the latter does not form a third category as Meyer thinks. a gūḍhasāṁjñītā seems to mean ‘who do not bear signs of being secret agents.’ Medhātithi on Manu 7.154 reads gūḍhasāṁjñītāḥ ‘who are equipped with, i.e., make use of secret signs.’
25 The translation follows in the main the explanation in Cm ‘krodhalobha-bhayamānaiḥ kāraṇabhūtaiḥ pratirūpātān maṇtriṣeṇapatiyādīn kṛtvā kṛtvā mānāśīkkārabhṛṣṭaṁ rāṣṭraṁ nirvāṣayet.’ The idea is, some important officers about whose loyalty there is no doubt are stationed at the frontier; it is made out (dārśita) that they have a motive (hetvā) such as krodha, lobha etc. for turning traitor (kṛtyapakṣīya). The enemy’s spies feel tempted to try to seduce these officers; if they do so, the enemy’s intentions become known to these officers and through them to the king. Cb seems to agree though it does not show a clear explanation of some expressions. Meyer has ‘whose loyalty is unshakably demonstrated (akṛtyān dārśitaṁ) through men of the seceders’ party (kṛtyapakṣīyaiḥ) who approach them for work of their own (kāryahetubhiḥ).’ In the foot-note, he prefers kṛtyapakṣīyaiḥ as
CHAPTER THIRTEEN

SECTION 9 KEEPING A WATCH OVER THE SEDUCIBLE AND NON-SEDUCIBLE PARTIES IN ONE'S OWN TERRITORY

1 When he has set spies on the high officials, he should set spies on the citizens and the country people.

2 Secret agents, opposing one another, should carry on a disputation at holy places, in assemblies, in communal gatherings and (other) congregations of people. 3 (One of them should say,) ‘This king is said to be endowed with all virtues and yet no virtue is to be seen in him, as he oppresses citizens and country people with fines and taxes.’ 4 The other should contradict him as well as those who may commend his views there. 5 (He should say,) ‘People, overwhelmed by the law of the fishes, made Manu, the son of Vivasvat, their king. 6 And they assigned one-sixth of the grains, one-tenth of the commodities and money as his share. 7 Maintained by that, kings bring about the well-being and security of the subjects. 8 Those who do not pay fines

an adjective to kārtyahetubhiḥ ‘by those means of accomplishing an object which are useful in the case of kṛtyas, i.e., such means as test the likely seceders.’ Cs explains ‘such principal men as are difficult to win over (akṛtyān i.e. asādhyañ) and may even be hostile, should be first enlightened with reasons which are sufficient to win over a person, i.e., they should be won over with reasoning and then stationed etc.’ This is hardly satisfactory.

1.13

kṛtyas are defined in s. 22 below. — rakṣamāṇa conveys the idea of being vigilant in the matter of these persons, protection of onself from these persons, not protection of these persons.

2 dvandvānāḥ ‘contending among themselves (dvandvān vairāṃ yeśāṃ te — Cj)’ is more likely than ‘moving in pairs’ (Cb). — tīrthasabhā- etc.: -sālā- added after -sabhā- in G M does not appear to be original. Four things seem meant, tīrtha, sabbha, pūga and janasamavāya, as in Cnn Cs. pūga is a sort of guild or communal group (pūghā śrenīganās tantvāyādātnām—Cnn). janasamavāya refers to congregations of people for dramatic shows, festivals etc. (prekṣotavādīṣu yattra janāḥ samavayanti—Cnn). Meyer construes samavāya with pūga as well as jana. — It is not possible to agree with K. P. Jayaswal (Hindu Polity, II, p. 84) that tīrthasabhāsādāsamavāya refers to the sectional sub-assembly of the Paura Assembly in charge of sacred places and public buildings, that pūgasamavāya is the sub-assembly in charge of trade and manufactures and that janasamavāya is the Popular Assembly. 3 ayaṃ rājā etc.: according to Ghoshāl (HPT, pp. 133-134 and n.) ayaṁ rājā means ‘this class of kings,’ yaḥ refers to guṇaḥ and piḍayati is causal, ‘which makes him harass the subjects.’ This is very doubtful. yaḥ can easily refer to asya. 4 ye'nuprasāmaṇeyūḥ: these are possible kṛtyas. 5 Manunāṁ rājānam etc.: the Mahābhārata 12.67.20–32 narrates how Manu was induced to undertake the task of rulership. 6 This theory of an original contract between the subjects and the ruler is merely a device used by agents for securing the allegiance of subjects. 8 teṣāṁ kilbīṣaṁ etc.: the translation follows in the main Cnn
and taxes take on themselves the sins of those (kings), and (kings) who do not bring about well-being and security (take on themselves the sins) of the subjects. 9 Therefore, even forest-dwellers offer a sixth part of their gleaned grains, saying "This is the share for him who protects us." 10 This is the office of Indra and Yama, viz., (that of) the kings, whose wrath and favour are visibly manifest. 11 Even divine punishment strikes those who slight them. 12 Therefore, kings must not be slighted." 13 Thus he should restrain the common people. 14 And they should also find out rumours (spreading among the subjects).

15 And spies appearing as ascetics with shaven heads or with matted hair should ascertain the contentedness or discontentedness of those, who live on his grains, cattle or money, who help him with these in calamity or prosperity, who restrain a rebellious kinsman or region, (or) who repel an enemy or a forest chieftain. 16 He should favour those who are contented, with additional wealth and honour. 17 He should propitiate with gifts and conciliation those who are discontented, in order to make them contented. 18 Or, he should divide them from each other as well as from neighbouring princes, forest-chieftains, pretenders from his family and princes in disfavour. 19 If they are even then discontented, he should make them incur the odium of the country by (appointing them to) the office of collecting which explains 'subjects not paying fines and taxes (adaṇḍakarāh praṇāh) take on themselves the sins of the kings, and kings not securing the subjects' welfare take on themselves the sins of the subjects.' It would have been better if we had praṇāh after adaṇḍakarāh and rājāṇāh after -keśāmacchādhās ca. Cj, reading adaṇḍadhara harati, seems to explain, 'a king who fails to wield the daṇḍa takes on himself the sins of those kings who do it, and kings failing to secure yogakṣema take on themselves the subjects' sins.' If the s. were looked upon as containing a single clause, we may understand 'kings who do not take fines and taxes take on themselves the sins of those other dutiful kings, and they also fail to secure the welfare of the subjects.' Meyer suggests tāsām for teṣām 'kings who do not receive fines or taxes and are therefore unable to secure welfare take on themselves the sins of those subjects.' Cs reads daṇḍakarāh and yoga- (for ayoga-) 'punishments and taxes imposed by those kings (teṣāṁ daṇḍakarāḥ) remove distress (kiḷiṣa evil) from the people and secure their welfare.' This seems very unlikely. 11 daivo daṇḍaḥ, i.e., some divine calamity. 13 kṣudrakān 'the common people, the masses' as distinguished from pradhānāḥ described in s. 15. — pratiṣedhayet, i.e., controvert their views and dissuade them from entertaining seditious thoughts.

15 ājīvanti 'live on,'i.e., receive as wages or salary. — kupita 'rebellious' from a root commonly used in this sense in this text. — vyāṣcartayanti 'turn back,' i.e., dissuade them from taking any rash steps. — pratiṣedhayanti 'repel,' may be, even by fighting. 17 tyāga is the same as dāna. 19 daṇḍakarasādhana- 'securing or recovering of fines and taxes.' daṇḍasādhana does not seem to mean 'raising an army.' The rā read in G M after -dhikareṇa is not necessary and D omits it. We need not suppose, as Meyer does, that some word before rā has dropped out.
fines and taxes. 20 When they have incurred the odium, he should bring about their end by ‘silent’ punishment or by an insurrection in the country. 21 Or, he should post them in mines or factories, after taking their sons and wives under his protection, for fear that they might be the object of designs by enemies.

22 Those, however, who are enraged or greedy or frightened or proud, are likely to be seduced by enemies. 23 Spies appearing as fortune-tellers, soothsayers and astrologers should ascertain their mutual relations as well as their contacts with enemies or forest chieftains. 24 He should favour those, who are contented, with wealth and honour. 25 He should manage those who are discontented by means of conciliation, gifts, dissension or force.

26 In this way, the wise (king) should guard from the secret instigations of enemies those likely to be seduced and those not likely to be seduced in his own territory, whether prominent persons or common people.

CHAPTER FOURTEEN

SECTION 10 WINNING OVER THE SEDUCIBLE AND NON-SEDUCIBLE PARTIES IN THE ENEMY’S TERRITORY

1 The winning over of the seducible and non-seducible parties in one’s own territory has been explained; that in the enemy’s territory is to be described.

2 One who is cheated after being promised certain things, of two persons equally skilled in some art or useful service the one who is humiliated, one who is in disfavour because of a favourite (of the king), one who is defeated after being challenged (to a contest), one who is distressed by banishment, one who has not achieved his object after tā, if read, can show the option between danṣasādhanā and karasādhanā. 20 sādha-yet ‘should manage, secure,’ i.e., get rid of him.

22 According to Cb Cs the 9th prakaraṇa really begins only with this s., the earlier ss. forming part of the 8th. Even those ss., however, also refer to possible kṛtyas and akṛtyas. — māninaḥ from D is supported by 1.14.5 below.

1.14

upagraha is ‘winning over to one’s side, seducing.’ *upagrahaḥ anukūlanam* — Medini.

2 tulyakāriṇāḥ: ‘of two persons who can do a thing equally efficiently.’ Cj reads tulyakārināḥ which may be understood as ablative, ‘one humiliated as compared with his equal.’ D reads tatūlyakāriṇāḥ which may be similarly understood. — vallabhāvaruddhaḥ: following D, -paruddhaḥ should rather be read; for, the idea is ‘one in disfavour because of some favourite of the king,’ hardly ‘put in restraint by a favourite of the king.’ — pravāsa- ‘banishment,’ rather than ‘constant journeying on the king’s account.’ — kulyaiḥ seems to refer to the
incurred expenditure, one who is hindered from doing his duty or receiving his inheritance, one deprived of honour or office, one held back by members of the family, one whose womenfolk are molested by force, one who is put in prison, one who is fined after losing his suit (in court), one prevented from indulging in wrong conduct, one whose entire property is confiscated, one tormented in confinement, one whose kinsmen are exiled (or, killed), — this is the group of the enraged.

3 One who has himself thwarted (some one), one who has committed a serious wrong, one who has become known for a sinful act, one frightened by punishment meted out to another with a like offence, one who has seized (some one's) land, one who is subdued by force, one in any (state) department who has suddenly amassed wealth, one hoping for a pretender from the (king's) family (coming to the throne), one disliked by the king, and one who entertains hostility towards the king, — this is the group of the frightened.

king's kinsmen rather than to his own. — kārābhīnyastah 'put in prison' (Cb), though, as Meyer points out, kārā 'prison' is not found elsewhere in the text and bandhanapariklistāḥ appears to render this expression superfluous. Cj explains 'one who is urged to recover fines quickly (kārā daṇḍaḥ, tatra abhiniveśena trayedam āśūpaneyam iti niṣiktah),' which is hardly convincing. Meyer would read kārābhīnyastah or karābhīyaṣtaḥ 'over-oppressed by taxes'; karābhīṭrastaḥ might be better in this sense. — paroktadaṇḍitaḥ: 3.1.19-20 show parokta in the sense of the person who has lost his suit and is fined in consequence. Therefore, 'who is fined without proper consideration on the testimony of another' (Cb Cj) does not seem to be right. — mithyācārvaśritaḥ: Cb Cs explain 'who has been wrongly (mithyā) prevented from some practice such as the performance of the Agnīṣoma sacrifice.' This case seems to be covered by svadharmād uparuddhaḥ. 'Prevented from indulging in some wrong conduct' is better. — pravāsita- may be 'exiled' or 'executed.' Cun has 'yamapūrāṇa preṣitabāndhavaḥ.'

3 svayam upahataḥ viprakṛtaḥ: both participles appear used in the active sense 'who has hindered or thwarted (some highly placed individual), and who has committed some serious wrong (to such an individual).' If understood as 'who is thwarted' and 'who is wronged,' that would hardly suit. The consequence would be anger, rather than fear. Cun explains upahata 'who has failed to carry out the task after spending a lot of money and troops (koṣaṁ daṇḍaṁ ca vināśya akṛṭakāryo), i.e., frustrated by his own actions' and viprakṛta 'who has done an act of treason like black magic etc. (vīruddhaṁ prakṛṣeṇa kṛtaṁ rājadviṣṭam abhiśarādi).' Cj seems to have a similar explanation. — paryāṭtabhāmiḥ 'whose lands are taken away from him' (Cb Meyer) is hardly likely to be afraid; 'who has seized the land of another' (Cs) would appear better. Cj thinks of king's land being seized by him. — daṇḍenopanataḥ: usually this refers to a prince who has surrendered with his troops; cf. 7.15 below. As state officers are primarily thought of, 'subdued by force' is clearly meant. 'Impoverished by fines' (Cs) is hardly likely. — tatku-nilopāśaṁsuh: Cb explains 'who has sought shelter with or is dependent on a pretender to the throne.' Cj, reading tatku-nilino vāsinaṁsuh, explains 'a member of the king's family who is eagerly looking forward to becoming the king.' The reading with rā does not appear very likely.
4 One who is impoverished, one whose property is taken by another, a miser, one in a calamity (or, indulging in a vice) and one indulging in rash transactions, — this is the group of the greedy.

5 One who is filled with self-conceit, one desirous of honour, one resentful of the honour done to his enemy, one placed in a low position, one fiery in temper, one given to violence, and one dissatisfied with his emoluments, — this is the group of the proud.

6 Among them, he should cause instigation through spies appearing as holy men with shaven heads or matted hair, — of each person of the seducible party by that (spy) to whom he may be devoted.

7 'Just as an elephant, blinded by intoxication and mounted by an intoxicated driver, crushes whatever it finds (on the way), so this king, not possessed of the eye of science, and (hence) blind, has risen to destroy the citizens and the country people; it is possible to do harm to him by inciting a rival elephant against him; show (your) resentment;' — in this way he should cause the group of the enraged to be instigated.

8 'Just as a serpent, lying in hiding, emits poison at the place from which it expects danger, so this king, having become apprehensive of harm (from you), will ere long emit the poison of anger at you; go elsewhere;' — in this way he should cause the group of the frightened to be instigated.

4 anyáotasaś from D appears preferable to atryáotasaś 'whose property has been taken away by way of taxes or fines' (Cs) or 'who has taken to himself excessive property' (Meyer), — atryáhitacayavaháráh: the rashness of the undertaking apparently involves a financial loss or expectation of great gain.

5 nícáir upahítaś 'one who is placed in a low position (nícáir as adverbial) appears better than 'placed along with low persons (either in rank or for some work)' (Cs Meyer) or 'involved in the same matter along with low persons' (Cb). — bhogena, i.e., with what he receives in return for service rendered.

6 yo yadabháktis tain tena: the idea is that the instigation is to be made by that spy (tena) disguised as a holy man, to whom the kṛtya may be devoted. Thus Cj. It is possible to refer yad and tena to krodha, bhaya etc. to which the kṛtya may be attached (yadabhaktiḥ); but this is less likely. Meyer proposes yadabhaktiḥ tena ‘through that (krodha etc.) by which he has become disaffected (abhaktiḥ) towards his master.’ This is hardly satisfactory. Cb has ‘by the offer of whatever he may be desirous of.’ What follows does not contain any reference to the desires of the kṛtya.

7 After anuho rájá, Cb Cs add anhena mantriṇādhiśhitaḥ. Though it corresponds to mattena adhiśhitaḥ in the upamána, it isn’t necessary. In fact, it may well have been a marginal gloss. Cf. Śaṅkara on Kāmandaka, 18.39. — amarasya: the resentment is apparently to be shown by going over to the enemy.

8 purā utṣṛjati: as usual the sense of the immediate future is to be understood. Meyer has ‘before he emits, you should go.’ Though possible, this doesn’t appear intended.
9 'Just as the cow of the hunters is milked for hounds, not for Brahmins, so this king is milked for those devoid of spirit, intelligence and eloquence, not for those endowed with qualities of the self; that (other) king knows (how to appreciate) persons of distinction; go to him;' — in this way he should cause the group of the greedy to be instigated.

10 'Just as the well of the Cāndālas is of use only to the Cāndālas, not to others, so this king, being low, is of benefit only to low persons, not to Āryas such as you; that (other) king knows (how to appreciate) persons of distinction; go to him;' — in this way he should cause the group of the proud to be instigated.

11 When they have agreed with the words 'So (we shall do)' and have become allied (to him) by the making of terms, he should employ them according to their capacity in his own works, with spies (to watch over them).

12 And he should win over the seducible in the enemy's territories by means of conciliation and gifts and those not seducible by means of dissension and force, pointing out (to them) the defects of the enemy.

CHAPTER FIFTEEN

SECTION 11 THE TOPIC OF COUNSEL

1 When he has secured the allegiance of his own party and the party of the enemy, he should think of the undertaking of works.

2 All undertakings should be preceded by consultation. 3 The place for that should be secluded, not allowing talks to be heard outside, incapable of being peeped in even by birds. 4 For, it is known that deliberations are divulged by parrots and starlings, even by dogs and other animals. 5 Therefore, an unauthorised person must not

9 duhyate is as in D Cj. dugdhe is equally good. — -vākyāśakti- cf. 1.11.19 above. 14 asau rāja is the king on whose behalf the secret agent is working. — In the reading secyatām of G, M (for tatra gamyatām), a sa would appear to be necessary before it; Cj seems to have read it.

10 This clearly implies the existence of separate arrangements for water for the untouchables.

11 saṅhitān paṇakarmanā: a treaty (saṅdhi) with terms (paṇa) laid down is meant.

1.15

3 kathānām anihśrācī is from D, also implied in Cb. That is better than anisrācī (aniśhārci necessary as in Cs) 'not allowing (talk) to flow out.' Cj, with avisrācī, has 'free from echoes.' 4 sukāśārikābhīr: Jolly-Schmidt refer to the Harṣacarita p. 268 (BSS edition) for illustrations. 5 Cj reads aṣuṇko for aṇāṣko.
approach the place of counsel. 6 One who divulges secret counsel should be extirpated.

7 Secret counsel is indeed betrayed by the gestures and the expressions of the envoy, the minister and the monarch. 8 Gesture is behaviour other than normal. 9 The putting on of an expression (on the face) is expression. 10 Concealment of that (and) vigilance over officers appointed (should be maintained) till the time of (completion of) the undertaking. 11 For, their prattle through negligence or in intoxication or during sleep, their immoderation such as amorousness and the like, or, a person concealed or despised, betrays secret counsel. 12 Therefore, he should guard counsel.

13 ‘The divulgence of secret counsel is fatal to the security and well-being of the king and the officers appointed by him. 14 Therefore, he should deliberate alone over a confidential matter,’ says Bhāradvāja. 15 ‘For, even councillors have (other) councillors, and these have others still. 16 Thus this series of councillors leads to the divulgence of secret counsel.

17 ‘Therefore, others should not know about any work sought to be done by him. Only those who undertake it should know (about it) when it is begun or even when it is actually completed.’

18 ‘There is no attainment of deliberation by a single person,’ says Viṣālākṣa. 19 ‘For, the affairs of a king are (three-fold,) directly perceived, unperceived and inferred. 20 Coming to know what is not known, definite strengthening of what has become known, removal of doubt in case of two possible alternatives in a matter, finding out the rest in a matter that is partly known, — this can be

8 iṅgīla derived from iṅg ‘to move,’ refers to movements or gestures indicative of the thoughts of a person. — ākṛtigrahaṇam ‘putting on an expression other than natural, such as paleness of the face, etc.’ (Cb). 10 A ca would seem necessary after -rakṣaṇam. — iti has no significance; a verb like kuryāt or kārayet would have been better. 11 -pralāpāḥ is from D. Since kāma etc. constitutes utseka as shown by 9.7.1 and pramāda etc. are unconnected with it, this reading is clearly necessary. Perhaps pralāpāḥ in the sing, which seems to be the reading of Cj, would be better, in view of the verb bhīnatī. — utsekaḥ ‘immoderation, excess’ rather than ‘haftiness’ (Cs) or ‘self-forgetfulness’ (Meyer).

13 D’s hyāyoga- is supported by Cb. — ayogasemakaro rājñāḥ: Cnn gives the illustration of Rāmagupta betrayed by Dhruvadevi (yathā Dhruvadevya kṛto Rāmaguptasarirasiya). 17 D has a slightly different form of the first line, which is found in s. 60. — An itī at the end of the stanza would be better to mark the end of the quotation from Bhāradvāja’s work. That this is a quotation can hardly be doubted.

19 Cf. 1.9.4 above. It is possible that even there the s. is derived from Viṣālākṣa’s work. 20 niṣcitabalādhānam: Jolly-Schmidt have adopted niṣcayo
achieved (only) with the help of ministers. 21 Therefore, he should sit in counsel with those who are mature in intellect.

22 ‘He should despise none, (but) should listen to the opinion of every one. A wise man should make use of the sensible words of even a child.’

23 ‘This is ascertainment of counsel, not guarding of counsel,’ say the followers of Parāśara. 24 ‘He should ask the councillors concerning a matter exactly similar to the undertaking he has in mind, “this work was like this, or, if it were to happen like this, how then should it be done?”’ 25 As they might advise, so should he do that (work). 26 In this way is counsel ascertained and secrecy maintained at the same time.’

27 ‘No,’ says Piśuna. 28 ‘For, councillors, questioned about a remote affair, whether it has taken place or not, give their opinion with indifference or disclose it. 29 That is a defect. 30 Therefore, he should deliberate with those who are approved for the particular undertakings. 31 Holding counsel with these (only), he achieves success in consultation as well as its secrecy.’

32 ‘No,’ says Kauṭilya. 33 For, this is a condition without fixity. 34 He should hold consultations with three or four councillors. 35 For, holding a consultation with one (only), he may not (be able to) reach a decision in difficult matters. 36 And a single councillor behaves as he pleases without restraint. 37 Holding consultations with two, he is controlled by the two if united and ruined by them if at war (with each other). 38 With three or four, that becomes possible (only) with difficulty. 39 However, if it does become possible, it

niścitasya balādāhānam from Somadeva’s Nāṭivākyāmṛta, where the passage is quoted.

22 After this, too, an iti seems necessary.

23 Parāśarāḥ: see 1.8.7 above. 24 pratirūpakam ‘an exact counterpart.’

28 vyavahitam ‘distant,’ i.e., not the matter which the king has in view at the time. 30 abhipretāḥ ‘approved,’ i.e., considered by the king as experts in the particular matter. 31 mantrasiddhim of D is distinctly better than -buddhim (in the sense of upalabdhim) or -eyddhim. Cf. s. 18 above.

33 anavacasthā: because every time the king would be consulting new men and there would be no stable group of councillors to advise the king. 38 tat triṣu caturṣu vā: this reading of D is found in Cj and supported by tatriṣu of M; the omission of naikāntam (after vā) is supported by Cb. tat refers to the possibility of avagraha or vināsā which is there, when there are two ministers. Cnj includes the possibility of mantraniscayānadhigama and yattheṣṭācaraṇa also which is there when there is a single minister. 39 mahādūṣam etc.: the idea seems to be: if, however, the possibility of avagraha etc. does arise, it would spell disaster. It is not unlikely that this s. is a marginal gloss that has got into the text. Cj seems to explain ‘that in which there is the great disadvantage (doṣa) of absence of security (ayogayokṣema), is thus counteracted (upapamna i.e. prativikita).’ Without tat and with the
involves great danger. 40 With more (councillors) than that, it is with difficulty that decisions on matters are reached or counsel guarded. 41 However, in conformity with the place, time and work to be done, he should deliberate with one or two, or alone by himself, according to (their and his own) competence.

42 The means of starting undertakings, the excellence of men and materials, (suitable) apportionment of place and time, provision against failure (and) accomplishment of the work — this is deliberation in its five aspects.

43 He should ask them individually as well as jointly. 44 And he should ascertain their different opinions along with (their) reasons (for holding them). 45 Having found a matter (for deliberation) he should not allow time to pass. 46 He should not deliberate for a long time, nor with the partisans of those to whom he would (like to) do harm.

47 'He should appoint a council consisting of twelve ministers,’ say the followers of Manu. 48 'Sixteen,’ say the followers of Brhas-pati. 49 'Twenty,’ say the followers of Usanas. 50 'According to capacity,’ says Kauṭilya.

addition of naikāntam in s. 38 Meyer explains the two ss. ‘absence of conclusion or uncertainty (naikāntam) is reached (upapadyate) with difficulty. When it is reached, however, it becomes highly dangerous.’ Cs includes mahādōgam in s. 38 and explains ‘a thing resulting in a great calamity (mahādōgam as subject) such as avagroha etc. does not necessarily follow (na ekāntam upapadyate); if at all it follows, it does so with difficulty. (The matter under consideration cintyamānāṁ kāryam) becomes properly dealt with (upapanam bhavati).’ This explanation is very doubtful. — yathāsāmārthyaṁ, i.e., according to his own and the councillors’ capability. Csn remarks that capability implies proficiency in politics, brilliant intellect and skill in practical affairs ‘mantre sāmārthyaṁ sāstra-cakusmatā niratīśyā prajñā lokasyavahārakauśalāṁ ca.’

44 matipravAcekân: distinctions of opinion, i.e., individual opinions. The reading of Jolly-Schmidt is derived from a commentary on Kāmandaka’s Nītisārā and is in no way preferable. — hetu ‘the motive’ which apparently led the councillor to hold the opinion offered by him. 45 avāptārthaḥ: this may mean ‘when there is a matter on which the holding of a consultation is necessary ’or ‘when he has come to a decision after consultation.’ The former is slightly better, since the next s. still refers to the consultation stage. 46 There can be no doubt that na teūm pakṣyair of D is the original reading. paraksyēr in M, is a scribal error for pakṣyēr which means the same as pakṣyair. The idea is, the king should not hold consultations with the relatives or partisans of those whom he wishes to harm. Csn gives the illustration of Duryodhana consulting Vidurā, a partisan of the Pāṇḍavas.

47 The opinion here attributed to the Mānavas is not found in the Manusmr̥ti (cf. 7.54). 49 Ch has ekaviṣāṭim for viṣāṭim. 50 yathāsāmārthyaṁ: the sāmārtha may refer to the capacity of the ministers or the strength of the kingdom.
51 They should think over the (king’s) own party and the enemy’s party. 52 And (they) should bring about the commencement of what is not done, the carrying out of what is commenced, the improvement of what has been carried out and the excellence of (the execution of) orders, in the case of works.

53 He should look into the affairs with those who are present. 54 With those who are not present he should hold consultations by sending out letters.

55 Indra indeed has a council of ministers consisting of a thousand sages. 56 He has that as his eye. 57 Therefore, they call him ‘the thousand-eyed one,’ though he is two-eyed.

58 In an urgent matter, he should call together the councillors as well as the council of ministers and ask them. 59 What the majority among them declare or what is conducive to the success of the work, that he should do.

60 And while he is doing that, the enemies should not come to know of his secret; he should, however, find out the weaknesses of the enemy. He should conceal, as a tortoise does his limbs, any (limb) of his own that may have become exposed.

61 Just as a person not learned in the Veda does not deserve to eat the Śrāddha-meal of good persons, so a (king) who has not learnt the teachings of the science (of politics) is unfit to listen to counsel.

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52 akṛtārmbham etc.: these functions of the mantriparishad, as distinguished from those of the mantrins in s. 42 above, suggest that the parīsad is a body of executive officers, though consultation with it is also recommended (ss. 54, 58–59). The mantriparishad can hardly be regarded as a cabinet. — nīyogaṇaśpadam refers to the excellence of the way in which commands or instructions have been carried out.

59 brāyuḥ after bhāyijśṭhāḥ as in D is better than after vā; cf. 1.16.28 below. — This s. shows that the majority opinion is not intended to be followed as a rule. Cf. Kāmandaka, 12.40: dhṛte’pi mantra mantrajñātih svayam bhāyo vicārayet.

60 yat may refer to chidra or aṅga; either yields a good sense, though the latter appears slightly better. — Cf. Manu, 7.105.

61 After this stanza D has two stanzas quoted as from Brhaspati. They are clearly not original and seem to be marginal notes that have got into the text.
CHAPTER SIXTEEN

SECTION 12 RULES FOR THE ENVOY

1 When consultation has led to a choice of decision, the employment of the envoy (should follow).

2 One endowed with the excellences of a minister is the pleni-potentiary. 3 One lacking in a quarter of the qualities is (the envoy) with a limited mission. 4 One lacking in half the qualities is the bearer of a message.

5 He should start after making proper arrangements for vehicles, draught-animals and retinue of servants. 6 ‘The message is thus to be delivered to the enemy; he will (probably) say this (in reply); for that this will be the suitable reply; thus is (the enemy) to be out-witted;’—reflecting in this manner, he should proceed. 7 And he should establish contacts with forest chieftains, frontier-chiefs and chief officials in the cities and the country-side (on the way). 8 He should observe terrains suitable for the stationing of an army, for fighting, for reserves and for retreat, for his own (state) and for the enemy. 9 And he should find out the size of the forts and the country as well as the strong points, sources of livelihood, defences and weak points (in the enemy’s territory).

10 He should enter the enemy’s residence with permission. 11 And he should deliver the message as given to him, even when danger to his life is seen (in so doing).

12 He should notice graciousness in speech, expression and eyes of the enemy, esteem of the (envoy’s) words, inquiries about (his)

1.16

For pranidhi see 1.12 above.

1 udārtamantraḥ is from D for uddhṛta-. As an adjective to dūtapranidhiḥ, it means ‘in which the counsel has been selected or accepted,’ i.e., when a decision has been taken after deliberation.

2 amātyasānsadpad: cf. 1.9.1 above. — nisṛṣṭārtha lit. ‘to whom the matter has been entrusted (with full powers of negotiation).’

5 parivāpa, when used by itself, refers to personal belongings as in 3.6.6, 8; when used with purusa- as here, it conveys the idea of a retinue or train of servants; cf. 2.24.28; 3.3.3. 8 pratigrahabhūmi ‘the place where reserves are held in readiness’; cf. 10.5.58; 10.2.20; 10.6.1. yuddhapratigraha as a single idea ‘acceptance of a fight’ (Cs Meyer) seems little likely. — apasāra ‘retreat’; cf. 10.2.8; 7.13.25 etc. 9 chidra can be construed with the preceding gupti, hardly with sāra and ṛṭṭi as well, as Meyer seems to do. It is best to understand it independently.

10 adhīṣṭhāna refers to the palace and the assembly-hall where the envoy would be received.

12 guṇa- seems to refer to the good points of the envoy’s master, though the envoy’s own merits may also be considered as possible. — ỉṣṭeṣu smaranaṁ: cf.
wishes, keen interest in talk about the qualities (of the envoy’s master), offer of a seat close by, respectful welcome, remembering (the envoy) on pleasant occasions, and putting trust in him, as the signs of one pleased; the opposite of these as the signs of one displeased. 13 To such a one he should say, ‘Kings indeed have envoys as their mouthpieces, you no less than others. 14 Therefore, envoys speak out as they are told even when weapons are raised (against them). 15 Of them even the lowest born are immune from killing; what to speak then of Brahmins? 16 These are the words of another. 17 This is the duty of an envoy.’

18 If not permitted to depart, he should stay on, not feeling elated by honour (shown). 19 Among the enemies he should not think of (himself) being possessed of strength. 20 He should put up with disagreeable words. 21 He should avoid women and drink. 22 He should sleep alone. 23 For, it is (often) seen that the intentions of a person are revealed in sleep or intoxication.

24 He should find out (about) the instigation of seducible parties, the employment of secret agents against non-seducible parties, the loyalty or disaffection (of the enemy’s subjects) towards their master and the weak points in the constituent elements (of the enemy’s realm), through spies appearing as ascetics or traders, or through their disciples or assistants or through agents in the pay of both appearing as physicians or heretics. 25 In case conversation with them is not possible, he should find out secret information from the utterances of beggars, drunken persons, insane persons or persons in sleep, or, from pictures, writings or signs in holy places or temples of gods. 26 When (such information is) found out, he should make use of instigation.

27 And when asked by the enemy, he should not declare the size (and strength) of his own constituents. 28 He should say, ‘Your Majesty knows everything,’ or (should say) what is conducive to the success of his mission.

bhakṣyeṣu smarati 5.5.7 below. 13 dūtamukhā hi: Cb has vai for hi; that is equally good. 15 Cj reads antevasinaḥ ‘attendants,’ though it mentions the other reading.

18 In the reading prapājayā, pra has little significance. 19 pareṣu baliyāṁ na manyeta: the idea seems to be, he should not commit any rash act at the enemy’s court thinking that his own king is quite powerful. Cn has ‘he should not use harsh words (vakṣpāruṣyaṁ na brīgāḥ) because of his master’s or his own strength (sćāmi-balād ātmabalād vā).’ Meyer’s ‘he should consider for nought the strength of the enemies’ is hardly likely in the context; it contradicts the next clause. ‘He should not disclose to the enemies that he is strong’ (Cb Cs) seems also less likely.

24 bhārtari, i.e., towards their own king, not towards the envoy’s master. 25 citrālekhyasaiṇijā: Cb has ‘the drawing (lekhyā) of pictures and signs,’ Cs ‘signs in pictures and writings,’ Meyer ‘paintings, writings and signs.’ The last seems best.

26 upajāpam upeyāt, i.e., resort to instigation of the party found amenable to it.
29 When he is being detained although his mission has not succeeded, he should thus reflect—'Is he detaining me because he sees an imminent calamity befalling my master, or because he wants to take remedial steps against his own calamity, or because he wants to rouse (against my master) the enemy in the rear or his ally or (to stir up) an internal revolt or a forest chieftain, or because he wishes to obstruct my master's ally in front or ally in the rear, or because he wants to take remedial steps in a war of his own with another enemy or against an internal revolt or a forest chieftain (of his own), or because he wants to spoil the season for expedition for which my master has thoroughly prepared, or because he wants to collect stores of grains, commodities and forest produce or carry out fortifications or raise troops, or because he is awaiting time and place suitable for the operations of his own forces, or because of (a feeling of) contempt or through negligence, or because he seeks a continuation of (close) association (with my master)?'

30 Having found out (the enemy's motive), he should stay on or escape. 31 Or, he should take into consideration some purpose (regarded as) desirable.

32 After delivering an unpleasant message, he should, for fear of imprisonment or death, go away even when not permitted; else he might be put under restraint.

33 Sending communications, guarding the terms of a treaty, (upholding his king's) majesty, acquisition of allies, instigation, dividing (the enemy's) friends, conveying secret agents and troops (into the enemy's territory),

29 *paśya*: D's *paśyati* is clearly not right. — *pārsṇigrāham āśāram* of D is to be preferred, as each of these kings could be individually roused against his master. — *ākrandain vā* from Cb Cj (for *ākrandābhāyām*) is quite necessary. — *vyāghātā-yitukāmah*: the idea is of hindering, foiling, and that is preferable to the idea of killing in the reading *vyāghātāyitukāmah*. — It is proposed to add *vā* after *samsiddham*, since it is quite necessary as in the other clauses. Perhaps Cj reads the *vā*.

— The reading *yātrākāram*, though perhaps possible in the sense of 'the undertaking of a campaign,' seems hardly original. *yātrākāla* is definitely intended. — *pramādabhyām*: Cb Cs read *pramadabhyaṃ* 'out of affection'; that is unlikely. *pramādha* is commonly used along with *paribhava*. — *samsargānubandhārthī* : Meyer has 'wishing to have an association with or a following with.' But a single idea 'wishing to have a continuous association' seems better. Cmn has 'seeking relationship between the progeny of both through marriage (sāṁsargo yauṇah saṁbandhah, tena anubandhaḥ ubhayasāṁbandhah, tadarthi).' *anubandha* is explained as *doṣopāda* in Cs, which is little likely. 31 D's *upekṣeta* is unlikely, though its omission of *vā* may appear to be an improvement.

33 *preśānam* 'sending communications'; cf. 2.21.27. — *pratāpaka*: since *parākrama* is also used, 'valour' can hardly be understood by *pratāpa*. Meyer understands 'majesty, dignity,' i.e., the maintenance of his master's prestige at the foreign court. Cb refers to Hanūmat showing *pratāpa* in the Asokavanikā, implying a pun 'causing trouble' and 'burning.' — *gūḍhadanḍātisāraṇam*: cf. 7.14.24.
34 kidnapping (the enemy's) kinsmen and treasures, ascertain-

ment of secret information, showing valour, (helping in) the escape

of hostages, and resort to secret practices, — these are the

functions of an envoy.

35 He should cause all this to be carried out by his envoys,

and should cause a watch to be kept over the envoys of the enemy

by means of counter-envoys and spies as well as through open

and secret guards.

CHAPTER SEVENTEEN

SECTION 13 GUARDING AGAINST PRINCES

1 A king protects the kingdom (only) when (he is himself)

protected from persons near him and from enemies, first from his wives

and sons. 2 Protection from wives we shall explain in 'Regulations

for the Royal Residence.'

3 As to protection from sons, however:

4 'He should guard against princes right from their birth.

5 For, princes devour their begetters, being of the same nature as

crabs. 6 Before love (for them) is produced in the father, silent

punishment for them is best;' says Bhāradvāja.

7 'This is cruel, (as it involves) the killing of innocent persons

and the destruction of the Kṣatriya race,' says Viśālākṣa. 8 'There-

fore, confinement in one place is best.'

34 Meyer thinks that ratna, like ratnin in the Brāhmaṇa texts, refers to big

personalities in the state. That seems hardly possible in this text. — samādhi-
mokṣaḥ: cf. 7.17.32ff. — yogasya: yoga refers to the secret methods used to do

away with undesirables, particularly the use of weapons, poison etc. (yogasya

sastrānirāsaprāṇidhānasya—Cj).

1.17

For rakṣaṇa in the sense of 'keeping a watch over, guarding oneself against,' see

1.18 above.

2 niśāntapraṇidhau, i.e., in Chapter 1.20 below.

4 janmaprabhṛti etc.: Cb Cs do not include ss. 4-5 in Bhāradvāja's opinion.

It seems, however, that they contain the opinion of this cynical teacher alone and

not the general view of the science. — Cj reads rājā putran. 6 ajātasnehe

pītari: this is a locative absolute 'before the father begins to feel affection.' pītari

ajātasnehe (putre) upānīśudandah 'secretly doing away a son who feels no affection

for the father' is possible, but does not seem intended.

7 There can be no doubt that adṛṣṭa- of G M is faulty, being corrupted from

aduṣṭa- (D). 8 ekasthāna- 'one place,' i.e., the place where the king himself

is; 'yatra pītā tatra evacarodhaḥ' as in Cmn; similarly Cj.
9  'This is danger as from a snake,' say the followers of Parāśara.  
10  'For, the prince, realising "through fear of my valour my father 
has confined me," might get the father himself in his power.  
11  Therefore, making him stay in a frontier fortress is best.'

12 'This is danger as from a (fighting) ram,' says Piśuna.  
13 'For, realising that alone to be the means of his return, he might 
become the ally of the frontier chief.  
14 Therefore, making him stay 
in the fortress of a neighbouring (vassal) prince, far removed from his 
own territory, is best.'

15 'This is the position of a calf (for the prince),' says Kaṇapa-

danta.  
16 'For, the neighbouring prince might milk his father as 
(one milks) a cow with the help of the calf.  
17 Therefore, making him stay with the kinsmen of his mother is best.'

18 'This is the position of a flag (for the prince),' says Vātavyādhi.  
19 'For, with him as the flag, his mother's kinsmen would be making 
demands like Aditikauśikas.  
20 Therefore, he should let him free to indulge 
in vulgar pleasures.  
21 For, sons kept engrossed in pleasures do not become hostile to the father.'

9 ahibhayam: a simile is implied in this expression.  
   — tameva anike kuryāt; 
D reads tadeva; the neuter tad cannot easily be made to refer to any preceding word. 
Cnn refers it to ahibhayam and explains 'he may bring about the same danger of a 
snake, as he is stationed near (tadeva ahibhayam vināśalakṣaṇam anike samīpe sthitā 
kuryāt.)' This is far from convincing. 
   Cj, with tadeva, refers tad to vikramabhaya or avardhana, explaining anike by samīpe 
vartamānāḥ.  
   In the other reading may refer to the father, 'might kill the father himself' as in Cb. 
In 7.18.40 anikam upasthitam seems to mean 'who is in one's power,' so that here 'he may bring the father himself 
in his power' may be the sense intended.  
   (Cf. anikāgatasattatavṛtti — Raghuvānśa, 2.38).  
   tam may also refer to vikramam 'might resort to valour.' 
Cj refers 
tam to vikramam, but explains 'might show valour in a nearby place, i.e., in his own 
house.' This is less satisfactory.

12 aurabhram: the idea, as Cj explains, is, just as a ram taken to the ends 
of the fighting ring returns to the centre with greater vehemence to meet his rival, so 
the prince might return to attack the king with the help of the antapāla. 
Meyer's 'this is the fear of sheep' is hardly possible.  
13 pratyāpatteḥ karaṇam: Cb has 'reason for keeping him away,' Cnn 'the cause of his going away from the father 
(pituk sakāśād anyatra gamanam), Meyer 'the cause of the father holding aloof from 
the son.' It seems rather that karaṇam is 'means,' not 'cause,' and that tad refers 
to antapālasakhatva, not vikramabhaya (as in Cnn), so that we have to understand 
'the means of his return' to the capital. 
Cj has 'the means of ending his loss of liberty,' and refers tad to vikrama or to antapālāparahāra 
'winning the antapāla over.' The explanation of pratyāpatteḥ (understood as ablative) in Cs 'because his 
nature of being hostile to the king cannot be changed ' is little likely.

19 aditikauśikavāda: according to commentators 'mendicants earning their 
lielihood by showing images of gods (aditi) and snake-charmers (kauśika). ' 
Cnn: 'aditivid devadēvajam dārayāti; aditirgrahana aditiṣṭrutraṇaṁ kālādidevānāṁ 
parigrāhārtham.  
   kauśikas tvāhitoṣikāḥ kośena sarpagraheṇa caītī. ' It may be 
that aditikauśika conveys a single idea, that of a sect of mendicants who make
22 'This is living death,' says Kauṭilya. 23 For, like a piece of wood eaten by worms, the royal family, with its princes undisciplined, would break the moment it is attacked. 24 Therefore, when the chief queen is in her ṛtu (-period), priests should offer a caru-oblation to Indra and Bṛhaspati. 25 When she is pregnant, a children's specialist should arrange for the nourishment of the foetus and for delivery. 26 When she has given birth, the chaplain should perform the sacraments for the son. 27 When he is ready for it, experts should train him.

28. 'And one of the secret agents should tempt him with hunting, gambling, wine and women, (suggesting to him,) "Attack your father and seize the kingdom."
29 Another secret agent should dissuade him from that ; ' say the followers of Āmbhi.

30 'This awakening of one not awake is highly dangerous,' says Kauṭilya. 31 For, a fresh object absorbs whatever it is smeared with. 32 Similarly, this prince, immature in intellect, understands as the teaching of the science whatever he is told. 33 Therefore, he should instruct him in what conduces to spiritual and material good, not in what is spiritually and materially harmful.

34 On the contrary, secret agents, declaring 'We belong to you,' should guard him. 35 If in the exuberance of youth he were to entertain a longing for the wives of others, they should produce abhorrence in him through unclean women posing as noble ladies in lonely houses at night time. 36 If he were to long for wine, they should demands (which cannot be refused) in the name of some god whose flag, along with the image, they carry. Snake-charmers do not carry flags. Meyer suggests that as Kauśika is a name of Indra, we have to understand a mendicant woman in the garb of Aditi and a boy in the garb of Indra, the begging being done for the sake of the boy. A boy is unlikely, as there is the dveaja, to which the prince corresponds.

25 kaumārabhṛtyah: 'a physician who has specialised in bringing up children,' was also experienced in midwifery, as the present passage shows. Jolly-Schmidt point out that kaumārabhṛtya 'treatment of infants' diseases' is the subject of a part of one of the ancient Buddhist medical treatises in the Bower Ms. and that Jivaka, a famous contemporary of Buddha, was called komārabhṛcaca.

28 This is a sort of upadhi or secret test. — 29 Āṃbhīyāḥ: the teacher's name appears to be Āṃbhi. Pāṇini 4.1.96 (bāhvādi gāṇa) derives Āṃbhi as a patronymic from Ambhas. Nothing is known about this teacher or his school. Ganapati Sastrī understands Bhuṣṇa by Āṃbhi (Intro. to Vol. III of the Trivandrum edition).
31 upadhiyate ... ācāsati: the figure, as Cs says, is that of an earthen vessel or a mud wall.

35 udvejayeyuh: the root may mean 'create disgust or aversion' or 'frighten, inspire terror' according to context. 36 yogapāna is a drink to which some substance is added that creates a nausea for drink. 39 anupraviṣya: this means 'entering into and winning the confidence of'; cf. 2.9.26 etc. — aprārthaniyo 'not fit to be attacked.' For prārth 'to attack,' cf. 3.10.34; 6.2.38. Cb's 'not to be killed'
frighten him with drugged liquor. 37 If he were to long for gambling, they should create aversion in him through deceitful players. 38 If he were to long for hunting, they should frighten him through agents disguised as highway robbers. 39 If he were to entertain the idea of attacking his father, they should enter into his confidence (by pretending to agree) and then dissuade him (saying), 'The king should not be attacked; if the attack fails, (there will be) death; if it succeeds, (there will be) a fall in hell (for you), an uproar and (your) annihilation by the subjects as of a single clod of earth.'

40 They should inform (the king) if the prince is disaffected.
41 He should put an only, favourite son (if disaffected) in prison.
42 If he has many sons, he should send (the disaffected son) to the frontier or some other region where he may not become as a child in the womb (for the people there) or a commodity for sale (for those people) or a (source of) disturbance. 43 If he is possessed of the excellences of self, he should install him in the position of the commander-in-chief or the crown prince.

seems less likely. — saṁkrośaḥ 'an outcry, an uproar' rather than 'censure among the people' (Cs). — ekaloṣṭavadāḥ 'destruction as of a single clod of earth' (Meyer) is to be preferred to 'death by people throwing one clod of earth each' (Cs). For the latter, ekaika- would seem necessary. 'Killing by a single throw with a stone' (Jolly) seems out of the question. — Meyer includes viśāgaṁ from the next s. at the end of s. 39 after iti and supplies kuryuḥ after it, 'with these words (iti) they should make him give up (vi-) his desire (rāga) to attack his father.' This is very unlikely.

40 viśāgaṁ vedayeyuḥ: i.e., they should inform the king about the prince who cannot be made to give up his disloyal intentions. With vedayeyuḥ (from D) continuity with the preceding is maintained. 42 pratyanam is a noun in the sense of 'the frontier' rather than an adjective to viṣaya in the next word. — yatra garbhaṁ panyaiṁ dīmbo va na bhavet: Cj explains 'where the prince is not likely to be as a son or son-in-law to the people there (making them take his side against the father) or where he would not be treated as a commodity for disposal (the people there increasing their own power at his expense) or where no trouble would be caused by people there by finding support in him and trying to win over others on his behalf (garbha iça garbhaḥ; yatrasaṁ putratayā jāmātrayā garbhikṛtya snehāt...na vikurvate. panyavatar panyam; yatrasaṁ prasārya bhikṣayā na śaktim ātmanah pārayanti. dīmbakāraṇatvāt dīmboḥ; yatra tadāśrayāt kṛtyān upagṛhyā nopātayo kuryuḥ.) Cmn is more or less similar. Cb seems to have read garvaḥ and explains 'where there is no pride, where the prince is not treated as a commodity and where no injury may be done to him.' This is less satisfactory. Cs has 'where there is no food fit for the prince (garbha i.e. food) or no commodity fit for him or no communion among the people because of him.' This also is unsatisfactory. Meyer has made a number of suggestions, the final one being to read garbhaḥ saṇḍo dīmbo vāno va bhavet 'where there is a foetus (in the queen's womb) or an impotent prince or a silly prince (dīmbo) or an exhausted prince (vāna from vai) as the only heir to the throne,' the idea being that the exiled prince would in such a case stand a chance of succeeding to the throne in that foreign land. This is very doubtful. anyavisaya hardly means 'foreign land.'
44 One possessed of sagacity, one with intellect requiring to be goaded and one of evil intellect—these are the different kinds of sons. 45 He who, when taught, understands spiritual and material good and practises the same is one possessed of sagacity. 46 He who understands but does not practise (them) is one with intellect requiring to be goaded. 47 He who is ever full of harm and hates spiritual and material good is one of evil intellect.

48 If such be the only son, he should endeavour to get a son born of him. 49 Or, he should get sons begotten on an appointed daughter.

50 An old or a diseased king, however, should get a child begotten on his wife by one of the following, (viz.), his mother’s kinsman, a member of his own family, and a virtuous neighbouring prince. 51 But he should not install on the throne an only son, if undisciplined.

52 Of many (sons, who are undisciplined) confinement in one place (is best); (however), the father should be beneficently disposed towards the sons. Except in case of a calamity, sovereignty passing on to the eldest son is praised.

53 Or, the kingdom should belong to the (royal) family; for, a family oligarchy is difficult to conquer, and remains on the earth for ever without (having to face) the danger of a calamity befalling the king.

46 The definition shows that the āhāryabuddhi is unable or unwilling to put into practice what he knows to be right. Ministers and others are however able to induce him to do what is right, ‘ācāryādibhiḥ pratikṣayam āhāryā buddhir yasya’ (Csu) āhārya ‘which can be brought near’; cf. āhāryodaka setu 2.1.20.

48 sa refers to the durbuddhi; ekaputraḥ is a Karnadāhāraya; asya refers to this only son. The idea is, the king should try to secure a grandson. Hillebrand’s suggestion that we should read yadṛgaputraḥ (ZDMG, 70, p. 41 n. 1) makes no improvement. — putrikā; cf. Manu, 9.127ff.

50 For niyoga, referred to here, the kinsmen on the mother’s side are shown a preference, which is rather strange. Cf. also 3.6.24 below.

52 Cj has ‘if there are many disaffected princes they should be confined in one place’; Ch ‘of many sons each one should be put in confinement’; Cs ‘from among many sons, he should confine one son, who may be durbuddhi, in pratyaanta etc.’ Meyer understands the first half as a single clause ‘the father of many sons (bahūniḥ pīṭhāḥ) who keeps out of succession one (ekasavirodhaḥ as adj. śo pīṭhā) cares only for the good of the sons.’ Cj’s explanation seems best. 53 kulasya: this is the group of all sons (Ch Cs). All male members of the royal family forming a sort of ruling council may appear better. Cj seems to understand a division of the kingdom forming a sort of confederation (sacvēsām vā vibhaktivām bhaved rājyam anyonyajasāṁsrayam). A council formed by a number of noble families is possible as the meaning of kula-saṁgha, but does not seem intended here. For sanirgha cf. 11.1 below. — arāja-vyasaṁ-nābādhaḥ: this is an adj. to kulasaṁgha. The idea is, even if one member is in vyasaṁ, the others are there to carry on. For rāja-vyasaṁ see 8.2 below.
CHAPTER EIGHTEEN

SECTION 14: THE CONDUCT OF A PRINCE IN DISFAVOUR

SECTION 15: BEHAVIOUR TOWARDS A PRINCE IN DISFAVOUR

1. The disciplined prince, who finds living difficult, should obey his father when appointed to an unworthy task, except when it is dangerous to life or rouses the subjects (against him) or involves a heinous sin.

2. If he is assigned some agreeable task, he should ask for an officer to supervise his work. And under supervision of the officer, he should carry out the task assigned with special zest. And he should get despatched to his father the normal produce of the work as well as any (extra) gain received as a present.

3. If (the father is) even then not pleased and shows affection for another son or wife (other than his mother), he should ask for leave to repair to the forest. Or, in case of fear of imprisonment or death, he should seek refuge with a neighbouring prince who is justly behaved, pious, truthful in speech, not given to breach of faith and welcomes and honours those who have approached him (for help). Staying there and becoming enriched with treasure and troops, he should enter into marriage relations with heroic men, make contacts with forest chieftains and win over seducible parties (from his father's kingdom).

4. If he has to act alone, he should maintain himself by working mines and factories for gold-smelting, colouring gems and manufacturing gold and silver articles. Or, he should secretly rob the wealth of heretical corporations or the wealth of temples

D.18

D reads aparuddha throughout and that form is adopted in this edition. It is found in Atharvaaveda 3.3.5 (anyakṣeti aparuddhaṁ carantam), Taṣṭiṣṭiṣa Sanshitati 2.2.8.4, Kausikasūtra 16.30 and the Aihole Inscription, stanza 14.

1. G M omit vīnātī; but it is better to read it, as the prince discussed here is assumed to be well-behaved and unjustly treated by his father. krccrátritiḥ shows that he is made to work for his living and that he finds it difficult.

2. abhirāpam: appropriate, i.e., what would normally accrue from that work.

3. D adds tadanuruddhā vā dveṣṇaḥ; the words do not appear to be original; at least dviṣantam would be necessary in place of dveṣṇaḥ. कषट्यपक्षा are those in the father's kingdom who can be won over to his side.

4. ekacaraḥ, i.e., when he has not sought refuge with any neighbouring prince. Cb understands the idea of his being without kosa and dana. — swaraṇapaka seems to refer to the smelting of gold ore; Cj says 'swaraṇasya varanakṣatārthāṃ pākāḥ.' — manirāga: colouring of crystals, in order to impart new qualities to them, sphaṭikasāya jātyantaragunādhanārthāṁ raṇjanam' (Cj). 9 āghyavidihāvatravāyam is from Cb and seems necessary to make it conform to the preceding expressions. — For
except that to be used by Brahmans learned in the Vedas or the wealth of rich widows after entering into their confidence, and plunder caravans and sailing vessels after cheating (the men) by administering a stupefying drink. 10 Or, he should practise ‘the stratagems for the conquest of an enemy town.’ 11 Or, he should act after securing the support of persons from the side of his mother. 12 Or, with his appearance changed by disguising himself as an artisan, an artist, a minstrel, a physician, a professional story-teller or a heretical monk, (and) accompanied by associates in the same disguise, he should enter by taking advantage of some vulnerable point, and, striking the king with weapon or poison, announce, ‘I am that prince; this kingdom is to be enjoyed jointly; a single person does not deserve to enjoy it; those who desire to serve me, then will I reward with double food and wages.’

Thus ends (the topic of) the conduct of a prince in disfavour.

13 But sons of principal officers acting as secret agents should bring the prince in disfavour (to the king) after securing his consent; or, the mother, if she enjoys favour, (should bring him). 14 If he is

anupraviśya, see 1.17.39 above. — It would have been better if we had anupraviśya gūḍham apakaret in this order before sārthayāna- &c. — madanarasa is a drink prepared from some narcotic drug that brings on stupefaction. 10 pārāgrā- mikaṁ yo gam, i.e., tricks recommended for capturing an enemy’s town in 13.1 below. 12 kāruśilpi- etc.: the compound should be understood as a Tatpuruṣa construed with naṣṭarūpāḥ and not as a Bahuṣūniḥ as in Cs, where tadvyājanasakhaḥ is then rendered by ‘appearing like the men dressed as craftsmen etc.’ This latter is clearly unlikely. — brāyīt: the announcement is made in the presence of officers and other servants of the assassinated father. — ye kāmayante etc.: the reading adopted is with māṁ from D and bhartum from G M; the idea obviously is that the prince offers to share the kingdom with these officers, promising to double their salary so that they may have no qualms about serving the parricide. The reading proposed is māṁ bhartum tān aham, with bhy understood in the sense of ‘to support,’ hence also ‘to serve.’ Cj reading bhoktum (for bhartum) explains ‘who desire me (as their king) I shall give them double the salary for their maintenance (bhoktum i.e. porṣayitum).’ It is not certain that bhoktum could be so understood. We can get this sense with māṁ tān bhartum aham. D reads bhartuḥ which is not easy to construe; ‘those who prefer me to the (late) master’ seems hardly possible. If bhartāram were read, we could understand ‘those who desire me as their master.’ Meyer, rejecting bhartum and reading maruṣuṁ tān nāham, translates ‘such of you as desire to die (by refusing to accept me), them I shall not serve even for double food and wages.’ This is highly problematical.

13 mukhyāputrāpasarpāḥ: the sons of principal officers are to serve as agents to fetch the prince. They are likely to succeed, as Cj says, because they had been his playmates. — pratipāduḥ: Cb understands the idea of promising him yauvabāja. So Cnn has ‘rājyam pratipāduḥ.’ That is possible, though ‘making him agree, persuading him’ would appear sufficient. — pratigṛhitā, i.e., enjoying the king’s favour ‘rájñā upacāraṁ ācārjitaḥ’ (Cnn). ‘Acceptable’ to the prince, i.e., enjoying his confidence is also not unlikely. 14 tyaktaṁ, i.e., given up as incorrigible.
given up (as incorrigible), secret agents should kill him with weapon or poison. 15 If not given up, they should make him addicted to women of the same character or to drinking or hunting, and seizing him at night, should bring him (to the king).

16 And when he has come, he should conciliate him by the (offer of the) kingdom, saying, ‘After me, (this is yours).’ Then he should confine him in one place (if still recalcitrant); but if he has (other) sons, he should kill him.

CHAPTER NINETEEN

SECTION 16 RULES FOR THE KING

1 When the king is active, the servants become active following his example. 2 If he is remiss, they too become remiss along with him. 3 And they consume his works. 4 Moreover, he is over-reached by enemies. 5 Therefore, he should himself be (energetically) active.

6 He should divide the day into eight parts as also the night by means of nālikās, or by the measure of the shadow (of the gnomon).

7 (A shadow) measuring three pauruṣas, one pauruṣa, (and) four aṅgulas, and the midday when the shadow disappears, these are the four earlier eighth parts of the day. 8 By them are explained the later

15 tulyaśilābhīḥ of the same character as the prince and enjoying his confidence. — prasaṇṇajayītā is presupposed in D. This is more in keeping with the usual causal form of this participle in this text. prasaṇṇa isn’t a happy reading.

16 ekastham: Cb Cs Meyer understand this in the sense of ‘the only son.’ ‘Stationed in one place’ seems however all right. — pravāsayaṭ ‘should kill’ rather than ‘should exile.’ — Cnn remarks that sāntvayet applies to the buddhimān, aṁrundhīṭā to the dāhāya-buddhi and pravāsayaṭ to the dur-buddhi.

1.19

For prāṇidhī see 1.12 above.

1–5 utthānā ‘being (energetically) active’ is the opposite of pramāda ‘being remiss in doing work.’

6 nālikābhīr: cf. 2.20.34–35. A nālikā measures 24 minutes. Because the eighth part of a day thus comes to 36 nālikās, Fleet (in a footnote to Shama Sastry’s translation, p. 37) thinks that this nālikā is different from the nālikā of 2.20.35. How, he asks, are three-fourths of a nālikā to be marked by the water-bowl? This nālikā therefore, is one of 90 minutes according to him, its real name being chāyānālikā mentioned in 1.7.8 above. It is, however, very unlikely that two different kinds of nālikās would be referred to in the same work, particularly because a definition of chāyānālikā would then also be expected. It seems, moreover, that chāyānālikā in 1.7.8 refers to two separate methods of marking measures of time. Besides, it is not unlikely that the nālikā was graduated so that divisions of a nālikā could be easily read off it. — chāyāpramāṇena vā: this alternative is available only in daytime when it is clear. — 7 tripauroṣaḥ: pauruṣa, a measure used for measuring the length of the shadow of the gnomon on the sun-dial, is 12 aṅgulas (about 9 inches).
(four). 9 Out of them, during the first eighth part of the day, he should listen to measures taken for defence and (accounts of) income and expenditure. 10 During the second, he should look into the affairs of the citizens and the country people. 11 During the third, he should take his bath and meals and devote himself to study. 12 During the fourth, he should receive revenue in cash and assign tasks to heads of departments. 13 During the fifth, he should consult the council of ministers by sending letters, and acquaint himself with secret information brought in by spies. 14 During the sixth, he should engage in recreation at his pleasure or hold consultations. 15 During the seventh, he should review elephants, horses, chariots and troops. 16 During the eighth, he should deliberate on military plans with the commander-in-chief. 17 When the day is ended, he should worship the evening twilight.

18 During the first (eighth) part of the night, he should interview secret agents. 19 During the second, he should take a bath and meals and engage in study. 20 During the third, he should go to bed to the strains of musical instruments and sleep during the fourth and the fifth (parts). 21 During the sixth, he should awaken to the sound of musical instruments and ponder over the teaching of the science (of polities) as well as over the work to be done. 22 During the seventh, he should sit in consultation (with councillors) and despatch secret agents. 23 During the eighth, he should receive blessings from priests, preceptors and chaplain, and see his physician, chief cook and astronomer. 24 And after going round a cow with her calf and a bull, he should proceed to the assembly hall.

25 Or, he should divide the day and night into (different) parts in conformity with his capacity and carry out his tasks.

26 Arriving in the assembly hall, he should allow unrestricted entrance to those wishing to see him in connection with their affairs. 27 For, a king difficult of access is made to do the reverse of what

See 2.20.10. — After s. 7 a long passage from a commentary has crept into the text in D.
ought to be done and what ought not to be done, by those near him.
28 In consequence of that, he may have to face an insurrection of the
subjects or subjugation by the enemy. 29 Therefore he should look
into the affairs of temple deities, hermitages, heretics, Brahmans learned
in the Vedas, cattle and holy places, of minors, the aged, the sick, the
distressed and the helpless and of women, in (this) order, or, in accord-
dance with the importance of the matter or its urgency.

30 He should hear (at once) every urgent matter, (and) not
put it off. An (affair) postponed becomes difficult to settle or even
impossible to settle.

31 He should look into the affairs of persons learned in the
Vedas and of ascetics after going to the fire sanctuary (and) in the
company of his chaplain and preceptor, after getting up from
his seat and saluting (those suitors).

32 But he should decide the affairs of ascetics and of persons
versed in the practice of magic, (in consultation) with persons
learned in the three Vedas, not by himself (alone), for the reason
that they might be roused to anger.

33 For the king, the (sacrificial) vow is activity, sacrifice
the administration of affairs; the sacrificial fee, however, is impar-
tiality of behaviour, (and) sacrificial initiation for him is the co-
ronation.

34 In the happiness of the subjects lies the happiness of
the king and in what is beneficial to the subjects his own benefit.
What is dear to himself is not beneficial to the king, but what is
dear to the subjects is beneficial (to him).

35 Therefore, being ever active, the king should carry out
the management of material well-being. The root of material well-
being is activity, of material disaster its reverse.

36 In the absence of activity, there is certain destruction
of what is obtained and of what is not yet received. By activity
reward is obtained, and one also secures abundance of riches.

29 devatā, i.e., temple affairs. ātayikā: ātayikatva- would seem to be neces-
sary.
30 atikrāntam = what has been passed over, i.e., postponed.
31 agnayaagaraṭaḥ: cf. Śākuntala, Act 5, where this procedure is strictly follow-
ed by Dusyanta when looking into the hermits' affair.
32 māyāyoga - practice of magic - as a single idea seems intended.
33 There can be no doubt about dikṣā tasyābhisekam from D.CJ being the
original reading; it completes the elaborate metaphor in the stanza, the comparison
of rulership with a sacrifice. After a. 33 D introduces another stanza with the
words tathā coktam. It couldn't be original. That is not how quotations are
introduced in this text. The stanza seems to be derived from some commentary.
CHAPTER TWENTY

SECTION 17 REGULATIONS FOR THE ROYAL RESIDENCE

1 On a site recommended by experts in building, he should cause the royal residence to be built, with a rampart, a moat and gates and provided with many halls.

2 He should cause to be constructed a living chamber in the centre in accordance with the procedure laid down for the treasury, or a maze-house with concealed passages in walls and in its centre a living chamber, or an underground room with its opening covered by the wooden image of a deity in a nearby sanctuary and having many subterranean passages (and) above it a palace with a stair-case concealed in a wall or having an entrance and an exit through a hollow pillar as a living chamber with the floor fixed to a mechanism (and thus) capa-

1.20

niśānta from ni-śam is primarily a place of retirement, a residence. In particular it refers to the royal palace. For pranidhi, see 1.12 above.

1 váṣṭuka ‘an expert in the science of building’ (Cb Cj Cmn). — D has kakṣā for kakṣāyā throughout; both forms are possible. — antahpuram: this clearly is the same as niśānta, the royal residence; as Cj has, ‘antahpurāṁ rājāvāsakam.’ It is not merely the harem; it includes the council hall and the assembly hall as well (s. 12 below). The Rāmāyaṇa (2.14.29-31; 2.16.1) shows the use of antahpura in this wider sense.

2 kosāgrhavidhānena: i.e., as laid down in 2.5.2-3 below. — madhye, i.e., in the centre of the area constituting the antahpura; the word is not read in G M, but seems necessary. — gūḍha- etc. is an option to the method of the kosāgra; mohanagṛha is a maze or labyrinth where a stranger would get lost. It is to have ‘passages concealed in walls’; the vāṣagṛha is to be in its centre. mohanagṛha in the sense of ‘a love-chamber’ (Meyer) is unlikely. — bhūmīgṛham etc. states another alternative arrangement for the vāṣagṛha. The idea is that an underground chamber is to be built with an emergency exit through a subterranean passage, leading to an opening covered by the wooden image of the deity in a nearby sanctuary. A person escaping from the bhūmīgṛha would arrive at the opening under the image, which, being made of wood, can be easily pushed aside; thus he would make good his escape without being noticed by those besieging or searching the vāṣagṛha. This is the explanation of Cj Cmn and the only right one. Cb reads -caityaśadevataḥ- and explains ‘covered by the abodes of caityadevataḥ and asadevataḥ nearby.’ This isn’t very happy. Cs, understanding kāṣṭhā ‘direction’ explains ‘with the door stamped with the image of a deity in a temple which is in a nearby quarter.’ What purpose the stamping of the door with the image of a deity is expected to serve it is difficult to see. — tasāyopari from D is necessary, because the bhūmīgṛha by itself could not constitute the vāṣagṛha; there is to be a prāṣāda above it; the vā after prāṣādam needs also to be omitted as in D. prāṣāda seems primarily to convey the idea of an elevated chamber to be reached (pra-ā-sad) by steps. — gūḍhabhūtisasopānam ‘with stair-cases concealed in walls’ is better than ‘with concealed walls and stair-cases,’ though bhūtigṛha- would have been better for the former; cf. 2.3.22. — susira- etc. is an option to gūḍhabhūtti- etc.—yantrabhuddha- etc. also goes with prāṣādam. The floor of the prāṣāda is so constructed that with
ble of sinking below, in order to counter-act a calamity or when a calamity is apprehended. 3 Or he should vary the construction in ways other than these, because of the fear of fellow-students.

4 When fire churned from human bones is taken round the royal residence three times (from right) towards the left, no other fire burns it nor does another fire blaze up there; also when it is smeared with ashes caused by lightning and hailwater mixed with earth.

5 Serpents or poisons do not have (their) power in a (residence) protected by (a string of) shoots of the Āśvattha growing on wet land together with (shoots of) Jīvantī, Śvetā, Muṣkaka and Puṣpavandākā (plants).

6 Letting loose peacocks, ichneumons and spotted deer (on the premises) destroys serpents. 7 The parrot, the starling or the fork-tailed shrike shrieks when there is fear of serpents or poison. 8 The heron becomes frantic in the proximity of poison, the pheasant becomes faint, the inebriated cuckoo dies, the eyes of the Cakorapartridge become discoloured.

the release of a mechanism it can fall down into the cellar below. Its use is illustrated in 12.5.45. Meyer seems to understand prāśādam...sopānam as one alternative and susīra ...talācāpātam as another. Cs has prāśādam...pasāram vā and vāsagṛham...talācāpātam as independent alternatives. — āpatpratākārtham āpadi vā: the former refers to the case where the calamity is already there and steps have to be taken against it, while āpadi means when a calamity is feared (āpadi vā bhavisyantyām —Cnn). It doesn’t seem necessary to read kārayet again after āpadi vā; it is proposed to omit it. 3 sahādhyāgyi- ‘persons who have studied the same sāstra (of politics) and its rules, viz., the enemy kings’ (Cb Cj). Meyer proposes sahasādhyāgyi- or sahasādhyāgyi- ‘who contemplate acts of daring against the king.’ That is hardly plausible. ‘Fellow-students’ of the king who know him intimately and are likely to be conversant with the secrets of his chamber is, however, a possible idea.

4 mānuṣeṇāgninā, i.e., fire churned out of human bones; see 14.2.38 below. — apasaṣyam is the opposite of pradakṣiṇam (Cb Cs), though Cj seems to understand it in the sense of ‘pradakṣiṇyena’ and Cnn has ‘pradakṣiṇena parigatam, nirājitam.’ For the former meaning, cf. Caraka, 8.9 ‘na pūjyamaṅgālāni apasaṣyam gacchet,’ also Utpala on Brhatasāṁhitā, 33.13.

5 Jīvantī- etc.: cf. 14.4.12 below. Meyer understands the flowers (puṣpa) of the first three plants and the plant Vandākā, instead of understanding Puṣpavandākā as the name of a plant; that appears also to be the explanation in Cj. — aksīce: Cj has aksībe, which appears to be explained by ‘in a place that is not dry.’ That seems to be the meaning intended. aksīca can here hardly be understood as the name of a tree such as Śīgru (Cs). — pratānena: ‘a string of shoots’ hung at the entrance, a vandanaṁalā as Cnn paraphrases it. The vā read after this word in GM is not original. A single string of Āśvattha shoots along with Jīvantī etc. is to be hung at the door-way and no option is intended, as is clear from 14.4.12. 6 The omission of mārujāra- as in D Cj seems necessary, as cats are not known to be snake-killers. 7 Bhṛṣigarāja ‘the Dhūmyāta (fork-tailed shrike) or the ali (bee)’ (Cs). The bee is clearly unlikely. 8 Jīvamāṅcataka is a kind of pheasant usually identified
9. Thus he should take precautions against fire, poison and serpents.

10. In a part of the apartments at the back (should be) ladies' rooms, establishments for maternity and sickness and places for trees and water. 11. Outside (that) should be quarters for princesses and princes. 12. In front (should be) the dressing room, the council chamber, the assembly hall and a place for the ministers in charge of princes. 13. In the (open) spaces between the apartments, the palace guards should be stationed.

14. In the inner apartments he should visit the queen after she is cleared (of suspicion) by old women. 15. For, concealing himself in the queen's chamber, his brother killed Bhadrāsa, and lying (concealed) in his mother's bed his son killed Kāruṣa. 16. The queen killed the king of Kāśi by mixing fried grain with poison under the guise of honey; (the queen killed) Vairantya with an anklet smeared with poison, the king of the Suvaras with a (poison-smeared) girdle with Cakora, but is here distinguished from it. — virajyete, i.e., their naturally red eyes become white (svabhavato rakte śuklavānam pratipadyete = Cj).

10. 'garbhāvyādhitāṁsthāḥ, i.e., rooms for maternity and for sickness, the latter not necessarily restricted to women alone (as in Cj). G M add -caityprakhyāta after -eyādi- in the compound, Cb Cs -caityapratyakhyāta-. Cb Cs explain the latter 'rooms for queens given up as incinerable by physicians.' This is extremely doubtful. The additions do not appear genuine, as shown by s. 19 below.

12. 'alankārabhūmiḥ is the king's dressing room. — kumārādyakṣaḥ is the minister in charge of princes as a single idea is to be preferred; all adhyakṣas as such wouldn't have quarters in the palace grounds. Cf. O. Stein, AOr. X, p. 164 and n. 5. 13. 'antarcaṃśikā from antarcaṃśa (apparently the same as antahkura). Cf. I. 21.3.

14. 'antaragṛha refers evidently to the sleeping chambers of the queens, obviously different from his own chamber. na kāśicid abhigacchet (found in G M) seems a marginal gloss which has got into the text. Cj, however, distinguishes between paśyat (see in his room) and abhigacchet (go to her room). 15. The addition of śrūyate hi at the beginning as in D might appear better. The Hārsacarita gives more details of these tales (pp. 199-200); the Brahatsamhitā 78.1-2 refers to some of these and Śanikārāya on Kāṇḍandaka, 7.51ff. mentions some details. Bhdrasena was a King of the Kalingas and his brother's name was Vrasena. — After 'saṣyāntaragratā cā, D adds details which are obviously derived from some commentary. According to this comment, the name of the King was Vajra; according to the Hārsacarita, it was Dadhra, the reason for murder being the father's intention to crown another prince as yuvrajya. 16. The names of the King of Kāśi and his queen were Mahāsaṇa and Suprabhā, according to the Hārsacarita, where the Vairantya king is named Rantideva. According to Cj Cnn the queen of Kāśi was unwilling (because her son was in disfavour — Cj) and the King approached her foreibly (anicchanti balād abhigachchāntam). The Br. Sūn. makes Kāśirāja (and not Vairantya) the victim of a poisoned mūpura. — Sāviturmah: Cj Cnn give Paramatapa as the name, but it was Vrasena and his queen's name Hamsavati, according to the Hārsacarita.

— Jālātham: the Hārsacarita has Jārūrta, the king of Ayodhya, also called Paramatapa, the queen's name being Ratavatī. Cj Cnn also have Ayodhyāpati and add
jewel, Jālūtha with a (poison-smeared) mirror; the queen killed Vidūratha by keeping a weapon concealed in the braid of her hair. 17 Therefore, he should avoid these occasions.

18 He should forbid (the queens') contact with ascetics with shaven heads or matted hair and with jugglers as well as with female slaves from outside. 19 Nor should members of their families visit these (queens) except in establishments for maternity and sickness. 20 Courtesans should see them after their bodies are cleansed by a bath and rubbing and after changing their garments and ornaments. 21 Men eighty years of age or women fifty years of age, appearing as a father or a mother, and aged and eunuch domestic servants should ascertain the purity or impurity of the inmates of the harem and should make them firmly devoted to what is beneficial to the master.

22 And every one (in the palace) should live in his own quarters and should not move to the quarters of another. And no one staying inside should establish contacts with an outsider.

23 And every object should go out of or come into (the palace) after it is examined and its arrival or departure recorded, its transport to its destination being under a seal.

that she was not approached even in ṛtu, or the kṣṇa was attached to other queens, and hence the trouble. — Vidūratha was a Vṛṣṇi and his queen was Bindumati Harṣacarita. Cnn adds that she was enraged because her wealth was taken away by the king (dravyāyapahārād vidvivādā; her wealth was spent on prostitutes (Cj)).


18 kuhaka 'a magician, a juggler' (māyāyogavid—Cnn) is a puppet-player in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa 10.54.12 (yathā dārūrayi yosin nṛtyate kuhakechayā); 19 saṁsthābyāhās; cf. s. 10 above. Neither 'at the time of following the husband in death' (Cs) nor 'medical treatment' (Meyer) seems possible for saṁsthā. 20 rūpājīvaḥ: this word is usually explained as 'who lives by her beauty,' hence a courtesan, a prostitute. A connection with rūpa (as rūpakā) 'a drama' is not unlikely, implying that the rūpājīva was primarily an actress. Here they are attendants of the harem. — pasyeyukh: the object is enāh, rather than tam rājānam (Cs). The king's own attendants are mentioned in 1.21.12-13 below. Cj reads pasyeta, making rājā the subject and rūpājīvāḥ the object. 21 mātāpitṛyaṇaṇāh, i.e., posing as the parents of some harem attendants (antaścarāṇām kṛtakamādāpitarah rājapramihiṭāḥ—Cnn). — abhayāgārika, 'a servant of the inner apartments; he could be a sthavīra or a varṣadharā 'eunuch.'

22 sarvah, i.e., all inmates of the palace.

23 mudrāsaṅkrāntabhāmikam: this seems to mean that it should proceed to its destination only after being sealed. bhūmi can hardly mean 'a container' as Cs seems to understand it.
CHAPTER TWENTY-ONE

SECTION 18 CONCERNING THE PROTECTION OF (THE KING’S) OWN PERSON

1 When risen from the bed, he should be surrounded by female guards bearing bows, in the second hall by eunuch servants wearing robes and turbans, in the third by humpbacks, dwarfs and Kiratās, in the fourth by ministers, kinsmen and door-keepers, lances in hand.

2 He should keep near him persons descended hereditarily from his father and grand-father, bound (to him) by some relationship, trained, loyal and of proved service, not any one belonging to another country who has not been given money and honour nor even any one belonging to his own country if taken in service after he had been harmed.

3 The palace guards should protect the king and the royal residence.

4 The head cook should cause all cooking work to be done in a guarded place, by tasting it many times. 5 The king should partake of that in that same condition, after first making an offering to the (sacred) fire and to birds.

6 Blue colour of the flames and smoke, and a crackling sound of the fire (are signs of a thing) mixed with poison, also the death of birds (who eat it). 7 Of boiled rice, steam having the colour of the peacock’s neck, coldness, sudden change of colour as when stale, being full of (unabsorbed) water, and not being moist; of broths, quick drying up as well, remaining in a state of boiling, having a soiled appear-

1.21

1 strīgaṇāsair dhanvībhīḥ: the female archers are attendants or guards in the bed-chamber. Cj reads vandibhiḥ ‘bards.’ — varṣadhaṅgharāḥ rāgarikaiḥ: cf. 1.20.21 above.

2 saṁbandhānubaddhāṁ is from a reading in M₇. The ms. read mahāsaṁvibaddhāḥ: the mahā- seems due to repetition from the last two syllables of the preceding word. For the expression cf. saṁsargānubandhāṛī 1.16.29 above. With mahā Cb has ‘descended from big families,’ Cs ‘connected with persons born in noble families (saṁbandha, i.e., annaya),’ Cj ‘connected by close relationship,’ Meyer ‘with important relations and mighty connections.’ — kaṭakarmaṇaḥ suggests one who has proved his worth by accomplishing some work. — The s. is quoted in the Nītīcākyā-mṛta (sec. 24) with the remark, atā evoktaṁ nayavidbhiḥ.

4 āsvādaḥbhūtyena: this seems to mean ‘by tasting it himself again and again to see that it is tasteful’ (Cj), hardly ‘by getting them tasted by servants, grinders, cooks etc. (paricārakapeṣakapacakādibhiḥ krameṇa āsvāditaḥ—Cnn).’ It may also mean ‘with plenty of taste (i.e., tasteful dishes).’

6 viṣayuktasya may be construed with agnēḥ or we may supply annasya prakṣepena; with nayasām, we may understand (viṣayuktasya) annasya bhakṣanena. 7 annasya: cooked rice is primarily thought of. — kliṣṭasya: kliṣṭa is hastamṛdita (soiled by hand), according to Cnn. — aklinnattam ‘not being moist,’ i.e., with the rice-grains unsaturated. — vyājanāṇam: these are broths
ance, presence of foam, becoming curdled and the destruction of smell, touch and flavour; among liquids, the appearance of a shade (of colour) fainter or deeper (than usual) and the appearance of upward lines at the edges of the mass of foam,—in the case of juice a blue line in the middle, of milk a reddish (line), of wine and water black, of curds dark, of honey white; of wet substances, becoming quickly faded, becoming over-cooked and having a dark blue colour in boiling; of dry (substances), a quick falling to pieces and loss of colour; of hard substances softness and of soft substances hardness, and in their proximity the death of small creatures; of bed-sheets and covers, possession of dirty circles and the shedding of threads, wool or hair; of objects made of metals and gems, being smeared with mud-like dirt and the destruction of their smoothness, colour, weight, power, class and touch; — these are the indications of (these objects when) mixed with poison.

8 (The signs) of one who has administered poison, however, (are): having a dry, dark face, hesitation in speech, excessive perspiration and yawning, trembling, stumbling, looking about during speech, agitation in work and not remaining steady in his own place.
9 Therefore, experts in the science of poison-cure and physicians should be in attendance on him. 10 The physician, taking from the medicine-store a medicine proved pure by tasting, and making the cook, the pounder and himself taste it beforehand, should offer it to the king. 11 (Precautions for) drink and water are explained by (those for) medicine.

12 Barbers and valets, with their garments and hands clean after a bath, should wait (on the king) after receiving sealed implements from the hands of palace-attendants. 13 Female slaves of proved integrity should do the work of bath-attendants, shampoosers, bed-preparers, laundresses and garland-makers, or artists supervised by them (should do it). 14 They should offer garments and flowers after (first) putting them to their eyes, and unguents to be used After bath, rubbing powder, perfumes and bath-cosmetics (after first putting them) on their own bosoms and arms. 15 By this is explained (the procedure for) what has come from another person.

16 Actors should entertain (the king) avoiding plays involving (the use of) weapons, fire or poison. 17 And their musical instruments should remain inside (the palace), as also the trappings of horses, chariots and elephants.

18 He should ride a carriage or an animal when these are attended by trustworthy servants, and a boat when it is attended by a trustworthy boatman. 19 He should not go to a boat which is tied to another boat or is caught in a violent wind. 20 At the water's edge, troops should stand on guard.

9 jāṅgulī 'the science of poison-cure.' Cnn remarks 'it is well-known among the Buddhists (Buddhāpaprakāśidhā vidyā).'

10 pesaka: pounding is essential in Indian medicine as is pāka or making a decoction.

13 snāpaka etc.: D shows prasādhaka along with udakaparicāraka in this compound though the preceding s. had already referred to the prasādhaka; that is probably due to 1.12.9. 14 snānānulepana etc.: Cb Cs have 'fragrant myrobalans etc. (snāna), unguents like sandalwood (anulepana), the five astringents (praghara), fragrant powder for garments (cārnavasa) and powder used on the head during bath (snāniṣṭa). Cj agrees except that cārna and cāsa are understood separately as 'jambikāṣayādi' and 'paṭocāsādi' respectively. Cnn has 'fragrant substance used on the head (snānaṁ sugandhadrayanīrmitaṁ sārdham yaczhīrī prajyujaye), unguents like kuṣkūma etc. (anulepanaṁ kuśkumādī), unguents (udvartanam eva pragharaṁ), dry fragrant powder used for the hair after bath (cārnavah śūskah snānottarakālah keśavāsya yaḥ prajyujate), fragrant incense (vāsah sugandhakālpah dhārpaḥ); there is no explanation of snāniṣṭa. It might appear better to understand snānalepana, pragharaścārana, vāsa and snāniṣṭa as the items intended.

16 kuśitāvah appear here as actors and acrobats rather than as minstrels, as the latter would hardly have an occasion to use fire or weapon. Cf. 1.12.9.
21 He should plunge in water that has been cleared by fish-catchers. 22 He should go to a park after it is cleared by snake-catchers.

23 He should go to a forest containing game, for practising on moving targets, after the danger of harm from thieves, wild animals and enemies has been removed from it by fowlers and hunters.

24 He should grant an interview to a holy ascetic in the company of trusted armed guards, to an envoy of a neighbouring prince in the company of the council of ministers. 25 Being fully armoured and riding a horse, an elephant or a chariot, he should inspect fully equipped troops.

26 At the time of his departure from and entry into (the palace) he should go along the royal highway, with guards stationed on both sides and with persons carrying arms, ascetics and cripples removed from it by armed men and staff-bearers. 27 He should not plunge in a crowd of men. 28 He should go to fairs, gatherings, festivals and parties (only when these are) supervised by officers in command of ten soldiers each.

29 And just as the king keeps a watch over others through secret agents, so should he, being self-possessed, guard himself against danger from others.

Herewith ends the First Book of the Arthashastra of Kautilya

'CONCERNING THE TOPIC OF TRAINING'
THE ACTIVITY OF THE HEADS OF DEPARTMENTS

CHAPTER ONE

SECTION 19 SETTLEMENT OF THE COUNTRY-SIDE

1 He should cause settlement of the country, which had been settled before or which had not been settled before, by bringing in people from foreign lands or by shifting the overflow (of population) from his own country.

2 He should cause villages to be settled consisting mostly of Sūdra agriculturists, with a minimum of one hundred families and a maximum of five hundred families, with boundaries extending over one

In the Second Book, which deals with the activity of the various state departments we have a fairly full account of the internal administration of a state. Only the administration of justice and the maintenance of law and order are reserved for the Third and Fourth Books.

2.1

This chapter deals primarily with the settlement of new lands; a few rules, however, might appear to be applicable to old established settlements as well.

1 bhūtāpūrca 'which was settled before,' but was apparently abandoned by its inhabitants because of famine etc. abhūtāpūrca 'not settled before' is virgin land. According to Cnn (which is available in full for the first three chapters of this Book), the former is easy to work (sukhasādhyā), the latter difficult. — The expression bhūtāpūrca is used in connection with a kingdom in 13.5.2, 22; there it means 'which had formerly belonged to him.' — apavāhana includes the idea of enticement as well as displacement by force. Mallinātha quotes this passage on Raghuvamśa 15.29.

2 Sādrakarṣaka- 'Sūdra agriculturists' (Cnn) rather than 'Sūdras and agriculturists' (Cb). Actual workers on land could have been only Sūdras. — kula-śatāvaram etc.: according to Cnn, kula means land that can be ploughed by one, two or three ploughs (being respectively best, middling and worst); the smallest village area has 100 such fields with a boundary of one krośa, while the largest has 500 fields with a boundary of two krośas. It is not certain that all this is meant here. — krośadvikrośasīmānam: apparently the boundary of each village is to be at a distance of one or two krośas from the houses in it. Cj states that the village area should be four krośas on each side giving 16 square krośas; of these 10 are to be used for fields, 5 should be given over to houses and pasture and one reserved for devaṭhāna and common. According to Cs the distance between two villages
is to be one krośa or two. krośa is the same as goruta of 2.20.25, though krośa itself is not mentioned in that chapter. Cnn explains 'niśvavānā yācantaṁ pradeśāṁ gavāṁ rutanṁ kṛṣṭāṁ vyāpnoti.' — anyonyāraṇām 'giving protection to each other,' though 'protected against each other's encroachments' is also possible. 3 bhrṛṣṭi is from D, explained in Cnn as 'a stretch of pebbles, sand etc.', suggesting the dry bed of a rivulet. The Medini gives śāyavatiṇkā 'a deserted garden' as the meaning. The word occurs in the Rgveda 1.56.3 (gīrer bṛṛṣṭih) in the sense of a ridge or edge. Meyer proposes gṛṛṣṭi and explains vinagṛṛṣṭi by 'the edge of a forest.' The reading gṛṛṣṭi is explained as 'a small hill' in Cb and 'a plant named Bādarā or a kind of tree' in Cs. This latter is unlikely. As a tree it would have been put later in the compound with Śālmalī, etc.

4 kārvatiṇkām: the form kārvatiṇkam is also possible. — These towns are established for purposes of revenue, being the headquarters of revenue officers like gopa, sthānīka, etc. Cf. 2.35.1-6 below.

7 brahmadeyāṇī: the substantive may be grāmāṇi or kṣetāṇi; perhaps the latter is to be understood. — abhirūpāpaḍāyakāṇī: Cnn explains 'with heirs of the same type as the person to whom the gift was originally made.' D's anirūpa is obviously corrupt, but suggests that anirūpa-pāpaḍāyakāṇī may have been the original reading. Cj has 'of which sons, grandsons etc. endowed with learning and character are to be owners and which are not to revert to the king.' abhirūpa-pāpaḍāyakāṇī of GM is possible in the sense of 'as worthy gifts' or 'yielding suitable revenue,' but does not seem original.

8 aikapuruṣikāṇī 'for one generation,' not to pass on to their heirs. Waste land being state property, it is to revert to the state on the death of the donee. 9 nādeyāṇī is from Cnn (supported by D's corruption nd. ni). nādeyat is grammatically impossible.
10. He should take away (fields) from those who do not till them and give them to others.
11. Or, village servants and traders should till them.
12. Or, those who do not till should make good the loss (to the treasury).
13. And he should favour them with grains, cattle and money.
14. These they should pay back afterwards at their convenience.
15. And he should grant to them favours and exemptions which would cause an increase in the treasury, (but) avoid such as would cause loss to the treasury.
16. For, a king with a small treasury swallows up the citizens and the country people themselves.
17. He should grant exemptions at the time of settlement or as people come.
18. He should, like a father, show favours to those whose exemptions have ceased.
19. He should set going work in mines, factories, produce-forests, elephant-forests, cattle-herds and trade-routes and (establish) water-routes, land-routes and ports.
20. He should cause irrigation works to be built with natural water sources or with water to be brought in from elsewhere.
21. Or, to others who are building (these), he should render aid with land, roads, trees and implements, and (also render aid) to (the building of) holy places and parks.
22. If one walks out of the joint building of an irrigation work, his labourers and bullocks should (be made to) do (his share of) the work.
23. And he should be a sharer in the expenses and yet should receive no portion (of the benefits derived).

10. ācchīdya: confiscation is possible because the newly settled land was originally state property.
11. grāmāntā: these would appear to be state servants since they are included in the salary lists in 5.3.23. Their precise duties are not mentioned anywhere in the text. Cf.
12. pīnākatā: 'barbers etc.'
13. potters, smiths, etc.' apparently corresponding to the modern balutadās, though these receive no salary.
14. yācchīdica: a found in D seems necessary.
15. meyer’s explanation of apākīnam as ‘a smaller rent or tax’ is not very likely. Loss suffered by the state is to be understood; a 'vinaśākṣetraphalam' (Cnm).
16. anu as a conjunctive in the sense of 'afterwards' is not very common. Cf., however, the Rāmāyāna 2.84.4 (asmnā vadhīṣyati anu Dāsārāthin Dānām).
17. yathāgata-kam, i.e., even if they come to settle there sometime after the first settlement.
18. pābhyāsatāna is ordinarily ‘a market town’; but in the text, it refers principally to ‘a port,’ not an inland town. Cf. 2.28.7, 10, 12; 7.12.21; etc. This may suggest that market towns were principally situated on river-banks or the sea-coast.
19. setum: this refers primarily to an embankment or dam built for storing water, also to the building of tanks. The setu is sahodaka when there are natural springs of water or a natural flow of water; it is aharīyodaka when it is a sort of a storage tank with water brought into it through channels. Cf. 7.12.4-5.
20. sahodaka: i.e., when all settlers decide to pool their resources to build a tank for common use.
21. The punishment for a person backing out of a joint venture appears
24 The ownership of the fish, ducks, and green vegetables in the irrigation works should go to the king.

25 The king should enforce discipline on slaves, persons kept as pledges and kinsmen who do not obey (their masters etc.).

26 And the king should maintain children, aged persons and persons in distress when these are helpless, as also the woman who has borne no child and the sons of one who has (when these are helpless).

27 The elders of the village should augment the property of a minor till he comes of age, also the property of a temple.

28 If a person with means does not maintain his children and wife, his father and mother, his brothers who have not come of age, and his unmarried and widowed sisters, a fine of twelve pānas (shall be imposed), except when these have become outcasts, with the exception of the mother.

29 If one renounces home (to become an ascetic) without providing for his sons and wife, the lowest fine for violence (shall be imposed), also if one induces a woman to renounce home. 30 One who has lost his capacity for activity may renounce home after securing permission from the judges. 31 Otherwise, he shall be put under restraint.

rather severe; hence Meyer proposes to include puṇyasthānārāmānām ca in s. 22, to read anapakrāmantah and to understand rājā as the subject in s. 23, 'labourers and bullocks coming together shall do work for irrigation in connection with holy places and parks, without staying away. And the king shall share in the expenses and shall receive no benefit.' This is extremely unlikely. The harshness of the punishment may be justified on the ground that the person who agreed to join in the work of new settlement, is backing out of what is beneficial to the entire village.

24 plauca 'a kind of duck' (Cs) or 'birds' (Cb Cj), rather than 'a boat.' — ' harita, i.e., nālikā (reed) and panyā, i.e., śrīgāṭka, kaseruka, etc.' (Cnn). — rājā svāmyam gacchet: this is apparently because the land on which the tank is built is state property.

25 -āhitaka: see 3.12.9 ff.

26 -vyādhita: (read after -vṛddha- in G M) does not appear to be original. — anātha is to be understood with each of bāla etc. ' bālaṁ nāma antahpatito pyanāthaśobado viśeṣaṇam, anyathā atiprasāṅgah syāt' (Cnn); and anātha is also to be understood with striyam and putrān as well. Cf. Breloer (KSt, III, 137 n.4).

27 The reading varjayeyuh is quite unlikely. About elders being in charge of the property of minors see 3.5.20.

28 kanyā vidhāvās ca describe the two kinds of sisters who must be maintained— anyatra mātuḥ, i.e., a mother, even if patita, must be maintained. Cf. Baudhāyana Dhārma Sūtra 2.2.48: patitām api tu mātaraṁ bhīrīyād anabhībhāṣamānaḥ.

29 striyam ca pravṛṣajyataḥ: Cnn remarks that the woman meant is anvṛttara-faskā and still able to bear children. 30 luptavyāyāmah is from D Cj. The latter explains 'devoid of internal and external powers (bāhyābhīyantarāśaktivikalāḥ),' Cnn has 'projananasaṣaktyabhāvā.' The word vyavāya read in G1 means 'coitus' and does not appear to be original.
32 An ascetic sect other than the (Brahmanical) forest hermit, a corporation other than that of those born in the same place or an association with agreements except one for a joint undertaking shall not settle in his country-side.

33 And there should be no parks there nor halls for recreation. 34 Actors, dancers, singers, musicians, professional story-tellers or minstrels shall not create obstruction in the work (of the people). 35 Because of villages being without shelter (for outsiders) and because of men being engrossed in (work on the) fields, an increase in the treasury, labourers, goods, grains and liquids follows.

36 The king should exempt from taxes a region laid waste by the army of an enemy or by foresters, or afflicted by disease or famine, and he should prohibit expensive sports.

37 He should protect agriculture that is oppressed by the troubles of fines, labourers and taxes, and herds of cattle (oppressed) by thieves, wild animals, poison and crocodiles as well as by diseases.

38 He should keep clear trade-routes that are harassed by (the king’s) favourites, works-officers, robbers and frontier-chiefs or are reduced by herds of cattle.

32 vānaprasthād anyah etc.: this would exclude all heretical sects from the land. — sajātād anyah saṅghah: though sajāta means ‘born together,’ it seems to refer to those who live at the same place, the idea being to prevent foreign tribal groups (saṅghas) from settling in the country. Only native or indigenous saṅghas are to be favoured. Cj explains ‘which was formed at the time of settlement or which was there before in a bhūtapūrva janapada.’ Cb explains sajāta by ‘who are conversant with the four vidyās.’ Cs, reading sujātād explains ‘formed for the good of the king and the country.’ Cnn thinks that this forbids the formation of śreṣṭhas.

33 vāmutthāyikād anyah samayānumbandhaḥ: vāmutthāyika refers to those who join together for some common undertaking; in the present case, settlers on land joining together for some specific undertaking like the building of a tank are to be understood. That is how the commentators understand. — Cnn remarks that these restrictions apply only to the time of settlement; heretics and others may enter the villages with the king’s permission (aṇāṃ niceśaṃya no niyamaḥ; āgaṇāvās tu pāṣaṇḍādayo rājānaṣājātāḥ praviśanti).

36 nirāsrayatvāḥ: āsraya ‘shelter’ for naṭa, nartaka, etc.

36 pariharet; in the context, ‘should exempt from taxes’ has to be understood; ‘dāṇḍakarādi na grhpīyāt’ as Cnn has it.

37 viṣagrāha seems to mean ‘poison and crocodiles’ in view of 2.29.13, 24. The expression can hardly mean ‘a poisonous creature.’

38 kārmikaḥ; these are the state officers in charge of state undertakings. See 2.7.22-23. — sōdhyet ‘should keep clear of noxious elements,’ the noxious elements being the favourites, officers etc.
39. Thus the king should protect produce-forests, elephant-forests, irrigation works and mines that were made in ancient times and should start new ones.

CHAPTER TWO

SECTION 20 DISPOSAL OF NON-AGRICULTURAL LAND

1. On land unsuitable for agriculture, he should allot pastures for cattle. 2. And he should grant to ascetics wildernesses for Veda-study and soma-sacrifices, with safety promised to (everything) immovable and movable in them, one goruta in extent at the most.

3. He should cause an animal park for the king’s recreation to be laid out, with the same extent (i.e., one goruta), with a single entrance, protected by a moat, containing shrubs and bushes bearing sweet fruits, having trees without thorns, with shallow pools of water and stocked with tamed deer and (other) animals, containing wild animals with their claws and teeth removed (and) having male and female elephants and cubs useful for hunting. 4. And he should establish on its border or in conformity with the (suitability of the) land, another animal park where all animals are (welcomed) as guests (and given full protection).

5. And he should establish forests, one each for the products indicated as forest produce, as well as factories for goods made from forest produce, and (settle) foresters, attached to the produce-forests.

39. dravyavadipavanam: these are referred to in the next Chapter.

2.2

For the correct form of the name of this Section, bhūmicchidrápidhānam, see 1.1.4 above. Cj too shows the correct form. — bhūmicchidra, i.e., kṛṣyayogā yādhā—Yādava’s Vaijayantī.

1. vivitāni: the root is vi ‘to eat’ according to Cnn (vi khaḍane’tra draśtyayaḥ).

2. There is little doubt that Brāhmaṇyābhya and the consequential tapovanāṇi ca (in G M) are not original. The regions are meant not for Brahmins as such, but for ascetics. As Cnn has it ‘brahmāranyāṇi yatra Āraṇyakādīvedopaniṣad adhīyate, somāraṇyāṇi yajñabhūmiḥ.’ — goruta-parāṇi: for goruta, see 2.20.25.

3. ‘gulmāh karamardakādāyaḥ gucchā badarāmalakādāyaḥ’ (Cnn). — mārgayuka: Cj explains ‘mṛgayāśtu mṛgayavacaḥ, tesaṃ karma mārgayukam;’ Cnn ‘mṛgayur vyādhabh tasya karma’ mārgayuka is grammatically indefensible. 4. sārvatīthiṃgam: this appears to be a sort of a zoological garden.

5. kupyapradīṣṭānām, i.e., enumerated in 2.17 below. These are dravyavanās. D adds tarāṇām after dravyānām; it seems to have been a marginal gloss on the latter word. — aṭavī ca: as often in this text, aṭavī refers to forest-dwellers or foresters, not to forests; cf. 1.18.7; 2.1.36 etc. ‘aṭavī ca aṭavikāṇś ca’ (Cnn).
6 On the border (of the kingdom), he should establish a forest for elephants guarded by foresters. 7 The superintendent of the elephant-forest should, with the help of guards of the elephant-forest, protect the elephant-forest (whether) on the mountain, along a river, along lakes or in marshy tracts, with its boundaries, entrances and exits (fully) known. 8 They should kill any one slaying an elephant. 9 To a person bringing in the pair of tusks of an (elephant) dying naturally, a reward of four panas and a quarter (shall be given).

10 Guards of elephant-forests, aided by elephant keepers, foot-chainers, border guards, foresters and attendants, with their own odours suppressed by the urine and dung of elephants, with their bodies covered with branches of the Bhallātaki, (and) moving with five or seven female elephant decoys, should ascertain the size of the herds of elephants, by means of indications provided by sleeping places, foot-prints, dung and damage caused to river-banks. 11 They should maintain a record in writing of (every) elephant, (whether) moving in a herd, moving alone, lost from a herd, lord of a herd, (and whether) wild, intoxicated, cub or released from captivity.

12 They should catch elephants whose outward marks and behaviour are excellent in the judgment of elephant-trainers. 13 Victory (in battle) for a king depends principally on elephants. 14 For, elephants, being possessed of very big-sized bodies and being capable of life-destroying activities, pound the troops, battle-arrays, fortresses and camps of enemies.

15 Elephants from the Kaliṅgas and the Aṅgaras are best; those from the east, those from Cedi and Karuṣa and those from

6 *pratyante* ‘on the border’ of the kingdom, hardly on the border of the *dravya-vana*. Cj refers to the region between Lauhitya in the east, Prayāga in the west, Gaṅgā in the south and Himavat in the north, describing it as the *prācyā vana* and implies that the *janapada* should not be inside this region. — *afavyāraṣaṃ* ‘of which the protection is secured by foresters.’ 7 *nāgavanādhyaḥkṣaḥ* : this officer is different from the *hastyaḥdhyakṣa* of 2.31–32. CnN quotes mnemonic verses giving descriptions of the *pārcata*, *nādyena*, *sāreas* and *āṇūpa* regions.

10 Cj reads *śimaka* for *saṃika* and *padya* for *padyā*. — *leṇḍa*- : this form of the word is adopted throughout on the strength of D Cnn. Cf. also ‘ *pada-pracāra-vīra leṇḍai ca* ’—*Mānasollāsa*, 2.182. — *kālaṅghata*- is damage done to river-banks when elephants butt in sport. 11 *ekacaram niṟiyūham* : according to Cnn the former has left the herd of his own accord, the latter is driven out of the herd (*ekacaram svaṭaṃ eva yathāṃ niṟṣīram, niṟiyūham yathāṃ niṟdharīram*).

14 — *aniṅkavṛṣa*- as two ideas ‘troops and battle-arrays’ (Cnn) is preferable to ‘arrays of an army.’ — *prāṇaharakaṁāṇo* : Cnn quotes ‘ *śṛṣṭannāpi goja hanti*.’

15 *kaliṅgāṅgarajāḥ* is from D; M’s *rājāḥ* is corrupted from it, the editions making an attempt to correct it by reading *gajāḥ*. Cnn, which has intruded into the text of D, gives a definition of *āṅgareyaka vana*, showing that the Aṅga region
the Daśārṇas and the Aparāntas are considered as of medium
quality among the elephants.

16 Those from the Saśrāstras and the Pañcanadas are declared to
be of the lowest quality among them. Of all of these, valour,
speed and spirit increase by training.

CHAPTER THREE

SECTION 21 CONSTRUCTION OF FORTS

1 In all four quarters, on the frontiers of the country, he should
cause a nature-made fortress, equipped for fight, to be made: a water-
fort (either) an island in the midst of water or high land shut in by
water, (or) a mountain fort (either) consisting of rocks or a cave, (or)
a desert fort (either) one without water and shrubs or a salty region,
or a jungle fort (either) a marshy tract with water or a thicket of shrubs.

is not to be thought of here. Cb reads kāliṅgainaṅgajāh. According to mnemonic
verses quoted in Cnn the kāliṅga vana lies between Utkala, the southern ocean, the
Sahya Mountain and Kālīṅga; the aṅgareyaka vana lies between Vidiśā, the Nar-
madā, Brahmavardhana and the Pāriyātra Mountain. According to Cnn, only
these two types of elephants are best, those from prācyā etc. being madhyama. —
prācyā cedikarūṣajāh: the prācyā vana lies between the Lauhitya, Prayāga, the
Gaṅgā and Himavat; the cedikarūṣaka vana between Mekalā, Triśūri, Daśārṇa
and the Unmattagaṅgā (Cnn). — dāsāṛṇāḥ is from Cb; a derivative as in the
other cases is better. The dāśāṛṇa vana lies between Daśārṇa, Mahāgiri, Vindhyā
and the Vetravati (Cnn). No description of the aparānta vana is found in these
verses. 16 saurāstrakāḥ: the saurastra vana lies between Avānti, the Narmadā,
Dvārakā and Arbuda (Cnn). — pañcanadāḥ: this is certainly preferable to
pañcajanāḥ of G M. The pañcana vana lies between Kurukṣeta, Kālikākānana,
the Sindhu and Himavat (Cnn). — Very similar details are found in the Māna-
sollasa of Someśvara (2.177 ff.).

2.3

Many of the details concerning the building of a fort are far from clear. Meyer
calls this ‘the most frightful’ among the chapters of this text.

1 daivakṛtam ‘made by fate,’ i.e., provided by nature; the reading devakṛtam
‘made by the gods’ conveys the same idea perhaps a little more clearly. — There
are two varieties of each of the four kinds of durgas. — nimmāvaruddham ♦ sur-
rounded on all sides by water (nimma jala—Cnn). Cb renders nimma by
‘lakes.’ — prāstaram: this seems to mean ‘made of or consisting of rocks.’
Cj understands ‘a peak on top of a mountain with the sides chiselled off (śikharam
eva samantata raṅgacchinnapārśvatvōd durgamam).’ — nirudakastambam ‘without
water and without shrubs’ rather than ‘where shrubs grow on waterless ground’
(Meyer). — khaṅjanadakam: khaṅjana is a marshy place, a bog; cf. 10.4.8;
12.4.22. That and water surround this kind of fort; ‘sapaṅkajalam, khaṅi gati-
vaikalye iti pāṭḥāt’ — Cnn. Its mention as vanadvarga seems due to the growth of
weeds etc. in the morass. All these are ‘nature-made’ and hence no man-made
2 Among them a river fort and a mountain fort are places for the protectors of the country, a desert fort and a jungle fort are places for foresters or places of retreat in times of calamity.

3 In the centre of the country, he should lay out a, sthāṇiya, the headquarters for revenue, on a site recommended by experts in the science of building, at the confluence of rivers or on the bank of a lake that never dries up, either a (natural) lake or a (man-made) tank, round, rectangular or square or in accordance with the nature of the building site, with water flowing from left to right, a market town, served by a land-route and a water-route.

4 He should cause three moats to be dug round it, at a distance of one dāṇḍa from each other, fourteen, twelve and ten dāṇḍas broad, three-quarters or a half of the breadth deep, one-third (of the surface-breadth) at the bottom or square with the bottom, paved with stones or with the sides (only) built of stones or bricks, reaching down to (natural springs of) water or filled with water coming from elsewhere, with (arrangements for) draining excess water, and stocked with lotuses and crocodiles.

fortification is necessary in their case. 2 nadidurga: the same as udakadurga. — janapadārakṣa: this expression is understood as in Cmn in the sense of antapāla frontier-chiefs. It corresponds to aṭaṇi, i.e., foresters in the next clause. The expression may also mean ‘protection of the country.’ — The Devipurāṇa 72.53–55 agrees with this text in the matter of these eight durgas.

3 samudayasthānam, i.e., the place where revenue is ultimately brought and kept. — sthāṇiyam: this is the headquarters for eight hundred villages (2.1.4 above). In most cases, it is the fortified capital of the state. — It seems that hrada is illustrated by saras, a natural lake, and tāṭaka, an artificial tank; hrada appears to be a common name for the two. — pradakṣiṇapadakam, i.e., in effect on the right bank of the river. — panyapuṭabhedanam is evidently a market town, ‘where packages coming from different places are opened for sale’ (Cj Cs). According to Meyer puṭabheda is ‘a bend in the river’ (nadiṣvram, says the Medinikīśāśa). According to Charpentier (ZDMG, 70, 237–242) it means a fork in the river where it breaks into two. — anāsapatha is the same as sthalapatha.

4 dāṇḍāntarāḥ: D adds dvidaṇḍāntarāḥ vā after this. Cmn, however, shows no explanation of it. A dāṇḍa is about six feet. In 2.20.19 a dhanus of 108 angulas (about 6' 9") is mentioned as a measure for prākāra and roads. In the present passage, however, dhanus is not used at all, only dāṇḍa. — We may, with Cmn, understand the widest of the three moats as being nearest the rampart and the narrowest furthest away from it. — tribhāgāmālāḥ, i.e., the width at the bottom is to be one-third the width at the surface. Meyer understands tribhāga in the sense of three-fourths; that doesn’t appear likely, though it would make the sides less sloping. — mūle caturāśrapāsaṇopahitāḥ in the text is an emendation suggested by Meyer, the meaning being that the bottom should be paved with square stones. But the emendation is unnecessary. We should read with D mūla-caturāśraṇāḥ vā and regard it as an option to tribhāgāmālāḥ in the sense ‘or, square with the bottom,’ i.e., with straight instead of sloping sides. The translation is in conformity with this. With this reading, pāšānopahitāḥ ‘paved with stones (all through)’ becomes an
5 At a distance of four dāṇḍas from the moat, he should cause a rampart to be made out of the earth dug out, six dāṇḍas high, made compact, twice that in breadth, piled upwards with a platform-like (flat) surface (at the top) or with a jug-like side, pounded by elephants and bullocks (and) having (on the sides) clusters of thorny bushes and poisonous creepers. 6 With the remainder of the earth, he should cause the low places in the residential areas or palace grounds to be filled up.

7 On top of the rampart, he should cause a parapet to be built, double the breadth in height, built of bricks, from twelve hastas upwards up to twenty-four hastas, either odd or even in number (of hastas in height), with a passage for the movement of chariots, shaped like a palm-stem and with the top decked with 'drums' and 'monkey-heads.' 8 Or, he should cause it to be made of stones, close-knit with option to the following pāṣāṇeṣṭakābuddhapārścā vā 'with sides (alone) paved with stones or bricks.' — sapaṇicaḥ refers to arrangements for draining away excess water. — pādmarāhavatīḥ 'having lotuses and crocodiles,' the former for beauty, the latter as a danger to enemies. Cf. Samarāṇaṇaśūtradvāra, 10.17-22. Meyer thinks that pādmarāha may refer to some contrivance for letting water in or out by closing or opening it. That is possible though uncertain.

6 avaruddham 'enclosed firmly' seems to refer to firmness of foundation and the compactness of the structure. Čn explains 'with both sides tiled with stones etc. (pāṣāṇaṇadhibhuddhānāḥ). That seems hardly intended. — ārdhavacayam: 'with a high pile' ; Čj Čn explain 'in the shape of an ant-hill (vālmikikāraśāstham—Čj).' — maṇicaprṣṭham 'with the top shaped like a platform, i.e., flat.' Čn understands 'slightly depressed in the middle to make the parapet wall on it firm (madhye kīniece nimmna phākrāradārthārtham). This is not an option to ārdhavacayam as Čs understands it. — kumbhakukṣikānaḥ vā: 'with jar-like sides,' i.e., bulging in the middle to make climbing difficult. This is an option to ārdhavacayam, maṇicaprṣṭham obviously being common to both. 6 vāstuvacahōram refers to areas in the city unsuitable for building purposes because they are not level. — rājabhacanam from D appears genuine in view of vā.

7 The height of the brick parapet is to be 12, 13, ... up to 24 hastas and the width to be half the height in each case. For hasta see 22.0.12. — rathacaryāśāmācaśāram; evidently this passage for the movement of carts is to be on the top of the parapet, though in the case of the smaller widths, it is not easy to suppose that rathas could move freely on top. Meyer makes rātha- etc. as the substantive and tāla- .ācāṭaḥram and prthu- .sālām as adjectives to it. That seems hardly possible. All the expressions only describe the vaṭra. — tālamālām as in D Cb is better. As an adjective to vaṭram, it is explained 'shaped like the root of a palm tree, i.e., broad at the base and narrow at the top' (Cb.) — murajakaḥ kapiśīrṣakāi ca: the two expressions describe the shape of the coping stones on top. Čj thinks that these were covers for fighters, the former 'with even tops (samaśīrobbhīḥ),' the latter 'shaped like the Aśvattha leaf (aśvatthapatrasaṃsthānaiḥ).' Meyer's rendering 'a chariot passage' with a palm base and with figures of female breasts (uraṇa) and monkey.
big slabs, but under no circumstances (should he have it) made of wood.
9 For, fire remains lurking in it.

10 He should cause turrets to be made, square with the breadth, provided with steps for going down, (of the) same (length) as the height, and at a distance of thirty daṇḍas from each other. 11 Midway between (every) two turrets, he should cause a tower to be built, with two stories inclusive of a hall, (and) one and a half times in length. 12 Between each turret and tower, in the centre, he should cause to be erected a board, compact with planks having holes with coverings, as a place (from which to fight) for three archers. 13 In the intervening spaces, he should cause a ‘gods’ way’ to be made, two hastas in breadth and four times that in length, at the side.

heads’ is quite unlikely. 8 prthuśīlāśvāhimagatāṃ vā sailam is an option to aiśṭakam above. 9 avahitaḥ ‘placed in,’ i.e., lurking.

10 viśkambhalacaturāram ‘square with the width (of the parapet);’ the turret is thus a square structure, each side being as long as the parapet-width. — utsedhasamāvakṣepasopānām: Cnn explains with a flight of steps for descent (on the inside) in conformity with the height of the parapet together with the rampart (sadvappraya prākārasya ya utsedhas tasya samo yo’vakṣepah tatra sopānānī arohanārthīn niśreṇi-padānī yasya) and adds that soldiers can then easily go to the top even when they carry weapons in both hands. This, however, can hardly be understood appropriately with the aṭṭālaka or turret. The steps may be only from the turret to the top of the parapet. And avakṣepasopāna as ‘a ladder for throwing down (and taking up) at will’ is not unlikely. Cj remarks that there should be murajakas and kapiṣṭakas even on top of the aṭṭālaka. 11 saḥarmyavītalām, i.e., having two floors, one of them (the upper one) being a room or hall. It seems that the lower floor was without walls, there being only pillars to support the upper hall. — adhyārdhāyāmām ‘with a length one and a half times the width,’ the width apparently being co-extensive with the width of the parapet. The pratoṭi tower is thus bigger and loftier than the aṭṭālaka. With the reading devardhā- Meyer understands ‘two and a half times.’ — 12 sāpīdhāna-etc.: It seems that a board of planks is fixed at the outer edge of the parapet; through holes in it, archers could shoot at the enemy outside and the holes could be covered at will so that arrows from outside could not come in. Cnn which has this explanation (sacchidrāphalakataśvān śararṇigamārthām, sāpīdhānataśvān paraśara-pratishkalanārthām) adds that the name āndrakośa is due to the many eye-like holes in it (aksisamānasahasracchidropetavāt). — 13 antareṣu, i.e., in the spaces between the various structures, just described. — pārśve ‘at the side’ means according to Cnn ‘on the outer side of the parapet (prākārabahiḥpārśve)’ since the devapatha is intended for the protection of the base of the parapet on the outside. The devapatha is, according to it, made of strong wood fixed with copper-strips, with openings for shooting arrows but otherwise covered on all sides (sāradārumaṃ tāmrapatrikā-buddham adhaḥkṛtaśaranārṇgāvān sarvatsaḥ chādītam). It is so called apparently because entry into it was difficult. That such a structure should be designated -patha is rather odd. — G M add anuprākāram aṣṭaḥastāyatam in the s., but the words seem to be merely a paraphrase of pārśve caturgunyāyām and appear to have got into the text from a marginal gloss. — It should be remarked that in view of the structures on the parapet, rathacaryā (s. 7) would be difficult on it.
14 He should cause tracks to be made of a width of one danṣa or two danṣas, and in an unassailable place a run-way and an exit-
door.

15 Outside (the fort), he should cause a covered road to be made
that is strewn with knee-breakers, a mass of pikes, pits, concealed
traps, barbed wires, ‘serpent-backs,’ ‘palm-leaves,’ ‘three-peaks,’
‘dog’s jaws,’ bars, ‘jumping sandals,’ frying pans and ponds.

16 Having made on both sides of the parapet a ‘ram’s head’
one danṣa and a half (in extent), he should cause the gate-way to be
laid out, with space for six beams of the tower, from five danṣas (square)

14 danṣāntarāḥ: antara is ‘width’ as in 2.4.3 below. — caryāḥ ‘tracks,
courses’ seems to refer to steps for going up and down from the devapatha to the
pradhāvanikā. The tracks would naturally be well protected as they are apparently
on the outside of the wall. — pradhāvanikām: Cnn explains ‘a run-way protected
by a small zig-zag wall of the height of a man, extending from the prākāra to the big
moat, intended as a cover for the fighters (gomūtrikārā puruṣapramāṇaṃuka-
prākāraṇa agrāhyā pareṣāṃ niṣkirtadvāraiv nirgataḥ parikārakṣārthaṁ pradhāvanu
yodhā asyaṃ).’ Cj has a similar explanation. Cb understands pradhāvitikā merely
as ‘a screen for the protection of soldiers from the arrows of the enemy.’ — niṣkī-
radāvāram: Cnn has ‘a small exit door made of iron at the end of a stair-case leading
down from the devapatha in the outer wall of the rampart; through this door soldiers
come out into the pradhāvanikā for the protection of the moat (devapathasya adhastāt
prākārakṣipradēṣu niṣkīradāvāram niṣkīryante bāhiḥparikārakṣārthaṁ yodhā
yena tad ārohanavataraṇārthaṁ kṛtan tīryak prākārabhāyabhītī suvcalpatarasopānān
kālāyasyādṛṣṭah kapāṭam).’ Cj seems to have a similar explanation. For this door,
ef. 13.4.12.

15 ahiṃṣha, tālāpatra, śṛgātaka etc. have reference to the shape of the contrap-
tions which may have been made of iron or strong wood. — śvadāṅṣṭra : in 10.4.9
it is obviously the name of a plant dangerous to elephants; here, however, a contrap-
tion shaped like a dog’s jaws made of iron may be understood as in Cnn. —
upaskandanāpadukā ‘sandals that make one jump’ (Meyer). Cj has ‘upaskanda,
i.e., much broken ground, and pādukā, i.e., a hole of the size of the foot, covered
with dust etc.’

16 meṇḍhakam: there is little doubt about this being the original reading.
According to Cnn Cj, it refers to a structure on the rampart on both sides of the
gate-way, resembling a ram’s head with two horns. It seems that according to
Cnn the two heads are above the level of the height of the prākāra and face each
other in the gate opening made for the gate-way. Cj is not quite clear but seems to
imply that the two ram’s heads face inside the wall as well as outside, apparently
above the gate extending over its entire width (meṇḍhārgaṇāyavasānāṁ dvarā-
susirābhimukhaḥ gṛbhabhāvaprākāram — Cnn; antar bahīs ca bāhū prasārya meṇḍhārga
vatsārgabhimukhaḥ — Cj). — adhyardhadāṇḍam: this, according to Cnn, refers to
the extent of the projection of the ram’s heads in the gate-way opening. As the
gate-way area is 5-danṣa square, we get an opening of two danṣas (1 into 2, i.e., 3,
and 5 minus 3), i.e., 8 hastas for the gates between the two rams’ heads. (ubhaya-
meṇḍhārgacatuṣṭāyaṃ dvarāmārgavakāsānāṁ muktā — Cnn). Apparently in Cj this referred to the extent of the projection on the inside and on the
outside of the gate-way area. — protoliṣṭaḥdāntaram dvarām: according to Cj
onwards increased by one dāṇḍa upto eight dāṇḍas square, or one-sixth part more than the length or one-eighth part (more). 17 From fifteen hastas onwards increased by one hasta upto eighteen hastas (should be) the height of the floor. 18 The circumference of a pillar (should be) one-sixth of the length, double that the portion fixed in the ground; the capital (should be) one-fourth (the length) (in circumference).

19 Occupying one-fifth part of the ground floor (should be) a hall, a well and a border-room. 20 There should be two platforms

pratoli is the name of the gate described here. That seems also to be Cnn’s idea. Apparently the gate resembles the pratoli or tower of s.11, as it has two floors, one of them a walled-in hall. The expression seems to mean ‘a gate, having space for six beams of the pratoli.’ tulā is a beam and the six beams apparently are necessary for the ceiling of the ground floor; in a gate-way 5 dāṇḍas square in area, each tulā would be 5 dāṇḍas long and there would be a space of a little less than one dāṇḍa between every two tulās. Cb reads talāntaram, explaining tala as ‘an archway pillar to support the gate-way.’ Pillars, of course, would be necessary, but it is doubtful if tala could be understood in that sense; tulā, however, might be so understood. — After caturasāram, Cb Cs add áväḍandaiva vā. The words, if genuine, are misplaced. They should come after adhyāyadandaiva kṛtva above. — śadbhāgāṃ āyāmād adhikam is a modification of the idea in caturasāram. Apparently, if, e.g., the parapet ran north-south, the slightly longer side of the gate-way would be east-west. — 17 talotsedhāḥ: the height referred to is apparently that of the ground floor. Cb Cs read tulotsedhāḥ ‘the height of the pillars’ which comes to the same thing. — 18 stambhasya: as this word for pillar is used, tulā as pillar (Cb Cs in s.17) appears less likely. — śadāyāmaḥ has to be understood as ‘one-sixth of the length,’ i.e., āyāmasudbhāgāḥ. Meyer thinks that śadāyāmād should be read for this sense. — dviguṇaḥ ‘double’ the one-sixth, i.e., one-third. — cūlikāyāḥ: we have to supply parikṣeṣāḥ. The capital of the pillar is thicker than the rest of it.

19 āditalasaya: this refers to the ground floor area. — pañcabhāgāḥ, i.e., occupying one-fifth part of the area. Cb Cs read pañca bhāgāḥ as two words, understanding five divisions, a vāpi, two sālās and two sīmāgrhas. This is extremely doubtful. As the two pratimaṇeças occupy one-tenth part each and the kapāṭayogas three-fifth part, one-fifth part would indeed be left over for sālā, vāpi and sīmāghra together. — sālā vāpi sīmāgrhaṁ ca: according to Cnn the three are on the inner side. The sālā is innermost and serves as a sort of armour (praḥaraṇāvaranā-dīsthānam). The vāpi in front of the sālā is a hole six aṅgulas (about 4½") in width, through which persons stationed above strike at advancing enemies (sālāgrataḥ sthitam sādāngulāntaraṁ suṣṭirn vāpi yaya praviṣṭataḥ satrūn uparishṭhitah praḥaranti). In front of the vāpi and of the same size as the sālā is the sīmāghra, so called because it is on the border between the outside and the inside (agraṣṭhitāḥ sālaṇpamāṇo bhāgāḥ sīmāgrhaṁ bāhyyābhyantrarabhāgayaḥ sīmni sthitatvāḥ, sīmāgrhaṁ yuddhārtham). 20 pratimaṇeçau: these are two platforms opposite each other, evidently between the gate-leaves and the sīmāghra. They are intended for sentries (dvāraρaraksakaḥ-vasthānabhaṭṭau — Cnn). Cnn places the platforms on the two sides of the vāpi (vāpiḥbhāgasyobhayataḥ). This would appear doubtful, as the vāpi, according to Cnn, is only a hole six aṅgulas in width. — After pratimaṇeçau, D has a passage which is again derived from Cnn. — antaraṁnirmanayāṁ ca is a proposed emendation. The idea understood is that of a small room between the platforms, its purpose being
facing each other, occupying one-tenth part (of the space) and in between a small room. 21 And at half the height of the floor, there should be a structure with pillars. 22 There should be an upper chamber measuring half the built-in area or having a space one-third of it, with sides constructed with bricks, with a stair-case on the left running from left to right and on the other side a stair-case concealed in the wall. 23 The crest of the arch should be two hastas (in height). 24 The two door-leaves should occupy three-fifths (of the space). 25 There should be two bars (to the doors). 26 The stake (should be) one aratni (in height). 27 There should be a side-door five hastas (in height). 28 There should be four elephant-bars. 29 The 'elephant-

apparently to store the weapons for the sentries. D reads antaram ani harmyan ca; Cnn on this is not clear. antara seems understood in the sense of the region enclosed by sālā, vāpī, simāgṛha and the pratimañcas; in this region are to be two anis, i.e., doors opening to stair-cases; in the rest of the region there is to be a harmya, a white-washed room for the sentries to sleep etc. (sālācāpi simāgṛhapratimañcāva-ruddhāpradesē...mantaram ityayate, tatra ani ityāṇidvayaṁ sopānāmārgadbārdvayam, ēsērāpradesādacede harmyan rakṣakasayanāsanārthāṁ dvahalagham). Cj also seems to understand ani in the sense of a door. It is not easy to see where exactly the doors and the room would be situated. 21 samucchrayād ardhaśatē sthūṇā-bandhaś ca: according to Cnn this describes the dvitiyatala, i.e., the first floor. Its height is to be half that of the ground floor, i.e., 7½ hastas, the area remaining the same. Apparently, rows of pillars, not regular walls support the ceiling of this floor (sārthasaptahastāḥ samuccrayaḥ ucchrayaṁpekeśayā ardhaśatam ucyate; kṣetraya tu ādīlalasamānā; atra sthūṇāḥ kṣudrastambhāḥ sthūṇāsopāri sthūṇānāvaiṁ kṛtvā bandha dvitiyatalabandhaḥ). It is also possible that the 7½ hastas of the first floor are taken out of the total height of 15 hastas, so that the ādīlāla too would be 7½ hastas high. 22 uttamaṁghram 'the upper chamber' is the second floor (tṛtyayatala) according to Cnn, that it should be shaped like a bell or a jar (ghanṭakalasādīracanaya). — vāmaṭalā: apparently to the left of a person standing in the gate-way and facing outside. — pradakṣīṇasopānam, i.e., with stairs turning to the right at the landings, requiring a clock-wise movement for going up. — gudhabhūtisopānam, i.e., with stairs concealed in walls; see 1.20.2 above. 23 toraṇa-śīrāḥ: this is the part above the frame of the gates. Cnn seems to understand opening an hastas for ventilation as well as for discharging arrows (uttaradehalayāṁ susīram...vātāpravēṣaṇārthāṁ śāramokṣārthāṁ ca). 24 kapāṭāyogau: yoga conveys the idea of fixing the leaves of the gate. For their movement when opening or closing, three-fifths of the area would seem to be quite necessary. 25 G M read davu davu, implying two bars for each gate-panel. That is how Cnn understands even with a single davu. Two bars running the full width may however appear sufficient. 26 indrakīlaḥ 'an iron stake or bolt' to be fixed in the ground inside after the gate is closed. Cnn remarks that Indra was 'fixed' by Indrajit with such a stake, hence the name (tasmin Indrajitā kila Indro baddhāḥ). 27 āṇidecāram 'a small door' in one of the panels of the gate. Five hastas is its height. 28 hasti-parīgāhāḥ: the purpose of these, as Cj says, is to prevent the gate being broken down by elephants. They seem to be iron stakes fixed in the gates on the outside (bahīḥ hastipratihatākaśyāṁ vāryāṁ iva parīgāhāḥ syuḥ dwārarakṣārthām—Cj). So Cnn 'kapāṭaraksārtham...hastinām asāḍhyaḥ.' 29 nīcaseṛdham 'half the structure,' i.e., half the width of the gate-way, e.g., 2½ daṇḍas for a five-daṇḍa gate. This is the
nail' (passage) should be half (the width of) the structure. 30 The bridge should be equal (in width) to the opening and capable of being withdrawn, or it should be made of earth where there is no water.

31 Having fixed an opening equal to (the width of) the parapet, he should cause the gopura-(gate) to be made, with one-third shaped like a lizard's mouth. 32 Having made a well in the middle of the parapet, he should erect the pūṣkariṇī-gate; with four halls at a distance of one (danda) and a half (from each other) and with holes, the kumāripura-(gate); a bare house with two stories, as the muṇḍaka-gate; or (he should erect gates) in accordance with the (availability of) land and materials.

width of the passage for going down. Cj seems to read niceśārtham and include it in the preceding s. 'for the protection of the settlement, i.e., of the fort.' That is not happy. — hastinakha is the name of the passage, so called perhaps because it resembled a nail of the vapra appearing like an elephant's foot. Cnn says it is paved with stones (śīlāmaya) and, of course, sloping (kramān nimmam). 30 saṁhārya, i.e., a drawbridge. G M read saṁhārya vā, where vā serves no purpose. Meyer proposes saṁhārya'saṁhārya vā, which is not very likely. Cb Cs render saṁhārya by 'firm, made of wood.' — bhūmimayo vā nirudake, i.e., ground of so much width should be left unexcavated, the moat being on either side (tācaśīḥ bhūmim apahāya khātavyam iti yarthab—Cnn). — S. 31 should be read in the next paragraph.

31 According to the commentators we have in this and the next s. a description of different types of gates, gopura being the name of the gate described here. — tribāhagaduthāmukham 'with one-third shaped like a lizard's mouth'; apparently the top one-third would be so shaped and possibly it would be between the two mendhakas on either side. The explanation in Cnn is far from clear owing to lacunae, but it seems that according to it, the gate-way opening (mukha) is to be of the same height as the prākāra, i.e., 12 hastas, and not 15 as in the pratoli. It adds that the gate is so called because cattle generally go out of this gate for the pastures (prāyō viśītābhimukham gāyam etad dvāram iti gopuram). 32 pūṣkariṇādvāram: this is the name of another type of gate; in this there is to be only a vāpi, hence the name pūṣkariṇī 'lotus-pond gate.' The vāpi would appear to be a sort of hollow into which the enemy soldiers would be trapped, should they happen to surge through the gate. Cnn seems to imply that the floor corresponding to the hole between the two mendhakas is made of planks (prākārayor mendhakayor madhye yat susīraṁ taśaṁ...phalakāstāro bhūmikābandho...yuddhasaukaryārtham). That the weapons are discharged from the ceiling above is clearly to be understood. — catuhāśālam etc.: this describes the gate called kumāripura 'the princess gate' so called because it is enclosed by walls on all sides. Actually, it has rooms on the four sides. Apparently the rooms would contain soldiers ready to shoot at the enemy intruding in the inner quadrangle. — adhyayadhāntaram 'with a space of 1½ dandas; ' this apparently describes the area of the quadrangle, one and a half danda on each side; in this area would the enemy be trapped. Cnn seems to understand 'one and a half times the pratoli gate,' understanding this of vāpi (i.e., the vāpi is to be a hole of nine aṅgulas?). — sānīkam 'with holes' in the walls through which to shoot arrows (Cnn). — muṇḍaharmyadvitālaṁ muṇḍakadvāram: this is the 'bare' gate, without a roof on top or without the uttamāgāra (Cnn). Cb understands muṇḍa in the sense of 'round.' — bhūmīdṛavyacāśena vā: this allows further variation in
33 He should cause channels to be made for storing goods, one third more in length (than the breadth).

34-35 In them should be stored stones, spades, axes, arrows and choppers, clubs and hammers, sticks, discuses, machines and ‘hundred-killers,’ pikes prepared by smiths and bamboos with piercing points, ‘camel-necks,’ incendiary objects as well as all the materials described in the section on forest produce.

CHAPTER FOUR

SECTION 22 LAY-OUT OF THE FORTIFIED CITY

1 Three royal highways running west to east and three running south to north, that should be the division of the residential area. 2 It should have twelve gates (and be provided) with suitable (places for) water, drains and underground passages.

conformity with the land, materials etc. According to Cnn, this option has reference to the entire durga, not merely the gate. S. 33 should be detached from this paragraph.

33 tribhāgaḍhikāyāmāḥ, i.e., the length of the channels or pits is to be one-third more than the width, the actual length or width to vary according to need. Cnn’s illustration ‘yadi dasahasto viśkambhas tadā pañcadasahasta āyāma ityādi’ presupposes a different reading ardāḍhikā-. — bhāṇḍa ‘goods’ here refers to weapons. — The pits are to be inside along the rampart (anuvrākāram antāḥ —Cnn).

34 kāṇḍakalpanāḥ ‘arrows of various kinds’ (Meyer), ‘instruments for repairing or sharpening arrows (sarasainikāropakaraṇāni)’ (Cnn). kalpana or kalpanā may also mean ‘a cutter, a chopper.’ — muśunḍhi is ‘gadāḍi mace and so on’ (Cnn), ‘a round piece of wood with many nails (kīlabahulu vartulah kāṭhaviśesah)’ (Cj). — Śatōgni ‘a huge bar with a thousand spikes (kīlasahasrācitāh sthūlaparīghah)’ (Cj). — 35 uṣṭragrīśyāḥ: according to Cj, this is the same as kacagrahasiḥ, i.e., a long pole with a hook at one end. Cnn has a lacuna, but it seems to understand some long-necked vessel, for it has tailāḍikāṇi yaiḥ kṣīpyante. That seems better. Hot oil would be poured from above over the enemies below from such vessels. Perhaps then uṣṭragrīśi is the same as the uṣṭrikā of 14.1.33; 14.2.44. — kupya- kalpe ca yō vidhiḥ: a reference to 2.17; plants, poisons etc. seem to be meant.

2.4

1 vāstuviśhāgaḥ: with three east-west and three north-south roads, the town would be divided into 16 squares. Cnn seems to bring the highways into some sort of relation with the paramasāyika plan of Indian architecture which has 81 squares. Referring to navabhāge in s. 7 below, it remarks that without this plan that expression cannot be understood (na hi ekāṣātipadān vihāya navabhāgasaṁbhavaḥ). Its remarks concerning the situation of the roads are, however, far from clear. Unfortunately, the fragment containing this important commentary by Yoghama, comes to an end at this point. — 2 yuktodakabhamacchannapathāḥ: the position of yuktā in the compound shows that it should be understood in the sense of ‘suitable, proper.’ udaka stands for udakasthāna ‘places where (drinking)
3 Roads should be of a width of four daṇḍas. 4 The royal highway and roads in a drronamukha, a sthāniya, the country-side and pasture-lands as well as paths in a harbour town, a battle array, a cremation ground and a village (should be) eight daṇḍas (in width).
5 Paths on irrigation works and in forests, four daṇḍas, paths for elephants and along fields two daṇḍas, five aratnis the chariot path, four the cattle-path (and) two the path for small animals and men.

6 On an excellent building site, fit for the four varṇas to live on, the royal residence (should be erected). 7 In the ninth part to the north of the heart of the residential area he should cause the royal palace to be built in accordance with the procedure laid down, facing the east or the north.

8 The residence of the preceptor and the chaplain, the places for sacrifices and for water as well as councillors should occupy its north-by-east part, the kitchen, the elephant stables and the magazine the south-by-east part. 9 Beyond that, dealers in perfumes, flowers water is available, such as wells etc.’ Cf. 2.36.43, also 1.20.10. bhrama is a water-course, particularly a drain for taking water out of the city. channapatha a covered road seems to be underground. Cj understands udakapatha a channel for bringing water into the city,’ bhramapatha a drain for taking water out of the city’ and channapatha a sub-terranean passage.’ It is doubtful if patha is to be construed in this way.

3 caturdaṇḍāntarāḥ: antara has clearly the sense of ‘width.’ — rathyāḥ: these are roads in the city other than the six highways. — 4 rāṣṭravītalapathāḥ i.e., roads passing through the country-side and pastures. That these are as broad as the royal highways is perhaps because they connect the towns and villages. — saṃyāṇīya: saṃyāna is a ‘sea voyage’ so called because a number of vessels sail together (saṃ-yā) like a sārtha on land. saṃyāṇīya is a harbour town. — vyāharpatha refers apparently to the open spaces between the different parts of a battle array. — śmaśānapatha: apparently a path leading to a cremation ground is meant. 5 kṣetrapatha would be along the fields rather than through them. — rathapatha, different from rathyā, seems to be a cart-road in the country-side.

6 pravīre: according to Cb, this means ‘full of fertility.’ — 7 vāstukṛdayād uttare navabhaṅge: it seems necessary to agree with the commentators and think of a paramāśāyika plan for the city area. This has 9 by 9, i.e., 81 squares. The central 1/81st square would be the vāstuhṛdaya. 1/9th part (consisting of 9 smaller squares) to the north of this central square is meant to be reserved for the antahpura, i.e., the royal palace and contingent buildings. In other words, the grounds for the palace etc. would occupy one-ninth of the city area a little to the north of the centre. Cf. 10.1.2 for the same idea. — yathoktavidhānam antah-puram: see 1.20.1.2.

8 tasya, i.e., antahpurasya. — pūrvoṭtaram, i.e., the northern half of the area to the east (pūrvoṭṭarāni diśi uttaraḥ — Cj). — dvaseyyuḥ shows that these places are within the huge area of the antahpura, while adhivaseyyuḥ of the next s. has reference to residences of citizens unconnected with the antahpura. — 9 All mss. add -dhānya- after -mālya; it is proposed to drop it in view of dhānya in s.11 below.
and liquids, makers of articles of toilet and Kṣatriyas should live in the eastern quarter.

10 The store-house for goods, the records and audit office, and workmen’s quarters (should occupy) the east-by-south part, the store-house for forest produce and the armoury the west-by-south part. 11 Beyond that, grain-dealers of the city, factory officers and army officers, dealers in cooked food, wine and meat, courtesans, dancers and Vaiśyas should live in the southern quarter.

12 Stables for donkeys and camels and the workshop (should occupy), the south-by-west part, stables for carriages and chariots the north-by-west part. 13 Beyond that, workers in wool, yarn, bamboo, leather, armours, weapons and shields and Śūdras should live in the western quarter.

14 The rooms for wares and medicines (should occupy) the west-by-north part, the treasury and cattle and horses the east-by-north part. 15 Beyond that, the tutelary deities of the city and the king, and workers in metals and jewels and Brahmans should live in the northern quarter.

This is supported by the actual comment in Cb. — There can be no doubt about prasādhanakāravāḥ of D being the original reading. pradhānākāravāḥ is unlikely.

10 karmanisādyā : this clearly refers to quarters for servants employed in the royal precincts. — 11 nagaradhīnyācyāvahārīka ‘those who deal in grains in the city, nagarasthāne dhānyena ye krayavikrayādi kurvanti ’ (Cj). Cb seems to understand two things, possibly ‘city-administrators and grain-dealers.’

12 kharoṣṭra : donkeys (or mules) and camels could be used in war; cf. 10.4.18. — karmagṛha ‘a workshop’ for work connected with the palace.

15 nagararāja- etc. : we may understand ‘city-deity, king’s tutelary deity, and artisans in metals and jewels’ or ‘workers in metals and precious stones for the city, the king and deities (i.e., temples).’ The former seems meant. — In the lay-out as described here, the area to the north where mostly Brahmans live would be smallest in extent, while that to the south where Vaiśyas live would be largest. That might appear to be in conformity with the likely ratio between the two vargās. O. Stein has discussed the details of this chapter in AOr, vol. 8, pp. 72ff. and has arrived at rather different conclusions regarding the lay-out. He places the antahpura right on the border in the north, and his plan does not take into account the words tataḥ param used in all four directions. His kitchen thus becomes separated from the antahpura by a number of localities intervening, so that he himself is forced to ask what kitchen could be meant at this great distance from the antahpura. There is little doubt that the items mentioned in ss. 8, 10, 12 and 14 are proximate to the palace and are part of the rājanicēsa, and that items in ss. 9, 11, 13 and 15 refer to the extensive areas outside the palace grounds. — Stein also interprets karmagṛha in the sense of ‘a prison house’ from karman in the sense of ‘torture’ as in 4.8 below. That is hardly right. For the prison-house the word is bandhanāgāra.
16 In enclosures in the non-residential areas, quarters for guilds and foreign merchants should be situated.

17 He should cause to be built in the centre of the city shrines for Aparājita, Apratihata, Jayanta and Vaijayanta as well as temples of Śiva, Vaiśravaṇa, Aśvins, Śrī and Madirā. 18 He should install the presiding deities of the dwelling places according to their respective regions. 19 The (city-) gates (should be) presided over by Brahman, Indra, Yama and Senāpati. 20 Outside (the city), at a distance of one hundred dhanuṣes from the moat, should be made sanctuaries, holy places, groves and water-works, and the deities of the quarters in the respective quarters.

16 vāstucchidrānuśālesu : anusāla seems to mean ‗an enclosure or a hall‘; anulāsa of G M hardly conveys any sense. Cj with -anusāresu explains ‗in unoccupied areas (vāstucchidrēsu, i.e., anyāpteśu) and in regions near the city wall (prākāramsāmīpesu ca deśēsu).‘ This is also the explanation of Cb, which however has -anulāsesu. Perhaps the original reading was vāstucchidreṇusālam ‗in non-residential areas along the rampart (sāla).‘ — śreṇī ‗washermen etc.‘ (Cj), ‗i.e., weavers, washermen, tailors etc.‘ (Cb). — -prapāṇi- is from D and seems to mean ‗a foreign merchant.‘ The word is apparently derived from prapaṇa ‗barter, exchange‘ which is Vedic. Cj reading pravāṇi has ‗small merchants from Gandhāra etc.‘; Cb with pravāṇika has ‗merchants from foreign lands.‘ — nikāya ‗groups‘ (Cj). Perhaps ‗residences, quarters‘ may appear better.

17 Aparājita- etc.: As all the four names signify invincibility in some form or the other, they appear to be spirits of victory. Meyer thinks that they are all forms of Kumāra or Skanda. Cj understands by these four, Viśṇu, Indra, Indra’s son and Skanda respectively, Cb Cs Durgā (Aparājītā), Viṣṇu, Subrahmanya and Indra respectively. The feminine form of the first name appears questionable. — kośtha ‗a shrine‘ is a walled-in compound, with one or more structures inside. — Śiva and Vaiśravaṇa are mentioned in a Devatādāvandva compound by Patañjali on Pāṇini 6.3.26 (Stein, AOr, 8, 337 n.6).—Śrī is Lakṣmī, the Goddess of Wealth and Prosperity. — Madirā ‗the Intoxicating One, the Fascinating One‘ is apparently some form of Durgā or Kāli. Meyer thinks that the association of drink in connection with the worship of this deity was responsible for this name. — puramadhye : this would be in front of the palace grounds, to its south, in the central 1/81st part. — 18 kośṭhakālayesu (found in G M) does not appear to be original. The vāstudevatās appear to be unconnected with Aparājita etc. and their kośthas. They are the tutelary deities that are supposed to preside over the different parts of the vāstupuruṣa. — yathoddesam can hardly mean ‗according to the prescription (of the Śilpaśāstra)‘ (Stein, AOr, 8, 338). — 19 brāhmaṇindra- etc.: this shows that Brahman presided over the north and Senāpati over the west, and not Kubera and Varuṇa respectively as later. Only the four principal gates are thought of here and hence there is no contradiction between the number four of the gates here and the number twelve in s. 2 above, as Stein (AOr, 8, 338) thinks. — 20 bāhīḥ might mean ‗outside (the city)‘ or may be connected with parikīdāyāḥ ‗from the outermost moat.‘
21 The northern or the eastern part of the cremation ground should be for the best among the varnas, to the south the cremation ground for the lower varnas. 22 For transgression of that, the lowest fine for violence (shall be imposed).

23 The quarters for heretics and Caṇḍālas (should be) on the outskirts of the cremation ground.

24 He should fix boundaries for householders in accordance with areas (necessary) for their workshops. 25 In them they should make, with permission, flower-gardens and fruit-orchards, as well as stores of grains and commodities. 26 An enclosure for a group of ten families should be a place for a well (for them).

27 He should cause to be made stores, capable of being used over a number of years, of all kinds of fats, grains, svar-gars, salts, perfumes, medicines, dried vegetables, fodder, dried meat, hay, wood, metals, hides, charcoal, tendons, poisons, horns, bamboos, barks, strong timber, weapons, shields and stones. 28 He should cause the old to be constantly replaced by new.

21 varṇottamānām etc.: the readings from D are preferred as being more likely. varṇottaraṇām in the other reading seems to be understood by Cb as referring to Śūdras, which is unlikely. It may be, however, that Cb had before it śākaśabhdago varṇāvarṇāṇām daksinena varṇottamaṇām. — The discrepancy that Stein finds between this passage and 2.36.31-33 (AOr, 8, 348) is due to the different character of the offences mentioned in the two places. The use of the wrong cremation ground is not a light offence as Stein thinks, and the lowest sāhasa-danda in this text is not 250 paṇas, but 48-96 paṇas (see 3.17.8 below).

23 -ante, i.e., samipe (Cb). Stein points out that 2.36.14 shows pāṣaṇḍāvāsa to be inside (abhyantarae). Perhaps the difference is due to difference in sources. It is more likely, however, that the present s. is not original, but a later addition. It seems to represent the Brahmanical ideal of an age characterised by bigotry.

24 karmāntaketravasena: the ví after this in G M serves no purpose. According to Stein, this s. states an option to the entire plan of the town described so far. That is not likely. We have here a reference to the fixing of boundaries of the individual households. This is to depend on the nature of the work in which the household is engaged. — 25 -vātán dhānya- is emended from D's reading -vātadhānya-. It is clear that īṣa and kedāra are out of place in the city area. And we must have a separate expression from dhānya onwards, for niçaṇyan is not to be construed with puspaphalavāja. — anujñātaḥ: this implies that all private stores are known to the state, which can requisition them in times of emergency. — 26 dasakulitvaṇān listapāhānam: Cb reads -vāpam and explains as much land as can be ploughed by ten bullocks or as much area as can be irrigated by one well. This implies the presence of fields in the city area, which appears extremely doubtful. The idea intended seems to be that there should be one well for every ten families. vāṣa seems to convey the idea of a compact unit formed by the ten families.

27 -gandha- seems to have dropped out inadvertently in G M. — For kṣāra see 2.15.14 below.
29 He should station (a force consisting of) elephants, horses, chariots and infantry-men, under more than one chief. 30 For, a (force) under more than one chief does not fall a prey to enemy instigations, through mutual fear.

31 By this is explained the making of frontier forts.

32 And he should not allow in the city ‘outsiders’ who cause harm to the country. He should cast them out in the country-side or make them pay all the taxes.

CHAPTER FIVE

SECTION 23 THE WORK OF STORE-KEEPING BY THE DIRECTOR OF STORES

1 The Director of Stores should cause to be built a treasury, a ware-house, a magazine, a store for forest produce, an armoury and a prison-house.

2 Having caused to be dug a four-cornered well free from water and dampness, and having paved the walls on both sides and the bottom with big slabs of stone, he should cause an underground cellar to be made with a frame-work of strong timber, level with the ground,

31 saṁskāra means everything concerning the making of a fort, building, layout, making stores, etc. In 9.1.34-36 the idea of repairs also seems implied.

32 bāhirikāna: Cb understands ‘gamblers, beggars, dancers, actors etc.’ Stein suggests (AO 8, 356) that these are wandering tribes, something like the gypsies. That seems probable. — pure rāṣṭropā- is proposed for purarāṣṭropā- of the mss. That makes the idea of kṣipet jana-pade more clear. — Cb Cs read jana-padaasyānte and explain ‘should settle them on the frontiers and (vā as ca) make them pay all taxes (or taxes like all other persons—Cs).’ It seems, however, that vā shows an option, the idea being that if they stay in the city, they must be made to pay the usual taxes.

2.5

1 The inclusion of the bandhanāgāra here seems to suggest that prisoners were, like the other objects, to be taken charge of and treated with care.

2 ubhayataḥ: Cj understands it in the sense of ubhayam, referring to pārśva and mūla. It mentions an alternative explanation ‘along both (the length and breadth), ubhayataḥ . . . āyāmavisēkambhābhāyām.’ In any case, it can hardly be understood with pārśva alone. — bhūmisamaṁ tritalam: Cb, reading -samatri-talam, explains ‘with two floors underground and one above.’ It seems rather that all three floors are underground. — anekevidhānam, i.e., with different arrangements for different types of goods. — kutṭima- etc.: Cb Cs explain ‘of which the upper floor (desā), the middle floor (sthāna) and the ground floor (tala) are firmly fixed (kutṭima).’ This is doubtful. Cj has ‘with paved sides (desā) ground floor (sthāna) and upper floor (tala).’ This is better. But desā may be understood in the sense of ‘surface,’ both of the walls and the floors. — devatāpidhānam: this expression, read in the text on the authority of Cb (supported by G M), is dropped
with three floors, with various arrangements, with ground and upper floors having well-made surfaces, with a single door, (and) with a staircase provided with a mechanism. 3 On that he should cause a treasure-house to be made, with a prohibition (to enter) on two sides, with an entrance-hall, built of bricks, and surrounded by (channels) storing goods; or, (he should cause to be built only) an (above-the-ground) palace. 4 On the border of the country, he should cause a permanent treasure to be laid by persons condemned to death, as a provision against calamity.

5 He should cause to be made a ware-house and a magazine with pillars of baked bricks, with four halls (opening on to a quadrangle), with many, ground and upper floors, (and) with a (secret) passage for escape through hollow pillars on two sides, in between, a store for forest produce with many long halls (and) with the walls surrounded by rooms, a similar (structure) with an underground cellar as an armoury, (and) separate prison-houses for those convicted by judges in the translation. It does not seem original. In the absence of any reference to a secret passage here, the expression has little significance, as it has in 1.20.2. A secret subterranean passage leading from the underground treasury to a nearby temple does not appear contemplated here. D Cj do not show the expression. 3 ubhayatoniṣedham: the idea seems to be that the two walls along the length are without doors, as Cj seems to imply (ubhayapārśvāyatakudiyam). Cb has ‘with a two-fold prohibition, to enter and to leave’; that is not convincing. — prajr̥va ‘an entrance-hall’; cf. 2.30.4; 2.31.2. — bhāndavāhinī: we have to understand kulaṇḍa as in 2.3.33; the channels may also serve as obstacles to people trying to get inside. — prāsādana vā: this is an option to the bhūmigrha (with kosāgra above it). In this alternative there is no cellar, only an above-the-ground structure as a kosāgra. 4 dhruvanidhir: as the word nidhi shows, the treasure is to be buried in the ground. — abhityaktaḥ: these are to be executed after the work is over, so that the king alone would know where the treasure lies buried.

5 anekasthānatālam: here, too, sthāna may be understood as ‘ground-floor’, though it may also mean ‘an apartment,’ as in vibhaktastriṇpuratattvānam that follows. — viyṛta- etc.: the idea seems to be that of escape (apāsāra) through pillars that are open, i.e., hollow (vīśva). The purpose of such a passage in the stores is, however, not quite clear; perhaps it is meant as a precaution in case of fire. — ubhayataḥ: Mayer construes this with the preceding, i.e., ‘with hollow pillars on both sides.’ In view of antatāḥ used with kupyagṛham, it seems that ubhayataḥ means rather ‘on the two sides (of the kupyagṛha).’ — dirghahabulasālam: as timber is the principal commodity in the kupyagṛha, long and many halls are necessary. — kakṣyāṣvātakudiyam: the walls of the halls are surrounded by rooms, in which apparently minor kupyā products would be stored. The implication may be that the halls themselves are open to the sky. — tadāvya, i.e., on the same plan as the kupyagṛha, big halls surrounded by rooms. — dharmasthiyam, i.e., for those convicted by the judges. In the 3rd Book, terms of imprisonment are not actually laid down as punishment, only fines. Those who cannot pay fines are apparently taken to prison. — apasārataḥ: D Cj read aparādhataḥ ‘in accordance with the offence.’ But this cannot be properly understood with either the
and for those punished by high officers, with separate apartments for women and men (and) with their rooms well-guarded against escape.

6 And in all (structures) he should cause the halls to be provided with a ditch, a well, a latrine and a bath-room, with precautions against fire and poison, with protection by means of cats and ichneumons and with (arrangements for) worship of their respective deities.

7 In the magazine, he should place a basin with a mouth one aratni (in width) as a rain-gauge.

8 Presiding over bureaus of experts for the different products, he should receive gems, articles of high value, articles of small value and forest produce, whether old or new. 9 Among these (articles), in case of fraud concerning gems the highest fine for violence (shall be imposed) on the perpetrator and the instigator, in case of fraud concerning articles of high value the middle fine for violence, in case of fraud concerning articles of small value the forest produce (making good) the same and an equal amount in addition as fine.

preceding or the following expressions. CJ construes it with the preceding, 'separate rooms for men and women, for the reason that a crime may be committed if men and women are confined together.' apasārataḥ, however, seems definitely better, to be construed with suguptakakṣayam.

6 This s. is missing in D. There is however no reason to doubt its genuineness. — sālāh is read as a separate word following CJ. The compound that follows is also read as in CJ. khāta is a ditch all round as a moat, udopāna is for drinking water. varca as 'latrine' is found in 3.8.28. — svadaivata- (daiivata is from Cb): these are the tutelary deities of the various structures, 'Vaśravaṇa of the kośārha, Sitā of the kośṭhāgāra, Śrī of the panyagrha, Iśāna of the kupyagrha, Skanda of the ayudhāgāra, Yama and Varuṇa of the bandhanāgāras' (Cj). Cb has Śrī in panyakosthāgāra and Viśvakarman in kupyagrha. With the reading -vacca, Meyer includes sarvesām ... vacca in the preceding s. as a description of the bandhanāgāra (sarvesām, i.e., for all prisoners). He also understands agnivīśa- etc. as applicable to prisons only, svadaiva being the deity of each individual prisoner. This is hardly satisfactory.

7 aratnimukham: according to Cb the gauge is square, each side being one cubit. The Bṛhat Samhitā 23.2 also refers to a hastaviśāla kundakaka, adding that it should measure one adhaka of rain. Perhaps the vessel was cubical in shape. CJ adds that the capacity of the vessel should be one drona, for rain is measured in dronas (2.24.5).

8 tajjāta 'one born to it,' i.e., an expert (tadabhijita ityarthā — CJ). — adhis- jhatā is used in an active sense. In spite of 2.11.1, kosādhyakṣaḥ is not to be understood as the subject here (Stein, Megasthenes und Kautūlaya, p. 211); this officer has not been mentioned in this chapter. The samaṇidhātṛ as the officer in over-all charge has to be understood. — ratna, sāra and phalga are described in 2.11 and kupyā in 2.17. 9 vacca tavaeca: Breloer (KSt, III, 283) renders this by 'the quality and the quantity.' A reference to quality is hard to find here.
10 He should accept money certified as genuine by the Examiner of Coins. 11 He should cut counterfeit (coins). 12 One who brings (such coins) shall be fined the lowest fine for violence.

13 He should accept corn that is clean, full (in measure) and new. 14 In case the opposite kind is brought in, the fine shall be double the price.

15 By that are explained the commodities, the forest produce and the weapons (to be received in the stores).

16 In all departments, the punishments for officers, subordinates and servants, in cases of defalcation up to one paṇa and beyond that (increased by one paṇa) upto four paṇas, shall be the lowest, the middle, the highest fines and death (respectively). 17 For one in charge of the treasury, execution (shall be the punishment) for robbing the treasury. 18 For those who help them, (the punishment shall be) half the fines. 19 Reproof (only), if they were not aware.

10 rūpadarśaka: see 2.12.25-26 below. 11 chedayet: Breloer (KSt, III, 285) understands 'cut off (from currency), i.e., confisicate.' — āhartuḥ: Breloer understands 'the user.' Bringing to the treasury is primarily meant.

14 Reading mālya- as in D is preferable to understanding māla in the sense of 'price.'

15 tena etc.; i.e., these are to be accepted only if good in quality; if not, a fine equal to double the price is to be imposed. Breloer (KSt, III, 287 n.2) proposes to read paṇyakupyaṁ 'goods of small value so far as they are commodities.' kupyā, he says, is already mentioned in s. 8. The change is not necessary. Whereas s. 8 is general in character and concerns fraud (s. 9), this s. is concerned with quality and punishment for low quality.

16 paṇādi- etc., i.e., when the misappropriation is of goods up to 1, 2, 3, and 4 paṇas in value respectively. parama 'maximum' shows the limit in each of the four cases. paṇa-dvipaṇa-tripaṇa-catuṣpaṇa-parama-paṇa- would have made this explicit: D has something like this with tripaṇa missing. Meyer, who has this explanation, would understand param apahāreṣu. Cj has 'for one paṇa the lowest fine, for two the middle, for four the highest, for five corporal punishment (vadha).'</br> Breloer (KSt, III, 290) proposes to read dvipaṇa-catuṣpaṇa-vatrapaṇa-daśapaṇa-param apahāreṣu to make this passage conform to 4.9.4 below. The slight discrepancy may, however, be due to this being merely a rough resume, while 4.9.4 gives full details; perhaps also due to a difference in sources. Cb Cs read paṇādi-dvipaṇa-catuṣpaṇaḥ param apahāreṣu and explain 'the fines for the three kinds of servants (yuktā, upayuktā and puruse) are 1, 2 and 4 paṇas respectively; for defalcation a second time, the three sāhase-dāṇḍas respectively; if the offence is still repeated, death for all three types of servants.' This is extremely unlikely, in view of 4.9.4. 18 vaivāyārtyaḥ: cf. 2.8.22; 4.8.9 etc. The original word seems to be vaivāyārtya- from vyāyātra. Prakrit veyāca aca is the same word. — ardhadaṇḍā is meaningless in the case of vadha or ghāta. Meyer, following Sorabji, understands 'half (the value of the treasure robbed) as fine.' This is unlikely. ardhadaṇḍa is applicable only when a fine is prescribed; apparently there is no mitigation when death is laid down. Or, vadha may be 'corporal punishment' which can be thought of as reducible.
20 For thieves, in case of breaking open (the treasury), death by torture (shall be the punishment).

21 Therefore, with trustworthy men under him, the Director of Stores should bring the stores into being.

22 He should be conversant with receipts from outside and inside even after a hundred years, so that when asked he would not falter in respect of expenditure, balance and collections.

CHAPTER SIX

SECTION 24 THE SETTING UP OF REVENUE BY THE ADMINISTRATOR

1 The Administrator should attend to the fort, the country, mines, irrigation works, forests, herds and trade-routes (as the main sources of revenue).

2 Custom-duties, fines, standardization of weights and measures, the city-superintendent, the mint master, the superintendent of passports, spirituous liquors, animal slaughter, yarn, oil, ghee, sugars, the goldsmith, the market-establishment, prostitutes, gambling, buildings,

20 corāṇām abhipradhārśane: Meyer explains 'for forcible robbing through bandits (with whom the officers are in league).' But the genitive in corāṇām as usual points to the offenders themselves, on whom the punishment is to be inflicted.
— citro ghāṭaḥ: see 4.11 below. — The s. is repeated in 4.9.7.

22 bāhya and abhyantara refer to the country-side and the city respectively.
— na sajjeta 'would not stick' i.e., would not falter. — vyaye seṣe ca saṁcaya is from D. vyayasaṣṭai ca dāraṣṭayet is colourless. And saṁcaya refers to what comes in, a mention of which is necessary.

2.6

The preparation of the budget and fixing of state dues from the various sources are the samāhartya's duties mentioned here. For other duties that he has to carry out, see 2.35 below. They show that he is in charge of general administration and is not a mere collector of revenue nor concerned merely with assessment of revenue.

1 durgam etc.: these are the principal sources of revenue. — aṅekṣeta, i.e., fix after due consideration.

2 paunavac: this evidently refers to prices of weights and measures, inspection fees etc. Cf. 2.19. — nāgarika: this can only refer to fines imposed by this officer; no revenue seems to come through him. Cf. 2.36. — lakṣaṇādhyakṣa is the mint-master; see 2.12.24. Perhaps the minting charges and fees for examination of coins are to be understood under this item. — mudrādhyakṣaḥ: fees for passports are laid down in 2.34.1. — surā sūmā sūtram, i.e., income derived through officers as described in 2.25, 2.26 and 2.23 respectively. These are mostly products of state activity. — tailaṁ ghṛtaṁ kaśarāḥ: these apparently are produced in state stores, and income from their sale seems meant. — sawarnikaḥ: profit from the working of the state goldsmithy is meant; cf. 2.14. — panyasaṅsthā i.e., income received from the activity of the panyādhyakṣa of 2.16 and the saṁsthādhyakṣa of 4.2. — veṣyā: obviously income from the department of the gaṇikā-
the group of artisans and artists, the temple-superintendent, and what is to be received at the gates and from outsiders, — these constitute (the source of income called) ‘fort’.

3 Agricultural produce, share, tribute, tax, the trader, the river-guard, the ferry, ships, the port, pastures, road-cess, land-survey and thief-catching, — these constitute ‘country’.

4 Gold, silver, diamonds, gems, pearls, corals, conch-shells, metals, salt and ores derived from the earth, rocks and liquids, — these constitute ‘mines’.

5 Flower-gardens, fruit-orchards, vegetable gardens, wet crop fields, and sowings of roots, — these constitute ‘irrigation works’.

dhyākṣa (2.27) is to be understood. — dyūtam: cf. 3.20. — vāstukam: imposts mentioned in chapters 3.8-9 appear to be meant. A ‘house-tax’ is possible, but there is no specific reference to it elsewhere in the text. According to U. N. Ghoshal, it is ‘ground-rent’ (Revenue Systems etc., p. 97). — kārusilpigaṇaḥ: a tax on crafts and professions may be understood, though this too is not specifically laid down anywhere. The penalties of 4.1 could be understood. — devatā-dhyākṣaḥ: this officer’s duties are not laid down anywhere. Apparently he supervised the management of temples and levied fees. Cj seems to understand collections at temple-fairs (yātrā), for which cf. 5.2.39. Temples owned by the state would be a direct source of income. — dvārabāhirikādeyam: two ideas are meant, dvārādeyā and bāhirikādeyā. The former is mentioned in 2.22.8; the latter is probably a reference to taxes mentioned in 2.4.2 above. D reads dvāraṁ bāhi-rikādeyam; the meaning would apparently be the same, but 2.22.8 might seem to favour the former reading.

3 sītā is income from crown lands worked by the sītādhyākṣa (2.24). As Cj explains ‘sītā svakṛṣṭih.’ — bhāgāḥ ‘share’ of produce from private lands, usually one-sixth (2.15.3). — balīḥ is apparently an occasional levy such as those mentioned in 5.2. — karaḥ appears to be a tax paid in cash. It is rather surprising that balī and kara do not figure under durgā as well. — nadiḍīpālaḥ: such a guard is not mentioned elsewhere. Apparently fines for unauthorised crossing of rivers forming boundaries between states are to be understood; cf. 2.28.15 ff. — taraḥ: see 2.28.21 ff. — nācaḥ: hire for state boats seems meant; cf. 2.28.3 ff. — pattanam: evidently port dues are meant. — viśūtam: 2.34.12 mentions some of these sources of income. — varṭanī as in 2.21.24. — raijuś coraṇaijuś ca: according to Cj ‘income from the village for fixing measurements (grāmamāṇi-pramāṇaṁ) and income for finding out thieves by the pradeṣṭr’s activity.’ Cj explains ‘what is received from district officers (visāya-pāla) and what is given by the village to the thief-catcher.’ raiju seems to refer to revenue from survey operations, as Ghoshal (Revenue Systems etc. p. 53) says. coraṇaijuś may be ‘fine imposed on the territory where the thief is traced’ as Breloer (KSt, III, 181) says. Cf. 4.13.10. Stein (AOr, VI, 31 & n.) would omit raijuś, as being due to dittography.

4 loha refers to metals other than gold and silver. — bhūmiprastara-.etc.: see 2.12.1 below.

5 mūlavāpa: sowing by root is distinguished from sowing by seed or stem. Ginger, turmeric etc. are meant (Cs). Cj adds -kanda- after mūla-; that refers to bulbs. Johnston (JRAS, 1929, 99-101) thinks that we should read mūlavāpa.
6 Enclosures for beasts, deer-parks, forests for produce and elephant forests, — these constitute ‘forests’.

7 Cows and buffaloes, goats and sheep, donkeys and camels and horses and mules, — these constitute ‘herds’.

8 The land-route and the water-route constitute ‘trade-routes’.

9 This is the corpus of income.

10 Price, share, surcharge, monopoly tax, fixed tax, manufacturing charge and penalty constitute the heads of income.

11 What is intended for the worship of gods and manes and for charity, gifts for benedictions received, the royal palace, the kitchen, the employment of envoys, the magazine, the armoury, the warehouse, the store for forest produce, factories, labourers, maintenance of ‘having hollows (āvāpa in the sense of ālavāla) for holding water at the base.’ This is not very likely. Breloer (KSt, III, 169) construes mūlavāpa in the sense of ‘plantings’ with puspa and phala, these two plantings being then connected with three kinds of fields vāṇa ‘garden’, saṇḍa ‘culture’ and kedāra ‘water-culture.’ Thus he arrives at six kinds of setu. This is far from likely. How can flowers and fruits be understood as growing in kedāra?

6 paśumṛga i.e., ‘gavaya etc. and deer etc.’ (Cb). Cj’s ‘domesticated animals and forest animals’ is less likely. Meyer understands paśumṛga as one, ‘antelope’. paśu and mṛga are, however, distinct. — parigraha is an enclosure or preserve, set apart for the various objects.

9 āyasyārīram, i.e., the total sources of income. Breloer (KSt, III, 174) remarks that durga and rāstra represent income from administration, khāni, setu and vana income from state property and vraja and vanikpatha indirect taxes. vraja, however, belongs rather to the second category.

10 mūlyam is necessary as in 2.12.35. — vyājī is a sort of excess in measure or weight charged when goods are received in the treasury or stores. It amounts to a surcharge of 5% on every transaction. Cf. s. 22 below. It seems to have originated in the idea of a possible shortfall during measuring or weighing, which required to be made good by this surcharge. Breloer (KSt, III, 185) thinks that the object of vyājī is to recover the cost of the apparatus used for measuring etc. — parigāha: ‘either money for ferrying (ātaradravya) or begging and receiving food’ (Cb). Meyer has ‘gate-toll.’ Breloer (KSt, III, 433) suggests ‘a monopoly tax’ guaranteeing that the technical production is supervised by the state. This seems a more likely explanation. See 2.12.35. — klītā is a fixed tax ‘to be paid by a village collectively either in cash or kind’ (Cb). Cf. 2.28.2. — rūpikā a manufacturing charge of 8%; cf. 2.12.26. — atyayāḥ: this would ordinarily include daṇḍa. But in 2.12.35 both are separately mentioned. Perhaps there atyaya is restricted to penalty for violation of state regulations, while daṇḍa is fine imposed by judges and magistrates only. — āyamukham refers to heads under which revenue is classified.

11 decapīṭhais etc. and svasti etc. are on the king’s account. For the latter, Breloer (III, 189) compares the varṣīśanas granted to Brahmins by the Peshwas. kośhāgāra etc.: establishment charges are to be understood in these cases. — parigraha is here clearly upkeep or maintenance. — vyāṣṭariṅga: payments to ministers, officers, spies etc. do not seem capable of inclusion here. vyaya is not
foot-soldiers, horses, chariots and elephants, herds of cattle, enclosures for beasts, deer, birds and wild animals, and stores of fuel and grass, — these constitute the corpus of expenditure.

12 The king's (regnal) year, the month, the fortnight and the day, thus the date-entry, the third and seventh fortinights of the rainy season, winter and summer short by one day, the rest full, (and) a separate intercalary month, — this is time.

13 The (revenue) estimate, accrued revenue, outstanding revenue, income and expenditure and balance (are items in accounting).

14 The place, the sphere of activity, laying down the corpus (of income), receipts, the total of all (items of) revenue (and) the grand total, — this is (revenue) estimate.

classified into heads or mukha. Breloer (KSt, III, 189-193) finds six heads: expenses on cultural things, expenses for court, for treasury administration, for the army, for herds and for parks.

12 The mention of divisions of time is for purposes of account-keeping and budgeting. — rājavarsam : the commencement and end of the king's regnal year are apparently made to coincide with those of the works-year of 2.7.6-7 which ended on the Āsādha full moon day. — vyuṣṭam : though there is no iti before it, it seems to mean the date-entry, by year, month, fortnight and day. In 2.7.31-33, it refers to the period for which the accounts are made up. — varsāhemaṇa-etc.: it seems that varsā includes śarad, hemaṇa includes sīśira and griśma includes vasanta. In each of these three groups, the 3rd and 7th fortinights have fourteen days, the rest full 15 days. The short fortinights thus are the 1st fortnight in Bhadrapada, Kṛttika and so on in every alternate month. This fortnight is the kṛṣṇa pakṣa, according to Cj; that is in consonance with Āsādha full moon marking the end of the year and by implication of every month. These statements about short fortinights are not in agreement with the present day practice of calculating the kṛṣṇa or vṛddhi of a tilī. Cs brings varsā into relation with the sun's passing through the zodiacal signs of Leo, Virgo, Libra and Scorpio, and so on. For such an explanation, there is no justification in the text which is unaware of the rāsīs; besides, we would thus get solar months in which there can no question of short or full pakṣas. — prthag adhimāsakaḥ : cf. 2.7.8 below. Cs's 'different from the solar month is the lunar month ' is quite unlikely.

14 karaṇiya seems to be a sort of (budget) estimate of revenue, made at the beginning of the year. — sansthānam 'situation, position ' seems to refer to locality, such as village, district etc. for which the estimate is made. Cb Cs understand 'assessment of revenue for an individual village '; Cj has 'regulations (sthitih) such as this is to be done by this person only and at this time only, i.e., a royal order stating this.' Some such meaning suits 2.7.2,3, and is not unlikely even here. Meyer has '(expenses for the) continuation (of the administration).' — pracāraḥ : this seems to refer to the sphere of activity of the particular adhyakṣa. The commentators understand 'region (desa). — sārīravedhāpanam as in ss. 1-9 above. — sarvasamudayapiṇḍaḥ sanjātām : the former seems to refer to the total of items under each of durga, rāṣṭra etc., while the latter is the grand total of durga, rāṣṭra and others. Cb explains 'the taxable capacity of villages ' and 'the total of different kinds of revenue ' respectively. Cj seems to understand 'estimated revenue '
15 Deliveries into the treasury, what is taken by the king, and the expenses of the city, (these as) paid in, what is carried forward from last year, what is released by a decree and what is ordered by word of mouth, (these as) not to be remitted, — this is accrued revenue.

16 Acquiring (the fruits) on completion (of an undertaking), the remainder of fines, (these as) what has to be recovered, what is withheld by force and what is used (by officers), (these as) what must be cleared, — this is outstanding revenue, not containing goods of high value, and containing few goods of high value.

and 'actual recoveries (which may be more or less)' respectively. — Breloer (KSt, III, 196-197) finds here similarities with the system of budgeting under the Peshwas. The final total, according to him, is the ain janātā or balance left after deductions are made for revenue officers, Inamdars etc. who received at source. Deductions, however, do not seem intended here. And state officers do not receive at source in this text. There are full salary lists in 5.3.

15 praviṣṭam is from Cb (supported by Cj's praviṣṭaka-) and seems necessary. It is one kind of siddha or accrued income, which is entered, i.e., actually paid in. arpita in kosārpa favours this reading as against apraviṣṭam. — rājahāraḥ: apparently some income went directly to the king and not through the treasury.
— puravayayāḥ: the reference to vyayā is strange in this connection. Apparently income ear-marked for city-expenditure also did not go through the treasury. It is not easy to see the reason for this. Cj has parutramsacatsurāḥ: parut in the sense of 'last year' appears better than parama-. — apātaniyam is the other kind of siddha; it has accrued, but is not actually paid in. It may be last year's dues not yet received or such as may have been allowed by the king to be paid in later, either by a written or an oral order. The income, however, is not to be dropped or surrendered (apātaniya) in any case. Cb reads āpātaniya 'which has to be brought in and delivered,' which comes to the same thing. Cs understands this s. to refer to expenditure, not revenue and explains āpātaniya by 'to be deducted from revenue.'
For siddha and praviṣṭa, cf. 2.8.18,21.

16 śeṣa seems to refer to outstanding dues. It is also of two kinds āhāraṇiya and prasādhya. — siddhi karmayogāḥ is from D and seems to convey the idea of acquiring the fruits of a work on its completion; income from the partly completed work is not immediately available, but would be received only when the whole work is completed. With prakarma, Cb has 'loan on interest,' Breloer (KSt, III, 200-203) 'arrangements (yoga) for promotion (prakarma smoothing, polishing) of the establishment.' Cj seems to understand 'what is lent for house-building or what is used by an officer from what was given to him.' Cs has 'recovering unpaid taxes when crops etc. are ready,' which in effect is the same as the explanation adopted. — dandāśeṣam is, according to Cb Cs, 'surplus left over from the army.' This hardly fits in here. A ca after this would have been better to mark off the two kinds of āhāraṇiya. — balātkrtapratiṣṭabdham: perhaps -ṣṭambham was the original reading; else kṛta is superfluous. Cj understands balāṭkṛt in the sense of balāṭkāra. — avamṛṣṭam 'touched' i.e., used; 'yan mukhyādi bhār balād upayuktaṁ' (Cj). The reading avaṃṛṣṭam 'remitted' seems hardly appropriate. — The difference between āhāraṇiya and prasādhya is that the former is easily recoverable, the latter only with some effort (Cb). — asāram alpasāraṁ ca, i.e., the dues must not contain
17 Current, outstanding and derived from other sources is (the three-fold) income. 18 What comes in from day to day is current (income). 19 What belongs to the preceding year or what is transferred from another sphere of activity, is outstanding (income). 20 What is lost and forgotten, fines imposed on employees, extra income, compensation for loss, gifts, property of a person involved in a riot, property of an issueless person and treasure-trove is income derived from other sources. 21 Balance due to (army-) disbandment and from undertakings (given up) in the middle because of sickness, is return from expenditure. 22 Accretion, viz., increase in the price of commodities at the time of sale, excess in weights and measures called surcharge or the increase in price because of competition for purchase, — this is (also) income.

goods of high value (sāra), only phalgu and kupya, or they must contain only few goods of high value. vā would be better instead of ca. Cb has ‘yielding no fruits though expenses are incurred and yielding small fruit for high expenditure,’ as two additional varieties of śeṣa. In that case, it is not clear why they are put after śeṣam. Cj reads anādeyam at the end and explains ‘that (from a family, though normally tax-paying) without anything of value or having only few such things —not to be recovered.’ This yields a good sense.

19 parapracārasanākṛāntaḥ : this seems to refer to transfer from the sphere of activity of one adhyākṣa to that of another. Cb has ‘what was due in one officer’s time recovered by his successor, or what has come from the enemy’s territory.’ — 20 pārścam : the exact nature of this is not clear. Cb understands a surcharge on the fixed dues, Cp (on 2.15.3) a levy as recommended in 5.2, Breloer an impost for making good a deficit (p. 321). Cj Meyer understand a bribe. — pārīhiṇikam is compensation for loss suffered, rather than ‘penalty for failure to carry out the task, or, something received from a mortgagee’ (Cb). — damara seems to be ‘a revolt’ which would justify the confiscation of property. Cb understands ‘booty obtained in a fight’; for that the usual word is tilopa (cf. 9.2.9 etc.) — aputarakam is not to be understood to refer to the son alone; cf. 3.5.28. Meyer, however, would understand the expression in the literal sense. 21 The s., repeated in 2.15.10, describes lapsed grants. Two reasons for ‘return from expenditure’ seem mentioned, vikśepa ‘disbandment of the troops’ and vyādhitāntarārāmbha ‘undertakings given up midway because of illness or epidemics.’ Some such word as visṛṣṭa or parityakta after antarā would have been better. For vikśepa, see 7.9.22; 8.5.15 etc. Cb Cs have three items ‘balance from army-expenditure, from expenses for medical hall and from other undertakings like durga, antahpura etc.’ Provision for medical halls is not mentioned elsewhere. Meyer has ‘windfall (pratyāya) for purposes of expenditure (vyaya) is sickness through bankruptey or failure (of a private undertaking of the king) (vikśepayādhitā) and remainder from an undertaking given up in the middle (antarārāmbhaśeṣa).’ This is highly problematical. — upajā primarily refers to increase in the commodities (particularly live-stock) through natural causes; cf. 2.29.8,11. A natural increase in price is meant here. Cb Cs Meyer understand ‘what is obtained from prohibited sale.’ — māṇonmāṇavicāśeṣa : this seems to be a description of vyājī, in which case it would refer to the 5% surcharge; see s. 10 above. It is also possible that the expression is unconnected with vyājī, and refers to the difference between ordinary weights
23 Current (expenditure), that arising out of current, gain (and) that arising out of gain, — this is (four-fold) expenditure.
24 What is spent from day to day is current (expenditure). 25 Receipts (by officers, servants etc.) after a fortnight, a month or a year is gain.
26 That arising out of these two is (expenditure) arising out of current (expenditure) and out of gain respectively. This is expenditure.

27 What is left over after calculation of income and expenditure from the total of revenue-items is the balance, received and carried forward.

28 Thus the wise (Administrator) should fix the revenue and show an increase in income and decrease in expenditure and should remedy the opposite (of these).

CHAPTER SEVEN

SECTION 25 THE TOPIC OF ACCOUNTS IN THE RECORDS AND AUDIT OFFICE

1 The Superintendent should cause the Records Office to be built facing the east or the north, with separate halls, (as) a place for record-books.

and measures and those used for receipts in the treasury, as in 2.29.21-23, 29. See 2.15.11 below where vyāji seems distinguished from tulāmanāntaram.

23 The difference between nitya and labha is that the former expenditure is incurred from day to day, the latter at fixed intervals of time, a fortnight, a month, a year etc. Broluer remarks (KSt, III, 209-216) that the term labha represents the point of view of the recipient, labourer, officer etc. as in bhaktavetanalabha, and that it is a sort of deferred payment. It may also stand for a lump payment. 26 tayor utpannah, i.e., items of expenditure of the two types not foreseen at the time of the budget.

27 sanjatad vyayayavisuddha: what is meant is that from the total income the total expenditure is deducted. sanjatad ayad vyayavisuddha or sanjatad vyayavayavisuddha would have been better. Perhaps the latter was the original reading. — praptà, i.e., actually received in the treasury. — anuvrtta, i.e., accrued but not actually delivered into the treasury; it is thus carried forward to the next account period.

28 sadhayet, i.e., overcome, remedy, take steps against. — It is clear that the samahart fixes the assessment of revenue, prepares the budget and keeps the accounts.

2.7

According to Cj akṣa is what is used for counting, such as a pair of scales etc. and patałā is a house (akṣāni gaṇakopakaranāni paricchedasādhanaṇāyā indriyāṇiṣa tulādīni, teṣāṁ patałāṁ grham). akṣa primarily seems to refer to 'beads' used as counter or tally. As is clear from the Chapter, the akṣapataḷā is a records-cum-audit office.

1 pratyaśimukham of G M is unlikely in view of 2.4.7 and other places.
2 There he should cause to be entered in the record-books: the extent of the number, activity and total (income) of the departments; the amount of increase or decrease in the use of the (various) materials, expenses, additions, surcharge, mixing, place, wages and labourers in connection with factories; the price, the quality, the weight, the measure, the height, the depth and the container in connection with jewels, articles of high value, of low value and forest produce; laws, transactions, customs and fixed rules of regions, villages, castes, families and corporations; the receipt of favours, lands, use, exemptions, and food and wages by those who serve the king; the receipt of jewels and land (and) the receipt of special allowances and (payments for) remedial measures against sudden calamities, by the king and his queens and sons; and payments and receipts in connection with peace and war with allies and enemies.

3 From that he should hand over in writing the (revenue) estimate, accrued revenue, outstanding revenue, income and expenditure, balance,

2 sāṁkhyā- is the total number of departments. — pracaṭa is the activity in which each department is engaged. — saṁjñāta is the total income from the department; cf. 2.6.14, 27. — dvayaśpraya-dvadhikaśa is the increase or loss in weight or volume which raw materials undergo in the process of manufacture as described in 4.1.8 ff. — prajñā may refer to additions or extensions to the factory, though addition to expenses (Breloer, KSt, III, 227-9) is also possible. — yuga is the mixing of materials in the process of manufacture. Cj gives the illustration of the mixing of colouring matter with gold as in 2.18.47 ff. Meyer understands yogasthāna as 'the place of employment or work.' — pratibhavana is the standard of quality, also quality. — saṁghādānī as in D is necessary; cf. 3.7.40. — dharma seems to refer to peculiar laws about marriage, inheritance etc. prevalent in a region etc., which are authoritative for that region etc. — vyayavāha 'transactions,' i.e., agreements or contracts between parties; cf. 3.1.12-14. This implies that all agreements or contracts are to be registered with the state. Cb explains vyayavāha by 'cash and landed property that is inherited.' — caritra 'customs, usages,' which, unlike dharma, do not have the appearance of having a religious sanction. — saṁsthāna: this word cannot mean 'locality' here as it probably does in 2.6.14. Cj explains 'royal order, this should be done, this should not be done and so on (saṁsthānan saṁsthiti rājaśāhī atredan kartavyam idaṁ na kartavyam iti).' Breloer (KSt, III, 241 n.1), comparing this passage with 3.1.39, identifies saṁsthāna with rājaśāsana there, which is the explanation of Cj. The idea is clearly that of rules fixed by the state. Cb Cs construe saṁsthāna 'sticking to convention about' with each of dharma, vyayavāha and caritra. — pragaha 'favour, honour'; cf. s. 41 below. — rāj:iś ca patiniputrañāṁ: the ca should have come after -putrañāṁ; if the king is not to be included, ca is unnecessary. — nirdesa is an extra allowance, according to Cb Cs; what is ordered by the king, according to Cj. — autpātikapratikāra 'taking steps against portents, such as earthquakes etc.' (Cb, which mentions this as a v. l.). Cb's reading is autpādika 'money obtained during festivals etc.' It seems better to adopt a reading with which pratikāra can be easily construed.

3 talaḥ may be 'from the accounts office' or 'from the record-book.' — upasthānam, i.e., time fixed for officers to come and render accounts (Cb). Similarly
(the time for) attendance (for audit), (sphere of) activity, customs and fixed rules, to all the departments.

4 And over works of the highest, the middling and the lowest kinds, he should appoint a superintendent of that class, (but) over (works) bringing in revenue, a suitable (officer), by injuring whom (if necessary), the king would not regret. 5 His co-receivers, sureties, those living on his work, his sons, brothers, wives, daughters and servants shall bear the loss (incurred) in the work.

6 Three hundred and fifty-four days and nights constitute the year of work. 7 He should fix that as ending on the full moon day in Āśāḍha, (whether) short or full. 8 He should provide the intercalary month with a (separate) bureau.

9 And (he should have) the activity (of departments) watched by spies. 10 For, the person in question (viz., the officer) if not conversant with the activity, customs and fixed rules, causes loss of revenue through ignorance, if unable to endure the trouble of (energetic) activity, through laziness, if addicted to the pleasures of the senses, sound and others, through remissness, if afraid of an uproar (among subjects) or of an unrighteous or harmful act, through fear, if inclined to show favour to

Breloer (KSt, III, 235-236). Meyer’s ‘outstanding and accrued income’ as in 2.15.11 does not appear likely here. — prayacchet: the subject is evidently aṣṭapajalāduṣyaktah. — Apparently the āya, vyaya, nīri etc. would be those of the preceding year, though the karaṇiya would be that of the current year.

4 tajjātikam, i.e., an officer of the uttama kind for work of the uttama type and so on. — sāmundajikeṣu (see suddhipatra in the text): we have to supply karmasa and explain with Cj ‘of which the purpose is to bring in revenue (sāmundajaprayojanēṣu āyatsthāneṣu).’ The word is derived from samudaya ‘revenue.’ Cb Cs reading sāmundāyikeṣu supply karmacareṣu ‘from among a large number of workmen capable of doing a work.’ This is not satisfactory. — upahatya, i.e., inflicting a fine or corporal punishment (Cj), the punishment being for loss of state revenue, through ignorance etc. to be mentioned presently. — 5 sahagrāhīṇāḥ, i.e., those who have received a share of the state revenue along with the officer. For the expression, cf. 3.11.14. — karmopajāvīṇāḥ, i.e., the staff and workmen. — As Cb Cj say the later one in the list becomes liable in the absence of each preceding one.

6 karmasavatsaraḥ: this is the official year for completing the accounts of the various undertakings. — 7 Āśāḍhiparyavasānam: pūrṇimānta months are clearly implied. — ānaṁ pūrṇaṁ vā, i.e., whether the work is spread over the full year or only a part of it. Cb has ‘in accordance with the period the officer was there.’ — 8 karaṇādhiṣṭhitam etc.: apparently the yearly accounts had only twelve sections, one for each month; so accounts for the intercalary month were kept separately.

9 apasarpādhiṣṭhitam: supply kuryāt from the preceding. — 10 saṅkroṣa ‘outcry, uproar’; cf. 1.17.39 above. — tutāmāṇa- etc.: For the four ways of assessing extent or size, see 2.21.15. — upadhāna ‘placing near, introducing’ implies substitution. Cf. 4.2.22. The word is related to upadhi ‘fraud.’
those who have work with him, through love, if inclined to do them harm, through anger, because of reliance on learning or wealth or the support of a (royal) favourite, through arrogance, (and) because of (deceit in) introducing a difference in weight, measure, assessment or counting, (he causes loss) through greed.

11 ‘Among those (causes of loss of revenue), the fine is as much as the loss of money, increased by one-fold in each succeeding case according to the order (as stated above),’ say the followers of Manu. 12 ‘In all cases (the fine shall be) eight times (the loss),’ say the followers of Parāśara. 13 ‘Ten times,’ say the followers of Brhaspati. 14 ‘Twenty times,’ say the followers of Uṣanas. 15 ‘(The fine shall be) in conformity with the offence,’ says Kauṭilya.

16 The accounts should come in on the Āśāḍha full moon day. 17 When the (officers) have come with sealed account books and balances in sealed containers, he should impose restriction in one place, not allowing conversation (among them). 18 After hearing the totals of income, expenditure and balance, he should cause the balance to be taken away (to the treasury). 19 And he should make the superintendent pay eightfold whatever may increase in the balance over the total of income (as shown) on the page inside (the account-books) or whatever the (officer) may cause to decrease (from the balance) because of (the inflation of) expenditure. 20 In the reverse cases, it shall fall to the lot of (the officer) himself.

11 teṣām refers to ajñāna etc. — ekottaraḥ, i.e., one-fold for ajñāna, two-fold for alasya, three-fold for pramāda and so on. — Mānavāḥ : the rule is not found in the Manusmyṭī.

17 samudrapustakabhāṅḍanāvicāṅkām : this seems to mean that accounts officers bring accounts in sealed books and works officers bring actual balances in sealed containers. — ekaṭra asainbhāṣāvarodham, i.e., the two sets of officers are not to be allowed to converse among themselves. Breloer remarks that this is like treating them as witnesses (KSt, III, 246). 19 antararpāne is from D supported by Ch. parṇa seems to refer to the palm-leaf on which the accounts are written. antah-parṇāe would perhaps have been better ‘on a leaf inside (the account-book).’ Cs explains the reading antaracarṇe as ‘in the book in which the actual balance is described,’ which practically comes to the same thing. Meyer has ‘in case of deviation (antaracarṇe) of the balance.’ Breloer (KSt, III, 246-247) tentatively suggests ‘between-counting’ (?). — vyayasya : supply agrāt after this. — pariḥāpayet : nityām is to be understood with this. The balance is reduced because the expenditure is inflated. 20 viparyaye, i.e., when the actual balance is greater than what is shown in the account book or when expenses are shown to be less than those actually incurred. — tam eva prati syāt, i.e., the officer shall keep it. Breloer, however, has ‘the state keeps the difference of what the officer has counted to his own disadvantage’ (KSt, III, 247). The former idea seems better. Cf. the illustration ‘yaḥ atrā māṁ prati syāt ’ in the Siddhāntakaumudi. Cj seems to understand that the officer is not to be punished, since he has spoken the truth. It also refers to the opinion that even this officer is to be fined eight times.
21 For (officers) not coming at the proper time or coming without the account-books and balances, the fine shall be one-tenth of the amount due.

22 And if, when the works officer presents himself, the accounts officer is not ready for audit, the lowest fine for violence (shall be imposed). 23 In the reverse case, the fine for the works officer (shall be) double.

24 The high officers should render accounts in full in accordance with their activity, without contradicting themselves. 25 And among these he who makes a divergent statement or speaks falsely shall pay the highest fine (for violence).

26 He should wait for one month, if the (officer) has not brought in the day-to-day accounts. 27 After the month, the (officer) shall pay a fine of two hundred panas increased (by that amount) for each succeeding month. 28 If an (officer) has a little of the written balance due (from him), he should wait for five days. 29 If he brings in the day-to-day accounts after that period, preceded by (delivery of the balance into) the treasury, he should look into (the case) with refer-

22 kārmika is obviously the officer concerned with the carrying out of the work, while the kārānika is the account-keeper. — apratibadhinataḥ, i.e., not being ready with his accounts; Cb has 'failing to write down.' Because of the high fine, Breloer (KSt, III, 250-I) understands 'not putting in proof, not being able to substantiate a discrepancy (upasthitā). This does not seem likely. 23 dvigunaḥ: the fine is double because he has the actual nīcī with him and has failed to turn up with it.

24 samagrāḥ may be construed with mahāmātrāḥ, which is not very happy, or nīcīḥ may be understood as the substantive. But samagrāṇī (gāṇanī) would have been better. — avīṣamamanaṁtrāḥ: 'not saying what is different,' i.e., not making contradictory statements. Meyer has 'not having dissimilar or unsuitable plans.' Cb Cs read -mātrāḥ and the latter explains 'should broadcast (āvayeyuh) all over the country-side (pracārasamam) all the related activities or a harmonized statement of income, expenditure and balance.' This is very doubtful. 25 prīthagbhūtaḥ seems to be one whose statements do not tally with those of others, or rather, one who contradicts himself. Cb seems to understand one who has disappeared, made himself scarce.

26 akrtaḥorūpaharam: ahorūpa seems to refer to the day-to-day accounts, and the expression refers to the officer who fails to bring such accounts. A month is allowed to bring them in. This implies that the day-to-day accounts for a month are allowed to be completed by the end of the next month. 28 alpaśeṣalekhyanītekam, i.e., when a small part of the balance as arrived at in the account-book is not brought in. This apparently refers to the works officer, while the preceding ss. referred to the accounts officer. — pañcarātram apparently in the case of the monthly account. 29 kosopūrvarc ahorūpaharam: i.e., the balance due is delivered in the treasury and the relevant accounts are brought in after a lapse of five days. Though the accounts officer is also thought of (ahorūpahara), the works officer would seem to be principally concerned. — sanīkalana evidently refers
ence to laws, transactions, customs and fixed rules and by totalling up, (and by looking at) the work actually carried out, i y inference and the use of spies.

30 And he should check (the accounts) for each day, group of five days, fortnight, month, four months and year. 31 He should check the income with reference to the period, place, time, head of income, source, bringing forward, quantity, the payer, the person causing payment to be made, the recorder and the receiver. 32 He should check the expenditure with reference to the period, place, time, head (of expenditure), gain, occasion, the thing given, its use and amount, the person who orders, the person who takes out, the person who delivers and the receiver. 33 He should check the balance with reference to the period, place, time, head, bringing forward, the article, its characteristics, amount, the vessel in which it is deposited and the person guarding it.

34 If, in an affair of the king, the accounts officer is not ready for audit or disregards an order or changes the income and expenditure in a way different from the written order, the lowest fine for violence (shall be imposed).

to the totalling of items in the accounts. — akeṣṭa: the purpose of this investigation is to find out if the delay in delivery was justified or not. — Ms. D breaks off towards the beginning of this s., there being only one more folio containing 2.11.21-39.

30 pratisamāṇayet: the object is 'accounts.' 31 vyuṣṭa refers to the period for which the accounts are made up, 'yathā pravṛddhamānā pāṇīcādāśārājavatarṣe' (Cj). See 2.6.12 above. — utpatti refers to the source included in āyāśārīra. — anuvṛtti is being brought forward from the preceding period of account. — pramāṇa: Breloer suggests parimāṇa in conformity with the reading of mss. in the next two ss. However, pramāṇa might appear better in all three ss. — dāpaka is the person on whose behalf the payment is made. Cb does not seem to have read this word. 32 labha, i.e., payments to employees; cf. s. 2 above. — yoga 'application,' i.e., use to which the article would be put. — vidhāṭka is an emendation suggested by Meyer 'who arranges the delivery.' Of the other readings only nidhāṭka 'store-keeper' of Cb Cs conveys any sense. Cj seems to derive its viyādakā from yat 'to strive.' 33 anuvartana is obviously the same as anuvṛtti. — rūpa, i.e., the article or object constituting the nivī.

34 rājārthe: this seems to refer to state undertakings, as distinguished from the work of collecting taxes, fines etc. from subjects. — kāraṇika, it is clear, is not an officer in the audit office, as Cj seems to have understood in s. 22 above. — pratiṣedhayato: as the fine would appear small if we refer this only to disregarding the king's order, Breloer (KSt, III, 262) understands 'who suppresses an order.' — nibandha is the written statement handed out at the beginning concerning heads of income etc., as laid down in s. 3 above.
For one writing down an item (in the accounts) without any order or in a wrong order or in an illegible manner, or twice over, the fine is twelve panas. 36 For one writing down the balance (in any of these ways) the fine is double (that). 37 For one who swallows it, the fine is eight-fold. 38 For one who destroys it, the fine is one-fifth of the amount and restitution (of what is lost). 39 In case of a false statement, the punishment is that for theft. 40 If admitted afterwards, (the fine is) double, so also if an item is forgotten and then brought in.

41 The (king) should put up with a minor offence and should be content even when the revenue is small; and he should honour with favours the officer who confers great benefit (on the state).

CHAPTER EIGHT

SECTION 26 RECOVERY OF REVENUE MISAPPROPRIATED BY STATE EMPLOYEES

1 All undertakings are dependent first on the treasury. 2 Therefore, he should look to the treasury first.

3 Prosperousness of activities, cherishing of customs, suppression of thieves, control over employees, luxuriance of crops, abundance of commodities, deliverance from troubles, reduction in exemptions, (and) presents in cash, — these are (the means of) increase in the treasury.

4 Hindrance, lending, trading, concealment, causing loss, use, interchange and misappropriation, — these are (the causes of) depletion of the treasury.

35 kramāvahina is 'lacking in order,' while utkrama is 'in a wrong order.' — avalikhataḥ is not necessarily 'who enters wrongly,' for it cannot be understood of avijñātam; 'who writes down' is enough. — vastukam, i.e., an item in the ledger. 36 avalikhataḥ in this case may be understood as 'who writes down less (than the actual balance)' as in Cs, though that is not necessary. The reading avalihato is found in this s. in Cj which explains 'who tastes, i.e., swallows a little (iṣad avādayataḥ).’ 38 paṇcāpandhaḥ cannot be five times (Cs Meyer), in view of 2.8.11; 3.1.20; 3.11.33 etc. 40 pratijñāte, i.e., when an admission is made that a false statement was made by him earlier. — avyājanah: double the fine for theft might appear too severe in the case of prasārayottama. Meyer therefore thinks of double the 12 panas prescribed in s. 35. That does not appear very likely.

2.8

1 kośapūrvah etc.: contrast 8.1.23 and the discussion in 8.1.33-52 below.

2 pracrāra may, as usual, be understood as departmental activity rather than as 'country' (Cj Cs). — anugraha is maintenance, preservation as before. — pratijñātaḥ, i.e., keeping a strict control or check rather than 'dismissal.' — upasarga 'troubles' such as fire, floods etc.
5 Failure to carry out a work, failure to realize its fruit, or failure to deliver it (in the treasury), constitutes hindrance. 6 For that the fine is one-tenth (the amount involved).

7 Lending at interest of goods from the treasury is lending. 8 Trading in (state) commodities is trading. 9 In those cases, the fine is double the fruit.

10 If the (officer) makes the due date as not due or the date not due as due, that is concealment. 11 For that the fine is one-fifth.

12 If the (officer) causes a diminution of the revenue fixed or causes an increase in the expenditure sanctioned, that is causing loss. 13 For that the fine is four times the amount lost.

14 The use of the king’s goods by oneself or allowing it by others is use. 15 For that, the punishment is execution for use of jewels, the middle fine for violence for use of articles of high value, (restitution of) that and an equal amount as fine for use of articles of small value and forest produce.

16 The appropriation of the king's goods by (the substitution of) other goods is interchange. 17 That is explained by (rules concerning) use.

18 If the (officer) does not deliver the income that has accrued (or) does not pay the expenses put down in writing (or) denies the balance received, — that is misappropriation. 19 For that the fine is twelve times (the amount).

20 Of those (officers) the ways of embezzlement are forty. 21 What has accrued first is realized afterwards, what has accrued later is realized first, what is to be carried out is not carried out, what is not to be carried out is carried out, what is carried out is made out as not carried out, what is not carried out is made out as carried out, what is a little carried out is made out as much, what

5 siddhi refers to securing the fruits of an undertaking, recovery of revenue, taxes etc. Its asādhana is not carrying out the work at all, anavatāraṇa is not securing the fruit produced and apraveṣaṇa is not delivering it into the treasury. Cj explains anavatāraṇa by ‘not writing down in the accounts (lekhyākaraṇam).’ — Cp begins with this s. and continues to the end of the Book.

9 phala, i.e., the interest received or profit made.

18 prāptāṁ nīcēṁ seems to refer to the balance received by and in the possession of the officer.

20 catvārīṃśat : the passage is referred to in the Daśakumāra carita, VIII. —

21 pārivaśaḥ siddham etc. : the recovery of the income accrued is delayed, evidently in consideration of gratification received. — kṛtam, i.e., made out, represented. — anyataḥ refers to the source of the income. — Cs understands deyān na dattam adeyān dattam as a single case of misappropriation, similarly kāle na dattam akāle dattam. There is little justification for this. — anyato dattam : Cs under-
is carried out much is made out as little, one thing is carried out while another is made out (as carried out), what is carried out from one source is made out as from another, what is to be paid is not paid, what is not to be paid is paid, payment is not made in time, payment is made untimely, a little paid is made out as much, what is overpaid is made out as little, one thing is given while another is made out as given, what is paid to one is made out as paid to another, what is delivered (into the treasury) is made out as not delivered, what is not delivered is made out as delivered, forest produce for which the price has not been paid is delivered, that for which the price has been paid is not delivered, concentration (of goods) is made out as dispersal, or dispersal made out as concentration, an object of high value is changed for one of low value, or one of low value for one of high value, the price is raised, or (the price is) reduced, the year is made discrepant as to months, or the month discrepant as to days, discrepancy as to source, discrepancy as to head (of income etc.), discrepancy as to

stands las in the sense of the dative; that is better, though the sense of the ablative is also not unlikely. — From pravista onwards offences by treasury and stores officers are mentioned. — kupyam adattamulyam pravista: Cp Cs explain ‘a thing is borrowed at the king’s command; after a time a part of the price is paid, making the entry that full price is paid.’ There is no reference to part-payment here. It seems that the price is not paid from the treasury, yet the stores officer receives the goods, to be afterwards appropriated by him, the sufferer being the person from whom the goods are received. — dattamulyam na pravista: Cp Cs have ‘a thing purchased at a high price is entered as purchased at a lower price.’ There is no reference to high or low price here. The case is clearly one where the price is paid from the treasury, but the goods are not received in the stores. Meyer understands pravista as ‘entered in the register’ when sales are made from stores to merchants. In the first case, the merchant pays less though the entry shows the regular price. But can adatta mean ‘paid less’? — sanishepo viksepa krtah: from here onwards, market officers are to be understood. For these terms see 2.16.1. The commentators understand ‘aggregate tax to be paid by a village etc.’ and ‘splitting a tax among individuals (Cp Cs) or collecting it from one individual only (Cb).’ In the opposite case, ‘viksepa, i.e., a tax to be received from an individual in small instalments and sanishepa, i.e., recovering it at one time in a lump sum.’ All this seems unlikely. — mahargham alpargeya paricartitam: the purchaser suffers in this case, while in the opposite case the treasury suffers. — sanaropito rghah: the panyadhyaksa, who fixes prices (2.16.2-3), might do so to his own advantage. — After pratyaavaropito va, Cb and the editions add rattrayah sanaropitah pratyaavaropitah va. G M do not show these cases; they are also unnecessary in view of maho dicasavisamah krtah. And with the deletion of these expressions the number forty is very smoothly arrived at. — sanivatsaro etc.: from here onwards, works-foremen are thought of. The idea in this case is, when there is an intercalary month, that fact is not taken into account when making payments on a yearly basis. — maho etc.: the number of days in the month are manipulated to the detriment of the workers. — saniganavisamah: here and in the following cases, visama seems to stand for visamata, though it can be understood as an adjective to upaya. sanagaama seems to be the same as agama and to refer
workmen, discrepancy in performance, discrepancy in the sum-total, discrepancy in quality, discrepancy in price, discrepancy in weighing, discrepancy in measuring, (and) discrepancy as to (container) vessels, — these are the (forty) ways of embezzlement.

22 In these cases, he should interrogate, each individually, the subordinate officer, the store-keeper, the recorder, the receiver, the person who pays, the person who causes the payment to be made, the adviser and the help-mate. 23 And in case of a false statement by these, the fine shall be the same as for the officer (concerned). 24 And he should issue a proclamation in the sphere of his activity, 'Those wronged by such and such an officer should communicate (it to us).'

25 To such as communicate, he should cause payment to be made in accordance with the injury suffered.

26 And in case of many accusations, if the (officer) denies (all charges) and is proved guilty in a single case, he shall be liable for all. 27 In case of partial admission, he shall stand trial in all cases. 28 And in case of misappropriation of a large amount of money, if proved guilty with respect to even a small part of it, he shall be liable for all.

29 An informer, to whom a guarantee is given against reprimands (by the officer), should receive one-sixth part (of the amount involved), to 'source' (Meyer), though Cp Cs explain it as 'the presence of labourers at the time of payment of wages.' — It is proposed to read kārmika- for dhārmika-. The latter is explained as defalcation by the purohita and his men from amounts sanctioned for charitable purposes like gifts to Brahmans (Cb Cp Cs). This is unsatisfactory. We expect dhāma- not dhārmika-. And since the preceding and the following cases have reference to some work carried out by an adhyakṣa, kārmika would appear far more likely. The idea is of discrepancy in the matter of workmen (their number, wages etc.). — nirvartana: Meyer prefers to read nivartana 'because of the ceasing of a particular source of income.' In all these cases, however, the reason for the fraud is not stated, only the item in connection with which the fraud is committed. — pīṇḍa is the total amount of the commodity or income. — varṇa 'class,' i.e., quality of the commodity. Cf. 4.2.22. A reference to the four varṇas (Cs) can hardly be understood and 'fineness or touch of gold' (also Cs) unnecessarily restricts the sense to a particular case only.

22 upayukta is a subordinate officer (Meyer) rather than a supervising or higher officer (Cp Cs). Cf. 2.5.16. — nidhāyaka seems to be the store-keeper as in Cs. — G M read mantrimantrimandviya- etc.; one -mantri- is clearly superfluous. It is possible, however, that one -mantri- is a corruption of -mitra-. Cf. 2.9.25, also 4.8.9 (where we have sahāya).

26 paroktaḥ: see 3.1.19 ff. 27 vaisamye, i.e., when some charges are admitted and others denied (Cp Cs). Cj has 'when different persons bring different charges against him.' — anuyoga 'questioning, interrogation' apparently by the pradeṣṭṛs. — 28 -apahāre is to be preferred to -apacāre in the context of this Chapter.

29 sūcaka who secretly informs against an officer involved in fraud. — prati-ghāta is reprisal by the officer: cf. 7.6.26; 9.6.27. For acastha 'guarantee,' cf.
if the matter is proved, one-twelfth part, if (he happens to be) a state servant. 30 If in an accusation concerning a large amount, only a small portion is proved, he shall receive a share of what is proved. 31 In case it is not proved, he shall receive corporal or monetary punishment, and no favour shall be shown to him.

32 But (if) when the charge is being proved, the informer, at the instigation of the accused (officer), were to throw up the case or to make himself scarce, he shall be condemned to death.

CHAPTER NINE

SECTION 27 INSPECTION OF (THE WORK OF) OFFICERS

1 All superintendents, endowed with the excellences of a minister, should be appointed to works according to (their) capacity. 2 And he should constantly hold an inspection of their works, men being inconstant in their minds. 3 For, men being of a nature similar to that of horses change when employed in works. 4 Therefore, he should be cognizant of the worker, the office, the place, the time, the work to be done, the outlay and the profit in these (undertakings).

5 They should carry out the works according to orders, without concerting together or quarrelling amongst themselves. 6 Concerting together, they might swallow up (the fruits of) the undertakings, quarrelling, they might ruin (them). 7 And they must not commence any work without informing the king, excepting measures against calamities.

8.4.33. — 31 na cānugrāhyah : this does not necessarily mean 'he is not to be saved from the vengeance of the officer' (Cs).

32 Meyer's construction, supplying yadi in the first half, is adopted. That appears to be the construction in Cj as well: nispatte pramānaih sambhācati'gāyām 'when the charge is likely to be proved.' Cb explains the first half 'when it is proved, the informer should say that the information was given to him by some one else and should remain hidden.' Similarly Cp : 'should transfer the blame of being an informer to treasonable persons or plead an alibi (ātmānam apavāhaya) 'supplying dāyge in the first half. Cs has ' when the matter is proved, he should cease the accusation and (tā) free himself from the bondage of the case (ātmānam apavāhaya) ' The idea rather seems to be that the informer after making the accusation, withdraws it at the instigation of the accused or fails to appear for proving his charge.

2.9

upayukta ordinarily 'a subordinate officer' is here used for 'officer' in general. The Chapter in fact uses the word yukta and does not use upayukta even once.

4 karana 'office, department' (Cp) seems better than 'way of doing or means of doing' (Cj). — prakṣeptā 'investment, outlay' is common in this text. 'Wages of workmen' (Cp.Cs) is an unnecessary restriction.

6 Cf. 1.15.37 above.
8 And in cases of remissness on their part, he should fix a fine
double the day’s wages and (other) expenses. 9 And he who, amongst
them, carries out the work as ordered or better, should receive a (high)
position and honour.

10 ‘If an (officer) with a small income has a large expenditure,
he consumes (state revenue). 11 In the reverse case and when an
(officer) spends in conformity with his income, he does not consume,’
thus say the teachers. 12 Only through spies would (this) be ascertained,
says Kauṭilya.

13 He who causes loss of revenue consumes the property of the
king. 14 If he causes loss through ignorance and other causes, he
should make him pay that, suitably multiplied. 15 He who procures
double the (normal) revenue, consumes the country-side. 16 If he
brings in (the whole) for the king, he should be warned in case of a
minor offence, in case of a major offence should be punished according
to the offence. 17 He who makes out as expenditure the revenue
(he has raised) consumes the works of men. 18 He should be punished
according to the offence in cases of loss (or waste) of days of work, the
price of goods and the wages of men.

8 -vetanavyaya- ‘wages and (other) expenses’ rather than ‘expenses on wages.’
9 yathâdîṣṭām etc.: cf. 1.8.13 which is a quotation from Piśuma.

14 aṭānâdibhiḥ refers to the eight causes mentioned in 2.7.10. — yathâ-
gunam, i.e., 1,2,3 etc. times in case of aṭāna, âlasya, pramâda etc. respectively.
In 2.7.11-15, this scale of fines is attributed to the Mânavas, while Kauṭilya himself
preferred punishment according to offence. Meyer thinks that we should read
yathâpârâdham instead of yathâgunam here as well. Cp Cs understand ‘double,
three times, etc. according to the offence,’ i.e., apparently according to repetition
of the offence. This also seems likely.

17 samudayam vyayam upanayati: Cb Cp Cs Meyer understand ‘who brings
in the expenditure as income,’ i.e., the sanctioned expenditure instead of being spent
on the work is returned to the treasury as income from that work. For this we
expect vyayam samudayam (iti) upanayati. As the parallel ss. 13, 15 show, samu-
dayam is the object, not part of the predicate. Moreover, on this explanation,
there is no apahâra to which the next s. refers. The idea rather is that the income
actually raised from the work is represented as expenditure. Thus no benefit is
derived by the state and the labour of workmen is wasted so far as the state is
concerned. The difference between s.13 and this s. is that in the former case no
revenue (or less revenue) is produced, while in this case revenue is produced, but
spent away instead of being brought to the treasury. — 18 karmadîvasâ- etc.: with Meyer, three things should be understood, karmadîvasa, dravyamîlyâ and
puruṣavâtana. Cp Cs understand two things ‘loss of the price fixed for the fruit
of the work that would have been achieved on those days and loss of wages by the
laborers.’ — There is apahâra in this case because the net income is pocketed
by the officer. It may be calculated on the basis of karmadîvasa etc. that are lost.
19 Therefore, he who is appointed by an order to a particular department shall communicate to him (i.e., the king) the real nature of that work and the income and expenditure (both) in detail and in the aggregate.

20 And he should keep in check the patrimony-squanderer, the immediate-spender and the niggardly. 21 He who consumes in unjust ways the property inherited from the father and the grandfather is the patrimony-squanderer. 22 He who straightway consumes whatever is produced is the immediate-spender. 23 He who amasses wealth by putting his dependents and himself to suffering is the niggardly. 24 If he has a (large) party (dependent on him) he is not to be deprived of property; in the opposite case, he should be deprived of all property.

25 Of that niggardly officer who, placed in charge of a large amount of revenue, stores it, deposits it or sends it out, — stores it in his own house, deposits it with citizens or country people, sends it out to an enemy’s territory, — a secret agent should find out the party of advisers, friends, dependents and kinsmen as well as the coming in and going out of goods. 26 And having insinuated himself into the confidence of that (servant) of his who might be making movements (to and fro) in the enemy’s territory, he should find out the secret. 27 When it is fully ascertained, he should cause him to be executed on the pretext of a letter from the enemy.

28 Therefore, his superintendents should carry out the works accompanied by accountants, writers, examiners of coins, receivers of balances and supervisors. 29 Supervisors are those who ride elephants, horses and chariots. 30 Their assistants, endowed with

24 Cp Cs understand by sa all three. However, only the niggardly seems meant, as Cj shows. The confiscation of property thought of has hardly any scope in the first two cases. — anâdeyaḥ : according to Cs, though his property may not be seized, he himself is to be removed from office. That is not certain. — paryādāravyaḥ : Cb has ‘should be removed from office.’ Cf. however 5.2.54, 58 where this meaning seems unlikely. The confiscation of all property is meant.

25 sainānidhatte...paraviṣaye has to be understood as parenthetical. It is possible that this is a marginal gloss that has got into the text. 26 saṁcāram ‘movement,’ i.e., coming in and going out. — anupraviṣya : cf. 1.17.39; 1.18.9. 27 satruśāsanaṁpadēṣena, i.e., with a forged letter supposedly written by the enemy to the officer, suggesting that the money sent by the latter was received by him.

29 uttarārādhyaṁkṣāḥ : these are evidently trained in the army and work as supervisors ostensibly for guarding the works and protecting royal property. They could hardly be ‘deputy adhyakṣas’ as Stein (AOr, 6, 42) thinks.
skill and integrity, (should work) as spies over the accountants and others.

31 He should establish (each) department with many heads and without permanency (of tenure of office).

32 Just as it is not possible not to taste honey or poison placed on the surface of the tongue, even so it is not possible for one dealing with the money of the king not to taste the money in however small a quantity.

33 Just as fish moving inside water cannot be known when drinking water, even so officers appointed for carrying out works cannot be known when appropriating money.

34 It is possible to know even the path of birds flying in the sky, but not the ways of officers moving with their intentions concealed.

35 And he should make those who have amassed (money wrongfully) yield it up and should change them in (their) works, so that they do not consume (the king’s) property or disgorge what is consumed.

36 But those who do not consume (the king’s) goods and increase them in just ways, should be made permanent in their offices, being devoted to what is agreeable and beneficial to the king.

CHAPTER TEN

SECTION 28 THE TOPIC OF EDICTS

1 They declare that as šāsana (edict) which is used for giving (directions or) orders. 2 For, kings principally depend on edicts, peace and war being rooted in them.

31 anityam implies frequency of transfer from department to department.

32 arthacara ‘an officer handling money.’

34 caratām: Meyer following Sorabji understands the idea of ‘grazing, feeding on,’ i.e., swallowing, adding that car is still used in this sense in India. That is however not certain.

2.10

1 šāsane, i.e., for issuing directions or orders. It may also mean ‘for purposes of administration.’ — 2 tanmālatvāt sanādhicigrāhaoḥ: Stein (ZII, 6, 48) thinks that these words are a gloss, as they do not apply to all šāsanas or written documents. However, the clause seems quite genuine as it supports the statement śāsanapradhānā rājanaḥ where rājasāsana alone can be thought of.
3 Therefore, the scribe should be endowed with the excellences of a minister, conversant with all conventions, quick in composing, with a beautiful hand and capable of reading a document.

4 He should listen with an attentive mind to the command of the king and set it down in writing, which is precise in meaning, with a courteous mention of the country, the sovereignty, the family and the name in the case of a king, and with the customary mention of the country and the name in the case of one who is not a king.

5 Having taken into consideration, in (every) matter, the caste, the family, the position, age and learning, the profession, property and character, also the place and time and connections by marriage, he should compose the document in conformity with the person (addressed).

6 Arrangement of subject-matter, connection, completeness, sweetness, exaltedness and lucidity constitute the excellences of writing.

7 Among them, arranging in a proper order, the statement first of the principal matter, is arrangement of subject-matter. 8 The statement of a subsequent matter without its being incompatible with the matter in hand, right up to the end, is connection. 9 Absence of deficiency or excess of matter, words and letters, description in detail of the matter by means of reasons, citations and illustrations, (and) expressiveness of words, is completeness. 10 The use of words with a charming meaning easily conveyed is sweetness. 11 The use of words that are not vulgar is exaltedness. 12 The employment of words that are well-known is lucidity.

13 The letters (in the alphabet) beginning with a are sixty-three.

14 A combination of letters is a word. 15 That is four-fold: noun,

3 _samāya_ may be 'conventions' of writing or customs of different classes of men (Cp Cs); Cp adds that according to some, it means 'script' or 'language.' — _āśugranītah_ may be 'quick in composing' or 'quick in writing.' Cj reads _āśugranīnah_, which is better.

4 Cp seems to have read _niścītyārtham_.

8 Cp Cj read _prakṛtasya_ for _prastutasya_. 9 _udāharaṇa_ is, according to Cb Cs, 'conformity with statements in the śāstras' and _drṣṭānta_ 'an instance from actual life.' — _aśrāntapadaṭa_: according to the commentators, this means 'the use of a word (e.g. _saṁdhatva_) for a sentence (e.g. _saṁdhīṁ kuru_).' This would be economy of words. The expression literally means 'having words that are not tired or exhausted,' i.e., probably words which retain their power of expression, expressive words.

13 _vṛṇās trīśaṭṭh_: these are 22 vowels (5 short, 8 long and 9 _pluta_), 25 mutes (_k, kh, ... m_), 4 semi-vowels, 4 non-combinables (_anuvāra, visarga, jihvāmūliya_ and _upadhmāniya_), 4 sibilants, and 4 _yama_-conjuncts (doubles of the first four in each group of mutes before the nasal of the same group). This is according to the _Taittirīya Prātiṣākhya_ and the _Pāṇiniya Śikṣā_. — 14 _vṛṇasamghātah padam_: Stein
verb, preposition and particle. 16 Among them, a noun signifies being. 17 A verb, not having a specific gender, is indicative of action. 18 Those that qualify an action, *pra* and others, are prepositions. 19 Indeclinables, *ca* and others, are particles. 20 A collection of words constitutes a sentence, when the sense is completed. 21 A group with a minimum of one word and a maximum of three words should be made, not conflicting with the meaning of the other words.

22 For concluding the writing, the word *iti* and (the sub-script) *These are the words of so and so* (should be used).

23-24 Censure, praise, query, statement, request, refusal, reproof, prohibition, injunction, appeasement, help, threatening.

(ZII, 6, 51-2) thinks that this definition is incomplete and should be corrected to *varṇās trīṣṭīr varṇasaṅghātaḥ; varṇasaṃbudāyō 'ksaram; tattasaṃdāyaḥ padam,* as in the *Vājasaneyapratisākhya* (8.50). There seems little justification for doing so. — *tacaturvīḍham* : cf. *Nirukta* 1.1.8 ff. Stein points to similarities with the *Vājasaneyapratisākhya*, but though he states that the conclusion from all this could be that this text represents pre-Paninian knowledge, he adds *a corresponding chronological deduction can hardly be made.* It is not easy to see why not. 16 *sattva* 'being' is distinguished in the *Nirukta* from *bhūca* 'becoming.' 20 Stein compares the *Tarkasaṅgraha*. 21 *vargaḥ* : according to the commentators this means *a compound,* and the idea is, it should have 1 to 3 words in addition to the first, i.e., a compound should have 2 to 4 words. The compound should also be in conformity with the later words (2nd to 4th, *parapadāthānaparodhena*). Only Cj understands *parapada* as the principal word, which may be the first (as in *pūrvakāya* ) or second (as in *rājapuruṣa* ) or both (as in *dharmanāthau* ) or outside the compound (as in *bahuputra* ). Cb offers another explanation *groups of words should be so formed that they are not likely to be wrongly construed with the preceding or the following words.* E.g., after *purāṇo mānava dharmah svakako vedā cikitsitam, ājñāsiddhāni catāri, we should have hantavyāni na hetubhiḥ, and not na hantavyāni hetubhiḥ; for, in the latter case, na is likely to be construed with ājñāsiddham.* Cs has another explanation in which *eka...paraḥ* alone is taken to refer to compounds as above and *parapadārthā* etc. is understood to mean *a pause,* i.e., the sign of a pause, such as a comma etc. should be made, without harming the sense of the following words.* There seems no reason, however, why *ekapada* etc. should be understood independently of the latter. This explanation of the entire *s.* may well have been intended. Meyer understands *varga* as *accumulation* i.e., padding, in order to make the sense of one word clear or to strengthen it. — *anurodhena* and *anuparodhena* ultimately mean the same thing.

22 *vācikam asya* : Cp Cs have *when a part of the message is not written down but is to be communicated by the person carrying the letter, the words ‘oral message should be heard from the bearer of this letter’* should be added at the end.* This agrees with *Mudrārākṣasa,* Act 5, but is extremely doubtful here. The reference is only to the writing of the name of the person on whose behalf the letter is written. Cj supplies *śraddheyam* ‘the words of so and so must be believed’ adding this is possible only in the case of the *vācikalekha* of s. 48 below.

24 *abhyyapapattih* : both here and in s. 35 this is how the word must be read (as in Cj) and not as *abhyyavapattih* as in the mss. The latter means *surrender* as in 12.1.11. — *arthāḥ lekhajāḥ,* i.e., subject-matter of a writing.
and propitiation, — with these thirteen are matters arising out of writing concerned.

25 Among these, mention of defects concerning birth, body or action is censure. 26 Mention of the merits of these same is praise. 27 'How is this so?' is query. 28 'Thus (it is)' is statement. 29 'Give (it to me)' is request. 30 'I will not give' is refusal. 31 'This is) unworthy of you' is reproof. 32 'Do not do (so)' is prohibition. 33 'Let this be done' is injunction. 34 'What I am is you; what object belongs to me is yours,' this conciliation is appeasement. 35 Aid in calamities is help. 36 Pointing to the future as full of danger is threatening. 37 Propitiation is three-fold, in doing a thing, in case of transgression and during the calamity of a person and so on.

38 Documents of communication, command and gift, documents of exemption and authorization, (the document) giving news of happenings, the document in reply and (the document) applicable everywhere, — these are (types of) decrees.

39 'So and so has communicated; he has said so; hence let it be given if there be truth (in it)', 'He has spoken of an excellent deed in the presence of the king,' this is communication stated to be of various kinds.

40 Where there is the command of the king concerning punishment or favour, especially in the matter of servants, that is the characteristic of a decree of command.

41 Where honour, rendered in accordance with merits, is to be seen, whether in distress or when making a gift, those two become (decrees of) favour.

37 arthakṛta, i.e., for the sake of getting some work of one's own done. — atikrame, i.e., in case of transgression by oneself. — puruṣādi-, i.e., when some person is in distress etc. — Stein (ZII, 6, 56-7) has pointed out that a partly agreeing list is found in the Brhaddevala, 1.35 ff., Nirukta, 7.3, Kāvyādarśa, 2.30 ff. and the lexicons.

39 According to Cb Cp Cs there are two communications here, one in the first two lines and the other in the third line, both from persons at the court to officers away from court. The first communication is 'some one has told the king (that you have discovered a treasure-trove and have appropriated it); on that the king has said thus (if the officer does not hand it over, I shall recover double from him). So better hand over if there is truth (in the report about the treasure-trove).' The second is 'some one has told the king that you have done a good deed.' Cj seems to understand in the first communication 'you are reported to have a horse worthy of the king; if true, give it to him' and in the second 'I have learnt from the king that your act is approved and you will certainly get some benefit.' — The use of both ced and yadi is rather strange.

41 Cp understands paridāne twice, once as loc. sing. like ādhau and again as nom.
42 The favour, which (is conferred) at the command of the king, on the various castes and on the different cities, villages and regions, the expert should designate as (the decree of) exemption.

43 The delegation of authority in the matter of doing a work and in the matter of issuing orders, this may be a document authorizing (the issuing of) orders or even containing an authorization (for doing a work).

44 With respect to a document, they designate happenings as of two kinds, (viz.,) those associated with the divine, of various kinds, and those concerning men, based on facts.

45 After seeing the document as it really is and then after reading it out, the document in reply should be prepared exactly as the words of the king (may be).

46 That, in which the king asks the princes and officers to ensure protection and comforts for travellers, would be (the decree) called applicable everywhere; it should be known on the road, in the country and everywhere (else).

47 The means are conciliation, gifts, dissension, and force.

dual in the sense of paridānalekhaḥ with upagrahau as adjective to it in the sense of 'occasions for showing favour.' The difficulty is that paridāne is neut., while upagrahau is masc. It seems obvious that in s. 38 this document is named paridāna, while here it is called upagrahau. Cs supplies sa paridānalekhaḥ at the end of the first half and explains the second half 'these two become the means of showing favour during distress felt by the addressee and when showing compassion towards a servant.' paridāna as 'dayāviśkarāna' seems hardly possible. Cb seems to have read paridānē on the occasion of mental distress (ādhau) and bodily illness (paridāne). Meyer suggests ādhi as 'pledge' or the same as upādhi 'title'; either is unlikely. It seems that a condolence letter and a letter of gift are meant.

43 kāryakarane is from Cb. kāryā of the mss. implies that instructions about writing are being given. But we have descriptions of documents here, not instructions about writing them. Cj seems to have read nisṛṣṭsthāpanāṁ kuryāti. — vācikalekhaḥ...naisṛṣṭikaḥ: the translation follows the explanation in Cs, the former as authorization to issue orders in the king's name (corresponding to vacane) and the latter as authorization to carry out a work (corresponding to kāryakarane). Cb seems to understand vācikalekha as only another name for naisṛṣṭika. Meyer has 'a document in the very words of the king (vācika) or the result of another authorization (naisṛṣṭika),' making four varieties in all.

44 daivasaṃsuyuktām, i.e., about divine calamities. — tattvajām refers to mānuśin pravṛttim and means 'based on actual happenings,' ('real' Cb). 'Concerning spiritual well-being' (Cs) is little likely.

45 prayanubhāya 'reading out' to the king (Cs) rather than to himself (Meyer).

46 pathikārtham: Cj understands that the dāta or envoy is meant. Other travellers too may be understood. — ātikā: 'durgapāla, antapāla, etc.' (Cb and others). Feudatory princes seem to have been primarily meant.

47 Cf. 9.5.9 ff. and 9.6.20 ff. — Stein (ZII, 6, 64-5) considers it extraordinary
48 Among them, conciliation is five-fold, praising of merits, mention of relationship, pointing out mutual benefits, showing (advantages in) the future, and placing oneself at the (other’s) disposal.

49 Amongst these, appreciation of the merits of birth, body, occupation, nature, learning, property and so on, praise, adulation, this is praising of merits. 50 The praising of (common) kinship, marriage relationship, relationship through teaching, relationship through sacrificial performances, (common) family, (affection of the) heart, and (common) friend, this is mention of relationship. 51 The praising of mutual benefits accruing to one’s party and the party of the other, this is pointing out mutual benefits. 52 ‘If this were done in this way, this will happen to us (both),’ this raising of hope is showing (advantages in) the future. 53 ‘What I am is you, what object belongs to me should be used by you in your works,’ this is placing oneself at the (other's) disposal.

54 Conferring benefits of money is making gifts.

55 Creating apprehension and reprimanding is dissension.

56 Killing, tormenting and seizure of property constitute force.

57 Absence of charm, contradiction, repetition, incorrect (use of a) word, and confusion, — these are the defects of writing.

58 Among them, (the use of a) black leaf, (and) writing unattractive, uneven and faint letters constitute absence of charm. 59 The incompatibility of the later with the earlier is contradiction. 60 Statement a second time of what is said without any distinction is repetition.

61 The wrong use of gender, number, tense and case is incorrect (use of a) word. 62 The making of a group where there should be no group

that the four upāyas which properly belong to niti ‘foreign policy’ should have been discussed here. But since royal decrees are under consideration (in the preceding ss.) this discussion is not unnatural here; for, royal documents would be concerned with one or the other of the upāyas. The lists in ss. 23-37 above (regarding documents in general) and in ss. 47-56 (regarding royal decrees) are not mutually exclusive. The differences between the present passage and 9.5.10-11 and 9.6.24 are due to difference in context, perhaps also to a difference in sources.

49 gunagrahaṇām from Cb is obviously necessary. gunāgaṇa as ‘merits that are there and that are not there’ (Meyer) is hardly convincing. — praśāvinsā stutiḥ: one of the words is superfluous. Cs has ‘praise of existing merits and mention of non-existent merits.’ 50 kula, i.e., friendship between the two families without there being kinship. — hrdaya refers to friendship between the parties themselves, while mitra refers to a common friend. 53 ātmopanidhānam corresponds to sāntva in s. 34 above.

57 lekhaḍoṣāḥ: as Stein (ZII, 6, 65) points out this discussion of defects in writing should preferably have come after that of excellences in ss. 6-12 above. 58 kālapatram: Cb Cf read kālapatītam ‘writing over a dimmed earlier writing’ (Cb), ‘rubbed off after writing’ (Cf). 62 Here Cp understands varga as yati
and not making a group where there should be a group, this reversal of qualities is confusion.

63 After going through all the sciences in detail and after observing the practice (in such matters), Kauṭilya has made these rules about edicts for the sake of kings.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

SECTION 29 EXAMINATION OF THE PRECIOUS ARTICLES TO BE RECEIVED INTO THE TREASURY

1 The Superintendent of the Treasury should receive jewels, articles of high value, articles of small value or forest produce, to be received into the treasury, (while) presiding over bureaus of experts in the (various) lines.

2 That from the Tāmraparṇi, that from Pāṇḍyaka-vāṭa, that from the Pāśikā, that from the Kulā, that from the Cūrṇi, that from (Mt.) Mahendra, that from the Kardama, that from the Srotāsi, that from the Lake, and that from the Himavat, these are pearls. 3 The shell, the conch and miscellaneous are the sources (of pearls).

4 (A pearl that is) lentil-shaped, triangular, tortoise-shaped, semi-spherical, with a layer, coupled, cut up, rough, spotted, gourd-

'caesura.' — gunaviparyāsaḥ is only a description of avaroge varga- etc. (Cb and Meyer).

63 Kauṭilya: Cp says that the implication is that other writers before him had not composed a corresponding section. — narendrārthe: there is nothing to show that narendra here is a special designation of Chandragupta Maurya or that sūsana means 'established law,' as V. R. R. Dikshitar (IHQ, III, 178-9) thinks.

2.11

ratna includes sāra and phalgu as well, but not kupya which is described in 2.17 below, though s. 1 includes it along with the others. — Cb has prāvesya also here. — adhiṣṭhitaḥ: see 2.5.8.

1 kosādhyakṣaḥ: this officer is clearly under the savāṇidhātr; cf. 2.5.8 where the latter is referred to as receiving articles in the treasury.

2 pāṇḍyakavātaka: Cb Cp identify Pāṇḍyakavāṭa with Mt. Malayakoṭi in the Pāṇḍya country. H. V. Trivedi (IC, I, 249-50) thinks it is either Negapattam or Ramnad 'the port of embarkation for Ceylon.' — pāśikā: the river Pāśikā 'in the Pāṇḍya country' (Cj) seems more likely than 'near Pāṇḍaliputra' (Cb Cp). — kauleya: the river Kulā is near Mayāragrāma in Ceylon (Cb Cp). — caurṣeṣa: the river Cūrṇi is near the town Muraci in Kerala (Cb Cp); river Cūrṇā near Kerala (Cj). — kārdamika: river Kardamā is in Pārasika (Cb), in Conideśa (Cb), in the Uttarāpatha (Cj). — sravasīṣa: river Srotāsi is on the shore of Barbarā (Cb) or Parpara (Cb). — hrādiya 'from a pool called Śrīghanta in the sea off the coast of Barbarā' (Cb) or Parpara (Cb). 3 prakīrṇakam: Cp quotes a memorial verse mentioning six such sources, the temple of an elephant, the hood of a serpent etc.
shaped, dark, blue, and badly perforated, is defective. 5 (That which is) big, round, without a flat surface, lustrous, white, heavy, smooth and perforated at the proper place is excellent.

6 Śīrṣaka, upaśīrṣaka, prakāṇḍaka, avaghātaka and taralapratibaddha, — these are varieties of (pearl-) strings.

7 One thousand and eight strings make the indracchanda (necklace). 8 Half that (number) make the vijayacchanda. 9 Sixty-four make the ardha-hāra. 10 Fifty-four make the raśmi-kalāpa. 11 Thirty-two make the guccha. 12 Twenty-seven make the nakṣatra-mālā. 13 Twenty-four make the ardha-guccha. 14 Twenty (strings) make the māṇavaka. 15 Half that (number) make the ardha-māṇavaka. 16 These same, with a gem in the centre, become their (respective) māṇavakas.

17 (A necklace of) only śīrṣakas is an unmixed hāra. 18 Like that, are the rest. 19 With a gem in the centre, it is an ardha-māṇavaka.

4 sīktakam: Cb text shows sīkthakam, but the explanation 'spotted' presupposes sīktaka. Cs adopting sīkthaka explains 'having spots of the shape of sīktha (bees' wax? or boiled rice?).'

6 śīrṣaka 'with one big pearl in the centre, the rest small and uniform in size' (Cb Cp). — upaśīrṣaka 'one big pearl with a small pearl on each side of it,—a series of these' (Cb). — prakāṇḍaka 'one big pearl with two small pearls on each side—a series of these' (Cb). Cp seems to understand 'with five pearls as principal, i.e., in the centre.' — avaghātaka 'a big pearl in the centre with pearls gradually decreasing in size on both sides' (Cb Cp). — taralapratibaddha 'a string of uniform-sized pearls throughout' (Cb which, however, reads -pratividham). The readings and explanations of Cj are far from clear. — yaśātprabhedāḥ is from the commentators for -pradesāḥ of the mss.

8 After s. 8 Cb adds sataṁ devacchandaḥ, explained rather curiously as 'containing 881 strings.' — The commentators add that these varieties are primarily for decoration in temples etc. (devalacitūnaḍiṣu sabhākaraṇārtham — Cj). — The Brhat Sanhitā 81.31-36 has a closely parallel passage with a few variations. It has a hāra of 108 strings, its ardhaguccha has 20 strings, māṇavaka 16 and ardhamāṇavaka 12 and it adds a mandara of 8 strings and a hāraphalaka of 5. 16 ete eva 'i.e., an indracchanda with a gem in the centre instead of a pearl is indracchanda-māṇavaka and so on' (Cb Cp); e.g., padmarāgendracchanda and so on' (Cj). Meyer has 'these have a gem in the centre, therefore they are called māṇavakas.' tat in the sense of 'therefore' seems doubtful here.

17 ekaśīrṣakāḥ etc. 'when in an indracchanda we have only śīrṣaka strings, we get indracchandaśīrṣakāśuddhahāra, and so on' (Cb). This is what seems meant. Cb has 'when there are only pearls in śīrṣaka etc. it is called a suddha hāra.' According to Cj there are twenty strings in a suddhāśīrṣaka hāra, but only one according to others mentioned in it. Meyer's 'with one big pearl in the centre and made of bright pearls (suddha) is the Ravisher (hāra)' is doubtful. 19 Because of a different ardha-māṇavaka in s. 15 above, Meyer regards ss. 17-19 as supicious.
20 One with three strips is a *phalaka-hāra* or one with five strips.

21 A single string is the unmixed *ekāvāli*. 22 The same, with a gem in the centre, is the *yaṣṭi*. 23 Variegated with gold and gems it is the *ratnāvalī*. 24 With gold, gems and pearls at intervals, it is the *apavartaka*. 25 With stringing in a gold thread it is the *sopānaka*. 26 Or, with a gem in the centre, it is the *manī-sopānaka*.

27 By that are explained varieties of strings and net-works for the head, hands, feet and waist.

28 Gems come from Koṭi, from the Mālā and from beyond the sea.

29 The ruby, of the colour of the red lotus, of the colour of saffron, of the (colour of) *pārijāta*-flower, (and) of the (colour of the) morning sun. 30 The beryl, of the colour of the blue lotus, of the *śīrṣa*-flower, of the colour of water, of the colour of (green) bamboo, of the colour of the parrot’s wing, yellow-coloured, of the colour of cow’s urine

20 *triphalakaḥ* etc.: *phalaka* seems to be a strip of gold on which pearls or gems are set. A *phalakahāra* (as distinguished from *sūḍha hāra*) has 3 or 5 such strips. Thus in the main *Cb*. *Cp* *Cs* read 19 and 20 as one s. ‘an *ardha-māṇavaka* (of s. 15) with a gem in the centre, if accompanied by 3 or 5 strips of gold on which the gem in the centre is inlaid, is called a *phalakahāra*.’ This is not unlikely. *Cj* seems to have ‘a ten-stringed *ardha-māṇavaka* with a gem in the centre, with three or five gold-strips inlaid with gems strung in between is a *phalakahāra*.’

21 *sūtram*: according to the commentators, *sūtra* is the name and *ekāvāli* is descriptive of it. The closely parallel *Br. Saṃ.*, 81.36, however, gives *ekāvāli* as the name, adding that it is 1 *hasta* in length. — *D* has a folio covering ss. 21-80. 23 *hemamani* ‘beads of gold’ (*Cb* *Cp*); ‘gold and gems’ (*Cj* as also Meyer, who argues that without an actual gem the name *ratnāvalī* would hardly be justified). — *apavartaka* probably contains a reference to the warding off of the evil eye. 25 *svarnasūtripāntara* ‘with gold plates only, without gems’ (*Cb*), ‘with gold only in various designs and with holes for threads to be woven in or with catches on both sides for holding the thread’ (*Cp*), ‘where a pearl is strung in a single gold thread (svarnasūtripānena ekena antaritān mauktikaṁ yatra tat)’ (*Cj*). This last explanation has been adopted. 26 *manīsopānakaṃ*: *Cj* says that the name would vary with the gem used, *vaidūryasopānaka*, *vajrasopānaka* and so on. That seems reasonable.

28 *kauṭah*: ‘from Koṭi between Malaya and the sea’ (*Cp*), ‘from Mt. Kūṭa’ (*Cb* *Cj*). — *māleyaṅkah*: ‘from Malaya’ (*Cb* *Cj*), ‘from Mālā, a part of Malaya, also called Karṇīvana’ (*Cp*). — *pārasamudrakah*: ‘from Mt. Rohaṇa in Ceylon’ (com.).

29-32 The explanation attributed to ‘others’ in *Cp* is adopted, *saugandhika*, *vaidūrya* and *indranila* being regarded as *adhiṅkara-sabdas* or generic names of various types of gems and the words following each understood as varieties of these. *Cp* itself regards *saugandhika* as only a variety of *māṇikya* or ruby. That is in conformity with the *Mānasollāsa*, 2.475-6. But the *Br. Saṃ.*, 82.1, seems to regard *saugandhika* as a basic variety of gems. — *padmarūgaungalowa*- is necessary for *padmānacadvaya*, as two different types are thought of. — *nilacāliyaḥ* is read after *indranilaḥ* as in *D*; it is more likely to be a variety of sapphire than of *vaidūrya*.
(and) of cow’s fat. 31 The sapphire, with blue lines, like the kalāya-flower, deep blue, having the lustre of the jambū-fruit, having the lustre of the dark cloud, the ‘delighter’ (and) the ‘streaming interior.’ 32 The pure crystal, of the colour of mūlāṭa-flower, shedding a cool shower and the sun-stone. These are the gems.

33 Hexagonal, square or round, of a flashing colour, having a suitable form, clear, smooth, heavy, lustrous, with lustre inside and imparting lustre, — these are the excellences of gems. 34 With a dull colour and lustre, with grains, with a hole in the bloom, broken, badly bored, (and) covered with scratches, — these are blemishes.

35 The vimalaka, the sasyaka, the aṇjanamūlaka, the pittaka, the sulabhaka, the lohitākṣa, the mṛgāṁśaka, the jyotirasaka, the māleyaaka, the ahicchatraka, the kūrpa, the pratikūrpa, the sugandhikūrpa, the kṣīravaka, the śukticūrṇaka, the śilāpravālaka, the pulaka, the śuklapulaka, — these are subsidiary types (of gems). 36 The rest are glass-crystals.

— It is to be noted that marakata itself is not mentioned. — puṣyarāga ‘yellow like turmeric’ (Cp). — nandaka ‘white inside and blue outside’ (Cp). — sravanmadhyā ‘having rays shooting like flowing water’ (Cp). — The words śuddhaspaṭika mūlāṭavarnaḥ are from the commentators, but seem to be genuine. In D they are found before indranilaḥ, clearly out of place. Cj, however, with the same reading as D, understands śuddhaspaṭika and mūlāḍicarṇa as two further types of puṣyarāga. — mūlāṭa, according to Cb Cp is ‘curds with the upper layer removed.’ It may mean the flower of the mūlāṭi plant. — Cb has vaidūrya of five types up to śukapratavarna, puṣyarāga of two types up to gomeda, then śuddha- spāṭika of two types mūlāṭavarna and nilāvaiṣa, indranila of four types up to jīmīṣaprabha, and nandaka of three types, sravanmadhya, śīkṣita and sūryaśānta. Cj has padmarāga, vaidūrya, puṣyarāga, indranila, mahānila, nandaka (i.e. candrabanta) and sūryaśānta as the basic types. — It is also conceivable that from saugandhika to sūryaśānta, we have a single list of gems, without basic types and varieties. The absence of ca anywhere except at the end might indicate this.

33 saṁsthānavān ‘capable of being tied or set’ (com.); ‘possessed of firmness, hard’ (Meyer). The former as implying a suitable form or shape seems better. — Br. Saṁś, 82.3, is closely parallel. 34 puspacchidraḥ ‘with a drop in the interior’ (Cp), ‘with a flower-like whitish spot’ (Cb). In the closely parallel Br. Saṁś, 82.4, this word seems to have been replaced by sadhātu ‘with some mineral.’

35 vimalaka ‘white-red’ (Cb), ‘white-green’ (Cp). sasyaka ‘blue,’ aṇjanamūlaka ‘dark-blue,’ pittaka ‘of the colour of cow’s bile,’ sulabhaka ‘white,’ lohitākṣa ‘black in the centre and red at the fringe,’ mṛgāṁśaka ‘white and black,’ jyotirasaka ‘white-red,’ māleyaaka (v. l. maileyaaka) ‘vermilion-coloured,’ ahicchatraka ‘of a faint red colour,’ kūrpa ‘with sand-grains inside,’ pratikūrpa ‘of the colour of sikthaka (bees’ wax)?,’ sugandhikūrpa ‘of the colour of the mudga-bean,’ kṣīravaka ‘milk-coloured,’ śukticūrṇaka ‘many-coloured,’ śilāpravālaka ‘coral-coloured,’ pulaka ‘with a black interior,’ śuklapulaka ‘with a white interior.’ Thus mostly Cs. The names of some of these appear in a different form and the explanation of some differ in Cj. Most of these names have no doubt reference to colour, but māleyaaka and ahicchatraka apparently refer to the place of their origin.
37 Diamonds come from Sabhārāṣṭra, from Tajjamārāṣṭra, from Kāstirarāṣṭra, from (Mt.) Śrikaṭanaka, from (Mt.) Maṇimanta and from Indravāna. 38 The mine, the stream, and miscellaneous are the sources.

39 Like the cat’s eye, the śīrṣa-flower, cow’s urine, cow’s fat, pure crystal, (or) the mālāṭa-flower, and of the colour of any one of the gems, — these are the colours of diamonds.

40 (A diamond that is) big, heavy, capable of bearing blows, with symmetrical points, (capable of) scratching a vessel, revolving like a spindle and brilliantly shining is excellent. 41 That with points lost, without edges and defective on one side is bad.

42 The coral from Alakanda and from Vivarṇa, red and of the colour of the lotus (is excellent), with the exception of that which is eaten by insects and which is bulging in the middle.

43 Sandal-wood from Sātana is red and has the smell of the earth.

44 That from Gośīrṣa is blackish red and smells like fish.

36 kācamaṇaṇayaḥ: artificial gems are clearly meant (yathoktamaṇiḍagaprabhānu-kāriṇaḥ — Cj). Cp explains by dhātuvramayaḥ ‘made of mineral substances.’

37 Sabhārāṣṭra is Vidarbha (vidarbhaviṣaye veinsākaṇṭhapārśve jātam sabhārāṣṭrakam — Cj). Cp reads mahārāṣṭrakam identifying the country with Āraṭṭa. — tajjamārāṣṭrakam: Cj, reading tajjumā-, explains ‘from Bhogavalli in the Kalingas.’ G M read madhyamarāṣṭrakam ‘from the Kosalas’ (Cp Cs). — kāstirarāṣṭrakam: Cp seems to identify it with Kāśī. Patañjali on Pañini 6.1.154 takes Kāstīra to be a Vāhika-grāma (V. S. Agrawala, India in Pāñini etc., p. 63). Cj has ‘kāsmirarāṣṭrakain śūrpākārabhūmiṇam.’ — śrikaṭanakam: ‘Kāśicīdesa kaṅkādiṣu (?) parscate’ (Cj). According to Oldham (JBOBS, 13, 196) the locality is to be sought in the neighbourhood of Jabalpur Dist. ‘There are villages called Katanga and Katangi still in the vicinity’ (197 n. 2). — maṇimantakam: Mt. Maṇimanta is in the Uttarāpatha (Cp); ‘sarkābhūmiṇa (?)’ (Cj). Maṇimantha is mentioned in the Mahābhārata, 13.18.83. — indravāṇakam ‘from the Kalingas’ (Cp), ‘from the Kālindī (kālindyaṃ?)’ (Cj). Cp’s reading seems to be isuṇvānaka or iṣuṇvānaka.

40 bhājanalekhi ‘able to scratch when shaken in a kāṁsya vessel containing water ’ (Cp). — tarkubhrāmi: ‘though not revolving, yet appearing to revolve’ (Cp Cp). tarku is a spindle and ‘revolving like a spindle’ seems also likely. Meyer understands the idea of rays shooting from it like a spindle and would even read tarkubhrāmibhṛājīṣu as one word. 41 pārśvāparīta ‘slanting on one side’ (Cp). The idea seems to be that of one side not being symmetrical with the other sides.

42 alakandakam: Cj reads alsatsāndrakam, Cb alsāndrakam. Cb has ‘Ālāsāndra, a country in the sea off the coast of the Pappar land;’ this is Cp’s explanation of alakandaka. The latter may possibly contain a reference to the Laccadiv islands. Jayaswal’s ‘root-coral (kanda) with a yellow tinge (āla)’ (Hindu Polity, I, App. C, 212 n. 1) seems little likely. — vaivarṣikam: ‘Vivarṇa is off the Yavana-dvīpa’ (Cp), ‘off Coniyadesa’ (Cb). Cp reads vaivalgukam. — garbhiniṅkā ‘bulging in the middle’ (Cp), ‘with a yaṣṭi (strip?) in the middle’ (Cp); ‘with defects in the interior’ (Meyer).
sandal-wood from Hari is of the colour of the parrot’s feather and has the smell of a mango, also that from the Tr̄pasā. 46 That from Gr̄ameru is red or red-black and has the smell of goat’s urine. 47 That from Devasabhā is red and has the smell of a lotus, also that from Jāpa. 48 That from Jōnga is red or red-black and smooth, also that from Turūpa. 49 That from the Mālā is whitish red. 50 kucandana is rough, black like aloe or red or reddish black. 51 That from Kāla mountain is reddish black or of the colour of saffron. 52 That from Kośāgāra mountain is black or black-variegated. 53 That from the Śītakā has the lustre of the lotus or is black and smooth. 54 That from Nāga mountain is rough or of the colour of moss. 55 That from Śākala is brown.

56 Light, smooth, not dry, unctuous with oil like butter, pleasant in smell, penetrating the skin, unobtrusive, not losing colour, capable of bearing heat, allaying heat, and pleasant to the touch, — these are the excellences of sandal-wood.

57 Aloe from Jōnga is black, black-variegated or variegated with round spots. 58 That from Doṅga is dark. 59 That from beyond the sea has a variegated appearance (and) has the smell of uśira or the fragrance of navanālikā.

60 Heavy, smooth, of a pleasant smell, wide-spreading (in fragrance), burning well, without a thick smoke, of a uniform fragrance, capable of standing a rubbing, — these are the excellences of aloe.

61 Tailaparnika (incense) from Asokagrāma has the colour of flesh and the fragrance of a lotus. 62 That from Jonga is reddish

43 The description of sāra articles begins with this s. — sātanam ‘from the Sātana country’ (Cb), ‘from the Sātana mountain’ (Cj). 44 gośirṣakam ‘from the Gośirṣa country’ (Cb); the name is more likely to be that of a mountain, as in Cj. 45 hariandana ‘from the Haridesa’ (Cb), ‘from the mountain shaped like harī, i.e., monkey’ (Cj). hari may possibly refer to the colour ‘tawny.’ — tārṇasam ‘from the mountain on the bank of the river Tr̄pasā’ (Cj). 46 Gr̄ameru is ‘a region’ (Cb), ‘a mountain’ (Cj). — basta ‘goat’ is the musk-deer, according to ‘some’ in the commentators. 47 Jāpa, Jōnga and Turūpa are in Kāmarūpa, the rest of the places mentioned in connection with sandalwood are in the Malay region (com.). 51 Cb’s actual comment shows raktakālam before anacvyavaraṃ vā. That appears to have been original. 53 Śītakāk ‘a river’ (Cj), ‘a country’ (Cp).

56 sarpiḥsnehepi : smearing with its oil is compared with smearing with butter. — tvaganasari ‘pleasantly penetrating up to the roots of the skin’s hair’ (Cb). — Cb seems to have read avikāri for avirāgi. Cf., however, s. 71 below.

58 doṅgakam : ‘Doṅga is in Kāmarūpa’ (Cp). Cj seems to have read vaṅgakam ‘from the Vaṅgas.’

60 aśvinpluttadhītānam ‘without surging smoke’ seems to convey the idea of absence of overpowering smoke, while burning; ‘with a steady smoke, avaṣṭhi-tadhītānam’ (Cj).
yellow and has the fragrance of a blue lotus or the smell of cow’s urine. 63 That from Grāmeru is smooth and has the smell of cow’s urine. 64 That from Suvarṇakuḍya is reddish yellow and has the smell of the citron fruit. 65 That from Pūrṇaka-dvīpa has the fragrance of a lotus or the smell of butter.

66 Bhadraśriya from beyond the Lauhityā is of the colour of the jāti-flower. 67 That from Antaravatī is of the colour of uśira. 68 And both have the smell of kuṣṭha.

69 Kāleyaka from Svarṇabhūmi is smooth and yellow. 70 That from the northern mountain is reddish yellow.

Thus the objects of high value.

71 Capable of (retaining fragrance when) formed into a lump or boiled or producing smoke, not losing colour, and amenable to mixing (with other substances); 72 and qualities similar to those of sandalwood and aloe, — these are their excellences.

73 The kāntanāvaka and the praiyaka are skins from the northern mountain. 74 The kāntanāvaka has the lustre of the peacock’s neck. 75 The praiyaka is variegated with blue, yellow and white lines and spots. 76 Both these are eight aṅgulas in length.

77 The bisi and the mahābisi come from Dvādaśagrāma. 78 The bisi is of an indistinct colour, hairy or variegated. 79 The mahābisi is rough, mostly white. 80 Both are twelve aṅgulas in length.

61 tailaparnika is a kind of incense. Meyer thinks it is a fragrant oil used as a salve. All the places of origin are in Kāmarūpa (com.).

66 bhadraśriya is camphor or takkola or śrīvāsaka or red sandalwood (Cp). 68 kuṣṭha is the name of a medicinal plant, also called pāribhāṣya (com.).

69 kāleyaka is also a kind of fragrant substance. It is dāruharidrā (Amara, 2.4.101). — Svarṇabhūmi ‘Burma’ (Cs Meyer), ‘Sumatra’ (Meyer). 70 uttaraparvata is evidently the Himālaya.

71 pindakvātha- etc.: the idea of their retaining fragrance when formed into lumps etc. (com.) is preferable to the idea of their capability to form lumps etc. (Meyer). — yogānuvidhāyi, i.e., capable of mixing with other substances so as to retain the fragrance. — The adjectives here are in the neuter and would apply only to tailaparnika and bhadraśriya, hardly to kāleyakaḥ. Perhaps s. 71 should be read after s. 68. And perhaps the words iti sārāḥ should be read after s. 72; for ss. 71-72 describe qualities of sāra.

73 The description of phalgu objects begins with this s. — kāntanāvakam: this and praiyaka as names of skins are derived from the place of their origin, in the Himālayas (Cj). 76 astāṅgulayāman: this comes to about six inches, clearly the skin of a very small animal. According to Cj it is the skin of the Himalayan rat.

77 Jayaswal (JBORS, 18, 97) identifies bisi and mahābisi with the Little Yūe Chi and the Great Yūe Chi of Central Asia. In another place (Hindu Polity, I, 214) he identifies mahābisi with the Mahāvyas of the Vedas. These and the following names seem, however, to contain a reference to the animal rather than to the place
81 The śyāmikā, the kālikā, the kadali, the candrottarā and the sākulā are produced in Āroha. 82 The śyāmikā is brown or variegated with spots. 83 The kālikā is brown or dove-coloured. 84 Both these are eight āṅgulas in length. 85 The kadali is rough and one hasta in length. 86 The same, variegated with ‘moons’, is the candrottarā. 87 The sākulā is one-third the kadali (in length), variegated with circular spots or variegated with natural knots in the skin.

88 The sāmūra, the cīnasī and the sāmūli are from Bāhlava. 89 The sāmūra is thirty-six āṅgulas and of the colour of collyrium. 90 The cīnasī is reddish black or pale black. 91 The sāmūli is of the colour of wheat.

92 The sātinā, the naltulā, and the vṛttapucchā are from Odra. 93 The sātinā is black. 94 The naltulā is of the colour of the flower-panicle of the nala-reed. 95 And the vṛttapucchā is brown.

These are the varieties of skins.

96 Of skins, the soft, the smooth and the hairy are best.

97 Woollen cloth is white, all red and part red, with threads laid in with the needle, variegated in weaving, with pieces joined together and with broken off threads. 98 The blanket, the kauca paka, the of their origin. 78 duhilitikā ‘hairy’ (Cb Cp), ‘of the shape of a house-lizard (grhagaudhakakārā)’ (Cb). Meyer proposes duhilitikā (Prakrit for dvilikhītikā) ‘having double lines.’

81 āroha jāh : Cb has ‘Ārota in the Himalayas.’ 87 kadalitribhāgā can hardly be ‘three-fourths of kadali’ (Meyer). — kotha ‘red circles’ (Cb). The word may be a Prakrit form of kusṭha ‘a spot on the skin.’ Cj seems to have read naga- (for kotha-) ; but its explanation of it ‘gāngasthānaih’ is far from clear. — kṛtakarnītkājinācitrā : the translation follows Cb. Meyer has ‘variegated like the antelope’s skin when knots are formed in it.’ — vā seems obviously necessary for ca of the mss.

88 bāhlaveyāh : ‘Bāhlava is in the Himalayas’ (Cb Cs). Bactria is more likely. Jayaswal asserts (JBO, 18, 97) that a Central Asian fur is still known as sāmūra and is still imported into India.

92 audrāh : Cb derives it from udra in the sense of ‘jalamārjāra.’ More likely, however, it contains a reference to the place of origin as in the other cases, perhaps Orissa. Cj has Udradeśajātāh.

97 śuddha ‘white’ (Cb); śuddharakta ‘all red’ (Cb); pakṣa-rakta ‘half-red, half-white’ (Cb). If rakta from rājī means ‘dyed,’ the three terms may also mean ‘undyed,’ ‘fully dyed’ and ‘part dyed.’ Cj has pakṣmaraktam ‘dyed in (crosswise) threads only.’ — khacita : the translation is as in Cb, which seems to imply some sort of knitting. — khaḍasāṅghityā : as Cj has ‘parts are separately made and then joined together.’ Cb has ‘with many threads left unwoven’. — tantuvichinnā seems to refer to some sort of net-work or lace-work. Meyer refers khacita etc. also to colours, which seems little likely. 98 kauca paka : Cb, reading ko-
kulumitīkā, the saumitīkā, the horse’s saddle-cloth, the coloured blanket, the talicchaka, the armour, the paristoma and the samantabhadraka are (varieties of) woollen cloth. 99 Slippery and wet as it were, fine and soft is best.

100 The black bhiṅgīsī, made out of a collection of eight woven strands (and) the apasāraka which keeps off rain, — that is (woollen cloth) from Nepāla.

101 The samputīkā, the caturaśrikā, the lambarā, the kāṭavānakā, the prāvaraka and the sattalikā are (products from) the hair of animals.

102 The dukūla from the Vaṅgas is white and smooth. 103 That from the Puṇḍras is dark and smooth like a gem. 104 That from Suvarnakūḍya is of the colour of the sun, with gem-smooth water-

explains by ‘a covering.’ Cp reading kuśelasaka has ‘helmet from the forest.’ Cb adds kapilā after this word and explains it by ‘covering for the head.’ — kulamitikā and saumitikā are housings for elephants, the latter being black (Cb Cp). Cj has ‘somitikā karnatāṅgam, ear-guard.’ — talicchakam is a kind of bed-spread (Cb) or carpet (Cj). — vāravāṇa: Meyer suggests the etymology from vāra ‘horses’ hair’ and vāna ‘weave’, i.e., with a rough texture. — paristoma ‘a kind of blanket’ (Cb), ‘a carpet for the elephant’ (Cj). Meyer thinks that it is a bed-spread ‘tucked in on all sides.’ — samantabhadrakam: ‘belt or hem at the bottom of the armour, sannāhatalapāṭtaka’ (Cj). 99 picchilam, i.e., ‘where the hand slips’ (Cj). iva may be construed with this word also.

100 aṣṭaprotisamṅghātya seems to mean ‘in which there is a collection (samāṅghātya) of weaves (prati) of eight strands,’ apparently suggesting very thick threads. — bhiṅgīsī is apparently the name of this cloth; so Cb, which, however, reads tinikīsī: — varṣavāraṇam apasārakaḥ: in spite of the absence of ca, this seems to refer to another type of Nepal cloth, apasāraka being the name and varṣavārana (despite the difference in gender) descriptive of it. Meyer understands only one type in the whole s., the apasāraka. Three (bhiṅgīsī, varṣavārana and apasāraka) are possible, but not very likely.

101 samputīkā ‘a guard for shanks’ (Cb); lambarā and kāṭavānakā are kinds of bed-spreads, so is prāvaraka also a bed-spread with a fringe on both sides (com.). It may be that samputīkā is ‘a bag,’ lambarā ‘a curtain, hanging,’ kāṭavānakā ‘matting or rug,’ and prāvaraka ‘a rug.’ sattalikā is also a kind of bed-spread. Cp says that to local people, kāṭavānakā is known as bhāṣyaka, prāvaraka as romāvartaka and sattalikā as tīlīkā.

102 dukūlam: cf. J. Charpentier (ZDMG, 73, 144-145) for the suggestion that this is a case of Prakritism for dvikūla, a word primarily descriptive of the cloth ‘with two borders’ and secondarily of the material. — Suvarnakūḍya ‘a region in Kashmir’ (Cb). Suvarnakūḍya was subsequently changed to Kāṅsausvarna, which includes Murshidabad and Rajmahal in Bengal. The soil here is red like gold and hence the name’ (Haraprasad Shastri, JBORS, V, 1919, 318).

104 maṅisnigdhasākravānam: ‘soaking the material in water, then rubbing it with a gem and then weaving’ (Cb), ‘a weave producing the smoothness of a gem and the transparency of water’ (Meyer). — caturaśravānam ‘weave with one uniform colour’ (Cb Cp). A reference to colour seems hardly to be there. Cj has ‘un-
weave, with a uniform weave and with a mixed weave. 105 Of these, there is cloth with a single yarn or with one and a half yarns or with two, three or four yarns.

106 By that is explained the kṣauma from Kāśi and the Puṇḍras.

107 The patroṇā-silk comes from the Magadhās, the Puṇḍras and Suvarṇakūḍya. 108 The nāga-tree, the likuca, the bakula and the banyan tree are the sources. 109 That from the nāga-tree is yellow. 110 That from the likuca is wheat-coloured. 111 That from the bakula is white. 112 The remaining one is of the colour of butter. 113 Of these, that from Suvarṇakuḍya is best.

114 By that are explained the silk and silk-cloth from the land of Cīna.

115 Cotton fabrics from Madhurā, the Aparāntas, the Kaliṅgas, Kāśi, the Vaṅgas, the Vatsas and the Mahīṣas, are best.

116-117 Of precious articles other than these, he should be conversant with the amount, price, characteristics, class and appearance, their storing, manufacture of new ones and repair of old ones, secret treatment, tools, their use according to place and time, and remedies against things destructive (to them).

mixed with cotton or silk.' vyāmiśra-, i.e., a mixture with cotton or silk or a mixture of colours (com.) The three expressions would seem to describe all three types of dukāla. 105 ekāṁsukam, i.e., with a single yarn in the warp and the woof; adhyardhāṁsukam with a single yarn in the warp and double in the woof; and so on. Cb refers to another explanation where avīśu is understood as 'colour.'

107 patroṇā, literally, 'wool in the leaf' refers to a kind of silk. Joges Chandra Ray (JBORS, III, 216) identifies it with the Eri or Muğa silk of Assam. Lassen mentions 12 kinds of worms native to India, the trees favoured by them being bādari, erūṇḍa and pippala (Meyer).

114 cinabhūmijāḥ: Jayaswal (Hindu Polity, I, App. C, 212 n.) argues that Cīna refers not to China but to Shīna, the Gilgit tribe, which still carries on silk manufacture. Cīna, he says, are often mentioned with Darada and other Himalayan or North-western people (Manu, 10.44 etc.). 'Cīna alone cannot jump over thousands of miles away into China.'

115 madhuram 'Madhurā is the capital of the Pāṇḍyas' (Cb); Cj refers to northern Madhurā as well as the southern. — māhiṣakam may refer to Māhiṣmati on the Narmadā or to Mahīṣamanḍala. Cb reads māhiṣamakam.

117 karma guhyam, i.e., colouring, falsification of jewels etc. — deśakāḷa-parībhogam 'the proper time and place for manufacture, purchase etc. and the manner of their use' (Cb Cp); but 'use at the proper place and time' would appear a better idea. Breloer (KSt, III, 293) thinks that as the verses deal with the guarding of goods while the chapter is concerned with their inspection, they are probably derived from a different source.
CHAPTER TWELVE

SECTION 30 STARTING OF MINES AND FACTORIES

1 The Director of Mines, being conversant with the science of (metal) veins in the earth and metallurgy, the art of smelting and the art of colouring gems, or having the assistance of experts in these, and fully equipped with workmen skilled in the work and with implements, should inspect an old mine by the marks of dross, crucibles, coal and ashes, or a new mine, where there are ores in the earth, in rocks or in liquid form, with excessive colour and heaviness and with a strong smell and taste.

2 (Those liquids) that flow inside a hole, a cave, a table-land at the foot, a rock-cut cave, or a secret dug-out in mountains whose regions are known (to contain gold-ore), that are of the colour of the jambū-, the mango- or the palm-fruit or of a cross-section of ripe turmeric or of jaggery or of orpiment or red arsenic or honey or vermilion or white lotus or of the feather of a parrot or a peacock, that have in their environs water and plants of the same colour, and that are viscous, clear and heavy, are gold-bearing liquids. 3 (If, when) thrown in water, they spread on the surface like oil and absorb mud and dirt, they are capable of transmuting copper and silver up to one hundred (times their own weight).

4 Exactly similar to that in appearance, (but) with a strong smell and taste, he should know to be bitumen.

5 Ores in earth or rocks, which are yellow or copper-coloured or reddish-yellow, which, when broken, show blue lines or are of the colour of the mudga or māṣa bean or kṛṣaṇa, which are variegated with

2.12

1 śulbaśāstra ‘the science of metallic veins in the ground, or that of transmutation of copper into silver or gold’ (Cb Cp). C) has ‘bhūmaparīkṣākāstra.’ Breloer (KSt, III, 410) understands ‘geometry.’ — rasapāka ‘alchemy and smelting’ (Cb); it seems, however, that we have a single idea ‘smelting of liquid ores.’ Cf. swārṇapāka in 1.18.8 (where maṇirāga is also mentioned). — bhūtāparvam implies an abandoned mine. — bhūmi, prastara and rasa are the three types of ore that may be found. — Breloer (KSt, III, 309) refers atyantāparvagauravam to bhūmi- and prastara-dhātu only and ugragandharas amto rasadhātu only. That does not seem intended.

2 gūḍhakhaṭa may be one made by robbers. — guḍa found in Cb and a v. l. in M2 seems genuine. — svārṇodaka- etc.: the liquids evidently affect the colour of water and plants nearby. 3 veddharah: the root vyaḍh seems [to have the technical sense of ‘to transmute.’] C) has ‘svārṇasya karārāh’ as the paraphrase. In sūtād upari the idea apparently is that for each 100 units of copper or silver, one unit of this liquid would be sufficient. Meyer compares Kṣemendra’s Kalāvīlāsa, 9.7-8.
spots or lumps as of curds, which are of the colour of turmeric or myrobalan or lotus-leaf or moss or liver or spleen or saffron, which, when broken, show lines, spots or svastikas of fine sand, which are possessed of pebbles and are lustrous, which, when heated, do not break and yield plenty of foam and smoke, are gold-ores, to be used for insertion, as transmuters of copper and silver.

6 (Ores) of the colour of a conch-shell or camphor or crystal or butter or a dove or a pigeon, or vimalaka (gem) or the peacock’s neck, (or) of the colour of sasyaka (gem) or gomedaka (gem) or jaggery or unrefined sugar, (or) of the colour of the flower of kovidāra, or lotus or pāṭali-flower or kalāya-flower or the flower of flax or of linseed, (and) containing lead, containing antimony, smelling like raw flesh, when broken (either) black with a white shimmer (or) white with a black shimmer, or all variegated with lines and spots, soft, (which) when being smelted do not split and yield plenty of foam and smoke, are silver-ores.

7 In the case of all ores, when there is increase in heaviness there is increase in metal-content.

8 Of these, those that are impure or dim in the interior flow in a pure form when infused in strong urine and caustic, when formed into lumps with (a paste of) the rājaivṛkṣa, the banyan tree, the pilu, cow’s bile, pigment and the urine and dung of the buffalo, the donkey and the young camel, either mixed with this (during boiling) or smeared with this (paste).

9 The insertion (in the ore) of the bulbous roots of the kadali and the vaśra, along with the caustic (of the ashes) of barley, māsabean, sesameum, palāśa and pilu or along with the milk of the cow and the goat, is productive of softness.

10 Honey and liquorice, goat’s milk with sesameum-oil, mixed with ghee, jaggery and fermenting stuff, together with the

5 pratīcāpārthāḥ: according to the commentators, this ore in powder form is inserted in copper or silver while boiling.

6 For vimalaka and sasyaka, see 2.11.35, for gomedaka 2.11.30. vimalaka is white-red according to Cp here.

8 mādhagarbhāḥ, i.e., when the metal content is not clear. — mūtra of human beings or of the elephant, horse, bullock, donkey and goat (com.). — kṣāra is derived from the ashes of kadali, apāmārga etc. (Cb Cj). — karabhā ‘a young camel’ may also mean ‘a young elephant.’— Meyer understands an option between ākṣaṇa- etc. and rājaivṛkṣa- etc. But the option appears to be only in the matter of pratīcāpāra or awalepa.

9 yacanāśa- etc.: barley-husks, bean-stalks, sesameum-stalks, and the wood of palāśa and pilu trees are burnt to form the caustic. yacaksāra is well-known as salt-petre.
kandali, — with only three infusions in this, a (metal ore) that may have been broken even a hundred-thousand-fold becomes soft.

11 The insertion of (the powder of) the teeth and horns of the cow is the remover of softness (in metals).

12 Ore from rocks or a region of the earth, which is heavy, unctuous and soft (and which is) tawny, green, reddish or red (in colour) is copper-ore.

13 That which is crow-black or of the colour of the dove or yellow pigment or studded with white lines (and) smelling like raw flesh, is lead-ore.

14 That which is grey like saline earth or of the colour of a baked lump of earth is tin-ore.

15 That which is made up mostly of smooth stones, is whitish-red or of the colour of sinduvaśa-flower is iron-ore.

16 That which is of the colour of kākāṇḍa (‘crow’s egg’) or birch-leaf is vaikṣṛntaka-ore.

17 That which is clear, smooth, lustrous, possessed of sound, cold, hard and of a light colour is gem-ore.

18 What is produced from ores, he should put to use in factories for the respective metals. 19 He should establish trade in manufactured goods in a single place, and (lay down) a penalty for those who manufacture, purchase or sell elsewhere.

10 The stanza in the middle of the chapter is clearly a quotation from an earlier authority. — kiṃca: its ingredients appear to be described in 2.25.33; ef. 2.25.26. Cb reads -gaçacārpa- in the sense of ‘sandy jaggery.’ — vihinnam conveys the idea of brittleness.

12 bhārikaḥ etc.: it may be that bhārika, snigdha and mṛdu are to be understood of all metal ores mentioned in ss. 12-16; they differ only as to colour.

15 khurumbah ‘consisting mostly of smooth stones’ (Cp); Cb reads surumbah in the same sense.

16 kākāṇḍa is ‘a kind of tree’ identified with mahānimba in the Śabdakalpadruma. — bhujapātra appears to be corrupted from bhūrajapātra. — vā seems to show the option between kākāṇḍa and bhujapātra. — vaikṣṛntaka: the exact identification of this metal is uncertain. Cj’s not very clear words are ‘vaikṣṛntadhātur acchalo-hasya dhātur iṣyarthāḥ; vaikṣṛnto hi vāraḥkṣiśe cinadeśe pāpam (vāyam ?) utpadyate,’ which seems to suggest that the name is derived from some locality, and may be some special kind of iron or steel.

17 Cb, reading sītāśīraḥ, explains ‘becoming cool immediately on being taken) out of fire.’

19 atyayam: this is 25 paṇas as in s. 26 below, according to Cs. It may however be 600 paṇas as in s. 31 below and 2.25.2, as it involves a violation of state monopoly rights.
20 He should make a miner who robs pay eight-fold, except in the case of jewels. 21 The thief and the person who lives (by mining) without permission, he should bind and force to work (in the mines), also the person who offers personal labour in place of a fine.

22 He should let for part-share or on lease a mine that is burdensome in point of expenses or working; a light one, he should work himself.

23 The Director of Metals should establish factories for copper, lead, tin, vaikṛntaka, brass, steel, bronze, bell-metal and iron, also (establish) trade in metal-ware.

24 The Mint Master should cause to be minted silver coins with one-fourth part copper (and) containing a hardening alloy one māṣa (in weight) of one of the following, (viz.) iron, tin, lead and antimony, (of the denominations of) one paṇa, a half paṇa, a quarter paṇa and a one-eighth paṇa; (further,) copper coins with one-quarter sustenance (of an alloy), (of the denominations of) one māṣaka, a half māṣaka, a kākani and a half kākani.

25 The Examiner of Coins should establish the currency of paṇas, for trade and for receipts in the treasury. 26 (He should also

20 anyatra ratnebhyaḥ: in this case the punishment is death as in 4.9.2. 21 daṇḍopakārinam: i.e., the person who, unable to pay the fine, offers personal labour instead, same as daṇḍapratikārttī (2.24.2) or daṇḍapratikārini (2.23.2); cf. 3.13.18.

22 In bhāga a fixed share of the actual produce is received; in prakrtya a fixed rentual is received whatever the amount of produce.

23 ārakūta, kaṇīsa and tāla are alloys of copper with tin or zinc in various proportions. — loka seems to be used for 'iron' as well as metal in general.

24 lakṣṣoṇādhyaścaḥ: lakṣāna in this name apparently refers to the emblem of the king or state stamped on the coins as on the punch-marked coins. There was obviously no name or effigy of the ruler. Cf. Jayaswal, Hindu Polity, I, 42-43. — Though the actual weight of the coin is not stated, it is reasonable to suppose that it is the same as karsa or swarna, i.e., 16 māṣakas (cf. 2.19.3). Thus a silver paṇa would have 4 māṣakas of copper, 1 māṣa (i.e., māṣaka) of bija or hardening alloy and 11 māṣakas of silver. In the lower denominations the same proportions hold good. But, as Meyer says, though this is the sense, the wording favours the idea that even in the lower denominations the alloy is to be 1 māṣaka in each. — pādājitam, 'i.e., one-fourth silver, 11 parts copper and 1 māṣa alloy' (com.). But the copper māṣa or māṣaka is lower in value than a quarter paṇa and seems to be 1/16th of a paṇa in value (cf. 4.9.4, 9). The weight of the copper māṣaka appears also to be 1 swarna and not 1 māṣaka; for coins 1/8th of this in weight are mentioned. A māṣaka (coin) cannot be supposed to contain 4 māṣas of silver as against 1 3/8ths māṣa in an aṣṭabhāga paṇa and 2 3/4ths māṣa in a quarter paṇa. There is little doubt that there is no silver in the copper coin, only the ājīva or the hardening alloy. Perhaps the original reading was pādābijam.

25 vyācchāhārikāṁ kośapraṇavīyāṁ ca: apparently two sets of currency, one for trade purposes and the other for payments to the treasury are thought of. Breloer
fix) a coining fee of eight per cent, a commission of five per cent, an
inspection fee of one-eighth per cent, and a penalty of twenty-five pānas for those who manufacture, purchase, sell and examine in other
places.

27 The Superintendent of Mines should establish factories for
(articles of) conch-shells, diamonds, gems, pearls, corals and caustics
as well as commerce in them.

28 The Salt Commissioner should collect at the proper time the
share of salt as released after crystallization as well as the lease-rent, also
the price, the inspection fee and the surcharge from the sale. 29 Im-
ported salt shall pay one-sixth part (as duty). 30 (Its) sale (shall be
allowed) only after the share and the dues are paid (viz.,) five per cent
surcharge, the inspection fee and the manufacturing fee. 31 The
purchaser shall pay the duty and a protective duty corresponding
to the loss sustained by the king’s goods; one who purchases at another
place (shall pay) a fine of six hundred pānas in addition. 32 (A person
selling) adulterated salt shall pay the highest fine (for violence), also
the person living (by salt-manufacture) without permission, except
forest-hermits. 33 Brahmans learned in the Vedas, ascetics, and
labourers may take salt for their food (without payment). 34 All other
varieties of salt and sugar shall pay (only) the duty.

thinks (KSt, III, 426) that copper coins were used for trade and silver coins alone
came into the treasury. 26 rūpikam is manufacturing charges or coining fee,
according to the commentators. Meyer understands a sort of commodity tax, on
each object (rūpa) as such. — vyājīm : see 2.6.10. — atyagam : according to
Ct, the offence is the reduction of metal-content to the extent of 1/8th. There is
nothing here to show this, and the fine would appear too small for such tampering
with coins. anyatra seems to mean ‘elsewhere’, i.e., not in the royal mint, as in
s. 19 above, though here kartī- etc. is used in the dative or ablative, not genitive.
The 25 pānas thus work out as a licensing fee for making coins elsewhere than in a
royal mint. With anyatra in the sense of ‘excepting’ Cp understands the fine as
1,000 pānas for kartī, etc., Ct ‘according to offence.’ Cb seems to explain ‘servants
are fined 25 pānas for their offences, except in the case of those who do the things in
the proper place.’ The nature of the offence is not clear in this case.

27 kṣāra : commentators understand alkalis or caustics, Meyer ‘mica’ or
‘quartz.’ In view of the mention of kṣāra with lavana in s. 34 and 2.15.14-15,
sugar-cane products are not unlikely even here.

28 rūpam is the same as pārīkṣi kam (com.). 30 dattabhāgavibhāgasya : vibhāga
refers to vyājī, rūpa and rūpika (Breloer). It would have been better, in that
case, if paṇacakai... rūpikai ca were included in the preceding s. — rūpikam :
if this is ‘manufacturing charge’, it could hardly apply to imported salt. Perhaps
it became a regular impost whether the state manufactured the article or not.
31 kretā, i.e., the native trader who purchases from the foreign merchant.
Cf. 2.21.7 ff. — anyatra, i.e., not at the toll gate. Breloer omits kretā, ‘in the other
case, 600 pānas as an additional impost.’ 34 lavenaksāravargaḥ : see 2.15.14-15.
— šuklam and not the other imposts as well.
35-36 Thus from the mines he should collect the price, the share, the surcharge, the monopoly tax, penalty, duty, compensation, fine, inspection fee, and manufacturing charges as well as the twelve kinds of metals and commodities (made from them). In this way he should fix the collection (of income) under various heads in the case of all commodities.

37 The treasury has its source in the mines; from the treasury the army comes into being. With the treasury and the army, the earth is obtained with the treasury as its ornament.

CHAPTER THIRTEEN

SECTION 31 THE SUPERINTENDENT OF GOLD IN THE WORKSHOP

1 The Superintendent of Gold should cause to be built a workshop with a court-yard having four work-halls without inter-communication (and) with a single door, for the manufacture of gold and silver.

2 In the middle of the market highway he should establish the Goldsmith, skilled in his profession, of noble birth and trustworthy.

35-36 Cb's ca bhāgam is certainly preferable to vibhāgam. — parigham: see 2.6.10 above. The commentators here understand inspection fee, which is little likely. As monopoly tax, it would be something fixed on every article made by the state which no one else could make. — vaidharana, it would appear, operated when the state goods remained unsold because of competition, or when their prices went down. It was not a regular tax. — rūpar: Cb has 'silver and copper coins,' which seems hardly likely in view of s. 30 above; 'inspection fee' is better.

36 dvādaśāsandham: commentators supply samudayam as the substantive, looking on dhātu and panyā as the 11th and 12th items of income. It is, however, better to understand it as an adjective to dhātum as in Meyer, who has gold, silver and the metals of s. 23 (lohra of the mss. as loha plus another metal). The twelfth metal, however, might well be manīdhātu of s. 17. — Mukha- refers to āyamukha as in 2.6.10. — Breloer (KSt, III, 437) contends that the inclusion of these kārikās, which really belong to the province of the samāhārtṛ, in the Chapter on the Mine-Superintendent shows that the office of the samāhārtṛ (and also of the samāṇi-dhātṛ) was not differentiated, before Kaṭṭiyāla's time, from what was mainly the king's household economy. Kaṭṭiyāla may therefore represent, according to him, the attempt to stress the importance of political control. He admits, however, that the differentiation is very old and represents a natural and living division.

37 This stanza, says Breloer (KSt, III, 407), belongs to a simpler conception; koṣa and danda are among the oldest political ideas. It seems that he finds traces of development where probably none exist.

2.13

The significance of the name aksasilā for the workshop where gold is purified, assayed etc. is not clear.

2 saucarnikāṇaḥ: his duties are described in the next Chapter, 2.14.
3 That from the Jambū river, that from (Mt.) Śatakumbha, that from Hātaka, that from Veṇu, that produced in Śrṅgaśukti, that found in a natural condition, that transmuted by means of liquids and that produced from mines, — these are (types of) gold. 4 (Gold) of the colour of the lotus-filament, soft, smooth, not producing a sound, and lustrous is best, reddish-yellow is of a middling quality, red of the lowest quality.

5 Of the best (varieties), the pale-yellow and the white are impure. 6 He should cause that because of which it is impure to be removed by means of lead four times that quantity. 7 If it becomes brittle by the admixture of lead, he should cause it to be smelted with dried lumps of cow-dung. 8 If it is brittle because of (its own) roughness, he should cause it to be infused in sesamum-oil and cow-dung.

9 (Gold) produced from the mines, becoming brittle by the admixture of lead, he should turn into leaves by heating and cause them to be pounded on wooden anvils, or should cause it to be infused in the pulp of the bulbous roots of the kadali and the vajra (plants).

10 That originating in Tuttha, that from Gauḍa, that from Kambu and that from Cakravāla, — these are (types of) silver. 11 (Silver

3 jāmbūnāda : 'from the Jambū river near Mt. Meru. This gold is used by gods alone and is of the colour of jambū-fruit.' (com.). — śatakumbha 'from Śatakumbha mountain' (com.). Meyer thinks that Śatakumbha may be a river. This gold has the colour of a lotus-filament. — hātaka contains a reference to the region; 'of the colour of kuraṇḍaka flower' (Cp), 'of the colour of pāṭhāṅkuri or kusumbha flower' (Cb). — vaiṇavam 'from Mt. Veṇu' (com.), 'from river Veṇu' (Meyer); 'of the colour of kariṇkāra flower' (com.). — Śrṅgaśukti is Suvarṇabhūmi (com.); 'of the colour of maṇaḥśilā' (com.). — jātarūpa apparently refers to its being found in a naturally pure form. — rasavidha by transmuting copper or silver with the kāścanika rasā of 2.12.2-3. 4 anādi 'not producing a sound' is from Cb for anunādi 'resonant' of the mss.

5 śreṣṭhānām : Cb Cs read this at the end of s. 4 which makes three kinds of śreṣṭha,—śreṣṭhānām śreṣṭha, śreṣṭhānām madhyama, etc., which is not a happy idea. At the beginning of s. 5, it may refer to the śreṣṭha of s. 4 except as regards colour. That also is not convincing. The word śreṣṭhānām does not appear to be original and perhaps it might be better to drop it. 6 yena aprāptakam etc. 'by lead four times the amount of impurity' (Cb); 'by lead four times the gold itself' (Meyer, who asks, how can the amount of impurity be calculated beforehand?). In the latter explanation, tat may be taken as referring to the impurity and as the object of sūdhayet. 8 nīśeṣagat : 'the process of infusion is to be repeated a number of times' (com.). 9 'Gaṇḍīḥ vyक्षसया mālācchākāhavadhībhāgah' (Hemacandra).

10 Tutthia is a mountain of that name according to the commentators. The sense 'crucible' does not fit. This silver has the colour of jasmine-flower. — gauḍikam : 'Gauḍa is the Kāmarūpa region and silver has the colour of the tagara-flower' (com.). — kāmbukam 'from Mt. Kambu, has the colour of the kunda-
which is) white, smooth and soft is best. 12 The opposite kind and that which tends to burst is bad. 13 He should purify that with one-fourth part of lead. 14 That in which a crest has appeared at the top, which is clear, lustrous and of the colour of curds is pure.

15 One suvarṇa of pure, turmeric-coloured (gold) is the standard. 16 Thence by the substitution of one kākaṇī copper onwards (in a suvarṇa of gold) up to the limit of four (māṣakas), sixteen standards (are obtained).

17 After first rubbing the gold (to be tested) on the touchstone, he should afterwards rub the standard gold (on it). 18 That with a streak of the same colour (as the standard) on places (on the stone) that are neither depressed nor elevated, he should know as properly tested; what is over-rubbed or lightly rubbed or powdered over with red chalk from underneath the finger-nail, he should know as deception. 19 Gold, touched with the forepart of the hand smeared with jāti-vermillion or sulphate of iron dissolved in cow’s urine, becomes white. 20 The streak (of the gold) on the touchstone, that has filaments, is smooth, soft and lustrous is best.

21 Stone from the Kalingas or from the Tāpi, which is of the colour of the mudga-bean, is the best touchstone. 22 That which shows the exact colour is advantageous for either sale or purchase. 23 That which has the colour of an elephant, with a green tinge, is over-sensitive to colour (and) is advantageous for sale. 24 That which

flower’ (com.). — cākravālikam: ‘from Mt. Cakravāla, has the colour of the kunda-flower’ (com.). 12 sphaṭanam ‘liable to burst’ apparently in the process of smelting. 14 udgātačālikam ‘with a bud-like form at the top (Cb).

15 suvarṇaḥ: this refers to the weight, equivalent to 16 māṣakas; cf. 2.19.3. — varṇakā: i.e., touch or fineness of gold. 16 kākaṇī and suvarṇa are nowhere in the text brought into relation with one another. A kākaṇī is a copper coin 1/4th of a māṣaka in value (2.12.24). It seems that here it is understood to be 1/4th of a māṣaka in weight, though the two māṣakas are different; so that a suvarṇa would be equal to 64 kākaṇīs. By substituting 1, 2, 3 etc. kākaṇīs of copper in place of gold in a suvarṇa, we get 16 touches with proportions of gold and copper ranging from 63:1 to 48:16 (the 16 kākaṇīs in the last make 4 māṣakas which in fact is here stated to be the limit, ā catuḥśimāntāt). Both māṣaka and kākaṇī appear to be names of weights as well as of coins which apparently are different in weight. That is confusing.

17 varṇikām, i.e., one of the 17 standards mentioned above. 19 jātihiṅguluka ‘a variety of vermillion called sasada (Cp) or haṁśapāda (Cs).’ — puspakāsā seems to be sulphate of iron or blue vitriol.

21 ‘River Tāpi in Mahārāṣṭra’ (Cj) ‘in Āraṭṭadesa’ (Cb). 22 samarāgi, i.e., showing the colour of gold as it really is. ‘Of a uniform colour’ is less likely. 23 pratirāgi, i.e., showing a higher touch than what the gold actually has. 24 apratirāgi, i.e., showing a lower touch.
is firm, hard and of uneven colour, is not sensitive to colour (and) is advantageous for purchase.

25 The cut (of gold) that is sticky, of even colour, smooth, soft and lustrous is best. 26 The heating that is uniform outside and inside, (and) has the colour of the lotus-filament or of the colour of kurudaka-flower, is best. 27 That which is dark or blue shows impurity.

28 Weights and measures we shall explain in (the Section) 'the Superintendent of Standardisation.' 29 In accordance with those rules he should give and receive silver and gold.

30 An unauthorized person shall not approach the workshop. 31 One approaching is to be exterminated. 32 Even an officer, if carrying gold and silver (inside), shall be deprived of the same.

33 Artisans doing the work of setting in gold, bead-making, plating and gilding and ornamental gold, (and) blowers, servants and dust-washers, shall enter and leave after their garments, hands and private parts are searched. 34 And all their tools and uncompleted works shall remain just there. 35 He should hand over the gold received and the work being carried out into the office. 36 In the evening and in the morning, he should deposit (the gold and the articles) marked with the seals of the maker and the overseer.

37 Setting, stringing and minor work, these are ways of working (in gold). 38 Setting is the fixing of binding and so on. 39 String-
ing is weaving in threads and so on. 40 (Making) a solid article, a hollow article or one with beads and so on is minor work.

41 In the work of setting, he should use one-fifth part as fastening at base and one-tenth part as side-fastening. 42 Silver with a quarter part copper, or gold with a quarter part silver is artificial; against that he should guard. 43 In the work of fixing of beads, (there should be) three parts enclosing at the sides and two parts base, or four parts base and three parts enclosing at the sides.

44 In the work of the gold-plater, he should plate an article of copper with an equal amount of gold. 45 An article of silver, whether solid or hollow, he should cover with half the amount of gold. 46 Or, he should gild (the silver article) with one-fourth part gold by means of the liquid or powder of sand-vermilion.

47 Ornamental gold of the best kind, possessed of excellent colour, passed through an equal amount of lead, turned into leaves by

38 kācārpaṇa 'in which kāca, i.e., a gem, pearl, diamond or coral is fixed' (Cj). kāca would seem to refer rather to the gold in which the gem etc. is set. 39 sūtravāṇa: gold threads arranged in various patterns seem meant.

41 arpayet: this position of the verb is unusual. — paṇcābhāgaṁ kāncaṁ ānāḥ daśabhāgaṁ kaṭumāṇaṁ: Cb has 'one-fifth of the gem should be set in the base and one-tenth in leaves of gold.' Cj explains kaṭumāṇaṁ as 'the covering of wax or lac (madhūcchīṭasya lākṣāyā vā pracchādaṇam).’ Cp, reading kaṭumāṇam, has 'one-fifth as base and one-tenth as binding at the side,' the remaining 7/10th of gold remaining unconnected with the gem as in a ring. This is what seems intended. Meyer suggests kaṭumānam as the reading 'side-binding.' G M read only māṇam. 42 The point of the warning seems to be that artisans frequently use this alloy for setting and that fact cannot be very easily detected.

43 pṛṣatakācakarmāṇaḥ: the difference from pure kācakarmaṇa seems to be that we have gold beads set in this case, or gold beads and gems (Cs Meyer). paribhāṇḍa is probably the same as kaṭumāṇa, and vāstuca the base. Cb, understanding gems only even in this case, explains paribhāṇḍa as 'the lotus-shaped or svastika-shaped fixing for the gem.' — hi in the s. does not seem to have any significance. — It is possible that the s. refers to the making of gold beads, vāstuca being the interior base, usually of lac and paribhāṇḍa the exterior covering of gold. For this pṛṣatakarmāṇaḥ would be enough. Or, vāstuca may refer to the bead itself and paribhāṇḍa to the decorative extension at the sides.

44 sainyāhayet: Meyer has suggested that this is a Prakritism for saṁ-vyū. 45 susīrām: the ghanasausīram of the mss. is obviously due to repetition from the preceding word. Cf. s. 40 above. 46 vālukāhīṁgulakasya etc. 'with the powder of vermilion and sand' (Cb), 'gold, which is powdered and mixed with mercury, is mixed with the powder of sand-vermilion and melted on straw-fire' (Cp). It is difficult to see how mercury can be brought in unless rasena is read after cārṣena. And mercury does not seem necessary for the gilding described here. What exactly is meant by vālukāhīṁgulaka is not clear. See 2.14.34 below. — vāsayet from vas caus. 'to clothe' refers to gilding.
heating (and) made bright with Indus-earth, becomes the base of blue, yellow, white, green and parrot-feather colours. 48 And iron of the colour of the peacock’s neck, white at the cut, shimmering, (and) powdered after being heated, is for this (gold) a colouring matter one kākaṇi in measure for one swarna (of gold).

49 Or, silver, purified, four times in a crucible of bones, four times in one with an equal amount of lead, four times in a dry crucible, three times in a pot-sherd (and) twice in cow-dung, thus passed through seventeen crucibles, (and) made bright with Indus-earth (is a base for colours). 50 From this one kākaṇi onwards up to two māsas should be inserted in one swarṇa; afterwards the adding of colouring matter (should follow); it becomes white silver.

47 tapaniyam seems to mean ‘which is to be turned into ornaments’ by heating, colouring etc. It is here an adjective to swarṇam. — saindhayikayā ‘with earth from the Saurāṣṭra country’ (com.); ‘earth from Indus’ seems more likely. — ujjvalatam probably by rubbing with it, hardly ‘by heating along with it’ (Meyer).
— -sukapota- of the mss. is obviously corrupt for -sukapatra-; cf. s. 56 below.
— Some of the colours mentioned here are not referred to in ss. 51-56, while others referred to there are not mentioned here. 48 asya . . . kākaṇikah swarṇarāgaḥ, i.e., one kākaṇi of iron is the colouring for one swarṇa of gold (i.e., 1 in 64 as in s. 16 above) as described in s. 47. Meyer has ‘a strong (tilēṣa) form of this gold etc.’ It is not easy to see how this strong form is arrived at. — pīlaciṁnistam ‘heated and powdered’ (com.). pīla may also convey the idea of soaking in water, which may be done after heating. — It is not clear what colour is produced in gold by the insertion of this powder.

49 tāram upaśuddhaṁ vā: tāra is silver, particularly that used for ornaments; upaśuddha refers to the purification as presently described; vā shows the option with swarṇa above; i.e., this silver also can be a base for colours. Meyer has ‘fine silver (tāra) or almost pure (upaśuddha) silver.’ This appears little likely.
— asthitutthe etc.: Cb Cp understand these terms as descriptive of the crucibles —made of earth mixed with bone-powder, of earth mixed with an equal amount of lead, of earth mixed with sand (ṣuṣkatuttha, i.e., kataśarkarāmūsā), of earth alone and of earth mixed with cow-dung. It may be, however, that asthi etc. describe the substances along with which the silver is smelted, ṣuṣkatuttha referring to smelting without any mixture. Meyer understands tuṭha as blue vitriol, a mixture of this with asthi and samasīsa, and ṣuṣka as dry blue vitriol; only kapāla, he says, he cannot understand. But even in hisgomaya there is no blue vitriol. Altogether his explanation is not satisfactory. 50 kākaṇyuttaram etc.: from one kākaṇi onwards up to two māsas (i.e., 2 māsakas) of this tāra is to be inserted in one swarṇa. This word therefore must be understood as the weight of that name and not as gold. Hence the metal in which the insertion is to be made would appear to be ordinary silver; this would give nine tints of silver. Thus in the main Cp. Cb, reading kākaṇyuttarāpaśāritā understands the insertion to be made in gold. That would make gold śvetatāra. This is not very likely; it also would not fit in with the possibility of tapaniya and śvetatāra being mixed together (s. 51). Meyer understands the removal of 1 kākaṇi etc. of silver and insertion of gold in its place. swarṇe deyam makes this hardly possible. — rāgayogah: this would appear to be the itkṣa as described above.
51 Three parts of ornamental gold, strengthened with thirty-two parts of white silver, it becomes white-red. 52 It makes copper yellow. 53 Making the ornamental gold bright, he should give one-third part colouring; it becomes yellowish red. 54 (With) two parts of white silver, one part of ornamental gold produces the colour of the mudga-bean. 55 When smeared with half a part of black iron, it becomes black. 56 Ornamental gold twice smeared with an enveloping liquid gets the colour of the parrot’s feather. 57 In undertaking that work, he should take a test regarding the various colours.

58 And he should be conversant with the treatment of iron and copper. 59 Therefore, (he should know) also loss in the case of articles made of diamonds, gems, pearls and corals and the amounts required for the making of gold and silver wares.

51 trayo 'nisāh etc.: the grammatical difficulty is best removed by reading tat from Cb and retaining mārehcitāh of the mss. Cp has ‘3 parts of tapaniya are added to 32 less 3, i.e., 29 parts of ordinary gold and this mixture is smelted with 32 parts of ścetatāra.’ It is difficult to see how the words can yield all this meaning. Cb has ‘out of 32 parts 3 are tapaniya, the rest 29 silver.’ Since, however, māreh has the sense of ‘to increase, augment,’ the proportion of 3 to 32 would appear more likely. It is not altogether unlikely that dcātrisādābhāga means 1/32nd part, so that the proportion might be 3 to 1/32 or 3 to 3/32. 52 tāmrānī pītakānam karotā: Cp has ‘32 parts gold (with 3 parts tapaniya as above) with 32 parts copper become yellow.’ Cb has ‘3 parts tapaniya and 32 parts copper.’ That seems to be meant. Meyer has ‘3 parts copper and 32 parts ścetatāra.’ 53 rāgatribhāgam ‘1 kākanī in 3/4ths of a suvarṇa, i.e., in 12 māṣakas of gold’ (Cp), ‘one-third purified gold in unpurified gold’ (Cb), ‘1/3rd tapaniya is inserted in ścetatāra’ (Meyer). What seems meant is that in 3 parts of tapaniya 1 part of rāga of s. 48 is inserted. Cj seems to have read tāmratribhāgam. — pītāram ‘yellowish red’ as distinguished from pītaka above. 54 ścetatāra- etc.: according to Cp, rāga-yoga is to be understood in addition; but ścetatāra already seems to have it. 55 kālāyasasya etc.: ‘gold of the colour of mudga when mixed with half part (half of 1/3, i.e., 1/6) of colouring, becomes black’ (Cb); evidently kālāyasā is identified with tikṣṇa and arđha is related to tribhāga of s. 53. Meyer thinks that ścetatāra becomes black in this way, not tapaniya. Cb however seems right in understanding the mixture of s. 54. And as it has 3 parts and rāga is half a part, the latter does amount to 1/6th of that mixture, though not in the way Cb understands it. 56 pratilepīnā rasena: Cp has ‘liqunied iron mixed with mercury.’ pratilepin, however, is an adjective ‘smearing all round, enveloping’ qualifying rasā, and the latter can hardly mean ‘mixed with mercury.’ rasā seems to be that of kālāyasā or tikṣṇa; Meyer thinks of kācanikā rasā of 2.12.2. 57 pratīvarnikā seems to refer to the test on the touchstone to ascertain whether the desired colour is obtained or not.

58 tikṣṇatāma- etc.: the suvarṇādhyakṣa is to be conversant with this, though iron and copper articles are manufactured in separate factories, because these metals are used in the manufacture of gold and silver articles. 59 tasmat : there is nothing in the text to explain this use of ‘therefore.’ Perhaps it owes its origin to 2.14.48. — apaneṣṭitaṁman ‘taking away, removal’ is understood as ‘substitu- uṇḍ of an inferior for a superior gem’ (Cb). It may also mean ‘reduction or loss’
60-61 Of an even colour, symmetrical, with beads not sticking to each other, firm, well-burnished, not soaked (for a false glitter), divided (into suitable parts), pleasant to wear, not gaudy, full of lustre, with a charming shape, even, and pleasing to the mind and eye, — these are declared to be the excellent qualities of an ornament.

CHAPTER FOURTEEN

SECTION 32 THE ACTIVITY OF THE GOLDSMITH IN THE MARKET-HIGHWAY

1 The Goldsmith should cause the gold and silver work of the citizens and the country people to be carried out by workshop artisans.

2 They should do the work with the time and the (nature of the) work stipulated, without stipulation as to time when there is the excuse of the (nature of the) work. 3 In case the work is done otherwise (than as ordered) (there shall be) loss of wage and a fine double that (amount). 4 In case the time-limit is exceeded, (he shall receive) a wage reduced by one-quarter and a fine double that (amount).

in the process of cutting, polishing etc. (Meyer). — *budhya*ta is to be supplied from the preceding s. — *bandhapramāṇāni* refers to *3 parts paribhāṇḍa* etc. (Cb), *amount required for plating* (Cp), *amount required for making the article* (Meyer).

60 *samadcandam* ‘having a similar pair,’ i.e., symmetrical. — *asaṁpūtam* ‘not gilded to increase its lustre artificially’ (Cs); *not fabricated* (Meyer). Cj (with *asamphūtam?*) has *the colour of which is not obscured by other articles of momentary charm.* — *vibhaktam* seems to refer to proper proportions in the various parts. 61 *abhīnītam* ‘not gaudy’ (Cj), *tasteful* (Meyer). It may also convey the idea of *highly finished.* — *samāsthāna* seems to mean *shape or form.* *svasthāna* of M *in its appropriate place (on the body)* is also not bad. — *tapaniya* here is clearly *ornament*, not merely gold. — The *kārikās* more properly belong to the sphere of the *sauvarṇika* of the next Chapter than to that of the *svarṇādaṁhya*ka.

2.14

The *sauvarṇika* or goldsmith is clearly in state service. Apparently private goldsmiths are to work under his supervision.

1 *rupyasauvarṇam* stands for *rupyasauvarṇabhāṇḍam* ‘gold and silver articles.’ There is no reference to gold coins here, as is sometimes supposed. — *āvesanibhīth* : these also appear to be in state service.

2 *kāryāpādeśam*, i.e., the nature of the work itself provides a valid excuse for delay. — These ss. are repeated in 4.1.4-5, 7. In conformity with that, Cb Cs interchange ss. 3 and 4 here. 4 *pādāhīnāṁ vētanāṁ taddvīguṇaṁ ca daṇḍaḥ* : the fine would be ‘double the 3/4th wage’ (Cs) rather than ‘double the full wage’ or ‘double the 1/4th wage that is deducted.’
5 The (artisans) shall deliver in the same condition as to quality and quantity as they receive the entrusted metal. 6 And even after a lapse of time, (customers) shall receive it in the same condition, except what is lost (in manufacture) and worn away (by time).

7 The (Goldsmith) should be conversant with every detail in connection with the characteristics and the manufacture of gold and its articles by workshop artificers.

8 In the case of gold and silver (used in the manufacture of articles), a loss of one kākaṇi in a suvarṇa may be allowed. 9 One kākaṇi of iron — twice that in the case of silver — is the insertion for colour; one-sixth part of that is the loss (allowed).

10 In case of diminution of quality to the extent of one māṣa at least, the lowest fine for violence (shall be imposed); in case of diminution of quantity (to that extent), the middle (fine); in case of deceit in scales and weights, the highest (fine), also in case of fraud in an article manufactured.

11 For a (person) causing the manufacture (of an article) unseen by the Goldsmith or in some other place, the fine shall be twelve paṇas.

5 varṇa is clearly 'quality.' 6 kālāntarād āpi, i.e., 'when delay is caused by illness, disturbances, etc.' (Cb). Cs has 'even if the artisan has gone on a long journey or is dead, his sons must return it in the same condition.' — amyatra kṣīnaparipāśīrṇābhīyām : Cb has 'when there is diminution or wearing away there is a fine.' But the fine is not stated. It seems that kṣīna refers to loss allowed in manufacture and paripāśīna to wearing away by time; in either case there is no fine.

7 lakaṇa and prayoga are to be construed with suvarṇa and pudgala. In view of 2.13.35 and s. 11 below 'trade or practice of fraud' (Cs) is unlikely for prayoga.

8 tapta seems to be the same as tapaṇiya ornamental gold, and kaladhataka ornamental silver. — kākanikaḥ suvarne etc.: i.e., loss allowed in the process of manufacture is 1/64th or 1·56 per cent. 9 It seems best to regard rūpyadāgvaṇuḥ as a parenthetical clause as in Meyer. The insertion in the case of silver would be 2 kākaṇis in 1 suvarṇa. Cb Cs, reading rūpyadāgvaṇu, explain '1 kākaṇi of iron with 2 kākaṇis of silver forms the colouring for gold.' Silver, however, is not mentioned as a colouring material in the last Chapter. It is true that the last Chapter does not also refer to 2 kākaṇis as colouring material for silver. Nevertheless the former explanation appears preferable. — saḍbhāgaḥ kṣayaḥ : i.e., of 1 suvarṇa gold and 1 kākaṇi rāga (added to it) loss allowed is 1/64th of gold and 1/6th of rāga, leaving 63 5/6ths instead of 65 kākaṇis; in silver, 64 2/3rds would remain out of 66 kākaṇis.

10 māsāvare, i.e., one māṣa of metal of higher quality (varṇa) is reduced to a lower quality (Cp). Meyer has 'when the loss suffered by the customer is of the value of 1 māṣa.' This ignores varṇa. — pramāṇahīne : we have to understand māsāvare with this. — kṛtaḥpāṇopadhau seems to refer to fraud after the article is made (kṛta), i.e., during inspection as in s. 44 onwards, though the idea of 'during the making' is also not unlikely. māsāvare need not be understood with this or the preceding case.
12 For the artisan, (the fine shall be) double, if there is a valid excuse.
13 If there is no excuse, the (person) shall be taken to the magisterial
court. 14 And for the artisan, (the punishment shall be) a fine of
two hundred *panas* or the cutting off of the fingers of his hand.

15 They shall purchase the scales and weights from the Superintendent
of Standardisation. 16 Otherwise, (there shall be) a fine of
twelve *panas*.

17 Making solid objects, making hollow objects, plating, coating,
fixing and gilding constitute an artisan’s work.

18 Fraud in the balance, removal, tapping, boxing, and embed-
ding are the means of pilfering (by artisans).

19 (Easily) bending, carved out, with split top, with a subsidiary
(false) neck, with bad strings, with defective scales, given to swinging,
and magnetic, — these are false balances.

20 Two parts of silver and one part of copper constitute *tripuṭaka*.
21 By means of that, mineral gold is removed; that is ‘removal by
*tripuṭaka*.’ 22 By (substitution of) copper, that is ‘removal by
copper,’ by (substitution of) *vellaka*, that is ‘removal by *vellaka*,’
by (substitution of) gold containing half copper, that is ‘removal by gold.’

23 A dummy crucible, foul dross, the ‘crane’s beak,’ the blow-pipe,
the pair of tongs, the water-vessel, borax, and that same gold, these

11 *kārayataḥ* seems to refer to the customer, who gets work done on the sky to
escape the regular state charges for manufacture. 12 *sāpasāraś ceti* is to be under-
stood in s. 11 as well. 13 *anapasaṭraḥ* : This raises the possibility that the
gold may be stolen property and hence the need for investigation by the *pradeśṭṛ*
as in Book 4. 14 *panacchedanam* ‘cutting off the fingers of a hand’ cf.
4.10.1.

15 *pautava* stands for *pautavādyakṣa*, 2.19.

17 *ghanaṁ suṣiraṁ* is read as in 2.13.40; see 2.13.45. — *saṁyaḥśaya* is thick
plating, while *avalepya* is coating with thin plates; *saṁghātya* is fixing base metal
in a precious metal, while *vāṣitaṁ* is gilding.

19 *saṁnāmini* ‘bending easily’ because it is made of soft metal (Cb); Meyer
thinks of a contrivance for bringing the scales down. — *uktirṇikā* ‘hollowed and
filled with iron powder (Cj) or mercury (Cb) inside.’ — *bhinnamastakā* apparently
allows one side to go down easily. — *upakanyāḥ* apparently has a centre where
the scales balance unevenly; ‘full of knots or accretions on one side only.’ (Cp).
— *śikya* refers to the strings with which the pans (*kaṅkṣya*) are suspended from the
beam. *saktaṁ* is uncertain; Cb comment shows only *kaṭu*. — *āyaskānta* : the
beam has a magnet on one side, so that the metal pan tends to rise towards it.

21 *ākarodiṇam* : cf. 2.13.3. 22 *vellaka* ‘an alloy of equal parts of silver and
iron’ (com.).

23 *mukamūḍa* has a false bottom into which a part of the melting gold drips
down. — *pātikittāḥ* ‘the foul-smelling dross’ in which gold may be concealed.
Meyer proposes *pratikittā* ‘apparent dross’ which does not seem necessary.
are the ways of removal. 24 Or, sand made into lumps and placed (there) beforehand, is taken out of the fire-place on the breaking of the crucible.

25 At the time of fixing together afterwards or at the time of testing the laid-on plating leaf, interchange (of a gold article) by a silver article is tapping, or (the interchange) of sand lumps (containing gold) by sand lumps containing iron.

26 A firm and a removable enclosing is made in cases of plating, coating and fixing. 27 A piece of lead covered with a leaf of gold, (with) the interior fixed with lac, is the firm enclosing. 28 The same, when there are casings of layers, is the removable (enclosing). 29 A leaf that is compact or a twin-leaf is made in cases of coating. 30 Copper or silver is made the interior of leaves in cases of fixing. 31 An article of copper, fixed with a leaf of gold (and) polished is supārśva (‘with a well-made side’); the same, fixed with a twin-leaf (and) polished, and an article of copper and silver (similarly treated) are uttaravarṇaka (‘with quality outside’).

karaṭukamukham ‘a crane’s beak’ appears to be a kind of pinceers with hollow ends for concealing gold. Cj mentions a view according to which it is the passage for wind at the end of the bellows. Cb, reading karaṭamukham ‘a crow’s beak’, explains ‘a vessel for receiving something.’ — jāṅgani ‘vessel for holding water’ (Cb), lohakaṭikā (?) iron vessel?’ (Cp); Cj’s ‘kaṅcikā vṛttam maryāriṣaṇaṅgｒalohī’ is unintelligible. The root jāṅg means ‘to set aside, exclude.’ Can the word mean a sieve, a strainer? — suvareikālavaṇam probably the same as sauvacala ‘borax’ of 2.15.15. — tadeva suvarṇam: the idea seems to be, the presence of the gold itself and its handling create the opportunity for pilfering. 24 pindavālukāḥ: these appear like gold particles and are picked up instead of gold, which is recovered later.

25 paścād bandhane: the loc. as in Cb is necessary, not nom. as in the mss. The reference is to joining parts that are first separately made. — ācitakapattra is the gold leaf used for plating. — visrāvaṇam seems to refer to substitution of one article or piece by another of a lower metal, while in apasāraṇa the gold-content is tampered with, not the entire article or piece. — pindavālukā here must be supposed to contain gold.

27 abhyantaram astakena buddham seems to be almost a parenthetical clause. 28 patałasāṃpuṭeṣu appears to be used as a locative absolute, ‘when there are casings of layers’; the idea seems to be that the lead inside is not fixed or soldered and can be removed. sanīṣṭa ‘a fold,’ a sort of box or casket, hollow inside. 29 patram āśiṣṭaṁ yamakapattraṁ vā: ‘i.e., on one side of the article or on both sides’ (Cb). The insertion of lead between the gold-leaf and the article in one case and between the two leaves in the other is probably to be understood, though there is no direct reference to that. 31 Following Cb, supārśva and uttaravarṇaka are understood as two types of sanīṣṭya. In the uttaravarṇaka, two items are included, a copper article covered with a double gold-leaf and a copper-silver article (either as alloy or in separate parts of the article) covered with gold-leaf. Cp Cs begin the s. with sanīṣṭyaṁ kriyate and understand two types up to pramrṣṭam,
32 He should find these two out by heating and testing on the touchstone or by failure of (right) sound and by scratching. 33 The removable (encasing) they set down in the acid of the badara-fruit or in salt-water. Thus the ‘enclosing.’

34 In a solid or a hollow article, gold-mixed earth or the pulp of mālukā and vermillion, when heated, remains (embedded). 35 Or, in an article with a firm base, lac mixed with sand or the paste of red lead, when heated, remains (embedded). 36 Of these two, heating or breaking is the (test of) purity.

37 Or, in an article containing an encircling metal, salt heated by a fire-brand along with soft pebbles, remains (embedded). 38 Boiling is (the test of) its purity.

39 Or, a layer of mica is fixed in an article with a double base by means of lac. 40 Of that, in which the fixing has been covered, one part sinks down when it is placed in water, or it is pierced with a needle in the spaces between the layers.

explaining tāmaratāra- etc. as ‘copper or silver is used as a plating for ironware etc.’ or ‘a piece of copper is plated with silver.’ Meyer seems to find three types of saṅghātya,—sūpārśa, praramśa and tāmaratāraśa, ‘samples for further work (of fraud)’ being his explanation of uttaravarṇakaḥ. Many of the details in these ss. are far from clear.

32 tad ubhayam, i.e., the gāḍha and the abhyuddhārya peṭaka. — nīḥsābda ‘absence of the right tone’ (Meyer) seems preferable to ‘cutting without a sound’ (Cp). 33 sādanyānti ‘put it down’; Ch adds that the article then becomes red in colour.

34 The difference between peṭaka and pīṅka appears to be that in the former a different metal is inserted in the plating of gold, while in the latter a chemical or mineral substance is embedded in the article. — vā supports the reading ghane susire from Cj. Cf. 2.13.40, 45 etc. — mālukāhiṅguluka-: perhaps vālukāhiṅ- guluka- should be read as in 2.13.46. Ch comment seems to support it. Cp seems to understand ‘pulp of hiṅguluka along with suvarṇamṛd and suvarṇamālukā (these two being kinds of minerals).’ This ignores the vā that follows. 35 dṛśhavāstukē: i.e., the embedding is done in the solid base. — gāndhāra ‘red lead’ evidently named after the country of its origin.

37 kaṭuśārkarayāḥ: ‘soft stone or pebbles’ (com.). Meyer wonders if it can mean ‘hard sugar.’ Some kind of sand seems to be intended. 38 kvāthanam is done in the badarāṃla of s. 33 (com.).

39 dvīgaṇāvāstukē: i.e., the base has two layers of gold plates, between which mica is fixed with lac. — vā shows a new type of pīṅka; and it is not necessary, as Meyer thinks, to read ekavāstukē at the beginning to justify it. 40 apihi- tākācakasya : kāca seems to mean ‘embedding’ here, same as pīṅka; it is covered with the outer layer of gold. — udake, i.e., ‘in badarāmla’ (com.). — pāṭalān-taṛēṣu vā : vā shows that this is another method of discovering the presence of mica inside. pāṭalāntara is therefore ‘space between layers’ rather than ‘other layers, such as copper etc.’ (Cp).
41 Gems, silver or gold form the embedding in solid or hollow articles. 42 Of that, heating or breaking is (the test of) purity. Thus the embedding.

43 Therefore, the (Goldsmith) should ascertain the class, appearance, quality, quantity, the ornament made and the characteristics of articles made of diamonds, gems, pearls and corals.

44 In the course of testing articles that are made or in the course of repairs to old articles, four ways of stealing (are practised): knocking off, cutting out, scratching out or rubbing off. 45 When under the pretext of (discovering) an ‘enclosing,’ they cut out a bead or a string or a casing, that is knocking off. 46 Or, when in an article with a double base, they insert an object of lead and cut the interior out, that is cutting out. 47 When from solid objects they scratch out with a sharp tool, that is scratching out. 48 When after coating a piece of cloth with the powder of one of the following, (viz.,) yellow orpiment, red arsenic or vermilion, or with the powder of kuruwinda (-stone), they rub the article with it, that is rubbing off. 49 By that articles of gold and silver lose in weight and yet no part of these (articles) gets bruised.

50 Of plated articles that are broken or cut or rubbed off, he should form an inference (as to loss) with the help of a similar article. 51 Of coated articles he should form an estimate by cutting out as much as has been cut out (by the artisan). 52 Or, of those that have changed their appearance, he should do heating and rubbing in (acid) water a number of times.

41 maṇayo rūpyam etc.: ‘inferior gems are pīṅka, i.e., karaṇopāya (means of pilfering) for genuine gems, silver for gold, and impure gold for pure gold’ (com.). It seems more likely, however, that an inferior or impure object of the same class constitutes the pīṅka or embedding in a superior or pure article of that class; in the case of maṇi, it amounts to nothing more than substitution. Meyer seems to understand maṇayaḥ etc. as stating the material out of which articles are made, adding ‘in their case pasting is practised.’ But these words are in the nom. and go with pīṅkaḥ.

43 Cf. 2.13.59. — pudgala ‘the ornament made.’

45 pīṣakā seems related to pēṭaka and to be some sort of casing. 46 dvīguṇavāstukānāṁ is strange; we expect dvīguṇavāstukē as in s. 39 above. — sisārāpam: this is coated with gold (com. as also Meyer). That may not appear quite necessary. — It seems that in parikūṭana, some external part is cut out, while in avvāchedana a part from the interior is cut out. 48 kuruwinda ‘a kind of stone’ (com.). Is the meaning ‘black salt’ given in the lexicons possible?

52 virūpādānā vā: Cp renders vā by ca, perhaps rightly. Cs, reading a stop after vā, construes this with the preceding, but instead of supplying upōdhyānūnām as expected, it supplies sadṛśenānūnām, which is little likely. virūpa, ‘i.e., made inferior in touch by mixing with an alloy’ (Cb).
53 Sudden movement of the hand, the weights, the fire, the wooden anvil, the tool-box, the receptacle, the peacock’s feather, the thread, garment, talk, the head, the lap, the fly, attention to one’s person, the bellows-skin, the water-platter, and the fire-pan, — these he should know as the means of pilfering.

54 Of silver articles he should know that as fraudulent which smells like raw flesh, easily catches dirt, is rough, very hard or changed in colour.

55 In this manner he should test the new and the old as well as the article that has changed its appearance, and should impose penalties on the (artisans) as prescribed.

CHAPTER FIFTEEN

SECTION 33 THE SUPERINTENDENT OF THE MAGAZINE

1 The Superintendent of the Magazine should know about agricultural produce, revenue from the country-side, purchase, barter, begging, borrowing, labour in place of taxes, income from other sources, return from expenditure and additional income.

2 The various kinds of grains brought in by the Director of Agriculture constitute agricultural produce.

53 avakṣepah ‘sleight of hand’ (Cb Cs). Cj has ‘lāghavena saṁcāram, moving lightly or quickly,’ ‘Throwing out (in the rubbish),’ to be recovered later, is also not unlikely. — pratiṛtanaṁ ‘substitution while weighing or adjusting weights’ (Cb). — bhaṇḍikā ‘tool-box’ (Meyer), ‘vessel for collecting molten gold’ (Cb). — adhikaraṇi ‘an iron vessel’ (Cb). — sūtram ‘the thread for measuring or that in the balance, with wax applied over it’ (Cb), ‘coil of thread used in making the ornament’ (Meyer). — celiṇān bollanan : Cj has celiṇānollanan ‘tying the knot with a piece of cloth, vastrakhaṇḍena nivāibandhanam.’ Cb seems to have celiṇān pollanam ‘garment and talking.’ Cp has celiṇān jō(co)lanam ‘jerking of the balance.’ Meyer prefers celiṇānollanan ‘folding the garment.’ Deśī words are evidently used here. — sīraḥ and utsaṅgah are used for concealing gold. — kācām ‘means of pilfering’ seems a meaning developed from that of s. 40 above.

54 prastātaṁ ‘hard.’ Cb reads prastītan in the same sense.

55 atayayaṁ yathoddhiṣṭam : actually no penalties are prescribed in this or the preceding Chapter. Perhaps the fines of 4.1.26 ff, are to be thought of. Breloer (KSt, III, 439-440) thinks that the kārikā belongs to the duties of the svāraṇa-dhyakṣa, not the sauvarṇika. That seems to have been Meyer’s view too. As it stands, however, the sauvarṇika alone can be thought of in the stanza.

2.15

2 sītā is produce from state or crown lands. Cf. 2.24 below.
3 The aggregate tax, the one-sixth share, provisions for the army, tribute, tax, the 'lap,' the 'side,' compensation for loss, presents, and income from stores constitute revenue from the country-side.

4 The price of grains, disposal of treasury and recovery of what is given at interest constitute purchase.

5 Exchange of different kinds of grains at a different price is barter.

6 Asking for grains from another source is begging. 7 The same, intended to be returned, is borrowing.

8 The work of pounding, splitting (pulses), frying, fermenting, and grinding from those who live by these, the pressing of oil from oilmen using the hand press and the round press, and the work of extracting and treating juice of sugar-can, these constitute labour in place of taxes.

9 What is lost, forgotten and so on is income from other sources.

3 *piṇḍakaraḥ*, i.e., received from the village as a whole, not from individual cultivators. Breloer (KSt, III, 319) thinks of fixed payments which are less than the regular share-tax, e.g., in amelioration contracts or from land given to officers etc. — *senābhaktam* 'for payment to mercenaries' (Cb); apparently this varied according to the strength of the army. — For *bali* and *kara*, see 2.6.3. — *utsavaḥ* 'presents on festive occasions like a prince's birth' (Cp), 'money given on interest' (Cb), 'maintenance of officers (āṅgaṇatātyāh)' (Cj), 'super-tax' (Meyer). — *pārścādum* : see 2.6.20. — A levy as in 5.2 below' (Cp), 'a surcharge on what has been fixed' (Cb), 'bribe' (Cj), 'impost in case of deficit' (Breloer, III, 321). — *pārhīṇikām* : see 2.6.20. Cj has here 'recovery of outstandings,' mentioning 'confiscation of the goods of those exiled or gone from the country' as the view of others. — *kaṇḍhikāya* 'income from the stores,' is 'revenue from tanks, parks etc. made by the king' (Cs). Breloer (III, 321) seems to agree with 'receipts from tenants of crown lands' (Cb). — *rā埗ra* here differs materially from *rā埗ra* in 2.6.3. Breloer thinks of rulership as land-tax corresponding to *sarkar amal* of modern times (III, 319).

4 *kośānirāh* 'paying out of the treasury for the purchase of grains' (com.). Meyer understands selling grains to fill the treasury with cash. The former idea seems better. — The inclusion of recovery of loans under purchase is a bit strange.

5 *arāhantareṇa* 'at different prices'; the quantities would vary according to price in a fair exchange.

8 *rocaka* 'who separates the two halves of pulses' (com.) — *audracākrikēṣu* is from Cj for *aurabhra*—. Cj explains 'those who press oil with a machine (audrā hi puṣṭikā yantiṇaḥ pīḍayantī) and those who use the oil-press going round (cākrikās tu catursuḥ pārścādum cāyaṃānena cakreṇa).' The latter is apparently the ghāni; the former was apparently worked by hand. Cb has no explanation of *aurabhra*; Cs explains 'who do the work of slaughtering the sacrificial ram'; Meyer has 'shepherds'; Breloer has 'auṣṭrīka oil-millers (and cākrikā labourers)' (III, 327)— *sānihattikā* : some sort of derivation is possible for this form and for *saṃhanikā*, hardly for *siṃhadikā* or *sīḥhanikā*. The sense, of course, is technical.
10 Balance due to (army-) disbandment and from undertakings (given up) in the middle because of sickness, is return from expenditure.

11 Difference in weights and measures, hand-filling, residue of the heap, surcharge, outstanding (revenue), and earned income, constitute additional income.

12 As regards grains, fats, sugars and salts, we shall state rules concerning grains in the (Section on the) Director of Agriculture.

13 Butter, oil, suet and marrow are fats.

14 Treacle, jaggery, unrefined sugar and granulated sugar constitute the group of sugars.

15 Salt from the Indus-land, sea-salt, bidha-salt, salt-petre, borax and salt from saline soil constitute the group of salts.

16 That made by bees and the juice of grapes, are honey.

17 One of (the following, viz.,) sugar-cane juice, jaggery, honey, treacle, the juice of jambu-fruit and the juice of panasa-fruit, infused with a decoction of mesasrangi and long pepper, kept for one month, six months or a year, (and then) mixed with cidbhita, urvaruka, sugar-cane stalk, mango fruit and myrobalan, or unmixed (with these), constitute the group of fermented juices.

10 vyayapratyayah: see 2.6.21. Cj here gives the same explanation as Cb on that s.

11 tulamananta ram: there are varying sets of weights and measures for trade and for receipts in the treasury; see 2.19.22, 29. — hastapura nam 'holding the hands above the measure so as to take in more grains when measuring out into the treasury' (Cb). It may possibly refer also to the throwing in of a handful or so over and above the grains measured out. — utkara 'what is left over of the heap of grains after the measuring is finished' (Cb). — vyajit: cf. 2.6.10. — paryustam: cf. 2.6.19 above. — prajitam 'gains made by trading' (Cb), 'flowers, betel-leaves etc. raised by the store-keeper himself' (Cs). Breloer understands paryustam prajitam as one 'reclaimed balances of income' (III, 329).

12 stilbhyakse in 2.24 below.

14 Meyer understands khanda and sarka as two 'candy' and 'grain-sugar,' which also is possible.

15 bidha 'muriate of soda with small quantities of muriate of lime, sulphur and oxide of iron' (Monier-Williams: Dictionary). — uddheda or 'derived from saline soil' (com.), 'from salt-springs or salt-wells' (Meyer), 'pit-salt' (Breloer, III, 306).

16 madhu need not be assumed to be fermented as Breloer (KSt, III, 306 n. 1) thinks.

17 cidbhita is a kind of melon. — urvaruka is a variety of eucumber. — avasuta evidently does not imply infusion over a length of time. — sukta seems to be something like vinegar, of which six varieties are mentioned.
18 Tamarind, karamarda, mango, pomegranate, myrobalan, citron, kola, badara, sawiraka, parūṣaka and others form the group of sour fruit-juices.

19 Curds, sour gruel and others are the group of sour liquids.

20 Long pepper, black pepper, ginger, cumin-seed, the bitter kirāṭa, white mustard, coriander, coraka, damanaka, marwaka, the stalk of śigru and others constitute the group of spices.

21 And dried fish and dried meat, bulbous roots, roots, fruits, vegetables and others constitute the group of vegetables.

22 From these he should set apart one half for times of distress for the country people, (and) use the (other) half. 23 And he should replace old (stock) with new.

24 He should personally observe the amount of increase or decrease in the grains when pounded, rubbed, ground or fried, and when they are moistened, dry or cooked.

25 Of kodrava and vrihi-rice, one-half is the substance, of śāli-rice, one-half less (than that), of varaka, one-third less. 26 Of priyaṅgu, one-half is the substance with an increase of one-ninth. 27 udāraka has the same mass, also barley and wheat when pounded, and sesame, barley, mudga and māṣa when rubbed. 28 Wheat increases by one-fifth, also fried barley. 29 kalāya-meal is less by one

18 kola, badara, sawiraka and parūṣaka are different kinds of edible berries or jujubes.

19 dhānyāmla sour gruel 'made from the fermentation of rice-water' (Dict.).

20 coraka appears to be anise-seed. — Many of the names in these ss. including the unusual cīdhīta, karamarda, kustumburu, damanaka, maruwaka, etc. have derivatives in Modern Indian Languages.

21 Dried fish and meat are included in śāku which ordinarily refers to vegetables only. Anything with which broths are made is evidently included here.

23 See 2.4.28 above.

24 ghrṣṭa 'rubbed' or 'crushed' refers to the splitting of pulses etc.

25 kodravacvīrhānām : we have to understand kṣuṇḍānām with this. Cj seems to have read this word. — ardabhāgōṇah may mean one-half less than the ardha, i.e., 1/4th, or the same as ardha, 1/2. In s. 42 the best type of śāli for the king has 1/4th. Cb Cj read āstabhāgōṇah, one-eighth less than ardha, i.e., 3/8ths. — tribhāgōṇah may be 2/3rds (Cb) or 1/2 less 1/3, i.e., 1/6. The latter would be too little. — kodrava and varaka are inferior kinds of grains. priyaṅgu and udāraka seem to be varieties of millets. 26 navabhāgaviddhīḥ: 1/2 plus 1/9, i.e., 11/18. 27 tulyah 'having the same sāra as priyaṅgu' (Cb). The idea rather seems to be that the mass remains the same as before pounding. As Breloer (KSt, III, 310) says, we have to think in terms of mass, not weight. — Cb shows no explanation of yacā godhūmaś ca kṣuṇḍāḥ, and it is possible that these words are not original. 28 godhūmah: we may understand ghrṣṭah with this. 29 kalāya refers to peas. — camasi 'meal' (com.).
quarter. 30 (Meal) of mudga and mōṣa is half a quarter less. 31 Of legumes, one-half is the substance, that of lentils, one-third less.

32 Ground flour, uncooked, and kulmōṣa become one and a half times (in volume). 33 Barley-meal becomes double, also pulāka and cooked flour.

34 Of kodrava, varaka, udāraka and priyaṅgu, the cooked preparation is threefold, of vṛihi-rice fourfold, of śāli-rice fivefold.

35 Later grains, when moistened, become double, one half more, when sprouted.

36 (There is) an increase of one-fifth in the case of fried grains. 37 kalāya becomes double, also fried rice and barley.

38 One-sixth is the amount of oil from linseed. 39 From nimba, kuṣa, mango, wood-apple and others, one-fifth part (is the amount of oil). 40 Oils from sesame, kusumbha, madhūka and iṅgūḍī amount to one-fourth.

41 Of cotton and flax, five palas yield one pala yarn.

42 Twelve āḍhakas of rice-grains from five dronas of śāli-rice are for the feeding of a young elephant, eleven for that of vicious elephants, ten for riding elephants, nine for war-elephants, eight for infantry-men, seven for chiefs, six for the queens and the princes, five for kings or one prastha of rice-grains, unbroken and cleansed.

32 piṣṭam apparently refers to flour of wheat and saktu; yava-meal is mentioned separately in the next s. — kulmāṣḥā: ‘mudga, mōṣa etc.’ (com.), ‘grains, particularly rice, moistened and half-cooked’ (Meyer), ‘cooked rice’ (Breloer). It may be a kind of grain. 33 yāvakaḥ ‘barley-flour’ (Cb), ‘barley without husk pounded’ (Cb), ‘yavavudana, a barley and rice preparation?’ (Cp). — pulākaḥ ‘put in water and cooked’ (Cb); grains moistened and half-cooked are meant for animals; cf. s. 51 below and 2.29.43; 2.30.18.

35 timitam ‘made wet.’ — aparāṇnam ‘mudga and so on, because it is grown later’ (Cj). Cp understands phalāḍhaki, caṇaka and so on. The reading avarāṇnam in the sense of ‘lower kinds of grains’ would probably refer to the same, mudga, mōṣa etc. These are often kept in water for some time. When taken out of water, they sprout after a time (vīrūḍha) and then are used for making broths. Cb has ‘the preparation of rice which has become moist in the fields (timitam) at the time of ripening and of unripe rice (aparāṇnam) becomes double.’ This is doubtful.

39 It is not clear if kuṣa and āmra are to be understood separately or kusōmr as one; cf. 2.17.4.

41 Breloer remarks (KSt, III, 311-2) that this s. may appear to be in the wrong place, but that cotton and flax are required for sacks useful for storing.

42 poṇeḍrobe etc.: i.e., from 20 āḍhakas of paddy, we get 12 āḍhakas of rice, of the roughest quality. In the best or highly polished, the rice yield is only 1/4th of the paddy. — Breloer remarks that the four, kalabhā, vyāla etc. refer to classes of animals, not to elephants only, and that the next four refer to classes of men, commoners (patti), officers (mukhya), court (devikumāra) and king (KSt, III, 313).
43 One prastha of rice-grains, one-fourth (of that) broth, a quantity of salt one-sixteenth of broth, (and) one-fourth part (of broth) butter or oil constitute one meal of an Ārya male. 44 One-sixth (of a prastha) broth, (and) half the quantity of fat is for the lower classes. 45 One-quarter less for women. 46 One half for children.

47 For twenty pallas of meat, half a kuduba of fat, one pala of salt, one pala of sugar, two dhāranas of spices and half a prastha of curds (should be used). 48 By that higher quantities are explained. 49 For vegetables, one and a half times as much, for dried (meat etc.) twice as much and the same ingredients.

50 We shall state the amount of food ration for elephants and horses in the (Sections on the) Superintendents of these.

51 For bullocks, one drona of māṣa or a pulāka of barley (shall be added), the rest as laid down for horses. 52 The special (ration for bullocks is) one tulā of oil-cake from the press or ten ādhakas of broken grains and bran. 53 Twice that for buffaloes and camels. 54 Half a drona for donkeys, spotted deer and red deer. 55 One ādhaka for eṇa- and kuṇāṅga-deer. 56 Half an ādhaka for goats, rams and boars or double that broken grains and bran. 57 One prastha of boiled rice for dogs. 58 Half a prastha for swans, herons and peacocks. 59 For deer, beasts, birds and wild animals other than these, he should cause an estimate to be made from one meal (consumed by them).

60 He should cause charcoal and husks to be taken to metal workshops and for plastering walls. 61 He should give the broken

--- akhaṇḍa... prasthāḥ: this prastha is not brought into relation with any amount of paddy as Breloer (III, 313) thinks.

43 It is proposed to add taṇḍulānāṁ prasthāḥ at the beginning. The words are necessary to show the amount of rice in the daily ration. They seem to have dropped out because they had occurred just before at the end of the last s. 44 ardhāsneham: i.e., half that allowed to an Ārya (1/16 prastha), i.e., 1/32 prastha. If we understand 1/2 of 1/6, i.e., 1/12 prastha (as in Cb Cs and Meyer), that would mean the lower classes are to get more fat than the Ārya, which is unlikely. 45 pādonam applies to all items of s. 43 and 44.

47 visīṣṭaṭāḥ: the instrumental is unusual; perhaps the visarga after it got dropped out. 49 adhyārthā- etc.: Meyer thinks that this applies to curds only or at most to fat and salt also, but not to kṣāra and katuṣka, with which the word generally used is yогā; for we have yogāh separately mentioned here.

50 tadādhyāyikṣe, i.e., in 2.31 and 2.30 respectively.

51 pulākāḥ: see s. 33 above. The amount of yasas for making it would also be 1 drona; cf. 2.29.43. 53 Repeated in 2.29.44. 54 ardhadronam: this refers to māṣa or pulāka, not to oil-cake and bran. 59 alaḥ to be construed with seṣāṇāṁ. — ekabhaktāḥ 'by inspecting food eaten by them in one day' (com.). It is possible that in s. 43 also eka bhaktas refers to the day's ration, not a single meal.
grains to slaves, labourers and broth-makers, (and) things other than these to dealers in cooked rice and in cakes.

62 Implements for weighing and measuring, grinding-stones, pestle and mortar, pounding and crushing machines, scatterer, winnowing basket, sieve, cane-basket, box and broom are the implements.

63 Sweeper, watchman, weigher, measurer, supervisor of measuring, giver, supervisor of delivery, receiver of tallies, and the group of slaves and labourers, — these are the workmen.

64 On high should be the storing place for grains; close-knit grass bags for sugar; earthen jars and wooden casks for fats; and the earth (should be the storing place) for salt.

CHAPTER SIXTEEN

SECTION 34 THE DIRECTOR OF TRADE

1 The Director of Trade should be conversant with the differences in the prices of commodities of high value and of low value and the popularity or unpopularity of goods of various kinds, whether produced on land or in water (and) whether they have arrived along land-routes or water-routes, also (should know about) suitable times for resorting to dispersal or concentration, purchase or sale.

61 kanikāh would appear to be larger than kaṇa on which the animals are fed. — ato nyad seems to refer to surplus food from the royal kitchen. It is not clear from prayacchet if it was sold.

62 rocanidṛṣad 'the grinding stones,' for which rocanī alone is used in 3.8.11. — kuttakayantra 'pādakramaṇiyam uṣṭāgrivakāram' (Cj). — rocakayantra 'a machine for crushing pulses etc.' (Cb) 'hastabhramaṇiyam' (Cj). — patraka 'a wooden scatterer' (Cp), 'a wooden pounder' (Cb), 'fan' (Meyer).

63 dharaka 'holder' of scales, i.e., weigher. Meyer has 'keeper, preserver.' — māpaka who supervises measuring. Cb has 'measurer of length.' — salākā-pratigrāhaka the receiver of sticks or tallies for counting, an accountant (cf. salākā-gāhaka of Pali texts). Cj renders by kalayitā 'counter.' Cb has 'who supervises grinding and pounding.' — viṣṭiḥ: Breloer remarks (III, 304) that 'state worker' is a better rendering of viṣṭi.

64 mūṭāḥ: from man 'to bind' is a woven basket or grass bag. The word is Vedic. Breloer (III, 304-5) says that the Chapter mentions other groups besides these four and hence the kārikā seems taken from elsewhere. The four, however, are the principal groups among edibles (cf. s. 12). The other groups (ss. 16-21) are secondary, and needed no special mention for this purpose.

2.16

1 sāraphalgvarghāntaram 'differences in the prices of sāra and phalgu goods' (com.) is better than 'what is sāra, what is phalgu and fluctuations in their prices' (Meyer). — viṣṭēpa is dispersal of goods in many places for sale, and saṅkṣēpa is concentration in one place only for sale, as described in this Chapter. — prayoga
2 And that commodity which may be plentiful, he should collect in one place and raise the price. 3 Or, when the price is reached, he should fix another price.

4 He should establish in one place trade in royal commodities that are produced in his own country; in many places, in those produced in foreign lands. 5 And he should cause both to be sold so as to favour the subjects. 6 And he should avoid even a big profit that would be injurious to the subjects. 7 He should not create a restriction as to time or the evil of a glut in the market in the case of commodities constantly in demand.

8 Or, traders should sell royal goods in many places with the price fixed. 9 And they should pay compensation in accordance with the loss (sustained).

10 One-sixteenth part is the surcharge in measure by capacity, one-twentieth part in measure by weighing, one-eleventh part of commodities sold by counting.

11 He should encourage the import of goods produced in foreign lands by (allowing) concessions. 12 And to those (who bring such goods) in ships or caravans, he should grant exemptions from taxes that would enable a profit (to be made by them). 13 And no law-

‘use, employment.’ Meyer’s ‘lending at interest’ is little likely. Breloer (KSt, III, 332 n. 1) proposes ‘prayogakalpán ‘the kind and manner (kalpa) of actions (prayoga) viz., distribution and collection, for purchase and sale.’ That is not very happy.

3 prāpte ‘rghe either because the commodity has ceased to be plentiful or the demand for it is greater. — arghāntaram, i.e., a lower price.

4 ekamukham, i.e., concentrated in one place. — Foreign goods are to be sold in many centres probably to make them easily available for the country people as well. 5 Cf. 4.2.27, 35. 6 In view of api, sūkṣmam would have been better than sthūlam. 7 ajastrapanyā ‘that are constantly in demand or always sold’ (com.); ‘which must be fresh’ (Breloer, III, 340). Milk, vegetables, etc. are meant. — sanśkula- ‘crowding,’ i.e., glutting the market.

9 cheda is the loss suffered by the state because it has not itself engaged in the trade and made the usual profit.

10 According to ‘others’ in Cb, vyājī goes to the customer. In the text, however, it is evidently a source of state income. Cj has ‘śoḍaśapraśṭhā víkrīṇāṇāḥ ekāṁ nivarteyet, kṛśṇāṇāḥ saptaśaśakam adhikāṁ grhyāyāt,’ i.e., according to it the vyājī operates two ways between the trader and the customer. That is unlikely.

12 ayatikṣamam : ayati is ‘income’ (2.9.10, 11, etc.) as well as ‘future’ (2.10.36, 48, etc.). So we may have ‘capable of yielding an income, i.e., profit’ or ‘yielding profit in the future’ (Cp). 13 anabhīyogam, i.e., the dispute is to be settled by the panyādhyakṣa himself. — sabhyopakāribhyāḥ : i.e., when they are partners in a native corporation or its associates (or assistants), suits can be filed against them. Cb reads sahopakāribhyāḥ and explains ‘if there is a quarrel between a foreign merchant and a native merchant, the king shall not show partiality (abhī-
suit in money matters (should be allowed) against foreign traders, except such as are members (of native concerns) and (their) associates.

14 Officers in charge of (royal) goods shall deposit the price of goods (sold), in one place, in a wooden box having a lid with one opening. 15 And in the eighth part of the day, they should hand it over to the Director of Trade, declaring, 'This much is sold; this is left over.' 16 They should also hand over the implements of weighing and measuring.

17 Thus (the sale of goods) in one's own territory has been explained.

18 In foreign territory, however, he should ascertain the price and the value of the commodity (taken out) and the commodity (to be brought) in exchange and should calculate the profit after clearing expenses for duty, road-cess, escort-charges, picket- and ferry-dues, food and fodder and share. 19 Should there be no profit, he should see if there is any advantage in taking out goods or in bringing in goods in exchange for goods. 20 Then with a quarter of the goods of high value, he should set going trade by land along a safe route. 21 And he should establish contacts with forest chieftains, frontier officers, and chiefs in the city and the country-side, to secure their favour. 22 In case of a calamity, he should rescue the goods of high value or himself. 23 Or, if he has reached his destination, he should carry on

yoga); if, however, benefit has been conferred by him, partiality may be shown to him.' abhivyoga as 'partiality' is doubtful.

14 panyādhiṣṭātāraḥ are clearly salesmen in state service. 15 ahnāś ca aṣṭame bhāge, i.e., the last part of the day. Cf. I.119.6 ff.

18 panyapratiṣṭhānaḥ: panyā is the commodity taken out, and pratipanyā the commodity brought in exchange for it. Breloer seems to understand the opposite 'the ware (asked for) and the counter-ware (offered in return)' (III, 345). — argha seems to be the selling price, while mūlya is its cost price or value. Breloer understands argha of panyā and mūlya of pratipanyā. — āṭivāhika 'escort charges;' cf. 2.28.25 etc. Cb curiously has 'paid to those who go in the morning (?).'

— gulma seems to be a sort of police or military picket, stationed in places of danger. Cb has 'paid (deya) to those who stay in the forest.' — bhāga 'share' claimed by the foreign state as, e.g., in the case of salt, 2.12.29 etc. — For the s., cf. 2.35.12 below. 19 bhāṇḍānirvāhaṇena: Cp reads bhāṇḍānirvāhaṇena 'by not taking out'; that is less likely. — lāḥam is some political or strategic advantage.

20 tataḥ, i.e., in either case, whether there is profit to be made or some advantage to be secured. — sārapādena, i.e., 1/4th of the total goods taken out are to be sāra, the rest phalgū. Cb has 'giving one-fourth of what is agreed upon as profit, i.e., at a cost of 1/4th of the calculated profit,' Meyer 'with strong beasts of burden,' Breloer 'one-fourth of the four types of goods (rataṇa, sāra, phalgū, kupyā), viz., sāra.' These explanations appear doubtful. 21 Cf. I.16.7. 22 āpadi, e.g., when the caravan is attacked by robbers. 23 ātmavo vā bhūmim aprāptāḥ: ātmavo bhūmim seems to refer to the foreign land that was the destination. The idea may
the trade after paying all dues. 24 And on the water-route he should ascertain hire for boats, provisions on the journey, price and amount of (his) goods and of the goods in exchange, seasons suited for voyage, precautions against dangers and regulations at the ports.

25 And along river-routes, he should ascertain (conditions of) trade from the (port) regulations and should proceed to where there is profit and avoid absence of profit.

CHAPTER SEVENTEEN

SECTION 35 THE DIRECTOR OF FOREST PRODUCE

1 The Director of Forest Produce should cause forest produce to be brought in by guards in the produce forests. 2 And he should start factories for forest produce. 3 And he should fix dues from those cutting produce forests, also penalty, except in cases of distress.

4 The group of forest produce (is as follows):

śāka, tiniśa, dhanvana, arjuna, madhūka, tilaka, sāla, śimśapā, arimeda, rājādana, śiriśa, khadira, sarala, tāla, sarja, aśvakarna, soma-valka, kuśa, āmra, priyaka, dhava and others (constituting) the group of (trees with) hard wood.

5 uṭaja, ciminya, cāpa, venu, vanśa, sātina, kaṇṭaka, bhāllūka and others (constituting) the group of reeds.

then be, if he fails to reach it and finds himself in some other land, he sould carry on the trade according to the laws of that land. This is not very satisfactory. Cs understands by ātmano bhāmi the native land of the panyādhyakṣa, i.e., when he has not come back and is still in the foreign land. vā has little significance here. Perhaps bhumiṁ prāptah should be read 'reaching his destination,' vā showing the option to āpadi. It seems that Cp does read bhumiṁ prāptah and understand the destination intended. The translation is in accordance with this reading. 24 yānabhāgaka: Cb's -bhātaka would appear more appropriate in the sense of hire. Though the state owned boats and hired them out (2.28.3-5) private boats also are thought of, and in case of need could be hired by the state. — panyapat-tanacāritra: cf. 2.28.7 below.

27 nādiṣpathe: apparently, the preceding s. primarily dealt with sea-voyage.

2.17

3 deyam: Cb Cs understand 'wages to be paid to those who cut the trees.' However, deya usually refers to what is due to the state (cf. 2.16.18, 23), and seems to refer here to fees charged for taking fuel or timber from state forests. — atya-yam is penalty for taking these things without paying the dues. — anyatra āpadbhyah when no charges are recovered.

4 kuśāmra is read as in 2.15.39 and understood as two; otherwise the mango tree would find no mention at all.

5 The commentators thus differentiate: 'uṭaja with big holes, slender thorns and a rough surface, ciminya without holes and with a soft surface, cāpa with small
6 vetra, śikavalli, vāśi, ṣyāmalatā, nāgalatā and others (constituting) the group of creepers.
7 mālati, mūrvā, arka, ṣaṇa, gavedhukā, atasī and others (constituting) the group of fibre-plants.
8 muṇja, balbaja and others (constituting raw) material for ropes.
9 The leaves of tālī, tāla and bhūrja.
10 The flowers of kimīsuka, kusumbha and kuṇkuma.
11 Bulbous roots, roots, fruits and others (constituting) the group of medicinal plant products.
12 kālakūṭa, vatānābha, hālāhala, meṣaśṛṅga, mūṣṭha, kuṣṭha, mahāviṣa, vellitaka, gaurāḍāra, bālaka, mārkatā, haimavata, kāṅgaka, dāradaka, ankolasāra, auṣṭraka, and other poisons, serpents and insects, these same kept in jars, (all constituting) the group of poisons.
13 Skin, bones, bile, tendons, eyes, teeth, horns, hooves and tails of the lizard, seraka, leopard, bear, dolphin, lion, tiger, elephant, buffalo, camara, smara, rhinoceros, bison and gavaya, and also of other deer, beasts, birds and wild animals.
14 Iron, copper, steel, bronze, lead, tin, vaikṛntaka and brass (constituting the group of) metals.
15 Vessels made of split bamboo-cane and of clay.
16 Charcoal, husks and ashes; enclosures for deer, beasts, birds and wild animals and enclosures for fuel and grass.

holes and very rough, veṇu without thorns and fit for the bow, sātina with many projecting thorns, kaṇṭaka with wheat-like fruit, and bhāllūka with long joints.'

6 According to Cb, śikavalli is also called haimavallī and nāgalatā is also called nāgajīvāḥ.

11 ausadha is the product of a plant (oṣadhi) with a medicinal property.
12 Some of the poisons are well-known; the identification of others is uncertain. mārkatā 'so called because the shape of its root is like the monkey’s penis’ (Cb Cs). — haimavata, kāṅgaka and dāradaka are names derived from the regions of their origin, Darada being in North-west India. — auṣṭraka ‘shaped like a camel’s penis’ (Cb, which seems to have read auṣṭrika). — kumbhagatāh, i.e., preserved for use against enemies.
13 seraka may be the same as sīraka ‘porpoise.’ It is ‘the white-skinned godhā’ (Cs). — ṭṛṣṇa after dvīpi is from Cb; it seems genuine. — smara ‘a kind of deer’ (Dict.), ‘same as āraha’ (Cs). — asthi twice as in the ms. is clearly wrong; we have to read aksi in one place. Eyes of animals are of use, as is shown by 14.3.1, 6.
14 The metals would come from mines, which are under the ākaraḍhyakṣa (2.12 above). The kupyāḍhyakṣa, in fact, appears to be stationed in the city in charge of the kupyagrha, though the cutting of trees etc. is evidently his concern.
15 mṛgapaśu etc. are items of expenditure in 2.6.11.
17 Separate factories making all kinds of goods should be erected, outside as well as inside, by the Director of Forest Produce, for ensuring livelihood and protection of the city.

CHAPTER EIGHTEEN

SECTION 36 THE SUPERINTENDENT OF THE ARMOURY

1 The Superintendent of the Armoury should cause to be made machines for use in battles, for the defence of forts and for assault on the enemies' cities, also weapons, armours and accoutrements by artisans and artists expert in those lines, producing goods with an agreement as to the amount of work, time allowed and wages, and should store them in places suitable for each. 2 He should frequently change their places and expose them to sun and wind. 3 He should store in a different way what is being damaged by heat, moisture or insects. 4 And he should know them by their class, appearance, characteristics, quantity, source, price and place of storing.

5 sarvatobhadra, jāmadagnya, bahumukha, viśvāsaghātin, saṅghāti, yānaka, parjanyaka, bāhū, ārdhvābāhu, and ardhabāhu are fixed machines.

17 bahir antaś ca: i.e., in the country and in the city respectively. Meyer has 'outside and inside the forests.' — vibhaktāḥ, i.e., a separate factory for each class of manufacture. Breloer (III, 297 n.1) has 'not close together' from the strategical point of view so that they do not fall in the enemy's hands all at the same time. — ājīvapurarākṣārāthāḥ, i.e., 'by providing ploughs, pestles etc. for ājīva and machines, weapons etc. for purarākṣā' (Cs). — kupyopajīvin is the same as kupyādhyakṣa, as Cj shows.

2.18

1 ca yantram is proposed for cakrayantram of the mss. and yantram of Cb. ca is necessary; -kra- seems to have been added after it under the impression that all yantras are based on the wheel. — tajjāta: cf. 2.5.8 etc. — karmapramāṇa refers to the amount of work, while phalanspatti refers to the type of work to be done, according to Meyer. Cb explains 'who produce articles after an agreement is made that so much work is to be done in so much time for so much wage.' This appears better. 4 nikṣepa 'scabbards' (Cb) i.e., containers. It may also mean 'a place for storing' corresponding to nidhāna of 2.11.116.

5 sarvatobhadra 'of the size of a cart-wheel with a sharp rim, placed in the hands of a gandharca in a wall and sending stones all round when turned' (com.). — jāmadagnya 'a dhanuryantra, discharging big arrows through a hole in the centre' (Cb), 'discharging weapons of all kinds in various ways' (Cj). — bahumukha 'a place for archers on the tower etc., with many holes for shooting from' (Cj), 'a tower with 3 or 4 decks, with a leather-shield placed on wheels, from which arrows are shot' (Cb). — viśvāsaghātin 'a beam outside the city-wall placed crosswise and slaying when released by a mechanism' (Cb). — saṅghāti 'a fire machine, made of long beams, for setting fire to turrets' (com.). — yānaka 'one daṇḍa
6 pāṇcālika, devaṇḍa, sūkarikā, musalayaṣṭi, hastivāraṇa, tālavṛnta, hammer, mace, sprktalā, spade, āspāṭima, utpāṭima, udghāṭima, śataghami, trident and discus are mobile machines.

7 sakti, prāsa, kunta, hāṭaka, bhinḍipāla, sūla, tomara, varāhakarṇa, kaṇaya, karpaṇa, trāsikā and others are (weapons) with piercing points.

8 Made from tāla, cāpa, wood and horn, (and known as) kārmuka, kodaṇḍa and drāṇa are the bows. 9 mūrvā, arka, śaṇa, gavedhu, veṇu and sinews (of animals) are bow-strings. 10 veṇu, śara, salākā, long, on wheels, with planks inside’ (Cb). — parjanyaka ‘a water-machine for putting out fire’ (com.). — bāhū ‘two pillars facing each other, slaying when the mechanism is released.’ Cp adds that the pillars are 25 hastas long. — ārdhavanabāhu ‘a single pillar, 50 hastas long, slaying by release of mechanism’ (Cp); ardhabāhu is half in length, i.e., 25 hastas. — sthita as contrasted with cala; cf. 7.10.7; 7.13.8 etc.

6 pāṇcālika ‘a wooden plank thickly studded with iron nails and placed in the moat to obstruct the enemy’ (com.). — devaṇḍa ‘a big beam without nails placed on the wall’ (Cp) apparently for hurling down like a bolt from the blue. Cj has ‘a stick one aratni long discharged by a machine (yantrakṣepyo’ratnimātra lakuṭāḥ).’ — sūkarikā ‘a leather bag stuffed with cotton, wool etc. for protecting turrets etc. from stones’ (Cj), or, ‘a pig-shaped cane-bag covered with leather to prevent storming of the wall’ (Cp). — musalayaṣṭi ‘a pike made of the khadira wood.’ — hastivāraṇa ‘a bar for striking down elephants’ (Cb) ‘or, a pike with two or three points’ (Cp). — tālavṛnta ‘a vātacakra’ (com.) apparently producing a strong wind and raising dust. — mudgara ‘hammer’ and gadā ‘mace’ are ‘yantrakṣepya discharged from machines’ (Cj). — sprktalā ‘a mace with sharp nails (Cp); Cj, which reads sprktulā has ‘asmatulāntaratagatāśavataraṇāt bahir āsmano muṇiça’ which is far from clear. — āspāṭima ‘a sort of catapult with four leather-covered pillars’ (com.). — utpāṭima ‘a sort of wrench for pulling down pillars.’ — udghāṭima ‘a mudgara-shaped machine.’ Meyer remarks that -ima forms have a passive sense and hence we have to understand weapons that themselves burst or are uprooted or opened. — śataghami (for the short -ghni, cf. 2.3.34) ‘a big pillar studded with big and long nails with a cart-wheel at one end and placed on the wall’ (com.), probably intended to be hurled down.

7 sakti ‘4 hastas long, all-metal, with the tip shaped like the karavīra-leaf and the head like a cow’s nipple.’ prāsa ‘24 āṅgulas long, all-metal, with wood inside, having two backs.’ kunta ‘7, 6 or 5 hastas long,’ a weapon for horse-riders’ (Cj). hāṭaka ‘similar to kunta, but with a three-pointed tip’ (Cj). bhinḍipāla ‘same as kunta, but with a broad tip.’ sūla ‘with one point, length not fixed.’ tomara ‘4, 4 1/2 or 5 hastas long, with an arrow-shaped tip.’ varāhakarṇa ‘same as prāsa (tomara, Cj) with tip shaped like a boar’s ear.’ kaṇaya ‘20, 22 or 24 āṅgulas long, all-metal, with tridents at each end and a grip in the middle.’ karpaṇa (kampana Cj) ‘an arrow of the size of tomara, 7, 8 or 9 karṣas in weight to be thrown by the hand.’ trāsikā ‘all-metal, of the size of prāsa, with a tuft at one end.’ — hula- ‘spike’ is more likely than hala- ‘plough-share’ of Cb Cs.

8 kārmuka etc.: Meyer thinks that the names correspond to the four types of materials and hence would read -ṛūnasārīgāni or understand dhanus itself as the name of the horn-made bow. However, kārmuka seems to contain a reference to
daṇḍāsana and nārāca are arrows. 11 Their tips for cutting, piercing and striking are made of iron, bone or wood.

12 nistṛiniśa, maṇḍalāgra and asiyaṣṭi are swords. 13 The horn of the rhinoceros and buffalo, the tusk of the elephant, wood and bamboo-root form the hilt.

14 paraśu, kuṭhāra, paṭṭasa, khanitra, spade, saw, and kāṇḍac-c. edana are razor-type weapons.

15 Stones for use in machines, in slings and by hand, and millstones are stone-weapons.

16 A coat of mail of metal rings or metal plates, an armour of fabrics, and combinations of skin, hooves and horns of dolphin, rhino-
ceros, dhenuka, elephant and bull, are armours. 17 Helmet, neck-
guard, cuirass, robe, coat of mail, breast-plate and thigh-guard, box, leather shield, hastikarna, tālamula, dhamani ka, kapāta, kīṭi kā, apratiha ta and balāhakānta are shields.

dkāman 'action' and kodāṇḍa to its length 'almost a daṇḍa' and not to the material of which they are made. 10 śalākā is 'made of wood,' daṇḍāsana is 'garhānārāca,' and nārāca is 'all-metal' (com.).

12 nistṛiniśa is 'short' (Cj), 'has a curved tip' (Cp). The name may contain a reference to length 'beyond thirty (aṅgulas?).' — maṇḍalāgra 'straight with a round tip.' — asiyaṣṭi 'thin and long.' 13 viśāṇa 'horn' as well as 'tusk.'

14 paraśu 'all-metal, 24 aṅgulas long.' — paṭṭasa 'an axe with a trident at one end or both ends.' — kāṇḍacchedana 'a big axe' (Cp), 'kāṇḍāśikā' (Cb).

15 gopāna: Cb reads gāvasta and explains gacanaptāṇa by 'catapult.' — cāsmāyaudhāni from Cb is clearly preferable to cāryayudhāni 'awl-like weapons' of the mss.

16 Commentators read lōhajāla jālīkā- etc. Cb explains 'helmet for the head (loḥajāla), headless armour (jālīkā), armour (paṭṭa) and armour with many flaps or folds (ka va ca).' Similarly Cp, which construes lōha with each term up to kava ca. It may be, however, that kava ca made either of lohajālīka or of lohapaṭṭa is alone to be understood. — sūtra kānaṇa kāta evidently made of cotton cloth with stuffing inside; they are made by the sūtra śṛddhyākaṣa as 2.23.10 shows. — cārmaka ha etc., i.e., the entire skin with hooves, horns etc. is used as an armour. 17 kūrpaṣa 'with half-sleeves'; kaśicuka 'up to the knees'; vāra vāna 'up to the ankle' (see 2.11.99 above); paṭṭa 'without arms and not made of metal'; nāgoda rīkā 'a thigh-guard' (Cj). — peṭṭi 'a cover made of wood and creepers'; hastikarna 'a board used as a cover.' — tālamālī: cf. 2.3.7 above. — dhamani kā 'a cloth-bag into which wind is blown' (Cp); a leather-bells may appear more likely. — kapāta 'a door-fly.' — kīṭi kā 'made of cane-work and leather.' Meyer has 'a light shield.' — apratiha ta, i.e., hastivāraka, warder off of elephants' (Cp), 'hastivāraka hand-guard (?)' (Cs). — balāhakānta 'same as apratiha ta with iron strips at the end.' Cb shows the form varāhakānta 'beloved of the boars.' — avaraṇānī: from śiraśtraṇa up to nāgoda rīkā we have coverings for the soldiers' persons, from peṭṭi onwards shields or covers as protection.
18 Objects used in giving training to elephants, chariots and horses, objects used for their decoration and arrangements for their equipment are the accouterments.

19 Illusion magic and secret practices are (secret) work.

20 And concerning the factories,

the Master of the Armoury should know the desire (of the king), the carrying out of the undertaking, the manufacture, fraud (if practised), gain, loss and expenditure of (the various types of) forest produce.

CHAPTER NINETEEN

SECTION 37 STANDARDISATION OF WEIGHTS AND MEASURES

1 The Superintendent of Standardisation should cause factories to be established for the manufacture of standard weights and measures.

2 Ten māṣa-beans make one māṣaka of gold, or five guṇyā-berries.

3 Sixteen of these make one suvarṇa or karsa. 4 A pala is equivalent to four karsas.

5 Eighty-eight white mustard-seeds make one māṣaka of silver.

6 Sixteen of these make one dharaṇa, or twenty simbā-beans.

19 This karma or secret work is described in Books 13 and 14 below.

20 karmāntanāṁ ca to be construed with the following stanza. — Since the stanza refers to forest produce factories, Cp says that it applies to the preceding Chapter as well. Most of the weapons came from those factories and hence the Armoury Superintendent must be conversant with them. — vyājam 'fraud' from Cb is preferable to vyājin; the latter is out of place. — uddayam 'gain, profit' (Cb Cs). Sorabji had proposed udgañam 'source, origin.' Meyer proposes vyājamudriyam or vyājamudritam 'fraud and stampling' or vyājamad dvayam 'deceitful duplicity' or vyājam adbhutam 'fraud and the wonderful.' None is an improvement. Cj seems to have read yogāṇī vyājīṇi samudayam. Cb's explanation appears least unsatisfactory.

2.19

pautava is derived from potu going back to the root pū to purify, refine, rectify. It stands for standardisation of weights and measures.

2. māṣaka is the name of a weight (equal to 1/16 suvarṇa and also referred to as māṣa) as well as of a copper coin (equivalent to 1/16th of a pana; 2.12.24). This has led to some confusion. — A guṇyā-seed is 2 or 1.80 grains (Fleet, JRAS, 1915, p. 228) or 1.8295 grains (A. S. Hemmy, JRAS, 1937, pp. 1-26). A karsa, which is 80 times that comes to a little less than a modern tola. A karsa or suvarṇa is the weight of the pana as well as of the coin māṣaka (between which and the weight māṣaka there is no relation of identity). 'Karṣa is the name of a weight in ancient Iran as well. The weight in India was therefore an importation from Western Asia like the Vedic Manā or Minā.' (F. W. Thomas, JRAS, 1916, p. 366)

5-6 If, as seems very likely, the pala of 10 dharaṇas (s. 20) is the same as the
7 A dharanā of diamond weighs twenty rice-grains.

8 A half-māṣaka, a māṣaka, two, four, eight māṣakas, a swarna, two, four, eight swarnas, also ten, twenty, thirty, forty (and) one hundred (swarnas), (are denominations of weights). 9 By that are explained (denominations of) dharanās.

10 Weights should be made of iron (or) of stone from the Magadhās or the Mekala hills or such as would not increase in weight by water and smearing or decrease in weight by heat.

11 Beginning with six aṅgulas (in length) and rising successively by eight aṅgulas, he should cause ten balance-beams to be made, one pala of metal onwards (in weight) increased successively by one pala, with scale-pan on the two sides of the fulcrum or a pan (on one side only).

12 He should cause the samavṛttā (balance) to be made of metal thirty-five palas (in weight) and seventy-two aṅgulas in length.

13 Fixing a ball (of metal) five palas in weight (at one end), he should cause the level to be secured (for marking zero). 14 From that (point)

pala of 4 karṣas (s. 4) 88 mustard-seeds would be equivalent to 2 guṇjās, so that the silver māṣaka would be 2/5ths of a gold māṣaka. Manu, 8.134-135, has the same ratio between the gold māṣa and the silver māṣaka.

8 Weights of these denominations are meant to be manufactured. 9 For silver, dharanā would appear in place of swarna.

10 Maikala hills are in Madhya Pradesh. — In view of -maya, -śilā- for -saila- would have been better.

11 The lengths would be 6, 14, 22 . . . 78 aṅgulas and weights 1, 2, 3 . . . 10 palas respectively. The beams would be very thin. — yantram ubhayataḥśākiyāṁ vā: the translation follows the commentators. Cb has ‘with pans on both sides of the fulcrum (yantra) or a pan on one side only,’ understanding by the latter the steel-yard type of balance described in the following ss. It is also possible that yantra as ‘mechanism’ refers to the steel-yard type of balance and ubhayataḥśākiya to the pair of scales. Meyer has ‘on each of the two sides, there shall be a contrivance (yantra) or a scale-pan.’ What contrivance is meant is not clear.

12 This beam would be thicker. samavṛttā ‘even-rounded’ is the name of the balance. 18 māṇḍalām etc.: it seems that the steel-yard type is described here. According to Cb, a metal ball (māṇḍala) weighing five palas is to be tied at one end, while the thing to be weighed is to be suspended at the other end; then the beam is to be lifted with a string, the point at which equilibrium is secured showing the weight of the object in accordance with the markings. It seems that this type of balance is still used in Malabar, being called tulākkol. It does not seem possible to understand the fully developed steelyard, in which the beam is suspended from above at a fulcrum dividing it into two unequal arms, the object being at the shorter end and a poise being shifted along the markings on the longer arm to indicate the weight when equilibrium is found. māṇḍala can hardly refer to such a poise. — samakaraṇam kārayet: this seems to refer to the marking of zero at the point where equilibrium is secured with the māṇḍala at one end and nothing at the other (perhaps only a light pan). 14 tataḥ, i.e., from the zero thus found and marked. The
onwards, he should cause markings to be made for one kārṣa, increased by a kārṣa up to one pala, then increased by a pala up to ten palas, then for twelve, fifteen and twenty palas. 15 Thereafter, he should cause markings to be made increased by ten up to one hundred palas. 16 In the ‘fives’ he should cause it to be covered with nāndī (the svastika mark).

17 He should cause a balance (called) parimāṇī to be made with double this amount of metal and ninety-six aṅgulas in length. 18 On that he should cause markings to be made beyond one hundred for twenty, fifty and (two) hundred (pala).

19 A bhāra contains twenty tulā-weights.

20 A pala contains ten dharaṇas. 21 One hundred of these palas is the revenue measure. 22 Less by five palas (successively) are measures for trade, for payments and for measuring out to the length between zero and the beam’s end is to be divided for markings up to one hundred palas. — ākṣesu nāndīpinaddham: ākṣa is a multiple of five, 5, 10, 15 etc. (com.). nāndī is ‘svastika’ (Cp), ‘a mark of the crow’s foot’ (Cj), ‘mark of the wedge’ (Cb). pinaddha then would mean ‘covered,’ i.e., marked, perhaps even carved, engraved. The reading naddhī would mean ‘a strap,’ pinaddha would then be possible in the sense of ‘tied’ and ākṣa in the sense of ‘the pivot.’ But it is not easy to see pivots, straps etc. in the balance described here. For tulā, cf.: ‘The balances with which the Hindus weigh things are charistiones, of which the weights are immovable, while the scales move on certain marks and lines. Therefore, the balance is called tulā. The first lines mean the units of the weight from 1 to 5 and further on to 10 ; the following lines mean the tens, 10, 20, 30 etc.’ (Alberuni’s India, tr. C. Sachau, I, 164-5).

20 Cp states that this pala is bigger than the other pala by 1 kārṣa, i.e., has 5 kārṣas in it instead of 4. How this relation is arrived at is not clear. However, tat in the next s. might suggest that a different pala is thought of here. Nevertheless, āyamānī is clearly the same as the samavṛtī. 22 Thus the vyācayārākhi weighs up to 95 palas, each pala being 9½ dharaṇas, beam-metal 33 palas and length 66 aṅgulas. The values for the other two are 90, 9, 31, 60 and 85, 8½, 29, 54 respectively. The three tulās would actually weigh up to 902½, 810 and 722½ dharaṇas only instead of 1000 as in the āyamānī. Meyer says ‘the dharaṇa of the trade is greater than that of the revenue measure by 1/20th, that for servants by 2/20th and that for harem by 3/20th; in 100 palas this gives 5, 10 and 15 palas more respectively. So that the difference is squared and what is differently weighed is in reality the same (just as in the different systems of Indian philosophy). Thus is reached the highest triumph of the Indian spirit: a refined system.’ Where he gets different values for the dharaṇa is not clear. And such classifications, with no practical effect whatsoever, cannot, in fairness, be attributed to the author of the present work. Meyer also gives 51, 49 and 47 as the weights of the beams. It is difficult to see how he arrives at these figures. 53 is nowhere mentioned as the weight of the āyamānī beam; 35 is mentioned for the samavṛtī. — antahpurabhājani: the smallest measure is for delivery to the palace, apparently because the king could then plead that if he paid to others by a measure smaller than the revenue measure, he himself received by a still smaller measure.
pala. 23 Of these, the pala is (successively) less by half a dharana, the metal of the upper (beam, successively) less by two palas and the length (successively) less by six angulas.

24 In the case of the former two, an excess (in weight) of five palas (is to be received) except in cases of meat, metals, salt and gems.

25 The balance made of wood (should be) eight hastas (long), provided with markings (or) with weights (and) supported by 'peacock's feet.'

26 Twenty-five palas of fire-wood are a means of cooking one prastha of rice. 27 This is an indication for more and for less.

28 Thus weights and balances have been explained.

29 Now, two hundred palas of masha-beans make one drosha for revenue measures, one hundred and eighty-seven and a half palas, (the drosha) for trade, one hundred and seventy-five palas, for making payments, (and) one hundred sixty-two and a half palas, for measuring out to the palace.

30 Of these, adhaka, prastha and kuduba are smaller measures, being each one-fourth of the preceding. 31 Sixteen droshas make one khari. 32 Twenty droshas make one kumbha. 33 Ten kumbhas make one vaha.

34 He should cause measures to be made of dry, hard wood, even, with one-fourth as top-heap, or with the heap included inside. 35 However, in the case of liquids, wine, flowers and fruits, husk

24 purodaya, 'i.e., of samavatla and parimanyi' (Cp). — prayama 'extension,' i.e., an addition in weight. This seems to mean in effect that 5% and 2 1/2% respectively are received in addition in revenue receipts. Perhaps this is the same as raja mentioned elsewhere.

25 kasthatul 'balance made of hard wood' (com.) rather than 'balance for weighing fuel' (Meyer). — padavati, i.e., of the steelyard type, while pratimanaavati implies two scale-panes; the two cannot go together. A va seems necessary after the latter word. — mayurapada- refers to the frame-work supporting the balance-beam. Narada, 2,273, describes the toraṇa, consisting of two posts 1 or 1½ hasta away from each other with a transverse beam on top from which the balance beam is suspended. This toraṇa does resemble a peacock's feet.

26 As Cs says this really belongs to the province of the Stores Officer.

29 On the basis of 2 grains to a guṇja, a drosha would have 128,000 grains by weight, approximating a capacity of a little over 500 cubic inches or a little less than a quarter bushel or 2 gallons.

33 Meyer, calculating 37 1/2 bushels in a vaha, remarks that this amount of a cart-load implies that roads were in a very good condition.

34 caturbdhaaśikham, i.e., 3/4ths of the actual amount is inside the measure, 1/4th being the heap on the top; antahśikham where all four parts are inside the measure and there is no heaping on top. 35 rasasya tu: com. understand antah-
and charcoal, and lime, the measure of the top-heap is an increase that is double.

36 One paṇa and a quarter (should be) the price of a drona; three-quarters, of an āḍhaka; six māṣakas, of a prastha; one māṣaka, of a kuḍuba. 37 The price of the measures for liquids and others (should be) double. 38 (The price) of the weights (should be) twenty paṇas. 39 One-third that, the price of the balance.

40 He should cause a stamping (of the weights and measures) to be made every four months. 41 The penalty for unstamped (weights etc.) is twenty-seven paṇas and a quarter. 42 (Traders) shall pay a stamping fee amounting to one kākanī every day to the Superintendent of Standardisation.

43 One-thirty-second part is the surcharge for heating in the case of clarified butter, one-sixty-fourth part in the case of oil. 44 One-fiftieth part is the flow from the measure in the case of liquids.

45 He should cause measures of a half-kuḍuba, a quarter-kuḍuba and one-eighth kuḍuba to be made.

śīkham with this and read a stop here. Perhaps, however, tu indicates an exception in the case of surā etc. among rasas (in whose case antahśīka is understood ipso facto). Of course, raseśu would be better for this. — dviguṇottarā, 'i.e., double the 1/4th śīkha; thus in a prastha 3 kuḍubas inside and 2 in addition' (Cb). Cp understands all five in the prastha. For such an explanation, śīkhāmānasya dviguṇā vṛddhiḥ would have been better. Cj seems to arrive at 75 for rasa, 100 for surā, 125 for puspa, 150 for tuṣāṅgara and 175 for sudhā as the measure of the śīkha. Though this appears to do greater justice to the wording (uttara), it seems highly unlikely that such additions are really intended in these cases.

37 rasādinām: the higher price is due to the measure being larger to account for the greater śīkhāmāna. 39 trībhāgah, i.e., 1/3rd of 20 paṇas (Cb). Cb has 'one-third of a paṇa for the smallest of the ten tulās of s. 11, increased by 1/3 in each successive case.' On that basis of 1/3 paṇa for 1 pala metal, the samavṛtti would cost 11 2/3 paṇas. It seems, however, that the price of the samāvṛtti alone is stated here as one-third of 20 paṇas.

40 prātiṣedhanikam, i.e., stamping as well as inspection regarding stamping. — caturmāṣikam of the mss. is clearly wrong, because the fee is laid down, not here, but in s. 42. It comes to 30 māṣakas for the four-month period. 42 prātiṣedhanika is here the stamping fee.

43 tapatavyājī seems to refer to the additional measure of ghee or oil to compensate for the loss suffered by these in the process of liquefaction. Ordinarily the customer would receive this; but Cb says the king received this as well as the mānasrava. That is likely when these articles are delivered in the state stores. 44 mānasrava is a similar compensation for what sticks to the measure when liquids are measured out.

45 This s. should have come earlier, after s. 33. The prices of these should also have been stated.
46 Eighty-four kuḍūbas of clarified butter are known as a vāraka; but sixty-four (kuḍūbas make a vāraka) of oil; and one-quarter of these is known as a ghaṭikā.

CHAPTER TWENTY

SECTION 38 MEASURES OF SPACE AND TIME

1 The Superintendent of Measurements should be conversant with the measurements of space and time.

2 Eight atoms make one rathacakraṇiprāṣ (chariot-wheel particle).
3 Eight of them make one likṣā (nit).
4 Eight of them make one yūkā (louse).
5 Eight of them make one yavamadhyā (barley-middle).
6 Eight yavamadhyaś make one aṅgula (finger).
7 Or, the maximum width of the middle (part) of the middle finger of a middling man is an aṅgula.

8 Four aṅgulas make a dhanurgraḥa.
9 Eight aṅgulas make a dhanurmuṣṭi.
10 Twelve aṅgulas make a vītasti (span) and the height of the shadow-gnomon.
11 Fourteen aṅgulas make a śama, a śala, a pariraya and a pada (foot).

12 Two spans make an aratī (cubit), the hasta of Prajāpati.
13 (A hasta) with a dhanuragraha is the measure (of a hasta) for weights and measures and for pastures. 14 (A hasta) with a dhanurmuṣṭi

46 caturāṣṭiḥ of the mss. is metrically easy, but grammatically uncertain; caturāṣṭiḥ (Cb) is hard on metre but grammatically impeccable.

2.20

1 mānādhyakṣaḥ 'same as pautavādhyakṣa' (Cp); Cp adds that he may be an independent officer appointed by the samāhāṛt. Measurements of space and time are his concern.

2 rathacakraṇiprāṣ: 'this is perceptible to the eye' (com.). It may be the same as the trasareṇa of the Naiyāyikas.

4 yūkā is from Cb. yūkāmadhyāḥ of the mss. seems influenced by yavamadhyāḥ.

5 yavamadhyāḥ, i.e., width in the middle, at its widest. (Cf. 'yavodarair aṅgulam aṣṭasaṅkhyayāth' — Bhāskarācārya).

7 madhyamapuruṣa as described by Cb is 'with a height of 100 of his own finger-widths and a girth of 92 finger-widths.'

8 dhanurgraḥa 'a bow-grip' in the middle of the bow where the four fingers are clasped round it. 9 dhanurmuṣṭi apparently has reference to the fist with the thumb upraised when holding the bow for shooting. 10 chāyāpauruṣa, i.e., the height of the śanīku on the sun-dial. A dvādaśaṅgulaśanīku is mentioned in the Atharvaveda (S. B. Dikshiti, Bhāratīya Jyotiṣaśāstra, p. 367). 11 śama appears related to śamyā 'yoke-pin,' śala to śalya 'dart' and pada to 'foot.' The significance of pariraya is not clear.

13 pautavācīvitamāṇam: Meyer understands a single idea 'measuring pasture-land by the weight-superintendent.' That is unlikely. What is meant is that in the work of the pautavādhyakṣa and the vīcītādhyakṣa, a hasta of 14 aṅgulas is to be
makes a kisku or a kaṁsa. 15 Forty-two aṅgulas make a carpenter’s sawing-kisku, a measure for the camp, the fort and royal property. 16 Fifty-four aṅgulas make a hasta for (measuring) forest produce.

17 Eighty-four aṅgulas make a vyāma, a measure for ropes and a pauruṣa (man’s height) for (measuring) moats (or diggings).

18 Four aratnīs make a daṇḍa, a dhanu, a nālikā, and a pauruṣa for the householder. 19 One hundred and eight aṅgulas make a dhanu, measure for roads and city-walls and a pauruṣa for (measuring) the piling of fire-altars. 20 Six kaṁsas make a daṇḍa, a measure for gifts to Brahmans and to guests.

21 Ten daṇḍas make a raju. 22 Two rajjus make a parideśa. 23 Three rajjus make a nivartana on one side. 24 A bāhu has two daṇḍas more.

25 Two thousand dhanus-es make a gopura. 26 Four gorutas make a yojana. 27 Thus measurements of space (have been explained).

28 Hereafter (are explained) measurements of time.

used. 14 kisku seems to have a reference to the forearm. The significance of kaṁsa ‘cup’ is not clear. Meyer thinks of as much land as can be sown with a kaṁsa-ful of seeds. That is doubtful, as this is clearly a linear and not an area measure.

17 vyāma is the distance from tip to tip of outstretched hands. — rajarjumānam, i.e., a unit for measuring ropes. It may refer to the length of rope used for tying cattle, as Meyer thinks. — khāta primarily a moat, also a well.

18 nālikā pauruṣaṁ ca gārhapatyam : it is better to read gārhapatyam at the end of this s. as in Cb. It can hardly be construed with the following s. The significance of nālikā, about 6 feet long, is not clear. Is it possible that the primitive nālikā used for measuring time was really a hollow reed 6 feet long from which water flowed out through an aperture at one end during a period of 24 minutes? — gārhapatyam pauruṣa seems to refer to the average man’s (householder’s) height. Cb, which adds matam after gārhapatyam, explains ‘the 4-aratnī daṇḍa, dhanu, nālikā and pauruṣa are according to the opinion of Grhapati or Viśvākarmān.’ That is doubtful. 20 śaṭkaṁso daṇḍaḥ : Meyer thinks of an area measure.

21-24 Meyer thinks that raju etc. are area measures and finds the mixing of area measures and linear measures confusing. But daṇḍa, raju and bāhu are clearly only linear measures, so it appears parideśa ‘pointing out.’ nivartana, no doubt, is an area measure later (cf. JBORS, XII, 118 n. 3). But here only the length of one side of the area is mentioned, as shown by ekataḥ, i.e., again a linear measure of 30 daṇḍas is mentioned. nivartana may primarily have reference to the turning back of the bullocks at the plough, a linear conception. bāhu may also refer to the length of one side of an area measure; but that is far from certain.

25 deidhanussahasram : G’s reading dhanus- is faulty and Fleet’s calculation, on its basis, of a yojana of 4.54 miles (JRAS, 1912, 234-6) is unacceptable. Fleet also identified his yojana with the Persian parasang of 4.76 miles (JRAS, 1912, 462-3). The yojana, however, is double that. The name yojana seems to have reference to the ‘yoking’ of bullocks, i.e., distance covered before the yoke is taken off.
29 tuta, lava, nimesa, kāstha, kalā, nālikā, mūhūrtta, forenoon and afternoon, day, night, fortnight, month, season, ayana, year and cycle (of years) are divisions of time. 30 Two tutas make a lava. 31 Two lavas make a nimesa. 32 Five nimesas make a kāstha. 33 Thirty kāsthas make a kalā. 34 Forty kalas make a nālikā. 35 Or, a hole in a jar (with a dimension) of four māsakas of gold made four aṅgulas in length, (with) an ādhaka of water (running through it) measures one nālikā. 36 Two nālikās make a mūhūrtta.

37 A day of fifteen mūhūrtas and a night (of the same length) occur in the months of Ćaitra and Āśvayuja. 38 After that, one of them (first) increases and (then) decreases by three mūhūrtas during a period of six months (and vice versa the other).

39 When the shadow (of the gnomon) is eight pauruṣas, one-eighteenth part (of the day) is past, when six pauruṣas, one-fourteenth part (is past), when three pauruṣas one-eighth part, when two pauruṣas, one-sixth part, when one pauruṣa, one-fourth part, when eight aṅgulas, three-tenth part (is past), when four aṅgulas, three-eighth part, (and) when there is no shadow, it is midday. 40 When the day has turned, one should understand the remaining parts in like manner.

29 tuta is clearly a Prakritism. 31 nimesah 'time taken to pronounce a short syllable' (Cj). 35 suvarṇamāsakāh etc.: the idea is, gold 4 māsakas in weight is made into a wire 4 aṅgulas long, the wire's thickness representing the measure of the hole in the jar through which the water is to flow out. The wire itself is of no further use in the nālikā. Thus Cb. Cs thinks that the gold is to be turned into a hollow tube, apparently for fixing in the jar, through which the water is to flow out. But unless the thickness of the gold leaf out of which the tube is made is also stated, the diameter would vary from tube to tube. The Punjabi reading is derived from Śaṅkarārya on Kāmandaka 5.42 and is clearly only a gloss. Fleet (JRAS, 1915, pp. 213-239) points out that the Vedāṅga Jyotiṣa requires 61/64 of a droṇa of water to flow in 1 nālikā, that the Dīcyavādāna has 1 droṇa for 1 nālikā, the hole however being 1 suvarṇa of gold 4 aṅgulas long, and that the Vāyu, Viṣṇu and Bhāgavata Purāṇas agree in all details with the present passage. kumbha here is simply 'jar,' and is not the measure of that name (2.19.32) as H. Jacobi (ZDMG, 74, pp. 250-1) seems to have thought.

37 This means that the equinoctial days fall in the months of Ćaitra (vernal) and Āśvina (autumnal). 38 tribhīr etc.: as the increase or decrease is from solstice to solstice, we have to understand that the day increases for three months from the vernal equinoctial day in Ćaitra and decreases for three months thereafter. The longest day at the summer solstice thus amounts to 14 hours 24 minutes. Jacobi (ZDMG, 74, p. 252) states that the longest day of 18 mūhūrtas is true of North Punjab and is mentioned in the Vedāṅga Jyotiṣa and the Sūryaprajñāpti.

39 aṣṭapauruṣyāṁ: the pauruṣa of s. 10 is to be understood. — tripaṇuṣyāṁ is proposed for catuspauruṣyāṁ of the ms. in conformity with 1.19.7 and following a suggestion of Jacobi (ZDMG, 74, 255-254). Even tripaṇuṣi is slightly longer than the actual shadow after 1/8th of the day is past. — acchāyo madhyākṣaḥ: this is true only of the summer solstice day in Āśādha. Cf. s. 41. Jacobi (ZDMG,
41 In the month of Āṣāḍha, the midday loses shadow. 42 After that, in the six months beginning with Śrāvaṇa, the shadow (at midday) increases by two aṅgulas in each month and in the six months beginning with Māgha, it decreases by two aṅgulas in each month.

43 Fifteen days and nights make a fortnight. 44 That in which the moon waxes is the bright (fortnight). 45 That in which the moon wanes is the dark.

46 Two fortnights make a month. 47 Thirty days and nights make a works month. 48 A half day more makes a solar month. 49 A half day less makes a lunar month. 50 Twenty-seven (days and nights) make a month of constellations. 51 Thirty-two make a month for the army. 52 Thirty-five, (a month) for maintenance of horses. 53 Forty, (a month) for maintenance of elephants.

54 Two months make a season. 55 Śrāvaṇa and Prauṣṭhapada are the rainy season. 56 Āsvayuja and Kārttika are autumn. 57 Mārgaśīra and Pauṣa are winter. 58 Māgha and Phālguna are the season of frost. 59 Caitra and Vaiśākha are spring. 60 Jyeṣṭhā-mūliya and Āṣāḍha are summer.

74, pp. 253-4) states that in the first four cases, the actual parts of time at Pataliputra deviate more from those mentioned here than do those at Ujjayini.

41 Āṣāḍhe māsi etc.: this can happen only on the Tropic of Cancer, i.e., in Magadha or Bengal or Malwa. 42 dvayaṅgulottarā, i.e., 2 aṅgulas in Śrāvaṇa, 4 in Prauṣṭhapada and so on up to 12 in Pauṣa, decreasing thereafter to the same extent. In Pauṣa in the winter solstice the shadow thus equals the length of the gnomon, again showing a place on the Tropic of Cancer. Jacobi (ZDMG, 74, 255) states that on the Tropic of Cancer the actual length would be 13.08 aṅgulas and adds that Kauṭilya's incorrect figures are given as those of the Vāsiṣṭha Siddhānta in the Pañcasiddhāntikā, 2.9. This text indeed appears derived from early sources.

47 karmamāsoḥ is proposed for prakarma- of the mss. as suggested by karma for prakarma in 2.6.16 and by karmasanvatsaraḥ of 2.7.6. Cb explains prakarma-as 'for calculating wages for labourers.' Cj seems to have read prakrama 'for superintendents to commence their work.' 48 sārdhaḥ: curiously Cj understands two and a half pakaṣas, i.e., 37 1/2 days, which is quite unlikely; 30 plus half a day is meant. 49 ardhanāśaḥ: Cj again has 1 1/2 pakaṣas, i.e., 22 1/2 days. — balamāsoḥ is from Cb Cj; ' for giving wages to the army that is dispersed (senāviksepabhaktadānārthaḥ) ' (Cj), ' for the maintenance of the army ' (Cb). vala- is corrupted from balā-; mala- seems to be an attempt to correct it. 52-53 aśvavāhādyāḥ...hastivāhādyāḥ ' months for calculating the wages of attendants of horses and elephants ' (com.). The reason for such separate calculation is not clear. Fleet had ' for hiring horse-carriages and elephant-carriages.' Elephant-carriages are strange. Meyer in a footnote suggests vīhāḥ as 'period of gestation,' i.e., 10 months of 35 days for mares and 10 months of 40 days for female elephants. He adds that actually 10 months of 60 days are required for elephants and ends by asserting that Indians knew little about the breeding of elephants whom they caught ready. All this seems wide of the mark. The fem. gender and the genitive case of the words are strange. aśvavāhā 'a horse - attendant ' is referred to in 2.30.3.
61 The *uttarāyana* begins with the season of frost. 62 The *dakṣināyana* begins with the rainy season. 63 Two *ayanas* make a year. 64 Five years make one cycle.

65 The sun takes one-sixtieth part of a day; thus in one season he brings about the loss of one day, and so does the moon (cause loss of) one (day).

66 Thus in every period of two years and a half the two beget an additional month, the first in summer and the second at the end of (the cycle of) five years.

**CHAPTER TWENTY-ONE**

**SECTION 39 THE COLLECTOR OF CUSTOMS AND TOLLS**

1 The Collector of Customs and Tolls should establish the customs-house and the flag facing the east or the north in the vicinity of the big gates (of the city).

2 The receivers of duty, four or five in number, should record in writing (details about) traders who have arrived in a caravan, who they are, from what place, with how much merchandise and where the identity-pass (was issued) or the stamping was made.

3 For (goods) without the stamp, the penalty is double the dues.

4 For those with a forged stamp, the fine is eight times the duty.

5 For those with broken stamps, the penalty is distrainst in the ware-

61 The *ayanas* apparently begin with the beginning of the season and hence of the month; they are not brought into relation with the sun’s entry into a constellation.

65 *haratyrakaḥ saśṭibhāgam* because the solar day is longer than the normal day by 1/60th. That is one kind of *harana*. The lunar day is shorter by the same amount; that is another kind of *harana*.

66 *grīme...pūrcam* : this implies that in *Grīma* of the third year, half the year is over; in other words, the year began with *Śisira* and *Māgha*. — All these details about the five-year cycle and intercalary months agree with those in the *Vedāṅga Jyotiṣa*, 32 (Cf. Fleet, JRAS, 1914, p. 998).

2.21

1 *dhvaja* would apparently bear the emblem of the king. — *mahādvāra*-refers to the four main gates, as implied in 2.4.19.

2 *abhijñānam mudra tā* is as proposed by Meyer. The two are different as shown by s. 26 below. The former seems to be a sort of pass for identification of the trader, the latter the stamp or seal made on the package of goods. Both are issued by the *antapāla* (s. 26). In 2.34.1-5, however, *mudra* means the passport which a person must carry about with him.

3 *amudrānām* : supply *panyānām* rather than *vaṇijām*. — *deya*, ‘i.e., *śulka*’ (Cp), ‘*varianī, road cess*’ (Cb). The former is right. 5 *bhīnna-* may
house. 6 In case of change of the royal stamp or of (change in) the name, he should make (the trader) pay a fine of one paṇa and a quarter per load.

7 Traders shall declare the quantity and price of the goods that have arrived at the foot of the flag, ‘Who is willing to purchase these goods, so much in quantity, at this price?’ 8 When it has been thrice proclaimed, he should give it to those who have sought it. 9 In case of competition among purchasers, the increase in price together with the duty shall go to the treasury.

10 If for fear of duty a (trader) declares the quantity of the goods or the price to be less (than it actually is), the king shall confiscate that excess. 11 Or, the (trader) shall pay eight times the duty. 12 He should impose the same (penalty) in case of depreciation of price of a package containing goods by (showing) a sample of lower value and in case of concealment of goods of high value by goods of low value.

13 Or, if through fear of a rival purchaser a (trader) increases the price beyond the (due) price of a commodity, the king shall receive the increase in price, or make the amount of duty double. 14 The same (penalty) eightfold (shall be imposed) on the Superintendent concealing (the trader’s offences).

refer to accidental breaking. Meyer understands deliberate tampering. — ghaṭikāsthāne sthānam : this seems to refer to distraint of goods in the ware-house; the distraint may be for one day (as in one of the explanations in Cp) or till corroboration comes from the frontier (Cj). Cb Cs read ghaṭikāś sthāne sthānam; the former has no explanation, the latter has ‘distraint in the toll-house for three ghaṭikās, i.e., nālikās.’ This is extremely doubtful. Meyer (understanding deliberate tampering) thinks of confiscation. 6 nāmakṛte : the name would appear to be that of the trader on the passport. — vahanam etc.: Meyer thinks that the carriage load is also confiscated. The words can hardly yield this sense. Breloer (III, 461) seems to understand ‘make a load pay 1/4th paṇa fine for every paṇa.’ It is difficult to see how this meaning is possible.

7 Imported goods were clearly sold at the gate. Meyer thinks that only confiscated goods were sold there. There is nothing to indicate this. 8 etat etc.: the sense requires etāvaśatpamanam anena argheya etc.

12 niviṣṭapanyāsya bhāṇḍasya : bhāṇḍa seems to refer to the container in which the goods (panyā) are packed (niviṣṭa). It contains goods more precious than the supposed sample (pratiśārānaka) carried outside the package. In the two cases of this s. the trader would stand to lose by sale at the gate unless he were in collusion with the purchaser. We may understand that not all imported goods are sold at the gates.

13 It is difficult to see any difference between ‘competition among purchasers’ (s. 9) and ‘fear of a rival purchaser’ (this s.). — dvigunaṁ vā śulkam: apparently this option operated when the mūlayavṛddhi amounted to less than the śulka. 14 aṣṭagunam : eight times the mūlayavṛddhi or the śulka, according to the two options.
15 Therefore, the sale of goods should be made by weighing, measuring or counting; an appraisal (of value should be made) of goods of small value and goods enjoying concessions.

16 And for goods that have passed beyond the foot of the flag without the duty being paid, the fine is eight times the duty. 17 Secret agents operating on roads and in places without roads should find out such (evasion).

18 Goods intended for marriage, marriage-gifts accompanying the bride, goods intended as gifts, goods required on the occasion of a sacrifice or a ceremony or a birth and goods used in various rituals like worship of the gods, tonsure rite, initiation for Veda study, hair-cutting rite, consecration for a vow and so on, should go duty-free. 19 For a (person) making a false declaration (in this respect) the punishment for theft (shall be imposed).

20 For the trader taking out a commodity for which duty has not been paid along with one for which duty has been paid, or carrying off a second (commodity) under one stamp after breaking open the package, forfeiture of the same and an equal amount as fine (shall be the punishment). 21 For the (trader) carrying off (goods of high value) from the customs house after securing acceptance of cowdung (cakes) or straw as the basis (for calculating duty), the highest fine for violence (shall be the punishment).

22 For the (trader) taking out any one of the unexportable articles, viz., weapons, armours, coats of mail, metals, chariots, jewels,

15 ānugraḥikāṇāṁ: this conveys the sense of what the state has decided to confer ānugraha on, i.e., to grant concessions to; cf. 2.22.8. The idea of 'what is beneficial' does not seem intended.

17 pathika, i.e., 'disguised as traders' (Cb), and utpathika, i.e., 'disguised as shepherds, wood-cutters etc.' (Cb). Cf. 2.36.13.

18 aupāyānīkam: Meyer understands presents to the king only and compares 2.15.3. 'kṛtya is independent of yajña; cf. 3.8.8; 5.1.43.

20 nirvāhaya: this and the following two ss. seem to refer to export; cf. 2.16.19. - deśīyam etc.: 'bringing in another similar-looking package on the strength of a mudrā on one (deśīyam ekaṇāmutrayā) and breaking open a package on which duty is paid and inserting in it goods on which duty is not paid (bhittād pūṭam apakaharataḥ). Thus the commentators, who understand imports as meant. But nirvāhaya: seems to refer to exports; cf. 2.16.19, also s. 22 below. And it appears that in this s. only a single idea is intended, 'breaking open a package and inserting other goods under the same mudrā.' It seems that apa-har in this s. and the next, has reference to 'taking out' of the country or the city. mudrā may be understood as made even on exported goods. 21 pramāṇam kṛṭaḥ, i.e., making a declaration about the goods.

22 anyatamam anirvāhyam is proposed for -tamanirvāhyam of the mss. as being necessary. The prohibition of the export of these goods is obviously for
grains and cattle, there shall be a fine as proclaimed as well as loss of the goods. 23 In case any one of these is brought in, its sale (shall be effected) duty-free outside (the city-gate) itself.

24 The frontier officer should charge a road cess of one pana and a quarter for a cart-load of goods; of one pana for a one-hoofed animal, of half a pana for cattle, of a quarter pana for small animals, of one māsaka for a shoulder-load. 25 And he shall make good what is lost or stolen (on the way). 26 He should send on to the Superintendent a caravan from a foreign land after making an investigation as to goods of high and low value and giving them an identity-pass and stamp (on the goods).

27 Or, a secret agent appearing as a trader should communicate to the king the size of the caravan. 28 In accordance with that information, the king should tell the Collector of Customs about the size of the caravan, in order to make his omniscience known. 29 Then the Collector, on meeting the caravan, should say, 'These are goods of high and low value belonging to such and such a merchant. It should not be concealed. This is the king's power.' 30 For one concealing goods of low value the fine shall be eight times the duty, (for concealing) goods of high value, confiscation of everything (shall be the punishment).

31 He should cut out goods that are harmful to the country and that are worthless. He should make goods that are highly beneficial duty-free, also seeds that are rare.

military and economic reasons. — nāśa is to the owner, i.e., confiscation. 23 ānayana is import. — ucchulka 'duty-free,' 'because these confer benefit on the country' (Cb), 'because the king is the purchaser of these goods' (Cp).

24 vartani is a cess on traders for the use of roads. This itself involves the liability to protect and indemnify the trader for loss suffered on the way; separate escort-charges are also thought of, called ātivāhika; cf. 2.16.18; 2.28.25 etc. 26 abhijñānaṁ muddrāṁ ca: see s. 2 above.

27 preṣayet should send word, inform; cf. 12.3.20, etc. 28 tena pradeśena: cf. 5.2.33.

31 uchindyāt: this may imply prohibition of import or destruction when imported. — mahopakāram: this is regarded as an adjective to bijam by com. Meyer regards it first as a separate item 'an object that is highly beneficial' and then also as adj. to bijam 'seeds, even if highly beneficial, only if (tu) they are rare.' But ca of the mss. is preferable to tu of the editions, and two items appear intended.
CHAPTER TWENTY-TWO

SECTION 39 ( Continued)

The Tariff of Duties and Tolls

1 (Goods are) from the country-side, from the city and from foreign lands. 2 That on (goods) going out and that on (goods) coming in is duty.

3 On goods coming in (the duty shall be) one-fifth of the price.

4 Of flowers, fruits, vegetables, roots, bulbous roots, fruits of creepers, seeds, dried fish and meat, he should take one-sixth part (as duty).

5 Of conch-shells, diamonds, gems, and necklaces of pearls and corals, he should make (a valuation) through men expert in the line, making an agreement with them as to the amount of work, time allowed and wages.

2.22

1 The ms. show the word śulka vyavahāraḥ 'the tariff of duty' at the beginning. It really belongs to the colophon of the Chapter and has no place in any s. It has clearly got in by error. — bhaṁyam etc. 'produced in the country-side (bhaṁya), produced in the city (āhantara) and foreign (ātithya)' (com.). For this explanation, ca should have come after ātithyam. But though, as the text stands, we can understand ātithya as duty on internal trade (between city and country) and śulka as duty on foreign trade, it seems better to follow the commentators. 2 niśkrāmyam praveśyam : Cb (reading vai- ... prā-) has 'goods going out of the city into the country and out of the country into foreign lands (niśkrāmya) and coming from foreign lands into the country and from the country into the city (prāveśya).' It is possible that foreign exports and imports are primarily meant.

3 mālyapañcabhāgaḥ : 'this implies that the duty on imports was received in cash' (Breloer, III, 451).

4 saṁbhāgaṁ gṛhiyāt : according to com. ss. 4-7 state exceptions to the 20% ad valorem duty of s. 3. But the exceptions would seem to cover the entire range of dutiable commodities. Breloer refers these to exports and says that this duty was received in kind (III, 450). That seems right, though internal movement of goods between city and country is also conceivable, in the case of certain commodities.

5 śaṅkha- etc. : it seems that hāra is to be construed with muktā and prāvāla only, śaṅkha, vajra and mani being independent items. — kārayet : supply mālyam as the object (Cb). The valuation is necessary for charging duty, for 1/6th part of these things can hardly be fixed off-hand. It is in fact doubtful if duty on jewels etc. was received in kind. And if cash duty fixed after valuation is to be understood, it is possible to suppose that the s. belongs to imports and should be read immediately after s. 3. — kṣīkṣakarma- etc. : this is a standard formula for work given on a contract basis; see 2.18.1. — Breloer (II, 451-3) says that śaṅkha etc. come from the king's ground and hence are duty-free; only the cost of labour increases its value. He seems to understand ' special
6 On kṣauṇa, dukula, silk yarn, armours, yellow orpiment, red arsenic, antimony, vermilion, metals of various kinds and ores, on sandal-wood, aloe, spices, fermentation, and minor substances, on skins, ivory, bed-spreads, coverings and silk cloth, and on products of goats and rams, (the duty to be charged is) one-tenth part or one-fifteenth part.

7 On clothes, four-footed and two-footed creatures, yarn, cotton, perfumes, medicines, wood, bamboos, barks, leather goods and earthenware, and 01 grains, fats, sugars, salts, wine, cooked food and so on, (the duty is) one-twentieth part or one twenty-fifth part.

8 Duty to be received at the gate is one-fifth, or he should fix it with a concession in accordance with the benefit derived by the country.

9 And no sale of commodities (shall be allowed) in the places of their origin. 10 For taking metal goods from mines the penalty is six hundred (paṇas). 11 For taking flowers and fruits from flower-gardens and fruit-orchards, the fine is fifty-four paṇas. 12 For taking vegetables, roots and bulbous roots from vegetable-gardens, the fine is fifty-one and three quarter paṇas. 13 For taking all kinds of officers, to whom proceeds (nispatti) come from the result (phala) of the work done, amount, time and wage, see these goods through duty-free.' This appears very doubtful.

6 krimītana seems to be silk yarn, while krimijata appears to be silk cloth. Cf. 2.23.8. — lohavarnaṇḍātu 'metals of the class of metals, such as red chalk' (Cs), 'metals and colouring material' (Meyer), 'base metals and minerals' (Breloer). For varṇa as kind or type, cf. 2.15.5. — aṅjaṇa in the compound is from Cb and appears genuine. — kṛṣṇaraṇaṇa is from Cb. avaraṇa 'covering' of the other reading would be in strange company, and the next clause has prāvaraṇa which means the same thing. Cb's -avara may mean 'a minor substance,' though that too is not quite satisfactory. — cammadantāstaraṇa- is again from Cb, so is ajaikasaya. nikara in the other reading is understood as 'cloth' by Cj or 'cloth-sheets' by Breloer. The repetition of kṣauṇa and dukula in it makes it suspicious.

7 carma: to obviate the idea of repetition this should be construed with bhanda 'leather goods.'

8 dvārādeyam: this seems to refer to tolls received on goods coming into the city from the country-side. — sulkam pañcuvaham is emended from the masculines in C to make it conform with dvārādeyam. We may regard these as nom., or as accusatives, the object of sthāpayet. This would mean that town duty is the same as import duty (s. 3). — anugrahikam: this involves an anugraha or concession by the state; cf. 2.21.15. It may be that this option applies not only to the town duty but to all import and export duties as well, as C regards it.

9 The purpose of this prohibition is, according to Breloer, to force all goods to the markets and allow the turn-over to be controlled (III, 453-4). In addition, tolls required to be recovered and prices to be regulated by the state.

10 ṣaṭchataṃ: cf. 2.12.31 concerning salt, where also the king enjoys a monopoly.
crops from fields, (the fine is) fifty-three paṇas. 14 One paṇa and one paṇa and a half is the penalty in case of agricultural produce.

15 From this, he should fix the duties for new and old commodities in accordance with the customs of the country and the community, and penalty according to the offence.

CHAPTER TWENTY-THREE

SECTION 40 THE SUPERINTENDENT OF YARNS (AND TEXTILES)

1 The Superintendent of Yarns should cause trade to be carried out in yarns, armours, cloth and ropes through men expert in the work.

2 He should get yarn spun out of wool, bark-fibres, cotton, silk-cotton, hemp and flax, through widows, crippled women, maidens, women who have left their homes and women paying off their fine by personal labour, through mothers of courtesans, through old female slaves of the king and through female slaves of temples whose service of the gods has ceased.

14 paṇo’dhyārṇapāṇaḥ ca sitātyayāḥ: ‘the purchaser pays 1 paṇa and the vendor 1½ paṇa’ (Cp Cs). Cp adds that this impost is to be paid on every sale whether an offence is committed or not, while according to Cs this is in addition to 53 paṇas when the offence is committed. Cb Cj seem to have read paṇo’rdhāpāṇaḥ ca. The former has ‘53 paṇas in the case of other grains, a paṇa or half a paṇa in the case of paddy.’ Cj refers to another explanation ‘half a paṇa fine for grains valued at 1 paṇa and so on.’ It may be that sitā refers as usual to the produce of crown lands (2.15.2). If purchases are made from the field, the penalty is nominal in this case because state goods would be duty-free and sale in the fields would mean no loss of state dues. The two fines may be related to the purchaser and vendor as in Cp, the vendor in this case being a state officer. However, see 5.2.13 below.

15 desajāticaritrataḥ ‘according to the customs of the region and the caste’ (com.) appears preferable to ‘place, class of goods and custom’ (Meyer) or ‘land, caste and occupation’ (Breloer). — Concerning stanzas at the end of 2.21 and 2.22 Breloer remarks that they do not show the proximity of Kauṭilya and are taken from predecessors who were much simpler in their treatment (III, 447). That they are derived from early sources is, of course, very likely; but they do not reveal simpler or more primitive ideas. They merely lay down guiding principles.

2.23

1 The form rajju may be adopted throughout as in 2.17.8 and 2.24.3. — vyavahāra usually is ‘trade’; but the Chapter refers only to manufacture. Actual trade would seem to be in the hands of the panyādhyakṣa.

2 pravrajitā is one who has left home for good and is living independently. ‘Emancipated’ is how Breloer (III, 474 and n. 4) renders the word. — daṇḍapratikāriṇī: cf. 3.13.18. — mātykā: see 2.27.5.
3 He should fix the wage after ascertaining the fineness, coarseness or medium quality of the yarn, and the largeness or smallness of quantity. 4 After finding out the amount of yarn, he should favour them with oil and myrobalan unguents. 5 And on festive days, they should be made to work by honouring (them) and making gifts. 6 In case of diminution in yarn, (there shall be) a diminution in wage, according to the value of the stuff.

7 And he should cause work to be carried out by artisans producing goods with an agreement as to the amount of work, time and wage, and should maintain close contact with them. 8 And when starting mills for the weaving of (cloth from) kṣauma, dukāla, silk yarn, hair of the raniku deer, and cotton yarn, he should gratify the (workmen) by gifts of perfumes and flowers and by other means of showing goodwill. 9 He should bring about the production of varieties of cloth, bed-sheets and coverings. 10 And he should start factories for armours by artisans and craftsmen expert in the line.

11 And those women who do not stir out—those living separately, widows, crippled women or maidens,—who wish to earn their living, should be given work by sending his own female slaves to them with (a view to) support (them). 12 Or, if they come themselves to the yarn-house, he should cause an interchange of goods and wages to be made early at dawn. 13 The lamp (should be there) only for the inspection of the yarn. 14 For looking at the face of the woman or conversing with her on another matter, the lowest fine for violence (shall be imposed), for delay in the payment of wages, the middle fine, also for payment of wages for work not done.

15 If a (woman) after receiving the wage does not carry out the work, he should make her forfeit the tongs formed by the thumb (and

5 tithisu ‘on festive days’ (Cp). — pratimānādānaih, though not very satisfactory, is adopted from Cb for pratipādanamānaih of the mss. Perhaps the original reading was pratidānamānaih.

7 karmapramāṇa- etc. is a standing formula for piece-rate work; cf. 2.18.1; 2.22.5. — pratisaṅsargam amounts to control (Breloer) or a strict watch over them (Meyer).

8 Wool is not mentioned in this connection. — Weavers appear to be treated with special favour. 10 kaṅkata: this ‘armour’ made from fabrics may have been made of wool or other cloth filled with cotton or other stuffing.

11 Ss. 11-15 should preferably have come immediately after s. 6 above. — prosita vidhava is emended from prositavidhava, and prosita is understood in the same sense as pravrajita in s. 2 above. Cb understands prosita (in prositavidhava) in the sense of prositabhartika. In any case, vidhava must be understood independently; cf. s. 2 above. — anusārya, i.e., sending these to their homes. — sopagraham, i.e., by showing favour or by giving support.
the middle finger), also those who have misappropriated or stolen and then run away.

16 And in the matter of wages, (there shall be) a fine for workmen in accordance with their offence.

17 And he should himself keep in touch with rope-makers and makers of armours. 18 And he should cause articles, such as straps and others to be manufactured.

19 He should cause ropes to be made of yarn and fibres, (and) thongs of canes and bamboos, as trappings for war and bindings for vehicles and draught-animals.

CHAPTER TWENTY-FOUR

SECTION 41 THE DIRECTOR OF AGRICULTURE

1 The Director of Agriculture, himself conversant with the practice of agriculture, water-divining and the science of rearing plants,

15 aṅgaṭhasaṅdanīsam 'the thumb and middle finger of the right hand' (Cb Cp). Cj seems to understand the two thumbs (aṅgaṭhaḥbhyaṁ saṅdanīsam). Cb states that the entire thumb and the tip of the middle finger are to be cut, but according to Cp the tip only even in the case of the thumb. — bhakṣitāpa- etc.: the translation follows the commentators. Meyer objects that the particulars cannot be understood in an active sense, as adjectives to strīṇām. His rendering 'when anything is used up (bhakṣita) or stolen (apahṛta) or deliberately ruined (avaskandita)' seems, however, hardly plausible.

16 vetaneṣu...daṇḍaḥ, i.e., the fine is to be recovered from the wages.

17 rājuvartakaiḥ: these may have formed a caste of their own. — varmas kāraṇaḥ is from Cp. varmakāraṇaḥ of M Cb does not fit, because even the varatara- or thongs seem to be made not of leather, but of cane and bamboo (s. 19). pūrvākāraṇaḥ of G makes little sense. Meyer suggests for it mūrvākāraṇaḥ 'makers of bowstrings.' varma 'armour' may refer to accoutrements, including straps etc.

19 Breloer (III, 471-3) thinks that ss. 17-18 and this kārika deal with the manufacture of war-material; the sūtrādhyakṣa therefore may, originally, have been an assistant of the Superintendent of Arms and that his independent status here may be due to Kauṭilya himself. This sounds plausible.

2.24

Breloer (I, 74-89, also III, 485-502) is of the opinion that the sūtrādhyakṣa supervised the total cultivation of crops in the realm and that one of his duties was to see that no land remained uncultivated. The Chapter, however, produces the impression that he is concerned with the management of crown lands only. 5.2.8-11 show that it is the samāharṣṭ and his men who are concerned with sowings by independent farmers. Moreover, the revenue brought in by the sūtrādhyakṣa is called sītā and is distinguished from bhāga or saṁbhāga received from farmers (2.15.2-3; 2.6.3).

1 śulba 'for finding out if there is water underground' (Cb Cj). This appears to be something like water-divining. — Parāśara or Vṛddha-Parāśara is
or assisted by experts in these, should collect, in the proper seasons, seeds of all kinds of grains, flowers, fruits, vegetables, bulbous roots, roots, creeper fruits, flax and cotton.

2 He should cause them to be sown in land, suitable for each, which has been ploughed many times, through serfs, labourers and persons paying off their fines by personal labour. 3 And he should cause no delay in (the work of) these on account of ploughing machines, implements and bullocks, and on account of (the work of) artisans, such as smiths, carpenters, basket-makers, rope-makers, snake-catchers and others. 4 In case of loss of fruit of a work (through their negligence), the fine (shall be equal to) the loss of that fruit.

5 Sixteen dronas is the amount of rain in dry lands, one and a half times (that) in wet lands, where sowings are in conformity with (the nature of) the region, thirteen dronas and a half in the Asmakas, twenty-three in the Avantis, unlimited in the Aparântas and the snowy regions, and (unlimited) as to time, in lands where sowings are made with the help of canals.

credited with the authorship of the Kršitatra and Agnivesa with that of Vṛksāyurveda. — Cb seems to have read saṅghṛniyāt, which might appear better.

2 svabhūmau, i.e., on land suitable for the crop to be sown. According to Johnston (JIRAS, 1929, 90-1), this means 'on crown lands.' That is also possible. — daṇḍapratikartṛ : cf. 3.13.18. 3 karṣaṇayantra contains a single idea, not the two 'ploughing and machines' (as Meyer ultimately prefers in the Nachtrag). — medaka 'a maker of baskets' (Cb), 'digger' (Cs). Meyer relates it to Meda a mixed caste mentioned in Manu 10.48 and suggests 'catchers of wild and dangerous animals' as the meaning. 4 teṣām refers to dāsā, karmakara etc., as well as to the craftsmen. — tathālahānam : for the expression, cf. 2.29.33.

5 On the basis of 511 cubic inches in a drona and a cylindrical rain-gauge with a surface area of about 254.3 sq. inches (1 aratni about 18° diameter, 2.57), 16 dronas amount to about 32° of rain; if the gauge-mouth is understood to be square (18° by 18°), they would amount to about 25°. — jāṅgala are dry tracts as opposed to ānūpa or wet lands. Manu 7.69 recommends jāṅgala land for settlement — varṣapramāgam 'rain-fall necessary for good crops' (com.). — deśavāpānām : Cc Cs understand this as introducing what follows 'amount) required for sowing according to different countries (will now be explained).' deśavāpa, however, seems contrasted with kulyācāpa, the former referring to sowing dependent on rain and the nature of the region (whether jāṅgala or ānūpa), the latter to sowing in irrigated areas (which are not dependent on rain). — ardhathrayodasa is understood by all as 121, not 122. — Asmaka, i.e., 'Mahārāṣṭra' (Cc), 'Āraṭṭa' (Cs). The capital of Asmakas was Prâtiśhâna on the Godâvari (V. S. Agrawala, India as Known to Pâñini, p. 38). — haimanyā 'in which there is plenty of snow which makes agriculture possible; this is near the Himālayas' (Cc). — kālataṭā : supply amitam with this, the idea being that agriculture is here independent of seasonal rain. Cf. Breloer (III, 493 n. 4). Pran Nath (IA, 60, 111-2) seems to understand varṣa as share due to the king, making kulyācāpa an adjective to haimanyā 'winter crops.' This seems hardly likely.
6 One-third of the (annual) rainfall in the first and the last months (together), two-thirds in the intervening two months,—this is the form of excellence (of the season).

7 Its ascertainment (is made) from the position, motion and impregnation of Jupiter, from the rise, setting and movements of Venus and from modification in the natural appearance of the sun.

8 From the sun (is known) the successful sprouting of seeds, from Jupiter the formation of stalks in the crops, from Venus rain.

9 Three clouds raining (continuously) for seven days (each), eighty (clouds) showering drops of rain (and) sixty clouds accompanied by sunshine, this rainfall is even and beneficial.

10 Where it rains distributing wind and sunshine properly and creating three (periods for the drying of) cow-dung cakes, there the growth of crops is certain.

11 In conformity with that, he should cause crops to be sown, requiring plenty of water or little water. 12 sāli-rice, vrīhi-rice, kodrava, sesamum, priyaṅgu, udāraka and varaka are the first sowings. 13 mudga, māsa and śaimbya are the middle sowings. 14 Safflower, lentils, kulattha, barley, wheat, kalāya, linseed and mustard are the last sowings. 15 Or, the sowing of seeds (should be) in conformity with the season.

16 What is left over from sowing, farmers cultivating for half the produce should till, or those who live by personal labour (should

6 The four monsoon months are Śrāvana to Kārttika according to the commentators. — suṣamā ' paramā śobhā' (Amara, 1.3.17).

7 garbhādhaṇa, i.e., 'dew in Mārgaśīrṣa, snow in Pauṣa, wind in Māgha, clouds in Phālugma, wind and rain in Cātra and rain with wind and lightning in Vaiśākha, together with rain on the days of conception (viz., the first four days of the dark half of Vaiśākha)' (com. which quote mnemonic verses in support). The Brhat-saṁhitā, 21.7, refers to the impregnation of a cloud 195 days prior to its sending down that rain. — cāra 'movement (of Venus) on the nine days from the 5th to the 18th of Āśāhya' (com.). — prakṛtvāvikṛtā 'change in the natural condition' (com.), 'natural and unnatural appearance' (Meyer).

9 saptāhikā, i.e., sending down rain more or less continuously for seven days. — aṣṭīṭh, i.e., eighty days of light and intermittent showers. — atapameghaṇām, i.e., rain alternating with sunshine. The total comes to 161 days. Contrast s. 6 above. — karṣān 'breaks in the rain long enough to allow the drying of cow-dung cakes' (Cb). Cs reads karṣakāṁ, but it can hardly mean ‘ploughing,’ i.e., sowing. And three sowings do not seem intended here.

12 purva-vāpaḥ etc.: in the alternative, this may imply sowings one after another in the same field; but that does not appear very likely. 15 yatātṛtvasena vā: seasons for the different crops are suggested by purva-vāpa etc. of the preceding ss. vā seems to have little significance.

16 vāpātiriktaṁ: this refers to land which the sūtādhyaṅka has not managed
work it) for a one-fourth or one-fifth share. 17 The (farmers) shall pay a share for uncultivated land as desired (by the king), except in times of distress.

18 The (farmers) shall pay a water-rate of one-fifth in the case of water set in motion by the hand from their own water-works, one-fourth when set in motion by shoulders and one-third when set flowing in channels by a mechanism, one-fourth when lifted from rivers, lakes, tanks and wells.

19 According to the amount of water (available) for the work, he should decide on wet crops, winter crops or summer crops. 20 *śāli* and others are the best (crops), vegetables middling, sugar-cane worst.

to get cultivated. That is to be leased to tenants on crop-share basis. Breloer understands *vāpāṭirikta* as 'fallow land.' Johnston (JRAS, 1929, 92) would insert a *va* after *vāpāṭirikta* and explain 'or, land should be let out to cultivators who pay half the produce as rent on the *vāpāṭirikta* system, under which an amount equal to the seed sown is deducted from the gross produce and handed over to the tenant, the rest being equally divided between the king and the tenant.' This appears too involved. — *svaivṛyopajivinaḥ* : Johnston (JRAS, 1929, 95) understands soldiers, policemen, etc. But *vṛya* here is only personal labour, not valour. — In this case, seeds, implements etc. are provided by the state. — *caturtha*- etc. : Johnston understands 'paying 1/4th or 1/5th to the state.' That is hardly likely. Cf. Ghoshal, *Rev. Sys.*, p. 30 n. 2. 17 *anavasitabhāgam* : this is share of the produce from land that has been reclaimed and brought under cultivation for the first time, as described in Chapter 2.1. For *anavasita* referring to *sūnyānīceṣa*, see 7.11.1 ff. Cb has 'when half-sharers and others, after agreeing to till, do not do so, they hand over what the king desires, i.e., the entire produce to the state.' This is unlikely; so is Johnston's 'share other than those set out above (avasita as uparinirōṣṭa).' — *yatheṣṭam*, i.e., as desired by the king or *sīṭādhyaṇa*. This implies the idea of concessions to such new settlers. — *anyatram kṛcchrebhyāḥ* : this may mean 'when the state is in distress, concessions may be withdrawn' or 'when the farmers are in distress, they may be exempted from giving any share.' The former seems meant; cf. *arthaśreṣṭha* in 5.2.1.

18 *svasetubhyāḥ* : Johnston understands state irrigation works. But with *dādyuḥ* as the predicate *sea* can hardly refer to the king. According to the commentators, the king is entitled to a water-rate even when the works are made by the farmers themselves, because he is the owner of all water as well as land, a stanza being quoted to this effect. — *udakabhāgam* : this would naturally mean a share of the produce over and above the regular land-revenue. It is also possible to understand that the regular *bhoṣa* is 1/6th, when no irrigation facilities are available and that 1/5th, 1/4th etc. are charged instead when the farmers enjoy irrigation facilities (made by themselves), the rates varying according to the nature of the irrigation work. Meyer's idea of a share of the water itself supplied to crown lands from private irrigation works does not appear likely. — *hastaprabhartima*, i.e., drawing water with the hands and carrying it to the fields in pitchers, etc. — *skandha*- are the shoulders or backs of bullocks. — *srotayantra*- a mechanism for letting water in channels flowing into the fields. — *udghātam* : understand the water-wheel for raising water from river, etc.

10 *karmodaka*: Meyer's 'amount of labour and water available' would require
21 For, sugar-canes are fraught with many dangers and require (much) expenditure.

22 (A region) where the foam strikes (the banks) is (suited) for creeper fruits, (regions on) the outskirts of overflows, for long pepper, grapes and sugar-canes, (those on) the borders of wells, for vegetables and roots, (those on) the borders of moist beds of lakes, for green grasses, ridges for plants reaped by cutting, (such as) perfume-plants, medicinal herbs, uṣīra-grass, hariśṭa, piṇḍāluka and others. 23 And on lands suitable for each, he should raise plants that grow on dry lands and that grow in wet lands.

24 Soaking in dew (by night) and drying in the heat (by day) for seven days and nights (is the treatment) in the case of seeds of grains, for three days and nights or five in the case of seeds of pulses, smearing at the cut with honey, ghee and pig's fat, mixed with cow-dung in the case of stalks that serve as seeds, (smearing) with honey and ghee in the case of bulbous roots, smearing with cow-dung in the case of stone-like seeds, (and) in the case of trees, burning in the pit and fulfilment of the longing with cow-bones and cow-dung at the proper time. 25 And when they have sprouted, he should feed them with fresh acrid fish along with the milk of the snuhi-plant.

26 He should collect (and burn) the seeds of cotton and the slough of a serpent. Serpents do not remain where there is this smoke.

27 However, at the first sowing of all kinds of seeds, he should sow the first handful (after it is) immersed in water containing gold

*karmakāra* for *karma*. Johnston's proposed *kedāre* 'on wet land' (JRAS, 1929, 96) is hardly acceptable.

22 *phenāghāṭaḥ* : supply *pradesaḥ* ; *where the foam strikes* 'are banks of rivers etc. *parīdāhā* 'overflow, flooding' is, according to Cb, 'another, i.e., a secondary canal.' *haranī* 'moist empty beds of lakes' (Cb Cp), 'canals, channels' (Cs). *lava* (from *lū* to cut) a plant which when cut continues to grow; *gandha, bhaiṣajya* etc. are illustrations.

24 *kośīdānīya* 'grains in the pods,' i.e., pulses. *kāṇḍābīja* 'whose seed is the stalk,' that grow from stalk, such as sugar-cane etc. *gartādāhaḥ*, i.e., burning grass, leaves etc. in the pit in which the seed is to be sown. Meyer construes *gośṭhiśakṛdāhiḥ* with -*dāhaḥ* and refers *dauhrda* to the longings of trees imagined by classical poets (padāghāta for Asoka etc.). That is very doubtful. 25 *aśūka:* Cb reads *śūka* 'dried' 'fish.' The ca after *matsyān* is strange. Meyer thinks that some word has dropped out. *kṣīreṇa* : with *pāyayet* as the predicate, *kṣiram* (with *matsyaśīlḥ*) would have been better.

26 *sāra* 'essence,' i.e., seeds. Sorabji mentions a modern practice, burning old rags to keep off serpents.

27 The first line is hypermetric. Meyer proposes praśāpatye (for *-pataye*) which is not necessary. Cb's reading appears to be praśāpatēḥ kāśyapāyā devalāyā namah.
and should recite the following mantra:

‘Salutation to Kāśyapa, the Lord of Creation and to the god (of rain) always. May the divine Sītā prosper in my seeds and my grains.’

28 To watchmen in vegetable-gardens and in fruit and flower enclosures, to cowherds and serfs and labourers, he should supply food in accordance with persons dependent on them, and pay a wage of one pāṇa and a quarter per month. 29 To artisans, (he should give) food and wages in conformity with their work.

30 And those learned in the Vedas and ascetics may take flowers and fruits that have fallen on the ground for worship of the gods, rice and barley for the āgrayaṇa sacrifice, (and) those who live by gleaning (may take) what is left at the base of a heap (of grains).

31 And at the proper time he should bring in the crops and other things as they are harvested. The wise man should not leave anything in the field, not even husk.

32 (He should make) high walls, or roofs of the same kind. He should not make the tops compact nor very light.

33 He should make the heaps situated at the border of the circle of the threshing-floor. At the threshing ground, workmen should carry no fire and should be provided with water.

sadā. It also reads madhyamā for tāhyatām. — dhaneṣu evidently refers to grains, and seems to have been used instead of dhānyeṣu for metrical reasons.

28 -pālaka is to be construed with each of ṇaṇḍa-, vāṭa- and go-. — puruṣa-parivāpa refers usually to retinue or followers; cf. i.16.5; 3.3.3. Here dependents are evidently to be understood. The state feeds not only the labourer but also his dependents, but he alone gets the cash wage of 1 1/4 pāṇa a month. — sapādapaṇikam: Breloer (III, 505 and n. 3) has ‘a monthly wage, receiving 5/4ths for every pāṇa,’ i.e., he gets 5/4 times the wage sanctioned for him, the actual amount of the wage not being stated. It is difficult to see how this meaning is possible. For the monthly wage of 5/4 pāṇa, see 2.27.9.

30 āgrayaṇa is the offering of fresh grains at the end of the rains. — vṛṣhiya-vam: praśirpaṁ is to be understood also with this.

32 prakārāṇām is from Cb. It refers to the walls of the shed in which grains are stored. prakārāṇām of the mss. hardly suits, also prakarāṇam of Cb Cs. — samuccṛṣadāyān: supply kuruṭa from the second half. prakārāṇ ucchritān kuruṭā would have been better. — valabhir ‘the thatched roofs’ of the shed (Cb). Cb adds that the roof should be made of iron or stones as that gives protection from pīśācas. — tathāsvāḍāh: we have to understand by this samuccrṣadāh. vā seems to have the sense of ca. 33 prakarāṇ: Cb reads prakārāṇ here as well, but it is hard on the metre. And walls of sheds would not be right on the borders of the threshing-floor ring. — Breloer (III, 484) remarks that the kārikās are not compressed in style as usual and seem to have had a different source.
CHAPTER TWENTY-FIVE

SECTION 42 THE CONTROLLER OF SPIRITUOUS LIQUORS

1 The Controller of Spirituous Liquors should cause trade in wines and ferments to be carried on in the fort, the country or the camp, through persons dealing in wines and ferments, being born to that work, either in one place or in many places or according to (convenience for) purchase and sale. 2 He should fix six hundred panaś as the penalty for those who manufacture, purchase or sell in other places.

3 (He should enforce) prohibition of taking wine out of the village and its accumulation, because of the danger of remissness in duties by those appointed, because of the danger of transgression of the bounds of propriety by Āryas and because of the danger of rash acts by braves.

4 Or, those of known integrity may carry out a small quantity, well marked, either one-fourth (of a ku đuba), half a ku đuba, a ku đuba, half a prāśṭha or a prāśṭha. 5 Or, they should drink in the drinking-houses without moving about.

6 In order to find out things (that are) misappropriated after being received in trust or as a deposit or a pledge and (that are) acquired in undesirable ways, he should, on finding an article or money not belonging to a person, get the person offering it arrested in another place under some (other) pretext, also the person who spends lavishly and the person who spends without having a source of income.

7 And the (vintner) shall not sell liquor at a different price or on credit, except spoiled liquor. 8 He should get the latter sold in another

2.25

1 vyavahāra: here both manufacture and trade seem intended. — ekamukham etc.: see 2.16.4 above. 2 anyatra karta: etc.: cf. 2.12.19, 31.

3 anirṇayanam: supply sthāpayet from the preceding. — For saṁśāta 'accumulation' of goods, cf. 8.4.36; 13.4.38 etc. Cb Cs understand sura as 'a drunken man,' anirṇayana as 'not going out,' and asaṁśāta as 'not allowing them to go in a crowd or from house to house.' This appears little likely. 4 lakṣitam 'marked' with a seal (Cs). — va: Meyer understands the option to be between lakṣitam and aipam; the option however seems to be between this s. and the preceding. — 5 This s. in effect nullifies the concession of the preceding s. — asaṁcāriṇah 'not moving about' when in a state of intoxication.

6 nikṣepopanidhiprayoga: nikṣepa is an article entrusted to an artisan for manufacture (3.12.53 ff.). prayoga is 'pledging an article' when taking a loan (Cb). Meyer's rendering 'if things are stolen in order to use them (prayoga 'use') as an open deposit (nikṣepa) or sealed deposit (upanidhi) ' is quite unlikely. — kupyam should be understood to mean some small article, rather than 'forest produce' as usual. — nikṣeptaram refers to the customer who passes on the misappropriated article in payment of wine. — anyatra vyapadeśena: this is in order that other criminals are not frightened away from the ale-house (Cs).
place. 9 Or, he should pay it as wages for slaves and labourers. 10 Or, he should give it as a strong drink for draught animals or as nourishment for pigs.

11 He should cause ale-houses to be built with many rooms, (and) provided with separate beds and seats, (and) drinking bars provided with perfumes, flowers and water (and) pleasant in all seasons.

12 Secret agents, placed there, should ascertain the normal and occasional expenditure (of customers) and get information about strangers. 13 They should make a note of the ornaments, clothes and cash of customers who are intoxicated or sleeping. 14 In case of loss of these, the traders shall pay the same and a fine of equal amount. 15 Traders, on their part, should find out through their own female slaves of beautiful appearance, the intentions of strangers and natives, who have the (outward) appearance of Āryas, when they are intoxicated or asleep in secluded parts of the rooms.

16 Concerning the *medaka*, the *prasannā*, the *āsava*, the *ariṣṭas*, the *maireya* and *madhu*: 17 One *drona* of water, one-half *ādhaka* of rice-grains and three *prasthas* of ferment form the mixture for the *medaka*. 18 Twelve *ādhakas* of flour, five *prasthas* of ferment or the mixture of its class along with the bark and fruit of the *kramuka*, form the mixture for the *prasannā*. 19 One *tulā* of the wood-plate fruit, five *tulās* of treacle, and a *prastha* of honey form the mixture for the *āsava*. 20 One quarter more (of this mixture) is the best (*āsava*), one quarter less the lowest kind. 21 The *ariṣṭas* are as prescribed

7 *anargheya*, i.e., different from the price fixed by the state; if higher, the difference is likely to be pocketed by the vintner; if lower, there is scope for adulteration. — *kālikā* 'on credit'; cf. 12.4.8. Meyer's 'clearance sale within a limited time' seems less likely. 10 *vāhanapratipānam*: cf. 2.29.43 etc. 'Wages for guarding cattle' (Cs) is little likely. Similarly *sūkaraṇaṇam* is hardly 'wages for swine-herds' (Cs).

11 -śayanāsana- suggests that these were also lodging houses.

14 vanijāḥ: these are vinnners licensed by the state. 15 *vāstāvyānām* may be understood as an adjective to *āgantūnām* or independently as 'residents,' i.e., natives. The latter is better in view of the *ca.*

17 *medaka* may suggest the fattening property of this liquor. — *kiṣva*: see s.26. 18 *piṭa* seems rice-flour, though barley-flour is also possible. Water eight times the amount of flour is to be understood as in the case of *medaka* (com.).

- *kramuka-* is from Cb for *putraka*. Cf. s.29. — *jātisāṁbhāraḥ* 'mixture belonging to its class, as described in s.27' (com.). This is an option to the 5 *prasthas* of *kiṣva*. Meyer has 'addition of nutmeg (*jātī*).' He does not understand this as an option, but renders *vā* by 'according to one's choice.' — The name *prasannā* may refer to the clearness of the liquor. 19 *āsava* is primarily 'infusion.' The amount of water would evidently be 8 *tulās*. 21 *vikārāṇām* 'maladies' (com.) rather than 'modification (in the ingredients)' (Meyer). The name *ariṣṭa* refers to absence of injury or harm. 22 The significance of the name
by physicians for each separate malady. 22 The maireya is distilled from a decoction of the bark of the meșaśriṇi with the addition of jaggery, having a mixture of long pepper and black pepper or mixed with the three fruits. 23 Or, there should be a mixture of the three fruits in all (liquors) mixed with jaggery. 24 The juice of grapes is madhu. 25 Its name derived from the place of origin is kāpiśayana and hārahāraka.

26 One drona pulp of māsa-beans, raw or cooked, with one-third part more rice-grains, mixed with a part weighing one karsa (each) of morañā and others is the formation of ferment.

27 A mixture weighing five karsas (each) of pāthā, lodhra, tejovati, cardamum, vāluka, liquorice, madhumasā, priyaṅgu, dāruharidrā, black and long pepper is the addition for the medaka and the prasannā. 28 And kafaśārkara, mixed with a decoction of liquorice makes the colour clear.

29 The mixture for the āsavā is one karsa (each) of cinnamon bark, citraka, vilaṅga and gajapippali and two karsas (each) of kramuka, liquorice, mustā and lodhra. 30 And one-tenth part of these is the formation of the essence.

31 The mixture for prasannā is that for white liquor. 32 Mango-liquor, with a higher proportion of juice or a higher proportion of maireya is not clear. 23 triphalā may be three myrobalans, karītaka, bibhitaka and āmalaka, or ‘nutmeg, areca-nut and elove’ (Sorabji and Meyer). According to this s., wherever jaggery is used, triphalā should be added. 25 tasya svadeso vyākhyānam is an odd expression. vyākhyāna seems used in the sense of designation, name. In that case, we expect svadesāt. — Kapiśa was an ancient capital in the region of the Kabul valley (cf. V. S. Agrawala, op. cit., p. 118 n. 1). Hārahāra is the name of a region or people beyond the North-West of India ‘of Scythian or Turkish stock according to Kern’ (Weber). Meyer thinks of Har-a-Huṇas. Jayaswal thinks of ‘Arachosian wine’ (JBORS, II, 79 n.).

26 kalani apparently the same as kalka. — moraṭādinām: ādi refers to the ingredients mentioned in the first compound in s. 33 below. — kārṣikā: 1 karsa of each. — -yuktam as going with droupa is preferable to -yuktaḥ of the ms.

27 paścakārṣikā, i.e., 5 karsas each. — saṁbhārayoga is apparently to be used in place of the kīrṣa. Cf. s. 18 above. 28 kafaśārkara is evidently some plant. Its powder is mentioned in s. 33. Cb reads kaṇḍasārkara ‘pieces of jaggery.’ — varṇaprasādānī, i.e., the colour of medaka and prasannā becomes clear (Cb).

30 dasabhāga caīsāṁ bijabandhaḥ : the idea apparently is, 1/10th of this mixture is to be added as essence in preparing āsavā as in s. 19. It amounts to 12/10ths of a karsa, rather a small quantity. Cp reads saṁbārṣikāh for kārṣikāḥ (in s. 29) ; that gives 32/10 karsa. Meyer construes this s. with the following ‘one-tenth of these as the basic deposit and the mixture as in the case of the prasannā yields white liquor.’ For this, a ca is necessary after prasannāyogaha. Understanding prasannāyogaha as an adjective to bijabandhaḥ (Meyer, fn.) is no improvement.
essence, is mahāsūrā, or when it contains the mixture. 33 The powder of burnt kaṭaśārkara, infused in a decoction of moraṭā, palāśa, pattūra, meṣāṛīgī, karaiña and keṣira-vrksa, mixed with half (its quantity) of the pulp of lodhra, citraka, vilaṅga, pāṭhā, mustā, kālinga-yava, dāruharidrā, īndivara, śatapuspā, apāmārga, saptaparna, nimba and āśphota, — a handful (of this) with nails invisible, makes one kumbhī of those (liquors) clear, fit to be drunk by the king. 34 And jaggery, five palas in weight, should be added to it to increase the (sweet) juice.

35 Householders should be free to manufacture white liquor on festive occasions or an āriṣṭa for medicinal use, or other (spirituous preparations).

36 On the occasions of festivals, gatherings and fairs, permission to manufacture and sell liquor should be granted for four days. 37 On those days, he should charge a penalty per day from those not permitted, till the end of the festivity.

38 Women and children should make a search for (ingredients used in) liquors and ferment.

31 According to Cp śvetasūrā differs from prasannā in that it has no saṁbhāra and has an equal amount of ferment. According to Cb there is neither saṁbhāra nor bijabandha. 32 Cp has four kinds, sahakārasūrā (liquor mixed with mango oil), rasottarā (with jaggery added), mahāsūrā (with a large amount of biṣa) and saṁbhārikī (with a large amount of saṁbhāra). Cb has five, bijottarā being distinguished from mahāsūrā, biṣa being more in the former, mātrā(?)) being more in the latter. Neither does justice to the two vā in the sentence. Meyer has mahāsūrā as the name of rasottarā sahakārasūrā and saṁbhārikī as the name of bijottarā sahakārasūrā. It might appear better to think of mahāsūrā alone as the name, with three alternatives rasottarā, bijottarā and saṁbhārikī, all understood as attributes of sahakārasūrā, which may be liquor from mango juice, not made by mere addition of mango oil. 33 Cp again reads kaṇḍaśārkara 'pieces of jaggery,' with which, however, dagdha hardly fits in. — kālingayava: Cp reads kālāguru. Meyer had proposed kalāga-yava for the faulty kalāgavava of the editions. — kalkārda-yuktam, i.e., the pulp is to be half the cārna in quantity. — antarnakho muṣṭih, i.e., the fingers are so closed that the nails cannot be seen outside. The amount would be fairly small. — kumbhīm 'a pitcher' (Cb). Cb equates it with khārī, i.e., 16 drops (2.19.31). Cp makes out caṭussaṭīśahasrapalas (i.e., 1064?). 34 rasayṛddhīh, i.e., the strengthening of rasa as against biṣa or saṁbhāra. rasa may also suggest 'taste, flavour.'

36 saurikaḥ: the commentators understand not only manufacture and drink, but also selling. 37 ananujñātānām: apparently permission could be refused to some persons. What they pay daily for manufacture and sale without permission amounts to a sort of license fee. Cp reads anyeṣu ananujñātanām 'for drinking in places other than the place where the utsava etc. is being celebrated, the fine being in conformity with the loss suffered in work on account of the drink.'

38 vicayam 'search' for the various ingredients from plants, trees etc. It may also mean 'picking good from bad, selecting.' Com. understand it to mean 'roasting, drying etc.' of the materials.
39 Dealers in goods not manufactured by the state shall pay a duty of five per cent on surā, medaka, arīṣṭa, madhu, sour fruit juices, and sour liquors.

40 And after ascertaining the day’s sale and the surcharge on measures and on cash, he should fix the compensation accordingly and should keep going what is customary.

CHAPTER TWENTY-SIX

SECTION 43 THE SUPERVISOR OF (ANIMAL-) SLAUGHTER

1 The Supervisor of Slaughter should impose the highest fine (for violence) for binding, killing or injuring deer, beasts, birds or fish for whom safety has been proclaimed and who are kept in reserved parks, the middle fine on house-holders (for these offences) in reserved park enclosures.

2 For binding, killing or injuring fish and birds whose slaughter is not current, he should impose a fine of twenty-six paṇas and three quarters, (for binding etc.) deer and beasts, double (that). 3 Of those whose slaughter is current (and) who are not protected in enclo-

39 surakā- etc. may be construed with the preceding (Cs) or with the stanza that follows (Meyer). The former seems slightly better in view of the ca after the first word in the stanza. The ca at the end here seems used in spite of the compound.

40 vyājīm mānahiranyayoh : the extra commission for māna is 6 1/4% or 5%, and for hiranya 5% (cf. 2.16.10 and 2.12.26 respectively). — vaidharaṇam : the compensation is to be recovered because a state monopoly (manufacture and sale of liquor) has been allowed to be broken; cf. 2.12.31. The vyājī would be taken into consideration when fixing the vaidharaṇa. The latter would be apparently reduced to that extent. — ucitam ‘customary,’ rather than ‘appropriate.’

2.26

The sūnādhyakṣa is primarily concerned with the safety of game; he is to prevent the slaughter and ill-treatment of animals. He also strictly controls the sale of meat. There is no direct reference to slaughter-houses in the Chapter. ‘sūnā served to carry flesh, RV. 1.16.10, AV 5.17.14, and was probably a braided (sīv) basket.’ (H. Zimmer, Altindisches Leben, p. 271).

1 pradīṣṭāhayānām : see 2.2.2 above. — abhayavāna may also refer to the parks of 2.2.4. — vadhā is ‘killing’ and hiṁśā ‘injury’ (Meyer). — parigraha ‘enclosure’ ; cf. 2.6.6. — A lesser fine is imposed on householders apparently because the meat would be for personal use, not for sale.

2 apravṛttavadhā : the slaughter of certain animals may be disallowed by custom (on religious or other grounds) or by state. Meyer’s ‘who do not do any harm’ seems hardly right. 3 aparigṛhitā ‘not in the enclosures,’ i.e., not protected. Meyer’s ‘who are not caught’ is unlikely. If they are not caught, how is the state to receive the sixth part? — dasabhāgaḥ vādhikam : Meyer has ‘one-tenth as fine for killing (vādhikam from vadhā),’ So Breloer has ‘tax on slaughter’
sures, he should receive one-sixth part, of fish and birds one-tenth part more, of deer and beasts, duty in addition.

4 He should release in sanctuary parks the live one-sixth part of birds and deer.

5 Sea-fish having the form of an elephant or a horse or a man or a bull or a donkey, or those from lakes, rivers, tanks or canals, curlew, osprey, gallinule, swan, ruddy goose, pheasant, bhṛṅgarāja, cakora, māttakokila, peacock, parrot and mādanaśārikā; which are birds for sport and auspicious (birds), also other creatures (whether) birds or deer, should be protected from all dangers of injury. 6 For transgression of (this) protection, the first fine for violence (shall be imposed).

7 (Traders) shall sell meat without bones, of deer and beasts freshly killed. 8 For (meat) containing bones, they should give a compensation for loss. 9 For what is short in weight, (the fine shall be) eight times the short measure.

10 The calf, the bull and the milk-cow among these (animals) are not to be killed. 11 For one killing (them), there shall be) a fine of fifty paṇas, also for (one) torturing (them) to death.

12 They shall not sell (meat that is) swollen, without head, feet and bones, foul-smelling and (of a) naturally dead (animal). 13 Otherwise, there shall be a fine of twelve paṇas.

(KSt, III, 534). But this sense is hardly possible with vādhikam as adjective to śulkam. We have to understand 1/10 in addition to 1/6 in the case of fish and birds, and śulka in addition to 1/6 in the case of deer and beasts. 6 śulka would come to 1/20 or 1/25 as shown by 2.22.7. vā may be understood as ca. It is quite possible that the original reading was cādhikam.

4 paksimṛgāṇām: fish and beasts are omitted probably because they were intended to be consumed even when received alive.

5 It would be better to read sāmudrāh outside the compound. — hastyaśva-etc.: some of the shapes are clearly imaginary. — vīhāra-pakṣināh ‘such as cocks, etc.’ (Cs). — maṅgalyāḥ ‘śyāmabhāradvāja and others’ (Cb). — abādha as ‘danger’ is common in this text. 6 rakṣātikrame: the fine is for the sūnā-dhyakteśa (Cs). His subordinates, keepers in the parks, would appear more likely.

7 vikrīṇīran: the subject is butchers who have observed the rules laid down in s. 3 above. 8 pratipātam is from Cb. Cf. 5.2.12. It means compensation for loss, which apparently would be equal to the weight of the bones.

10 eşām, i.e., maṛgapaśaṇāṁ. 11 ghnataḥ is from Cb and is necessary as corresponding to ghālayataḥ.

12 parisūnam is an emendation from Meyer for parisūnam. The former suggests the diseased condition of the meat. The latter as ‘slaughtered or sold outside the slaughter-house’ (com.) is doubtful, as there is no reference to slaughter-houses, or the obligation to slaughter or sell only there. And pari as ‘outside’ is also uncertain.
14 Beasts, deer, wild animals and fish, belonging to sanctuaries, should, when harmful, be killed or bound in places other than the place of their protection.

CHAPTER TWENTY-SEVEN

SECTION 44 THE SUPERINTENDENT OF COURTESANS

1 The Superintendent of Courtesans should appoint as a courtesan, with one thousand pānas, a (girl), from a courtesan’s family or a family not of courtesans, who is richly endowed with beauty, youth and arts, (and) a deputy courtesan for half the family-establishment.

2 If a (courtesan has) run away or died, her daughter or sister shall run the family-establishment, or the mother shall provide a deputy courtesan. 3 In the absence of these, the king should take away (the establishment).

4 In conformity with superiority in point of beauty and ornaments, he should, with one thousand pānas, assign the lowest, middlemost or highest turn (for attendance), in order to add distinction to (attendance with) the parasol, the water-jug, the fan, the palanquin, the seat and the chariot. 5 In case of loss of beauty, he should appoint her as the ‘mother.’

14 guptisthānebhyāḥ: these are clearly the abhayavanās. The actual slaughter is to be done outside the sanctuaries.

2.27

1 agaṇikāṃcvayām: apparently respectable girls could be recruited to the profession when they went astray. — sahasreṇa, i.e., by giving 1000 pānas to set up the establishment. The purchase of ornaments, dresses, furniture etc. seems meant. Meyer regards this as the annual salary. The annual salary, however, would seem to be referred to in s. 4 below. — kuṭumbārdhena, i.e., with 500 pānas.

2 kuṭumbāṅ bhaṅeta: this clearly implies the continuation of the establishment. 3 Cp concludes from this that the son of a gaṇikā does not inherit from her.

4 Cb explains ‘consistently with the increase in beauty and ornaments duties may be assigned, ० ० ० , viz., at pratīhāra, playing with dice, giving tāmbūla etc. for 1000 pānas, madhyama, viz., holding fans, chowries etc., at 500 pānas and kaniśṭha, viz., carrying pīṭha, washing feet, etc. at 100 pānas. In addition, he should give chatra and bhrīgāra for kaniśṭha duty, fan and chowrie in addition for madhyama duty and these as well as pīṭha and ratha for ० ० ० .’ Cs understands chatra and bhrīgāra as the kaniśṭha vāra, vyājana and śibikā as madhyama and pīṭhikā and ratha as ० ० ० , also 1000, 2000 and 3000 pānas as the nazaranā to be paid by the courtesans for the three types of duties respectively. It seems, however, that the amounts are payments made to the gaṇikā, not by her to the state. The amounts in Cs appear more likely than those in Cb. As a matter of fact, the text refers to one amount only, 1000 pānas. The idea of the present of the various things to the
6 The ransom price is twenty-four thousand paniṣ for a courtesan, twelve thousand for a courtesan’s son. 7 From the age of eight, the latter should do the work of the king’s minstrel.

8 The female slave of a courtesan, whose professional career is over, should do work in the magazine or the kitchen. 9 One, not going (for such work), should, being kept under restraint, (be made to) pay the monthly wage of one paniṣ and a quarter.

10 He should keep an account of the payment by visitors, gifts, income, expenditure and gains of a courtesan, and should prohibit an act of excessive expenditure.

11 For handing over her ornaments to the keeping of any one else but the mother, the fine shall be four paniṣ and a quarter. 12 If she sells or pledges her belongings, the fine shall be fifty paniṣ and a quarter, twenty-four paniṣ in case of verbal injury, double that in case of physical injury, fifty paniṣ and a quarter and one paniṣ and half a paniṣ for cutting off the ear.

three types of ganikās (Cb) is also not suggested by the wording. — viśeṣārtham: this may refer to the distinction made in the three types of work, or to the distinction, i.e., lustre added to the task. 5 māṭkā a sort of mother superior of the establishment.

7 kuśilava: cf. 1.12.9.

8 ganikādāśi: this should be read as a single word as in the commentators ‘the female attendant of a courtesan.’ Apparently such a dāśi carried on the profession of a prostitute. When she can no more do that work (bhagnabhogā), she is to be given work in the kitchen etc. Meyer (with ganiṅkā and dāśi as separate words) thinks of the gaṇikā herself being bhagnabhogā and made to work as a dāśi in the kitchen etc. But the gaṇikā’s own case seems to have been already considered in s.5 above. 9 avīśānti, i.e., not going to the kitchen etc. for work. Meyer has ‘who does not come to the king’, because she is avaruddhā ‘the kept mistress’ of some one else. As the reference is to bhagnabhogā, this is an unlikely explanation. avaruddhā is understood as ‘a kept mistress’ even in Cp, but in the context, it can only mean ‘kept under restraint’ as in 1.10.11. — sapādapaṇāṁ māsāvētaṇām: this is the monthly cash wage (beside boarding); cf. 2.24.28. She pays the wage to the person who does the work which she has refused to do. The commentators say ‘the servant is to pay this amount to the gaṇikā, her former mistress.’ vetana would hardly be used for such payment. Meyer’s ‘a month’s wage and one and a quarter paniṣ’ is doubtful in the absence of ca.

10 dāya ‘gifts by the king or other men’ (Cb), rather than ‘inheritance from the mother’ (Cp Cs), as day to day or month to month accounts are thought of here. — āyati seems to refer to some extra income; that is how Cp understands it. Cb does not seem to have read the word though its text shows it. Cs renders the word by ‘prabhadā, power, capability.’

12 svāpadeyam, i.e., her personal belongings. Cb reads svāpadeyam ‘ornaments etc. given at the time of going to bed.’ This is not very likely. — vākapūrṣye: the offence is by the courtesan against a visitor (com.). Meyer thinks that these are offences against the courtesan. However, the wording clearly favours the former
13 In case of violence against a maiden who is unwilling, the highest fine (shall be imposed), the lowest fine for violence, if she is willing. 14 If a (man) keeps under restraint a courtesan who is unwilling, or helps her to run away or spoils her beauty by cutting up a wound, the fine (shall be) one thousand panas. 15 Or, there shall be an increase in fine in accordance with the importance of her position, up to double the ransom amount. 16 If a (man) causes the death of a courtesan who has been appointed to the office, the fine (shall be) three times the ransom amount. 17 For killing a mother, a daughter or a female slave living by her beauty, the highest fine for violence (shall be imposed).

18 In all cases, the prescribed fine (shall be imposed) for the first offence, double that for the second (offence), threefold for the third (offence), in case of the fourth (repetition of the offence) he may do what he pleases.

19 A courtesan, not approaching a man at the command of the king, shall receive one thousand strokes with the whip, or a fine of five thousand panas.

20 If a (courtesan), after receiving payment, shows dislike, she shall be fined double the amount of payment. 21 In case she cheats in connection with attendance on visitors staying (overnight), she shall pay eight times the amount of payment, except in case of (her) view. — panā 'rāthapanaś ca: this goes to the ganikādhyaśa, while 50 1/4 panas go to the state, according to Cp Cs. The total in Cb comes to 50 3/4 panas. It may be that 1 panā is the physician's fee and half a panā charges for medicaments. — karaṇacchedane: though this is more likely by an irate visitor, this offence against a visitor by a ganikā is not inconceivable.

13 kumārāḥ: not necessarily a ganikākumārī; cf. 4.12.26. 15 sthāna, i.e., her position or status, uttamādīcāraprādāhanyena (Cp). It can hardly refer to 'the limb of the body where the wound is made' (Cs). — ā niskrayādvigunāt: Cb, reading ā niskrayād dvigunah has 'for kanīṣṭha 24000 panas, for madhyama 48000 panas and for uttama 96000 panas.' This is little likely. Cb also understands 1000 for rundhataḥ, 2000 for nispātayataḥ and 3000 for rūpaha ghnataḥ. — panasahastrāṇaḥ vā dandaḥ read after this s. is omitted; Cp rightly ignores it. S. 14, to which s. 15 states an option, already mentions this same fine. 16 prāptādikārām: i.e., appointed as a courtesan, not necessarily, however, for attendance on the king. 17 duḥityākā is not yet appointed as a ganikā. — rūpadasī may be the same as or similar in status to the ganikādāsī of s. 8 above. Cp understands 'one who does work in connection with perfumes, flowers, etc.' — ghāle: because of the lighter punishment, Cs thinks of 'beating' rather than 'killing.' But ghātayato of the last s. precludes that.

18 This rule seems applicable to all offences, not only to those concerning courtesans. — syāt: the subject is rājā (Cb).

20 dvīṣaṭyāḥ: in effect, 'refusing service.' 21 vasatibhoga: payment for staying with the ganikā (Cb), evidently for the night. It seems that in the ordinary
illness or defects in the man. 22 If she kills a man, (the punishment shall be) burning on the funeral pyre or drowning in water.

23 If a (man) robs a courtesan of her ornaments, her goods or the payment due to her, he shall be fined eight times (the amount).

24 The courtesan shall communicate (to the Superintendent) the payment, the gain and the (name of) the man.

25 By this are explained (rules for) the women of actors, dancers, singers, musicians, story-tellers, bards, rope-dancers, showmen and wandering minstrels, who deal in women, and (women) who follow a secret profession. 26 Their musical instruments, when coming from foreign lands, shall be charged a fee per show of five paṇas.

27 (Prostitutes) who live by their beauty, shall pay per month (a tax) double the (normal) fee (charged by them).

28 He should provide maintenance from the king's exchequer to the (teacher) who imparts to courtesans and female slaves who live by the stage, the knowledge of the arts of singing, playing on musical instruments, reciting, dancing, acting, writing, painting, playing on the lute, the flute and the drum, reading the thoughts of others, preparing perfumes and garlands, entertaining in conversation, shampooing and the courtesan's art.

bhoga, the man does not stay overnight with the gaṇikā. It is possible also that bhoga is only attendance with singing, dancing etc. while vasati bhoga includes sexual enjoyment. In any case, Meyer's 'when the robbing of the payment is continuous (vasati in a locative absolute clause) ' is quite unlikely.

24 Cf. s. 10 above.

25 saubhika 'a juggler or a shadow-player' (com.). He may be the saubhika of Patañjali who puts up a kind of dramatic show. Cf. Winternitz, ZDMG, 74 (1920), 118 ff. Cb Cs include śtriyaśakaṁ in the long compound that precedes and understand by it a separate class 'khanariṇaka (?)' (Cb), 'members of a prostitute's family' (Cs). It is better, however, to keep it outside the compound as descriptive of nāṭa, nartaka, etc. — gūḍhājivāḥ : cf. 4.4 below for the secret professions. 26 prekṣācetanam is clearly a sort of license fee.

27 rāpājīvāḥ are not in state service. The gaṇikādhyaṅka is only concerned with collecting a tax from them. — bhogadevaśāṅkam, i.e., twice her charge for a single visit. Meyer considers this too little and suggests 'double the monthly income per year,' amounting to the usual 1/6th. The words, however, can hardly yield this sense. For māsam 'per month,' cf. 2.24.28. Cp reads bhogadevaṇam only, which might appear better.

28 saṅkhyāhāna in the sense of 'preparing should be construed with gandha and mālya, saṅcādaṇa being 'art of entertaining in conversation' (Cp). Cs, reading saṅpādana, has gandhasaṅkhyāhāna and mālasyaśāṇpādaṇa, which is a doubtful construction. — rājamanḍalat : this has to be understood as 'from the king's purse.' The circle of kings can hardly be thought of as collaborating and contributing a share towards these expenses.
29 And the (teachers) should train the sons of courtesans to be the chiefs of those who live by the stage and also of all types of dancers.

30 And their women, who are conversant with various kinds of signs and languages, should be employed, under the lead of their kinsmen, against the wicked, for spying, killing or making them blunder.

CHAPTER TWENTY-EIGHT

SECTION 45 THE CONTROLLER OF SHIPPING

1 The Controller of Shipping should look after activities concerning sea voyages and ferries at the mouths of rivers, as well as ferries over natural lakes, artificial lakes and rivers, in the sthāniya and other (towns).

2 Villages on their shores and banks shall pay a fixed (tax).

3 Fishermen shall pay one-sixth (of their catch) as rent for the boats.

4 Traders shall pay a part (of the goods) as duty according as it may be current at the ports, those travelling by the king’s ships (shall pay) hire for the voyage.

5 Those fishing for conch-shells and pearls shall pay a rent for the boats, or sail in their own boats. 6 And (the duty of) the Supervisor of these is explained by (that of) the Superintendent of Mines.

29 It is proposed to read -jīvīnāḥ ca (implied in Cb’s explanation) for -jīvīnāś ca or -jīvinaś ca of the mss. The ca is really misplaced; it should come after gaṇikā-putrān. — Cp reads -lālāpacarānāḥ ca and construes it with the following stanza; but the accusative can hardly be right, in view of teśām and striyaḥ in that stanza.

30 caṛagṛānaipramādārthām: three separate ideas seem better than two, the ghāta and pramāda of enemy’s spies (Cs). anātmasu already mentions the persons against whom they are to be used. — bandhuvaḥanāḥ, i.e., under the lead or supervision of kinsmen. Cb has ‘their kinsmen are to be given money and honour and then these are to be employed among dūṣyas.’

2.28

The nācadhyakṣa is not a military officer. He is concerned with the control of shipping, management of ports and provision of ferries.

1 visaras is, according to Cs, a lake liable to dry up in summer.

2 kliptam: a fixed tax. Cf. 2.6.10.

3 saṃbhāgam: 1/6th part of their catch, as rent for use of state boats. When taken to the city for sale, 1/6th of the remainder as sulka would also be due.

4 sulkabhāgam, i.e, in accordance with 2.22.4-8. — yātrāvetanam would seem to refer to the hire of the boat, including wages for the crew.

5 This implies that pearl-fisheries are not a state monopoly. 6 adhyakṣas caṇsāṃ etc.: this is a reference to 2.12.27. The manufacture and sale of articles
7 The Controller of Shipping shall observe the regulations in a port town as fixed by the Commissioner of Ports.

8 He should rescue boats that have gone out of their course or are tossed about by a gale, like a father. 9 He should make goods that have fallen in water either duty-free or pay half the duty. 10 And he should send these (boats) on, as commissioned, at times suitable for voyage from the port.

11 He should demand duty from ships sailing on sea when they come within the domain. 12 He should destroy (boats) that cause harm, also those coming over from the enemy’s territory and those violating the regulations of the port.

13 And he should keep in use big boats in charge of a captain, a pilot, a manipulator of the cutter and ropes and a bailer of water, on big rivers that have to be ferried on (even) in winter and summer, small ones on small rivers flowing (only) in the rainy season. 14 And these should have their crossing-places fixed because of the danger of crossing by traitorous persons.

15 For one crossing out of time or elsewhere than at the crossing, (the punishment shall be) the lowest fine for violence. 16 For one who crosses without authority even at the proper time and at the crossing, the penalty for crossing is twenty-six paññas and three quarters. 17 There shall be no penalty for fishermen, (carriers of) loads of wood made of śañkha and muktā is the concern of the khanyadhyakṣa. The nācadhyakṣa has nothing to do with that (as Cs thinks).

8 It is proposed to read -hatā nāvaḥ for -hatāṁ tām or -hatānām of the ms. The pronoun in the former of these is unlikely and the genitive in the latter cannot be properly construed. Meyer had proposed -hatatāntam (or -tāntāḥ) ‘in distress (tānta from tam) being buffeted by strong (mūdhā) winds.’ mūdhā, as adjective to vāta, is not a happy idea. 10 yathānirdiśṭāh, i.e., to their destinations as originally directed.

11 kṣetra seems to refer to the domain of the state. — śulkaṁ yāceta : the point of this statement, according to Cs, is that higher rates of duty are not to be charged. The idea, however, seems to be that duty is to be demanded whether the ships discharge the goods in that port or not. These appear more as port dues than duty on goods. 12 hīnsrīkāh, i.e., piratical ships; they may or may not belong to an enemy. — amitravīṣayātīgāh ‘bound for enemy territory’ (com.), ‘coming over from the enemy’s territory’ (Meyer). The latter appears better.

13 niryāmaka is a steersman, a pilot. — dāṭraśāmīrāhaka : this would appear to be a single person. Meyer’s idea, however, ‘the holder of the hook and the rope, i.e., the anchor-thrower’ is not very convincing. N. N. Law has ‘sailors with sickles and ropes’ (IHQ, V, 1929, p. 615).

16 anisṛṣṭatārīṇaḥ : the sense of the causal does not seem intended in -tārin. — ταράττας : the penalty is for violation of the state monopoly of ferrying. 17 saṁ-bhācayadātanupātinām : ‘those in pursuit of suspicious characters such as thieves (saṁbhācayā) and those who follow royal messengers to supplement their work’
and grass, attendants at flower-gardens, fruit-orchards and vegetable gardens and cowherds, also for those whose going after an envoy is conceivable, and for those carrying out activity in connection with goods for the army, when these cross in their own barges, as well as for those who ferry across seeds, food-stuffs and articles for household use in villages along the water-courses.

18 Brahmins, wandering monks, children, old persons, sick persons, carriers of royal edicts and pregnant women should cross with a sealed pass from the Controller of Shipping.

19 Persons from foreign lands may enter when permission to enter is granted or on the testimony of the caravan. He should cause to be arrested a person carrying off the wife, the daughter or the property of another, a person who is frightened or agitated, a person hiding behind a heavy load, a person concealing (his face) by a load on the head containing heavy goods, a wandering monk who has just put on the marks or who is without the marks, a person whose illness cannot be seen, a person showing a changed appearance because of fear, a person secretly carrying goods of high value, letters, weapons or means of fire, a person with poison in hand, a person who has travelled a long distance and a person without a sealed pass.

(Cp Cs). The meaning given to saṁbhācya is doubtful. Those who pursue likely messengers is possible, but makes little sense. Those who are the followers of a likely envoy or those who can be thought of (saṁbhācya) as an envoy's followers may seem intended, more likely the latter. Apparently, an envoy's followers enjoyed certain privileges. The expression is, however, a bit awkward. senābhāya etc. is also an involved expression. Ch Cs read -cāra- for -pracāra-. But the activity of secret agents is hardly likely to be known to the nārādhyakṣa. — svataraṇais taraṭām: this is to be construed with the preceding two clauses. Meyer construes it also with what follows. — bhaktadravya as a single idea seems better; otherwise, dravya remains unspecified. — taraṭām shows that the villagers get these things without the help of the state ferry.

18 This implies free use of the ferry.

19 kṛtrapravacāḥ: cf. 4.10.7. The expression is used predicatively. — sārthaprāmāṇa vā: if vā were omitted as in most mss. the guarantee of the caravan would be the reason for granting permission to enter. But that would be applicable only to traders. It seems better to read vā. 20 udbhāṇḍiktra 'tottering under a heavy load' (Cp). Ch (on 2.86.13) explains 'hiding himself with a load on his head.' It seems that this latter explanation from some commentary (mahābhāṣyena mūrdhi bhūrenāvacchādayantam) has got into the text after udbhāṇḍiktram. Else there is tautology. Meyer explains udbhāṇḍiktra as 'who is excessively stirred up' or 'who is deprived of his tools, vessels etc., helpless.' Neither is satisfactory. — liṅga are marks of a monk, kaśyapavasra, daṇḍa etc. — alakṣyayayādhiḥ may mean 'whose illness (pretended in order to escape the fare) cannot be seen' (com.), or 'who conceals his illness (either because of wounds or a secret or contagious disease). The former seems meant. — amudram: the mudrā may be that
21 A small animal and a man with a load (in hand) shall pay one māsaka, a load on the head, a load on the back, a cow and a horse (shall pay) two (māsakas), a camel and a buffalo four, a small vehicle five, one driven by bullocks six, a cart seven, a load of commodities one quarter (of a paṇa). 22 By that is explained (fare for) a load of goods. 23 The fare for ferries on big rivers is double.

24 Villages on water-ways shall pay a fixed amount of food and wages (for the ferrymen).

25 At the frontiers, ferrymen should recover the duty, the escort-charges and the road cess, and should confiscate the goods of one going out without a seal, also (that) of a person crossing with a heavy load at an improper time and elsewhere than at the regular crossing.

26 When a boat, that is lacking in men or equipment or is unseaworthy, comes to grief, the Controller of Shipping shall make good what is lost or ruined.

27 Between the eighth day after the full moon day of Āśādhā and that of Kārttika, ferrying (shall be provided). The workman should give a surety and should bring in the regular daily earnings.

given by the mudrādhyakṣa (2.34.1-4), or by the nāvadhyakṣa (s. 18 above). — upagrāhayaḥ: perhaps only grāhayaḥ should be read.

21 golīgam: supply yānam. — bhāra is the weight of 20 tulaś (2.19.19).
22 bāṅga, as distinguished from paṇya, refers to other than commercial goods.
'A vehicle drawn by buffaloes, camels etc.' (Cp) is an unusual sense for bāṅga.

24 kloptam: this being intended for the ferrymen is apparently different from the kloptas of s. 2 above.

25 pratyaṇeṣu, i.e., where the rivers form the boundaries; there is no antapāla there, only the ferry service. — nirgacchataḥ: the goods were being taken out to the foreign country. — amudrādṛṣṭayassya: for sealing of goods, cf. 2.21.2-5.

26 asanāskṛtyāṃ, i.e., not properly built and not kept in good repair; hence 'unseaworthy' (Meyer). — abhyāvahet is from Cb and seems necessary for the sense 'to be responsible for, to be liable for' as distinguished from abhyābhū 'to have the right to' (3.9.1).

27 saṃtāvahyātām, i.e., when seven days have passed after the full moon days of the two months. — taraḥ: supply sthāpanīyaḥ. The commentators interpret taraḥ as 'fare for the ferry' and supply grāhyahā. — Read kārmiḥ pratyayam in the text. This is proposed for kārmi kapratyayam of the mss. With the latter taram or ataram can be understood as the substantive (Meyer Nachtrag), but the idea of the testimony (pratyaya) of workmen for the necessity of a ferry is not very happy. With the proposed emendation, kārmiḥ would refer to the officer in charge of the service, who gives a surety (pratyaya) to testify to his integrity. For pratyaya, cf. 3.12.14; 3.14.34. The commentators have 'the (ferryman) should give information (pratyaya) about working days (kārmiḥ) to the nāvadhyakṣa,' which is hardly satisfactory. — nityam, i.e., probably as fixed by the rules in ss. 21-23.

āvahet 'should bring in' and hand over to the nāvadhyakṣa.
CHAPTER TWENTY-NINE

SECTION 46 THE SUPERINTENDENT OF CATTLE

1 The Superintendent of Cattle should know about (cattle) looked after in return for a wage, tended with a tax and a fixed return, become useless and cast off, entered (in the state herds) by payment of a share, the total number of (cattle in) herds, (cattle) that are lost or have perished, and the total produce of milk and ghee.

2 The cowherd, the buffalo-herdsman, the milker, the churner and the hunter should look after one hundred milch-cows, receiving a wage in cash. 3 For, if given a wage in milk and ghee, they might do harm to the calves. These are (cattle) looked after for a wage.

4 One person should look after one hundred animals containing an equal number of aged cows, milch-cows, cows with young, cows with calf for the first time and heifers. 5 He should give eight vārakas of ghee, one paṇa per animal (and) the hide with the mark, every year. This is tending with a tax and a fixed return.

2.29

The cattle in charge of this Superintendent clearly belong to the state.

1 upalabheta, i.e., should have a record of.

2 pindaṛaka is the original of the modern Pindari and is a Deshū word from peḍḍā in the sense of mahiṣī (J. Charpentier, IA, 59, 149-51). — lubdhaka serves to guard cattle from wild animals. 3 vetanopagrāhikam : the upagraha may refer to the care bestowed on cattle or the favour of wage received.

4 paṣṭhauḥi : the form goes back to the Taṇṭirīya Brāhmaṇa, 1.7.3.2 and the Śatapatha, 4.6.1.11. In the latter place it is paraphrased by prathamagarbhā ‘with calf for the first time.’ Cf. A. Hillebrandt, Vedicische Mythologie, III, p. 93 n. 8. The commentators here explain ‘who has reached an age when she longs to be covered by a bull.’ The word has a Prakrit appearance (from the feminine of prasṭhavāh). — samavibhāgam : according to Cb, this means 100 of each kind, jaraḍgu etc. That appears doubtful. — ekaḥ : this is a sort of a contractor, who makes his own arrangements for tending the cattle. 5 aṣṭau vārakān : on the basis of a vāraka as 84/64th of a drona (2.19.46 above), eight vārakas amount to about 19.2 gallons; this much ghee would require 16 times milk (s. 35 below) or about 307.2 gallons of milk. As there are only 20 milch-cows (dhenu) in the herd, each cow’s contribution would be about 15.4 gallons. This may be supposed to be 2 or 3 weeks’ yield of milk in the case of good cows. The rest of the milk would obviously be used by the contractor as payment for his services. Meyer, thinking that 8 vārakas (72 litres) is too little for the entire herd, understands 800 vārakas. He also assumes that there are 50 milk-yielding cows in the herd and arrives at 10 litres of milk per day per cow. It is not easy to follow his reasoning and his figures. And his explanation seems to leave little for the herdsman. — paṇikaiṣu puccham, i.e., 100 paṇas are paid by him per year as tax in addition. Breloer (III, 519 n. 1) understanding paṇa as ‘stipulation’ has ‘8 vārakas of ghee as stipulated per tail.’ This also would leave little for the herdsman. And for ‘stipulated’ paṇitam would seem necessary. — ankaracarā : this would apply
6 Herdsmen looking after one hundred animals divided into an equal number of cows that are diseased, that are crippled, that do not allow another person to milk them, that are difficult to milk and that kill their calves, should give a share appropriate to that class. These are (cattle) become useless and cast off.

7 Of cattle that have entered (the king's herds) through fear of an enemy invasion or forest-tribes, the (owners) should give one-tenth part according to the law of protection. These are (cattle) entered by payment of a share.

8 Calves, weaned calves, young bulls being broken in, draught-bullocks, and stud-bulls are male cattle; (buffaloes) drawing a yoked vehicle or a cart, stud-buffaloes, slaughter-buffaloes and those carrying (loads) on their backs and shoulders are male buffaloes; the heifer, the weaned heifer, the cow with calf for the first time, the cow with young, the milch-cow, the cow that has not borne a calf and the sterile cow, are cows and she-buffaloes; those a month or two old, are their offsprings (as) calves and heifers. 9 He should mark those that are a month or two old. 10 He should mark an animal that has stayed (in the herd) for a month or two. 11 The (branded) mark, the (natural) mark, the colour, the peculiarity of the horns,—with these characteristics, he should record additions (to the herd). This is the total of (cattle in the) herds.

only when the animal dies. — karapratikaraḥ: it seems that kara refers to the 8 vārakas of ghee and 100 panaś that the herdsman pays to the state and pratikara to what he gets for himself out of the herd. It is also possible that kara refers to the paniśka puccha and pratikara to the 8 vārakas. The marked hide could hardly have been meant by pratikara, as Breloer thinks.

6 putragnī: one that gives birth to a dead calf. — samavibhāgam: Cb again has 100 of each kind. — tajjātikāṃ bhāgam 1/2 or 1/3 or 1/4 of the 8 vārakas, according to the trouble in tending them' (Cb). vyaḥhitā, nyāṅgā might yield little or nothing. Breloer thinks of 1/10 as in 5.2.27. But that refers to a part of the cattle themselves and is hardly applicable here.

7 dasabhāgam, i.e., one-tenth of their produce (Meyer), hardly 1/10th of the cattle themselves. Cf. 3.13.28. The share is received by the state.

8 vṛṣā ukṣaṇaḥ: the commentators understand 'stud-bulls and aged bullocks.' Meyer understands a single idea 'stud-bulls' corresponding to vṛṣabhāsa ukṣaṇaḥ of the Rgveda. The latter seems intended; cf. 3.10.24 and 4.13.20. — śakata appears to be bigger than yugavahana; cf. 2.28.21. — dhenus cāprayātā: the ca is strange; so is the plural in vandhyāḥ. aprajatā, i.e., 'who has not borne a calf, but whose sterility is not yet certain' (Cb). — upajāḥ 'born near,' i.e., additions. 9 anikṣayet: the mark may be some number or svastika or sickle, spoon etc. (Meyer, who also refers to cutting or splitting the ears in various ways in Pāṇini 6.3.115). 10 paryuṣita, i.e., staying in the king's herds, unclaimed by the owner. 11 eihna, as distinguished from anka, seems to be some natural mark. — śṛṅgāntaram 'peculiarity of the horns' (Cb Cp). — 'Distance between the horns' is also possible, though in either sense śṛṅgāntara can be thought of only in connection with fully
12 An (animal) that is stolen by thieves, has gone into another herd or has disappeared is lost. 13 An (animal) that has sunk in mud or has got in an inaccessible place, or is struck down by illness or old age or has suffered because of water or food, or is struck by a tree, a bank, wood or rock, or is struck by lightning or killed by a wild animal, a serpent, a crocodile or in a forest-conflagration, is destroyed. 14 They should make good (what is lost or destroyed) through negligence.

15 Thus he should be cognisant of the number of animals.

16 He who himself kills (an animal) or incites another to kill or steals or incites another to steal shall be executed.

17 He who changes the cattle of another with the royal mark shall pay the lowest fine for violence per animal.

18 After recovering what is stolen by thieves from cattle belonging to his own country, a person shall receive the animal agreed upon. 19 He who recovers cattle belonging to a foreign country shall receive half (the animals).

20 Cowherds shall (care for and) treat the young, the old and the diseased. 21 They shall graze (the cattle) in a forest from which the fear of danger from thieves, wild animals and enemies has been removed by bowlers and hunters and which is suitable in different seasons. 22 And in order to frighten serpents and wild animals and to know grown up cattle. — evam upajāh: Meyer, understanding a single expression, has 'born of such and such a cow and such and such a bull.' It is doubtful if records of pedigrees are meant here.

13 toyāhāra 'because of defects in water or food' (Cb). — Cb Cs read vṛksātāta and Cs explains ataṭa as 'fall from a precipice.' In view of abhikata at the end, 'fall' need not be understood. Breloer (III, 526) understands vṛksa with kāṭha and taṭa with śilā. 14 This applies to naṣṭa as well as vinaṣṭa, not to the latter alone as in Cs. For abhyāvah, see 2.28.26 above.

17 paricartayitā: apparently the substitution of an inferior animal is thus thought of. — rūpasya, i.e., for each animal. It can hardly be construed with paricartayitā in the sense of 'appearance.' rūpa refers to 'animal' in this Chapter.

18 paṣītān rūpam, i.e., the animal that was promised as reward to any one who recovered the stolen cattle. This implies cattle-lifting on a large scale. Cb Cs read paṇikaṁ rūpam and explain 'the rescuer should get one paṇa per animal'; Meyer agrees and adds that the goʾdhyaṅka is to be thought of as the rescuer. Such extra remuneration to an officer would be unusual. 19 mokṣayitā is evidently the person who successfully lifts cattle from a neighbouring state, or traces such cattle lifted by robbers from that state. He must, of course, inform the state; then he keeps half the cattle, the other half going to the state. Cf. E. H. Johnston, JHAS, 1936, pp. 82-83. Breloer remarks (III, 528 n. 1) that this is according to the law concerning the finding of treasure-trove. mokṣayitā cannot be the 'owner of the cattle' (Cs) since these are aparadesīya, nor the goʾdhyaṅka (Meyer).
the movements in the pastures, they should tie a bell round the necks of timid animals. 23 They should take (cattle) down to water, to which the descent is even and broad, and which is free from mud and crocodiles, and should guard them (at the time). 24 They should report cattle seized by robbers, wild animals, serpents or crocodiles and cattle that have died because of disease or old age; otherwise, they shall be liable to pay the price of the animal.

25 Of (an animal) dying through a valid cause, they shall deliver the marked hide in the case of the cow and the buffalo, the mark on the ear in the case of the goat and the sheep, the tail and the marked skin in the case of the horse, the donkey and the camel, and the hair; skin, bladder, bile, tendons, teeth, hooves, horns and bones (in the case of all). 26 They may sell the flesh, either fresh or dried.

27 They should give the butter-milk to the dogs and pigs.
28 They should bring in the solidified curds as food for the army.
29 The whey is for moistening the oil-cake from the oil-press.

30 The seller of cattle shall pay one quarter (of a pana) per animal.

31 In the rainy season, autumn and winter, they should milk (the cattle) both times, in the season of frost, spring and summer, once (only). 32 For one milking a second time (then), the cutting off of the thumb (shall be) the punishment. 33 For one allowing the milking time to pass, the fine (shall be equal to) the loss of that fruit.

22 gocarānupāla: anupāla clearly means only 'movements.' Meyer, however, has 'pursuit (by wild animals),' That does not seem very likely. — trasnāna: this is 'in order to accustom the timid ones to sound' (Cs). More likely, it is because they would be the first to take fright and attract the herdsman's attention by the sound of the bells, if there is anything amiss.

25 kāraṇamṛtasya, i.e., about the cause of whose death there is no suspicion. Meyer proposes to read kāraṇam mṛtasya 'as proof (kāraṇa), they should bring, of the dead, car-marks etc.' This seems hardly plausible.

28 kūrcikām is from Cb, explained as 'dried coagulated curds' or cheese. Cp seems to have read rucikām in the same sense. Cf. 'dadhnā saha ca yat pakvaṁ kṣīrāṁ sā dadhikūrcikā' (Sabdalakapadrama).

30 pāświkretā: this might refer to the sale of private cattle and one quarter of a pana per animal might appear to be a sort of sales tax. We can hardly think of the sale of royal cattle by the herdsman or the goḍhyakṣa (Meyer), for there seems to be no reason why these should pay such a tax. If we think of it as a fine for unauthorized sale of state cattle, it would appear to be extremely small for the offence. Breloer (III, 531) thinks of one-quarter of the animal itself (pāḍikāṁ rūpam) as being given to the state. That can apply only to a dead animal. In that case maṁsavikretā might appear a better reading and this s. may better be read immediately after s. 36, so that the rule would apply to the sale of meat.

32 ekālām, i.e., in the evening (com., also Meyer). 33 tatphalāhanam, i.e., equal to the value of the milk lost. Cf. 2.24.4. 34 etena, i.e., the danda is to
34 By this are explained (punishments for neglect of proper) times for putting the nose-string, for breaking in, for accustoming to the yoke and for (training in) going round.

35 From a *drona* of cows’ milk, a *prastha* of ghee (is the normal yield), one-fifth more in the case of she-buffaloes, one-half more in the case of goats and sheep. 36 Or, (actual) churning shall decide the amount in the case of all. 37 For, in accordance with the excellence of the ground, the grass and water, there is an increase in (the yield of) milk and ghee.

38 For one causing a bull of the herd to be hurled down by another bull, the lowest fine for violence (shall be the punishment), for causing his death, the highest (fine).

39 By grouping according to class, groups of ten (cattle) should be guarded. 40 The arrangements at the place of stay (should be) according to the movements of the cattle or according to the strength of the cattle, and in conformity with the capability for guarding.

41 He should cause the wool of goats and sheep to be gathered every six months.

42 By that are explained (rules concerning) herds of horses, donkeys, camels and pigs.

correspond to the *phalahana*, loss of work-days by bullocks due to delay in their training. — *yugapinṣana*: in *piṅgana* the root appears to be *piṇj* ‘to join.’ — *vartana* ‘going round’ is necessary on the threshing floor and in the oil-press.

35 This means that 16 parts of milk yield 1 part ghee. — *paścobhāgādhikam*, i.e., 1 1/5 part ghee from 16 parts milk; so in the next clause. 37 *kṣiragrha-tayddhiḥ* ‘increase in milk and ghee’ includes the idea of increase in the proportion of the yield of ghee.

39 *varamārodhena*: the commentators understand *varṇa* as ‘colour,’ *i.e.*, cattle should be grouped according to colour for ease in watching. It seems, however, better to understand *varṇa* as ‘class, type’ such as *jaradgū, dhenu, garbhiniḥ*, etc.

40 *upanivesa* ‘settlement’ for the night (Cb). Stay for a long or short period may also be understood. — *gopracārāt*, *i.e.*, in accordance with ease of movement for the cattle. Cb, however, has ‘according to colour, white in the east, black in the south, etc.’ This is hardly likely. — *balāmvayato*, *i.e.*, according to the strength of the herd. Cb has ‘the division should be according to weakness and strength,’ *i.e.*, apparently weak on one side and strong on the other.

41 *ajādinām*: it seems quite clear that *ajācinām* should rather be read. Sheep, the principal source of wool, would not just be left to be inferred from *ādi*. Cf. s.48 below.

42 *āśva* in herds are, it seems, the concern of the *goḍhyaṅka*, while those in stables are looked after by the *āśvāḍhyanaka* (2.30).
43 For bullocks, with nose-string and capable of driving at the speed of a gentle horse, (the ration shall consist of) half a bhāra of green fodder, grass double that, a tulā of oil-cake from the press, (or) ten ādhakas of broken grains and bran, five palas of rock-salt. One kuḍuba of oil for the nose (and) one prastha as drink, a tulā of meat and an ādhaka of curds, a drona of barley or of half-cooked māṣa-beans; a drona of milk or half an ādhaka of liquor, a prastha of fat, ten palas of sugar and a pala of ginger (as) a strength-giving drink. 44 One quarter less (is the ration) for mules, cows and donkeys, double for buffaloes and camels. 45 For bullocks used for work and for milk-cows suckling their calves, the giving of rations (shall be) according to the time of work and the yield (of milk respectively). 46 For all, there shall be abundance of grass and water.

47 Thus is explained the care of herds of cattle.

48 He should provide a herd of one hundred donkeys and horses with five stallions, of (one hundred) goats and sheep with ten rams, and of cows, buffaloes and camels with four bulls.

43 nasya to be construed with -vāhin. — bhadra qualifies aśva rather than gati. — bhāra, i.e., 20 tulās. As this appears too much, Meyer proposes for bhāra the sense of what can be carried in the arms. The rations, however, throughout appear on a very liberal scale. — It appears that a vā has dropped out after dasādāhakam, for 10 ādhakas of bran etc. appear as an option to 1 tulā of oil-cake in 2.15.52, which is more reasonable. — mukhalavāṇa 'salt from the Indus land' (Cs), 'rock-salt' (Meyer). — māṁsa as 'meat' being strange, Meyer understands 'pulp of fruit'; the Suśruta (1.324.15) does use māṁsa in this sense (cūtaphale paripakve kesaramāṁsāsthimajjānaḥ). — pratipānam is to whet the appetite (Cs). Cf. 2.25.10. 45 karmakālataḥ is to be understood of karmakarabalīcāradas and phalataḥ of pāyanārtha dhenuḥ. Cb reads pāyanārtham with a stop after it 'for the drinking of workmen's bullocks,' which makes little sense. Cs (reading karmakarabalīcārāṇām at the end of s.44) has pāyanārtham ca dhenuṇām as a separate sentence 'the drink-ration and the food-ration (understood because of ca) are to be double for milk-cows.' This is very doubtful.

47 gomaṇḍalam clearly refers to herds of cattle. It is an item of expenditure in 2.6.11.

48 Breloer (III, 509) remarks 'the sections on cattle-rearing and agriculture are more interspersed with verses than the chapters on trade. The difference lies in the nature of things. The lists in the trade parts were probably not clothed in verse in the original books.' It must be pointed out that there is not a single verse in the body of this Chapter on cattle-rearing.
CHAPTER THIRTY

SECTION 47 THE SUPERINTENDENT OF HORSES

1 The Superintendent of Horses should cause to be registered the total number of horses, received as gift, acquired by purchase, obtained in war, bred (in the stables), received in return for help, stipulated in a treaty or temporarily borrowed, according to their pedigree, age, colour, marks, class and source. 2 And he should report such as are not good or are crippled or diseased.

3 The horse-attendant shall receive from the treasury and the magazine a month’s allowance (for the horse) and carefully look after it.

4 He should cause stables to be constructed, in length according to the number of horses, in width double a horse’s length, with four doors and a rolling ground in the centre, with an entrance-hall, provided with boards for sitting at the main gate, (and) crowded with monkeys, peacocks, spotted deer, ichneumons, cakoras, parrots and sārikās.

5 He should cause a stall for each horse to be built, square with the length of a horse, with a flooring of smooth planks, with a receptacle for fodder, with outlets for urine and dung, (and) facing the east or the north. 6 Or, he should arrange the direction according to the (nature of the) stables. 7 For mares, stallions and foals (the stalls shall be) at separate ends.

2.30

The horses under the care of the asvādhyākṣa are those useful in war.

1 panyāgārika should be understood as ‘received as a gift’ in conformity with the sense of panyāgāra in 7.15.20; 9.6.28.29. The Glossary (in Part I) should be corrected accordingly. ‘For sale in the market’ does not quite suit. — sāhāgyāgatākam ‘received in return for help rendered’ (Cb). ‘Received for rendering help’ is possible; but these may be supposed to be included in yāvatkālika. — payasthitam, i.e., received as a condition in a treaty. Cb has ‘kept as a hostage,’ Cs ‘kept as a pledge.’ — varga ‘breed, such as Pārasikā etc.’ (Cs). It might refer to uttama, madhyama and avara classes.

3 māsālābham : this month is one of thirty-five days as in 2.20.52, according to Cp.

4 asvādhyāmadvigoṣṭhirām : as each stall is in length equal to a horse’s length (s. 5) and the sālā has a width double that, half of the latter would be a sort of corridor behind the row of stalls situated along the four walls. — upākarānta may be ‘rolling’ on the ground, (cf. luthtir’eva upārtha — Vaijayanti), or ‘going round’ in a ring while in training. — pragraśa : cf. 2.5.3. — pradvārāsana-phalaka- a wooden seat with a back-rest on both sides of the door for watchmen (Cb). For pradeśāra ‘main gate,’ cf. 2.36.21. — vānara- etc.: some of the creatures are for detection of poison, others for averting the evil eye. 5 prānīmukham udānimukham vā : with the present day method of tying horses, this would imply that there are to be stalls only on the western and southern sides.
8 For a mare that has borne a foal, a drink of a prastha of ghee (shall be provided) for three nights. 9 After that, a prastha of barley-meal and an invigorating drink of fat and medicines (shall be given) for ten nights. 10 Thereafter, half-cooked barley or beans, green fodder and a diet according to the season (shall be given).

11 After ten nights (from birth) a foal should have a diet of one kuṭuba of barley-meal, ghee one-quarter and a prastha of milk, till it is six months old. 12 After that, (it should be given) a prastha of barley, increased by half (a prastha) every month, till it is three years old, (then) a droma (of barley) till it is four years old. 13 After that, when four year old or five year old, it is fit for work, being fully developed.

14 The face of the best (type of) horse is thirty-two aṅgulas, its length five times the face, its shank twenty aṅgulas (and) height four times the shank. 15 Three aṅgulas less (successively, are the measurements) for the middling and lowest types. 16 One hundred aṅgulas is the girth (of the best type). 17 One-fifth part less (that) of the middling and lowest types (successively).

18 For the best (type of) horse (the ration is) two dromas of śāli-rice, vṛihi-rice, barley or priyaṅgu, either half-dry or half-cooked, or a half-cooked meal of mudga or māṣa and a prastha of fat, five palas of salt, fifty palas of meat, an ādhaka of juice or double that curds for moistening the lumps (of dry food), a prastha of liquor with five palas of sugar or double that quantity of milk as an invigorating drink. 19 And for whetting the appetite of those fatigued by a long journey or a heavy load, a prastha of fat (should be given) as a clyster, one kuṭuba (of fat) for the nose, half a bhūra of green fodder, grass double that or a collection of bundles of grass six aratnis in circumference. 20 This, less by one quarter (successively), is for the middling and lowest types.

11 The iti at the end of this s. and the next which is found in the mss. is not necessary. It is proposed to drop it. 12 At the end of the third year, the increase does amount to 16 prasthas or a droma.

14 The length of the horse comes to about 10 feet and the height 5 feet. 15 tryāṅgulāvaram: Cb Cs read dyyaṅgulāvaram. 17 paṅcabhāgāvaraḥ: as pariṇāhaḥ is to be understood, this is proposed for -varam of the mss. One-fifth less comes to 80 and 60 aṅgulas respectively. Cb has 80 and 64 (1/5th of 80). Cp Cs have 95 and 90 aṅgulas, which seems hardly possible. — The smallest size appears to be more or less that of a pony.

18 māṁṣam: see 2.29.43 above. — rasa seems to be sugar-cane juice. — kledānārtham from Cb is necessary as going with āḍhakam and dvīguṇam; cf. 2.31.13 below. 19 khādanārtham 'to make them eat,' i.e., to whet their appetite. — anuvāsanam 'washing the lower intestines by an enema' (com.).
21 Equal to the best type (in point of ration) is the chariot-horse and the stallion of the middling type. 22 Equal to the middling (are those of) the lowest type. 23 One quarter less (is the ration) for mares and mules. 4 And half of this (is) for foals. 25 These are rules for rations (of horses).

26 Those who cook the food (for horses), who hold the reins and who treat them should taste the food beforehand.

27 (Horses) incapacitated for work by war, disease, or old age should receive food for maintenance. 28 (Horses) unfit for use in war should be used, as stallions, (to breed) on mares in the interests of the citizens and the country people.

29 Of those fit for use, the best come from Kāmboja, Sindhu, Āraṭṭa and Vanāyu, the middling from Bāhlika, Pāpeya, Sauvīra and Titāla, the rest are inferior. 30 In accordance with their fiery, gentle or dull mettle, he should assign to them work connected with war or riding.

31 The all-sided work of a horse is (work) connected with war.

32 Moving at a gallop, moving at a canter, leaping, moving at a trot, and responding to signals are (movements of) riding-horses.

21 rathya vr̥ṣaś ca madhyamaḥ: Meyer construes madhyama with vr̥ṣa alone. It could also be understood of rathya. 23 pādahīnaṁ, i.e., 1/4th less that for the male in each class. 24 aṁ ṛdham, i.e., half that of the female in each class.

26 sūtragrāha ‘the rein-holder,’ i.e., ‘the groom’ (com.). — pratisvāda: cf. 1.21.10 and 5.1.31. Cp Cs, however, have ‘(shares in) the ration,’ i.e., their food should be prepared along with that of the horses.

27 pindagocarikāḥ, i.e., receiving food only for their maintenance.

29 Kāmboja was an ancient kingdom to the north of Gandhāra. The saṅgha type of rule prevailing there is mentioned in 11.1.4 below. — Āraṭṭa is a part of the Punjab (Meyer, who compares Mahābhārata, 8.44.31-3). — Vanāyu ‘Arabia’ (the Vācaspataya, N. N. Law and K. Nag), ‘Persia’ (Mallinātha on Rāghu 5.73, Halāyudha and Meyer). Cf. Johnston, JFRAS, 1939, 232. — Bāhlika ‘from Bactria.’ The origin of pāpeyaka is uncertain. — taitala ‘from Titāla’ in Orissa (Agrawala, op. cit., p. 61). Mahābhārata, 6.90.5, mentions ittiraja horses (Meyer, who asks if taitala refers to these). The Sauvīras are along the Indus to the north of the Sindhus.

30 aupavāhyaka refers to riding. Carrying of loads on back seems hardly intended. — prayojayet, i.e., train them to that type of work.

31 caturāśram ‘four-sided,’ i.e., of all types. A horse’s work in warfare is referred to in 10.4.13 and 10.5.53. — sāṁdāhyam is predicative, not caturāśram (as in Meyer).

32 aupavāḥyāḥ: the substantive is aśvah. Consequently, valgana etc. are adjectives descriptive of a horse. mārgah ‘gaits’ is possible as the substantive, but seems less likely. — Meyer suggests nārāṣṭra for nāroṣṭra ‘with a goad (aṣṭrā) in the form of a man (nāra).’ That is possible, but not certain.
33 Among them, *aupaveṇuka, vardhamāna, yamaka, alidhapluta, prthuga* and *trikacāli* are (varieties of) gallop.

34 The same, with head and ears unaffected, is canter, or it has sixteen (types of) paces. 35 *prakirnaka, prakirnottara, niṣaṇṇa, pārsvanuvṛtta, ārminārja, sarabhaṅgādita, sarabhaplutā, tritāla, bāhyānuvṛtta, pañcapāṇi, sīnhāyata, svādhāta, kliṣṭa, śīṅgita, bṛṅhita* and *puspābhiṅkira* are the paces in canter.

36 Monkey leap, frog leap, antelope leap, one-foot leap, cuckoo move, breast-movement and crane move are (types of) leap.

37 Heron gait, heron-on-water gait, peacock gait, half-peacock gait, ichneumon gait, half-ichneumon gait, boar gait, half-boar gait are (varieties of) trot.

33 The exact nature of the various types of a horse’s gaits, sometimes even their names, are uncertain. Cb is lacking from s. 21 onwards. Cp is far from clear and does not always appear right. — *aupaveṇuka* ‘with a circle (māndala) of only one hasta’ (Cp); this is hardly helpful. — *vardhamāna* ‘jumping in a series of circles of one hasta each’ (Cp). — *yamaka* ‘galloping in two circles simultaneously’ (Cp). — *alidhapluta* ‘jumping with one leg contracted and the other stretched forward’ (Cp). — *alīṅga* is a posture in archery. — *prthuga* is in accordance with a suggestion by Meyer for the unlikely form *prthagah* of the mss. Cp reads *vṛthāghah* ‘jumping with the fore-part of the body.’ Cs (with Cb) reads *pārṣagah* in this sense. — *trikacāli* ‘jumping with the hind-part of the body’ (Cb, the exact reading in it being uncertain).

34 *sa eva, i.e., the same as valgana.* — *śirakarmacīsadāhāḥ* : this apparently means that the head and ears are steady, not moving. — śodasamārga vā : ‘vā in the sense of ca’ (com.). It is possible, however, that this is an alternative view about *nicērīgata, viz., that it is unrelated to *valgana and has 16 types.* 35 *prakirnaka* ‘containing a mixture of all gaits’ (Cp). — *prakirnottara* ‘mixed, with one gait prominent’ (Cp). — *niṣaṇṇa* ‘in which the back is motionless’ (Cp). (*viṣṇyāḥ* in our text is a misprint.) — *pārśvanuvṛtta* ‘a sideways gait.’ (Cp). — *ārminārja* ‘heaving the body up and down’ (Cp). Referring to Mallinātha on *Śīṣupālavadha, 5.4, Meyer in the Nachtrag* suggests that some of these gaits are not those of a single horse, but rather movements of a cavalry-formation. Thus *prakirnaka* ‘spread out,’ *ārminārja* ‘wave-like formation’ are formations by a number of horses, not the gait of one. This appears plausible. — *tritāla* ‘moving with three legs’ (Cp). — *bāhyānuvṛtta* ‘prancing to the left and the right’ (Cp). Meyer proposes *bāhuṇuvṛtta* ‘harmonious in the fore-legs.’ *bāhu* is not very likely for the fore-legs of a horse. — *pañcapāṇi* ‘placing three legs on the ground and striking the ground twice with the fourth’ (Cp). Meyer has ‘spreading out in five columns.’ — *sīnhāyata* ‘long like a lion’s gait.’ — *svādhāta* ; Cp seems to have read *cyādhāta* ‘with very long strides.’ — *kliṣṭa* ‘laboured’ is *vicānaśirasadābhagatih* with a steady gait in carrying(?) (Cp). — *śīṅgita* ‘moving with a bent fore-part’ (Cp). — *bṛṅhita* ‘with the fore-part raised’ (Cp). — *puspābhiṅkira* ‘with a zigzag motion’ (Cp). The expression seems to suggest taking steps very lightly.

36 The expressions are adjectives to *āśāh.* — *ekapādoputāḥ* ‘contracting three legs and jumping with the fourth’ (Cp). — *urasya* ‘contracting all four legs and jumping with the breast alone’ (Cp).
38 Acting in accordance with signals is signal-responding.
39 Six, nine and twelve yojanas is the road (covered in a day) for chariot-horses, five yojanas, seven and a half, and ten, the road for riding (and pack-) horses.
40 The stride, the (gait) with gentle breath and the load-carrying are the gaits.
41 Striding, galloping, leaping, near-fast and fast are the speeds.
42 Teachers of training should give directions concerning straps and implements for them, and charioteers concerning accoutrements of chariot-horses necessary in war. 43 Physicians of horses (should prescribe) remedies against decrease or increase in (the weight of) the body, and diet varying according to season.
44 The holder of reins, the binder of horses, the fodder-giver, the food-cook, the stall-guard, the hair-trimmer and the specialist in poison-cure, should wait upon horses with their respective duties. 45 And in case of transgression of duties by them, he should cut down their day’s wage. 46 For one riding a horse kept apart for the rite of inunction or kept apart (for treatment) by a physician, the fine shall be twelve panaś. 47 In case of a worsening of the disease because of withholding treatment or medicine, the fine shall be double the (cost of) cure. 48 In case of an untoward happening through their fault, the fine shall be the price of the animal.
49 By that are explained (rules for attendance on) herds of cattle, donkeys, camels and buffaloes and goats and sheep.

37 vārikāṅka: Cb Cs read vārikāṅkaśa 'with the gait of a swan,' Meyer proposes vāridhvaṅkaśa 'water-crow.' The gait of a heron on water may well have been intended.
39 According to Cs, 6, 9 and 12 are for the best, middling and lowest respectively. The reverse might appear more likely.
40 vikramaḥ 'taking a stride.' — bhadraścvaśaḥ 'breathing gently,' i.e., not over-exerted. — bhadraśvāhya 'load-bearing,' i.e., with a laboured gait.
41 vikramaśa is the slowest among speeds (Cs). — upakāṃtham, literally, 'near the throat' seems to refer to a leaping run, when the fore-legs come near the throat. — dhāraśa is pace in running or speed.
42 For bandhamaṇḍa and upakaraṇa, cf. 2.52.12-13 below. — Meyer distinguishes sāṅgramika aloṅkaśa from rathaśvaṅkaśa. That seems hardly intended.
44 sūtraṅgāhaka: see s. 26 above. — aśvabandhaka who yokes the horse to the chariot or ties it to the post.
46 nirājanā is a purification-rite, performed over arms, horses, elephants etc., with recitation of mantras, offering of oblations and waving of lights before them. Cf. s. 51 below. Br. Saṁh., ch. 44, describes the nirājana vidhi.
47 saṅga 'attachment,' i.e., not rendering them in time, withholding them.
48 vallomya is, in effect, death. — patra 'vehicle,' i.e., the horse.
50 He should cause a bath to be given to horses twice a day, also perfumes and garlands. On the junctures of the dark halves of months, offerings to spirits (should be made) and on those of the bright halves, reciting of blessings (by Brahmins).

51 He should cause the lustration rite to be performed on the ninth day in Āsvayuja, at the beginning or the end of an expedition or in case of illness, being intent on a pacificatory rite.

CHAPTER THIRTY-ONE

SECTION 48 THE SUPERINTENDENT OF ELEPHANTS

1 The Superintendent of Elephants should carry out the guarding of elephant-forests, (and look after) the stables, stalls, places for lying down and the amount of work, food and fodder for male and female elephants and cubs, that are being trained or are competent for work, the assignment of tasks to them, the straps and implements and the accoutrements of war, and physicians, trainers and group of attendants.

2 He should cause a stable to be constructed double an elephant's length in height, breadth and length, with additional stalls for female elephants, with an entrance-hall, with a collection of beams, (and) facing the east or the north. 3 He should cause a stall (for each elephant) to be built, square in conformity with an elephant's length,

40 tena, i.e., the rules in ss. 45 ff. apply, with suitable modifications.

50 dvār ahnaḥ: this 'only in summer and autumn' (Cs). — kṛṣṇasairdhī, i.e., the new moon day and āuklasairdhī, i.e., the full moon day. 51 The ninth day in Āsvayuja does not exactly correspond to the Dasara day, which falls on the tenth of the bright half of that month, on which, however, horses are still worshipped in many parts of India.

2.31

1 hastivanarakṣām: apparently the nāgavānādhīyakṣa and his subordinates (of 2.2.7 ff.) worked under the hastyadhyakṣa. — karmaksāta is one who has completed his training for some particular type of work. Cb has 'who needs rest after training.' — sāyyā: this is described in s. 4 below. — The form upasthāyika is favoured by Cb Cp. M has upasthāyuka here, but upasthāyika in 5.3.17.

2 -vīśakambhāyāmām: that the length of the sālā is to be only double an elephant's length (i.e., about 18 aratis) is surprising. We expect it to be in conformity with the number of elephants, as in 2.30.4 above. Perhaps double the length of the number of elephants is to be understood. — hastinisthānādhīkām, i.e., with additional, i.e., separate stalls for females. Cb Cs, however, have 'more by six aratis, the stall for a female, i.e., 24 hastas long.' How this meaning is arrived at it is difficult to see. — kumārīsangraham 'with a beam placed on the tying post for ease in tying' (com.). As Meyer remarks this should have come in the description of the stall, not of the sālā. He has 'a scaffold or framework of beams.'

3 In conformity with 2.30.5 -starakam is proposed for -ntarakam, and -tsargam
with a smooth tying-post and plank-flooring, (and) with outlets for urine and dung. 4 (There should be) a place for lying down equal (in size) to the stall (and) half in height, in the fort, for elephants used in war and used for riding, outside (the fort) for those under training and rogue-elephants.

5 The first and seventh of the one-eighth parts of the day are times for bath, after that for feeding. 6 In the forenoon is the time for exercise, the afternoon is the time for invigorating drink. 7 Two parts of the night are the time for sleep, one-third part for lying down and getting up.

8 The time for catching (elephants) is in summer. 9 A twenty year old should be caught. 10 A cub, an elephant with small tusks, one without tusks, one diseased, a female elephant with young and a suckling female elephant are not to be caught.

11 A forty year old (elephant) with measurements of seven aratnis as height, nine as length and ten as girth is best, a thirty year old one is middling, a twenty-five year old one lowest. 12 For those two, the ration is less by a quarter (than that for the preceding type).

13 For each aratni (of height), (the ration is) a droṇa of rice-grains, half an āḍhaka of oil, three prasthas of melted butter, ten palas of salt, fifty palas of meat, an āḍhaka of juice or double that quantity

sthānam for -tsargasthānam, as suggested by Meyer. 4 sāyām : this seems to refer to temporary sheds, to be used when the number of elephants exceeds the accommodation in the śālā. — ardhāpāśrayām : this may be understood as 'having half the height (of a sthāna)' and probably without a roof. Cp has 'with a ceiling 5 hastas above the height of the elephant'; Cp 'half, i.e., 4 1/2 hastas in height on the side'; Meyer 'with a railing or banister half as high as the elephant.'

6 pratipāna-kālaḥ : Thinking that the whole afternoon is unlikely for drink, Meyer proposes pratipādānakālaḥ 'time for exhibition of what is learnt or for recoupment or restoration to normal.' This reading is actually found in the mss., but it does not seem to be original. For pratipāṇa for elephants, see s. 13 below.

10 vikka 'a cub that still sucks' (com.). moḍha 'with tusks like those of a female elephant' (com.). makkhaṇa 'a tuskless elephant.' All these are apparently Deshi words.

11 pramāṇaṭaḥ etc.: this seems to mean that the uttama attains these dimensions at 40; at 30 he is in size like the madhyama and at 25 like the āvara, whose heights at 40 are 6 and 5 aratnis respectively. This last is implied in s. 15 below, and this is how Cp understands it; Mānasollāsa, 2.222-4, supports the idea. 12 pūḍāca-rah, i.e., 3/4ths and 1/2 of the uttama respectively. Cp has 3/4ths of the madhyama for the āvara.

13 aratnau : this means that for a seven-aratni elephant, each item is to be seven-fold. Meyer thinks this too much and proposes to read saptāratnau. But in that case, the genitive case would be expected. Cf. also yathāhastam, s.15 below. It is possible that these are a month's rations; cf. 2.30.3 above. — kadaikara 'branches, leaves etc. of the sallakī and other plants' (com.). 14 Cp reads hastya-
of curds for moistening dry lumps, an āḍhaka of liquor with ten palas of sugar or double that quantity of milk as an invigorating drink, a prastha of oil for smearing the limbs, an eighth part (of a prastha of oil) for the head and for the lamp, two bhūras and a quarter of green fodder and two bhūras and a half of dry grass; of leaves of plants etc., there is to be no limit. 14 Equal in the matter of food to the seven-aratni elephant is the eight-aratni one when beyond rutting. 15 According to the (size in) hastas, the rest, (viz.,) the six-aratni and the five-aratni ones.

16 A cub, fed on milk and green fodder may be caught for play.

17 With redness formed, covered, with smoothened sides, with an even girth, with flesh spread evenly, level with the back-bone, and with a trough formed, these are appearances (of an elephant).

18 In conformity with the appearance, he should give exercise to the gentle and the dull (elephant) and to the animal with mixed characteristics, in various types of work, or in accordance with the season.

rālah for atya-rālah, and that seems supported by the Mānasollāsa, 2.222-4, where an arāla is 8 aratnis tall and atyarāla 9 aratnis. However, an arāla is an elephant in rut and would normally require larger quantities of food; only an atyarāla 'beyond the stage of rutting' would have smaller rations.

16 This s. should preferably have come after s. 10.

17 According to Cs soḥhās are stages in the appearance of an elephant as he grows up, saṁjñātalohitā being the appearance on the first few days after birth, which is reddish, and so on. Meyer thinks that these are appearances of different types of elephants, true of them throughout life. Cb's explanations seem to show these as stages in the recovery of an elephant after a serious illness. — saṁjñātalohitā 'who, being emaciated, with bones and skin alone left, has started gaining strength on beginning to take food' (Cb). — pratīcchannā 'covered' apparently with some flesh; 'who has gained strength' (Cb). — samīlīpatapakṣa 'with sides well-smeared' is 'with a smooth skin and flesh filling up' (Cb). — samakakṣyā : kaksyā seems to refer to 'girth.' Cb has 'with full flesh.' — vyātikīrnāmāṇāsā : Cb has 'with uneven flesh.' Perhaps we should understand anyātiṇā 'not scattered,' i.e., evenly spread. — samatāluṭpatala 'with flesh on a level with the back-bone' (Cb). Perhaps the original reading was -talpalā, for talpala means the backbone of an elephant; cf. Śiśupalavadha, 18.6. — jātāronikā 'with a drop-like trough formed,' evidently because of old age. Cb has 'so stout that the vānā or spine is covered.' The first and the last expressions seem to support Cs. However, Cb may be right.

18 vyāyāmanam: training or exercise. — mrgān saṅkīrnaliṅgam is proposed as suggested by Meyer. This seems necessary whether we understand mrga as the third and saṅkīrnaliṅga as the fourth type, as in the commentators, or saṅkīrnaliṅgam as only a description of mrga, the third type. This latter idea is better. — vyāla is not mentioned here, as he is not amenable to vyāyāna.
CHAPTER THIRTY-TWO

SECTION 48 (Continued)

The Activity of Elephants

1 Classes (of elephants) corresponding to work are four: one in training, one used in war, one for riding and the rogue-elephant.

2 Among them one under training is of five kinds: getting used to (a man on) the shoulder, getting used to the (tying) post, getting used to the place for catching elephants, getting used to the trap, and getting used to a herd. The accompanying treatment for him is the work of (bringing up) a cub.

4 The war elephant has seven ways of doing work: standing in attendance, going round, marching together, killing and trampling, fighting with elephants, assaulting towns, and fighting in battles. The accompanying treatment for him is the work of (putting on) the girth, the work of (putting on) the neck-chain, and the work of (moving in) a herd.

2.82

1 karmaskandhāḥ, i.e., groups or classes based on the kind of work they do. Cp has 'groups of works'; but the words that follow are attributes of elephants, not of karma.

2 skandhagata, i.e., allowing a man to sit on his shoulders. — vārigata: according to com. cāri is the place where elephants are captured; hence vārigata is 'trained to catch other elephants.' Meyer has 'trained to go through and in water' or 'accustomed to the tying rope' (fn.). Neither is satisfactory. — avapāta 'pit used as a trap for catching elephants' (com.). Meyer has 'getting used to a precipice.' — yāthagata 'getting used to the company of trained female elephants' (com.). It may also mean 'getting used to a strange herd and the company of unknown elephants.' 3 upavicāraḥ, i.e., the treatment to be given during the period of this training. — vikkakarma 'i.e., he should be given food (milk, green fodder etc.) fit for a cub' (Cb).

4 upasthāṇam 'standing in attendance' is 'raising and lowering fore- and hind-parts and jumping over fire-brands, bamboos, ropes, etc.' (com.). Meyer has 'standing still (even when there is a loud noise).' — saviśvarātanaṃ 'going round' is 'lying down, sitting, leaping over pits etc. on the ground' (com.). Cb reads varātanaṃ. — saṃyānaṃ 'marching together' is 'various gaits, straight, transverse, zigzag, circular, etc.' (com.). — vadāvadadhah 'destruction or capture of horses, men or chariots by means of trunk, tusks etc.' (com.). Meyer understands āvadhā as the second word, which could be rendered by 'trampling.' — hastiyuddham is fight between two elephants in an arena. — nāgarāyaṇam is breaking down the defenses of fortified towns. — sāngrāmakam, i.e., as in 10.4.14 and 10.5.54. 5 kakesyākarma seems to refer to everything connected with saddling, while graivacyākarma refers to ornamental chains etc. — yāthakarma, i.e., working jointly with other elephants. Com. have 'giving him work according to the type of herd (river, mountain, etc.) from which he came.'
6. The riding elephant is of eight kinds: one who is led, one ridden with (the help of another) elephant, one trotting, one trained in (various) gaits, one ridden with a stick, one ridden with a goad, one ridden without any help, and one used for hunting. 7 The accompanying treatment for him is the work of keeping fit, the work of recouping what is lacking and the work of responding to signals.

8 The rogue-elephant has one way of activity: (he is) frightened, restrained, abnormal, in rut, with rut fixed and with a fixed cause of intoxication. 9 The accompanying treatment for him is the work of guarding in solitary confinement. 10 One who is lost for all activity is a rogue-elephant, pure, firmly resolved, vehement and spoiled by all defects.

11 The tying equipment and implements for them should be in

6 acarana 'lowering the fore-part or the hind-part and so on' (Cb), apparently to allow a rider to get on the back. Meyer has 'going rightly or straight.' In the context, 'being led' seems also quite likely. — kuñjaraupavāhyā 'doing sānināhyā or auupavāhyā work with another elephant' (Cb), 'with a man on back, but led with another elephant at the time' (Cs), which seems more likely. Meyer has 'allowing himself to be ridden in the manner of an elephant.' — dhoraṇa 'doing all work with one side only' (com.). It might mean 'trotting' as in 2.30.32, 37. — ādhānagati 'endowed with two or three types of gaits or capable of imitating the gaits of other elephants' (Cb). Meyer has 'who goes forward in all circumstances.' 7 śāradakarma: śārada is fourfold, fat, lean, suffering from indigestion and normal; its karma is making the fat lean, the lean fat, stimulating digestion and maintaining normalcy' (Cb). Cf. N. N. Law, Studies etc., p. 64 n. The general sense seems to be maintaining fitness. — hinakarma 'giving exercise to one who is without it' (com.). Cj seems to read kṣīnakarma 'nourishment etc. of the weak.' — nāroṣṭra: see 2.30.38.

8 A re-arrangement of the words is proposed, śāṅkitaḥ...vinīścayaśca being read immediately after -kriyāpatthāḥ, and tasyopa-. . .-rakṣakarma treated as an independent s. Thus we get an upavicēra with karma at the end as usual. śāṅkita etc. describe the various reasons why an elephant becomes cyāla; his behaviour is always the same, he is ekakriyāpatha. Com. and Meyer understand karmaśaṅkita etc. as characteristics of one and the same animal, which is not convincing. Cb has 'karmaśaṅkita, i.e., not obeying orders at the time of training, avaruddha, i.e., disregarded as unfit for work, viśama, i.e., whimsical in behaviour, prabhīna, i.e., who has become a cyāla because of madadopa, prabhīnnavinīścaya, i.e., in distress because of defects in drink etc. and rut, and madadhutavinīścaya, i.e., the cause of whose intoxication is known.' Cb quotes a verse wherein five causes of madā are enumerated śaṅtopo bhūjano vyādhiḥ pariṇāmas tathauṣadhiḥ. 9 ayāmyaikaraksā 'guarding alone after being put under restraint.' Cb has 'making him work and thus bringing him under control.' 10 kriyāvipanna is another kind of cyāla, for whom there is no upaviciēra. It may mean 'on whom training is lost' or 'unfit for any activity;' 'harmful in his actions' (Cb). — sūdha has 18 defects, according to the commentators. — suvrtta: Cb reads suvṛtta and explains 'causes the rider's fall and has 15 defects.' — viśama 'causes the fall of the rider and kills him in addition;' it has 33 defects. — sarvaduṣpadrūṣṭa has 52 defects in all (com.).
accordance with the instructions of trainers. 12 The tying post, the
neck-chain, the girth, the stirrup-rope, the foot-chain, the upper chain
and so on constitute the tying equipment. 13 The goad, the bamboo,
the machine and so on are implements. 14 The vaijayanti-garland,
the kṣurapra-necklace, the covering, the carpet and so on are ornaments.
15 The armour, lance, quiver, machines and so on are accoutrements
for war.

16 The physician, the trainer, the rider, the guard,
the decorator, the cook, the fodder-giver, the foot-chainer, the stall-
guard, the night-attendant and so on form the group of attendants.
17 The physician, the stall-guard and the cook should receive a
prastha of boiled rice, a prasṛti of fat and two palas of sugar and salt,
also ten palas of meat, excepting the physicians. 18 Physicians
shall treat (elephants) afflicted by long journey, illness, work, rut or
old age.

19 Uncleanliness of the stall, non-receipt of fodder, making
(elephants) sleep on bare ground, striking them at an improper place,
mounting by another person, riding at an improper time, (or) on un-
suitable land, leading down (to water) where there is no crossing, and a
thicket of trees are occasions for penalty. 20 He should take that
from their food and wages.

21 Three lustration rites should be performed in the four-
monthly junctures of seasons, offerings on the junctures of dark
halves (should be made) to spirits and on the junctures of the
bright halves to Senānī.

12 pārayaṇa 'a rope for support when mounting an elephant' (Cb). — uttara
'a second girth-band, a second neck-chain' (Cb). Meyer has 'smaller, inferior or
secondary fetters.' A chain for the upper part of the body may also have been
meant. 13 yantra 'for cutting tusks' (Cp). 14 kṣurapramālā; com. call it
nakṣatramālā; it may have 27 pieces in it. These, according to Meyer, may be
semi-circular metal discs.

16 'ārohaka is the mahāmātra of elephants who knows the sāstra; ādhoraṇa
has not studied the sāstra, but knows by practice; hastipaka is an attendant, mahout '
(Cb). — aupacārīka 'who decorates the elephant' (com.). 17 prasṛti 'a
handful' is about two palas. This measure is not mentioned is 2.19. — anyatra
cikitsakebhyaḥ: apparently the physicians came from vegetarian classes.

19 yavasasya agrahayam refers to the attendant's failure to receive the quota
from the stores. — abhūmau: Cp supplies yānam after it; Cs construes it with
the preceding yānam; a va should be understood after the word. — taruṣaṇḍha
is nominative (Meyer) rather than locative (Cs).

21 cāturmaṣṭyapartasaradāṅgu: Cs reads -syru- and explains 'on the full moon
nights coming every four months (cāturmāṣṭi), which stand at the juncture of seasons.'
This seems forced; 'junctures of seasons coming every four months ' is sufficient.
These are the full moons of Kārttika, Phālguna and Āṣādha (Cb Cs) at the end of
rains, the season of frost and summer. — senānyaḥ, i.e., of Skanda or Kārttikeya.
22 Leaving (a length) double the circumference at the root of the tusks, he should cut (these), every two years and a half in the case of those from river-banks, every five years in the case of those from mountainous regions.

CHAPTER THIRTY-THREE

SECTION 49 THE SUPERINTENDENT OF CHARIOTS
SECTION 50 THE SUPERINTENDENT OF FOOT SOLDIERS
SECTION 51 THE ACTIVITY OF THE COMMANDANT OF THE ARMY

1 The (duty of the) Superintendent of Chariots is explained by (that of) the Superintendent of Horses. 2 He should establish factories for (the manufacture of) chariots.

3 One with ten puruṣas (of height) and twelve (puruṣas) interior is (the biggest) chariot. 4 Less than that by one (puruṣa) interior space successively up to six (puruṣas) interior space (are smaller ones); thus there are seven (sizes of) chariots.

5 He should cause to be made chariots, (such as) temple chariot, festive chariot, war chariot, travelling carriage, chariot for marching against an enemy's city and chariot for training.

6 He should be conversant with arrangements concerning bows, striking weapons, armours and accountrements, and the employment

22 The Byahu Sāṁhitā, 79.20, has a close parallel 'dantasya mūlaparidhiṁ dvirāyādāṁ projjhya kalpayecceśam, adhikam anāpacarāṇāṁ nyūnaṁ gircārīṇāṁ kiscīnīt.' Its source may partly be the present passage.

2.33

The three sections cover ss. 1-6, 7-8 and 9-11 respectively.

1 The only similarity between the duties of the two adhyakṣas seems to be in the matter of equipping their charges for war.

3 daśapuruso dvādaśāntaro '10 vitastis in height and 12 vitastis in length (antaraśabdena dharmabhidhānād)' (Cj). The width would not vary to any great extent in the case of the different rathas. puruṣa seems used in the sense of puruṣa of 2.20.10, which is the same as vitasti. Cj Cs paraphrase antara by vistāra, which may mean 'length' or 'width.' Meyer, regarding a 9-foot width as strange, proposes 'for ten men, with accommodation for twelve (in case of necessity).' This is extremely unlikely. 4 ēkāntarāvarāh, i.e., 11 puruṣas, 10, 9 and so on up to 6. This states the length. Cs understands a corresponding diminution in height as well. Meyer's 'with normal accommodation for 9, 8, ...4 but with accommodation for 11, 10, ...6 in case of necessity' shows the forced character of his explanation.

5 pusyaratha 'for coronation, marriage etc.' (Cb). Meyer compares Pali phussaratha.

6 iṣṭastra 'quiver of arrows (iṣu) and missiles including the bow (astra)' (com.). The word often conveys the single idea of 'a bow.' — abhṛtānām : this may refer
of charioteers, chariot-attendants and chariot-horses in (various) works, also (look after) food and wages till the conclusion of the works of servants hired and not hired, giving practice to and protecting them, as well as making gifts and showing honour to them.

7 By this is explained the (duty of the) Superintendent of Foot Soldiers. 8 He should be conversant with the strength or weakness of hereditary, hired, banded, allied, alien and forest troops, with military operations in water or on high ground, with open or tactical fighting, in trenches or in the open, by day or by night, and with the employment or absence of employment (of the foot soldiers) in (different types of) work.

9 The Commandant of the Army, trained in the science of all (kinds of) fights and weapons, (and) renowned for riding on elephants, horses or in chariots, should be conversant with the same, (and) with the direction of the work carried out by the four-fold troops. 10 He should look out for suitable ground for one’s side, (suitable) season for fighting, arraying a force against (enemy arrays), breaking unbroken ranks, re-forming broken ranks, breaking compact ranks, destroying broken ranks, destroying the fort and the season for an expedition.

11 Being devoted to the training of the troops, he should arrange signals for the arrays by means of musical instruments, banners and flags, when halting, marching or attacking.

to dāsa, bondmen,  daṇḍapratikārin etc. It may also imply temporary and work-charged servants. — yogyārakṣā: Cs has ‘protection against enemy’s wiles of efficient (yogya) officers.’ This is hardly likely. yogya is practice, drill, training etc.; cf. 2.30.42.

7 etena, i.e., as in s.6. The pattyadhyākṣa seems concerned with training and care of troops. 8 maubhibha- etc.: see 9.2.1 ff. — nimnasthala- etc.: cf. 7.10.34-7; 10.4.2; for nimna ‘water,’ cf. 2.3.1. — vidyāt after -vyāyāman ca is unnecessary and is dropped. — ayogam ‘absence of employment.’ — karmasu: for padātikarma, see 10.4.16 and for pattiyuddha, 10.5.56.

9 tadāca: Cb reads tathaica, which might appear slightly better. — saṅghusṭha is from Cb and is understood in the sense of ‘renowned, well-known.’ saṅgapūṣṭha is the reading of the mss., which is not a happy expression. — anuṣṭhānādhiṣṭhānam: Cb has ‘his work during fights and disposition of troops in battle;’ ‘Meyer ‘the function of the troops and the function of directing.’ ‘ Supervision over the work being done,’ may be the meaning intended. 10 pratyayānukam apparently refers to arranging one’s troops according to the array of the enemy troops. Cs has ‘enemy’s army,’ which can hardly be the object of senāpatiḥ pakṣet.

11 sthāne etc. to be construed with vyāhasaṁjñāḥ prakalpayet, not with vinaye 

ataḥ.
CHAPTER THIRTY-FOUR

SECTION 52 THE SUPERINTENDENT OF PASSPORTS
SECTION 53 THE SUPERINTENDENT OF PASTURE LANDS

1 The Superintendent of Passports should issue a sealed pass for one māsaka.

2 (Only) a person with a sealed pass shall be entitled to enter or leave the countryside. 3 A native of the land, without a sealed pass, shall pay twelve paṇas. 4 In case of a forged pass, the lowest fine for violence (shall be imposed), the highest for one not belonging to the country.

5 The Superintendent of Pasture Lands should ask for the sealed pass.

6 And he should establish pasture land in regions between villages. 7 He should clear low lands and forests of the danger of robbers and wild animals.

8 In waterless regions, he should establish wells, water-works and springs, also flower- and fruit-enclosures.

9 Fowlers and hunters should go round in the forests. 10 At the approach of robbers or enemies, they should produce a sound with conch-shells or drums, not allowing themselves to be caught, (either) climbing mountains or trees, or riding swift vehicles.

11 And he should convey to the king movements of enemies and forest-tribes by means of domesticated pigeons carrying sealed letters or by a series of smoke and fires.

12 He should ensure the livelihood of those in produce forests and elephant forests and (secure) the road cess, protection against robbers, escort of caravans, protection of cattle and trade.

2.34

The two prakaraṇas are found in ss. 1-4 and 5-12 respectively.

2 janapadam : even in cities, passes were issued; cf. 2.36.38. 4 tirojana- padasya 'for a foreigner.' The fine is for forging; there is no mention of a fine for a foreigner without a pass. Perhaps double the 12 paṇas is to be understood.

6 grāmāntaresu is proposed as in 4.13.9 for bhayāntaresu of the mss. With the latter, Cb has 'in places of danger he should employ servants or soldiers to remove it.' Cp Cs have 'in regions within the range of robbers, enemy-spies etc.' Neither explanation is satisfactory. Breloer remarks 'the power of the vivitādhyakṣa ends in village territories and before the gates of cities and forts' (III, 512).

9 lubdhakasvagāśinaḥ : cf. 2.29.21 above. 10 -vyākṣaṇādhīdhāh from Cb is necessary for the sense.

11 mudrā : here it is a sealed communication, tied round their necks. dhūmāgni 'smoke by day and fire by night' (Cs).
CHAPTER THIRTY-FIVE

SECTION 54  THE ACTIVITY OF THE ADMINISTRATOR
SECTION 55  SECRET AGENTS IN THE DISGUISE OF HOUSEHOLDERS, TRADERS AND ASCETICS

1 Dividing the countryside into four divisions, the Administrator should cause to be entered in a register the number of villages, classifying them as best, middling and lowest, (recording) this is exempt from taxes, this provides soldiers, this much is (the revenue in) grains, cattle, cash, forest produce, labour and produce in place of tax. 2 Under his direction, the revenue officer should look after a group of five villages or ten villages.

3 He should record the number of villages by fixing their boundaries, the number of fields by an enumeration of ploughed and unploughed (fields), dry and wet fields, parks, vegetable gardens, (flower and fruit) enclosures, forests, structures, sanctuaries, temples, water-works,

12 dravyahastivanajivam : Cp has 'should receive (kārayet, i.e., upādādita) income from produce forests and elephant forests.' Meyer regards this not as an item of revenue received by the vivitādhyakṣa, but only as a duty to be carried out by him 'maintenance of labourers in the two forests.' That appears better. — vartanim : this is usually received by the antapāla (2.21.24). — corarakṣayām is more likely a duty laid down than 'a fee for protection from robbers' (Cp). In 4.13.9 the vivitādhyakṣa is made responsible for theft committed between villages. — sārthātvādhyam : Cp has 'charges for escorting.' — gorakṣyām 'a fee for protection of cattle' (Cp). — vyavahāram refers to trade in the region. Breloer, however, understands judicial functions (III, 514). That is far from certain. Some of these items appear as duties laid down for the vivitādhyakṣa and can hardly be looked upon as sources of revenue. That may be true of all, as Meyer understands it.

2.35

The two prakaraṇas are found in ss. 1-7 and 8-15 respectively.

1 caturdhā etc.: Breloer (III, 103-6) remarks, 'janapada was the territory of a people or tribe, then the kingdoms of Pañcāla, Matsya etc. Pāṇini refers to divisions, two-fold or four-fold of these, Pūrva Pañcāla, Apara Pañcāla etc. (7.3.12-3 ; 4.2.125 ; 4.3.7 ; 6.2.103) with rules for the formation of a name for a resident of such divisions. This shows that the division in four provinces is very old.' — āyuḥdiya 'supplying soldiers.' Exemption from land-revenue may seem implied. Cf. Ghoshal, Rec. Sys., etc., p. 43. Breloer (III, 117-118) seems to understand 'village, the revenue of which is set apart for provisions of the army,' corresponding to provision for śībandī among the Marathas. — pratikara : 'a fixed tax' (com.). It may also mean 'produce (or work) in place of a tax.' — gopah : the name suggests a pastoral economy. In the agricultural economy, he has become a revenue official, concerned with the keeping of records.

3 simāvārodhena : cf. 4.13.11. — simnāṁ kṣetrānāṁ ca : these words are difficult to construe with maryādārāṇya-. Meyer regards them as a marginal gloss that has got into the text. That seems possible. — ghrānāṁ ca : supply niban-
cremation grounds, rest-houses, sheds for drinking water, holy places, pasture lands and roads, (and) in conformity with that he should keep records of the size of boundaries, forests and roads, and of grants, sales, favours and exemptions, concerning village-boundaries and fields, and (keep records) of houses by an enumeration of tax-payers and non-tax-payers. 4 And in them, (he should record) so many are persons belonging to the four varnas, so many are farmers, cowherds, traders, artisans, labourers and slaves, so many are two-footed and four-footed creatures, and so much money, labour, duty and fines arise from them. 5 And of males and females in the families, he should know the number of children and old persons, their work, customs and the amount of their income and expenditure.

6 And in the same manner, the divisional officer should look after a fourth part of the countryside.

7 In the head-quarters of the revenue and divisional officers, magistrates should carry out their duties and secure the recovery of dues.

8 And agents in the guise of householders, directed by the Administrator, should find out the number of fields, houses and families in those villages in which they are stationed,—fields with respect
dhān kārayet. 4 kārṣaka- etc. is classification according to occupation over and above that according to varna. — idām ca is from Cp and is quite necessary. Cb Cs drop esu. — daṇḍa ‘fine’ rather than ‘army’ (Cs); the other items are revenue items. 5 karma is ‘occupation,’ while ājīva here seems to refer to income. Breloer (III, 138-140) understands karma as arthamānakarma ‘honour and gifts’ by the state to the subjects (as in 5.3.30), caritra as ‘private incomes’ and ājītvacyaya (as a single idea) ‘payments by the state to those whom it is its duty to maintain (in accordance with 2.1.26).’ The meaning given to caritra is doubtful, also that given to karma, in view of the latter’s use in s. 8 below.

6 Breloer (III, 123) insists that the gopa receives his instructions and authority from the samāhārtī, and not from the sthānīka. But the latter cannot do his work without the registers prepared by the gobas, who must be supposed to pass them on to the sthānīka and not to the samāhārtī directly.

7 pradeśṭāraḥ : see Book 4. — balipragraham ‘recovery of dues’ (one explanation in Cp, Meyer); ‘suppression of the powerful’ (another explanation in Cp). Cb has ‘1/20th of what is due to him and moreover what is taken from robbers etc.’ It seems that dues were ordinarily brought to the treasury by the assesses themselves, but the recalcitrant were dealt with by the pradeśṭā, who saw to the recovery of the dues. Apparently the gopa and the sthānīka had no executive authority.

8 This is a check on the gopa’s registers. — grhapatikavyaṁjanāḥ : cf. 1.11.9-10. Breloer (III, 145 n. 1) maintains that these are not spies, that vyāñjana is not disguise, and that the activity of these persons was known and honoured. vyāñjana, he says, shows an individual of a class, like -viśēṣa, -bheda, etc. However, 1.11 above leaves little room for doubt that these are secret agents. Breloer’s view that ‘grhapatī appears more and more like a zamindar’ (III, 152 n. 1) is hardly acceptable. — prāṇīhitāḥ, i.e., appointed for duty. — saṁjñāta : Cb reads saṁjñāta, but
to their size and total produce, houses with respect to taxes and exemptions and families with respect to their *varya* and occupation. 9 And they should find out the number of individuals in them and their income and expenditure. 10 And they should find out the reason for departure and stay of those who have gone on a journey and those who have arrived (respectively), as also of men and women who are harmful, and (find out) the activity of spies.

11 In the same manner, spies in the guise of traders should find out the quantity and price of the king’s goods produced in his own country, obtained from mines, water-works, forests, factories and fields. 12 And in activities concerning goods of high and low value produced in foreign lands (and) imported along a water-route or a land-route, they should find out the amount of duty, road cess, escort charges, dues at the police station and the ferry, share, food and gifts.

13 In the same manner, agents in the guise of ascetics, directed by the Administrator, should ascertain the honesty or dishonesty of farmers, cowherds and traders and of the departmental heads.

14 And assistants disguised as old thieves should find out the reasons for entry, stay and departure of thieves and brave men of the enemy, in sanctuaries, cross-roads, deserted places, wells, rivers, pools, river crossings, temple compounds, hermitages, jungles, mountains, forests and thickets.

explains it as ‘yield.’ — *bhoga* ‘tax’ (Cb Cs). The usual sense of ‘use,’ i.e., possession, is possible; but the commentators seem right. *bhoga* and *parihāra* correspond to *karada* and *akarada* in s. 3; cf. Ghoshal, Rec. Sys., etc., p. 51. 9 *jaṅgḥāgra* : cf. 2.36.3. 10 *prasthītāgatānām* : Cb understands four cases, *prasthīta*, *āgata*, *prasthītāgata* and *āgataprasthīta*. This is unnecessarily elaborate. — *anarthīyānām* : cf. 1.7.2 above. Cb has *anartha* of three types ‘those addicted to striḥ, dīṭā, madya etc., those who spend more than their income, and actors, dancers etc.’ After *striprupasānām* we have to supply *pravāśavāsakāraṇām*, since a construction with *cārāpracāram* is hardly likely because of the other ca after the latter. — *cāra* may be state spies or enemy spies.

12 *karmasu ca* : these words are not quite necessary. *karma* is ‘sale, purchase and other activity’ (com.). Cb Cs read a stop after *ca* supplying *parimāṇam arghaṃ ca vidyūḥ*. But *parabhūmijātānām* etc. is to be construed with *ṭukavartani* etc. as shown by 2.16.18 where these terms recur. It would be better to drop *karmasu ca*. — *pañyāgāra* should be understood as ‘gifts’ to the king etc., as in 7.15.20 etc.

13 The adhyākṣas thus would appear to be under the surveillance of the sāmāhārya.

14 śānycapada : Cb reads śānycapadra ‘a deserted house (śānycapṛṣa) and a deserted town (śānyabhadra, with bhadra as ‘a small town’).’ — *śailavanagahana* : Cb Cs understand *śailagahana* and *vanagahana*. Three separate terms could well have been meant.
15 Thus the Administrator, being ever diligent, should look after the countryside; and those establishments (of spies) should also look after (it), also other establishments having their own (different) origin (should look after it).

CHAPTER THIRTY-SIX

SECTION 56 RULES FOR THE CITY-SUPERINTENDENT

1 The City-superintendent should look after the city in the manner of the Administrator. 2 The section officer (should look after) a group of ten families or twenty or forty families. 3 He should find out the number of individuals, men and women, in that (group), according to caste, family-name and occupation, also their income and expenditure.

4 In the same manner, the divisional warden should look after a fourth part of the fortified city.

5 Officers in charge of charitable lodging-houses should allow lodging to heretical travellers after informing (the section officer), and to ascetics and Brahmins learned in the Vedas, after satisfying themselves (about their bona fides). 6 Artisans and artists should

15 saṁsthās tāh, i.e., the agents referred to above. For saṁsthā, see 1.11.22. — saṁsthās cānyāḥ svayonayāḥ: Cb has 'they should find out about enemy spies of the same class.' The enemy spies could hardly be understood by saṁsthā. Cp Cs have 'establishments of the same class should watch over these establishments (saṁsthās as acc. plu.).' Spying over spies seems hardly intended here. The 'other saṁsthās' seem to be udāsthīta and kāpāṭika of 1.11 who have not been mentioned here. svayonayāḥ seems to imply the idea of these having their own different origin. If seva could refer to the saṁaharti, it would yield a better idea. Breloer remarks (III, 153) 'the smallest station in each village is saṁsthā, then sthāna for gopa, sthānika and pradeśṭ, finally sthāniya for saṁaharti. All these words may be rendered by depot, magazine.' saṁsthā is hardly an open depot, in view of 1.11.22.

2.36

1 samāhartṛcat, i.e., as in 2.35, not as in 2.6. — nāgarikaḥ: Pāṇini (rakṣati 4.4.33) gives nāgarika in the sense of nāgaraiḥ rakṣati, while nāgaraka is given in the sense of 'a bad person' or 'a skilled person' (nagaraś kutsanapraśśaṁayayatiḥ, 4.2.128). The former is the only correct form here.

2 gopaḥ: this is an extension of the name from the country administration to that in the city; cf. 2.35.2. — Cb reads triśāvatākālum in addition after viśāvatākālum. — āgavyayau: this is for revenue purposes.

4 sthānikaḥ also is an importation from the country administration; cf. 2.35.6.

5 dharmāvakṣaṁthinaḥ are managers appointed by owners of the charitable lodging houses; they are not state servants. — svaprtyāyaś ca, i.e., after satisfying themselves that they are really tapascvins etc. They are to be held responsible if
lodge persons of their own (profession) in their own places of work, and traders (should lodge) each other in their own places of work. 7 They shall report one who sells goods at an unauthorized place or time, as well as one without a title (to the goods).

8 Vintners, vendors of cooked meat, vendors of cooked rice, and prostitutes shall give lodging (only) to one thoroughly known (to them). 9 They shall report one who spends lavishly and one who does a rash deed.

10 The physician, after reporting to the section officer and the ward officer, a person who has made him treat a wound secretly and a person who does an unwholesome act, would become free, and so would the house-owner; otherwise, he shall be (held) equal in guilt. 11 And (the house-owner) shall report those who have departed and those who have arrived; otherwise he shall be held liable for any offence committed during the night. 12 On safe nights, he shall pay three pāṇas.

13 And agents operating along roads and away from roads should arrest, outside the city and inside, in temples, holy places, forests and cremation grounds, a person with a wound, one with harmful tools, one hiding behind a heavy load, one agitated, one in a long sleep, one tired after a journey or a stranger. 14 Similarly, inside the city, they should make a search in deserted places, work-shops, ale-houses, cooked-rice houses, cooked-meat houses, gambling dens and quarters of heretics.

15 And (citizens shall take) steps against (an outbreak of) fire in summer. 16 In the two middle quarters of the day, one-eighth (of a pāṇa) is the fine for (kindling) fire. 17 Or they should do their cooking outside (the house). 18 One quarter (of a pāṇa is the fine) for not providing five jars, also a big jar, a trough, a ladder, an axe, they are proved wrong and if harmful persons or spies are found to have been given lodging. For svapratyaya cf. 3.14.34; 8.4.33. 1 svakarana ‘proof of ownership, title;’ cf. 3.1.15; 3.16.17-18 etc.

8 Separate vegetarian and non-vegetarian eating houses are indicated.

10 The position of grhasvāmī ca is awkward; the words should come after mucyeta or tulyadāsah syāt as Cp seems to have read. It is possible that the words have got into the text from the margin. 12 kṣemarātriṣu, i.e., when no crime is reported during the night.

13 pathikotpatherika: see 2.21.17 above. — udbhāṇḍikṛta: see 2.28.20 above. 15-16 The punctuation adopted is supported by the actual comment in Cb, though not its text. We have to supply kuryuḥ from the last s., with householders or citizens as the subject. Cs reads the stop after caturbhāgayaḥ, Meyer proposes it after ca. 17 bahiḥ ‘outside’ the houses. Cb understands ‘outside the city.’ 18 pādah paṅcaaghaṭinām to be construed with akaraṇe as in Cb Cj. Cp Cs understand ‘one-fourth pāṇa fine during five ghaṭikās round mid-day.’ Meyer agrees with this. ghaṭi as a measure of time is not mentioned elsewhere in the text. And
a winnowing-basket, a hook, a 'hair-seizer' and a skin-bag. 19 The (City-superintendent) should remove things covered with grass or matting. 20 He shall make those who live by (the use of) fire reside in one locality.

21 House-owners should live near the front doors of their own houses, not collecting together at night.

22 Collections of water-jars should be placed in thousands on roads and at cross-roads, gates and in royal precincts.

23 For the owner, not running to save the house on fire, the fine (shall be) twelve pañás, six pañás for a tenant.

24 In case of (houses) catching fire through negligence, the fine (shall be) fifty-four pañás. 25 The incendiary should be put to death by fire.

26 For throwing dirt on the road the fine (shall be) one-eighth (of a pañá), for blocking it with muddy water, one quarter. 27 On the royal highway, (the fines shall be) double.

28 Fines for voiding faeces in a holy place, in a place for water, in a temple and in royal property are one pañá rising successively by one pañá, half these for passing urine. 29 If (these are) due to medicine, illness or fear, (the persons are) not to be fined.

30 For throwing the dead body of a cat, a dog, an ichneumon or a serpent inside the city, the fine shall be three pañás, for (throwing) the dead body of a donkey, a camel, a mule, a horse or cattle, six pañás, for a human corpse, fifty pañás.

31 In case of a change of route or in case of taking the corpse out by a gate other than the gate for corpses, the lowest fine for violence (shall be imposed). 32 (The fine) for gate-keepers (allowing this, shall

for this explanation, we should have the locative, not the genitive of  ghasti. — kacagrahaṇi 'a long pole with curved-finger-like iron hooks at the end for pulling the enemy by the hair' (Cp). Cf. 9.2.27. 19 channa 'things covered' seems to refer to the coverings or thatchings themselves.

21 asanápātinaḥ 'not collecting together.' The prohibition is apparently intended to prevent conspiracies, also to ensure the presence of owners if their houses catch fire at night.

22 rājaparigraha, according to Cb, refers to the kośagrha, kupyagrha, kośṭhāgāra, panyagrha and āyudhāgāra; that seems right.

23 'vakrayinaḥ is from Cb; its correctness is shown by 3.8.24.

28 Cb Cs include rājamārga here from the last s. and have '1 pañá on rājamārga, 2 in a punyasthāna and so on.' This seems hardly right. Only four places are intended.
be) two hundred ($\textit{pu\'nas})$. 33 For depositing and burning (a corpse) elsewhere than in a cremation ground, the fine (shall be) twelve $\textit{pu\'nas}$.

34 The watch-drum (shall be sounded) at both ends of the night excluding a period of six $\textit{n\'lik\'as}$. 35 At the sound of the drum, punishment for (moving at) the prohibited time, near the king’s palace, is (a fine of) one $\textit{pu\'na}$ and a quarter, in the first and the last watches, double (that) in the middle watch, four times (that) inside (the palace-gounds).

36 He should question a (person) arrested in a suspicious place or with a suspicious mark or because of a previous offence. 37 For approaching royal property and for scaling the city’s fortifications, the middle fine for violence (shall be imposed). 38 (Those moving at night) on account of a woman in delivery, for a doctor, on account of a death, with a lamp, in a carriage, at the City-superintendent’s drum, for a show or on account of a fire, and (those moving) with sealed passports are not to be arrested.

39 During nights of (unrestricted) movements, those disguised in dress or in a dress contrary (to their sex), wandering monks, and

33. $\textit{nu\'ase}$ seems to refer to burial rather than merely leaving the corpse there.

34 $\textit{vis\'an\'{
\'a}lik} \textit{am ubhaya}t\textit{ar\'a}t\textit{ram}, \textit{i.e.}, six $\textit{n\'lik\'as}$ after sunset and six $\textit{n\'lik\'as}$ before sunrise. The latter expression is adverbial; the former may also be treated as adverbial or as an adjective to $\textit{y\'am\'a}t\textit{arya}$.

35 $\textit{a\'ks\'a}n\textit{a}: \textit{k\'\'a\'na\'h anu\'j\'a\'n\'a\'h k\'\'a\'l\'a\'h, a\'ks\'a\'n\'a n\'i\'s\'i\'d\'d\'a\'h}(\textit{Cp}); \textit{prohibited period}, \textit{i.e.}, movement during the prohibited period; \textit{cf. 3.12.46; 4.9.26. t\'a\'d\'a\'n\'a m\'a\'n\'a\'h}(\textit{Cp})$.

36 $\textit{prathama}$ etc. it is clear that three $\textit{y\'a}m\textit{a}$ ($\textit{prathama}, \textit{madhyama}$ and $\textit{pa\'c\'i\'c\'a}$) are thought of between the two beats of the drum; in other words the $\textit{y\'a}m\textit{a}$ here is a period of 6 $\textit{n\'lik\'as}$ or 2 hours 24 minutes. Cs, understanding the usual $\textit{y\'a}m\textit{a}$ of 3 hours, has ‘in what remains of the 1st and last watches’ and $\textit{madhyama}$, \textit{i.e.}, the 2nd and 3rd watches.’ There is hardly any justification for supplying $\textit{se\'s\'a}$ or understanding two watches as constituting the $\textit{madhyamaya}\text{\'m}$a. Meyer, who has a period of 12 $\textit{n\'lik\'as}$ for restricted movement, has $\textit{prathama} \textit{y\'a}m\textit{a}$ as the 1st $\textit{n\'lik\'a}$, $\textit{pa\'c\'i\'c\'a}$ as the 12th $\textit{n\'lik\'a}$ and $\textit{madhyamaya}\text{\'m}$a as the intervening 10 $\textit{n\'lik\'a}$. This is clearly unlikely.

38 $\textit{anta}$ is from Cb for $\textit{baki\'h}$. The latter as ‘outside the city’ could hardly be the $\textit{n\'agarika}$’s concern, and is by itself unlikely.

39 $\textit{pravrajita\'h}$: apparently these are suspected enemy spies in disguise. $\textit{do\'sa\'n\'a}$: the $\textit{do\'sa}$ may be $\textit{prachanna\'ve\'s\'a}\'t\textit{v}$ etc. itself, or theft etc. that might be committed during the night.
men with sticks and weapons in hand, shall be punished in accordance with their offence.

40 For guards preventing what ought not to be prevented and not preventing what ought to be prevented, the fine (shall be) double that for (movement during) the forbidden watches. 41 For (guards) misbehaving with a woman who is a slave, the lowest fine for violence (shall be imposed), with one not a slave, the middle fine, with one in the exclusive keeping (of some one), the highest, with a woman from a respectable family (the punishment shall be) death.

42 For (a guard) not reporting to the City-superintendent an offence committed during the night whether by the animate or the inanimate, the punishment shall be in conformity with the offence, also in case of negligence.

43 Constant inspection of places supplying water, roads, water-courses, covered paths, ramparts, parapets (and other) fortifications, and the guarding of what is lost, forgotten or has run away (are the duties of the Superintendant).

44 And in the prison house, (there should be) a release of children, old persons, the sick and the helpless on the day of the (king’s) birth-constellation and on full moon days. 45 Persons of a pious disposition or persons bound by an agreement may give a ransom for the offence.

40 aksanadvigunaḥ, i.e., 2 panaś and a half. 41 adāsim, i.e., 'a courtesan' (Cs).

42 aśāṁśataḥ: we should supply raksiṇaḥ and understand nāgarikasya in the sense of the dative. Cp supplies nāgaravāsijanaśya, while Cs. understands nāgarika as 'citizen.' Meyer has 'if the nāgarika does not report,' apparently, to the king. The guard is more likely in view of pramāḍasthāne.

43 bhrama etc.: cf. 2.4.2.

44 jātanakṣatra- etc.: the day on which the moon is in the nakṣatra in which it was at the time of the king’s birth. There would be one such day in each month. With the paurṇamāsī, there would be two days for jail clearance every month. The expression can hardly mean 'on the full moon day when the moon (or sun) is in the constellation of birth.' There would be only one such day in a year.

45 punyasilāḥ those who are charitably disposed. — samayānubuddhāḥ 'bound (with the prisoner) by an agreement' to be recompensed for the ransom they pay now. It is possible to understand also 'who were bound to the prisoner to pay ransom for him.' — doṣanīkrayam 'a ransom in accordance with the crime' for which they are in prison. The commentators explain the s.: 'Holy persons inadvertently committing an offence should pay a ransom after binding themselves for future conduct (samayānubuddhāḥ); if they do not do this (vā), they must remain in prison.' This is extremely unlikely. — For niṣkraya in place of corporal punishment, see Chapter 4.10. That is available to anyone, not to punyasīla or samayānubuddha persons only. Ransom in place of imprisonment is mentioned only here. In fact, imprisonment is scarcely prescribed anywhere in the text.
46 Every day or every five days, he should clear out those in prison by (getting them to do) work, by (inflicting) corporal punishment or by (receiving) the favour of cash (in ransom).

47 On the occasion of the acquisition of a new territory, on the occasion of the installation of the crown prince or on the occasion of the birth of a son (to the king), a release of (all in) the prison is ordained.

Herewith ends the Second Book of the Arthashastra of Kauṭilya,

'THE ACTIVITY OF THE HEADS OF DEPARTMENTS'

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46 viśodhayet 'should clear out,' i.e., set free. Meyer compares cāragasohāṇa in Jain literature.
Book Three

Concerning Judges

Chapter One

Section 57 Determination of (Valid and Invalid) Transactions

Section 58 Filing of Law-Suits

1 Three judges, (all) three (of the rank of) ministers, should try cases arising out of transactions at frontier posts, in the saṅgrahaṇas, droṇamukhas and sthāniyas.

2 They should declare as invalid transactions concluded in absence, inside a house, at night-time, in a forest, by fraud or in secret.

The Third Book, which lays down the duties of judges, gives us, in effect, the entire law according to Kaṇṭhila. — dharmastha 'a judge' has reference to the enforcement of law (dharma). This name is generally unknown to the Smṛtis; only the Manusmṛti in 8.57 makes a casual reference to it.

3.1

The two prakaraṇas in this Chapter extend from ss. 1-16 and 17-47 respectively. — vyayavaḍa is primarily a transaction between two or more parties, which may form the basis of a suit in a court of law. Some transactions are invalid by their very nature. sthāpanā refers to a consideration of their admissibility in the court. — vivādapada is a suit concerning a matter in dispute. It has no reference to the 'titles of law.' The section deals with the filing of a suit and the procedure to be followed thereafter.

1 trayo 'mātyāḥ: it is best to regard these as parenthetical as in Meyer, the idea being that the three judges (who are to sit in each court) should possess the qualifications of an amātya as mentioned in 1.9.1-2. Cj has 'trayāḥ is repeated to show that there are to be three in every place.' Cb understands three ministers in addition to three judges. Cs renders amātya by 'sitting together,' i.e., constituting a bench. N. N. Law (Studies, p. 118 and n.) supplies a vā 'three persons grounded in the śāstra or three ministers.' This is hardly likely. — janapadasaṁdhi, i.e., frontier towns and forts. For saṅgrahaṇa etc., see 2.1.4. — vyācavaḍārāṅk arthān: this shows that the judges are to deal with cases involving transactions between two parties. These are, therefore, all cases concerning civil law. There is no reference to different grades among judges in small and large towns. Nor is there a reference to possible differences of opinion among the three judges or to appeals from one court to another.
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3 For one who concludes (such a transaction) or induces its conclusion, the lowest fine for violence (shall be the punishment). 4 The fines shall be half for witnesses, each one of them. 5 For trustworthy persons, however, (there shall be only) annulment of the object.

6 Contracting a debt with a pledge in its absence or transactions in absence that are accepted as free from blame shall succeed.

7 Those concluded inside a house, concerning inheritance, things handed over, deposits and marriage, (or) by women who do not stir out (of their homes), or by sick persons who are not unsound in mind, shall succeed.

8 Those concluded at night, concerning forcible seizure, trespass with criminal intent, strife, marriage and a royal order, (or) by persons carrying on their business in the fore-part of the night, shall succeed.

9 Those concluded in the forest, by persons moving in forests, from amongst caravans, herds, hermitages, hunters and wandering minstrels, shall succeed.

10 And among persons earning a secret livelihood, those fraudulently made shall succeed.

2 tirohita, i.e., in which a party to the transaction is absent or the object involved in it is not there at the time. — kṛtān is to be construed with antaragāra onwards. — pratisetdayeyah, i.e., no suit can be admitted on the basis of such a transaction. 5 śraddheya apparently refers to those who are parties to such a transaction in good faith, being unaware that they are invalid. — drayavyayanayah, i.e., the transaction is declared null and void; no fine is, however, imposed in this case.

6 parokṣena etc. 'contracting a debt by mortgaging one's property such as a house or a field when the property is not seen at the time' (Cb Cj). For this sādhikarnagrahānam would have been better. Meyer has 'contracting a debt in addition to one already contracted (adhika ṛna),' which is less likely. — avaktavyakarāḥ 'accepted by the people as valid, e.g., where people say that such and such a property may be dealt with by such and such a person even in the absence of the owner' (Cb Cs). Meyer has 'where the contracting parties need not be named'; Breloer (KSt, II, 133) has 'where through witnesses certainty is reached (that the agreement was intended by the absent party).'

7 For nikṣepa, see 3.12.33 ff., for upanidhi, 3.12.1 ff. — anīkāśinīnām : see 2.23.12 above. — amudhasaṅgaṇa would seem to mean 'not of unsound mind' rather than 'who have not lost consciousness.'

8 anupravesa : Cb has 'entering the house and stealing'; trespass with criminal intent seems meant; cf. 3.19.17. Meyer compares Vasiṣṭha, 19.38 and Āpastamba, 2.10.26.18. — rājanyogā : Cb Cs restrict this to measures for guarding the city, at the king's order. There seems to be no reason for such a restriction. — pūrvarūtra- etc., i.e., prostitutes, vintners, innkeepers etc.

9 -madhyeṣu aranyacarāgām, i.e., when any of these are at the time moving through the forest or staying in it.

10 gūdhāṭiṣṭu : cf. 4.4 for such persons. Curiously, that Chapter includes corrupt judges too in this category.
11 And in case of secret association, those concluded in secret shall succeed.

12 (Transactions) other than these shall not succeed, also those concluded by dependents, (such as) by a son dependent on the father, by a father dependent on the son, by a brother excluded from the family, by a younger son whose share has not been allotted to him, by a woman dependent on her husband or son, by a slave or a person kept as a pledge, by a minor or a person grown too old for doing any business, and by a person accused of a crime, by a wandering monk, by a cripple or by one overcome by a calamity, — excepting by those to whom authority for the transaction has been given. 13 Even among such transactions concluded by a person in rage, a person in distress, an intoxicated person, an insane person or a person in another’s power, shall not succeed. 14 For those who conclude, who induce the conclusion of and who bear witness to (such transactions), the fines (shall be) as prescribed for each one separately.

15 All transactions, however, in each respective group, concluded with full title at the proper place and time, with all formalities duly observed, with admissible evidence, with the appearance, marks, quantity and qualities duly noted, shall succeed. 16 And in their case, the last document shall be authoritative, except in the case of direction and pledge.

Thus ends the determination of (valid and invalid) transactions.

11 mithaḥsamavāya: Cb Cs restrict this to the Gândharva marriage. Any secret association would seem meant, its secrecy being regarded as necessary and legal.

12 pītrā putravatā, i.e., when the father has retired and the son is looking after the affairs. — nīskula, i.e., separated from the family. — A minor is one under 16 (cf. 3.3.1) and aśīvāvavahāra is ‘over seventy’ (Cb Cs). — abhisāsta: one ‘accused’ of some offence by another person. Cf. 4.8.1.7. — vyāsāna is hardly ‘addicted to vice’ (Cb Cs); cf. s. 34 below. 13 tātāpī seems to refer to all valid transactions, not to nisṛṣṭavavahāras only as in Cs. — avagṛhita ‘suppressed, held in power’; cf. 5.6.47. Cs explains it as ‘a convicted person,’ Meyer as ‘possessed by a spirit’ or ‘become abnormal in some way,’ corresponding to aprakṛtiṃ gataḥ of Nārāda, 1.40.

15 varge, i.e., community, caste (Cb Cj Cs); an economic group, karṣaka, vaidehaka etc. may also be thought of. — svakaraṇa: cf. 2.36.7; 3.16.17,18. — sāvapūrṇacārāḥ: dēśāra seems to refer to the customary formalities to be observed when entering into a transaction. — dēśa ‘witnesses’ (Cb Cj Cs). In s. 19 below, dēśa seems distinguished from sākṣin. It may be understood as evidence in general. Meyer renders it by ‘a point’ in a statement. — rūpalakṣaṇa- etc. refers to the object concerning which the transaction takes place. — Yāj., 2.31-32, appear to be a metrical summary of this passage; so Nārāda, 1.40-41 and Intro. 43. 16 karṣaṇa seems to refer to evidence or proof in general (cf. 4.8.13), but here a document may well be thought of. — ādesa: see 3.12.18. It means
17 After writing down the year, the season, the month, the fortnight, the day, the office, the place, the debt, and the country, village, caste, family, name and occupation of the plaintiff and the defendant, who have given adequate sureties, the (clerk) shall put down the questions (with answers) to the plaintiff and the defendant, in due order of the subject-matter. 18 And he shall look into them when put down.

19 A (party to a suit) who gives up the dispute as put down and changes to another dispute, does not corroborate the first statement by a subsequent matter, remains (silent) after challenging an unchallengeable statement of the other (party), after making an affirmation does not indicate the evidence when asked to do so, indicates weak evidence or false evidence, produces evidence other than that indicated, when evidence is produced denies a statement in the matter saying 'it is not so,' does not accept what is confirmed by witnesses, talks secretly with witnesses in a place where no conversation is allowed, — these are reasons for loss of suit.

'a direction' or instruction to a person to take a thing entrusted to him to another person. In view of that, 'receiving a gift or purchase' (Cb Cs) seems little likely. They seem to be influenced by Yāj., 2.23, and Nārada, 1.97. But 'purchase' at least can hardly be on the same footing as a pledge in this connection.

17 karaṇa here can hardly refer to 'evidence,' so early in the list. Cs refers it to 'half a titki called bava etc.' That is uncertain. Cb does not explain, only mentions dharmakaraṇa and arthakaraṇa. Probably something like 'department, office' is to be understood. Jayaswal's 'cause of action' (Manu and Yāj., p. 121) is doubtful in view of the specific mention of ṛṇam. — adhikaraṇaṃ: the place where the court is situated, then the court itself. Jayaswal has 'statement of the case' (loc. cit.). — ṛṇam: this shows that the law of procedure is based on the law of debts, the prime cause of action. — It is not certain if avedaka or āvedaka is to be understood in the sense of 'the defendant.' — For avastha 'surety,' cf. 2.8.29; 3.18.11. The surety is for ensuring payment of the fine. 18 avekṣeta: though the writing down is done by the lekkha (cf. 4.9.17), and this examination may be supposed to be by the judge, that is not made quite clear. Of course, the subject for avekṣeta may also be lekkhakah understood.

19 vādam is preferred to pādam, as in the actual comment in Ch. It is also supported by Nārada Intro., 2.24 (pūrṇavādam parityajya and vādasaṅkramaṇāt). And as Meyer points out, pāda does not mean 'a title of law.' Nor can padam be read, for pada in vivādāpada does not refer to the 18 titles of law. — deśam: see s.16 above. Breloer (II, 155) understands 'place' in the usual sense. — hinadeśam 'a smaller number of witnesses than those cited' (Cs). — adeśam 'those unfit to be witnesses, such as kinsmen etc.' (Cb Cs). — nirdiśṭād deśād is from Cb and is necessary. Breloer, however, prefers nirdiśtodddeśād, understanding uddeśa as 'a leading statement at the commencement of a discussion, what is to be proved' as in 15.1.15-16 (II, 155). This is extremely doubtful. anyayain deśām that follows making this reading quite unlikely. — arthavacanam: Cb Cs read arthavacane as adjective to deśe 'when he has deposed truthfully.' Breloer (II, 155) understands it in the sense of 'an official account.' — parokta 'a person against
20 The fine for loss of suit is one-fifth the amount (in dispute).
21 The fine for one who voluntarily admits is one-tenth.
22 Wages for the servant shall be one-eighth part (of a pāṇa).
23 Food on the way (will be) according to the prices (at the time).
24 The defeated party shall pay both these.
25 The accused shall not file a counter-complaint, except in cases of strife, forcible seizure and association in caravans. 26 And there shall be no suit against the accused (by another party).
27 If the plaintiff, to whom a reply has been given (by the defendant), does not counter-reply on the same day, he shall lose the suit. 28 For, it is the plaintiff, who has decided (beforehand) what is to be done, not the defendant. 29 If the latter does not reply, a period of three days or seven (may be allowed). 30 After that, the (judge) shall impose a fine of three pāṇas minimum and twelve pāṇas maximum. 31 After three fortnights, if he does not reply, the (judge) shall impose the fine for loss of suit and indemnify the plaintiff from goods belonging to him, excepting the tools of his profession.
32 He shall impose the same (penalty) on the defendant who absconds.
33 In the case of the plaintiff, there shall be loss of suit the moment he absconds.
34 The statement of a witness who dies or suffers from a misfortune is without value.

whom a decision is given (parā-ukta).’ Manu, 8.53-57, are clearly based on this passage.

20 pāṅcābandhāḥ cannot be ‘five times’ as Meyer translates. For ‘so many times’ we have -guṇa; cf. bandhacaturguṇaḥ, 3.11.7. 21 svayaṁvādin: this refers to one who voluntarily admits what is urged against him. This is principally to be understood of the defendant. Cf. s. 46 below. Cb implies that the admission is made before the witnesses have deposed, which seems reasonable. Cs has ‘who has filed a suit without witnesses,’ Meyer ‘who has offered to make a false deposition as a witness,’ Breloer ‘the same as tavāhāsvādin, i.e., the unfree man’ (III, 247 n. 6). None of these explanations seems intended.

22 puruṣa as ‘judge’ (Cb) is quite unlikely. The court servant who summons witnesses etc. is clearly to be understood. 23 pathibhaktam is in the nature of a travelling allowance. — argha- is definitely preferable to artha-. With the latter, Meyer has ‘according to the peculiarity of the case.’

25 sārthasamatavēabhyaḥ: Meyer proposes mithāḥsamatavēbhyaḥ. That is quite unnecessary. Association between members of a caravan can conceivably lead to complaints and counter-complaints. 26 abhiyogah, apparently, by a third party. Breloer (II, 140), however, understands the same idea being that a suit about a matter can only be filed once.

29 Three days or seven would depend on the circumstances of the case. Nārada Intro., 2.3, has a similar rule. 31 pratipādayet ‘make him receive,’ i.e., pay him. — For the rule, cf. Manu, 8.58, Yāj., 2.12, Nārada Intro., 1.44-45. 32 Cf. Manu, 8.55, Yāj., 2.16.
35 The (successful) plaintiff may, after paying the fine, make (a poor defendant) work (for him). 36 Or, the (defendant) may keep a pledge, if he so desires. 37 Or, he may indemnify him by work, guarded by charms destructive of evil spirits, with the exception of a Brahmin.

38 When all laws are perishing, the king here is the promulgator of laws, by virtue of his guarding the right conduct of the world consisting of the four varṇas and four āśramas.

39 A matter in dispute has four feet, law, transaction, custom and the royal edict; (among them) the later one supersedes the earlier one.

34 The translation follows Meyer, with his proposed -vacanam asāram though sākṣināḥ outside the compound would have been still better. The idea is, if a witness, after giving evidence, dies or suffers some great misfortune, he is presumed to have given false evidence. Cf. Manu, 8.108. In the Nachtrag, Meyer proposes sākṣicaccanāth with a stop after it, construing asāram with the next s. 'a party becomes parokta on the (false) testimony of a witness who dies or is in calamity. If the accused is poor (asāra) the complainant shall pay the fine etc.' Even for this sākṣināḥ outside the compound is necessary. Cb Cs, reading sākṣicaccanāḥ sāram, explain 'the sons etc. of a deceased or a suffering party shall be entitled to receive or liable to pay the amount in dispute (sāram) on producing witnesses (sākṣicaccanāḥ).'

It is extremely doubtful if heirs could be so brought in without any prior mention. And why should a vyasain not receive the amount himself? The s. may also be understood as 'if a party to a suit dies or suffers a misfortune, the testimony of his witnesses has no value.' But this is colourless.

35 dhāṇḍaṁ dattāt: the state must receive the danḍa, if need be from the successful party. 36 sa refers to abhiyukta, hardly to abhiyokta. 37 rakṣoghnarakṣitam: perhaps abhiyoktaśram is to be supplied, hardly adhim. — pratipādayet: the subject may be dharmanasthaḥ as in s. 31, though abhiyuktaḥ is also possible.

anyātra Brāhmaṇāt is odd, for the defendant, of whom alone the Brāhmaṇaśrī can be thought of, is not specifically referred to in the s. It is quite possible that the whole s. is a marginal gloss that has intruded into the text. It is unnecessary in view of s. 35. — iti read in the mss. in such places is often derived from some commentary. At any rate, a pious Kṣatriya cannot be understood on its strength as is done in Cs.

38 ayaṁ: asya as going with lokasya would be better. There is little point in ayaṁ rājā. — naṣṇataṁ sarvadharmanām is a case of genitive absolute. Meyer objects that this construction is unknown to this text and suggests nāsena or nāsanād and sarvādharmanām, 'by destroying all impieties.' This is unnecessary. Cb Cs construe the genitives with pravaratkaḥ. — rājā dharmanapravaratkaḥ: M Cb Cs read rājadharmanāḥ pravaratkaḥ. But a dharma as a pravaratka of dharma is not a happy idea. And ācāra-rakṣanā is more likely of rājā, than of rājadharma. The idea seems to be, because the king gives protection, he can lay down law, when the traditional laws have become inoperative. The commentators' idea seems to be that a king can revive laws that are languishing, by protecting the right conduct of subjects. That also is possible.

39 Compare the paraphrase in Bṛhaspati: dharmena vyavahārenā caritreṇa nyāpjñayā, catusprākāro 'bhikhitaḥ saṃdīgde 'rthe vinijñayāḥ. vyavahāra seems to
40 Of them, law is based on truth, a transaction, however, on witnesses, customs on the commonly held view of men, while the command of kings is the royal edict.

41 (Carrying out) his own duty by the king, who protects the subjects according to law, leads to heaven; of one who does not protect or who inflicts an unjust punishment, (the condition) is the reverse of this.

42 For, it is punishment alone that guards this world and the other, when it is evenly meted out by the king to his son and his enemy, according to the offence.

43 For, a king, giving decisions in accordance with law, transaction, settled custom and edict as the fourth, would conquer the earth up to its four ends.

44 He shall decide, with the help of law, a matter in which a settled custom or a matter based on a transaction contradicts the science of law.

mean only 'a transaction' throughout. We may also think of 'judicial process.' — pāścimāh pūrvabādhakaḥ: this seems to mean that the later one in the list supersedes the earlier one. According to Cb Cs, only the last supersedes the first three. Cf., however, Nārada Intro., 1.10, uttarāḥ pūrvabādhakaḥ. 40 satya seems to refer to truth in the sense of eternal truth, that is supposed to be the basis of dharma. Breloer (II, 49-53) thinks that we should read smṛtyān sthito or smṛti-sthito 'based on tradition.' Though for the sake of uniformity in the meaning of dharma in these verses and in 43-44, this is what should be understood by dharma, satya sthītaḥ is quite likely and is supported by Nārada Intro., 1.11. — saṅgrahē, i.e., in the view commonly accepted by men. Cb has ' unanimity among witnesses.'

41-42 These stanzas are out of place and are clearly derived from a different source. They belong to 1.4 above.

43 anuśāsa: cf. anuśiṣṭa, 4.9.15. — dharmena: by this dharmaśāstra law is clearly to be understood, as shown by s. 44. — saṅsthyā: this is probably the same as caritra above. Cb has ' lokācāra.' — nyāyena: this refers to rājaśāsana. Meyer relates the word to nīti or naya in the sense of 'a royal measure.' It is possible that the difference in terminology stems from a difference in sources.

44 Though with the reading saṅstha yā, as proposed by Meyer, we get two relative pronouns in the same clause, that appears preferable to saṅsthyā. It may be that saṅstha vā should be read. The idea is, when saṅstha or vyavahāra is in conflict with dharma, the latter prevails. With saṅsthyā as the reading there would be a reference to a conflict between saṅstha and vyavahāra without a solution being offered for it. This stanza clearly contradicts s. 39, if the terms in the two places are regarded as identical, unless pāścimāh pūrvabādhakaḥ is understood as in Cb. — The use of the word śāstra in connection with vyavahāra is strange. Cb seems to understand vyācāhārika śāstra as rāja-vacana. That is not very likely. Cb has 'a royal edict (śāstra) or the evidence of witnesses (vyācāhārika). This is doubtful.

[3.1.44]
45 Where (a text of) the science may be in conflict with any edict in a matter of law, there the edict shall prevail; for, there the written text loses its validity.

46 A (distinctly) seen offence, a voluntary admission, straightforwardness in questions (and answers) to one’s own and the opposite party, reasoning, and oath lead to a decision in a case.

47 In case of contradiction between an earlier and a later statement, in case of the blameworthiness of witnesses and in case of escape from the custody of the prison-guard, loss of suit shall be decreed.

45 dharme nyāyena of M seems preferable to dharmanyāyena, though dharma has then to be understood as 'a matter of law.' dharmanyāy is confusing. Cb understands dharma and nyāya as two separate things. Cs has 'custom which is just in every way.' Breloer (II, 131) explains 'a reflection or judgment (nyāya) which follows from the same holy law.' In that case, the conflict between the śāstra and this nyāya would hardly arise. — tatra pātho hi naśyati: Breloer (II, 131) translates 'for the text underlies the change.' He adds that the judge is thus given the opportunity to build up new legal sentences outside of and even contrary to the holy law.

46 drśtadosaḥ: in view of the predicate arthasādhaḥkaḥ, this should be understood as a Karmadhāraya rather than as a Bahurvarhi. — svapaksiṇa- etc. is to be construed with anuyogārjanam in the second half, as in Cb Cs. Meyer construes it with svayamvaḍah, making drśtadosaḥ the predicate in the first half 'the defect of a voluntary statement by one or the other party is seen above (in s. 21?).' This is hardly possible. Breloer proposes (II, 182 n. 4) svayamvaḍasthapaksiṇa- etc. as one, 'when the guilt is brought to light through his own admission or through the evidence of the other party.' This also seems doubtful.

47 sāksivaktavakārane: vakta seems used for vaktavatca. 3.11.28-9 enumerate persons ineligible as witnesses. Breloer's 'when there are witnesses whom the judge has brought himself' (II, 132) is hardly possible. — cāra is obviously the jailor or prison-guard; cf. cāraka 4.9.22. It may also refer to the secret agent of the court, who has traced the party and is bringing him to the court. For nispāda 'running away' cf. s. 33 above. Breloer's 'by going over (nispāte) by means of secret police' is not quite clear. — The kārikās have clearly a miscellaneous origin.
CHAPTER TWO

SECTION 59 CONCERNING MARRIAGE

(i) The Law of Marriage; (ii) Rules Concerning Woman’s Property; (iii) Concerning Supersession (of a Wife) by a Second Marriage

1 (All) transactions begin with marriage.

2 Making a gift of the daughter, after adorning her (with ornaments) is the Brāhma form of marriage. 3 The joint performance of sacred duties is the Prājāpatya. 4 On receiving a pair of cattle (from the bride-groom) it is the Ārṣa. 5 By making a gift (of the daughter) to the officiating priest inside a sacrificial altar, it is the Daiva. 6 By a secret association (between lovers) it is the Gandharva. 7 On receiving a dowry, it is the Āsura. 8 By forcible seizure (of a maiden), it is the Rākṣasa. 9 By the seizure of a sleeping or intoxicated (maiden), it is the Paśāca.

10 The first four are lawful with the sanction of the father, the remaining with the sanction of the father and the mother. 11 For, those two receive the dowry of the daughter, or one of them in the absence of the other. 12 The woman shall receive the second dowry.

13 In the case of all (forms of marriage), giving pleasure (to the bride by means of gifts) is not forbidden.

Thus ends the law of marriage.

3.2

The 59th prakaraṇa is spread over three Chapters, 3.2-4, and contains a number of sub-sections. The three subs-ects in this chapter are to be found in ss. 1-13, 14-37 and 38-48 respectively. — Cb Cs quote a mnemonic verse according to which Manu begins with the law of debts, Uśanas with property, Brhaspati with deposits and Kauṭilya with marriage. Meyer has shown very clearly how Kauṭilya’s is the most rational arrangement of the topics of law.

1 vyavahāra ‘dealings,’ i.e., in effect, civil life.

3 ‘The mantra containing the adoration to practise dharma together is recited in the Prājāpatya’ (Cb). — The Śruti have closely parallel definitions of these forms of marriage.

10 pitarpramāṇāḥ: apparently the will or consent of the mother is unnecessary. — dharmanīṣṭha or dharmavivāda conveys the same idea. — mātāpitarpramāṇāḥ: the consent is obtained evidently after the event in three of these four cases. 11 sulkaharaṇa: evidently sulkā was received when consent was given in these cases. 12 dvitiyaiḥ sulkām: Cb paraphrases by ‘prātiiddana’; so Cs understands gifts given to the bride at the time of marriage. It is possible that the second dowry may be that received when the woman happens to marry again, after the first husband’s death.

13 sarveṣām, i.e., ‘by all relations of the bridegroom and others’ (Cb Cs); Cb in fact appears to regard this prityāropaṇa as the second dowry. sarveṣām, how-
14 Maintenance and ornaments constitute woman’s property. 15 Maintenance is an endowment of a maximum of two thousand (pañhas); as to ornaments, there is no limit.

16 It is not an offence for the wife to use that for the maintenance of her sons and daughters-in-law or if no provision is made when (the husband is) away on a journey, (or) for the husband (to use it) for taking steps against robbers, diseases, famine (and other) dangers and for religious acts, or for the couple (to use it) jointly when they have begotten a son and a daughter. 17 And if it has been used for three years, the (wife) shall not question, in the case of the pious marriages. 18 If used in the Gândharva and Āsura marriages, the (husband) shall be made to return both with interest, if used in the Rākṣasa and Paścāca marriages, he shall pay (the penalty for) theft.

19 When the husband is dead, the (widow), if desirous of leading a life of piety, shall forthwith receive the endowment and ornaments and the remainder of the dowry. 20 If, after receiving (these), she ever, may refer to forms of marriage, in all of which gifts are allowed, though not śulka. And it is possible that this pṛtyāropaka, e.g., in a Brāhma marriage, is the dvitiya or secondary śulka. — It is proposed to read iti vicāhadharmaḥ here and not after s. 18 as in the mss. They are clearly misplaced there.

14 ābandhyam: this form from Cb is more likely (from bandh ‘to bind’). The lexicons show the forms ābaddha and ābandha. 15 paradvishāsra: we expect dvivasaharpāra for the sense ‘a maximum of two thousand pañhas.’ — sthāpyā is another name for vṛtti (cf. s. 19 and 3.3.12), ‘what is set apart, an endowment.’

16 āma- to be construed with putra and snaṣā. Her own case is covered by the next expression. — bhaya ‘danger’ as a separate item is better. — It is proposed to read a stop after praṇātayoh (supplying bhoktum adoṣah). Cb Cs regard saṁbhāya...nānaṃvājīla as constituting a single sentence and restrict the rule to pious marriages and a three-year use only. The presence of both vā and ca in the same clause would be strange. And the genitive of dampaṭyoh implies construction with bhoktum adoṣah, like that of patyuḥ in the preceding clause. Meyer has ‘when the couple has put it together as common property, when they have begotten a son and a daughter and when it is used as common property for three years.’ This is reading too much in the words. Kane (HD, III, 786) seems to have read apraṇātayoh ‘so also if there be no children of the marriage and the husband spends strīdhana without objection by the wife, then also no complaint would be entertained.’ 17 tricarṣopabhuktam, i.e., if the husband has used it for three years without complaint by the wife. The idea that no complaint shall be entertained after a lapse of three years after it was spent is less likely. 18 ubhayam, i.e., vṛtti and ābandhya, hardly śulka and strīdhana. — savṛddhiḥ dāpyeta, i.e., it is treated as a loan. — steyāṁ dādyāi, i.e., he has no right at all to its use.

19 sthāpyābharaṇam is necessary as shown by 3.3.12; 3.4.16 and s.15 above. — śulkaśeṣam: Cs has ‘what is left after joint use by the couple.’ But the śulka goes to the bride’s parents (s. 11). It may be that the parents who receive the śulka hold it in trust for the daughter. Meyer understands payment of śulka in instalments, the unpaid instalments going to the wife and not her parents. This
mourns again, she shall be made to return both with interest. 21 If, however, she is desirous of having a family, she shall receive, at the time of remarriage, what was given to her by her father-in-law and her (late) husband. 22 We shall explain the time for remarriage in 'Long absence from home.' 23 If she remarries against the wishes of her father-in-law, she shall forfeit what was given her by her father-in-law and her (late) husband.

24 If the (widow) is snatched away from the protection of her kinsmen, the kinsmen (by the new marriage) shall return (her woman's property of the first marriage) as it may have been received (by her). 25 If she has approached (for remarriage) in a legitimate manner, the acceptor shall protect her woman's property (of the first marriage).

26 A (widow) remarrying shall forfeit what was given by her (late) husband. 27 She shall use it if desirous of a pious life. 28 If a (widow) who has sons marries again, she shall forfeit her woman's property. 29 The sons, however, shall receive that woman's property. 30 Or, if she remarries for the maintenance of her sons, she shall augment (the woman's property) for the sake of the sons.

31 The (woman) shall settle on sons born (to her) from many husbands her woman's property as given by the respective fathers.

32 A (widow) marrying again shall settle on her sons her woman's property even when she is entitled to do what she pleases with it.

33 A (widow) without sons, remaining faithful to her husband's bed, shall use her woman's property in the proximity of elders, till the seems supported by 3.4.15, 33. 21 kutumbakāma: she desires a son who would belong to her, late husband's family. The husband's full brother is to be her first preference for remarriage (3.4.38). 22 dīrghapravāsē, i.e., in the subsection in 3.4.37-42.

24 The first jādi- refers to the kinsmen of the late husband, while the second jādiyaḥ refers to those of the new husband. Meyer understands by both the woman's father, brother etc. and proposes abhisṛṣṭāyaḥ 'handed over, made over' in place of abhisṛṣṭāyaḥ. That seems little likely. — yathāgṛhitam, i.e., as she had received at the time of the first marriage. 25 strīdhanaṃ is evidently that of the first marriage.

26 patiḍayam would normally be 'what she has inherited from her husband.' But the wife does not appear among heirs in 3.5.9-12. Some kind of inheritance can be understood here to distinguish this from patidatta of s. 21. But 'gift' appears better. Cb has 'food and clothing given by the husband.'

32 kāmakaranīyaṃ: it is not stated what strīdhanā can be so described. Perhaps the saūḍāyika of later Smṛtis 'gifts by brothers and father before or after marriage' may be understood.

33 gurusamīpe strīdhanaṃ etc.: Kane (III, 708 n. 1357) seems to read stri
end of her life. 34 For, a woman’s property is meant for calamities. 35 After (her death), it shall go to the heirs.

36 If a woman dies while her husband is living, her sons and daughters shall divide her woman’s property among themselves, daughters (only) if she had no sons, in the absence of these, the husband (shall receive it). 37 The dowry, the post-marriage gifts and other things given by her relations, the relations shall receive.

Thus end rules concerning woman’s property.

38 The (husband) shall wait for eight years if the wife does not bear offsprings or does not bear a son or is barren, for ten if she bears dead offspring, for twelve if she bears only daughters. 39 After that, he may marry a second wife with the object of getting a son. 40 In case of transgression of that (rule), he shall hand over the dowry, the woman’s property and half (that) as compensation for supersession, and (pay) a fine of twenty-four panas maximum.

41 By paying the dowry, the woman’s property, (and) in the case of a wife without a dowry or woman’s property of her own a compensation for supersession equal in amount to that, and a suitable maintenance he may marry even a number of wives. 42 For, wives are (necessary) for having sons.

dhanam and comments that this passage is probably the first to propound clearly the characteristics of the Hindu Widow’s estate. It is doubtful if in this section stri dhanam can be read as two words, the latter understood as referring to other property as well. The next s. mentions the technical stridhana only, and it gives the reason for the rule in this s. — dāyādam, i.e., the husband’s heirs. Kātyāyana reproduces this rule word for word.

36 vibhajeran, evidently in equal shares. In the matter of succession to stridhana, this text does not make a distinction between the forms of marriage as the Smṛtis do (Manu, 9.196-7; Yāj., 2.145; Nārada, 13.9). It refers to them in a different connection (ss. 17-18 above). 37 śulkam: this is received by the parents (s. 11). — anvādheyam ‘what is given by blood relations after marriage.’ Kātyāyana includes gifts from the husband’s family as well. — Yāj., 2.144, is an echo of this rule.

38 aprajāyamānā ‘who bears a child once and does not conceive again’ (Cb Cs). It may also mean ‘who does not bear (because of miscarriages).’ — aputrām may mean whose son died and who has not borne a child thereafter. 40 ardham ‘half the stridhana’ (Cb); ‘half the śulka and stridhana’ is also possible. Meyer prefers to read artham ‘money as compensation for the second marriage.’ Yāj., 2.148, repeats the rule and has ardham.

41 tatpramāṇam ‘equal to the śulka and stridhana of any of the other wives’ (Meyer). Cs has ‘equal to the expenses of the new marriage,’ which appears less likely. 42 Cf. Manu, 9,26; Nārada, 12.19.
43 And in case of simultaneity of the menstrual periods of these, he shall approach according to (the time of) marriage, first that (wife), whom he had married first, or the wife who has living sons.

44 In case of concealment of the period or failure to approach at the time, ninety-six (panas shall be) the fine.

45 The (husband) may not approach a (wife) who has sons, who is desirous of a pious life, who is barren, who bears dead offspring or whose menstruation has stopped, if she is unwilling. 46 And the man, if unwilling, may not approach a (wife) who is leprous or insane. 47 A woman, however, shall approach a (husband) even of this type, for bearing a son.

48 A husband, who has become degraded or gone to a foreign land or has committed an offence against the king or is dangerous to her life or has become an outcast or even an impotent one may be abandoned.

48 prasthitah: It is not stated what makes a man degraded. Following some degraded profession or becoming a drunkard or a rake may be understood. — rājaśīrāṣṭī: this seems to refer to one committing an offence against the king, i.e., a seditious person. Cb has ‘this is of three kinds, the king’s purohitā, the person receiving a gift from the king, and a consumptive person.’ The consumptive is possible, but the other two are strange, particularly as there is no reference to their crime. — tyāgyaḥ: Jayaswal (Manu and Yaj., p. 280) says that tyāga denotes separation from conjugal intercourse, as opposed to mokṣa, the technical divorce.
CHAPTER THREE

SECTION 59 (Continued)

(iv) Marital Duty; (v) Maintenance; (vi) Cruelty; (vii) Disaffection; (viii) Misconduct; and (ix) Prohibition of Favours and Dealings

1 A woman twelve years of age attains majority, a man when sixteen years of age. 2 If after this there is a failure to carry out marital duties, there shall be a fine of twelve panas for the woman, twice that for the man. Thus ends (the topic of) marital duty.

3 When maintenance is not (payable) at stipulated (intervals of) time, the (husband) shall give (the necessary) food and clothing according to the dependents or more in a generous measure. 4 If (payable) at stipulated (intervals of) time, he shall calculate the same and pay in instalments. 5 And also in case she has not received a dowry, a woman’s property and compensation for supersession, (the same procedure shall be followed).

3.3

2 The colophon iti suśrūṣā is added in conformity with those of the other subsections in this Chapter.

3 bharmanyā seems clearly to mean the allowance given for the maintenance of a wife separated from the husband. — anirdīṣṭakālā 'the time for which is not stated' seems to refer to payment of the alimony in one lump sum, while nirdīṣṭakālā seems to be that paid in instalments at stated times. — grāsācchāḍānam is the usual expression for 'maintenance' given to a person; cf. 3.5.32; 3.7.19. — vā'dhikam: vā is misplaced; it should come after adhikam. — puruṣaparīvāpa: see 1.16.5; 2.24.28 etc. — savīśēgam may refer to quality while adhikam refers to quantity. Cb explains the s. thus 'when a woman is appointed to look after the household (bharmanyā) and there is no restriction on her as to time that so much amount is to be spent in so much time, she should be given provisions for running the household according to the number of persons in it.' Cs mostly follows. The idea is very strange. 4 Meyer understands nirdīṣṭakālā as 'to be given for a definite period,' which appears less likely. — tadeva, i.e., grāsācchāḍānam, probably excluding the idea of adhikam. — bandham seems to refer to 'a part, a portion' of an amount, as in pāṇcabandha, daśabandha etc.; cf. also 3.9.20; 3.12.16. ca is unnecessary. Meyer understands bandha as 'surety.' That also is not unlikely. The commentators have 'if the wife takes the matter (of provisions) to the court and fails, she is to give 1/5th or 1/10th part of the provisions (to the state?).' This appears still more strange. 5 -adhivedanikānām is from Cb and quite necessary for the sense. adhyāvahanika 'gifts received at the time of going from the father’s to the husband’s place' would hardly be intended in this context. Since we have to supply bandham dadyāt in this s., Cs adds 'she has to pay even when she has not received sulkā etc., how much more would she be liable to pay if she has received that?' The commentators appear to be clearly on a wrong track.
6 If the (wife) is staying in her father-in-law’s family or has become separated, the husband is not to be sued. Thus ends (the topic of) maintenance.

7 The incultation of modest behaviour (shall be done) without the use of expressions such as ‘thou lost one,’ ‘thou ruined one,’ ‘thou cripple,’ ‘thou fatherless one’ or ‘thou motherless one.’

8 Or, striking on the back three times with one of (the three, viz.,) a split bamboo-cane, rope or hand (may be done). In case of transgression of this fines half those for verbal and physical injury (shall be imposed).

10 The same (shall be the punishment) for the wife whose offence against her husband is well-known. 11 On occasions of (her) enjoying herself outside (the home) out of jealousy, the penalty shall be as laid down. Thus ends (the topic of) cruelty.

12 A wife disliking her husband (and) not adorning herself (for fulfilment of marital duty) during seven menstrual periods, shall forthwith set down her endowment and ornaments and consent to her husband lying with another woman.

13 A husband disliking the wife shall consent to her staying alone in the family of one of (the following, viz.,) a female mendicant, a guardian or a kinsman.

6 śvāsuraṇakulaṇapraviṇṭīyām : the wife, though having no relations with the husband, stays in the family. Meyer thinks that she may have married the husband’s brother. In the alternative, he proposes śvāsuraṇakulapraṇaviṇṭīyām, signifying an appointed daughter (putrikā) who is not a member of her father-in-law’s family. Neither suggestion seems necessary. — vibhaktīyām : apparently in this case, she has received some share of the property. — nābhīpayyāh : the claim would be about maintenance, hardly about śukla (as in Cb).

7 naṣṭe vināṣṭe is from the actual comment in Cb. vinagne at least is suspicious. — anirdeṇa ‘without using these expressions, but using other words of admonition’ (Cb). Cs has ‘addressing her with these abusive expressions.’ That is less likely. 8 Cf. Manu, 8.299-300. 9 vāgyaṇa- etc. : as in 3.18 and 3.19 below.

10-11 It is proposed to read prasiddhadosāyāh with a stop after it and īrsyayā at the beginning of the next s. — tadeva, i.e., the ardhadandāh. — doṣa would be abuse or beating of the husband. — bāhyavāhyārṣeu dvāreṣu : i.e., when the wife goes away from home to enjoy herself; dvāra is ‘an occasion’. — yathā-nirdiṣṭab, i.e., as laid down in ss. 20-22 below or 3.4.1-23. Cb Cs explain ‘the same amount of cruelty (naṣṭa or nagna etc. and trīr āghāta) is allowed to a chaste (adoṣā) wife when her jealousy is aroused by such occasions (dvāreṣu) for harsh treatment towards the husband as his wandering outside (for prostitution etc.). In case of transgression she pays full fines (not half like her husband).’ With īrsyayām, Meyer tr. ‘the same holds good in case of jealousy by the wife towards the husband when there is no open offence (prasiddhāyām adoṣāyām). Punishment for wandering outside the house or at the doors, as prescribed in each case.’

12 sthāpyābaharaṇam : see 3.2.15. — anusayita ‘should sleep nearby on a lower level’ (Cb), ‘should wait upon the husband full of remorse’ (Cs). Mere consent would seem meant, without the idea of claiming ādhipadanikā.
14 One who speaks a falsehood, when indications are clear, when there is a refusal of intercourse or when an approach his made to a person of the same varṇa through a secret emissary, shall pay a (fine of) twelve paṇas.

15 A disaffected wife is not to be granted divorce from the husband who is unwilling, nor the husband from the wife. 16 By mutual disaffection (alone) a divorce (shall be granted). 17 Or, if the husband seeks divorce because of the wife’s offence, he shall give to her whatever he may have taken. 18 Or, if the wife seeks divorce because of the husband’s offence, he shall not give her whatever may have been received. 19 There is no divorce in pious marriages. Thus ends (the topic of) disaffection.

20 The wife who, (though) prohibited, indulges haughtily in the sport of drink, shall pay a fine of three paṇas. 21 In case she goes by

13 anvādhī: Cb understands ‘a trustee of the strīdhana.’ It may simply mean ‘a guardian.’ — kulānām: in the case of the bhikṣukī, this implies only staying with her. — deśaṁ, as qualifying bharti, is necessary. Because of vā, Meyer would find here something new about the disaffected wife; hence, he proposes a stop after vā ‘or, (she shall give freedom) when she stays with bhikṣukī, etc. The husband, hating, shall give freedom if he has only one wife in her.’ ekām need not be so understood. It merely refers to her staying separately from her husband.

14 dhṛṣṭaliṅge maithunāpaḥāre ‘who denies or conceals intercourse (with another woman) when signs of such are distinctly visible’ (Cb Cs). It seems better, however, to understand the two terms separately as in Meyer and to construe mithyāvādi with each of them. liṅga refers to signs of disaffection or hatred, not of intercourse. — apahāra seems to have the sense of refusal (to have intercourse). mithyāvādi ‘one who speaks a falsehood,’ i.e., denies these things, hardly ‘who falsely accuses’ (as in Meyer). — savaṃpaśarpopagama ‘when the husband’s misdeeds are found out through a friend sent to him as a spy’ (Cb), ‘who has approached for intercourse a female emissary who is a friend (of the wife)’ (Cs). This latter is clearly influenced by classical poetry. Meyer has ‘when she has acknowledged (upagama, i.e., abhyupagama) before a wife of the same caste that she dislikes her husband.’ Perhaps the only idea is ‘approaching a person of the same varṇa through an intermediary’ for shelter or aid, rather than for intercourse, in which case the punishment would have been more severe. The offence is conceivable more of the wife than of the husband; mithyāvādi, however, is masculine. 17-18 It is strange that when the wife is in the wrong, she gets her śulka, strīdhana etc., while she gets nothing if forced to seek divorce through the man’s wrong. Apparently, the only test is who seeks divorce. It is not unlikely, however, that asyai and nāsyai have changed places in the two ss.; or perhaps we should read asau (for asyai) and nāsau (for nāsyai). 19 dharmanivāhānām, i.e., the first four forms. — āvesaḥ is added from Cb in the colophon, for uniformity.

20 darpaṃadyakrīḍāyām ‘haughty play (darpaṃkṛīḍā) and the sport of drinking’ (Cb Cs Meyer). A single idea might appear preferable. 21 strīprekṣāvihāra: we have to understand strīprekṣā ‘a show put up by women only’ and strīvihāra. vihāra is ‘udyānamgamaṅa’ (Cb). — Cf. Manu, 9.84.
day to a show by women or on a pleasure-trip with women, the fine (shall be) six pañs, for going to a show by men or on a pleasure-trip with men, twelve pañs. 22 At night, (the fines shall be) double.

23 For leaving home when the (husband) is asleep or intoxicated and for not opening the door to the husband, twelve pañs (is the fine).

24 For going out at night, (the fine is) double.

25 If a man and a woman, with sexual intercourse in view, indulge in gestures with limbs or indecent conversation in secret, twenty-four pañs is the fine for the woman, double that for the man.

26 For touching the hair, the knot of the lower garment, teeth or nails, the lowest fine for violence (shall be imposed), double (that) for the man.

27 And in case of conversation in a suspicious place, punishment by whipping may be substituted for the fine in pañs. 28 To women, the Caṇḍāla shall give five strokes with the lash in the region between the sides (i.e., on the back) in the centre of the village. 29 Or, she may free herself by paying a paña for each stroke.

Thus ends the topic of misconduct.

30 When a man and a woman, who are forbidden, make a gift to one another of small articles, a fine of twelve pañs (shall be imposed),

23 suptamattapraṇrajane : it is necessary to read matia as in Cb, as it describes the husband. prāṇajana is ‘leaving home, going out.’ — adāne, i.e., not opening, when, for example, the husband returns home at night. 24 niskasaṇe is the same as prāṇajana.

25 maithunārthe naṅga- : Cb text shows maithunārthe ‘naṅga,’ which Cs adopts; the actual comment in Cb, however, implies the former reading. anaṅga is superfluous, when maithunārthā is there. For the instrumental case of the latter word, cf. 3.4.21 below.

26 Cb Cs interpret ālambana as ‘kṣatakaraṇa’ when construing it with danta and nakha. But danta and nakha would rather appear to be those of the other party, like kēa and nīe. Meyer proposes hasta for danta, or stanasakthyaṇa- for dantarakkha-. It must be admitted that danta and nakha are strange and can only be thought of in the commentators’ sense. hasta for danta and sakthyā- for nakha-might appear better.

28 strīṇām : this would imply that males were exempt from this whipping. — paksāntare is from Cb. paksāntaram cannot be properly construed. The expression seems to refer to the back. Cb Cs however explain by ‘on each side,’ which would be an unusual sense. Meyer’s suggestion ‘at intervals of half a month’ (Nachtrag) is hardly acceptable. 29 paṇikam : as this comes to a small fine, Meyer thinks that paṇa has dropped out before paṇikam. For one lash as the equivalent of five pañs, he compares 2.27.19. That appears plausible. — aticāraḥ : other aticāras are dealt with in 4.13.

30 kṣudrakadārya : see 3.17.6. — sthūlakadārya : see 3.17.7-8. 31 aga-myayoḥ : between whom a sexual relationship is prohibited. — pratiṣiddha-
if of big articles, twenty-four panas, if of money or gold, a fine of fifty-four panas for the woman, double (these) for the man. 31 Half these same fines (shall be imposed) in case the two are unapproachable (for each other), also in cases of forbidden dealings with men.

Thus ends (the topic of) prohibition.

32 On account of disaffection towards the king, and misconduct, and by wilfully running away, a woman loses her ownership over the woman’s property, what she has brought (from her kinsmen) and dowry.

CHAPTER FOUR

SECTION 59 (Continued)

(x) Leaving Home; (xi) Going Away (with a Man); (xii) Short Absence from Home; and (xiii) Long Absence from Home.

1 For a woman who leaves the house of her husband, the fine is six panas, except in case of ill-treatment. 2 If she was forbidden (to do so), (the fine is) twelve panas.

3 If she has gone to a neighbour’s house, (the fine is) six panas. 4 In case a neighbour, a mendicant or a trader gives her shelter, food or goods (respectively), the fine shall be twelve panas. 5 If (these have been) forbidden, the lowest fine for violence (shall be imposed).

purusāvavyavahāresu: Cs has ‘dealings between two men between whom dealings are forbidden.’ It seems that the wife’s dealings (such as purchasing, borrowing etc.) with a forbidden man are meant. Jolly-Schmidt have the curious note ‘‘in the case of forbidden intercourse with them.” An apparent allusion to homosexuality.’ That is an aticāra mentioned in 4.13.40, not here.

32 rājadviśta is ‘treason.’ — aticāra, as treated above in this Chapter, does not lead to loss of strīdhana. — ātmāpakramanaṇena seems to be running away from home. In 3.4.15, one case of nispatana is said to lead to loss of strīdhana. Cb has ‘stealing the husband (?)’ — The kārikā is evidently derived from a different source.

3.4

1 viprakāra is clearly by the husband.

3 atigata is simply ‘gone to,’ not ‘gone beyond (the neighbour’s house).’ 4 It is proposed to read -panyadāne for -panyādāne of the mss. The offence of the neighbour is that he gives shelter to the wife, of the bhikṣuka that he gives food to her, and of the vaidehaka that he gives goods to her. This in the main is how Cb understands, except that it understands a pāṣaṇḍa bhikṣu and an evil trader. There is no reason for the restriction. With the reading of the mss. Cs understands dāna with avakāśā and bhikṣā, but adāna with panya. This appears hardly legitimate. 5 pratiṣiddhānām refers to the neighbour, etc.
6 If she has gone to the house of a stranger, (the fine is) twenty-four pañás. 7 In case a (stranger) gives shelter to another man’s wife, a fine of a hundred pañás (shall be imposed), except in cases of distress. 8 In case he has prohibited (her) or is ignorant (about her coming), he is guiltless.

9 ‘There is no offence in going to the house of one of (the following, viz.,) a kinsman of the husband, a trustee, the village headman, a guardian, a female mendicant or her own kinsman, if there are on males in it, on account of the husband’s ill-treatment,’ say the teachers.

10 ‘To the house of a kinsman, even if there are males in it. 11 For, how can there be deceit by a chaste woman? 12 This is easy to understand,’ says Kauṭilya.

13 Going to the house of a kinsman on the occasion of death, illness, calamity or childbirth is not at all forbidden. 14 For the (husband) preventing her on such an occasion, the fine is twelve pañás. 15 If even on such occasions she conceals herself, she shall forfeit her woman’s property, or the kinsmen, concealing (her, shall forfeit) the balance of the dowry.

Thus ends (the topic of) leaving home.

16 In case a (wife) leaving the house of her husband, goes to another village, the fine is twelve pañás as well as the loss of her endowment and ornaments. 17 Or, in case she goes in the company of a man with whom sex-intercourse is permissible, the fine shall be twenty-

7 satyo daṇḍah : the heavy fine is in view of the man being a total stranger, not a known neighbour. Meyer has ‘a wife giving an opportunity (avakāsā) to another man’s wife,’ which is hardly likely. 8 vāraṇa ‘preventing,’ i.e., prohibiting her from coming in.

9 sukhācāstha ‘a surety for happiness’ is a sort of trustee for the wife’s happiness. He has the responsibility of maintaining her for some time during the husband’s absence (s. 26). According to Cb ‘he has brought about the match.’ Meyer treats it as an adjective to grāmika ‘in affluent circumstances.’ — ancādhi: see 3.3.13 above. — apuruṣam : apparently males other than the heads of the families are meant.

10 jñātikulam : this excludes sukhācāstha and others. 11 chalam ‘deceit’ rather than ‘contention about trifles, word-jugglery’ (Meyer). The latter meaning, however, suits in 3.5.24 12 etad, i.e., the fact that chaste women would not cheat, or, the deceit if practised by a woman.

13 garbha may be her own confinement or rather that of some other female relation. 15 gilhamāṇā, in effect, amounts to a refusal to return to the husband’s house. — śulkaśeṣam implies payment of the dowry in instalments.

16 sthāpyā : see 3.2.15. 17 ganyena, i.e., not within prohibited degrees of relationship. — sarvadharma-, i.e., all social and religious rights and privileges. — anyatra bharmacānātirthe gamanābhyām : this means that she is entitled to these two privileges, both of which involve the husband’s duties towards her. Cs
four pānas and the loss of all rights, excepting the giving of maintenance and approaching during the period. 18 For the man (the punishment is) the lowest fine for violence, if equal or superior (in varṇa), the middle (fine) if inferior. 19 A blood-relation is not to be punished. 20 In case there is prohibition, half the (above) fines (shall be imposed on him).

21 In case she goes to a secret place midway on her way or if she accompanies on the way, with carnal intentions, a man who is suspected or forbidden, one should know that as adultery.

22 Accompanying a man on the way is no offence in the case of (the women of) dancers, wandering minstrels, fishermen, fowlers, cowherds, vintners and others who give freedom to their women. 23 Or, in case of prohibition, for the man taking the woman with him or the woman going with him, the fines (shall be) half the same as above.

Thus ends (the topic of) going with a man.

24 The wives of a Śūdra, a Vaiśya, a Kṣatriya and a Brahmin, who are away on a short journey, shall wait for a period (of one year) increased successively by one year, if they have not borne children, for one year more, if they have borne children. 25 Those who are provided for (shall wait) for double the period. 26 The trustees shall maintain those unprovided for, kinsmen for four or eight years has ‘except when she goes for the maintenance of the household or for the sake of the period.’ The latter would imply freedom to ignore the husband during the ētu. Meyer’s ‘except when she creates (i.e. seeks) livelihood or makes a pilgrimage’ is also little likely. In the footnote, Meyer suggests bharmādāna as ‘receiving maintenance,’ and ‘adultery by the wife during the ētu’ as the meaning of ētīhagamana. Neither is necessary. 18 tulyāśreyaśoḥ: Cb reads tulyāśreyaśaḥ evidently to make it conform with punīsah, and explains ‘one equal in varṇa’ only. But two persons are clearly to be thought of. 20 pratīṣedhe, i.e., when the bandhu is asked not to go with that woman.

21 vyantarare seems to mean ‘in the middle’ while she is on the way (pathi). Cb has ‘away from the road.’ Meyer thinks that atavantarare ‘inside a forest’ is to be read. — maithunārthena: Cb supplies vidyāt after this and understands it with the preceding case. Cs follows. It seems better, however, to construe this word with what follows, particularly with pathyanusaraṇe. — pathyanusaraṇe is proposed for pathyanusāreṇa of the mss., in conformity with the next s. and the title of the sub-section. — Besides proposing atavantarare, Meyer also proposes gūḍhadeśe vābhigamane for -desābhigamane. His tr. is ‘if she approaches with carnal intentions a man on the road, either in the middle of the forest or in a secret place, or if she accompanies etc.’ which is not very happy. — saṁgrahaṇaṁ: for the punishments Cb refers to 4.12.33.

22 prasṛṣṭastrikāṇāṁ, i.e., among whom women enjoy a greater freedom of movement than among the other communities. 23 ta eva, i.e., those of ss. 17-19 above.

24 saṅvatsarottaram, i.e., 1, 2, 3 and 4 respectively. — saṅvatsarādhiḥkam, i.e., 2, 3, 4 and 5 years. 25 dvīguṇam kālāṁ, i.e., double the two sets in the last s.
after that. 27 Thereafter, they shall release (them) after taking back according as they had given.

28 The (wife) shall wait for a Brahmin who is away studying, for ten years if she has no child, for twelve if she has a child, for a royal servant (she shall wait) till the end of her life. 29 And if she bears a child from a man of the same varṇa, she shall not incur blame.

30 Or, when the affluence of the family has disappeared, she, being released by the trustees, may marry again as she desires, or when she is in distress, for the sake of livelihood.

31 After a pious marriage, the maiden shall wait for her husband who has gone away without informing her, for seven periods if no news is heard about him, for one year if news is heard. 32 If he has gone away after informing her, she shall wait for five periods when no news is heard, for ten if news is heard. 33 If he had paid only a part of the dowry, she shall wait for three periods if there is no news, seven periods if there is news about him. 34 If he had paid the dowry (in full), (she shall wait) for five periods if there is no news, ten if there is news. 35 After that, she may remarry as she desires, with the permission of the judges. 36 'For, frustration of the period is destruction of sacred duty,' says Kauṭilya.

Thus ends (the topic of) short absence from home.

26 sukhācasthāḥ : see s. 9 above. These maintain for the periods stipulated in ss. 24-25. — param, i.e., after this stipulated period, the jiñātīs take upon themselves the responsibility. sukhācasthāḥ is understood as an adjective to jiñātīyāḥ by Meyer 'kinsmen in affluent circumstances' which is hardly right. 27 pramuśceyāḥ : i.e., she may then marry again ; cf. s. 30 below. Cb Cs understand 'release' to go to her parents' house if she so desires, which appears hardly adequate.

28 rājapuruṣam : A Brahmin would seem meant primarily. 29 sacarṇatāś ca prajātā : apparently this applies to the rājapuruṣa's wife only, though Cb Cs make it applicable to all cases. Because of ca 'from a higher varṇa' is also to be understood according to them.

30 kuṭumbardhihilope : in this case, even before the stipulated period is over, she may be allowed to remarry. — sukhācasthāir vimuktā : it is obvious that the sukhācasthas have been able to maintain her out of the family funds only. When these dwindle, they give her freedom to marry again.

31 kumāri and parigrakāram both imply that the marriage has not been consummated. — satpa tīrthāni : the counting may start from the day of departure or from the day on which he was expected back. 33 ekadesadattaśaksālam : payment of śulka in instalments is clearly implied. It is to be noted that the reference to śulka here is in connection with dharmavāhas. 34. This is naturally a repetition of s. 32. 35 dharmasthāir viṣāṭā : we may conclude that the permission of the judges is necessary if a virgin wife in the first four forms of marriage wishes to marry again. 36 Apparently the maxim in this form is Kauṭilya's own.
37 The wife of a (man) who has gone away on a long journey or has become a wandering monk or is dead shall wait for seven periods, for one year if she has borne children. 38 After that she may approach (for marriage) a full brother of the husband. 39 If there are many (such brothers, she should approach) one who is proximate (to the husband), one who is pious, one capable of maintaining her, or the youngest if without a wife. 40 In the absence of these, even one who is not a full brother, a sapinda or a member of the family who is near. 41 Among these, this alone shall be the order (of preference).

42 In case she marries setting aside these heirs of her husband, (or) in case she has a lover, the lover, the woman, the bestower (of the woman) and the man who marries her receive the penalty for adultery.

CHAPTER FIVE

SECTION 60 PARTITION OF INHERITANCE

(i) Order of Inheritance

1 Sons, having fathers, — with the father and mother alive, — are not masters (of the property). 2 After the father's death, there may be a partition of the father's property among them.

37 dirghaprajvasinaḥ: apparently in the case of a 'long' journey no time limit for return is fixed. — sopta tirthāni: if the period of waiting is to start from the day of departure in the case of the dirghaprajvasin, as is only to be expected, there would be little material difference between the short and long journey. It probably lay in the distance from home of the intended destination. 39 pratyāsanna, i.e., proximate to the husband in point of age. — kanisṭha abhāryaḥ: Cs understands two distinct brothers. But 'the youngest if unmarried' (Cb) is better, since a descending order of preference is intended. Meyer has the latter explanation, but offers another, 'dharmika bharmasamartha kanisṭha is the second and abhārya is the third alternative.' 40 kulyam a member of the husband's family beyond the sapinda-relationship. āsannam is to be construed with this word as shown by 3.6.22. 41 The Smytis recommend this order for niyoga, not for remarriage. Cf. Manu, 9.59.

42 jārakarmanī: Meyer manages to get from jātakarmanī of G the same meaning as jārakarmanī. A vā or ca is to be understood; else vedana itself would be jārakarma. But the second half mentions jāra as well as vettr 'one who marries.' — atyayam: the punishment of 4.12.33 is apparently to be thought of.

3.5

The 60th prakaraṇa is also spread over three Chapters, 3.5-7.

1 pitṛmantah sthitapitṛmātrkāh: it seems clear that the latter expression is a marginal gloss explaining pitṛmantah that has got into the text. The gloss probably owes its origin to Manu, 9.104. To get over the tautology Cs has 'pitṛmantah, i.e., having excellent parents,' Meyer 'pitṛmantah, who are still under the father's protec-
3 What is acquired by oneself is not to be divided, except what is brought into being out of the father’s property.

4 Sons or grandsons up to the fourth generation shall be receivers of shares of (goods) come down without a partition from the father’s property. 5 Till then the (funeral) cake remains unbroken. 6 When the cake is discontinued, all shall divide in equal shares.

7 Those who had received no property from the father or those who had divided the father’s property, when they live together, may divide again. 8 And he, through whom the (property) may arise, shall receive two shares.

9 Full brothers or those living with him shall receive the property of a sonless man, and daughters (shall receive it).

10 The sons (shall inherit) the estate of a man with sons, or the daughters, born in the pious marriages. 11 In the absence of these, the father if alive. 12 In the absence of the father, the brothers and sons of brothers.

tion.’ 2 ārdhaṁ pīṭṭṭaḥ : partition during the father’s lifetime is, however, also thought of in s. 16 below.

3 The Smṛtis refer to vidyādhana, sauryadhana, etc. in this connection.

4 avibhaktopagatānām : supply dravyānām, ‘goods come down without there having been a partition before.’ Cs has ‘of those who died (upagata) without dividing the property.’ This is hardly possible. upagata is not uparata. — ā caturthād, i.e., sons, grandsons and great-grandsons. — aṇśa seems to refer to the unequal shares as described in the next Chapter. The idea apparently is that a son, or a grandson would be entitled to the preferential share to which his deceased father or grandfather was entitled. 5 tāved avicchinnāḥ etc. : cf. Manu, 9.186.

7 apiṣṭdraavyāḥ ‘who had received no property from the father’ when they had decided to live separately, the reason probably being that there was then no property that could be partitioned. — saha jīvantaḥ : these are the saṁśṛṣṭins of the Smṛtis. They are referred to in this text much too early. 8 dvaśaṁ : Meyer would prefer to read ṛddhyaṁśam ‘a portion corresponding to the addition.’ ṛddhi is not ‘addition,’ and we should have anurūpa for ‘corresponding.’ — The rule is made applicable in the Smṛtis to the case where a son through his efforts recovers ancestral property that was mortgaged etc. Cf. Vasiṣṭha, 17.51. Brhaspati, however, agrees with this text in applying it to saṁśṛṣṭins. (Cf. Jolly, ZDMG, vol. 71, p. 233).

9 sodaryāḥ : these may or may not be living with him. — sahajivino vā : these may not be sodarya. — kanyāś ca : the ca shows that the daughters are to get a share whichever type of brother inherits. Her share would apparently be equal to that of an uncle. Cs understands only an amount for marriage. But the prāddhārika is mentioned in s. 21 below.

10 riktham : it is difficult to find any distinction between riktha and dravyā of s. 9. Perhaps s. 9 refers to saṁśṛṣṭins, this s. to the first partition. — duhitara vā, i.e., the daughters inherit if there are no sons. vā can hardly be understood as ca. This s. places the daughter before the brother, not together with him as in
13 And a brother’s sons, if without their father, shall receive only a single share of the father, even if they are many in number, along with the brothers.

14 Of uterine brothers born of more than one father, the partition of inheritance is to be from the (respective) father.

15 As between the father, the brother and the son, so long as the earlier one is alive, they do not depend on the later one, and so long as the eldest is alive, on the youngest even if he had received wealth.

16 In the case of partition during his life-time, the father shall not show special favour to any one. 17 And he shall not, without ground, exclude any one from inheritance.

18 When there is no property of the father, the eldest shall support the younger brothers except those who are wrongly behaved.

19 There is partition only among those who have attained majority. 20 They shall deposit with the mother’s kinsmen or with village elders, the share of those who have not attained majority, clearing it of debts, till they come of age, also the share of one who is away on a journey.

21 To (brothers) who are not established (in life) they shall give an amount for their marriage, equal to that of those already settled, and to daughters an amount for bestowal in marriage.

s. 9 — dharmiṣṭheṣu etc.: the implication is that in the case of the last four forms of marriage, the daughters are excluded from inheritance even in the absence of sons. 12 bhrātaro bhrātputrāv ca: these share jointly. — Contrast Manu, 9.185-7 (daughter not admitted), Yāj., 2.185 (wife between sons and daughters), Nārada, 13.50-51 (father, brothers and their sons not mentioned).

13 apātikā bahavo ’pi goes primarily with bhrātputrā and pitur ekam anśam has reference to them only. A deceased brother’s sons, even if many, receive, amongst them, only the share which their father, if alive, would have received along with his brothers. This is partition per stirpes.

15 Apparently this s. refers to the manager in a joint family. Seniority determines it. Cb, reading arthagrāhiniḥ, explains ‘those who had given the loan (arthagrāhiniḥ) should demand it of the father, the brother and the son of the debtor in this order.’ Cs makes this clear by understanding rṇadātāraḥ as subject and explaining arthagrāhiniḥ as gen. sing. ‘of the man who had taken the debt.’ The idea seems out of place here and does not agree with the rule in 3.11.14. — arthagrāhinam ‘who had received wealth’ apparently by his own endeavour. The force of api is to be understood with this.

17 akāraṇat: a valid kāraṇa would be patitavato etc. of s. 30 below.

20 The ā is necessary before vyavahāraprapāṇat. — Baudhāyana, 2.2.42, is an exact parallel (cf. Kane, HD, III, 573 n. 1077).

21 naivesanikam: the expenses for marriage would be over and above their regular share.
22 There is to be an equal division of debts and property.

23 'Those without any property shall divide even water-vessels,' say the teachers. 24 'This is play with words,' says Kauṭilya. 25 There is division of an object that exists, not of one that does not exist.

26 He should cause partition to be made in the presence of witnesses, declaring with specific mention, 'so much property is joint, of that so much is each one's share.'

27 They shall divide again what is wrongly divided, what is robbed by one from the other, what is hidden, or what, being unknown, comes to light (later).

28 The king shall take that to which there are no heirs, excluding maintenance for the wife and what is needed for funeral rites, with the exception of the property of a Brahmin learned in the Vedas. 29 He shall bestow that on those well-versed in the three Vedas.

30 An outcast, a son born to an outcast and, an impotent person are not entitled to a share, also an idiot, a lunatic, a blind and a leprous person. 31 If these have a wife, their progeny, not of the same kind (as the father), shall receive a share. 32 The others (shall receive only) food and clothing, excepting the outcasts.

33 And if, after they have been married, their potency is lost, the kinsmen shall beget sons (for them, and) he shall assign shares to them.

22 riktha is understood by Cb Cs as debt owed to the family by strangers. This can hardly be right in the context. Cf. Yāj., 2.117; Manu, 9.218.

23 The ācāryas seem to be rather keen on formalities to avoid future trouble. 24 chalam 'play with words' as in the Nyāya system (Meyer). Cs has 'contradiction in terms: if they are niśkimcana, they cannot have water-jugs.'

26 anubhāṣya, i.e., specifying the share. — kārayet: the subject seems to be dharmasthāḥ. A village elder or an elderly kinsman is also possible.

28 śrīṣṭī: only the wife seems meant. — pretakārya from Cb is distinctly preferable to pretakaradariya of the mss. which hardly yields a sense. Meyer proposes to emend it to pretakarmadeya. Kane (III, 763 n. 1469 and 810-1 n. 1586 and 1587) would understand kadārya in the sense of bhṛtya 'a dependant' as in Kātyāyana (yogidbhṛtyaurdhvacahikam). That would be a very unusual meaning for the word.

31 sati bhāryārthe tėśāṁ refers to jadonmatāndhakusṭhinaḥ only. 32 patita-varjāḥ: the patita is not entitled to maintenance; his son, however, would be entitled.

33 bändhavāḥ: for this niyoga, the order of 3.4.38-40 would a pparently operate; cf. above 3.7.6.
CHAPTER SIX

SECTION 60 (Continued)

(ii) Division into Shares

1 Among sons of the same wife, the (special) share of the eldest (is to be) goats in the case of Brahmans, horses in the case of Kṣatriyas, cattle in the case of Vaiśyas and sheep in the case of Śudras. 2 One-eyed or lame among them (are to be) the share of the middlemost (and) those of mixed colours the share of the youngest. 3 In the absence of animals, the eldest shall receive one part of every ten articles, with the exception of jewels. 4 For, he has the fetters of (the duty of offering) oblations to the manes tied round him. 5 This is the partition recommended by Uśanas.

6 From the personal belongings of the father, the carriage and ornaments (are to be) the share of the eldest; the bed and seat, and bell-metal dishes used for meals, the share of the middlemost; black grains, iron (objects), household furnishing and the bullock-cart, the share of the youngest. 7 Of the remaining articles or of a single article (there is to be) an equal division.

8 The sisters do not inherit, receiving (only) a share of the bell-metal dishes used for meals and ornaments from the mother’s personal belongings.

3.6

1 Brāhmaṇānām ajāḥ ‘because the goats are useful in sacrifices’ (Cs). Baudhāyana, 2.2.3.9, assigns cattle to Brahmans and goats to Vaiśyas. 2 kāṇa-laṅgāḥ: Cb comment implies this reading though its text shows -liṅgāḥ, which is adopted by Cs and explained ‘characterised by one-eyedness,’ which is quite unsatisfactory. — The question whether, when there are none of such animals, the junior sons are to go without them, is not answered. 5 ausānasō viṅgāḥ: Cb Cs state that as this view is not contradicted, it is acceptable to Kauṭilya. But the following ss. mention an alternative arrangement, and, as is often the case, the last mentioned view may well be that of the author.

6 kṛṣṇāṁ dhānyāyasam: Cb reads kṛṣṇadhānyā-. Āpastamba, 2.6.14.7-8, mentions kṛṣṇa bhauma in the share of the eldest. 7 ekadravyasya: such as the work of a single slave, the water of a single well etc. (Jolly-Schmidt). Cs interprets vā as api. Meyer prefers etadravyasya ‘of this whole property.’ The idea of sarva can hardly be brought in in this way. — The rule about the rest of the property would also apply to Uśanas’s scheme. — For special shares, cf. Manu, 9.112 ff., Āpastamba, 2.6.14.10-11. They are among kalivāryas later.

8 adāyādā bhaginyāḥ: this can be reconciled with 3.5.10 if we suppose here that daughters do not inherit when there are sons. Meyer thinks of special shares being denied to them. That is not unlikely. Manu, 9.118, Yāj., 2.114, allow 1/4th of a son’s share to a daughter.
The eldest, if devoid of manly qualities, shall receive (only) a third of an eldest son’s share, one-fourth (only) if he behaves in an unjust manner or has given up religious duties. If he behaves wantonly, he shall forfeit the whole.

By that are explained the middlemost and youngest sons. Among these, he who is endowed with manly qualities shall receive a half of an eldest son’s (special) share.

In the case of sons of different wives, however, seniority (is to be) in accordance with priority of birth, in the absence of one wife married according to the sacrament and another not married according to the sacrament, and in the absence of one wife married while a virgin and another married when she had lost her virginity, (also) among two sons born of the same wife or among twins.

In the case of the Sūta, the Māgadha, the Vrātya and the Rathakāra, partition (is to be) in accordance with mastery (in the profession). The rest shall live under him. If (all are) without mastery, they shall receive equal shares.

Among (a Brahmin’s) sons from wives belonging to the four varṇas, the son of the Brahmin wife shall receive four shares, the son of the Kṣatriya wife three shares, the son of the Vaiśya wife two shares, the son of the Śūdra wife one. By that is explained partition among sons from wives belonging to three and two varṇas of a Kṣatriya and a Vaiśya (respectively).

A Brahmin’s son born of a wife belonging to the immediately next varṇa is to have an equal share. That of a Kṣatriya or a

9 māṇusā, i.e., capacity to earn, to manage the household etc. — jyeṣṭhāṁśād: he loses a part of the special share; his regular share is not affected. — anyāya-vṛttiḥ is from Cb. anyāya-vṛttiḥ of the ms. could mean ‘living without earning an income,’ but does not appear a likely reading. sarvam refers to jyeṣṭhāṁśa only.

12 jyeṣṭhāṁśād ardham: this would come from the estate, or from the eldest son’s special share, if the latter is māṇuṣahīna.

13 sanskṛtasonskaṇṭayoh (abhāve) : i.e., the son of a sanskṛtā wife would be senior to that of an asaṁskṛtā, irrespective of age. asaṁskṛtā ‘one married by the Gāndharva and other forms’ (Cb). — kṛtakṣatayor is from the comment in Cb for kṛtakṛityayor. Cs understands by the latter the same as kṛtakṣatā. But in 3.7.4, kṛtakṛityā is ‘one married in the proper way.’ Meyer proposes kanyākṛtākṛityaya-yor, i.e., kanyākṛtākṛityā and kṛtakṛityāy (kṛtā meaning ‘violated’). This is hardly satisfactory. The idea, of course, is that the son of a wife who was a virgin at the time of marriage is senior to that of a wife not virgin at the time, irrespective of age. — yamayor: cf. Manu, 9.125-6.

14 aśvaṁyata, i.e., according to proficiency in the profession.

Vaiśya is to have half a share, or an equal share if endowed with manly qualities.

21 The only son among two wives, one of the same varṇa (as the husband) and the other of a different varṇa, shall receive everything, and shall maintain the kinsmen.

22 In the case of Brahmins, however, the son born of a Śūdra wife shall receive (only) one-third (of the property) as his share, a sapinda or a proximate member of the family (shall receive) two-thirds for the sake of offering the funeral oblations. 23 In the absence of these, the father’s teacher or pupil (shall receive the two-thirds).

24 Or, a person appointed, either a mother’s kinsman or a person of the same gotra, may beget on his wife a kṣetraja son; to him he shall allot that property.

CHAPTER SEVEN

SECTION 60 (Continued)

(iii) Classification of Sons

1 ‘Seed, dropped in the property of another, belongs to the owner of the field,’ say (some) teachers. 2 ‘The mother is (only) a leather-bag (for holding the seed); who owns the seed, to him belongs the child,’ say others. 3 ‘Both are to be found,’ says Kauṭilya.

4 A (son) begotten by oneself on a duly married wife is the legitimate son. 5 Equal to him is the son of the appointed daughter.

19-20 This seems to be an alternative to ss.17-18. In this arrangement a Kṣatriya’s son from a Vaiśya wife gets less than in the preceding arrangement. According to Cs, this arrangement operates when there are no sons from the other wives. There is nothing to indicate this. Cb seems to refer aṁśa to jyeṣṭhāṁśa.

22 Pārasāvāh: see 3.7.21. Cb states that according to others this rule applies by upalakṣaṇa also to a Kṣatriya’s son from a Śūdra wife. 23 ācārya ’ntevāśi vā: the Sūtras mention these in the regular list of heirs before the king; cf. Manu, 9.187, Yāj., 2.135. Their mention in the present context is more appropriate.

24 asya, i.e., the Brahmin who has only a Śūdrāputra. — mātrībandhuh: this is because a sapinda or a kulya is not there. — tad dhanam, i.e., the 2/3rds share.

3.7

3 vidyamānam ubhayam: Cb has ‘since both kṣetra and bija are necessary, the offspring belongs to both.’ The idea rather is, in certain circumstances, it belongs to the owner of the kṣetra, in others to the bija. By agreement, he belongs to both, when he is called dvāyamasyāyaṇa; cf. s.7 below. Cf. Manu, 9.32 ff., for a full discussion.

4 kṣetakriyā is one who is duly married. Cf. 3.6.13 above. 5 putrikāputraḥ: cf. Manu, 9.127 ff.
6 A (son) begotten on the wife (of a man) by a person appointed, whether of the same gotra or of a different gotra, is the kṣetraja son.
7 If the begetter has no other son, he belongs to both fathers or both gotras and offers funeral offerings to and inherits property from both.
8 With the same duties and rights as he, is the (son) secretly born, who is, however, secretly begotten in the house of the kinsmen.

9 One abandoned by the kinsman is the cast-off, a son to him who performs the sacraments for him. 10 The offspring of a maiden is the 'maiden's son.' 11 The (son) of a bride married when enceinte is 'brought with the marriage.'

12 The (son) of a woman remarried is 'the remarried woman's son.' 13 If begotten by oneself, he becomes an heir to his father and kinsmen. 14 If begotten by another, (he is an heir) only to him who performs the sacraments for him, not to the kinsmen. 15 With the same rights is the adopted son, given with water by the parents.

16 One who himself or through his kinsmen has offered to be a son is the son who has approached. 17 One appointed to the position of a son is the son made. 18 One purchased is the son bought.

19 When, however, a legitimate son is born, (the others) if of the same varṇa, receive a one-third share, if not of the same varṇa, receive only food and clothing.

6 anyagotraṇa: this would refer to mātrabhūṣ; cf. 3.6.24, also 1.17.50.
7 dvīgōtra vā: vā has the sense of ca (Cs). This is the dvīgaṃsūlaṇ of the later texts. — Cf. Manu, 9.132, Yāj., 2.127. Baudhāyana, 2.2.21, is an exact parallel and Kātyāyana has a metrical rendering of this rule. 8 bandhūnām: Meyer proposes bandhunā 'by a kinsman,' which is not necessary. — tu has no significance.

9 saṅskartuḥ: the upanayana saṅskāra is primarily meant. 10 kāninaḥ: cf. Manu, 9.172 (he belongs to the man who marries the mother), Yāj., 2.129 (he belongs to the mother's father).

13 svayajñāta, i.e., begotten by the second husband, and parajñāta, i.e., a son by the first husband, who is accepted by the second husband. Cb Cs refer them to the aurasa, and kṣetraja and others respectively. There is no reason why these should be understood here. Two kinds of paunarbhava are clearly to be understood. — pitr bandhūnān ca is as proposed by Meyer. It is obviously the original reading. 15 tattadharman: Cb Cs refer tat to svayajñā. Normally it should refer to parajñāta. On this view, the rights of the adopted son would appear restricted.

16 bandhubhir vā: because he has no parents he is given by the kinsmen. — For the sons, cf. Manu, 9.158-179, Yāj., 2.128-132 (closely agreeing with this text), Nārada, 13.45-47.

19 Baudhāyana, 2.3.11, agrees, using the same words (cf. D. R. Bhandarkar, Some Aspects etc., p. 59).
20 The sons of a Brahmin and a Kṣatriya born of a wife belonging to the immediately next varṇa are of the same varṇa (as the father), of a wife belonging to the next but one varṇa, are not of the same varṇa.

21 A Brahmin’s son from a Vaiśya wife is Ambaṣṭha, from a Śūdra wife a Niśāda or a Pāraśava. 22 A Kṣatriya’s son from a Śūdra wife is Ugra. 23 A Vaiśya’s son (from a Śūdra wife) is nothing but a Śūdra. 24 And of these (three varṇas) sons begotten on wives of the same varṇa by those who have not practised the vows, are Vrātyas. 25 These are the ‘right order’ sons.

26 From a Śūdra (are born of a Vaiśya, a Kṣatriya and a Brahmin wife respectively) the Āyogava, the Kṣatta and the Caṇḍāla. 27 From a Vaiśya (are born) the Māgadha and the Vaiḍehaka (of a Kṣatriya and a Brahmin wife respectively). 28 From a Kṣatriya (is born) the Śūta (of a Brahmin wife). 29 The Śūta and the Māgadha mentioned in the Purāṇa, however, are different, a special type from the Brahmin and the Kṣatriya.

30 These are the ‘reverse order’ sons, who come into existence because of the transgression of his own duties by the king.

31 From an Ugra on a Niśāda wife is begotten the Kukkuṭa; in the opposite case, the Pulkasa. 32 From an Ambaṣṭha on a Vaidehaka wife is born the Vaiṇa; in the opposite case, the Kuśilava. 33 From an Ugra on a Kṣatta wife is born the Śvapāka. 34 These and others are the intermediate castes.

35 A Rathakāra is a Vaiśya, (so called) because of his profession.

20 Manu, 10.6, considers all three anantarāputras as sadṛśa. Yājñ., 1.91 ff., differs and gives names for the mixed castes so formed, which are unknown to Manu, Nārada and Kauṭilya. 21 Niśādah Pāraśava vā: Meyer says the former is an offspring of a regular marriage, the latter is a bastard, and refers to Baudhāyana. 2.2.29-30, for support. 24 acaritavratetbhayah: the vrata is principally upanayana, Manu, 10.20, seems to derive vrātya from vrata ‘vow, sacred rite.’ Meyer would derive it from vrāta ‘a group,’ either as ‘those wandering in groups’ or ‘those fallen from their group.’

26 This text does not specifically prohibit pratiloma marriages, though s. 30 implies that. The women are likely to be wives, not mistresses. 29 paurānikas tvanyah etc.: Cs understands by Sūta Sauti Romaharṣaṇa, the narrator of the Mahābhārata, who is said to have sprung from a sacrificial altar; so was Māgadha, according to the Viṣṇu Purāṇa, 1.3. They are superior to Brahmins and Kṣatriyas respectively (Cs). This is very doubtful. In fact the s. is suspicious. viśeṣaḥ or viśeṣataḥ cannot be properly construed in the sentence. The s. appears to be a late marginal comment that has got into the text. Cs seems to understand the Sūta as springing from a Brāhmaṇa and Māgadha from a Kṣatriya.

35 Vaiśya is from Cs from Vainya of the mss. The latter cannot be right because the Vainya and the Rathakāra follow different professions. As Cs remarks ‘according to some Rathakāra is an antarāla community, but he is only a Vaiśya
36 Among them, marriage (is to be) in their own (caste of) origin, there is to be the observance of precedence and the pursuit of the hereditary occupation. 37 Or, they are to have the same special duties as the Śūdra, excepting the Caṇḍāla.

38 Only the king, behaving in this manner, obtains heaven, otherwise hell.

39 In the case of all intermediate castes, partition is to be in equal shares.

40 Whatever be the customary law of a region, a caste, a corporation or a village, in accordance with that alone shall he administer the law of inheritance.

CHAPTER EIGHT

SECTION 61 CONCERNING IMMOVABLE PROPERTY

(i) Concerning Dwelling-places

1 Disputes concerning immovable property (are to be decided) on the testimony of neighbours.

2 A house, a field, a park, an embankment, a tank or a reservoir is immovable property.

called by this name because of the profession.’ — This theory of the origin of mixed castes is, of course, open to many serious objections.

36 pūrṇāparagāmitvam seems to refer to precedence in social matters, in accordance with the origin of the mixed castes. Cb Cs, reading pūrṇācara-, understand the rule of hypergamy, a man of a higher community marrying a woman of a lower one. If this is meant, we should have a vā after it, showing an option to sānyonau vīcāhaḥ. — It is proposed to omit svadharmaṁ sthāpayet read after ca in the mss. Those words require rājā as the subject, which can be understood neither in the preceding nor the following clause. These clauses show that pūrṇāpara- etc. are in the nominative, not accusative. 37 anyatra Caṇḍālebhyaḥ, i.e., a Caṇḍāla is not to follow the professions of a Śūdra. Cf. Manu, 10.51-56.

38 This also is a spurious s., obviously a marginal comment by the same hand that added svadharmaṁ sthāpayet above. No reference is made to the king’s conduct in this Chapter to justify the words evam cartamāṇah.

39 Cb seems to imply that males and females all get equal shares. Meyer points out the contrast with 3.6.14-15 above. But the antarālas are probably only those in ss. 31-33, which do not include those of 3.6.14.

40 Manu, 8.41, makes the rule applicable to all matters, not to inheritance alone.

3.8

The 61st prakaraṇa is also spread over three Chapters, 3.8-10.
3 Along the house (is to be) a boundary, fixed with iron wires in pillars at the corners. 4 He should cause the house to be made in conformity with the extent of the boundary. 5 Or, he should cause a new fixing of the boundary to be made two *aratnis* or three *padas* away from the wall of a neighbour’s house.

6 (He should make) the dung-hill, the water-course or the well, not in a place other than that suited to the house, except the water-ditch for a woman in confinement till the end of ten days (from delivery).

7 In case of transgression of that, the lowest fine for violence (shall be imposed).

8 By that are explained the work of cutting fire-wood and channels for water used for rinsing on festive occasions.

9 He should cause to be made a deep-flowing water-course or one falling in a cascade, three *padas* away (from the neighbour’s wall) or one *aratni* and a half (away). 10 In case of transgression of that, the fine is fifty-four *paṇas*.

3 *karṇakīlayasasaṁbandho*: Cb has ‘having a fixing of durable substances with copper wires in the pillars (*kīla*) at the corners (*karṇa*).’ Cs has iron instead of copper (*āyasa*). Meyer has ‘an iron joining with pegs (*kīla*) that have ears (*karṇa, i.e.,* bars?).’ ‘Pointed iron pegs’ is possible, but the commentators may be right. Perhaps *saṁbaddho* is to be read for *saṁbandho*. — *setuḥ* here is a boundary” or “boundary-mark” as in 3.9.10 ff. 4 *bhoga* is here ‘expanse, extent’ (Cs). 5 For *pada* and *aratni*, see 2.20.11 and 12. — *desabandha* is evidently ‘fixing of the limit or boundary.’ Cb reads *pāde bandham*, paraphrased by ‘nemi-bandha, fixing of the circumference.’ Cs understands *pāde bandham* as ‘foundation.’ That reading, however, is uncertain.

6 *vā na* is from Cb, so is the additional *anyatra*; but *grhicitād* is proposed for its *grhicitam*. The ablative is clearly necessary for the sense. The *grha* is more likely that of a neighbour. The idea is that the dung-hill etc. are not to cause nuisance to the latter. — *anyatra sūtikākūpā*: i.e., the neighbours have to put up with the nuisance of waste water from a lying-in chamber for a period of ten days from delivery.

8 *tena*, i.e., ‘by the rule of the *sūtikākūpa*’ (Cb Cs). It seems, however, that *tena* would refer to the principal rule rather than to the exception to it. Perhaps, *indhanāvaghātana* corresponds to the principal rule, while *kalyāṇakṛtyeṣu* to the exception. — *kṛtam* after *ghātana* is not necessary. Meyer would look upon it as a separate word and construe it with *kalyāṇakṛtyeṣu* ‘arrangements for joyous festivities.’ That is not very happy. — *ācāmodaka*: Meyer has ‘water strained after rice is cooked.’ That is one of the meanings of *ācāma*; but ‘water used for rinsing the mouth after meals’ seems better.

9 It is proposed to omit *pracāya* after *aratnis* *vā*. That is supported by its absence in the parallel s.11. The word seems to have got in from some comment in the margin. — *prasravacanaprāptam* from Cb is an alternative to *gūḍhapraśātam*, hardly to *udakamārgam* itself as in Cs. It would mean ‘which flows in a cascade.’ Cb, however, has ‘where everything falls and flows,’ Cs ‘a place where all water-streams can fall.’ *udakamārga* is for drinking water as distinguished from *bhrama* which is for waste water; see 2.4.2.
11 He should cause to be made a place for carts and quadrupeds, a fire-place, a place for the large water-jar, the grinding mill or the pounding machine, one pada away or one aratni (from the neighbour’s wall). 12 In case of transgression of that, the fine is twenty-four paṇas.

13 Between all two structures or two projecting rooms, (there is to be) an open lane one kışku (wide) or three padas. 14 Between them, the distance between the eaves of roofs (is to be) four aṅgulas, or one may over-lay the other.

15 He should cause to be made a side-door in the intervening lane, measuring one kışku, for making repairs to what is damaged, not (allowing) crowding. 16 For light, he should cause a small window to be made high up. 17 When the dwelling is occupied, he should cause it to be covered.

18 Or, house-owners, by mutual agreement, may get things done as desired, (and) should avoid what is undesirable.

19 And he should cause that part above the verandah which requires protection, to be covered by matting, or a wall touching (the roof), for fear of damage by rain. 20 In case of transgression of that, the lowest fine for violence (shall be imposed), also in case of obstruction by doors or windows contrary to natural arrangement,

11 cakricatuspada ‘carts and quadrupeds.’ Cf. 10.2.16. The quadrupeds can hardly be ‘elephants, etc.’ (Ch). ‘Goats and bullocks (cakrin) and elephants, etc.’ (Cs) is improbable. Meyer’s ‘with a foundation of four circular (cakrin) padas’ as adjective to agniśtham is altogether unlikely.

13 prākṣiptaka seems to mean ‘projecting’ beyond the area of the house; by such sālās are meant cakricatuspadasthāna etc.

15 khaṇḍaphullārtham asainpātam ‘for making repairs to what is damaged and for not allowing people to move in and out easily’ (Ch). Meyer has ‘causing no knocking together when opened wide,’ which appears less likely. asainpāta may mean ‘where there can be no crowding.’ 17 avasita, lit., ‘finished, completed,’ conveys the sense of ‘occupied’; cf. its opposite anavasita, 3.16.31. — chādayet ‘should cover’ apparently with curtains, as Jolly suggests.

19 vānalatī is the ‘grhavarṇādakā’ (Ch, which shows the form vānalatī). Meyer would understand ‘a stick or pole (laṭi from yasti) which supports the net-work (vāna) of straw-matting’ or ‘a pole of dried fruit.’ Neither seems intended. — avāryabhagam is from Ch; āhāryabhoga- yields little sense. Meyer’s suggestion of āhāryabhoga- ‘whose use cannot be taken away,’ that is, durable, hardly improves matters. — avamarśabhaktiṁ vā: Ch Cs understand ‘a small wall,’ supplying kaṭapracchannām with it and treating vā as ca. The expression may mean ‘a wall touching (the roof)’ which would imply an enclosed verandah. Meyer interprets the reading avamadhbaktim as ‘not leaking at the joints.’ 20 pratiloma etc.: i.e., which impinge on the rights of neighbours. — anyatra etc.: this would imply that encroachments (bādha) on rājāmarṣa etc. are allowed, which is strange. Perhaps in their case a higher fine is to be thought of, though that is not specified.
except on royal high-ways and roads. 21 (The same fine is to be imposed) in case of obstruction outside (the house) by parts of a ditch, stair-case, water-channel, ladder or dung-hill and in case of prevention of the use (of their rights by others).

22 For one causing damage to the wall of another’s house the fine is twelve paṇas, double that in case of spoiling it with urine or dung.

23 A free flow of water (must be allowed) in the channels when it is raining, else the fine is twelve paṇas.

24 And (the same fine shall be imposed) on one staying on when forbidden and on one ejecting a tenant, except in cases of (verbal and physical) injury, theft, forcible seizure, adultery and wrongful use. 25 The (tenant) leaving of his own accord shall pay the balance of the annual rent.

26 For one not rendering help in a common dwelling, for one obstructing a thing used in common and in case of prevention of (rightful) use (by others), twelve paṇas is the fine. 27 Double that (is the fine) for destroying (what is used in common).

27 Of sheds, court-yards and latrines, of fire-places and pounding-sheds, and of all open (spaces), use in common is desired.

CHAPTER NINE

SECTION 61 (Continued)

(ii) Sale of Immovable Property; (iii-v) Fixing of Boundaries;
(vi) Concerning Encroachment and Damage

1 Kinsmen, neighbours and creditors, in this order, shall have the right to purchase landed property (on sale). 2 After that, others who are outsiders (may bid for purchase).

23 prañāyimokṣaḥ, i.e., not blocking the free flow in the channels.

24 avakrayinam : cf. 2.36.23. 25 varṣāvakrayaśeṣam : clearly a yearly contract of tenancy is implied.

26 sāmānyam, i.e., things shared in common as in s. 28 below. — ca is necessary after bhoganigrahe and has been added. The text in Cb has bhogaṇaḥ ca gṛhe, but the actual comment presupposes bhoganigrahe or bhogaṇaḥ ca nigrhnataḥ.

28 kośṭhaka  ‘door of the house’ (Cb Cs). It may be the same as vāhanakoṣṭha ‘a shed for vehicles’ of 3.9.25. — vareṇānm : cf. 2.5.6. The word means ‘a latrine.’ Cb, adopting varjānām, renders it by ‘rubbish-heap.’ Meyer’s proposed vrajānām ‘cattle-herds’ is quite unlikely.

3.9

1 abhyābhaveyuḥ : cf. 2.28.26 for the distinction in meaning from abhyācāḥ.
3 (Owners) shall proclaim a dwelling (as for sale) in front of the house, in the presence of members of forty neighbouring families, and a field, a park, an embankment, a tank or a reservoir (as for sale) at the boundaries, in the presence of village elders who are neighbours, according to the extent of the boundary, saying ‘at this price who is willing to purchase?’ 4 What has been thrice proclaimed and not objected to, the purchaser shall be entitled to purchase.

5 Or, in case of increase in price because of competition, the increase in price together with the tax shall go to the treasury. 6 The (successful) bidder at the sale shall pay the tax. 7 In case of a bid by one who is not an owner, the fine shall be twenty-four pānas. 8 If the (bidder) does not come (to take possession), the owner whose property was auctioned may sell (again) after seven days. 9 In case of transgression by one whose property was auctioned, the fine is two hundred pānas in the case of immovable property, a fine of twenty-four pānas in other cases.

Thus ends (the topic of) sale of immovable property.

10 A group of neighbouring five villages or ten villages shall decide a dispute regarding boundaries between two villages, by means of boundary-marks, immovable or artificial.

11 Elders among farmers and cowherds, or outsiders who formerly had possessions (there), conversant with the boundary-marks, either many or even one, should, after declaring the boundary-marks, point

3 -kulyeṣu is proposed for -kulyāh of the mss. in conformity with the locative in the parallel -grāmavṛddheṣu. Cb understands the sense of the locative. The subject for śrācayeṣuḥ is svāmināḥ understood. — sāmanta is an adjective to grāmavṛddha, and not to grāma. — setubhoga : cf. 3.8.4 above. — For an exactly parallel procedure, cf. 2.21.7-8. 4 avyāhataṃ ‘not objected to’ by any one claiming the right of pre-emption, etc. Meyer has ‘without hindrance’ construing it with kṛetuḥ labheta. — Since the sale is by auction, Meyer thinks of it as carried out under a court decree. In 2.21.7-9, however, there is no question of a court decree. In fact, all sales are controlled by the state and taxed.

7 avāmī- : Meyer thinks of a broker or an agent. Cs has ‘one who has no right to land.’ The former seems intended. 9 pratikrṣastikrama is not handing over possession to the purchaser. — anyatra, i.e., property other than immovable. Contrast 3.15.1 (which apparently applies only to traders).

10 The sub-section sīmāvīcāda is to be found in ss. 10-14, kṣetraṇīcāda in ss. 15-20, maryādāsthāpana in ss. 21-23, and bādhābhādhika in ss. 24-33. The colophon for maryādāsthāpana alone is found. — sāmanta as an adjective to pañca-grāmi and daśagrāmi is from Cb and quite necessary. — sthūcaraṇaḥ, i.e., trees, rivers etc. — kṛtrimaṇḍa, i.e., mounds, things buried underground etc.

11 Cb seems to have read -gopākalabdhakaḥ. — pūrvavahutikāḥ vā bāhyāḥ : in view of vā, this should be understood as an option to karṣaka- etc. Cb, however, reads abāhyāḥ and construes pūrvavahutikāḥ with karṣaka- etc. — abhijñāḥ from Cb is quite necessary for anabhijñāḥ of the mss. — viparītasāyaḥ, i.e.,
out the boundary, putting on a contrary dress. 12 In case the boundary-marks as declared are not found, the fine shall be a thousand (panas). 13 He shall impose the same (fine) on those who, after the boundary is pointed out, remove the boundaries or destroy the boundary-marks.

14 Or, the king shall fix, according as it may be beneficial, the boundary, the extent of the marks of which is lost.

15 Village elders who are neighbours shall decide disputes concerning fields. 16 In case of difference of opinion among them, they shall arbitrate in favour of that in favour of which are the majority, the honest or the approved, or they shall follow the middle course. 17 The king shall take that property to which the claim of both is rejected, also that the owner of which has disappeared. 18 Or, he may allot it as it may be beneficial.

19 In case of forcible seizure, the fine for theft (shall be imposed) in the case of immovable property. 20 In case of seizure on good grounds, he shall pay an amount (to the owner) after calculating his labour and profit.

21 For removing the boundary (marks) the lowest fine for violence (shall be imposed). 22 For breaking the boundary, twenty-four panas (shall be the fine).

putting on a female dress; cf. 2.36.39. 12 sahasram: the fine appears to be rather exorbitant. 13 setucchidham: trees are primarily thought of.

15 Here, too, sāmanta is an adjective to grāmadādha rather than an independent substantive. Cf. s.3 above. 16 bahavahā śucayo 'numatā vā: Cs understands vā as ca 'majority who are honest and approved by the people.' It seems, however that there is an option between śucayah and anumatāh, the latter being 'acceptable to both parties to the dispute.' Cf. 3.11.26-7 in connection with witnesses, also 3.11.39. — madhyamā grhnīyuh, i.e., in effect divide the disputed portion equally. 17 ubhayam paroktam is proposed for ubhayaṃ paroktam of the mss. As adjective to vāstu, the emendation is obviously necessary, the meaning being 'to which the claim by both parties is disallowed or lost (parā-uktā).' Cb explains the other reading 'if the two parties are unable to come to terms'; Cs has 'if both decisions, viz., the majority and the middle course are rejected by suitors.' Neither is happy. For parokta (used of a party to a dispute), see 3.1.19 ff.

20 kāraṇādāne, e.g., when received as a pledge for debt etc. — bandham is clearly 'an amount,' which is arrived at by deducting from the produce of the field charges for his own labour and a legitimate profit on the working of the field. The sense of surety does not suit here. See 3.3.4 above.

21 Whereas siman refers to boundaries between villages, maryāṇā refers to those between fields, etc.
23 By that are explained disputes concerning penance-groves, pasture lands, highways, cremation grounds, temples, sacrificial grounds and holy places.

Thus ends (the topic of) fixing of boundaries.

24 All disputes whatever (shall be decided) on the testimony of neighbours.

25 As between a pasture land, dry land, wet-crop field, a vegetable garden, a threshing floor, a shed and a stall for vehicles, the earlier one may suffer encroachment from the later one. 26 Dry regions (are those) with the exception of groves for Vedic study and soma-sacrifices, temples and holy places.

27 In case of damage to the ploughing or seeds in another's field by the use of a reservoir, channels or a field under water, they shall pay compensation in accordance with the damage. 28 In case of mutual damage to fields under water, parks and embankments, the fine (shall be) double the damage.

29 A tank on a lower level, constructed afterwards, shall not flood with water a field watered by a tank on a higher level. 30 A (tank) constructed on a higher level shall not prevent the flooding with water of a lower tank, except when its use has ceased for three years. 31 For transgression of that, (the punishment shall be) the lowest fine for violence and the emptying of the tank.

32 The ownership of a water-work, not in use for five years, shall be lost, except in cases of distress.

33 When tanks and embankments are newly constructed, an exemption (from taxes) for five years (should be granted), when those that are ruined and abandoned are renovated, an exemption for four years, when those that are over-grown with weeds are cleared, for three

24 sarva eva vicādāḥ : this has reference to disputes about damage to property which are now about to be discussed.

25 veśma seems to be a shed for storing grains etc., though a residential building is also likely. Meyer understands khala veśma as one. Cf., however, 3.10.29 below. 26 The idea apparently is that these sthala regions are not to suffer encroachments by kedāra etc. It seems likely that the s. is a marginal gloss by some pious hand which has got into the text.

27 ādhibāparicāhakadāropabhogaśa : in view of the plural, three ideas appear better than a single idea, viz., 'the use of wet-fields receiving water by channels from a reservoir.'

30 uparinesiṣṭam : pascēt may be understood with this, but is not necessary.

33 parihāraḥ : the exemption would be from land revenue as fixed in 2.24.18. — samumpārādhānām 'overgrown with weeds etc.' (Cb). It could hardly mean 'overflowing their banks (and thus damaged)' (Meyer). — sthalasya : as we have to understand navapravartane with this also, new land brought under cultivation
years, when dry land is newly brought under cultivation, for two years. 34 He is free to mortgage or sell.

35 (Owners) may give (water) in return for a share of produce of various kinds from sowings in fields, parks and gardens watered by (their) dug-out channels, structures based on rivers or tanks, or to others as it may be advantageous.

36 And those who use these on lease, on hire, as a pledge, for a share or with authorization for use, shall keep (them) in repair. 37 In case of failure to repair, the fine is double the loss.

38 For one letting out water from the dams out of turn, the fine shall be six pañhas, also for one obstructing, through negligence, the water of others when it is their turn.

CHAPTER TEN

SECTION 61 (Continued)
(vii) Damage to Pastures, Fields and Roads

SECTION 62 NON-OBSERVANCE OF CONVENTIONS

1 If one obstructs a customary water-course in use or makes (a new one) that is not customary, the lowest fine for violence (shall be imposed), also if one constructs in another’s land a dam, a well, for the first time is obviously meant. 34 svālmā : ‘ svāmī would have been better ’ (Cs). The idea is that the concessions do not affect rights flowing from ownership.

35 The s. seems to refer to lending water from one’s water-works in return for a stipulated share of the produce. It would be better to read -tañkodakam or at least -tañkam. — khātaprāçṛttima ‘ set in motion by digging ’ evidently refers to canals. nadinibandhāyatana may mean ‘ a structure, i.e., an arrangement dependent on a river (such as a dam). ’ taña is a tank. From these, water is given to kedāra, ārāma and sañja. sasyavarna ‘ various kinds of produce ’ from kedāra, ārāma and sañja. With the last two, sasya as ‘ grains ’ is not quite suitable. -uttarika has reference to ‘ the return ’ received. Meyer, in the main, has this explanation. Cb, however, has ‘ water from a well (khāta), from a river (nadyāyatana), from canals from a river-dam (nibandhāyatana), from a tank (tañka), from a field (kedāra), from a garden (ārāma), or from plantations (sañja), may be given in such a way that the quality (varṇa) and quantity (bhāga) of the crops are improved (uttarika). ’ ārāma and sañja as sources of water are doubtful. And kedāra, ārāma and sañja are hardly on the same footing as tañka etc. — anyebyho, i.e., to owners of fields other than kedāra, ārāma and sañja, and others to whom the water would be useful.

36 prakraya ‘ lease ’ ; cf. 2.12.22. In view of that, ‘ purchase ’ (Cs) is not right. — bhoganiṣṭha ‘ what is allowed for use ’ for the time being. — pratikuryuh, i.e., repair any damage caused by them.

38 avāre and vāre from Cb are preferable to apāre and pāre of the mss. It is doubtful if pāre can mean ‘ a sluice-gate ’ (Meyer). vāre is ‘ a turn ’ for receiving water from a tank etc. used in common.
a holy place, a sanctuary or a temple. 2 If a (person) himself or through others puts to mortgage or sale a charitable water-work, continued since old times, the middle fine for violence (is to be imposed), the highest on witnesses, except when it is in ruins and abandoned.

3 In the absence of the owner, villages or persons of a pious disposition should repair (these).

4 The size of roads has been explained in the ‘Lay-out of the Fort.’ 5 For encroaching on a path for small animals or men the fine is twelve paṇas, on a path for large animals twenty-four paṇas, on a road for elephants or fields fifty-four paṇas, on a road to a dike or a forest one hundred and six, on a road to a cremation ground or a village two hundred, on a road in a droṇamukha five hundred, on a road in a sthāniya, the country-side or pasture land one thousand.

6 In case of reducing the size of these (roads), the fines are one-quarter of the fines (mentioned). 7 In case of ploughing (on them, the fines are) as prescribed.

8 If the owner of the field takes away the field or the tenant leaves it at the time of sowing, the fine shall be twelve paṇas, except in cases of defect, calamity or unbearable conditions.

9 Tax-payers shall mortgage or sell (only) to tax-payers, Brahmin owners of gift-lands (only) t Brahmin owners of gift-lands. 10 Other-

3.10

The last sub-section of the 61st prakaraṇa is contained in ss. 1-34, while the short 62nd prakaraṇa is found in ss. 35-46. — samaya is more of a convention than a consciously made agreement between parties, though that also seems included.

1 The stop after nivēśayataḥ, instead of after sāhasadāṇḍaḥ, is as in Cb.
2 dharmasetu is a tank or other water-work made by some charitable person.
3 svāmyabhāçe: Cb restricts the rule to dharmasetu only.
4 durganiveśe: in 2.4.3-5 above. 5 rundhataḥ: encroachment on the road is to be understood. — satchataḥ cannot be ‘six hundred,’ in view of its place in the rising scale; ‘one hundred and six’ is possible, though unusual. Cb seems to have read sātyaḥ ‘one hundred,’ which might appear better.
6 atikarsane ‘reducing in size (from what is recorded in the documents)’ (Cb). Perhaps atikarsane was the original reading. Meyer proposes abhikarsane ‘ploughing up close to the road’ (Nachtrag).
8 upacāsa, as distinguished from kṣetrika, is clearly ‘a tenant.’ — dosopani-patāviṣāhāyehyāḥ: see 3.15.2-4. Here dosa is defect in the field, tools etc., upani-pāta some calamity and avivahyā some unbearable condition of work, such as incapacity, illness etc.
9 brahmadeyikāḥ: cf. 2.1.7. 12 prākāmyam is not a right to first choice, as Meyer thinks. It is only a right to obtain things. 13 dadyāt: the subject is apparently grāmikāḥ, the headman of the village.
wise, the lowest fine for violence (shall be imposed). 11 Or, (the same fine is to be imposed) on a tax-payer settling in a village exempt from taxes. 12 But one settling in a tax-paying village shall have freedom to get all things, excepting a house. 13 That also he may give him.

14 If one does not till land that is inalienable, another may use it for five years and return it after receiving compensation for his exertions.

15 Non-tax-payers, living in a different place, may live on the produce (of their fields).

16 Tenants shall accompany, by turns, the village headman journeying on village business. 17 Those who do not accompany shall pay a (penalty per) yojana of one paṇa and half a paṇa.

18 For the village headman ejecting from the village one who is not a thief or an adulterer, the fine is twenty-four paṇas, for the village the highest (fine for violence). 19 The entry of one who has been ejected is explained by trespass.

20 He should cause a fence to be made with pillars all round the village at a distance of one hundred dhanus s from it.

21 They shall live on pasture land, intended for the grazing of cattle, by cutting (the grass).

22 They shall receive one quarter (of a paṇa) per animal in the case of camels and buffaloes that have grazed on the pasture and

14 Apparently the owner cannot claim it back within five years if he has not been tilling it, nor can the other use it for more than five years.

15 The implication may be that tax-paying farmers cannot be absentee landlords.

16 grāmīka is clearly the village headman; cf. s. 18 below. His duties are not described anywhere. 17 paṇārdhapāṇīkam is understood as 1 1/2 paṇas. It is also possible to understand an option between 1 paṇa and half a paṇa at the discretion of the headman.

18 Apparently, only a thief or an adulterer could be exiled, and that by the headman or the entire village. 19 abhigamena is proposed for adhigamena in conformity with 4.13.3-4 to which alone the reference in vyākhyātah can be understood.

20 upasāla is a small rampart (sāla), a sort of fence; it provided an open space round the village and also served as a defence.

21 vicītamālavanena: this is understood as vicīta mālavanena (by cutting the grass). Cb on this s. is missing. ‘Cs has vicīta, māla (table-land or wood near the village) and tana. So Meyer, who has ‘they shall provide these for grazing.’ The compound in the singular would be strange in that case. — upajiveyuh: the subject is ‘grass-cutters.’ It is because these have an interest in the vicīta that fines are laid down in the following ss. which go to the grass-cutters and not to the state. They may be supposed to pay a rent for the right to cut the grass in the pasture land. These seem to correspond to the wood-cutters of 2.17.3.
moved away, half a quarter in the case of cattle, horses and donkeys, one-sixteenth part in the case of small animals. 23 If after grazing, the (animals) sit down, these same fines shall be double, fourfold if they stay overnight.

24 Bulls belonging to village temples or a cow within ten days of her calving, and stud bulls are exempt from fines.

25 In case the (cattle) eat the crops, he shall make (their owner) pay double the damage to the crops after calculating it in accordance with the harvest. 26 And if the owner allows the (cattle) to graze without informing (the owner of the field), the fine shall be twelve paṇas, twenty-four paṇas if he lets them loose. 27 For herdsmen the fines shall be half (of these). 28 The same (fines) he shall impose in case the cattle eat (the produce in) plantations. 29 (The fines shall be) double if the fence is broken, also if the (cattle) eat grains in the sheds or the threshing circle.

30 He shall take steps against injury (to cattle). 31 Animals from reserved parks or those that are protected, if found eating, should, after intimating the owner, be so driven off as not to cause injury to them.

32 Cattle should be driven off with a piece of rope or a whip.
33 For causing injury to them in other ways, the fines for physical injury (shall be imposed). 34 Those that attack or whose offence is clear may be restrained by all (possible) means.

Thus ends (the topic of) damage to fields and roads.

35 The village itself shall receive the penalty of a farmer who, after accepting (residence in) a village, does not do (his share of) work. 36 He shall pay double the wage for the work if he does not do work,
double each individual’s share if he does not contribute money, and a
double share if he does not contribute food and drink on festive occasions.

37 One who does not contribute his share in a stage-show shall
not witness it with his people. 38 If he listens to or witnesses it
secretly, he shall perforce give a double share, also in an undertaking
beneficial to all.

39 They shall obey the orders of one who proposes what is
beneficial to all. 40 For not carrying them out the fine is twelve
pañás. 41 If, on the other hand, they conspire together and beat
him, the punishment for each severally shall be double the (prescribed
punishment for the) offence. 42 (The punishment shall be) severe
for those who injure him.

43 And seniority among them shall be fixed from the Brahmin
downwards. 44 And in their festivities, Brahmins, if unwilling,
may not do any work and yet receive (their) share.

45 By that is explained the non-observance of conventions in
the case of a region, a caste, a family and a corporation.

46 The king should do what is agreeable and beneficial to
these, when they build dikes that are of benefit to the country or
bridges on roads or carry out works beautifying the villages or
defences (of the villages).

object is svakarma. — grāma eva and not the state. 36 The readings and
explanations adopted are from Cb. addēne is necessary with hiranya- and bhaksya-
peya- to constitute an offence. Remove the comma after ca in the text (Part I).

38 nigrāhena : Cb explains ‘for obstructing the work.’ In that case, the
locative should have been used rather than the instrumental. The word seems
used adverbially in the sense of ‘by force, forcibly.’ Cf. Manu, 8.220, where we
have nigrīya.

41 hanyuḥ : the root seems used only in the sense of ‘to beat, to strike.’
42 upahantṛṣu ‘those who cause death’ (Cb Cs). It may be that ‘those who
cause serious injury’ are meant.

44 Brāhmaṇā nākāmāḥ, an emendation in the Punjab edition, is necessary
instead of Brāhmaṇe nākāmāḥ ; with the latter reading Cs explains ‘in the case of
a Brahmin, they shall not apportion any share to him, without first ascertaining
his wishes.’ This is hardly satisfactory. — aṁśaṁ ca labheran : Cs explains
‘may contribute, if they are willing.’ This is hardly possible. Cb has no com-
ment on this s. Possibly it is a marginal gloss.

45 sanāgha is an independent term, not to be construed with each of deśa, jāti
and kula, as K. P. Jayaswal (Hindu Polity, II, 65) thinks. Cf. 3.7.40 above. —
anapākarma is failure to carry out or observe.

46 sanākrama ‘a bridge, a causeway’ ; cf. 2.3.30 above.
CHAPTER ELEVEN

SECTION 63 NON-PAYMENT OF DEBTS

1 One panà and a quarter is the lawful rate of interest per month on one hundred panàs, five panàs for purposes of trade, ten panàs for those going through forests, twenty panàs for those going by sea. 2 For one charging or making another charge a rate beyond that, the punishment shall be the lowest fine for violence, for witnesses, each one of them, half the fine. 3 If, however, the king is unable to ensure protection, the (judge) should take into consideration the usual practice among creditors and debtors.

4 Interest on grains (shall be) up to a half, on the harvesting of crops; thereafter it may increase being turned into capital. 5 Interest on capital (shall amount to) half the profit, to be paid for one year, being set apart in a store. 6 One away on a long journey or become obstinate (in making payments) shall pay double the capital.

3.11

As in the Manusmṛti, the question of the evidence of witnesses is discussed in the section on debts. The law of evidence was indeed formulated primarily in connection with debts.

1 dharmyā...vyācaḥārikì can hardly mean 'according to sacerdotal law' and 'according to secular law' as Jayaswal (Manu and Yāj., p.15) thinks. — kāntaraṇaṃ from Cb seems supported by Yāj., 2.38. 3 caritram, i.e., practices usual among the two parties. These are to be taken into consideration because the traders venture into regions where the king's protection cannot be assured. Cb has 'in such a manner as to suit the debtor and the creditor.' Meyer proposes to read apakṣyeta 'the whole relationship between creditors and debtors breaks down' i.e., creditors charge exorbitant rates and debtors hardly repay. This is unlikely. Breloer (II, 49-53) renders rājāṇi ayogākṣemacē by 'so far as it is useful to the king's fiscus or treasury,' i.e., local usage in the matter is to be taken into consideration only if the king's treasury does not suffer thereby. This seems hardly possible. Cf. 1.13.7-8 above.

4 upārdhā: i.e., half the amount of grains lent as interest. Cb Cs have 'one and a half times.' That would include the grains lent. — param, i.e., if at harvesting time the loan in grains is not returned. — mūlyaktyā, i.e., the loan in grains with the interest is turned into a money loan. Meyer reading upārdhā-varam and a stop after sasyamispattau, has 'interest in grains will be due when crops ripen. It may, after the fixing of the price, increase at least to half.' Breloer has 'up to a half of the ripening field. After the crops have ripened, the interest is half the produce' (II, 85-7). Neither seems meant. 5 prakṣepa is capital or investment; cf. 4.2.36 etc. In this case money is lent to the farmer, the interest being half the produce. — sainnidhānasannā 'accumulated in a store' (Breloer, who compares sainnidhátte svaceminā in 2.9.25). Meyer's 'if capital is sunk in the vicinity' is less likely, as the expression describes ṛddhī, not prakṣepa. Cb, reading sainnidhānasannā vārṣiki deyā as an independent s., has 'if interest is not taken for a number of years it should be calculated for one year only.' vārṣiki 'for one year' may, however, imply yearly interest, so long as the capital is not
7 For one recovering interest without fixing it or increasing its rate or claiming through witnesses the capital with interest added to it, the fine shall be four times the (one-fifth or one-tenth) part. 8 For claiming through witnesses a small amount (that was never lent), the fine shall be four times the non-existent (amount). 9 Of that, the receiver shall pay one-third, the rest he who helped him to recieve it.

10 Debt shall not increase in the case of a person confined in a long sacrificial session or by illness or in the preceptor’s house, or in the case of a minor or an insolvent.

11 For one not receiving back the debt being paid off, the fine shall be twelve paṇas. 12 If (it is done) by pleading a valid reason, it shall remain in another’s custody with (further) interest stopped.

13 A debt not taken notice of for ten years shall be irrecoverable, except in the case of a minor, an aged person, a sick person, a person in a calamity, a person away on a journey or in case of migration from the country or disorder in the kingdom.

14 Sons shall pay the debt with interest of a deceased person, or heirs inheriting the property or co-debtors or sureties. 15 (There shall be) no other suretyship. 16 The suretyship of a minor is void in law.

paid. 6 stambhapraviṣṭaḥ: stambha refers primarily to haughtiness which may lead to obstinacy in the matter of paying the debt. Cf. 8.4.30. Cb, reading san-stambha, seems to understand ‘paralysis’ by it. Meyer has ‘(money) absorbed (praviṣṭa) in frozen capital,’ which is little likely, since with dadyāt as the predicate, arthaḥ can hardly be understood as the subject. — mūlyadvigunam: according to Cb, this is the maximum even if many years have elapsed.

7 śrāvaṇyataḥ: in view of śrōtr ‘a witness,’ this obviously means ‘claiming with the help of witnesses.’ — bandha is the usual one-fifth or one-tenth, the fine for loss of suit (3.1.20-1). Four times that is meant. Cf. 3.12.6. Breloer (II, 87) who follows G, in not reading vardhayato, has ‘if one deposits that the capital (vā mūlya) or the interest (vā śṛddhi) is higher than is actually the case (āropya, i.e., having enhanced), he is fined four times the enhanced amount (bandha).’ That appears doubtful. 8 -catura- is omitted as in Cb. It may convey the idea of fraud, but does not appear genuine. tuccha ‘insignificant’ conveys the idea of a non-existent loan, in view of abhūta that follows. śrāvaṇā is a claim with the help of witnesses. 9 adātā is obviously the false claimant, while pradātā is the witness who would have helped him to get it. Thus Breloer (II, 88). Cb has the debtor and creditor respectively, and curiously has 1/4th and 3/4ths (for tribhāgam and śesam).

10 asāram ‘indigent,’ i.e., an insolvent. Breloer (II, 85) seems to render it by ‘an old man.’ — nārṇam anuvardheta, i.e., interest shall cease during that period.

12 anyatra, i.e., with some reliable person as a deposit.

13 duṣasārpa- etc.: cf. 3.16.30.

14 Breloer (II, 85) treats sahagṛdhinaḥ as an adjective to pratibhuvaḥ.

15 anyat, i.e., suretyship for producing the debtor etc. Cf. Yāj., 2.53.
17 But sons, grandsons or heirs inheriting the property shall (be liable to) pay a (debt about the repayment) of which the place and the time are not fixed.

18 Sons or grandsons shall bear liability for suretyship concerning life, marriage or land, to which no restriction as to place or time applies.

19 In case many debts become due at the same time, two (creditors) shall not simultaneously sue one (debtor), except when he is about to leave (the place). 20 Even in that case, he shall secure payment in the order of contracting the debts or first the dues of the king and of a Brahmin learned in the Vedas.

21 The debt mutually contracted between a husband and a wife or a father and a son or between undivided brothers, is irrecoverable (through a court of law).

22 Agriculturists and the king's servants are not to be held at the time of their work. 23 And the wife (shall not be held liable) for the debt incurred by her husband, if she has not assented to it, except in the case of cowherds and farmers tilling for half the produce. 24 The husband, however, shall be held liable for the debt incurred by the wife, if he has gone abroad without providing for her.

25 In case of admission (of the claim), it is best. 26 In case of non-admission, however, witnesses shall decide, those who are trustworthy, honest or approved, three at least in number. 27 Or, two (will suffice) if both parties agree, but never a single witness in the case of debt.

28 Not allowed (as witnesses) are a wife's brother, an associate, a dependent, a creditor, a debtor, an enemy, a cripple, and a convicted person, also those mentioned before as unfit for transactions. 29 The

16 asāram : cf. 3.1.34. Cb has 'if the surety is insolvent he need not pay when the debtor dies.' It is not easy to see how this meaning is possible.

17 asāṅkhyaetc. : the substantive is ṛgam (Cb) rather than prātibhāvyam (Meyer). With the former, dadyuḥ is used, with the latter vaheyuḥ as in s. 18. — This is different from s.14 in that here grandsons are also made liable, and sahgrāhināḥ and pratibhuhāḥ are excluded.

18 jīvātpratibhā seems to be a guarantor of a man's life, while vicāhapratibhā seems to be the same as sukhācastha of 3.4.9, 26. bhāmipratibhā may be a guarantor for the return of land by tenants. — The s. implies that ṛnaprātibhāvyā does not pass on to sośas and grandsons.

22 agrāhyāḥ : grah is primarily 'to seize, to arrest'; but liability to pay the debt is intended in the following ss. 23 anyatra etc. : i.e., the wives of these become liable even if their assent was not secured.

25 uttamaḥ : supply paksah (Cb), upāyaḥ (Cs). Meyer proposes uttama, which is not necessary. 26 ēcaya 'numatā vā : the option is between ēcayaḥ and anumataḥ, prātibhatkeva being compulsory. Cf. 3.9.16 above.

28 antearthin seems to mean 'a dependent.' Cb has 'one who says that such
king, a Brahmin learned in the Vedas, a village servant, a leper and a wounded man, an outcast, a Cāṇḍāla, a person following a despised profession, a blind, deaf, dumb or self-invited person, a woman and a king’s officer (shall not be cited as witnesses) except in the case of their own groups. 30 In cases of (verbal and physical) injury, theft and adultery, however, (all may be cited as witnesses) except an enemy, a wife’s brother and an associate. 31 In the case of secret transactions, one woman or man, who has heard or witnessed it, may be cited as a witness, excepting the king or an ascetic.

32 Masters may bear testimony for servants, priests and preceptors for disciples, and parents for sons, without being forced, or the latter (may do so) for them. 33 And in case of their suing each other, the better, if defeated, shall pay one-tenth (as fine), the inferiors, one-fifth.

Thus ends the topic of witnesses.

34 The (judge) should exhort witnesses in the presence of Brahmins, a water-jar and fire. 35 In that connection, he should say to a Brahmin (witness), ‘Speak the truth.’ 36 To a Kṣatriya or a Vaiśya (he should say), ‘Let there be no fruit of sacrificial and charitable deeds for you (if you speak untruth); you would go, potsherid in hand, begging for alms to the house of your enemy.’ 37 To the Śūdra (he should say), ‘Whatever the reward of your merit between birth and death, that would go to the king and the king’s sin come to you in case of a false deposition, and punishment will also follow; even afterwards facts as seen and heard would be found out; being of one mind, bring out the truth.’ 38 For those who do not bring out (the truth), the fine shall be twelve paṇas after seven days; after three fortnights, they shall pay the (amount of the) suit.

39 In case of differences among witnesses, the (judges) should decide in favour of that party in whose favour are the majority, honest and such a person has taken a loan.’ — pūrve etc.: a reference to 3.1.12.

32 amigraheṇa, i.e., without being forced. 33 For the terms, see 3.1.20-21. — Breloer (II, 90) seems to understand by uttama and avara higher and lower classes in general, not only those in s.32. That is unlikely in view of ēsām.

37 vaḥ ... yuṣmān: the plural may show that the Śūdras are exhorted jointly, while the others are abjured individually. — anubandhaḥ as an adjective is clearly necessary, not anubandhah. — upaharatā is from Meyer which is better for sense than avaharata. The prepositions eva and upa are often interchanged due to scribal errors. 38 anupaharatām refers to refusal to bear testimony. False testimony is mentioned later. — saptarātrād ārdhvaṃ: Cb Cs add that the 12-paṇa fine is for each day after the seventh. — abhiyogam ‘the amount of the suit plus 1/10th as fine’ (Cb), apparently because the state must receive its charges.
or approved, or should follow the middle course. 40 Or, the king should take that object.

41 If witnesses testify to an amount less than (that claimed in) the suit, the plaintiff shall pay a part of the excess (claimed, as fine). 42 If, on the other hand, they testify to a larger amount, the king should take that excess.

43 What was badly heard or badly written through the folly of the plaintiff, or the affidavit of a person (since deceased), shall, after investigation, be decided only on the testimony of witnesses.

44 'In case of divergent (replies to) questions through the folly of witnesses themselves, they shall be fined the lowest, middlemost and highest fines, with regard to (testimony about) place, time and the matter (respectively),' say the followers of Uśanas. 45 'False witnesses who bring into being a non-existent thing or ruin an existing thing, shall pay ten times that (thing) as fine,' say the followers of Manu. 46 'Or, if through folly they lead to a wrong judgment, death by torture (is to be the punishment),' say the followers of Brhaspati. 47 'No,' says Kauṭilya. 48 For, witnesses have to testify to what is the truth. 49 For those who do not testify (to the truth) the fine is twenty-four panās, half that for those who do not speak out.

50 The (plaintiff or defendant) shall produce witnesses who are not at a great distance in place or time. He may secure those who are at a distance or are unwilling to come, with a summons from the king.

39-40 sākṣibhe etc. : cf. 3.9.16-17.

41 bonāham seems to be one-fifth; one-tenth is inapplicable in this case.

43 duḥṣrutāṁ durliṅkitam by the writer when the document (the promissory note) was prepared. — pretābhiniṣesām: this is clearly a statement by a person since dead. Čb’s ‘distraction of the writer’s mind by grief caused by death in the family’ is hardly likely.

44 anuyoge: questions as well as replies to them. Cf. 3.1.46. 45 The omission of kuryur bhūtam in the mss. is due to a scribal error. Cf. 4.9.20. 46 visam-vādayatām: because of the causal, ‘causing a false judgment’ is better than ‘tendering contradictory evidence.’ 48 Čb Cs read dhruvaḥ hi sākṣiṇah śrotavāyāḥ and explain dhruva as ‘a member of the neighbouring forty families’ who are liable to be witnesses, apparently as in 3.9.3. This is doubtful. śru would mean in the context ‘to bear testimony.’ 49 abhrvāṇām, i.e., those who refuse to give evidence. The fine agrees with that in s. 38. Čb Cs read adhrvāṇam ‘those outside the forty families.’

50 pratipādayet: the subject would be abhiyokta or abhiyuktah. — Distant in time are such, e.g., as are engaged in a long sacrificial session. — aprasārān ‘who do not come,’ being unwilling. — svāmi ‘king’ (Meyer) rather than the ‘judge’ (Cs). The summons would presumably be issued by the judge in the name of the king.
CHAPTER TWELVE

SECTION 64 CONCERNING DEPOSITS

1 The law of deposits is explained by that of debts.

2 If the fortified city or the countryside is pillaged by enemy forces or forest tribes, or the village, the caravan or the herd is plundered by robbers, or there is loss of the wheeled carriage, or the (deposit) is enveloped by flames or by the current in a calamity of fire or floods in the midst of the village, or the boat has sunk or is plundered, the (depository), if himself involved, shall not be liable for the deposit.

3 The user of the deposit shall pay charges for use in accordance with the place and the time, and a fine of twelve pānas. 4 He shall be liable for what is lost or has perished in consequence of the use and (shall pay) a fine of twenty-four pānas, or, if the (deposit) runs away for some other reason. 5 He shall not be liable for a deposit that dies or is in distress.

6 And in case of a mortgage, sale or denial of the deposit, the fine shall be four times one-fifth (its value). 7 In case of substitution or helping it to run away, (the fine shall be) equal to its value.

3.12

Along with upanidhi ‘deposits’ after which it is named, this prakarana deals with allied topics, such as pledge, borrowing etc. All these, like debt, have this common element, that they involve the placing of one person’s goods in the temporary possession or charge of another.

1 The rules particularly applicable would seem to be those in 3.11.11-24 concerning receiving it back, liability of heirs etc.

2 cakrayuktanāše is proposed for cakrayukte nāše. cakrayukta means ‘a carriage’ as shown by 4.10.8; 4.13.22. Hence the proposed reading or cakrayukte nāše is necessary. cakra can hardly be ‘fraud’ (Cs) or ‘army’ (Meyer) here. — It is proposed to omit kiśicid ... dravye vā read in the mss. between -bāde and jvālā. — It is obvious that grāmamadhyāṅgnyudakābādhē and jvālāvegoparuddhe go together and cannot be understood separately. The omitted words cannot be easily construed with these. kupya in them is odd, and we have to suppose that irremovable objects could be spared by fire or floods. With ekadesamuktadravye ‘when fire or floods have spared part of the goods,’ there should have been a statement about the depositary’s liability in the form of an exception. This expression can hardly mean ‘when all goods are placed in one place’ (Meyer). Cf. 3.4.33 for ekadesa. The omitted words are clearly derived from some marginal gloss. — abhyāvahet : cf. 2.28.26 for the distinction between this root and abhyābhū.

4 nispatane implies a live deposit, an animal or a slave. pretam (s. 5) has the same implication. — anyathā seems to refer to ill-treatment, which makes the deposit run away.

6 caturgyunapāṅcābandho, i.e., four-fifths of the value of the deposit. Compensation to the owner would be distinct from this fine. Cb Cs have ‘four times as
8 By that are explained the loss, use, sale, mortgage and misappropriation of a pledge.

9 A pledge, yielding benefit, shall not be forfeit nor shall its capital bear interest, except when allowed. 10 A pledge, not yielding a benefit, may be forfeit and its capital shall bear interest.

11 For one not returning the pledge to (the owner) who has come (to redeem it) the fine shall be twelve paṇās. 12 Or, in the absence of the creditor, the (debtor) may recover his pledge after depositing the redemption amount with village elders. 13 Or, the pledge, with further interest stopped and its value at that time fixed, may remain just there or in the charge of the office for prevention of loss and destruction. 14 Or, in the absence of the debtor, the (creditor), if afraid of destruction (of the pledge), may sell it, with the judges' permission, at the highest price, or to the satisfaction of the Guardian of Deposits.

15 But an immovable (pledge) that can be enjoyed after labour or enjoyed in its fruits (without labour), may bring in a profit over and above the value of the interest on the capital, without causing a reduction in the capital. 16 He who enjoys it without authorization shall surrender the profit after deducting the value (of the interest due) and a part (as fine).

reparation to the owner and 4/5ths as fine.' There is no reason for a four-fold restitution. 7 parivartane 'change,' i.e., substitution.

9 sopakāraḥ, e.g., a cow whose milk can be used by the creditor. — sidet : sad seems to have the sense of 'to be forfeit, to be lost to the owner,' if the owner is unable to redeem it within the stipulated period. — anyatra nisargāt implies a case where the benefit from the pledge is not sufficient to cover the expected interest. Cb Cs read these words in s. 10 where they are inappropriate. G₂ and M omit s. 10.

12 nīskrayam 'redemption amount' is, in effect, the capital lent plus interest as it may be due. 13 tatraiva, i.e., in the creditor's house. — anāśavināśakaraṇa seems to be something like a lost property office. 14 dhāraṇikāśavinā-nidhāne is an emendation that is necessary for the sense. Cf. Yāj., 2.63. — udgatārgham 'with a raised price,' i.e., the highest price obtainable. — adhipālapratyaayo va : vikṛtita is evidently to be understood, so that pratyaaya refers to his satisfaction that the sale is above board and that a fair price is obtained for the pledge. — It is possible that the adhipāla is also in charge of the anāśavināśakaraṇa.

15 prayāsabhogyaḥ, e.g., a field. — phalabhogyah, e.g., a rented house, the rent of which is received by the creditor as interest. — prakṣepe- etc.: the idea seems to be that if the benefit from such an ādhi is more than the interest due, the whole of it may be enjoyed by the creditor and the excess may not be calculated towards repayment of the capital. In prakṣepevyddhimūlya, mūlya is 'value,' while in amālyakṣaṣyaṇa, mūlya is the 'capital' lent, the same as prakṣepe. Meyer, in the main, has this explanation, though he understands the first mūlya also as
17 The rest is explained by the law of deposits.
18 By that are explained the direction and the commission.
19 Or, if a person in whose charge is the object to be handed over, does not reach the place indicated while going with a caravan, or is plundered and abandoned by robbers, he shall not be liable for the object in his charge. 20 Or, if he dies on the way, even his heir shall not be liable.
21 The rest is explained by the law of deposits.
22 They shall return, in the same condition in which they received it, a thing borrowed or a thing hired. 23 They shall not be liable for a thing given with restriction as to place or time, if it is lost or ruined through deterioration or some sudden calamity.
24 The rest is explained by the law of deposits.
25 Concerning sale through agents, however, salesmen selling the commodity at the proper place and time shall pay (to the owner) the price as received and the profit. 26 Or, if (the price is) lower because of their missing the proper place and time, they shall pay the price according to the rate at the time of giving (the goods to them for sale) and the profit. 27 Or, if selling (the goods) as agreed upon they do not make a profit, they should pay only the price. 28 Or if the price is lower because of a fall in prices, they should give the lower price as reduced. 29 Or, in the case of dealers, who are trust-

'capital.' 16 anisṛṣṭopabbohātā, i.e., when the debtor does not want him to enjoy the whole fruit but only as much as would amount to the interest. — mūlayaśuddham is evidently the same as prakṣepavṛddhimmūlayaśuddham above. — bandham, i.e., 1/5th or 1/10th as fine. — Breloer remarks (II, 113-4) that in ancient India only a mortgage was usual, that a hypothec in which the debtor remained in possession of the adhi-goods was unknown and that hence Megasthenes' statement that in India no civil hypothec-suits took place is quite correct.
18 ādeśa seems to be a 'direction,' e.g., to a servant to take a thing to some person not far away, while anvādhi is 'a commission' to take a thing to some distant place. Breloer thinks that in the latter case, the person commissioned placed an adhi with the person who handed the goods to him. These two, he says, are guarantee-contracts (II, 114-115).
19 Cs has a single case, plundered etc. by robbers while with the caravan and hence unable to reach the destination. This ignores the vā.
23 bhreṣṭa 'deterioration '; cf. the use of the root in 3.20.18. — desakāloparodhi: Cb reads desakālācasarodhi The idea is the same. The thing is given for use in a specified place and for a specified period of time.
25 For vāyārya- see 2.5.18; 2.8.22. We have here sale through agents, who may be receiving a commission on sales. — sēṣam upanidhinā vyākhyātām after s. 25 is out of place and must be omitted. 26 parihinam, i.e., sold at a lower price.
27 yathāsaṁbhāṣitam, i.e., carrying out their part of the agreement as to place and time. 28 arghapatanā which is due to other causes, over which the salesmen
worthy and free from blame so far as the king is concerned, they may not pay even the price of what is lost or ruined through deterioration or a sudden calamity. 30 But of commodities removed in space or time they shall pay the price and profit after deducting losses and expenses, and a separate share in the case of each of the different kinds of goods.

31 The rest is explained by the law of deposits. 32 With this is explained (the topic of) sale through agents.

33 And the trust (is explained) by the law of deposits.

34 If he hands it over to one when it was entrusted to him by another, it shall be (treated as) lost.

35 In case of misappropriation of a thing entrusted, a former offence (of the trustee) and the persons entrusting it shall lead to decision. 36 For, artisans are dishonest. 37 There is no rule regarding trusts prevailing among them which requires evidence beforehand.

38 If he denies a thing entrusted without evidence, the person who had entrusted it may make witnesses, secretly stationed behind walls, learn about it by soliciting him in private or in a park by creating confidence on the occasion of a drinking party.

have no control. 29 sāhīnyavahārika seems to mean nothing more than 'a dealer, a trader.' — arājāvadeṣu suggests that the whole section has primarily in view the sale of royal goods. 30 desākālāntaritānām, i.e., those to be sold in foreign lands or those to be sold after a lapse of time. — panyasamavāyatānām ca pratyanāṁśam: this apparently means that when the agent handles many kinds of goods at the same time, he is to render a separate account of each. Meyer thinks of a number of agents of the same merchant selling the same kind of goods, each being responsible for his share. Such a rule does not seem necessary.

33 nikṣepa is a thing given in trust and primarily refers to raw material given to artisans for manufacture into articles. Cf. ‘nikṣepaḥ šilpihaste tu bhāṇḍam saṁskartum arpitam’ (Kśirasvāmin on Amara; cf. Kane, III, 454 n. 766).

34 hiyeta, i.e., it is to be treated as lost and the usual compensation and fine are to be given. Bréloer thinks that hiyeta means 'shall redeem itself,' i.e., the keeper is not liable. This would be so only if the other person is the heir of the entruster, since deceased, as in Manu, 8.185-6.

35 pūrṇapadānam: cf. 2.36.36 and see 1.8.16. 37 karana- 'evidence,' particularly in the form of witnesses.

38 It is proposed to read rahasi prāṇi- for rahasyapraṇi- ; the latter can hardly mean 'by making witnesses listen to the secret with a request' (Cs) or 'by making them enter (prāṇiPadā) into the secret' (Meyer). The customer entreats the artisan when the latter thinks that there is no one about (rahasi), when he may say something implying that he had received the article. That the concealed witnesses are spies (Meyer) is quite possible. vanānte: vana is upavāna, where picnics are arranged. madyaprahaṇaya is obviously a drinking party arranged in the park. Wine might loosen the artisan's tongue.
39 Some aged or sick trader should entrust to him in secret an object that is marked and go away. 40 At his direction, his son or brother should approach and demand the thing entrusted. 41 If he returns it he is honest, else he shall give the thing (originally) entrusted and a fine for theft.

42 Or, some credible person, about to leave home, should entrust to him a marked object and then leave. 43 Then returning after some time he should ask for it. 44 If he returns it he is honest, else he shall give the thing entrusted and a fine for theft.

45 Or, he should (himself) bring him round with a marked object.

46 Or, a person appearing foolish by nature should, through fear of (arrest for) king’s dues or movement at forbidden time, entrust to him at night an object of high value and go away. 47 Being in prison, he should ask him for it. 48 If he returns it he is honest, else he shall give the thing entrusted and a fine for theft.

49 And by means of a recognition-mark, he shall demand both of people in his house. 50 If either (of the two) is not given, (punishment etc.) as stated before.

51 And the (judge) should question the source of the objects used (by the defendant), and inquire into indications of that object

39 *apagacchet*: Cs has ‘should die’; the artisan is to get this impression, as the man was *vyādhita* or *vyādhita*; the man himself, however, only goes away, i.e., disappears for the time being.

42 *pravrajjā* may refer only to leaving home, not necessarily becoming a monk. Cf. *pravrajjītā* 2.23.2 above. — *śraddheya* suggests that the artisan must believe in the bona fides of the man about his intention to leave home or become a monk.

45 *pratyāñayet*: the subject seems to be the customer. According to Cs he points to a mark already there in the original article. Perhaps the reading should be *pratyāñayet* ‘should convince’ the artisan that it really belongs to him. This presupposes, of course, that the article is found when a search is made.

46 *rājadāyikākṣanabhītah* is uncertain in meaning. Two things may be understood—afraid of dues (*dāyika*) to the king, and afraid of *aaksana* (as in 2.36.35). Meyer has ‘fear of harm (*aaksana*) from the king or inheritors (*dāyaka*) laying claim to the valuables’ or ‘fear of king, inheritance or harm.’ With *kāaksana*, Cs has ‘fear of a demand on him (*kāaksana*) by a minister, etc. who wants to present it to the king (*rājadāyin*).’ Cb has no explanation; its text has *kāaksana*. Meyer also suggests *rājadāvārikāksana* ‘fear of the forbidden hour (*aaksana*) of the royal door-keepers (at the royal gate).’ That is not unlikely. 47 *bandhanāgūra*- etc.: i.e., on the plea that he wants to pay for his release.

49 *asya grhe janam*: this applies when the artisan is dead (Cs). — Meyer thinks that the s. is mutilated, a portion stating that an agent should deposit two things, one with marks and another without, has got dropped; that would explain *ubhayam*. It is also possible that *ubhayam* refers to the *nikṣepa* and the *kṣalakṣaṇa* dravya of ss. 39, 42 or the *sūra* of s. 46.
being involved in the transaction, as well as the capacity of the complainant to (own) the object.

52 By this is explained association in secret.

53 Therefore, one should make (a deal), with one's own people or with strangers, in the presence of witnesses, in an open manner, properly declaring it with respect to place, time, quantity and quality.

CHAPTER THIRTEEN

SECTION 65 LAW CONCERNING SLAVES AND LABOURERS

1 For one selling or keeping as a pledge a minor Ārya individual except a slave for livelihood, the fine is twelve pānas for a kinsman in the case of a Śūdra, double that in the case of a Vaiśya, three times in the case of a Kṣatriya, four times in the case of a Brahmīn. 2 For a stranger, the lowest, the middle and the highest fines and death are the punishments (respectively), also for purchasers and witnesses.

3 It is not an offence for Mlecchas to sell an offspring or keep it as a pledge. 4 But there shall be no slavery for an Ārya in any circumstances whatsoever.

5 Or, after keeping as a pledge an Ārya when the family has bound itself in times of distress of Āryas, they shall, on finding the redemption-amount, redeem first a minor or one who renders help.

51 upalīṇgānam: cf. 3.13.37 etc. Meyer's 'circumstantial evidence about the thing being connected with the artisan's business (vyavahāra) ' is rather involved.

52 That is, similar tricks are to be used if one party denies a secret agreement.

53 vibhāṣātim 'declared in words.' — agra 'number,' i.e., quantity, and varṇa 'class,' i.e., quality.

3.13

A part of this section is found in the next Chapter also.

1 udaradāsa: he is one who, in distress, lives with another person in better circumstances and works as a slave in return for food. A minor may be so handed over for his maintenance. There is no actual sale in this case, only stay for the time being. — āryaprāṇam: a Śūdra is clearly included among Āryas. — aprāṇaptavahāram: see 3.3.1. — parajana, i.e., one not related to the minor.

3 mlecchānām would seem to refer to foreigners as well as tribals not absorbed in Āryan society. Mixed castes would be on a par with a Śūdra (3.7.37). Breloer (II, 37-41) remarks that this corroborates the fact that the bondmen were of foreign origin. 4 This means that a minor's dāsabhāva is null and void. The dāsatva of a major Ārya is, however, implicit in the Chapter.

5 What seems meant is this: there is distress among Āryas (āryāṇām āpadi), so a whole family pledges itself to some one more happily placed (kulabandhane);
6 A person pledging himself shall be forfeit if he runs away once, one pledged by another, if (he runs away) twice, both at the first attempt, if about to leave for a foreign land.

7 Or, for one depriving a slave of his Āryahood, when he has stolen money, the fine shall be half (the above fines).

8 The pledger shall be liable for the capital, if the pledge has run away or is dead or is in calamity.

9 Making a pledge pick up a corpse, dung, urine orlevings of food, and making women (pledges) give bath to a naked person, giving corporal punishment to them and dishonouring them shall result in the loss of the capital, and shall result in freedom for a nurse, a female attendant, a woman tenant tilling for half the produce and a maid. 10 The going away of an attendant who has begotten an offspring is valid (in law).

then a minor may be included as a pledge (āryam ādhāya). That āryam refers to a minor seems clear from athavā, which implies an option to the preceding rule. — sāhāyaddāram is probably one who has been helpful in procuring the ransom amount. Cs has ‘who has agreed to be a pledge.’

6 sidet: cf. 3.12.9. What seems meant is that he ceases to be a pledge and becomes a dāsa. The former had a number of rights denied to the latter; an absconding pledge lost these. Cs has ‘i.e., he must return the debt at once.’ But if he could have paid the debt, why need he have run away? Breloer (II, 41-43) understands by ‘running away’ not only returning to the master but also demanding in law his liberation on account of illegal treatment. If the suit failed he had to go back. A law-suit by the pledge in this form seems hardly implied.

7 This s. is in the middle of ss. that deal with the āhitaka, not the dāsa. Perhaps āhitakasya should, therefore, be read for dāsasya, the idea being, a pledge who steals money might be reduced to the status of a slave by the pledger; that makes the latter liable to half the fines of s. 1. Cb Cs have ‘a slave stealing his master’s money is to pay a fine half that for a thief stealing the money (bhāva) of an Ārya.’ This is doubtful. Meyer has ‘for a slave stealing money, the fine is to be half that for depriving a man of his Āryahood.’ The fine would appear too small for the offence. He also suggests ‘for stealing a slave’s money, half the fine for deprivation of Āryahood’ or ‘for a slave stealing, half that for an Ārya stealing.’ Neither seems likely. The exact meaning of the s. is uncertain.

8 mālyam bhajeta, i.e., pay off the debt or furnish a fresh pledge.

9 upacārikā appears to be a more personal attendant than a paricārikā.
10 upacārakasya abhiprajātasya: despite the gender, a female attendant bearing a child to the creditor is to be understood. If she leaves, no fresh pledge need be given. A male pledge begetting a child on some female in the creditor’s house is possible, but appears less likely. Cb Cs understand the husband of the dāsi, who maintains her and serves her master for the same wage; if he begets a child on her, he may run away. This is rather involved. Meyer thinks of sexual misbehaviour with a male pledge and suggests abhimchittasya as the reading. That is quite unlikely. For abhiprajāta, cf. 3.15.13.
CONCERNING JUDGES

11 For one approaching a nurse who is pledged, when she is unwilling, (the punishment shall be) the lowest fine for violence if she is under his control, the middle if she is under the control of another.  
12 If one, himself or through another, defiles a maiden who is pledged, he shall lose the capital, pay (her) dowry and a fine double that.  
13 The progeny of one who sells himself shall be known as Ārya.  
14 He shall get what is earned by himself without detriment to his work for the master, also his paternal inheritance.  
15 And he shall become an Ārya by paying the price.  
16 By that are explained the slave for livelihood and the person pledged.  
17 And his ransom-amount is to be in conformity with the capital.  
18 One on whom a fine is imposed may pay off the fine by work.  
19 An Ārya individual captured under the banner should be freed by suitable work for a specified period or for half the price.  
20 If one employs in vile work or in a foreign land, a slave less than eight years of age, without kinsmen and unwilling (to do that work), from among any of the four types,—(a slave) born in the house, received in inheritance, obtained (as a present) and purchased,—or if one sells

11 vā is often used only to introduce a new rule. — svavaśām 'under his control' as in Meyer rather than 'not under her husband's control' (Cb Cs). So paravaśā is 'not under his control'; i.e., a man other than the creditor himself has relations with her.  
13 From this s. onwards the dāsa proper is dealt with.  
15 āryatvam gacchet; contrast Nārada, 5.37 'an ātmavikrayin can never be free.'  
16 That is, their progeny is Ārya, they can earn and inherit and be free by paying ransom.  
17 asya evidently refers to the āhitaka only, for in the case of an udaradāsa, no debt is incurred. — Breloer (I, 70-71; II, 43-5) says that half the wage earned by the dāsa by working for his master is counted towards liberation price. The present text shows no such rule. But it is clear that the dāsa could earn a wage and from the savings made out of his earnings, he could procure his freedom.  
18 This is obviously the danḍopakārin (2.12.21) or danḍapratiṣṭhāt (2.23.2; 2.24.2). He is a state slave and the whole of his wage goes towards his ransom amount.  
19 karmakālānurūpeṇa: we have to supply niskrayena. The idea is, after doing work assigned for a specific period he becomes free. For the expression, cf. s. 27 below. — mūlayārdhena, i.e., for half the usual price of a dāsa. Cb Cs have 'for half the price fixed in conformity with the work and time.' This ignores the vā. Breloer has (II, 45) 'through a fixed work or a fixed time or half the cost of the work (provided he can produce this amount immediately).'  
20 grhejāta—etc. refer to the caturvarga of Nārada, 5.29. — videśe: after this a vā seems necessary. With this clause nayataḥ is to be understood from the following clause.
or pledges a female slave who is *enceinte* without providing for the nourishment of the foetus, the lowest fine for violence (shall be imposed), also on purchasers and witnesses.

21 If a person does not make a slave an Ārya for a suitable ransom, the fine is twelve *paṇas*, and confinement (for him) till he does it.

22 Kinsmen shall inherit the property of a slave, in their absence the master.

23 The offspring begotten by the master on his own female slave shall be known as free along with the mother. 24 If the mother is attached to the house and looks after the affairs of the family, her brother and sister also shall be free.

25 If, after ransoming a male or a female slave, a person again sells or pledges him, the fine is twelve *paṇas*, except in the case of those who themselves agree.

Thus ends the law concerning slaves.

26 Those who are near shall note a labourer’s engagement in work.

27 He should receive a wage as agreed upon, in conformity with the work and time (if the wage is not agreed upon). 28 A cultivator, a cowherd (and) a trader should receive one-tenth part of the crops, of butter (and) of the goods dealt in by them (respectively) if the wage is not agreed upon. 29 But if the wage is agreed upon, then as agreed upon.

30 But the group of those who work in hope (of remuneration) such as artisans, artists, minstrels, physicians, professional story-

21 *sāṁrodhaś cākaraṇāt* is in conformity with 3.14.1 as proposed by Meyer. With *ākāraṇāt*, Cb Cs have ‘he should be called (*ākāraṇa*) and surrounded by kinsmen (*sāṁrodha*) and taunted and thus forced to give freedom.’ This is very doubtful.

22 Contrast Manu, 8.416 ‘a slave cannot own property.’

23-24 Kātyāyana has a closely parallel rule.

25 *punar vikrayādhānaṁ nayataḥ*: Cs thinks that the person who pays the ransom price is meant, Meyer that the person who receives the ransom price is meant. The former seems better. Breloer thinks (II, 57 n. 5) that *aniśkriya* is to be read ‘so long as he or she is not freed.’ This does not fit in with the exception in *svaṁvādīn* ‘who himself agrees to be sold or pledged.’ — *dāsakalpaḥ*: *dāsa* includes the *āhitaka*. They both differ from the *karmakara*. The former are under the sway of the *āhitaka*. The latter only does work for a wage. For slavery in ancient India, cf. Breloer II, 7-60.

26 *āsannāḥ* appear to be some sort of foremen, who are on the spot.

28 The wage mentioned in 2.24.28 for *gopālakaḥ* etc. appears to be for those in state service; here those working for private citizens seem meant. *gopālakaḥ sarpiśām*: cf. 2.29.7 above.
tellers, attendants and others should get a remuneration as others of that type do or as experts fix.

31 (Disputes) shall be settled only on the testimony of witnesses. 32 In the absence of witnesses, the (judge) should inquire at the place where the work (was carried out).

33 In case of non-payment of the wage, the fine is one-tenth or six pañás. 34 In case of denial, the fine is twelve pañás or one-fifth.

35 If a person in distress, overcome by the current of a river or flames or robbers or wild animals, calls a rescuer with the promise of all possessions or sons and wife or himself and is rescued, he should give a reward as directed by experts. 36 By that are explained retractions of promises made in distress in all cases.

37 A harlot should get a fee in accordance with the indications of union; but she who makes an exorbitant demand shall lose it, also if she shows evil-mindedness or lack of modesty.

CHAPTER FOURTEEN

SECTION 65 (Continued)

Duties of Servants

SECTION 66 UNDERTAKINGS IN PARTNERSHIP

1 For a labourer not doing the work after receiving the wage, the fine is twelve pañás, and detention till it is done.

2 If he is incapable or if the work is vile or if he is ill or in calamity, he shall get annulment (of the agreement) or (the right) to get

30 áśākārika is an unusual word; it seems to mean one who works in the expectation of a lump remuneration or reward, not a wage. These persons are not labourers, but belong to a higher category. — yathānyas tuvidhāḥ, i.e., at the usual rates, these varying according to circumstances.

33 dasābandha daṇḍah satpano vā, i.e., if 1/10th amounts to less than six pañás the latter fine is imposed. With his explanation of bandha as 'so many times' Meyer is forced to suggest that dasābandha and pañcabolbandha are to be interchanged in the two ss. 34 apayyamāné, i.e., denying that any wage is due from him.

37 puṇāscait is not mentioned in 2.27. — upalīgaññāt: cf. 3.12.51 above. — The stanza is not in keeping with the rest of the Chapter and seems derived from a different context.

3.14

The rest of section 65 is found in ss. 1-17 and section 66 is found in ss. 18-38. The two are closely connected.

1 sanrodhas cākaraññāt: see 3.13.21 above.
it done by another. 3 Or, at his cost, the employer shall have the right to get it done.

4 If, when there is a restriction ‘You shall not give this work to another, nor shall I do any one else’s work,’ the employer does not get work done by him or the labourer does not do the work, the fine shall be twelve pānas. 5 If the (labourer) has received wages from another person than the employer, he may not, on completion of the work, do (additional) work for him if unwilling.

6 ‘If the (employer) does not give work when the labourer has presented himself, the work shall be considered as done,’ say the teachers. 7 ‘No,’ says Kauṭilya. 8 A wage is for work done, not for what is not done. 9 If after allowing even a little to be done, he does not allow it to be done (further), his work shall be considered as done.

10 In case the labourer misses the proper place and time or does the work in a wrong manner, he may not, if unwilling, allow the work as done. 11 In case more work is done than agreed upon, he shall not make the effort vain.

12 By that are explained labourers from unions. 13 The (workman) kept (on the work) from among them shall remain for seven nights. 14 After that, the (union) shall provide another and secure the completion of the work.

3 vyayakarman ‘cost, expense’; cf. 2.1.23.

4 avarodhe from Cb is necessary for the sense. Meyer proposes virodhe ‘when there is prohibition,’ because of 3.15.7. But even in the latter place we have to read avarodhena for avirodhenas of the mss. 5 karmanisthāpane etc.: the idea seems to be that the employer may want the labourer to do additional work after the contracted work in hand is completed by him; if in the meanwhile the labourer has accepted another man’s work (receiving payment beforehand), he may refuse to do the additional work for the first employer. Suggesting karmanisthāpane as the reading, Cb has ‘when the work is uncompleted, the labourer who has received wages from another shall not work for the latter if the first employer is unwilling to allow.’ asakāmaḥ is queerly understood in this. Meyer has ‘If the master has assigned his work to some other person and if he has also received the wage, then if unwilling he may not do it.’ This sense for nisthāpana is uncertain. Cb is missing on bhurur akārayato...nāsakāmaḥ kuryāt.

6 kṛtaṁ vibhyāt: i.e., a claim for wage can be successfully made.

10 -pātanena: -pātane locative as usual would have been better. 11 prayāsam na mogham from Cb is quite necessary. na seems to have dropped out through a scribal error. prayāsam amogham is also possible.

12 saṅghahṛtāḥ: obviously these are members of a labour union. They get work and also their wages through the union, not directly from the employer. 13 ādhiḥ: in effect, this means a workman sent by the saṅgha to do the work. The similarity with the ‘pledge (ādhi)’ is that like the latter he does work for another at the behest of a third party (viz., the union). — saptārātram: change of work-
15 And without informing the employer, the union shall not remove any one or bring in any one. 16 In case of transgression of that, the fine is twenty-four panas. 17 For the person removed by the union, the fine shall be half (that).

Thus ends the topic of labourers.

18 Labourers from unions or partners in an undertaking shall divide the wages as agreed upon or in equal proportions.

19 Or, cultivators and traders shall give to a (partner) who has become ill in the interval between the commencement and completion of (work connected with) crops and goods (respectively) an individual share corresponding to work as done by him. 20 In case a substitute is provided, they shall give the full share. 21 But if he has fallen ill when the goods put together have brought success, they shall give his individual share there and then. 22 For, success or failure on the way is common.

23 But if when the work has begun a (partner) goes away even if in good health, he shall be fined twelve panas. 24 Nor shall he have the freedom to keep away.

25 But he should cause a misappropriator to be caught by (a promise of) a share for the work, preceded by a promise of safety, (and) he should give him the share and safety. 26 In case he steals men every seven days may be to prevent direct and close relations being established between individual workmen and the employer. 14 karmanispadham: apparently the idea is that the saingha is responsible for finishing the work and not any individual member.

17 sainghena parihastasya: the workman is to be fined apparently because he left without informing the employer when withdrawn (from the work) by the union. The union may be supposed to indemnify him.

18 The labour union is a sort of partnership and hence the easy transition to the new section.

19 sannasya 'who has become ill' (Cb). 20 upasthane: we expect upasthāpane.

21 sainsiddha 'has succeeded,' i.e., has brought in a profit. Cb, however, has 'is ready to start.' In that case pratyainśa would refer to the man's goods returned to him before starting. However, in the next s., which, with its hi, gives the reason for this rule, sainsiddha seems referred to in pathi siddhi.

24 na ca prākāmyam, i.e., he shall be forced to work. Cf. 2.1.22.

25 coram: this evidently refers to a partner in a joint undertaking who is suspected of stealing the earnings. abhayapūrcam karmayā pratyainśena implies a promise when his first offence is discovered that no harm would come to him and he would get his share, if he agrees to improve. grāhayet is not quite appropriate, as there does not seem to be any arrest at this time. Cs thinks of a guild of robbers,
again, he shall be exiled, also if he goes elsewhere.  27 In case of a very serious offence, however, he should deal with him as with a traitor.

28 Sacrificial priests shall divide the fees as agreed upon or in equal shares, excepting objects received for each one’s special duties.

29 And in the Agniṣṭoma and other sacrifices, a priest falling ill after the consecration ceremony shall receive one-fifth (of his share), after the sale of soma one-fourth, after the heating of the pravargya-vessel on the middle upasad day one-third, after the middle upasad day half the share, after the morning pressing on the day of soma-pressing three quarters of the share.  30 After the mid-day pressing, he shall receive the full share.  31 For (at that time) the fees are carried.  32 Except in the case of the Brhaspatisava, fees are indeed given at each pressing.

33 By that are explained fees for sacrifices lasting for many days.

34 The remaining hired (priests) should do the work of those who have fallen ill, up to ten days and nights, or others trusted by themselves (should do it).

35 Should, however, the sacrificer fall ill before the sacrifice is completed, the priests should complete the work and receive the fees.

36 But if when the work is incomplete one leaves the sacrificer or the priest, the lowest fine for violence (shall be imposed).

37-38 One owning a hundred cows but not keeping the sacred fires, one owning a thousand cows but not performing a sacrifice, a drunkard, one who has married a heretical woman, a slayer of a Brahmin, a violator of an elder’s bed, one addicted one of them betraying the others. But dūṣyavad ācāret in s. 27 is hardly possible in the case of a robber. Some important citizen or dignitary can alone be thought of. 26 punahsteţe implies a reprieve on the earlier occasion. — anyatra gamane, i.e., abandoning the work and going away altogether. 27 dūṣyavat, i.e., as in 5.1 below.

29 tṛitiyam from Cb is obviously necessary for dvitiyam of the mss. — madhyāmopasadā ārdhvaṃ is read in conformity with the actual comment in Cb, though its text shows madhyād ārdhvaṃ. 32 This s. serves little purpose and seems to be a marginal gloss by some one who did not agree with s. 31. ki in the s. cannot establish a relationship with the preceding. — For the rules, cf. Manu, 8.210.

33 This s. is unnecessary, and may not be original. Cb has no comment on it.

34 ā dasāhōratrāt: Meyer thinks of the days of impurity; that is possible if sanna implies actual death. — svaprātyayāh: svā may refer to the other priests, who have trust in these. Cb refers svā to the yajamāna ‘according to his own wish.’ Cf. 2.56.5; 8.4.33.

35 samāpayya: the causal shows that the heir or relation is induced to complete the sacrifice.
to receiving gifts from evil persons, a thief, a priest working for a degraded person,—(in the case of these) there is no harm in abandoning each other, because of the certainty of impurity attaching to (such sacrificial) work.

CHAPTER FIFTEEN

SECTION 67 RESCISSION OF SALE AND PURCHASE

1 If, after selling an article, one does not deliver it, the fine shall be twelve pañhas, except in cases of defect, a sudden calamity or unsuitability. 2 A defect in the article is defect. 3 Trouble from the king, thief, fire or water is a sudden calamity. 4 What is lacking in many qualities or what is done by one in distress is unsuitable.

5 For traders a period of retraction of one day (may be allowed), for agriculturists three days, for cowherds five days. 6 In the case of the sale of the means of livelihood by (persons of) mixed and the highest varñhas, (a period of retraction of) seven days (may be allowed).

7 For perishable goods, a retraction may be allowed with the restriction 'It shall not be sold elsewhere.' 8 In case of transgression of that, the fine is twenty-four pañhas or one-tenth part of the goods.

9 If, after purchasing an article, one does not receive it, the fine is twelve pañhas, except in cases of defect, a sudden calamity or un-

37 The first half occurs in Manu, 11.14, in another connection. — vṛṣali is a heretic woman, not necessarily a Śūdra. Cf. 1.12.5. — The nominatives in this and the following stanza cannot be easily construed with the predicate at the end; we should supply eteṣāṁ with it. 38 saṅkara is defect, i.e., impurity.

3.15

4 bahugunahinam 'lacking in many qualities' is according to Cs 'with its value diminished many times,' according to Meyer 'disadvantageous from many points of view.' — ārtakṛtāṁ may convey the idea of what is done under duress. — The same three conditions operate for rescission of purchase as well (s. 9 below).

6 vṛtiśikraṇe is from Cb. For concern about vṛtti, cf. 3.1.31. vṛtti- of the mss. conveys little sense. Meyer suggesting niyṛtti- for it and thinking varṇāṇam to be an error for panyāṇāṁ has 'for cancellation (niyṛtti) or sale (finally confirmed) of goods mixed or of the highest quality.' This is little likely.

7 āṭitaṁkika which must be disposed of quickly, perishable goods, such as milk, curds, flowers etc. (Cb). — avarodhena is proposed for avirodhenā of the mss. Cf. 3.14.4. avirodhena can hardly mean 'so as to enable the goods to be preserved' (Cs) or 'when there is no prohibition to sell elsewhere' (Meyer). Meyer's other explanation (with avirodhe na) 'there shall be no retraction (na anusayah) except when there is no prohibition (avirodhe)' is not possible. There is nothing in the text for 'except when.'
suitability. 10 And rescission of purchase is similar to retraction by a seller.

11 In the case of marriages, however, revocation is valid up to the ceremony of clasping the hand in the case of the first three varnas, and up to consummation in the case of Šūdras. 12 Even in the case of those whose hand-clasping ceremony is completed, revocation is valid on discovering a defect connected with sex. 13 But under no circumstances (will revocation be valid) when they have begotten children.

14 For giving a maiden in marriage without mentioning the maiden's defect in connection with sex, the fine is ninety-six panas and the return of the dowry and woman's property. 15 Or, for the suitor marrying without mentioning the bridegroom's defect, the fine is double, and the loss of the dowry and woman's property.

16 In the case of bipeds and quadrupeds, however, for declaring dull, diseased and unclean ones as energetic, healthy and clean (respectively) the fine is twelve panas. 17 In the case of quadrupeds revocation (is allowed) up to three fortnights, up to a year in the case of human beings. 18 For, it is by that time that purity or otherwise can be known.

19 The members of the court should so allow revocation in the matter of a gift or a purchase that neither the giver nor the receiver is harmed.

10 samānaḥ, i.e., as in s. 5.

11 pāṇigrahenaḥ: the sense of ā is to be understood with the ablative. Cf. 3.5.20. — prakarmanah: again ā is to be understood. prakarman is sexual intercourse, i.e., consummation. 12 doṣam aupasāyikam, e.g., impotency, loss of virginity etc. (Cb).

14 strīdhana could be returned by the parents if it is in their possession. For strīdhana, see 3.2.14-15. 15 varājituh refers to the bridegroom himself, since it goes with vindataḥ 'who marries.' — Manu also includes marriage-sale under this head.

16 It is proposed to read kuntha- for kuṣṭha- of the mss., as it provides the necessary contrast to utsāha. — We expect sotsūha and svastha, adjectives like śucī. 18 saucūsaucē is attested by Cb. Physical as well as mental cleanliness is implied. — Sale of human beings is clearly mentioned here.

19 sahāsadaḥ are apparently the same as kuśalāḥ of 3.16.5, where this rule is repeated; experts consulted by the court in technical matters are meant.
CHAPTER SIXTEEN

SECTION 68 NON-CONVEYANCE OF GIFTS

SECTION 69 SALE WITHOUT OWNERSHIP

SECTION 70 THE RELATION OF OWNERSHIP

1 The non-delivery of gifts is explained by the non-payment of debts.

2 A gift, not negotiable, shall remain in revocation in one place.

3 If, after promising to give his whole property, his sons and wife or himself, one revokes, the (judge) shall allow it. 4 And (the judge shall annul) a gift of piety to wicked persons or for destructive actions, a gift of wealth to those who are not useful or are harmful, and a gift of love to unworthy persons.

5 And experts shall fix revocation in such a way that neither the donor nor the receiver is harmed.

6 For one who accepts a gift made in fear — through fear of punishment, or fear of abuse or fear of a calamity—the punishment shall be that for theft, also for him who makes it. 7 (That applies also to) a gift in anger for injuring another and a gift made in haughtiness above that of kings. 8 In that case the fine shall be the highest.

9 The son or heir inheriting the property may not pay, if unwilling, obligations of suretyship, balance of a fine or dowry, a gambling debt, a debt for drinks and a gift of love.

Thus ends the topic of non-conveyance of gifts.

10 As to sale without ownership, however, on finding a lost or stolen article, the owner shall cause it to be seized by the judge.

3.16

The three short prakaranaś are found in ss. 1-9, 10-28 and 29-42 respectively.

2 avyavahāryam which cannot be the object of a transaction of gift. — ekatra anusāye varteta: Meyer has 'belongs solely to revocation, (i.e., to the chapter on revocation of sale and purchase).' This seems hardly meant. The idea seems to be, it stands revoked automatically, with the donor.

3 sarvasvaṃ etc. : cf. 3.13.35. These are the avyavahārya gifts. — prayacchet: the subject seems to be the judge, rather than the receiver. In the next s., the judge is clearly to be thought of as ordering annulment of gifts. 4 karmasu ca: the ca should preferably have come after dharmadānam.

5 Cf. 3.15.19.

6 ākrośa 'reviling, abusing'; cf. 3.18.12; also 4.11.14. 7 rājūm: the plural may suggest inclusion of members of the royal family.

9 prāṭibhādayam: cf. 3.11.15 ff. — śūkṣam: cf. 3.4.33; 3.2.19. The readings from Cb are obviously necessary. — Manu, 8.159, is identical.
11 Of, if the place and time are likely to be missed, he should himself seize it and bring it (to the judge). 12 And the judge should question the possessor, ‘Where did you get this?’ 13 If he were to show a legitimate method (of purchase), but not the vendor, he shall be acquitted on handing over that article. 14 If the vendor were found, he shall pay the price (to the purchaser) and a fine for theft. 15 If he were to find a means of exoneration, he may clear himself (and so on) till the means of exoneration are exhausted. 16 When these are exhausted, the (last person unable to exonerate himself) shall pay the price and fine for theft.

17 And he who had lost the article shall get the article, lost and recovered, after submitting proof of ownership. 18 If there be no proof of ownership, the fine shall be one-fifth (the value of the article). 19 And that article shall be the king’s lawful property.

20 If the owner takes away a lost or stolen article without informing (the judge), the fine shall be the lowest fine for violence.

21 What is found after being lost or stolen shall remain in the customs house. 22 The king shall take after three fortnights that to which a claim has not been made, or the owner (shall get it) by producing proof of ownership. 23 He shall pay a ransom of five pānas for each two-footed being, four pānas for a one-hoofed creature, two pānas for a cow or a buffalo, one quarter (of a pāna) for a small animal. 24 He shall pay five per cent (of the value) of jewels, articles of high value, of low value and forest produce.

10 āśādya, i.e., when the owner finds or comes across his lost article in some one else’s possession. — grāhayet : the object is ‘the article’ lost. 11 deśakālātipattau, i.e., if delay means that the article may be lost sight of. Cf. 7.18.11. 12 svāminam can only refer to the person in whose possession the article is found. The use of the same word for the claimant as well as the suspect in consecutive ss. is confusing. 13 ācārakramam : perhaps the reading should be ācārakrayam, as is shown by vikreţāram. 14 mūlyam would naturally go to the suspect, whose bona fides are thus proved. 15 apasāra ‘a means of escape,’ i.e., a person who makes it possible for another to exonerate himself.

17 nāṣṭikā ca is from Ch for nāṣṭikam ca ; the nominative is necessary, as nāṣṭika is ‘one who has lost an article.’ — svakrayam : cf. 3.1.15 etc.

20 utkaryataḥ, i.e., appropriating. — svāminaḥ : this is the owner, not the possessor (as Meyer has it). Cf. Yāj., 2.172, and the Miśāsāra on it, which says that the owner thereby commits the offence of concealing the thief.

21 sulkasthāne : this is probably the same as the ghāṭikāsthāna of 2.21.5. 22 anabhīṣāram ‘to which no one comes to claim it,’ i.e., unclaimed. — svāmī vā : i.e., the owner can claim it even after three fortnights by producing proof. svāmī here, too, cannot be the temporary possessor (as in Meyer). 23-24 : these are charges for keeping them safe. If the rule of 5% is assumed to operate in all cases, the price of a slave would come to 100 pānas, of a horse 80 pānas, of a cow or buffalo 40 pānas and of a goat etc. 5 pānas.
25 But what is plundered by enemy troops or forest tribes the king shall recover and restore to rightful owners. 26 What is stolen by thieves, he shall restore out of his own goods if it is non-existent or he is unable to recover it. 27 He should restore what has been seized for themselves (by favourites etc.) or pay a compensation for it.

28 One may, however, enjoy as directed by the king what is brought from an enemy territory by valour, excepting Ārya individuals and the property of gods, Brahmans and ascetics.

Thus ends the topic of sale without ownership.

29 As to the relation of ownership, however—of goods, evidence as to ownership of which is lost, continuity of possession (shall be proof of ownership) as in each one’s possession.

30 That property of one’s own to which one remains indifferent for ten years while it is being used by others, shall be lost to him, except in the case of a minor, an aged person, a sick person, one in a calamity, one away from home, or in case of migration from the country or a disturbance in the kingdom.

31 He shall not raise questions about an unoccupied immovable property which is disregarded for twenty years.

32 Relatives, Brahmans learned in the Vedas, or heretics, living in other people’s buildings, in the absence of kings, shall not get them on the strength of possession, also a deposit, a pledge, a buried treasure, an article entrusted, a woman, a boundary and the property of the king or a Brahmin learned in the Vedas.

26 avidyamānasam because it is destroyed or used up by the thieves. 27 svayān-grāhena: this seems to refer to what is seized by the king’s favourites etc. for themselves, as in 8.4.23. It can also mean ‘what is looted by enemy troops, each for himself’ as in 8.1.44. But that appears less likely as that case is already covered by paracakra in s.25. The state’s responsibility to make good what is lost by theft is recognised in all texts; cf. Manu, 8.40; Yāj., 2.36. — āhṛtam: hṛtam would be better.

28 āryaprānēbhyah: cf. 3.13.1. With āryaprānapravēbhyah (Cb) there would be nothing for enjoyment. — On ascāmīvīkraya, Yāj., 2.169-174, are an echo of this text.

29 Manu and Nārada discuss the question of ownership in connection with ādhī in the law of debts. — āsa: see 3.1.19. — yathāsvam: supply ‘shall be proof of ownership’ (Cb Cs).

30 Cf. 3.11.13. — Perhaps upekṣyeta should be read.

31 anavasitam: for avasita ‘occupied,’ cf. 3.8.17. — vāstu: 3.8.2 defines the term.

32 rājñām asaṃnīdhu: there seems to be little point in this. Meyer suggests rājan as ‘owner’ and would read saṃnīdhu ‘in the presence of owners.’ However, ‘in the absence of owners’ might appear better. — vīvasanto: perhaps nīvasanto was the original reading.
33 Hermits and heretical monks may live in a large place without troubling one another. 34 They should put up with minor troubles. 35 Or, one who has come earlier shall give a turn to stay (to a newcomer). 36 One who does not give (such a turn) shall be driven out.

37 Of forest-hermits, monks and students of Veda, the inheritors of property are the teacher or pupil, the spiritual brother and the fellow student respectively.

38 And in cases of legal dispute among these, (those convicted) shall observe fasts, bathings, worship of the sacred fire and adoration of mahākaccha, for the king, for as many nights as the number of pañhas prescribed as fine (for the offence). 39 Heretical monks have neither money nor gold. 40 They shall do penance with fasts and vows according to their own religious practices, except in cases of (verbal and physical) injury, theft, forcible seizure and adultery. 41 In those cases, the fines as prescribed shall be imposed.

42 The king shall prevent by means of punishment those with false conduct among mendicant orders. For, righteousness, overpowered by evil, destroys the ruler, if neglected.

CHAPTER SEVENTEEN

SECTION 71 FORCIBLE SEIZURE

1 Forcible seizure is a deed of force in the presence (of the owner).
2 In the absence (of the owner), it is theft, also in case of denial.

33-36 These ss. are unrelated to the topic of ownership. They are suggested by the preceding s.

37 The s. is out of place. It should have found a place in 3.5 above. — It seems that the acārya or the sīṣya is the heir of a vānaprasaḥa, dharmaḥtrace of a yati and samānātārya of a brahmacārīn. Cb Cs understand an order for inheritance, the earlier one in the list inheriting first, in the case of all three. krāmeṇa seems rather to mean 'respectively' than 'in this order.' For a yati, there would hardly be an acārya, or for a brahmacārīn a dharmaḥtrace.

38 mahākaccha: as 4.3.12 shows this is some sacred object or deity, probably the ocean or Varuṇa. And vārdhana seems little more than 'worship, adoration.' Cb, with mahakṛchhravartana, has 'staying in water.' Cs understands the kṛcehara penance, with which Meyer agrees, adding that vārdhana refers to the increasing scale in kṛcehara. 41 yathokta danḍaḥ: But where would they get the money to pay the fines? Making them work to pay off the fines may be understood; cf. 3.13.14.

3.17 - sāhasa, derived from sahas 'force,' is primarily a forcible seizure of another's articles.

1 anvayacat: anvaya is the presence of the owner when the article is seized. Cf. Kullūka on Manu, 8.332, which is an exact echo of this s. The idea of connec-
3 'In case of the forcible seizure of jewels, articles of high value, of low value and forest produce, the fine shall be equal to their value,' say the followers of Manu. 4 'Double the value,' say the follower of Uṣanas. 5 'In accordance with the offence,' says Kauṭilya.

6 'In the case of flowers, fruits, vegetables, roots, bulbous roots, cooked food, leather goods, wicker-baskets, earthenware and other trifling articles, the fine is a minimum of twelve pāṇas and a maximum of twenty-four pāṇas. 7 In the case of articles of iron, wood and ropes, small animals, cloth and other big articles, the fine is a minimum of twenty-four pāṇas and a maximum of forty-eight pāṇas. 8 In the case of articles of copper, steel, bronze, glass and ivory and other big articles, the lowest fine for violence, (i.e.) a minimum of forty-eight pāṇas and a maximum of ninety-six pāṇas (shall be the punishment). 9 In the case of large animals, human beings, fields, houses, money, gold, fine cloth and other big articles, the middle fine for violence, (i.e.) a minimum of two hundred and a maximum of five hundred (shall be the punishment). 10 For one who binds or causes another to bind or releases from bondage a woman or a man by using force, (the punishment shall be) the highest fine for violence, (i.e.) a minimum of five hundred and a maximum of one thousand,' say the teachers.

11 'He who causes another to commit an act of force, saying "I accept (responsibility)," shall pay double (the fine). 12 (He who causes it) saying "I shall give as much money as will be required," shall pay a fourfold fine. 13 He who causes it by stating the amount in the words "I shall give so much money," shall pay the money as stated as well as the fine,' say the followers of Brhaspati. 14 'If he were to plead anger, intoxication or delusion, he shall impose on him the (single) fine as prescribed,' say Kauṭilya.

15 In all cases of fine one should know that there is an impost of eight pāṇas per hundred, but in those above one hundred, a surcharge in addition of five pāṇas per hundred.

ation (āncaya) between the article and the person seizing it is possible, but seems less likely. The idea of common ownership (Cs, following Yāj. 2.230) also does not seem likely.

3 mānasāh : there is no such rule in the Manusmṛti.

10 The worst case of sāhasa involves human beings, and force is used to tamper with their condition of liberty or bondage. — ityācāryāh : Kauṭilya apparently agrees with them.

15 rūpam : this impost of 8% on the fine is different from the rūpa understood as the inspection fee of 1/8% in 2.12.28,30,35. It corresponds to the rupika of 2.12.25. — satāt paresu is proposed for satāt pare of the mss., which show a metrically short pāda. The plural is necessary in conformity with karmasu. It is clear that ṣu of paresu got dropped out through a scribal error. Cb reads satāvareṣu
16 Because of the large number of crimes by subjects or because of a defect in the condition of kings, the impost and the surcharge, which are illegal, (are current); but the basic fine is (alone) known to be legal.

CHAPTER EIGHTEEN

SECTION 72 VERBAL INJURY

1 Defamation, vilification and threat constitute verbal injury.

2 Of (defamation pertaining to) body, character, learning, profession and country, in case of defamation pertaining to body, such as one-eyed, lame and so on, the fine is three *paṇas* if (the defect is) a fact, the fine is six *paṇas* in case of a false imputation (of the defect).

3 In case of censure masquerading as praise of one-eyed, lame and other (persons), such as 'with beautiful eyes,' the fine shall be twelve *paṇas*.

4 And in case of vilification referring to leprosy, madness, impotence and so on, when it is true, false and contains ironical praise, the fines are twelve *paṇas* increased by twelve *paṇas* successively (in the three cases, if it is) towards equals. 5 If towards superiors the fines shall be double, if towards inferiors half the fines, if towards wives of others double, (but) half the fines if it is due to a mistake, intoxication, delusion and so on.

6 Of leprosy and madness, physicians and men staying near are the authority, of impotency, women, foam on the urine and sinking of ordure in water (shall constitute proof).

7 In case of libel concerning character, among Brahmins, Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas, Śūdras and the lowest born, the fines are three *paṇas* increased by three *paṇa* successively (if it is) of the earlier by and explains 'more than a hundred.' It can hardly mean 'less than a hundred' (Cs). — *vyājīm* : see 2.6.10 etc. 16 *bhāva* - 'nature, condition.'

3.18

1 *upavādaḥ* etc.: it is clear that *upavāda* is reviling a person with reference to some defect in body, character etc., while *kutsana* has reference to some serious malady, like leprosy, impotency etc. Thus Cb.

2 *sarīropavāde*: the locative is proposed in keeping with the usual practice for the instrumental of the mss.

3 *sobhanākṣimantaḥ*: the plural shows irony. *-dantaḥ* is clearly out of place. Meyer suggests *-krāntaḥ* 'gait' for it.

4 *tulyeṣu*, i.e., of the same *varṇa*, though 'equal in status' is not unlikely.

5 *dviguṇaḥ* etc.: the plurals are necessary as in 3.19.4.

6 *mātrapheno*: it is the absence of the foam on the urine that shows the *kīla*. 
the later, decreasing by two panas successively up to two panas if of
the later by the earlier, also in case of vilification like ‘low Brahmin’
and so on.

8 By that are explained defamation concerning the learning of
professional story-tellers, slander of the profession of artisans and
actors, and libel of the country of those from Prājjūṇa, Gandhāra and
so on.

9 The person who threatens another with doing (something),
saying, ‘I shall do this to you,’ shall pay, in case he does not (actually)
do it, a fine half that prescribed for the doing of it. 10 If he is in-
capable (of carrying out the threat) or pleads anger, intoxication or
delusion, he shall pay a fine of twelve panas. 11 If he has feelings
of enmity and is capable of doing harm, he shall furnish a surety till
the end of his life.

12 A person deserves the lowest fine (for violence) for revil-
ing his own country and village, the middle fine for reviling his
own caste or corporation, the highest for reviling gods and sanc-
tuaries.

CHAPTER NINETEEN

SECTION 73 PHYSICAL INJURY

1 Touching, menacing and striking constitute physical injury.

2 For one touching (another’s) body below the navel with the
hand, mud, ashes or dust, the fine shall be three panas; with those same
when they are impure and with the foot or with spittle, six panas;
with vomit, urine, ordure and so on, twelve panas. 3 (For touching)

7 tripaṇottarāḥ, i.e., 12, 9, 6 and 3 if an Antāvasāyin viliﬁes a Brahmin,
a Kṣatriya, a Vaiśya and a Śūdra, 9, 6 and 3 if a Śūdra viliﬁes the upper varṇas,
and so on. — deipaṇādharāḥ, i.e., 8, 6, 4 and 2 if a Brahmin offends a Kṣatriya,
Vaiśya, Śūdra and Antāvasāyin, 6, 4 and 2 if a Kṣatriya offends and so on.
— kubrāmanuḍādhiṣ ca kutsāyām : the ﬁnes are milder (basis of 2, not 3) because there
is no speciﬁe reﬂection on character.

8 Prājjūṇa : Cb reads Prāggghūṇa explained as ‘the kingdom of the
Canḍālas.’ Cs renders this reading by ‘the Eastern Huns.’ That seems doubtful.
At any rate, ﬁnding a reference in this to the Huns under Toraman and drawing
a conclusion from that as to the date of this work (Pran Nath, IA, 60, 121) seem
hardly justiﬁed. Prājjūṇa may be Prakrit for Prārjuna, perhaps related to the
Ārjunâyanas of the inscriptions.

9 karaṇe daṇḍaḥ, i.e., as laid down in the next Chapter. 11 avastha
‘surety’ ; cf. 3.1.17.

12 devacaityānām : sva may or may not be understood with this. — Cf.
Yāj., 2.211.
above the navel (the fines shall be) double, on the head four-fold, in the case of equals. 4 (The fines shall be) double in the case of superiors, half in the case of inferiors, double in the case of wives of others, half if due to a mistake, intoxication, delusion and so on.

5 For holding (another) by the feet, the garment, the hand and the hair, the fines shall be six paṇas increased successively by six paṇas.

6 In cases of pressing, squeezing (in one’s arms), bending, dragging and sitting on (another), the lowest fine for violence (shall be imposed). 7 For going away after throwing down, the fine shall be half.

8 The (judge) shall cause that limb of a Śūdra with which he strikes a Brahmin to be cut off. 9 For menacing, a ransom (may be allowed), for touching the fine is half. 10 By that are explained Cāṇḍālas and (other) impure persons.

11 For menacing with the hand the fine shall be three paṇas minimum and twelve paṇas maximum, double (for menacing) with the foot, the lowest fine for violence with an object causing hurt, the middle with one endangering life.

12 For one causing hurt without blood with any one of objects made of wood, earth, stone, or metal, or a stick or rope, the fine shall be twenty-four paṇas, for causing a bleeding wound double, except in the case of impure blood. 13 For one beating (another) to the point of death without causing bleeding, or causing dislocation of the hand or foot, (the punishment shall be) the lowest fine for violence, also for breaking hands, feet or teeth, cutting off the ear or nose and opening up

3.19

3 sameṣu, i.e., tulyeṣu of 3.18.4 above. 4 Cf. 3.18.5.

6 -aṅjana- ‘bending’ is proposed for -aṅjana-, as suggested by Meyer. The latter word hardly conveys a suitable meaning. 7 -dandaḥ singular is proposed, as it refers only to pūrva sāhasadanāṭa.

8-10 As Meyer argues, these ss. appear to be interpolated. Tūṣy break the order. After sparśana, we expect a discussion of avagāraṇa and then of prahāta. Besides, the four varṇas with the Antāvasāyin would have been mentioned as in 3.18.7, not only Brahmins and Śūdras. The animus against the Śūdra found here is unknown to this text, which looks upon him as an Ārya. The interpolation seems derived from Yāj. 2.215 with Manu, 8.279-84. — Cāṇḍālasucayaḥ: an ādi was expected after Cāṇḍāla in the compound.

11 tripaṅācara dvādasapaṇayaṇaparo evidently refers to the four varṇas and Antāvasāyins as in 3.18.7.

12 anuyatra duṣṭaṇṇitī, i.e., in this case the fine is not double. 13 pāraṅcikam seems derived from para-āṅc ‘to bend away,’ though the form appears irregular. — vraṇavidāraṇe: this may refer to making a fresh wound or opening an old wound. — anuyatra duṣṭavraṇaṇehbhayāḥ: this seems to imply that
wounds, excepting festering wounds. 14 For breaking the thigh or neck or piercing the eye and in cases of (hurt leading to) obstruction in speech, movement or eating, (the punishment shall be) the middle fine for violence and the expenses for treatment and cure. 15 In case of death, he shall be taken for trial as a criminal by a magistrate.

16 If a number of persons beat one person, the fine shall be double for each one (of them).

17 ‘An old scuffle or trespass with criminal intent shall not be a cause for a suit,’ say the teachers. 18 ‘There is no going scot-free for an offender,’ says Kauṭilya.

19 ‘In case of a scuffle, he who comes first (to the court) wins, for (only) one unable to put up (with the injury) runs (to the court),’ say the teachers. 20 ‘No,’ says Kauṭilya. 21 Whether one has approached first or later, witnesses (alone) are to help in deciding the case; if there are no witnesses, the injury or the indications of the scuffle (are to decide).

22 If one does not reply to an accusation of injury, he shall be convicted on the same day.

23 For taking away in a scuffle an object (of another), the fine shall be ten pañás, for destroying a small object, the same and an equal amount as fine, for destroying a big object, the same and double that as fine, for destroying clothes, ornaments, money and gold articles, the same and the lowest fine for violence.

24 For one causing the wall of another’s house to shake by striking at it, the fine shall be three pañás, for breaking or cutting it six pañás and (payment of the cost of) repairs. 25 For one throwing into another’s house an object causing hurt the fine shall be twelve pañás, an object dangerous to life the lowest fine for violence.

If the wound is very serious, a higher punishment is to be inflicted. Perhaps a similar idea is to be understood in duṣṭaśopitāt in s.12. 14 samutthāna ‘curing’ by a physician. 15 kaṇṭakasodhanāya etc.: apparently 4.11.1 ff. would apply.

17 anupraveśaḥ : see 3.1.8.


22 tad āhar eva : for the period usually allowed, see 3.1.29. paścīkāra ‘setting aside’ refers to conviction.

23 daśapaṇaḥ : Cb comment implies the reading dviśatapanaḥ. — tat would apparently be restitution to the owner.

24 Cb Cs add pātanabhaṁjane dvādasapaṇaḥ (so to be read in the footnote in the text). It is not easy to see the difference between bhaṁjana of this and chedana or bhedana already mentioned. 25 anyaveśmani from Cb appears better, though asya of the mss. could refer to para in the last s.
26 For causing hurt to small animals with wood and other things, the fine shall be one \textit{pāṇa} or two \textit{pāṇas}, double that for causing bleeding. 27 For these same offences concerning big animals, the fine shall be double and (payment of) expenses for treatment and cure.

28 For cutting the shoots of trees in city parks that bear flowers or fruit or yield shade (the fine shall be) six \textit{pāṇas}, for cutting small branches twelve \textit{pāṇas}, for cutting stout branches twenty-four \textit{pāṇas}, for destroying trunks the lowest fine for violence, for uprooting (the tree) the middle (fine). 29 In the case of bushes and creepers bearing flowers or fruit or yielding shade the fines shall be half, also in the case of trees in holy places, penance-groves and cremation grounds.

30 In the case of trees at the boundaries, in sanctuaries, and of trees that are prominent, these same fines doubled shall be imposed, also (in the case of trees) in royal parks.

\textbf{CHAPTER TWENTY}

\textbf{SECTION 74 GAMBLING AND BETTING}

\textbf{SECTION 75 MISCELLANEOUS}

1 The Director of Gambling should cause gambling to be carried on in one place. 2 For one gambling with dice in another place, the fine shall be twelve \textit{pāṇas}, in order to find out those who follow a secret profession.

26 At the end of this s. Cb has a long additional passage, not all of which appears genuine. In particular, the distinction in it between \textit{śākhāga} and \textit{varāṅga} is suspicious. It seems that \textit{Yāj.}, 2.225-6, is responsible for the addition. However, the plural in \textit{sthāneṣu} in the next s. suggests that some part of the addition, particularly \textit{vraṇacidārane caturgunuḥ}, may be original.

29 \textit{ca} clearly implies that \textit{punyasthāna} etc. is to be construed with the preceding. Meyer, influenced by \textit{Yāj.}, 2.227-9, would construe it with the following stanza.

30 \textit{ālakṣita} is clearly the same as \textit{viśruta} of \textit{Yāj.}, 2.228. — \textit{Yāj.} often gives only a metrical rendering of ss. found in this section.

3.20

The two \textit{prakaraṇas} are found in ss. 1-13 and 14-24 respectively. Manu, 9.223, explains the difference between \textit{dyūta} ‘gambling’ and \textit{samākṣaya} ‘challenge’ with a bet. The former is done with inanimate objects (dice etc.), the latter with living creatures (cocks etc.).

1 The \textit{dyūtādvayaka} is not included among the \textit{adhyaṅkṣas} discussed in Book 2. — \textit{ekamukham} : cf. 2.16.4; 2.25.1. 2 \textit{gṛdbhājīvijaṁpanārthaṁ} : it is obvious that these words should have come at the end of s. 1, as stating the reason for gambling being allowed only in one place. Cf. \textit{Yāj.}, 2.203 \textit{dyūtam ekamukham kāryaṁ}.
3. In a suit concerning gambling, the lowest fine for violence (shall be imposed) on the winner, the middle on the loser. 4 For, this (latter), being of a foolish nature and anxious to win, cannot bear a loss,' say the teachers. 5 'No,' says Kauṭilya. 6 If the loser is punished with a double fine, no one will approach the king (for justice). 7Gamblers indeed are generally fraudulent players.

8 Masters (of gambling halls) shall provide for them clean cowrie-shells and dice. 9 For substituting other cowrie-shells or dice the fine shall be twelve paṇas, for fraudulent play the lowest fine for violence and confiscation of winnings, for cheating fine for theft in addition.

10 The master (of the hall) shall take five per hundred of the winnings, as well as hire for cowrie-shells, dice, leather-straps and ivory-cubes and charges for water, ground and the act (of gambling). 11 He shall carry out the pledging and sale of articles. 12 For not prohibiting offences concerning dice, ground or (the use of) hand, the fine shall be double.

13 By that is explained 'a challenge' except challenges concerning learning or art.

14 As to miscellaneous, however—

For not returning at the proper place and time a thing borrowed, hired, pledged or entrusted, for missing the place or time of meeting or staying together at a watch (of the night) or shadow (of the gnomon taskaraṇānakāraṇāt, which is an exact echo of the present passage. For gūḍhājīvin, see 4.4. below.

3 jetub: who has won in gambling; if he loses the suit, he is clearly held to have cheated at play. That he should get off with a lighter fine is obviously unreasonable.

9 upadhau steyadaṇḍaḥ ca from Cb is clearly necessary. Cb understands upadhi to refer to fraud in making payments, to distinguish it from kūṭakarman. — 4.10.9 prescribes a heavier punishment for these offences.

10 orāūa is rendered by paṭṭa in Cb; Cs understands something like a leather-strap. — śalāka‘a rod that demarcates the places of the two players’ (Cb), ‘an ivory cube’ (Cs). Pāṇini 2.1.10 refers to akṣa and śalāka as implements of gambling. 11 adhānam: the adhyakṣa himself may be the pledgee. 12 avi-guṇaḥ: apparently double those of s.9 are meant. Cs has ‘double the five per cent,’ which appears less likely.

13 anyatra vidyāśilpasāmanāhavyāt: i.e., challenges with bets concerning learning, or skill in art, are not subject to state control and may be freely indulged in. — Manu forbids gambling as such.

14 In the miscellaneous section offences are arranged according to the amount of fines they carry. Some of the offences mentioned here could well have been included under one or the other of the heads discussed earlier. — yāma, i.e., time by night and chāyā, i.e., time by day. — samupacchā and sāṅkṣhiti seem to refer to meeting or staying in a place at the direction of the state. A failure to
by day), for one making a Brahmin pay duty at the police post or fare at the ferry, and for inviting over the heads of the immediate and the next-but-one neighbours, the fine shall be twelve pañas.

15 For one not handing over an object which he is enjoined (to deliver), for one touching the brother’s wife with the hand, for one going to a prostitute in the exclusive keeping of another, for one purchasing goods claimed by another, for one breaking open a sealed house, and for one doing harm to members from forty neighbouring families, the fine shall be forty-eight pañas.

16 For the receiver of the family treasure denying it, for one forcibly violating a widow living by herself, for a Caṇḍāla touching an Ārya lady, for one not rushing to rescue (another) close by in distress, for one rushing without cause (and) for one feeding Śākya, Ājīvaka and other heretical monks at rites in honour of gods and manes, the fine shall be one hundred pañas.

17 For one putting questions (to suspects) on oath without authorization, and for one, not an officer, doing the work of an officer, for one castrating males used for stud purposes among small animals, and for one causing the abortion of a female slave by medicines, (the punishment shall be) the lowest fine for violence.

18 As between father and son, husband and wife, brother and sister, maternal uncle and nephew or teacher and pupil, for one aban-

keep a private engagement could hardly be an offence. Cb seems to understand ‘failure to do work as promised at the time and place.’ sāsthiti may also possibly mean ‘regulations, conventions etc.’ regarding meeting (samupaveśa). — taradeyam etc.: 2.28.18 shows that Brahmins are not to be charged at ferries. — anuvēsa from Cb is clearly necessary for anupaveśa. It seems that according to Cb anuvēsa is the immediate neighbour and pratīveśa the next neighbour. — nimanṭraṇa ‘invitation’ for meals etc. on ceremonial occasions. — It seems that a list of offences carrying a fine of twenty-four pañas has dropped out. That has usually a place in the scale of fines. Cf. 3.17.6 etc.

15 sandhiśam has reference to ādesa of 3.12.18; it hardly means ‘promised’ (Cs). — paravaktaśayam: this seems to mean ‘promised to others’ or ‘claimed by others’; in either case, the vendor would be at fault, not the purchaser. Perhaps we have to read vikṛtipānasya (for kṛtipānasya). The expression could mean ‘blamed or condemned by others.’ Even then the vendor would be at fault.

16 āryām: Yāj., 2.234, has uttamān sprāsan making it an offence of untouchability only. — niśkāraṇam, i.e., when there is no āpad. — Ājīvakas are the followers of Gosāla Makkhaliputta. Obviously this sect was prominent in the author’s day. They are mentioned in Aśoka’s inscriptions. — vṛṣala: it is clear that this word refers to heretics and has nothing to do with Śūdras.

17 vākyānuyoga: see 4.8.1-5. Yāj., 2.235, has ayuktaṁ sapathāṁ kurvan ayogyo yogyakarmakṛt, which shows a clear misunderstanding of the present text.

18 sārthābhāviprayātām from Cb is necessary. svārtha- has little significance. The fine is for the leader of the caravan abandoning a member on the way.
doning the other when not an outcast, (and) for one abandoning another going together in a caravan in the middle of a village, the lowest fine for violence (shall be the punishment), if in a forest the middle fine, for causing harm to him thereby the highest fine; for others going with the caravan, half the fines (shall be the punishment).

19 For one binding or making another bind a man not deserving to be bound or releasing a (man from) bondage, (and) for one binding or causing another to bind a child that has not attained majority, the fine shall be one thousand pānas.

20 Special fines should be imposed according to the special nature of men and offences.

21 The head of a religious order, an ascetic, a sick person, one exhausted by hunger, thirst or journey, a foreigner, one groaning under a fine, and an indigent person should be shown leniency.

22 The judges themselves shall look into the affairs of gods, Brahmins, ascetics, women, minors, old persons, sick persons, who are helpless, when these do not approach (the court), and they shall not dismiss (their suits) under the pretext of place, time or (adverse) possession.

23 And men are to be honoured on account of excellence in learning, intellect, valour, noble birth and deeds.

24 In this way the judges should look into affairs, without resorting to deceit, being impartial to all beings, worthy of trust and beloved of the people.

Herewith ends the Third Book of the Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya

'CONCERNING THE JUDGES'

_bhreṣayataḥ_, i.e., for causing harm to him, either physically or materially. — _sahapratsthāyaśu_: these are other members of the caravan who have acquiesced in the leader’s action.

19 Compare 3.17.10 above.

20 _puruṣaviśeṣa_ and _aparādhaiviśeṣa_ are to be understood. The former are mentioned in what follows.

21 _ṭīrthakaraḥ_ seems to be ‘the head of a religious order,’ rather than ‘a pilgrim.’ Cb renders it by _dānaśīla_ ‘a charitable person.’ — _tirojanapadaḥ_: cf. 2.34.4. Cb seems to have read _vṛddhaḥ_ before _vyādhitaḥ_. — _daṇḍakhetiḥ_: _daṇḍa_ seems to refer to fines, rather than physical punishment, though that is not unlikely.

22 _anāthānāṃ_: this qualifies the preceding compound as in 2.1.26. — _āthihareyaḥ_: cf. 4.9.15.

23 This is a direction to the judges concerning persons appearing before them.

24 _bhācesu_, i.e., towards beings or persons.
CHAPTER ONE

SECTION 76 KEEPING A WATCH OVER ARTISANS

1 Three magistrates, (all) three (of the rank of) ministers, shall carry out the suppression of criminals.

2 Employers of artisans capable of making good an article, those good at entrusting material, (and) artisans working with their own capital should accept entrusted material with the guarantee of the

The Fourth Book deals with criminal offences of various kinds. kanṭaka ‘a thorn’ refers to criminals who are thorns in the side of the body politic. These include thieves, dacoits, murderers etc. as well as artisans, craftsmen, traders and others who cheat the public. Only Manu, 9.253-293, among the Śrauta, has a rambling discussion on some of these topics. Yājñavalkya gives many of these rules under steya, sāhasa or saṅgrahana, i.e., under the regular vyavahārapadas.

4.1

For rakṣana ‘guarding against, keeping a watch over,’ cf. 1.17 above.

1 pradeśṭārah : as is clear from the contents of this Book these officers are principally magistrates who punish criminals. They are also concerned with the investigation of crimes. As 2.35.7 shows they are also authorized to enforce payment of state dues. That they are subordinate to the samāharta is clear from 4.4.1, 4.5.13 as well as from 2.35.7. — trayo ‘mātiyāḥ : see 3.1.1 above.

2 arthya-pratikārāḥ is obscure. Meyer renders it by ‘who can make good anything connected with the object entrusted.’ That appears possible, though not very satisfactory. Cb Cs read arthya-prakārāḥ and explain ‘whose nature (prakāra in the sense of svabhāva) is honest.’ Breloer renders that reading by ‘people from the class of the rich’ (KSt, III, 372). This sense, or the meaning of arthya-pratikārāḥ as understood by Meyer, would appear suitable, if the expression is understood as descriptive of kārusāsitārah. These are apparently ‘employers of artisans,’ i.e., some sort of master-artisans with assistants working under them. — saṁnikṣeptārah : understood literally, this means ‘who are good entrusters of materials’; that would be a description of the customers, not of the artisans. Since, however, the predicate is nikṣepan gṛhiyāḥ, the expression must be interpreted so as to describe artisans. We may understand some sort of middlemen, who receive material from customers and then entrust the work to artisans. In that case, the expression may be understood as a further description of kārusāsitārah. —
guild. 3 In case of death, the guild shall be responsible for the entrusted material.

4 And they shall carry out the work with the place, time and (nature of the) work stipulated, without stipulation as to place or time if the nature of the work can be pointed out (as the reason). 5 For exceeding the time-limit, (there shall be) a reduction in the wage by one quarter and double that as fine. 6 They shall be liable for what is lost or destroyed except in case of deterioration or a sudden calamity. 7 For carrying out a work otherwise than as ordered, (there shall be) loss of wage and double that as fine.

8 Weavers shall increase yarn to the extent of eleven (palas) from ten. 9 For diminution in increase, the fine shall be double the diminution.

10 The wage for weaving (shall be equal to) the value of the yarn, one and a half times in the case of kṣauma and kauśēya, double in the case of patroṇā, blankets and dukūla.

11 For shortness in measure, (there shall be) a reduction in wage equal to (the value of) the short measure and double that as fine, for short weight the fine (shall be) four times the deficiency, for change of yarn (the fine shall be) double its value. 12 By that is explained the weaving of double cloth.

svavittakāravāḥ appears to refer to artisans who work on their own and deal directly with customers; they have started their workshop with their own capital. Cb seems to explain the word as follows: 'those who treat other people's gold (with the same care) as their own gold.' — śrenipramāṇāḥ, i.e., with the guild standing guarantee for the artisan's reliability and honesty. This would seem applicable to all the earlier cases or at least to the last case of svavittakāravāḥ. Cb Cs understand all five expressions as describing different traits which are necessary in an artisan. But it is doubtful if one and the same artisan can be described as kāruśāśīrī and svavittakārī at the same time. Breloer finds in the expressions five different categories of artisans. That appears doubtful at least in the case of śrenipramāṇāḥ, which has to be understood of svavittakāravāḥ. It seems that only two classes are meant, kāruśāśīrī and svavittakāravāḥ. 3 vipāttau, i.e., in case the artisan dies. Cf. s. 56 below and 3.19.15 for this sense.

4 See 2.14.2, which shows that -kālaṁ kāryāpadesam is necessary. 5 Cf. 2.14.4. 6 Cf. 3.12.23. 7 Cf. 2.14.3.

8 dasānikādaśikam, i.e., the ten palas of yarn are expected to yield eleven palas of cloth; the addition would come from the sizing material used. 9 chedadvigūṣṭah, i.e., double the value of the short weight in cloth. Meyer, who does not read the stop after danyāḥ, includes sūtramūlīyam and vānavetanam also in the fine. That is quite unlikely.

12 dvipaṭaṭvāṇam, i.e., weaving with a double yarn. For other kinds of weaves, see 2.11.105.
13 In one tulā of wool, a reduction in carding to the extent of five palas (is allowed), and (the same amount of) reduction in the hair (when carded).

14 Washermen shall wash garments on wooden boards or smooth slabs of stone. 15 Those washing on anything else shall pay for damage to garments and a fine of six panas.

16 (Washermen) wearing a garment other than one marked with the sign of the club shall pay a fine of three panas. 17 For selling, hiring out or pledging the garments of others the fine shall be twelve panas, for change of garment (the fine shall be) double the price and the return of the garment.

18 They shall return a garment, which is white like a bud, which is cleansed on a slab of stone, which has the colour of washed yarn, and which is bleached white, after one day increased successively by one day. 19 One with a light red colour (may be returned) after five days, one dyed blue after six days, a precious garment dyed in (saffron) flower, lac-juice or mañjīṣṭhā the treatment of which is arduous and which has to be worked upon with great care, after seven days. 20 After that they shall lose their wage. 21 In cases of dispute concerning dyeing, trustworthy experts shall fix the wage.

22 For the most precious (garments) the wage (shall be) one panā, for middling one half, for lowest one-quarter, for rough (garments) one māṣaka or two māṣakas, double for dyed (garments).

23 At the first washing there is a loss of one-fourth (of the value of the garment), at the second of one-fifth. 24 By that are explained later (losses in value).

25 By washermen are explained tailors.

13 ārūḍatulāyāḥ : a tulā is a weight of one hundred palas; see 2.19.21. — romacchedā ca : as 2.11.101 shows, the hair of animals were used for making rugs etc. The loss would occur during carding and spinning rather than during weaving (as in Cs). It would have been better if we had romatulāyās ca instead.

16 mudgarāṅkād anyad etc.: it is the washermen’s own clothes that are to carry the mark. The emblem may stand for the club used for beating the clothes during the washing operations.

18 mukulācaddātam : this and the following expressions seem to convey four kinds of whiteness each succeeding one brighter than the preceding one, washermen being allowed 1, 2, 3 and 4 days respectively for producing the different grades of whiteness. 19 pañcarātrikām tanurāgam: the dyeing operation makes a longer period necessary. — guruparikarma ‘the treatment of which (dyeing) is heavy, i.e., long and arduous (e.g., printing in various colours etc.)’

23 pañcabhāgah, i.e., ‘1/5th of 3/4ths’ (Cb Cs). It may also mean 1/5th in addition to the 1/4th of the original price. 24 uttaram, i.e., 1/6th at the third washing and so on.
26 For goldsmiths purchasing silver (or) gold in the same form from the hands of a disreputable person without informing (state officers) the fine is twelve pānas, if in a changed form twenty-four pānas, if from the hands of a thief forty-eight pānas. 27 In cases of purchase at a low price in secret or what is changed in appearance there shall be the punishment for theft, also in case of deceit in the article manufactured.

28 For (the goldsmith) stealing one māṣaka from one suvarṇa (of gold) the fine shall be two hundred pānas, for stealing one māṣaka from one dharana of silver twelve pānas. 29 By that are explained higher (values).

30 For one securing an (artificial) enhancement of colour or practising removal or mixture (with base metals), the fine shall be five hundred pānas. 31 In case of fraud in connection with these two (metals), he shall treat it as (a case of) removal of colour.

32 One māṣaka is the wage for one dharana of silver, one-eighth part (of a pāna) for one suvarṇa (of gold). 33 In accordance with special skill, the wage may be increased to double. 34 By that are explained further rates.

35 In the case of copper, steel, bell-metal, vaikṛntaka and brass, the wage is five (pānas) per hundred (palas).

25 Only a few of the above rules would apply to tailors, perhaps ss. 17-20 with modifications.

26 aśuci is a disreputable person with a suspicious character rather than a slave, labourer etc. (as in Cb Cs). — rūpyam suvarṇam: it seems that we should read rūpyasa suvarṇam as in 2.14.1. Ornaments of silver and gold are thought of. — anākhyāya: the information is apparently to be given to the suvarṇika of 2.14. The pradeśa also may have been meant. 27 pracchanna- etc.: Meyer has ‘in secret, in a changed form or at a low price,’ i.e., three ideas. Cs has ‘at a low price what is secretly changed.’ It seems, however, that pracchanna and virūpa are unrelated to each other, but mālyaphīnakrāya is to be understood of both.

28 For the weights mentioned see 2.19.2-6.

30 varṇotkaraṇa refers to an artificial glitter given to gold and silver ornaments. — apasāranaṁ is proposed in accordance with a suggestion by Meyer for apasārāṇām of the mss. and asārāṇām of Cb Cs. apasāraṇa is described at length in 2.14.20-24. Cs understands asāra in the sense of an inferior alloy; this is given a polish (varṇotkaraṇa) to make it appear as gold or silver; or it is mixed with gold or silver (yoga). This explanation also appears possible. 31 taṣh, i.e., of gold and silver. — rāgasya apahāraṁ: as 4.4.22 shows, this is a very serious offence. It would seem then that apacarana implies a complete substitution of gold or silver by a base metal.

32 aṣṭabhāgah is one-eighth of a pāna, not of a māṣaka (as in Cs Meyer). Cb understands one-eighth of a gold māṣaka. No such coin is known to the text.
36 A lump of copper has a loss of one-tenth part (in working). 37 In case of reduction to the extent of one pala (beyond this), the fine shall be double the (value of the) loss. 38 By that are explained further cases. 39 A lump of lead or tin has a reduction of one-twentieth part. 40 And one kākani is the wage for one pala of it. 41 A lump of iron has a reduction of one-fifth. 42 And two kākaniś is the wage for one pala of it. 43 By that are explained further cases.

44 For the Examiner of Coins rejecting an established currency of paṇas which does not deserve to be rejected or not rejecting one deserving to be rejected the fine is twelve paṇas. 45 The currency of paṇas is effective when cleared of the payment of surcharge. 46 For one accepting one māsaka on a pana (sent into circulation) the fine is twelve paṇas. 47 By that are explained further cases.

48 For one causing a counterfeit coin to be made or receiving it or sending it into circulation the fine is one thousand paṇas, for inserting it in the treasury (the penalty is) death.

49 Attendants and dust-washers should receive one-third of articles of high value (found by them), the king two-thirds and gems (when found). 50 For stealing a gem, (the punishment is) the highest fine (for violence).

51 In cases of information about mines, gems and buried treasure, the informant shall receive one-sixth part, one-twelfth part (if he be) a servant (of the state). 52 A treasure-trove over one hundred thousand (paṇas) shall go to the king. 53 If less, he shall give one-sixth part (to the finder). 54 A native of the land, who is

41 kālayasa is not mentioned in the Chapter on metals, 2.12, but is known to the text; cf. 3.17.7.
44 rūpāvartaḥ : see 2.12.25. — okopyām : the root kup in the usual has the sense of 'to cause to be shaken, to disturb,' i.e., to find fault with, to reject. 45 vyājī : this is 5% as laid down in 2.12.26. It seems that the rūpika of 8% and the pārīkṣika of 1/8% mentioned there are also to be understood. 46 paśūn māsaka upajñataḥ : this appears to be a bribe of one māsaka for every pāṇa certified. The trader pays 1/16th, i.e., 61% and escapes 5 plus 8 plus 1/8, i.e., 131%. Cb Cs think that it is the laksanādhyaṣṭaḥ who misappropriates a māṣa of silver from 1 pāṇa at the time of minting. That officer, however, is not mentioned here. Moreover, that would be a counterfeit coin for making which the fine is very heavy (s. 48).

49 caraka- is proposed in conformity with 2.13.33. Cf. Breloer, III, 370 n.3. Cb Cs read saraka which means 'a jewel.' That meaning does not fit in the context. The actual comment in Cb contains no reference to any jewel.

53 saṣṭham anāśin dadyat : according to Cs it is the finder who gives one-sixth to the king. That is due to Yāj. 2.35. But Yāj. presupposes that the treasure-trove belongs to the finder, which is not the case here. 54 svakaranena : cf.
upright, shall receive the entire treasure-trove buried by his forefathers after producing proof of ownership. 55 In the absence of proof of ownership, the fine is five hundred (panas), one thousand for appropriating it secretly.

56 For the physician undertaking treatment involving danger to life without informing (the authorities), the fine is the lowest fine for violence in case of death, the middle fine in case of death through a mistake in treatment. 57 In case of injury to a vital part or causing a deformity, the (magistrate) shall treat it as (a case of) physical injury.

58 Actors shall live in one place during the rainy season. 59 They shall avoid excessive gifts of love by one person and excessive praise of one. 60 For transgression of that, the fine is twelve panas. 61 They may, at will, entertain by making fun of the (customs of) countries, castes, families, schools and love-affairs.

62 By actors are explained wandering minstrels and mendicants. 63 For them the punishment shall be as many lashes with the whip as the number of panas the (judges) may pronounce as the fine, to be inflicted with an iron rod (i.e., mercilessly).

64 In the case of the remaining kinds of work, he shall lay down wages for artists in accordance with what they produce.

2.36.7; 3.1.15 etc. — Manu (8.35-37) allows only the Brahmin to take the whole; the rest are to give one-sixth to the state.

57 marmavadhaivaigunyaakaraṇa may be understood as a single idea 'causing a physical deformity through injury to a vital part' or as two separate ideas, marmavadhā and vaigunyaakaraṇa. vedha (Cb Cs) for vadhā- is perhaps better. dandaḍapārusyajñavidyāt, i.e., the punishments of 3.19.12-14 would operate.

58 This is in order to prevent their disturbing agricultural operations (Cs). Cf. 2.1.84. 59 kāmadāna: this would be received by the kuśilavas from some patron, hardly given by them to some one. 60 dvādaśapāṇo of the mss. would apply to kāmadāna, but not to ativāda. We should read dvādaśapāṇo with Cb. 61 The mss. read -avabhāsenā; Meyer's suggestion to read -avabhāsena is adopted as being preferable to it. Cb Cs read -apahāne 'by avoiding (the ridicule of)'. In 3.18.8 we have upavāda 'reviling' which is different from avabhāsa 'joking about, making fun of' here. And the form apahāna is not convincing.

63 ayahsālena 'with an iron rod'; but since śipha is there, this has to be understood figuratively. Cf. āyāhshālikā in Kāvyapārakāśa, 10. Cb explains 'if any one pierces the vitals of kuśilavas and cāraṇas and takes money from them he is to be punished with lashes.' This is doubtful. Cs has 'in case they wound the feeling of others which is like piercing the vitals with an iron dart,' which seems little likely.

64 The idea seems to be that in the case of the work of artisans not mentioned in the Chapter, their remuneration should be fixed in accordance with the type of work they do. Cs has seṣa as 'additional work' for which remuneration is to be according to work done. This meaning for seṣa seems hardly likely. According to Breloer (III, 370 n. 2) we should read a ca after karmanām and understand 'for the
65 In this manner the (king) should prevent thieves who are not known as thieves such as traders, artisans, actors, mendicants, jugglers and others from oppressing the country.

CHAPTER TWO

SECTION 77 KEEPING A WATCH OVER TRADERS

1 The Superintendent of Markets should set up the pledging or sale of old wares which are furnished with proof of ownership in the market-place. 2 And he should inspect the weights and measures because of (likely) fraud in the standard of weights and measures.

3 In the case of the parimāṇī and the drona, half a pala less or more is no offence. 4 For one pala less or more the fine is twelve paṇas. 5 By that is explained the increase in fine for each successive pala. 6 In the case of a tulā, one karṣa less or more is no offence. 7 For two karṣas less or more the fine is six paṇas. 8 By that is explained the increase in fine for each successive karṣa. 9 In the case of an ādhaka, half a karṣa less or more is no offence. 10 For one karṣa less or more the fine is three paṇas. 11 By that is explained the increase in fine for each successive karṣa. 12 From this, he should

classes of artisans not mentioned in this Chapter, the wages should be as given to artists.' He adds that artists (śilpin) do not belong to this Chapter and artisans not mentioned here should be treated like artists, i.e., their wages are not fixed by rules, but according to the object. It is not certain that such a distinction between two sets of artisans is really intended. What seems meant is only that artists' wages depend on the type of work they do.

65 Breloer (III, 371) considers it noteworthy that wood- and leather-workers clay-workers and house-builders are missing in this Chapter. According to his reasoning on the last s. these would be treated on a par with artists. It is likely that these are not mentioned because fraud or cheating is not measurable in their case, also because their misdemeanor does not quite constitute a social crime. The fact that they belong to a more primitive economy seems to have little to do with their non-mention in this Chapter. — kuhaka is a 'magician' according to Cbo.

4.2

1 sanāsthdhyākṣaḥ: this officer's duties are not described in the Second Book. It is not clear if he is to work under the panyādhyākṣa (2.16) who appears towards the end of this Chapter. sanāsthā refers to the panyasaṃsthā 'the market-place.'— purāñabhāṣyāndaṃ: this does not mean that the officer is concerned with old or second-hand goods only. He supervises the whole market, where old goods (that are likely to be stolen goods) may also be on sale. 2 pautava-: see 2.19.1.

3 parimāṇī and drona each measures two hundred palas (2.19.17-18 and 29). So the deviation allowed is to the extent of 1/400th. 6 tulā is one hundred palas and a karṣa is 1/4th of a pala (2.19.12-15 and 4); so the same deviation is allowed. 9 ādhaka is 1/4th of a drona (2.19.31).
form an estimate of (the fines for deviations in) other types of weights and measures.

13 For the trader, purchasing with larger weights and measures and selling with smaller ones, these same fines are to be doubled.
14 For one robbing to the extent of one-eighth part of the price of the goods in the case of goods sold by counting, the fine is ninety-six panas.
15 For the trader effecting the sale or pledging of an article made of wood, metal or gems, or made of ropes, leather or clay, or made of yarn, bark or hair, which is not genuine by declaring it to be genuine, the fine is eight times the price. 16 For the trader effecting the sale or pledging of an article not of high value as an article of high value or of an article not of a particular class as an article of that class or of an article which is given a false shine or in which there is fraud or the container of which is changed, the fine is fifty-four panas if the price is trifling, double if the price is one panā, two hundred (panas) if the price is two panas. 17 By that is explained the increase in fine in case of increase in price.

18 For artisans and artists who by conspiring together bring about a deterioration in the quality of a work or (increase in) profit or a hindrance to purchase or sale, the fine is one thousand panas.
19 For traders, too, who by conspiring together hold back wares or sell them at a high price, the fine is one thousand panas.
20 As to difference in weight or measure or difference in price or quality, for the weigher or measurer who by a trick of the hand

13 atiriktlābhyaṁ kṛitā etc.: the purchase is made with a weight larger by more than 1/400th, while the sale is made with a weight smaller by more than 1/400th, i.e., the difference in weight is more than double the deviation allowed and therefore the fines are doubled. 14 panyamālīṣu asabhāgam: perhaps in conformity with s. 20 below, panyamālīṣu may have been the original reading; however, we have no reference in this case to a rising scale of fines as we have there.
15 Yāj. 2.246 is an exact paraphrase. 16 taṭṭāta is 'of a particular class' rather than 'made at a particular place' (Cs Breloer). Cf. 4.6.3. — samudgara-parivartitam, i.e., given from a different container. The reading samutpari-meaning 'changed in appearance' is less likely. Cf. Yāj. 2.247-8. — hina-mālīya, i.e., valued at less than one panā.
18 kārusilpinām etc.: evidently the saṁsthādhyakṣa was also responsible for preventing craftsmen and artists whose shops were in the market from joining together for exploiting customers. Meyer thinks that traders inducing craftsmen etc. to join together may also be understood. But that does not seem right. Cf. Yāj. 2.240. From 4.1.64 and this s. Breloer (III, 382) concludes that the separation of artisans from traders was not usual before Kauṭilya. For dīrka 'profit' cf. s. 28 below.
19 Yāj. 2.250 is an exact reproduction.
brings about (a difference to the extent of) one-eighth part in (an article) priced at one paṇa, the fine is two hundred (paṇas). 21 By that is explained the increase in fines by two hundred (paṇas) successively. 22 For mixing things of a similar kind with objects such as grains, fats, sugars, salts, perfumes and medicines, the fine is twelve paṇas.

23 The Merchant should fix, after calculating their total earnings for the day, what the (sales-agents) should live on with permission.

24 What falls in between the purchaser and the seller becomes different from what is received. 25 With that they may make stores of grains and commodities, when permitted to do so. 26 The Director of Trade should confiscate what is accumulated otherwise by them.

20 The expression tulāmāṇāntaram arghavāṃśāntaram vā at the beginning are understood as something like adhikāraśabdas introducing the topic. This is how Cb apparently understands it. It explains antara by ‘special gain (made through tulā etc.).’ The two words could have been understood with aśṭabdhāgam in the s., but though the former is possible with hastadosaṇa, it is difficult to conceive of arghāntara or vāṃśāntara being brought about by hastadosa. And the case of vāṃśāntara is separately mentioned in s. 22. Cs supplies ‘should be written down in a book’ after the expression, but it is not easy to see the purpose of such records. — dharaṇakasya etc.: as Breloer (III, 396-400) says these are servants in the royal store-houses, where these offences are to be understood as being committed. Cf. 2.15.63. That explains the heavier fine. 21 āvikāśatāra dānsāvarūddhiḥ: this may mean that in the case of an article valued at two paṇas, the fine is four hundred paṇas and so on or that if the difference is to the extent of 1/4th of the price the fine is 400 and so on (Cs). The former is obviously intended. 22 samacārṇopadgāne: this literally implies mixing with goods of the same or similar quality. Meyer thinks we should read asamacārṇo- ‘not of the same quality,’ which seems supported by hinaṁ prakṣiṇaṁ in Yāj.’s paraphrase of this s. (2.245). But the smallness of the fine seems to indicate only a mixing with similar quality goods. The fine is prescribed because goods in royal stores are tampered with.

23 yan nisṛṣṭam etc.: it seems that from this s. onwards we have to think of the panyādhyakṣa as the officer concerned and not the saṃsthādhyakṣa. The former is mentioned in ss. 26 and 33. Moreover, upajīveṇuḥ could have for its subject sales-agents, referred to as panyādhyāśhārā in 2.16.14-16, who work under the panyādhyakṣa. It is he who fixes their day’s remuneration. vaṇik, therefore, seems to be the panyādhyakṣa; he is the state Trader-in-Chief as 2.16 shows.

24 kṛṣṭikretor antarapatitam is an odd expression. What seems meant is ‘the difference between purchases and sales,’ i.e., goods remaining unsold. kṛṣṭikrayayor would have been better. — ādāyādanyad ‘other than, i.e., different from what is received (as commission or profit).’ The idea seems to be that unsold goods cannot be treated as remuneration or profit and the agent deprived of the latter with that excuse. It must be admitted that this sense for ādāya would be unusual. It is not unlikely that ss. 24 and 25 formed a single sentence and we originally had antarapatitam ādāya yad bhavati tena dhānyapanyata etc. Cs reads ādāyādanyam ‘not liable to be divided among heirs (but to be taken by the king alone),’ which is extremely doubtful. Meyer proposes ādāya adainyate bhavati ‘no difficulty would arise by taking it,’ i.e., it would be useful in times of distress. There seems little point in such a statement here. 26 anyathānicītām, e.g., by setting aside a part
27 With that he should trade when selling grains and commodities to the advantage of the subjects.

28 And he should fix a profit for them of five per hundred over and above the permitted purchase-price in the case of indigenous commodities, ten (per hundred) in the case of foreign goods. 29 For those who increase the price beyond that or secure (a profit beyond that) during purchase or sale, the fine shall be two hundred panas for (an additional profit of) five panas in one hundred panas. 30 By that is explained the increase in fine in case of increase in price.

31 And in case of the joint purchase by them remaining unsold, he shall not allow another joint purchase. 32 In case of damage to commodities, he should show them favour.

33 If there is a glut of commodities, the Director of Trade should sell all goods in one place. 34 So long as these are unsold, others shall not sell (those goods). 35 The (agents) shall sell those for a daily wage for the benefit of the subjects.

36 In the case of commodities distant in place and time, however, the (Director of Trade), expert in fixing prices, shall fix the price after calculating the investment, the production of goods, duty, interest, rent and other expenses.

CHAPTER THREE

SECTION 78 REMEDIAL MEASURES DURING CALAMITIES

1 There are eight great calamities of a divine origin: fire, floods, disease, famine, rats, wild animals, serpents and evil spirits. 2 From them they should protect the country.

of the goods given to them for selling and making up the price by charging more for the rest. 27 anugrahena prajānām: cf. 2.16.5 above.

28 -kṛaya is clearly 'purchase-price.' 29 bhācayatām: the object is 'gain or profit.' — pāṇāśate pāṇecopaṇād, i.e., for an additional 5%.

31 nānyāṁ saṁbhāyakrāyaṁ: Cb Cs understand 'to other merchants.' However, 'to the same merchants' is also likely. A sort of monopoly in sale is thought of here, care being taken to see that there is no cornering of the commodity.

33 panyabāhulyāt: Cs reads this with the preceding s.; but the construction is far from happy. The comment in Cb supports the other construction. — eka- mukhāni: cf. 2.16.4. 34 anye, i.e., other independent traders. 35 anugrahena prajānām: cf. s. 27 above.

36 The prose is to be construed with the following stanza, showing a common authorship. — panyaniśpatīm refers to the amount of goods produced. Cs has 'time taken for production.' — arghavit is clearly the panyadhyaṅkaṇa, as 2.16.1-3 show. He can hardly be the saṁsthādhyakṣa as Cs and Breloer think.
3 In summer, the villages shall do the cooking outside (the houses) or being protected by a collection of ten fire-fighting implements.

4 Prevention of fire is explained in 'Rules for the City Superintendent' and in connection with royal possessions in 'Rules for the Royal Residence.'

5 And on parvan-days, he should cause worship of the fire to be made with offerings, oblations in fire and recitals of benedictions.

6 In the rainy season, villages situated near water should live away from the level of the floods. 7 And they should keep a collection of wooden planks, bamboos and boats. 8 They should rescue a (person) being carried away (by the flood) by means of gourds, skin-bags, canoes, tree-stems and rope-braids. 9 For those who do not go to the rescue, the fine is twelve pañas, except in the case of those without canoes.

10 And on parvan-days he should cause worship of the rivers to be carried out. 11 Experts in the practice of magic or those versed in the Vedas should use spells against rain.

12 In case of drought, he should cause worship of the Lord of Śacī, the Ganges, the Mountains and Mahākaccha to be made.

13 The calamity of disease, (magicians and others) should counteract with secret means, physicians with medicines or holy ascetics with pacificatory and expiatory rites.

4.3

The inclusion of this Chapter in this Book is rather strange. Perhaps kauṭaka stands for everything causing trouble to subjects. The pradeśaś may be concerned with some of the measures recommended, but often the king appears to direct the operations himself.

3 griśme etc.: cf. 2.36.15-17 above. — daśamūliṣtavigrhaṇaḥ adhiṣṭhitāḥ: this is far from clear in meaning. The translation follows a suggestion by N. N. Law (Studies, p. 101) that daśamūliḥ refers to the fire-fighting tools of 2.36.18, though it must be pointed out that we have only nine objects mentioned there, not ten, since kaṇegrhaṇi is a single item, not two as Law thinks. Cb Cs read daśakuli-; the idea seems to be that groups of ten families hold themselves responsible for fire in their area and that probably they kept a watch by turns while cooking was in progress. This might also appear to be a likely idea. Cb seems to imply that the gopa (in charge of ten families) is to look after the prevention of fire.

4 nāgarika- etc., i.e., in 2.36.15-27 above. — niśāntapraṇidhau, i.e., in 1.20.4.

5 parvasu, i.e., on the new moon and full moon days.

7 upaghrṇiyuḥ is proposed for apa- as being necessary for sense. 8 gaṇḍikā is a tree-stem, sometimes used as an anvil; cf. 2.13.9. — venikā is a rope (which has the appearance of a braid). Cf. 10.2.14. Law (Studies, p. 84) thinks that gaṇḍikā is a floating device made of the skin of a rhinoceros and that venikā is a float of reeds etc. woven together. The former at least is doubtful in this text.

12 mahākaccha: see 3.16.38. According to Cb it means 'the sea.'
14 By that is explained the epidemic. 15 He should cause to be instituted bathing in sacred places, worship of Mahākaccha, milking of cows in cremation grounds, burning of effigies and a night (festival in honour) of gods.

16 In case of disease or epidemic among cattle, he should order lustration rites in connection with the sheds and objects (connected with them) and worship of their respective deities.

17 During a famine, the king should make a store of seeds and food-stuffs and show favour (to the subjects), or (institute) the building of forts or water-works with the grant of food, or share (his) provisions (with them), or entrust the country (to another king). 18 Or, he should seek shelter with allies, or cause a reduction or shifting (of the population). 19 Or, he should migrate with the people to another region where crops have grown, or settle along the sea, lakes or tanks. 20 He should make sowings of grains, vegetables, roots and fruits along the water-works or hunt deer, beasts, birds, wild animals and fish.

21 In case of danger from rats, cats and ichneumons should be let loose. 22 For catching or killing these, the fine shall be twelve pūṇas, also for not restraining dogs, except in the case of foresters. 23 He should strew grains smeared with the milk of snuhi-plants or such as are mixed with secret mixtures. 24 Or, he should institute a tax in rats. 25 Or, holy ascetics should perform pacificatory rites. 26 And on parvan-days, he should order worship of rats.

27 By that are explained remedies against danger from locusts, birds and insects.

18 siddhatāpasāḥ seems to convey a single idea 'ascetics who have attained siddhis.'

15 mahākacchhavardhanam: see 3.16.38.

16 sthānärtha- is proposed for sthānānyartha- of the mss. sthānāni outside the compound would be strange. sthāna by itself can hardly mean 'keeping in another place' (Cb). Meyer suggests sthānānyārtha- 'sheds and other (anya) objects,' which is doubtful. He also suggests senānyārtha- or senānāyārcha-, which are hardly likely. — svadaivata ‘i.e., Subrahmanya of elephants, Áśvinau of horses, Paśupati of cattle, Varuṇa of buffaloes, Vāyu of donkeys and mules, and Agni of goats’ (Cb Cs).

17 desanikṣepam: this amounts to entrusting the region to the care of another king who may be better placed. nikṣepa implies receiving back after a time. 18 karṣana is reduction in population by inducing migration to foreign lands, while vamana is shifting population from one region to another in the kingdom itself. Cf. 2.1.1. 20 ārambhān in the context refers to hunting, catching etc.

22 teṣām, i.e., of cats and ichneumons. — sunām: these might drive away the cats. 24 mūṣikakaram, i.e., so many dead rats as tax per head.
28 In case of danger from wild animals, he should leave carcasses of cattle mixed with a stupefying liquid or intestines (of cattle) filled with *madanakodrava*. 29 Fowlers or hunters should busy themselves with concealed cages and pits. 30 Armoured men, weapons in hand, should kill wild animals. 31 For one not going forth to help, the fine shall be twelve *panas*. 32 The same shall be the reward for one slaying a wild animal. 33 And he should order the worship of mountains on *parvan*-days.

34 By that are explained remedies against herds of deer or beasts, swarms of birds and crocodiles.

35 In case of danger from serpents, experts in poison-cure should act with charms and medicines. 36 Or (persons) coming together should kill snakes. 37 Or, experts in the Atharvaveda lore should use magic spells. 38 And on *parvan*-days, he should order worship of cobras.

39 By that are explained remedies against danger from aquatic creatures.

40 In case of danger from evil spirits, experts in the Atharvaveda lore or experts in the practice of magic should perform rites for destroying evil spirits. 41 And on *parvan*-days, he should order worship of *caitya*-trees with offerings of raised platforms, umbrellas, food, small flags and goats.

42 In cases of all (kinds of) danger, they should make offerings day and night, saying ‘We offer you the oblation.’ 43 And in all cases, he should favour the stricken (subjects) like a father.

44 Therefore, experts in the practice of magic, (and) holy ascetics, capable of countering divine calamities, should live in the kingdom, honoured by the king.

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28 *madanarasa*: see 14.1.16-17. — *madanakodrava* appears to be a poisonous variety of the *kodrava* grains; *kodrava* grains treated with poison may be understood. 29 *kūta* as an adjective ‘concealed’ is preferable to a substantive ‘a snare’ (Meyer); cf. 2.3.15; 4.10.3 etc.

35 *jāṅgulīvidah*: cf. 1.21.9 etc. 36 *vāpi sarpān* is proposed for *vopasarpān*, which is evidently corrupt.

41 *ullopikā* appears to be a kind of food, as in Cb. The *Mahābhārata* (5.191.21) has the form *ullāpika* (from *lap* ‘address’ to the spirits when offering food to them). Utpala on *Br. Saṁ. 48.28* has *ullāpika*, but on 46.16 *ullopikā*. — *hastapatākā* is a flag carried in the hand, a small flag.

42 *carāmah* from Cb Cs seems preferable to *carāmi* of the mss.
CHAPTER FOUR

SECTION 79 GUARDING AGAINST PERSONS WITH SECRET (MEANS OF) INCOME

1 In 'Rules for the Administrator' the protection of the country has been described. 2 We shall (now) explain the weeding of thorns in that (country).

3 The Administrator should station in the country (secret agents) appearing as holy ascetics, wandering monks, cart-drivers, wandering minstrels, jugglers, tramps, fortune-tellers, sooth-sayers, astrologers, physicians, lunatics, dumb persons, deaf persons, idiots, blind persons, traders, artisans, artists, actors, brothel-keepers, vintners, dealers in bread, dealers in cooked meat, and dealers in cooked rice. 4 They should find out the integrity or otherwise of village-officers and heads of departments. 5 And whomsoever among these he suspects of deriving a secret income he should cause to be spied upon by a secret agent.

6 A secret agent should say to a judge in whom confidence is inspired by him, 'Such and such a relation of mine is accused (before you); save him in this misfortune and accept this amount.' 7 If he were to do so, he should be exiled as one given to receiving bribes. 8 By that are explained magistrates.

9 A secret agent should say to a village chief or a departmental head, 'Such and such a rogue has plenty of wealth; this misfortune has befallen him; by using that, extort money from him.' 10 If he were to do so, he should be exiled as an extortioner.

4.4

gūḍhañjīvintām : the genitive conveys the sense of the ablative. — rakṣā is the same as rakṣaṇa in 4.1 and 4.2 above.

1 samāhārtēprāṇidhau : the actual title of the section in 2.35 is samāhārtēpracāraḥ.

3 samāhārtā : it is clear that this officer is ultimately responsible for the kauṭaka-śodhana and that the pradeśīs work under him. 4 grāmanām obviously refers to officers stationed in the villages. 5 gūḍhañjīvīnam is proposed for gūḍhañjīvīnam in conformity with the use of the former form found throughout elsewhere; cf. 3.1.10; 3.20.2 etc., as well as the title of this section. The actual comment in Cb shows the correct form. — satṛṣīṇā is proposed for satṛṣīvāyrena of the mss. savarṇa 'of the same varṇa' has little significance in the context; and its place in the compound is also suspicious.

6 It is proposed to omit pradeśāraṇa va read after dharmastham in the mss., in view of s. 8 which follows. 7 pravāṣyeta : the idea is of 'exile,' not of 'execution,' in the present Chapter.

9 grāmakātam : the word does not occur elsewhere. It means probably the same as grāmika (3.4.9) and seems to be the village headman. — āhārayasya:
11 Or, (an agent) pretending to be an accused should induce those, who are known to bear false testimony, with plenty of money.  
12 If they were to do so, they should be exiled as false witnesses.  
13 By that are explained those who cause false evidence to be given.  
14 Or, if he considers any one as a user of occult means for winning love with incantations or rites with herbs or rites in cremation grounds, a secret agent should say to him, 'I am in love with so and so's wife, daughter-in-law or daughter; make her reciprocate my love and take this money.'  
15 If he were to do so, he should be exiled as a user of occult means for winning love.  
16 By that are explained practisers of black magic and sorcery.  
17 Or, if he considers any one who prepares, purchases or sells poison or who deals in medicines or food, as an administerer of poison, a secret agent should say to him, 'So and so is my enemy; bring about his death and take this money.'  
18 If he were to do so, he should be exiled as a poison-giver.  
19 By that is explained the dealer in stupefying mixtures.  
20 Or, if he considers any one as an utterer of false coins, (being) a frequent purchaser of various metals and acids, of coals, bellows, pincers, vices, anvils, dies, chisels and crucibles, with indications of hands and clothes smeared with soot, ashes and smoke, (and being) possessed of blacksmith's tools, a secret agent should expose him by insinuating himself into his confidence as a pupil and by carrying on dealings with him.  
21 If exposed, he should be exiled as an utterer of false coins.  
22 By that is explained the remover of colour (from precious metals) and the dealer in artificial gold.

cf. 1.6.7 etc.  
10 ukocaka is one who extorts money rather than one who takes a bribe.  
13 śrutvaçakāraçakāḥ : for śrotr 'witness' cf. 3.1.4,14 etc.  
14 saṁvaçada is how all mss. read the word here and in the next s., also apparently in 4.5.6, but in 4.5.1 and 4.13.28 they show saṁvaçana. The Atharvaçeda knows saṁvaçana (6.9.3) and saṁvaçana (a plant for winning love, 6.139.3). The Mahābhārata (3.22.56-57) shows saṁvaçana in the critical edition, though a number of mss. have saṁvaçada; the lexicons have saṁvaçada. The latter from has been adopted throughout.  
16 kṛtyā appears to be connected with spirits, while abhicāra is sorcery.  
20 mūṣṭikā appears to be a kind of hand-vicew. — bimba the 'die' from which coins are made. — saṁsargam is read for saṁsargam in conformity with (upakaraṇa-) saṁsargam in 4.6.2 and 18. — saṁvyavahāra : cf. 1.9.3. — anupraviṣya : cf. 1.17.39 etc.  
22 rāgasyapahartā kāfisvarṇavayavahārī ca : it seems that a single offender is intended, one who deals in artificial gold and robs precious metals of their genuiness. vyākhyātoḥ also implies a single individual. The ca, therefore, does not seem to be right.
23 But the thirteen (persons), having secret ways of income, when engaged in doing injury (to others), should be exiled or they shall pay a redemption-amount in accordance with the gravity of the offence.

CHAPTER FIVE

SECTION 80 DETECTION OF CRIMINALS THROUGH SECRET AGENTS IN THE DISGUISE OF HOLY MEN

1 After the employment of spies, (secret agents) appearing as holy men should entice criminals by means of lores favourite with criminals, (viz.,) robbers by means of charms inducing sleep, making invisible or opening doors, adulterers by love-winning charms.

2 When these have been enthused (to see the power of the charms), they should take a large band of them at night and proposing to go to one village should go to another village in which men and women are prepared beforehand, and say, ‘Right here you can see the power of our lore; it is difficult to go to the other village.’

3 Then opening the gates by means of a gate-opening charm, they should say, ‘Enter.’

4 By means of an invisibility charm they should make the criminals go safely through the midst of wakeful guards.

5 Sending guards to sleep with a sleep-inducing charm they should cause them with their beds to be moved by the criminals.

6 With a love-winning charm they should make the criminals enjoy (harlots) appearing as other men’s wives.

7 When these are convinced of the power of their lores, they should prescribe the performance of preliminary rites and so on, so that they may be recognized.

23 trayodaśa: we get the number thirteen only if we understand a single offender in s. 22. See above. — pravāsyāḥ: this again is exile, not execution, since redemption is allowed.

4.5

māṇava ‘an evil man’ is a criminal, particularly a dacoit or robber. Patañjali on Pāṇini, 4.1.161, explains the formation of the word in this sense. Cf. Sten Konow, Indian Culture, III, 3.

1 māṇavān is proposed for māṇavā of the mss. as suggested by Meyer. The accusative as the object for pralabhavyaṃ is quite necessary. The siddhas agents themselves are not criminals. If they were former criminals, we should have had purāṇamāṇavā. Cb comment presupposes māṇavān. — saṁvadana: see 4.4.14 above.

2 kṛtakāśtrīpuruṣam: Meyer proposes kṛtasamketaśtrīpuruṣam; that does not seem quite necessary. 7 abhiñāṇārtham: the idea apparently is that while engaged in the rites, the dacoits would be off their guard and hence easy to apprehend. It seems quite possible that this expression is to be construed with kṛtalakṣaṇa- etc. in the next s.
8 Or, they should get them to do their work in houses in which goods have been marked. 9 Or, they should get them caught in one place after winning their confidence. 10 They should get them arrested while engaged in purchasing, selling or pledging articles that are marked or when they are intoxicated with drugged liquor.

11 When they are arrested, he should question them concerning former offences and their associates.

12 Or, (secret agents) appearing as old thieves should, after winning their confidence, get thieves to do their work in the same manner and get them arrested. 13 When they are arrested, the Administrator should point them out to citizens and country people, saying, 'The king has studied the lore of catching thieves; it is under his instructions that these thieves have been caught; I shall catch others too; you should (therefore) restrain your kinsmen who may have criminal tendencies.'

14 And if he were to come to know through the information of the spies that some one among them has stolen a (trifle like a) yoke-pin, goad and so on, he should declare (that about) him among them, saying, 'This is the king's power.'

15 Old thieves, cow-herds, fowlers and hunters, winning the confidence of forest thieves and foresters, should induce them to attack caravans, herds or villages with plenty of articles made of artificial gold and forest produce. 16 When the attack is made, they should get them killed by concealed soldiers or through provisions for the journey mixed with stupefying liquids. 17 (Or,) they should get them arrested while sleeping after being tired by a long journey carrying a heavy load of stolen goods or when they are intoxicated by drugged liquor at festive parties.

18 And having caught them, the Administrator should show them as before (to the people), causing a proclamation of the king's omniscience to be made among the inhabitants of the kingdom.

9 anupravistā in the nominative is proposed as suggested by Meyer in place of the accusative in the mss., in view of the usual sense of this word. Cf. ss. 12 and 15 below. — The s. is misplaced; it may be read after s. 7. For, ss. 8 and 10 go together.

11 pūrvapadāna: see 2.36.36; 3.12.35 etc.

14 pratyādiśe: cf. 1.11.4.

16 pathyadānena is read in conformity with the reading in 2.16.24 above. All mss. read here pathyādānena, as all read pathyadhānena in 7.17.59.

18 sarvajña- stands for sarvarjñātva-. Cf. 1.8.6 for a similar use.
CHAPTER SIX

SECTION 81 ARREST ON SUSPICION, WITH THE (STOLEN) ARTICLE AND BY (INDICATIONS OF) THE ACT

1. After the practices of holy men comes (the topic of) arrest on suspicion, with the article and because of the act.

2. He should suspect as being either a murderer, or a thief, or one living on a secret income by appropriating buried treasure or entrusted article or through employment by enemies (the following persons, viz.,) one whose inheritance and family (income) are exhausted, one with a small wage, one falsely declaring his country, caste, family, name or occupation, one whose profession or work is hidden, one addicted to meat, wine, eating of food, perfumes, garlands, clothes and ornaments, one who spends lavishly, one addicted to prostitutes, gambling or drinking in bars, one travelling frequently, one whose stay and departure are unknown, one moving at an odd time in a solitary place or a forest or a house-garden, one holding long consultations and meeting frequently in a secret place or in a place with a (likely) victim, one secretly getting treatment for recently inflicted wounds, one always staying inside the house, one proceeding (stealthily ?), one devoted to a beloved, one making frequent inquiries about other people’s possessions (such as) women, goods or houses, one in possession of tools of a condemned occupation or lore, one moving stealthily in the shadow of walls at an odd hour of the night, one selling at an improper place and time goods that are changed in appearance, one who entertains a feeling of hostility, one with a low occupation or caste concealing his appearance, one, not a monk, having the marks of a monk, or a monk with a different mode of life, one who had formerly committed an offence, one shown up by his own deeds, one who, at the sight of the City-Superintendent or

4.6

rūpa refers to the stolen article found with a person. *karma* is the act of theft.

1. *siddhaprayogād ārdhvam*: the succession is of topics only. The *siddhas* have nothing to do with the contents of this Chapter.

2. *sthānagamanam*: *paṇya* found in the ms. at the end of this compound is dropped as in Cb Cs. It does not go well with *sthāna* and *gamana.* — *pratikārajāyitāram* is proposed for *pratikārajāyitāram*, in conformity with 2.36.10 above. — *abhyaḍhigantarām* is uncertain in meaning. Cb explains ‘one suddenly turning aside when some person is coming towards him.’ Cs follows. It may also mean ‘one who stealthily approaches other people or their houses.’ — *kutsita-karmaśāstropā*: Cs has *-śāstra- for *-śāstra-.* Cb comment presupposes *śāstra*. However, *kutsita* seems more likely of a lore such as magic than of a weapon. — *hīnakarmajātin vigāhamānarūpan*: the expressions may be understood together or separately. — *līgin* is one who has the marks of a monk. — *pā prákṛtā-padānam*: cf. 4.8.26 etc. — *svakarmabhīr apadiṣṭam*: this person is not caught
a big officer, conceals himself, runs away, sits without breathing, becomes agitated or has his voice and complexion of the face dry and changed, (and) one shying at a crowd of men carrying weapons in hand. Thus ends (the topic of) arrest on suspicion.

3 As to arrest with the article, however, what is lost or stolen and is not found, he should communicate to those who deal in wares of that class. 4 If they, on coming by the article communicated, were to conceal it, they shall be liable for the offence of being accessories. 5 If they are ignorant about it, they shall be acquitted on giving up the article. 6 And they shall not pledge or sell old wares without informing the Market Superintendent.

7 If the article about which information has been given is found, he should question the person arrested with the article concerning its acquisition ‘Whence did you get this?’ 8 If he were to plead ‘I got it in inheritance, obtained it as a gift, purchased it, got it made, (or) received it as a secret pledge from so and so; this is the place and time of its acquisition; this is its price, quantity, marks and value,’ he shall be acquitted on his (statements about the) acquisition being corroborated. 9 If the person who lost the article were also to prove the same, he shall hold the article as belonging to him whose possession of it was earlier and long or whose title is clear. 10 For, even among quadrupeds and bipeds there is a similarity in appearance and marks; how much more then would it be in the case of forest produce, ornaments and (other) articles produced from material from the same source and by the same manufacturer?

11 If he were to plead ‘This is a borrowed or hired article, a pledge, a trust, a deposit or goods given for sale on agency basis, belonging to so and so,’ he shall be acquitted on corroboration by the person in the act; only his actions in general are suspicious. — nāgarikamahāmātra-darsāne is to be understood right up to -mukhavānam. — parapravṛtya seems to mean ‘employment by the enemy (as an agent).’ Cb Cs read varapravṛtya. Cb has ‘śāstra-yukta, armed’; it is not unlikely that this is corrupt for śatruprayukta. Cs explains ‘use of a weapon in consequence of anger (vau, i.e., krodha).’ This latter is doubtful. — apaḥāra and pravṛtta are the means of gudha dīteca or ‘secret income.’

4 śācīvyača ‘one who renders help,’ an associate. 5 Cf. 3.16.13. 6 Cf. 4.2.1.

7 For this passage, cf. 3.16.12 ff. 8 udhiprachihaṇam seems to mean ‘concealed as a pledge,’ i.e., a secret pledge. This is distinguished from dhītaka ‘a thing pledged’ of s. 11 below. — upasambhrāptah is an emendation of Meyer for upasambhrāptah; the genitive is quite necessary. — argha is the price fixed for sale, while mālāya is its cost price. 9 For deśa ‘title, proof of ownership,’ cf. 3.16.29. 10 It seems better to understand ekayoni with draiva and eka alone with kartṛ.

11 vaiyāvṛtyakarma: for sales-agents, see 3.12.25 ff. — apasāra: see 3.16.15. 12 upaliṅganam: cf. 3.12.51; 3.13.37. It primarily means ‘a sign
proving his innocence. 12 If that person were to say 'It is not so,' the person arrested with the article shall justify the reason for the other person giving it, the reason for his accepting it or get the indications corroborated by the giver, the one who causes to give, the recorder, the receiver and those who have witnessed or heard (the transaction).

13 In the case of an (article) that is left, has disappeared (or) run away and is (afterwards) found, (there shall be) clearance (from guilt) by proof concerning place, time and acquisition. 14 If not cleared, he shall pay that and as much again as fine. 15 Otherwise, he shall be liable to punishment for theft. Thus ends (the topic of) arrest with the article.

16 As to arrest because of the act, however, in the case of a house that has been robbed, entry or exit otherwise than by a door, the piercing of the door with a hole or by uprooting, the breaking of a latticed window or eaves of an upper chamber, the crumbling of a wall while climbing up or descending, or the digging up (of the ground) as a means of burying or robbing objects secretly, he should hold (these) as committed by one inside the house, if (things stolen) could be known through information supplied, and if the cutting, the rubbish, the breaking and the tools are on the inside. 17 In the reverse case (he should hold these) as committed by an outsider, if (these are) on both sides as committed by both (inmates and outsiders).

18 If the offence is committed by an insider, he should examine a man closely related, who may be addicted to vice, may have ruthless associates or may be in possession of a thief’s tools, or a woman from or indication that proves something.’ In the next s., it refers to proof or production of proof. — dāyakadāpaka- etc. : in 2.7.31 some of these terms are used in connection with receipts in the treasury. — upadraṣṭṭbhira is an emendation suggested by Meyer for upadeṣṭbhira. That it is necessary is shown by 3.11.31. upadeṣṭ can hardly mean ‘one who dictates to the writer’ (Cs). Cb seems to understand ‘one who tells the person that the object is in his possession.’

13 upaliṅgaṇena: see s. 12 above. 15 anyathā : the difference between this case and that in the last s. seems to be that in this case, the person cannot plead any excuse, howsoever invalid, for the possession of the object.

16 saṁdhiṇā bijena va vedham : since vedha ‘piercing’ implies the idea of making an opening, saṁdhi and bija are obviously means to that end. saṁdhi seems to be ‘making a hole,’ but bija is uncertain; it may signify ‘uprooting.’ Cb seems to understand the removal of some sort of a wooden latch for opening the door. Cs renders saṁdhi by ‘suruvigā, underground tunnel,’ which is doubtful; its explanation of bija by ‘vedhasādhana’ is not helpful. Meyer's ‘at the joints (saṁdhi) or at the hinges (bijā)’ is possible; but the locative would have been preferable to the instrumental in that case. Besides, for saṁdhi as ‘making a hole, or, a hole,’ cf. the Mrchchakatika, Act 3. — upadeṣṭopalabhyam: this and the next clause are the only indications of the effort being made from the inside. — abhyantara-goes with each of cheda, utkara, parimarda and upakaraṇa.
an indigent family or attached to another (man), or an attendant of a similar conduct, who is sleeping excessively, overpowered by sleep, agitated, with voice and face dry and changed, restless, prattling too much, with limbs stiffened by climbing high up, with body or clothes cut, crushed, broken or torn, with hands and feet having scars or stiffened, with hair and nails full of dust or with hair and nails cut and bent, or who is thoroughly bathed and anointed, with limbs rubbed with oil, or with hands and feet just washed, whose foot-prints are similar to those (found) in dust or wet surfaces, or who has flowers, wine, perfumes, bits of cloth, unguents or perspiration similar to those (found) at the entrance and exit. 19 He should hold (him) to be a thief or an adulterer.

20 The magistrate, along with the village and divisional officers, should make a search for thieves outside, and the City-Superintendent (should do it) inside the fort, according to indications (just) mentioned.

CHAPTER SEVEN

SECTION 82 INQUEST ON SUDDEN DEATHS

1 He shall examine a (person) dying suddenly, after smearing (the body) with oil.

2 (One) with urine and ordure thrown out, with the skin of the abdomen filled with wind, with swollen hands and feet, with eyes open, with marks on the throat, he should hold as killed through the stopping of breathing by strangulation. 3 The same, with arms and thighs contracted, he should hold as slain by hanging.

4 (One) with hands, feet and abdomen swollen, with eyes sunk in, with the nail turned out, he should hold as impaled.

18 tadhvidhācāram, i.e., vyasaninam etc. — sainrābdha means ‘swollen,’ also ‘stiffened’; the latter seems preferable, for śūna is used for ‘swollen’ in the next Chapter. Cb has ‘sprained.’ — vilānavaghnakaseṇakham : bhagna ‘bent, curved’ does not seem quite appropriate with hair or nails; perhaps bhagna is to be read, vilāna going with keṣa and bhagna with nakha. Cb’s explanation is ‘worn out, cut,’ which seems to presuppose bhagna. 19 pāradārikam : the adulterer may also break into a house like a thief.

20 sagopasthānikah : cf. 2.35.1-6 above. — nirdīghahetubhiḥ refers to the indications mentioned in this Chapter for arrest on suspicion etc.

4.7 1 tālābhhyaktam : this is in order that injuries, swellings, etc. may become clear. — parikṣeta : it may be presumed that the inquests were held by the pradesṭras in the country and by the nāgarikas in the city, as suggested by 4.6.20.
5 (One) with the anus and eyes closed, with the tongue bitten, with the belly swollen, he should hold as dead by (drowning in) water.

6 (One) bespattered with blood, with limbs broken or dislocated, he should hold as slain with sticks or stones.

7 (One) with limbs shattered and burst, he should hold as hurled down (from a height).

8 (One) with dark hands, feet, teeth and nails, with loose flesh, hair of the body and skin, with the mouth covered with foam, he should hold as killed by poison. 9 The same, with bloody marks of bite, he should hold as killed by a snake or an insect.

10 (One) with clothes and limbs thrown about, with excessive vomiting and motions, he should hold as killed by a stupefying mixture.

11 He should find out if the (person) is killed in one of these ways or, if after being killed, he is hanged or has his throat cut, through fear of punishment.

12 He should examine through birds the remainder of the meal of one (suspected of being) killed by poison. 13 Or, if what is taken from the heart and thrown in fire produces a crackling sound and becomes rainbow-coloured, he should hold that as poisoned, or if he sees the heart not burning when the body is cremated.

14 He should seek his servant who may have received a severe verbal or physical injury (at the hands of the deceased), or a woman

4 avaropitam : this is uncertain in meaning. Cb Cs have 'impaled'; for that droupita would be expected. Meyer has 'choked with a gag.' The former meaning may be accepted.

5 nistabdha : Cs has 'come out, protruding'; Meyer 'pressed, closed.' The latter seems more likely. The word also means 'paralysed.'

6 kاشthair aśmabhīr vā from G1. Cb seems preferable to kашthai raśmibhīr vā of the other mss. For, breaking or dislocation of limbs is more likely with stones than with ropes.

10 madanayogya : see 14.1.16-17.

11 udbandhamikṛttakaṇṭham : it seems necessary to read udbhaddha here as a participle rather than udbhanda as a noun which cannot be properly construed with the other words in the compound. The idea is that the murderer makes it appear as a case of suicide either by hanging or by cutting the throat.

12 vayobhī : see 1.20.7-8. 13 hṛdayād : Meyer understands this to refer to the 'stomach.' But that does not seem necessary. The heart also would be affected.

14 There can be no doubt about vāgkanḍopārusyātita labdhaham being the original reading. Cs renders atitadbha by 'oppressed'; its literal meaning 'who has received in excess or severely' is also conceivable. — dāya caṛti- is proposed for dāyani caṛti- of the mss., as indicated by strīdṛavyayaṛtikāmo vā in Yāj. 2.281. dāyani caṛti can
stricken with grief or attached to another, or a kinsman coveting inheritance, livelihood or a woman.

15 He should investigate the same in the case of one (suspected of being) hanged after being murdered. 16 Or, in the case of one who has hanged himself, he should find out (if) any improper wrong (has been done to him).

17 In the case of all, an offence concerning a woman or property, rivalry in profession, hostility towards a rival, or association in a market place, or one of the heads of dispute in a law-court is an occasion for anger. 18 Murder is caused by anger.

19 He should investigate, through those proximate, the murder of (a person, whether he is) killed by (some persons) themselves or through agents appointed, or by thieves for the sake of money, or by enemies of some one else because of similarity. 20 He should question him by whom he had been called, with whom he had stayed or gone, or by whom he was brought to the place of murder. 21 And he should question those moving near him at the place of murder, each one separately, ‘Who brought him here? Who killed him? Did you see any one with a weapon in hand or hiding himself or agitated?’

22 As they might reply, so should he question (further).

23-24 Observing the objects used on the person of the helpless (deceased), his belongings, clothes, dress or ornaments, he should question those who deal in those articles, concerning their meeting (with him), their residence, the reason for their stay, their occupation and dealings, and then carry on the investigation.

25-26 If a person, under the influence of passion or anger, or a woman infatuated by sin, were to kill himself (or herself) by means of a rope, a weapon or poison, he should cause them to be

hardly mean 'reversion of inheritance (on somebody’s death)' (Cs). Cb has no explanation of niśytti. — For abhi-man ‘to covet, entertain a longing for,’ cf. 1.6.5 etc.

15 hatodbuddhasya for hatodbandhasya of the mss. is found in Cb. The dot indicating a double conjunct in a ms. is often mistaken for an anusvāra. 16 viprakāram : this wrong might have been the cause of the suicide.

17 panyasaṁsthāsamavāyaḥ : Cb has 'disputes in trade and disputes about importance in partnerships’ as two things. Cs follows with ‘trade (by fraud etc.) and forming groups by violating seniority (samavāya).’ This is doubtful. Either association or partnership in trade or rivalry in the market as a single idea seems meant.

19 adiṣṭa ‘ordered, ’i.e., commissioned or hired to do the murder.

23 veśam, as distinguished from rastram, seems to imply some special dress.

24 samyogain nivāsam etc. : these are those of the dealers, rather than those of the deceased.
dragged with a rope on the royal highway by a Cauḍāla; there is to be no cremation-rite for them nor obsequies by kinsmen.

27 If, however, some kinsman were to perform for them the rites in connection with the dead, he should meet with the same fate afterwards, or should be abandoned by his relations.

28 A person having dealings with an outcast loses caste himself after one year, by sacrificing for them, by teaching them or by entering into marriage relations with them; so does another having dealings with these.

CHAPTER EIGHT

SECTION 83 INVESTIGATION THROUGH INTERROGATION AND THROUGH TORTURE

1 In the presence of the robbed person and of witnesses, external and internal, he should question the accused about his country, caste, family, name, occupation, wealth, associates and residence. 2 And he should compare these with statements (of others). 3 Then he should question him concerning his movements on the previous day, and place of stay during the night up to the time of arrest. 4 In case of corroboration by persons proving his innocence, he shall be cleared of guilt; otherwise, he shall be put to torture.

26 rajjuna: Cs remarks that the masculine is archaic and adds that the reading was probably rajja vā. — tām Cauḍālena is proposed for tām Cauḍālena of the mss. As tēṣām in the following line shows, the woman alone is not meant.

27 -kriyācidhim: both kriyā and vidhi are not necessary. — tadgatim, i.e., having their bodies dragged through the streets and absence of rites. — svacjānād vā pramucyate: vā seems to have the sense of ca. We expect pramucyeta in the potential mood.

28 The stanza occurs in Manu, 11.180, with slight changes, also in Vasiṣṭha, 1.22, as a quotation. The readings here seem original, though the stanza may have been derived from some earlier source.

4.8

karma in this Chapter has the technical sense of 'torture.' It has been suggested that it means only 'corporal punishment' inflicted on the guilty, and not torture inflicted for getting a confession from a suspect (K. P. Jayaswal, Manu and Yājñavalkya, pp. 86-87). But anuyoga 'questioning, investigation' cannot be understood with karma in that sense. The use of secret agents recommended as an alternative to karma (ss. 15-16,19) and the mention of vākyānuyoga as an alternative to it (s. 18) also imply the sense of torture for the sake of securing a confession.

1 sāksinām: after this we have to supply saṁnīdhau from the preceding compound. Meyer favours sāksinam or sāksināḥ; but it is the suspect who is to be interrogated, not the witnesses. 2 apadesa seems used in the sense of 'state-
5 After three nights, the suspect shall not be liable to arrest, because of the inadmissibility of interrogation (after that interval), except when tools (of the crime) are found (with him).

6 For one calling another, who is not a thief, a thief, the punishment shall be that for a thief, also for one hiding a thief.

7 One accused of (being) a thief shall be cleared of guilt, if implicated out of enmity or hatred. For one keeping under restraint one cleared of guilt, the lowest fine for violence (shall be the punishment).

8 In the case of one about whom suspicion has arisen, he should produce tools, counsellors, accomplices, (stolen) articles and agents.

9 And he should compare his action by reference to his entry, receiving of goods and division into shares (of the stolen goods).

10 In the absence of corroboration of these grounds (showing guilt), he should hold a person, though prattling, as not a thief. For, it is observed that even one not a thief, meeting by chance thieves on their way, is arrested because of similarity with the thieves in dress, weapons or goods or on account of his being found near the thieves’ goods, as for instance Ani-Māṇḍavya declaring himself to be a thief though not a thief, because of the fear of the pain of torture. Hence he should punish only such in whose case proof is fully obtained.

11 He shall not put to torture a person whose offence is trifling, or who is a minor or aged or sick or intoxicated or insane or overcome by hunger, thirst or travel, or who has overeaten or whose meal is un-
digested or who is weak. 15 He should cause them to be secretly watched by persons of the same character, prostitutes, attendants at water-booths, givers of advice, accommodation and food to them. 16 In this way should he outwit them, or as explained in connection with misappropriation of entrusted articles.

17 He should put to torture one whose guilt is found to be probable, but under no circumstances a pregnant woman or a woman within one month of delivery. 18 For a woman, however, there is to be only half the torture, or only examination by interrogation.

19 For a Brahmin there is to be the use of secret agents if he is learned in the Veda, also for an ascetic. 20 In case of transgression of this (rule), the highest fine (shall be imposed) on one who gives and who causes him to give the torture, also for causing death by torture.

21 The ordinary fourfold torture is: six strokes with a stick, seven lashes with a whip, two suspensions from above and the water-tube.

22 In the case of very grave offenders, (there may be): nine strokes with a cane, twelve whip-lashes, two thigh-encirclings, twenty strokes with a naktamāla-stick, thirty-two slaps, two scorpion-bindings, and two hangings up, needle in the hand, burning one joint of a finger of one

prāpārika. Cb Cs read prāvādika 'one who wrangles' or 'clever in languages,' which is not convincing. M reads prāvārika; its meaning is uncertain. — kathā: with this, too, dāty is to be understood; that is rather unusual. kathā here may be advice or directions or information. The text does not seem quite all right.

16 nikṣepāpakhāre, i.e., in 3.12.38-50 above.

17 āptadosām, i.e., when the presumption of guilt is strong, but there is no definite proof. 19 It seems that śrutavatāh is to be construed with Brāhmaṇaśaya, and not to be understood independently. 20 kārayituh: this would be the higher officer, directing the operation.

21 vyācahārika seems to convey the idea of 'normal, ordinary, usual.' — dvau uparinibandhau: Cb has 'tying two hands above; and tying the head along with the hands.' It seems, however, that suspension from a height by a rope twice is all that is meant. — udakanālikā 'pouring salt-water through the nose' (Cb Cs).

22 dvādaśa kastāh is proposed for dvādaśakam. The space after -kam in M suggests this. — dvādūruciṣṭau from Cb Cs is obviously the only reading possible. Cb Cs explain 'tying the feet with a rope, and tying the head along with that.' Giving the āruciṣṭa twice is also possible. — dvau vṛṣikabandhau; Cb Cs explain 'tying the left hand and foot together at the back, and doing the same with the right hand and foot.' Tying both hands and feet at the back and doing this twice is also possible. — ullambane ca dva: the ca here is strange. 'Cb Cs have 'hanging straight with hands tied, and the same with feet tied and upside down.' — sūci hastasya 'pricking with a needle under the finger-nails' (Cb Cs). — yuvagūptasyā: understanding this independently, Cb Cs explain 'making a person drink gruel and then preventing him from passing urine.' It is not easy to see how the latter part of
who has drunk gruel, heating in the sun for one day for one who has drunk fat, and a bed of *balbaja*-points on a winter-night. 23 This is the eighteen-fold torture.

24 He should ascertain the tools, the amount, the (manner of) infliction, the determining and the limiting of it from the *Kharapaṭṭa*.

25 He should cause torture to be given on alternate days and one only on one day.

26 He should cause torture to be used collectively, separately or repeatedly in the case of one who is a former offender, who, after confessing, retracts, with whom a part of the (stolen) goods are found, who is arrested because of the act or with the article, who conceals the king’s treasury or who is to be killed by torture at the king’s order.

27 In all offences, a Brahmin is not to be tormented. 28 On his forehead shall be a branded mark of the guilty to exclude him from all dealings,—(the mark of) a dog in case of theft, a headless trunk in case of murder of a human being, the female organ in case of violation of an elder’s bed, the vintner’s flag in case of liquor-drinking.

29 Proclaiming a Brahmin of sinful deeds and making the scar of the mark on him, the king should exile him from the country or settle him in mines.

the explanation is arrived at. It seems better to construe the expression with what follows. — *snehapitaya* is to be construed with the following (Cb Cs) rather than with the preceding (Meyer). 23 *aśādāśakam*: Meyer finds the eighteen in s. 22, Cs in 21 and 22 together. The latter is decidedly better. But the fourteen in s. 22 are not easy to fix. Cb Cs have *navavetratalāṭādāśakam* ‘twelve strokes with a cane nine hastas long’ as the first item in the s. But a cane 13½ feet long seems unlikely and the reading itself is doubtful. Perhaps, we have to count *dvau* or *dvau* as two in the three cases (contrary to *dvau* in s. 21). One cannot be quite certain.

24 *pradhāraṇam* seems to refer to the determination of the suitability of the person for the torture. — *avadhāraṇam* may refer to limiting or restricting the torture. — *kharapaṭṭād*: *Kharapaṭṭa* appears to be the name of a work on tortures. According to Cs, it is the name of an author on the science of theft. Meyer suggests that we should read *kharapaṭṭavād āyamāyet* ‘should regulate according to the hardness or softness of the culprit.’ That does not sound convincing.

*26 pāraṇakṛtāpādāna*: cf. 4.6.2, also 2.36.36 etc. — *avastṛṇantam*: this root seems to have the sense of ‘to cover, conceal, i.e., to misappropriate.’ Cf. 4.10.13 below.

27-28 Meyer thinks that these ss. are likely to be interpolations, suggested by Manu, 9.237 (where, however, branding is laid down for all *varṇas*, not for Brahmins alone). It is true that these ss., which speak of punishment for offences, are not in keeping with the contents of the Chapter which are concerned with the interrogation of a suspect and other means of extracting a confession from him. The passage, therefore, may not be original, though the idea contained in these ss. and in the stanza that follows appears to be quite ancient.
CHAPTER NINE

SECTION 84  KEEPING A WATCH OVER (OFFICERS OF) ALL DEPARTMENTS

1 The Administrator and the magistrates should first keep in check the heads of departments and their subordinates.

2 For an (officer) stealing an article of high value or a gem from mines or factories for articles of high value, simple death (without torture, shall be the punishment). 3 (For stealing) an article of low value or an implement from factories for articles of low value, the lowest fine for violence (shall be the punishment).

4 For one stealing from places (of production) of articles a king’s commodity, above one māśa in value up to one-fourth (of a paṇa) in value, the fine is twelve paṇas; up to two-quarters in value, twenty-four paṇas; up to three-quarters in value, thirty-six paṇas; up to one paṇa in value, forty-eight paṇas; up to two paṇas in value, the lowest fine for violence; up to four paṇas in value, the middle fine; up to eight paṇas in value, the highest; up to ten paṇas (and above) in value, death (shall be the punishment). 5 For misappropriation of forest produce, goods or tools from magazines, ware-houses, stores of forest produce and armouries, these same fines (shall be imposed) for articles half in value (of those above). 6 (For misappropriation) from the treasury, store-rooms and the Goldsmith’s workshop, these same fines shall be doubled for articles one-quarter in value. 7 For thieves, in case of breaking open (the treasury etc.), death by torture (shall be the punishment). 8 Thus have been explained offences concerning the king’s possessions.

9 But in the case of other properties, for an (officer) stealing secretly by day from a field, a threshing floor, a house or a shop, forest produce, ware or tool above one māśa in value and up to one-quarter

4.9

For rakṣaṇa, cf. 4.1 above.

1 It is clear again that the samāhārī with the pradeśī working under him, is ultimately responsible for the maintenance of a clean administration. Even the judges are under his surveillance. Cf. 4.4 above.

4 Cf. 2.5.16, which shows some variations. These may be due to the fact that 2.5.16 is a very brief abstract of these detailed rules, perhaps also due to a difference in sources. 7 The s. is repeated in 2.5.20. It is not necessary to understand, with Meyer, that officers instigating robbers to break open stores, etc. are meant. Robbers themselves seem meant. 8 rājaparīgraheṣu, i.e., from koṣṭhāgāra, paṇyāgāra etc. just mentioned.

9 bāhyeṣu: we have to supply parīgraheṣu, i.e., in the case of property not belonging to the state, but to the subjects. — ā catuspaṇamālyād: according to
(of a pañña) in value, the fine is three paññas or smearing him with cow-dung and proclaiming his guilt; up to two-quarters in value, six paññas (fine) or smearing with cow-dung and ashes and proclaiming his guilt; up to three-quarters in value, nine paññas (fine) or smearing with cow-dung and ashes and proclamation of his guilt or with a girdle of pot- sherds (round his body); up to one pañña in value, twelve paññas (fine) or shaving of the head and exile; up to two paññas in value, twenty-four paññas (fine) or driving him out (of the city) with a piece of brick after shaving him; up to four paññas in value, thirty-six paññas (fine); up to five paññas in value, forty-eight paññas; up to ten paññas in value, the lowest fine for violence; up to twenty paññas in value, two hundred paññas (fine); up to thirty paññas in value, five hundred paññas (fine); up to forty paññas in value, one thousand (fine); up to fifty pañnas in value (and above) death (shall be the punishment.) 10 For one stealing forcibly by day or at night during the (forbidden) watches, these same fines (shall be imposed) for articles half in value. 11 For one robbing forcibly, by day or night, with weapons, these same fines shall be doubled for articles one quarter in value.

12 For making counterfeit documents and seals of householders, superintendents, principal officers and the king, the punishment is the lowest, the middle, the highest (fines) and death (respectively), or in accordance with the offence.

13 If the judge threatens, upbraids, drives away or browbeats a litigant, he shall impose the lowest fine for violence on him, double that in case of verbal injury. 14 If he does not question one who ought to be questioned, questions one who ought not to be questioned, or after questioning dismisses (the statement), or instructs, reminds or prompts him, he shall impose the middle fine for violence on him.

Cs, in this and the higher cases, munḍana and pravrājana with brickbats have to be understood, though not mentioned. That appears likely. 10 antaryāmikam, i.e., during the watches when movement is forbidden as in 2.36.34-35. The mss. read dīguṇā in s.10; it is proposed to transfer it to s.11 in conformity with ss. 5-6 above.

12 mukhya ‘a principal officer.’ Cf. 5.1.8 etc. Restriction to ‘village headman’ (Cb Cs) is not right. — svāmin is the king, hardly the samāhāry (Cb Cs).

13 abhikgrāmate ‘swallows’ is understood in Cs as ‘receives money from’. That would appear to be a very serious offence, for which a light punishment is not likely. Cf. 4.4.6-7. The root may convey the idea of ‘to over-awc, brow-beat’ or ‘to silence.’ 14 prechchayam may refer to the person who is to be questioned or the question that ought to be put. — visprajāti ‘dismisses’ the statement made, rather than the person himself. — pūrvaḥ dadāti ‘gives the earlier part,’ i.e., prompts. 15 desām: see 3.1.15,19 — chaḷena atihārati: cf. 3.20.22. — appacāhayati ‘carries him away,’ i.e., prevents his coming to the court. — tārīta ‘which is taken to the end,’ i.e., completed. Manu 9.233 has the form tīrīta. — anusūṣṭa
15 If he does not ask for evidence which ought to be submitted, asks for evidence that ought not to be submitted, proceeds with the case without evidence, dismisses it under a pretext, carries away one tired with delays, throws out of context a statement which is in proper order, gives to witnesses help in their statements (or) takes up once again a case which is completed and in which judgment is pronounced, he shall impose the highest fine for violence on him. 16 In case the offence is repeated, double (the fine) and removal from office (shall be the punishment).

17 If the clerk does not write what is said, writes what is not said, writes correctly what is badly spoken, writes inaccurately what is well spoken, or modifies the sense conveyed, he shall impose the lowest fine for violence on him or (punishment) in accordance with the offence.

18 If the judge or the magistrate imposes a money fine on one not deserving to be fined, he shall impose on him double the fine imposed, or eight times the shortfall or excess (over the prescribed fine). 19 If he imposes corporal punishment (wrongly), he shall himself suffer corporal punishment or pay double the (normal) redemption-amount. 20 Or, he shall pay eight times the just claim which he disallows or unjust claim which he allows.

21 For the hindrance of sleep, sitting down, meals, answering calls of nature or movement and for binding, in a judge’s lock-up or in a prison-house, the fines shall be three paṇas increased successively by three paṇas for him who does it and for him who causes it to be done.

‘in which judgment is given’; cf. 3.1.43. 16 vyavarpapayaṁ: vi-apā appears better with ruh than vi-apā, in the sense of ‘to pull down, remove, dismiss.’

17 The prepositions upa and ut convey opposite senses with the root likh.

18 hairanyadandam adadnye is proposed for the readings of the mss., as being quite necessary for sense. — hindātiriktāṇjagunam: if the fine imposed is less (hina) or more (atirikta) than that prescribed by law, eight times the difference between the prescribed and the imposed fines is to be the fine for the erring judge or magistrate. 19 nįskraya amounts are laid down in the next Chapter. 20 bhūtam artham etc.: cf. 3.11.45. artha refers to the amount involved in the suit.

21 It is proposed to read dharmasthiye cārake bandhanāgāre vā for the reading of the mss.; niḥśārayataḥ occurring in that reading is quite unlikely in this s. which refers to the offences of saṅgyārodha, āsanaśrodha etc. And the offence of niḥśāraya is far more serious, for which the fines mentioned in this s. would hardly appear adequate. — samātārodha- is read as proposed by Meyer. rodha is to be construed with each of the preceding words, while bandhana is to be understood independently. The fine for bandhana comes to 18 paṇas. — kartuḥ kārayitvāḥ: the former would be the warden, the latter the prison superintendent. — It seems that cāraka is a sort of lock-up where those convicted by the dharmastha are kept, while the bandhanāgāra is for criminals convicted by the pradeṣṭs. In either case, the convicts are kept there mostly because of their inability to pay the money fine or the redemption amount.
22 For the (jailor) setting free or allowing the escape of an accused from the lock-up (the punishment shall be) the middle fine for violence and the payment of the (amount in the) suit, from the prison-house (confiscation of) the entire property and death.

23 For the superintendent of the prison-house allowing movement to a prisoner without informing (the judge or magistrate) the fine is twenty-four paṇas, for using torture double (that), for making him submit to another position or withholding food and drink ninety-six paṇas, for tormenting or maiming him the middle fine for violence, for killing him one thousand (paṇas as fine).

24 For the (jailor) violating a married woman prisoner who is a slave or a pledge (the punishment shall be) the lowest fine for violence, the wife of a thief or a rioter the middle, an Ārya woman prisoner the highest. 25 Or, for a prisoner (doing this, there shall be) execution there and then. 26 He shall understand the same (punishment for the offence) in connection with an Ārya woman caught in the prohibited period (of the night), in connection with a female slave the lowest fine for violence.

27 For one helping a (prisoner) to escape from the lock-up without breaking it (the punishment shall be) the middle (fine), by breaking it death, from the prison-house (confiscation of) the entire property and death.

28 In this manner the king should first correct those (officers) who deal in money matters by means of punishment; and they, being corrected, should correct the citizens and the country people by means of punishments.

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22 abhiṣyogadānam seems to mean the payment of the amount in dispute including the fine imposed. — bandhanāgarāt etc. is repeated in s. 27 below.

23 Cb Cs (also Meyer) construe anākhyōya with bandhanāgarādhyakṣasya and understand the offences as committed by the warders. — cārayataḥ seems to refer to allowing freedom of movement short of setting the prisoner free. Cb understands ‘making him render service.’ — karma as in 4.8.21-23 above. — sīhānāntyaṭam: this seems to imply not merely a change of place (for which sthānāṭaram would have been sufficient) but also a difference in status or class to which the transfer is made. — utkṣopayataḥ has the sense of ‘one who breaks or maims’; that is preferable to the reading utkṣopayataḥ in Cb Cs.

24 dāmarika: cf. dāmaragataka in 2.6.20. 25 tatraiva ghūtaḥ: it seems that this would apply only in case of violation of an Ārya woman prisoner, not of a dāstī etc. 26 aksanagrahitāyām: for aksana see 2.36.34-35. Cb reads adhyakṣena grhitāyām, but its comment is not clear. — Similar punishments are laid down for guards misbehaving with women in 2.36.41.

27 Cb comment presupposes uttamaḥ for vadhaḥ. This s. seems to apply to outsiders, while s. 22 refers to prison officers.

28 arthacakrān: cf. 2.9.32.
CHAPTER TEN

SECTION 85 REDEMPTION FROM THE CUTTING OF INDIVIDUAL LIMBS

1 In case of the first offence of thieves at holy places, pick-pockets and those with raised hands, (the punishment shall be) the cutting off of the middle finger and thumb or a fine of fifty-four panas; in case of the second, the cutting off of five fingers or a fine of one hundred; in case of the third, cutting off of the right hand or a fine of four hundred; in case of the fourth, death as desired (by the magistrate).

2 In cases of theft of cocks, ichneumons, cats, dogs or pigs less than twenty-five panas (in value) or in case of killing (any of these, there shall be) a fine of fifty-four panas or the cutting off of the tip of the nose; half the fines for Candâlas and forest-dwellers.

3 For carrying away deer, beasts, birds, wild animals or fish, caught in snares, nets or concealed pits, (the punishment shall be) that and an equal amount as fine. 4 In case of theft of deer or objects from deer-parks or produce-forests, (there shall be) a fine of one hundred.

5 In case of theft of deer or birds (intended) for show or pleasure or in case of killing these, the fine shall be double.

6 In case of theft of small articles belonging to artisans, artists, actors or ascetics, (there shall be) a fine of one hundred; for theft of large articles, two hundred, also for theft of agricultural goods.

4.10

niṣkrayaḥ: it appears that the various types of corporal punishments prescribed for theft and similar offences came to be replaced by money fines, which are called ‘redemptions’ from the corporal punishments.

1 tirthagāta ‘who lifts articles at sacred places on festive occasions’ (Cb Cs) is more likely than ‘cash-chest-breaker’ (Meyer). tirtha as ‘cash’ is doubtful. — granthibheda: money was often tied in a corner of the upper garment; one who cuts open that and steals seems meant. — ārdhavakara: Cs has ‘who breaks the upper part or roof of a house.’ This is uncertain. Meyer suggests ārdhavahara in the sense of a ‘pick-pocket.’ The basic idea may well be that of lifting up things ‘with a raised hand.’ — saṃdamaḥ: the thumb and the middle finger as in Cp on 2.23.15. ‘The thumb and the index finger’ (Cb Meyer) is supported by the Mitākṣarā on Yāj. 2.274. — pāṇa refers to the five fingers of the hand. Cf. 2.14.14. — Manu 9.277 and Yāj. 2.274 are exact paraphrases of this s. — yathākāmi vadāhaḥ, i.e., simple death or death by torture as the magistrate may wish.

2 hitasā is ‘killing’ rather than mere injury. — ardhadaṇḍāḥ: the singular would have been better, ardha does not apply to niṣāgrachedāna.

3 ādāne, i.e., theft by one, other than the person who set the trap etc.

5 bimbavāhāra: Cs renders bimba by ‘the variegated kṛtalāsa or chameleon,’ which is very doubtful. Meyer suggests the idea of ‘a show’ in some sort of a zoo.
7 For one, who is not given permission to enter, entering a fort, or one going out through a hole in the city-wall taking an entrusted article with him, (the punishment shall be) the cutting of the sinews (of the feet) or a fine of two hundred.

8 For one stealing a cart, a boat or a small animal, (the punishment shall be) the cutting off of one foot or a fine of three hundred.

9 For one cheating with false cowrie-shells, dice, leather-straps, ivory-cubes or by sleight of hand, (the punishment shall be) cutting off of one hand or a fine of four hundred.

10 In case of aiding a thief or an adulterer, and for a woman caught in adultery, (the punishment shall be) the cutting off of ears and nose or a fine of five hundred; for a man, double (that).

11 For one stealing a big animal or one male or female slave, or for one selling articles from a corpse, (the punishment shall be) the cutting off of both feet or a fine of six hundred.

12 In case of striking with hands or feet persons of the highest varṇa and elders, and in case of mounting the royal carriage, riding animal and so on, (the punishment shall be) the cutting off of one hand and one foot or a fine of seven hundred.

13 For a Śūdra calling himself a Brahmin, for one concealing temple property, for one ordering what is treasonable and for one blinding both eyes (of another, the punishment shall be) blindness by means of poisonous collyrium or a fine of eight hundred.

14 For one setting a thief or an adulterer free, for one writing a royal edict with omissions or additions, for one kidnapping a maiden

That appears better. vihāra should be understood independently of that. — There is no comment on this s. in Cb.

7 akṛtapraśēsya : cf. 2.28.19 for kṛtapraśēsa used of foreigners allowed to enter. — nikṛṣepam : Meyer thinks of what is stolen and buried near the city-wall, to be taken away at night-time. That is possible, but the usual idea of what is entrusted to a person may also have been meant. — kāṅgarā : the lexicons give kāṅgarā as the form in the sense of 'sinew, tendon.' Cb does show 'two tendons at the back of the foot.'

8 cakrayuktam ; the reading cakrayuktām (Cb Cs) would be an adjective to nāvam which is impossible. For cakrayukta 'cart,' cf. 3.12.2.

9 arādāsatākā : see 3.20.10.

10. saṅghṛṭitāyaḥ : 'who is caught in adultery,' though in 4.12.30.31 the word seems to have the sense of 'kept under guard.'

12. varṇottamānām : Meyer thinks that this word is interpolated. Yājī. 2.303 has only guru. That seems possible. — laṅghana is obviously 'striking with.' Yājī. has tāḍāyitaḥ.

or a female slave together with money, for a fraudulent dealer, and
for one selling unclean meat, (the punishment shall be) the cutting off
of the left hand and both feet or a fine of nine hundred.

15 In case of sale of human flesh, death (is the punishment).

16 For one stealing cattle, images, persons, fields, houses, money,
gold, gems or crops belonging to a temple, (the punishment shall be)
the highest fine or simple death.

17-18 After taking into full consideration the person and
the offence, the motive, seriousness or lightness (of the offence),
the consequences, the present (effects), and the place and the time,
the magistrate shall fix the highest, the lowest and the middle
in the matter of punishment, remaining neutral between the king
and the subjects.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

SECTION 86 THE LAW OF (CAPITAL) PUNISHMENT, SIMPLE AND
WITH TORTURE

1 For one killing a person (on the spot) during a scuffle, (the
punishment shall be) death with torture. 2 In case of death within
seven days simple death (shall be the punishment), within a fortnight
the highest (fine), within a month five hundred, and the cost of
treatment.

3 For one striking (another) with a weapon, the fine shall be the
highest (for violence). 4 If (that is done) in intoxication, the hand
shall be cut off; if through delusion, a fine of two hundred (shall be
imposed). 5 In case of death (resulting), death (shall be the punish-
ment).

14 sahiranyam: this is adverbial. It is not necessary to read sahiranyam as
proposed by Meyer. hiranya is 'money,' not 'gold' in this text. Cf. 4.12.24.
kutasyavaharinah: on the authority of Yāj. 2.297 Meyer thinks that we should
read kutasmucayavaharinah. But all dealers who indulge in fraud may well
have been meant. Yāj. is derived from this text; sometimes it adds, at other times
it misunderstands. — vimānsam as described in 2.26.12.

16 manusya, i.e., slaves attached to temples.

17 anubandha can hardly mean 'motive' as in Manu, 8.126 (as Jayaswal,

4.11

The citra vadha involves some sort of torture accompanying or leading to death.

2 samutthānacayaḥ: the expenses for treatment would have to be borne
whether the man dies within seven days or a fortnight or a month after the fight.
For the expression cf. 3.19.14,27.
6 For one causing abortion with a blow the fine shall be the highest, with medicine the middle, by causing suffering (to the woman) the lowest fine for violence.

7 They shall impale on the stake those who beat a man or a woman with force, who rush upon them, who hold them down, who threaten (to kill), who attack them and who pierce them, also robbers on highways and house-thieves, and those who kill or steal an elephant, a horse or a chariot belonging to the king. 8 And if any one were to cremate or remove them (from the stake), he shall receive the same punishment or the highest fine for violence.

9 For supplying murderers or thieves with food, accommodation, tools, fire, or giving counsel or rendering service (to them), the fine shall be the highest; reprimand (only) in case of ignorance. 10 He should let go the sons and wives of murderers or thieves if not in concert, should seize them if in concert.

11 He shall cause to be slain by setting fire to hands and head one who covets the kingdom, who attacks the king's palace, who rouses foresters or enemies, or who causes rebellion in the fortified city, the country or the army. 12 He shall make a Brahmin (in such a case) enter darkness.

13 He shall cause to be slain by setting fire to the skinless head one who has killed his mother, father, son, brother, preceptor or an ascetic. 14 For reviling these, (the punishment shall be) the cutting of the tongue; for wounding a limb, he shall be deprived of the (corresponding) limb.

7 ghāṭaka: considering the other terms in the compound which show different forms of assault, ghāṭaka seems to mean simply 'who beats up, not actually 'who slays.' — abhisāraka from Cs is certainly preferable to adhisāraka which hardly yields any sense. The former seems to mean 'who rushes at.' — nirghāṭaka: Cs has 'who cuts ears and nose.' That appears to be Cb's explanation of avaghoṣaka; it does not show an explanation of abhisāraka. Perhaps it simply means 'who holds down or restrains by force. — avaghoṣaka: the word does not seem right. Cs has 'who threatens that he would kill.' Meyer suggests avagorāka 'who threatens' or avaghoṣaka 'who hurts down.' The former is possible (cf. 8.19) but not quite certain. The different forms of attack cannot be clearly distinguished from one another. — pathivēśma: Cb understands 'a shed by the road-side for giving water.'

11 antahpurapradharṣakam: as antahpyura refers to the royal apartments, the offence is political, not sexual. 12 tamah praveṣayet seems to mean 'should make blind' (Meyer) rather than 'confine in a dark cellar for good' (Cs). Cf. Āpastamba, 2.10.27.16-17. It is possible that this s, is a marginal glass due to Āpastamba.

13 avakchhirakṛddipikam is understood as in Cb Cs. The head is skinned first and then set on fire. Meyer has 'burning the skinned hands tied over the head.' There is nothing to show the hands. 14 abhiradana is 'wounding' or 'breaking.'
15 For killing a person by accident, and in case of theft of a herd of cattle, (the punishment shall be) simple death. 16 And he should know a herd to contain ten (heads of cattle) at least.

17 For one breaking a dam holding water, drowning in water at the same spot (shall be the punishment), the highest fine for violence if it was without water, the middle if it was in ruins and abandoned.

18 He shall drown in water a man giving poison (to another) and a woman slaying a man, if not pregnant; if pregnant, at least a month after delivery. 19 He shall cause to be torn by bullocks a woman who kills her husband, an elder or her offsprings or who sets (a house etc.) on fire or gives poison or breaks into a house.

20 He shall cause to be burnt in fire one who sets on fire a pasture, a field, a threshing ground, a house, a produce-forest or an elephant forest.

21 He shall cause the"tongue to be rooted out of one who reviles the king or divulges secret counsel or spreads evil news (about the king) and one who licks anything in a Brahmin's kitchen.

22 He shall cause to be slain with arrows the stealer of weapons or armours, if he is not a soldier. 23 For the soldier, the highest fine (shall be the punishment).

24 Of one injuring the generating organ or testicles (of another) he shall cause these same (limbs) to be cut off.

25 For injuring the tongue or the nose, the cutting of the middle finger and the thumb (shall be the punishment).

26 These painful punishments have been laid down in the texts of high-souled (authors); but in the case of crimes that are not painful, simple death is prescribed as lawful.

17 bhagnotsṛṣṭakam : cf. 3.9.33 ; 3.10.2.
19 pādayet : Cb Cs read pādayet explained as 'should cause to be trampled underfoot.' — Yāj. 2.278-279 reproduce these rules, but include dam-breaking with offences of s. 19, so that only females breaking dams can be understood, which is absurd and shows up the character of Yāj.
20 Cf. 2.36.25.
21 Brāhmaṇapamahānasāvatekehiḥ : Meyer thinks that this is an interpolation, since even Yāj. 2.302 does not reproduce this offence. That seems likely.
25 sandaiṁśa : see 4.10.1 above.
26 mahātmānanām : these are the author's predecessors, from whom he has derived his material.
CHAPTER TWELVE

SECTION 87 VIOLATION OF MAIDENS

1 For one violating a maiden of the same varṇa who has not attained puberty, (the punishment shall be) the cutting off of the hand or a fine of four hundred. 2 In case she dies, death (shall be the punishment).

3 Of one violating a maiden who has attained puberty, the middle and index fingers shall be cut off or a fine of two hundred (imposed). 4 And he shall make good the loss to her father. 5 And he shall not have the right (to marry her) if she is unwilling. 6 If she is willing, (there shall be) a fine of fifty-four panaś; half that, however, for the woman. 7 If she has been reserved by the dowry of another, (there shall be) the cutting off of the hand or a fine of four hundred, as well as the payment of the dowry.

8 A bride-groom not receiving the bride after the betrothal, when she has had seven menstrual periods, shall have the right (to her) by having relations with her, and he shall not make good the father's loss. 9 The (latter) forfeits his ownership by (his acts) making her periods vain.

10 It is no offence for a maiden having menstruation for three years to approach a man of the same varṇa, after that even a man not of the same varṇa provided she goes without her ornaments. 11 For taking her father's property, she shall be liable for theft.

12 If a man intending (a maiden) for another, secures her (for himself), the fine shall be two hundred. 13 And he shall not have the right (to her) if she is unwilling.

4.12

prakṛ has obviously the sense of 'to violate, to deflower, to have sexual relations with.'

4 pituś cāvahinam: this refers to the dowry. 5 prākāmyam refers to the freedom or right to marry her.

8 alabhamānah: Cs reads alabhamānām and explains 'if the girl does not find the man who wooed her, another man may have relations with her and do what he pleases.' This appears less likely. It is the groom-elect who would be given the liberty, because the girl's father is postponing the marriage. prakāmi refers to the right to marry, even if the father is unwilling. prakāmi (Cb) appears to be a more likely form. 9 ṛtupratirodhibhiḥ: supply karmabhiḥ. 'In consequence of robbers (pratirodhin) in the form of menstrual periods' (Cs) is fanciful. Cf. Manu, 9.93, which reproduces this s. in full.

10 tuḷya gantum adoṣah: we expect tuḷya. — tataḥ param: how long she is to wait for tuḷya is not stated. — Cf. Manu 9.90-92, which reproduce these rules, omitting, however, the reference to atuḷya.
14. For showing one maiden and giving another, the fine shall be one hundred if she is of the same varna, double (that) if she is of a lower varna.

15. For a (bride) not a virgin at the time of consummation, the fine shall be fifty-four pana, and (she) shall return the dowry and (marriage) expenses. 16. If, after maintaining that kind (of condition) she fails, she shall pay double. 17. For substituting other blood, the fine shall be two hundred, also for the man falsely accusing (the bride of loss of virginity). 18. And he shall lose the dowry and the expenses. 19. And he shall not have the right (to her) if she is unwilling.

20. A (maiden) deflowered by a woman shall pay a fine of twelve pana, if a willing party and of the same varna; the violating woman

dhārya; the violating woman

18. na ca prākāmyam akāmāyam, i.e., the marriage would be void and the girl free to marry a different person altogether.

15. prakarmani etc.: this is understood as in Meyer, the idea being that if the girl is found not to be a virgin at the time of the consummation of marriage (prakarmani), she is to be fined 54 pana, and the husband is to get back the śulka and the marriage expenses. Cb Cs include avasthāyā in this s. and explain 'for violating a virgin maiden who is betrothed (akumāri, i.e., dattā), the fine is fifty-four pana, and he shall give the dowry to the first groom and the marriage expenses to the marriage-negotiator or surety (avastha). The difficulty is that the fine is obviously meant for the girl, as is shown by the genitive of akumāryā; if the violator were intended, we would have had as usual akumārin prakurvatah. Moreover, pratidadevat implies that one who received the dowry is to return it; the girl's father is more likely in that case to be the person who would be asked to do that. Again in the next s. the double fine seems intended for the girl herself as is shown by the subject kṛtā. All of which shows that the offence thought of is one committed by the girl. Such an offence could be her being not a virgin. The fines, of course, may ultimately be supposed to be paid by the father. 16. This s. is understood to mean that if the girl maintains that she is a virgin, but if, on investigation, she is found not to be a virgin, she is to be fined 108 pana. pascākṛtā is one who has failed to prove her case; cf. pascātākāra in 3.19.22. tajjātam 'of that kind' may be understood to refer to the condition of virginity. avasthāyā may be understood in the sense of 'having maintained,' though perhaps avasthāpya in the causal would have been better. Meyer has 'if she makes herself a virgin again (pascāt kṛtā) with blood from that (tajjātam, tat being the female organ). This is extremely doubtful. Cb Cs explain 'if she is afterwards (pascāt) accepted (kṛtā) by another person, then a double fine is to be paid.' It is not clear who is to pay the fine. There appears to be no reason why this third person who accepts the girl should be penalised. And the girl cannot be supposed to be fined in this s., when in the last s. the fine, according to Cb Cs, is meant for the violator. 17. anyasāvitapadaḥ: this apparently refers to the girl's attempt to prove her virginity by soiling her garment with blood from another source (to indicate the rupture of the hymen). According to Cs, she does this to prove that she is violated and is not a virgin. — mithyā- bhīsaṁsinaḥ punsah: this is obviously the husband who falsely accuses the wife of not being a virgin. 19. na ca prākāmyam, i.e., she shall be free to leave him and marry some one else; cf. s.13 above.
(shall pay) double. 21 If (the maiden was) unwilling, she shall pay a fine of one hundred and her dowry, for (the satisfaction of) her passion.

22 A maiden deflowering herself shall become the king’s slave.

23 In case a maiden is violated outside the village and in case of a false accusation, the fine shall be double.

24 For one abducting a maiden by force, (the fine is) two hundred; if with gold (ornaments), the highest. 25 For many (persons) abducting a maiden, the fines shall be as prescribed for each one separately.

26 For one deflowering a courtesan’s daughter, (the punishment shall be) a fine of fifty-four paṇas (and) a dowry to the mother sixteen times the rate for a visit. 27 For one deflowering the daughter of a male or a female slave, who is not a slave (herself), the fine is twenty-four paṇas and the payment of dowry and ornaments (for her). 28 For one violating a female slave due for redemption, the fine is twelve paṇas and the payment of clothes and ornaments.

29 For giving help or accommodation, the punishment shall be the same as for the offender.

30 The husband’s kinsman or his servant should keep under guard the wife who misbehaves when the husband is away on a journey. 31 Kept under guard, she should wait for the husband. 32 If the husband were to tolerate, both should be set free. 33 In case he does not tolerate, (the punishment shall be) the cutting off of the ears and nose for the woman, and the lover shall meet with death.

34 For one making out a paramour as a thief, the fine shall be five hundred; for one releasing him with money, eight times that (as fine).

35 Adultery (shall be understood as committed) when there is mutual caressing of the hair, or from indications of bodily enjoyment, or from (the opinion of) experts, or from the woman’s statement.

21 The fine is for the prakārtī, to whom the ātmārūga refers. — Cf. Manu, 8.369-370, which prescribe severe corporal punishment.

24-25 Cf. Yāj. 2.287, which varies the punishment according to varna.

26 bhogāḥ: cf. 2.27,10 ff. Sixteen times the rate for a visit is to be the amount of the śulka. 27 ābandhīya: see 3.2.14,15. 28 nīśkrayāṁturūpāṁ ‘who is worthy of, i.e., due for redemption,’ a rather unusual expression. For nīśkraya, see 3.13.17,21.

30 saṃgrhaṇītyāḥ: this obviously implies holding in confinement. Even the paramour is so held as shown by ubhayāṁ in s. 82. — Yāj. 2.301 is an exact reproduction.

34 abhirhatataḥ ‘carrying off,’ i.e., trying to save him; as a thief he would get a lighter punishment. Perhaps we have to read abhīsyaṭhatataḥ ‘calling, declaring.’

35 tādāṣṭaṇuṇāḥ: tad refers to the hiraṇya offered, not the fine of five hundred.
36 · After rescuing a stranger woman, who was being carried off by enemy troops or foresters, or carried away by a current, or was abandoned in a forest or during a famine, or was left under the impression of her being dead, a man may enjoy her as agreed upon. · 37 If she is superior in caste (to him) or is unwilling, or has children, he shall give (her back) for a ransom.

38-40 After having rescued a woman belonging to others from the hands of robbers, from the current of a river, from a famine, from a disturbance in the country, from a forest, or when she is lost or left as dead, a man may enjoy her as agreed, but not one who is saved through the power of the king or by her kinsmen, nor one higher (in caste) nor one unwilling, nor again one who already has children; such a one, however, he should restore (to her kinsmen) in return for a suitable ransom.

CHAPTER THIRTEEN

SECTION 88 PUNISHMENT FOR TRANSGRESSIONS

1 For one making a Brahmin consume drink or food which is unfit for human consumption the fine shall be the highest, the middle for (making) a Ksatriya (do so), the lowest for making a Vaisya (do so), a fine of fifty-four pañas for making a Sudra (do so). · 2 Those consuming (such things) of their own accord shall be exiled from the country.

3 In case of trespass in another’s house by day (the punishment shall be) the lowest fine for violence, by night the middle. · 4 For one entering with a weapon by day or by night, the fine shall be the highest, 5 A mendicant and a trader, an intoxicated and an insane person.

35 upaliṅgaṇād : cf. 3.18.37. · tajjātebhyaḥ ‘experts,’ who know how to interpret gestures etc. (Cb), rather than ‘marks produced by the act’ (Meyer). The latter would not be different from upaliṅgana. · śṭriocanād : stri is the woman concerned herself.

36 yathāsaṁbhāsītām : according to Cb Cs, the agreement is to make her the wife or slave. That need not necessarily be understood.

38-40 The stanzas repeat the ideas of ss. 36-37, adding the line na tu rājaprataṇena etc. The line implies that if the rescuer happens to be a state servant or the woman’s kinsman, he cannot claim this privilege. The stanzas seem derived from an earlier source and ss. 36-37 are a prose rendering of the same. · apravāhayed ‘have her carried away (by her kinsmen),’ i.e., restore her to them.

4.13

1-2 apeyam abhakṣyam does not seem to refer to food etc. forbidden in the Smṛtis on sacramental grounds. That has mostly to do with Brahmins only. Yāj. 2.296 is an exact reproduction.
very close neighbours when threatened by force or in a calamity, and	hose whose entry is customary, are not to be punished except when
prohibited. 6 For one climbing the enclosing fence of his own house
after midnight (the punishment shall be) the lowest fine for violence,
that of another's house middle, also for one breaking the hedge of
a village park.

7 Traders in caravans may stay inside the villages when their
valuables are made known (to village officers). 8 What is stolen or
killed from among these, the master of the village shall make good, if
it has not gone out at night. 9 What is stolen or killed between
villages, the Superintendent of Pastures shall make good. 10 In
regions without pastures, the officer for catching thieves (shall make
good). 11 If they are unprotected even then, the (villages) shall
allow a search according to the boundaries as fixed. 12 In the
absence of a fixing of boundaries, a group of five or ten villages (shall
allow the search).

13 In case of injury (caused) by making a rickety house, a cart
with the pole at the head unsupported, a weapon without covering,
an uncovered hollow or well or a concealed pit, he shall hold it to
be a case of physical injury.

14 One shouting 'get out of the way' when cutting a tree, leading
by the rope an animal under training, using or riding the untamed
among quadrupeds, throwing about pieces of wood, clods of earth,
stones, sticks, arrows or arms, and in a collision in a carriage or with
an elephant, is not to be punished.

15 One (desiring to be) killed by an enraged elephant shall give
one droma food, a jar of wine, flowers and unguents and a piece of cloth
for wiping the tusks. 16 Death by an elephant is equal to a bath

3 abhigamana obviously conveys the idea of trespass. 5 balad apadi ca are
to be construed with atisamnikrśtah, which refers to very close neighbours rather
than close relations. 6 viratra here is obviously 'midnight.' Cf. 4.6.2.

7 There can be little doubt about gramesvanta being the correct reading, those
in M and G1 being corruptions of the same. 8 pravāsitam 'killed' rather than
'driven out,' as is shown by Yāj. 2.271. That seems also the meaning in ss.20,
21 below. — gramesvami: evidently some one like a jāgirdar or sardar is to be
thought of. 'The village headman' is possible, but for that the usual word
is grāmika. 9 grāmāntaresu: this is the province of the virātyaśaka; see
2.34.6. 10 corvarajjuka is evidently some officer operating in regions outside
villages and pasture-lands, i.e., in forest lands etc., his duty being the rounding
up of robbers etc. 11 simācarodhena: cf. 2.35.3. — pañcagrami dasagrami va:
this is the jurisdiction of the gopa; cf. 2.35.2. It seems that we have to supply
vīcāramadadyā rather than muśitavindadyāh.

14 yāne hastinā ca saṅghottana: this does not seem quite right. We expect
yānena like hastinā. — Cf. Yāj. 2.208.
at the end of the horse-sacrifice; hence this washing of the feet. 17 In case of death of one not desirous (of such a death), the highest fine (shall be imposed) on the driver.

18 For the owner not rescuing a person being injured by a horned or tusked animal of his, the lowest fine for violence (shall be the punishment); the middle if he was called to come to the rescue. 19 For one allowing horned or tusked animals to kill one another, the fine shall be that and as much again.

20 For one riding a temple animal, a stud bull or a cow not yet calved the fine shall be five hundred, for killing (these) the highest. 21 In case of theft of small animals useful for their hair or milk or for riding or stud-purposes, the fine shall be that and as much again, also for killing these, except for rites in honour of gods and the manes.

22 In case of injury when the cart has the nose-strings (of the bullocks) cut or the yoke broken or when it moves crosswise towards (some one) or recedes backwards, or when there is a crowd of animals and men, the driver is not to be punished. 23 Otherwise he shall be liable to punishment as prescribed in case of injury to men and animals. 24 And in case of death of non-human animals, the payment of the animal (as well shall be enforced).

25 When the driver is a minor, the owner if in the carriage is to be fined; if the owner is not there, the person in the carriage or the driver if he has attained majority. 26 The king shall confiscate a carriage in charge of a minor or one without a man in it.

27 What a (magician) brings about to another by witchcraft and black magic, that shall be meted out to him. 28 The use of love-winning magic may be allowed towards a wife who does not like (her

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15 dRonânam madýakumbham is emended from the readings of M and G.
16 pādaprakṣālanam is an offering to a guest, of which water for washing the feet forms the starting point.
20 ṫsabham ukṣānam : cf. 2.29.8, also 3.10.24. 21 anyatra deva- etc.: this means that the taking or killing of small animals not belonging to oneself is to be condoned, if that is done for religious purposes.
22 It is proposed to read yātā pāśu for yātapaśu or yānapaśu-. cakrayuktam cannot properly be construed with adantyaḥ which requires a subject like yātā. The yoke etc. breaks and injury is caused while the cart is being driven and the driver has no control over the happening. 23 abhyācēhaḥ : see 2.28.26. This verb also requires yātā as the subject.
25 prāplacyavahāro vā yātā is superfluous when bāle yātari is there. Perhaps it is a marginal gloss.
28 dārārthino in the genitive singular is proposed to correspond to bhāryāyāḥ. In the alternative, we should have dārārthinā and bhāryayā in the instrumental in both cases.
husband) or towards a maiden by a suitor or towards the husband by
the wife. 29 Else, in case of injury, the middle fine for violence (shall
be imposed).

30 For one carnally approaching the sister of his mother or father,
his maternal aunt, his preceptor's wife, his daughter-in-law, daughter
or sister, (the punishment shall be) the cutting off of the generative
organ and testicles and death (thereafter). 31 The woman, if willing,
shall receive the same, also a woman having relations with a slave,
servant or a pledged man.

32 For a Kṣatriya (having relations) with a Brahmin woman, not
guarded, the fine shall be the highest, for a Vaiśya (confiscation of) the
entire property; a Śūdra shall be burnt in a fire of straw.

33 For having relations with the king’s wife, (the punishment)
in all cases (shall be) cooking in a big jar.

34 For having relations with a Śvapāka woman, the man shall
go to another land, with the mark of the headless trunk branded (on
his forehead), or shall become a Śvapāka himself if he is a Śūdra.
35 For a Śvapāka having relations with an Ārya woman there shall
be death, for the woman the cutting off of the ears and nose.

36 For having relations with a woman who has left her home, the
fine is twenty-four paṇas. 37 If willing she shall receive the same.

38 For enjoyment of a prostitute by force, the fine shall be twelve
paṇas. 39 For many (men) enjoying (forcibly) one (prostitute by
force), the fine shall be twenty-four paṇas for each one separately.

40 For one approaching a woman elsewhere than in the female
organ the lowest fine for violence (shall be imposed), also for one
misbehaving with a man.

41 A fine of twelve paṇas is prescribed for the senseless wretch
who carnally approaches lower animals, and double (that) for
misbehaving with images of gods.

30 trilīṅga-: Yāj. 3.232-3 has only līṅga. 31 tadeva apparently refers only
to the punishment of death. Cs, however, includes trilīṅgacchedana as well, under-
standing by it 'cutting of the organ and the two breasts.' That appears highly
questionable. -bhuktā seems to imply the woman's consent.

32 aguptāyām: Meyer thinks that guptāyām alone would be correct. However-
Manu, 8.374-378, show that the former is quite likely.

34 Śvapākatoan ē Śūdraḥ: this implies that there is no branding for the Śūdra,
but there is a fall in the social scale for him.

36 pravrajitā: as the punishment is too light, the word can hardly refer to
'a nun'; it seems to mean 'who has left her home' as in 2.23.2.

30 adhicaratāṁ: we have probably to understand prasahya from the preceding
s. with this.
42 In case punishment is inflicted on those not deserving to be punished, thirty times that as a fine for the king shall be placed in water for Varuṇa and given to Brahmīns after that.

43 Thereby the sin of the king arising from the mistake in inflicting punishment is purified. For Varuṇa is the chastiser of kings who behave wrongly towards men.

Herewith ends the Fourth Book of the Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya

'The Suppression of Criminals'

42 tatāḥ param shows that the Brahmīns are to be the real recipients, the offering to Varuṇa being ceremonial.

43 rājnām is from Cb Cs for rājā of the mss. It is true that Varuṇo rājā is a conception that goes back to the Vedas; but it seems better to have rājnām as the substantive for vyācaratām, to be construed with śāstā.
SECTION 89 CONCERNING THE INFILCTION OF (SECRET) PUNISHMENT

1 The 'weeding of thorns' from the fortified city and the country has been explained. 2 We shall now explain that from the king and his rulership.

3 The remedy against those principal officers, who live on the king by holding him in their power or who are in league with the enemy, is the employment of secret agents or winning over of seduceable parties, as explained before, or secret instigation or spying, as we shall explain in (the section on) the capture of an enemy's town.

4 But against those treasonable principal officers, who cause harm to the kingdom, (and) who, being favourites or being united, cannot be suppressed openly, he should employ 'silent punishment,' finding pleasure in (doing his) duty.

The secret conduct (yogavr̥tta) described in this Book is that of the king in the first two Chapters and that of the servants in Chapters 4 to 6. Chapter 3 does not fit in. Cb remarks that the title really is true of the First Chapter (5.1), but is applied to the whole adhikaraṇa, because that is the most important Chapter in it. Breloer (I, 77-78 n.) relates yoga to yogakṣema and understands the whole state mechanism as intended, Ch. 2 referring to state income and Ch. 3 to expenditure. The other chapters, however, hardly fit in.

5.1

2 rājarājayayoh: the offenders, viz., traitorous persons are like thorns to the king and his rulership. For rājya see 8.2.1.

3 avagṛhya: cf. 1.8.21 etc. — gudhāparuṣapravādhīḥ is described in 1.12, and kṛtyapakṣopagrahaḥ in 1.13. — yathā ca pāragrāmike vakṣyāmaḥ: the ca is unnecessary. upajāpa and apasarpa are in fact some of the ways recommended in the pāragrāmika section; see 13.1 and 13.3.

4 This s. refers to rājyakanṭakas, as the preceding one referred to rājakaṇṭakas. — dūṣyāḥ, literally 'who can be spoiled,' is used of treasonable persons or suspected traitors. Cs understands the idea to be 'who are to be somehow destroyed.'
5 A secret agent, after inciting a brother of the treasonable high officer, not honoured by him, should show him to the king.
6 The king should induce him to fight against the treasonable officer by granting the use of the treasonable man’s property.
7 When he has acted with a weapon or poison, he should cause him to be executed on that very ground, declaring ‘He is a murderer of his brother.’ 8 By that are explained the pāraśava and the son of a female attendant.

9 Or, a brother, instigated by a secret agent, should demand inheritance from the treasonable officer. 10 As he lies down at the door of the treasonable man’s house at night, or when he is staying elsewhere, an assassin, slaying him, should declare, ‘This claimant of the inheritance is killed.’ 11 Then, giving support to the slain man’s party, the (king) should suppress the other.

12 Or, secret agents, staying near the treasonable officer, should threaten the brother claiming inheritance with death. 13 As he at night and so on, as before.

14 When of two treasonable officers, a son has relations with the father’s wife or a father with the son’s wife or a brother with that of a brother, a fight between the two started by a sharp pupil is explained by the preceding.

15 Or, a secret agent should instigate a son of the treasonable officer thinking highly of himself, (suggesting) ‘You are really the king’s son, kept here through fear of the enemy.’ 16 When he believes that, the king should honour him in private. ‘Though the time for installing you as the crown prince has come, I am not crowning you through fear of the officer.’ 17 The secret agent should induce him to murder the officer. 18 When he has acted, the (king) should cause him to be executed on that very ground, declaring ‘He is a parricide.’

5 asatikrtam by his brother, the traitorous officer. Cb reads satikrtam, but the actual comment implies the reading asatikrtam. 6 atisargaṇa, i.e., by promising the grant of his property after the officer’s death. 7 tatraṇa, i.e., on the charge of fratricide. 8 pāraśavaḥ: see 3.7.21.

10 upasasyānam seems to include the idea of fasting also besides staying at the door till the demand is granted. 11 upaprghya is quite necessary for the sense; ri after upa- in the mss. has evidently got in through a scribal error. For upapragh, cf. 7.2.19 etc. Cb shows paraprghya which also yields the sense required.

13 iti samānam, i.e., as in ss. 10-11.

14 adhicarati: cf. 4.13.30 etc. — kāpaṭika: see 1.11.2-4. — pṛveṇa vyākhyātaḥ, i.e., a tīkṣṇa kills one in the name of the other, who is then charged with murder.

15 upajapet is preferable to upacareṇ. The former is commonly used with sattrī.
19 Or, a female mendicant (agent), having won the confidence of the wife of the treasonable officer by means of love-winning potions, should cheat (them) by the use of poison.

20 Thus end the stratagems through kinsmen.

21 He should despatch the treasonable high officer with a weak army containing assassins, for destroying foresters or an enemy’s town or for establishing a district officer or a frontier officer in a region separated by a wilderness or for suppressing the domain of a city-officer that has risen in revolt or for seizing a caravan-route on the frontier along with land easily recoverable (by the enemy). 22 In the fight, taking place by day or night, assassins or agents appearing as highway robbers should kill him, announcing ‘He was killed during the attack.’

23 Or, when he has gone to a fair or on a pleasure-trip, the (king) should invite treasonable officers to see him. 24 These, entering together with assassins with concealed weapons, shall allow a search of their persons in the middle hall for being allowed to enter inside. 25 Then the assassins, seized by the door-keepers, should say, ‘We are engaged by the treasonable officers.’ 26 After proclaiming that, they should kill the treasonable men. 27 In place of the assassins, others (i.e., criminals) should be executed.

28 Or, going on a pleasure-trip outside (the city), he should honour the treasonable men by giving them quarters near him. 29 A woman of bad character, appearing as the queen, should be caught in their quarters at night and so on, as before.

30 Or, he should request the treasonable officer for food by praising ‘Your cook or food-preparer is good,’ or for a drink, when out on a journey some time. 31 Mixing both those with poison, he should urge the two themselves to taste them first. 32 Having announced that, he should cause them to be slain as poison-givers.

19 saṁvadānikiḥ is necessary in view of the form saṁvadana adopted elsewhere; see 4.4.14. — saṁvāśya, literally ‘having made her live with herself,’ refers to winning of confidence. — rasena : the poison is administered to the husband in the belief that it is a love-potion.

20 dpyaprayogaḥ a trick in which use is made of a kinsman of the suspected traitor.

21 sarthātīcaḥya is usually the escorting of caravans and the fee charged for it; cf. 2.34.12. Here the caravan-route seems to be meant. — pratyādeya is territory which, even if seized by one, can be easily recovered by one’s enemy; cf. 9.4.5-6.

23 yātrā may be a religious fair or a military expedition. The former seems intended here.

29 devījaṅjanā vā duḥstrī : vā is unnecessary. Meyer suggests pruduskrtaḥ strī ‘a bad woman’ or ‘a decorated woman,’ or kācit strī ‘some woman’ in place of vā strī. — samānaḥ pūrveṇa, i.e., he should be slain as devikāmuka.
33 Or, an agent appearing as a holy man should make the (officer), if he is given to black magic, believe 'You will attain your desires by eating one of the following: a lizard, a tortoise, a crab or an ox with broken horns, which is endowed with auspicious marks.' 34 When he agrees, he should get him killed in the course of the rite by poison or iron clubs, announcing, 'He was killed by a mishap in the rite.'

35 Or, an agent appearing as a physician, after establishing a malignant or incurable disease for the treasonable person, should cheat him with poison in the preparations of medicine or food.

36 Or, agents employed as cooks or food-servers, should cheat the treasonable person by means of poison.

37 Thus ends (the topic of) suppression by secret means.

38 As to suppression of two treasonable persons, however:

39 He should despatch one treasonable person himself accompanied by a weak army and assassins to where the (other) treasonable person is to be suppressed, (saying) 'Go, raise an army or money in that fortified city or region; or, extract money from the favourite; or, kidnap the favourite's daughter; or, carry out any one of the undertakings, viz., building a fort or an embankment, making a trade-route, settling on new land, starting mines, raising material-forests or elephant-forests; or, carry out the work of a provincial officer or frontier officer; and whoever prevents you or does not give you help should be imprisoned.'

40 In the same way he should send word to the others, 'The transgression of so and so should be prevented (by you).'</n41 When he may be disputing on these occasions for strife or on account of hindrances in his work, assassins should secretly kill him by bringing down their weapon (on him). 42 For that offence, the others should be punished.

43 Or, when strife ensues or is raised by assassins on occasions of injury to property, implements, crops or vehicles in connection with boundaries of villages, fields, threshing-floors or houses in treasonable cities, villages or families, or on occasions of shows, ceremonies or festivals, the assassins should bring down their weapons and say 'Thus are dealt with those who dispute with this person.' 44 For that offence the others should be punished.

33 -prāśanena is from Cb Cs; though it is not altogether satisfactory, it is preferable to -prakāśanena of the mss. The latter may mean 'exhibiting', i.e., placing at the cross-roads or some such thing. Cb explains prāśana by 'eating the remnants of the meat offered in a sacrificial fire in the cremation ground.'

35 daurātimika 'malignant' as adj: to vyādhi is unusual.

43 dāśyāśām qualifies purāṇām etc. Cs makes out the dispute to be between dāśya on the one hand and pura etc. on the other. That appears less likely.
45 Or, assassins should set fire to the fields, threshing-floors or houses, or bring down their weapons on the kinsmen, relations or draught animals of those treasonable persons whose mutual quarrels are deep-rooted, and say, 'We were engaged by so and so.' 46 For that offence the others should be punished.

47 Or, secret agents should induce treasonable officers in the fortified city and in the country to be one another's guests. 48 There poison-givers should give poison. 49 For that offence the others should be punished.

50 Or, a female mendicant (agent) should suggest to a treasonable chief in the country, 'The wife, the daughter-in-law or the daughter of (that) treasonable chief in the country is in love with you.' 51 When he consents, she should take his ornaments and show them to the master, saying, 'That chief, puffed up with youth, has designs on your wife, daughter-in-law or daughter.' 52 (In) the quarrel between the two at night and so on, as above.

53 As to treasonable (vassals) surrendering with troops, however,—the crown prince or the commander-in-chief should do some wrong and, after going away, show fight. 54 Then the king should despatch (against him) the treasonable vassals themselves with a weak army containing assassins and so on,—all the stratagems as above. 55 And among their sons surviving them, he who is not disloyal should get the patrimony.

56 In this way, the kingdom continues in the succession of his sons and grand-sons, free from dangers caused by men.

57 He should employ 'silent punishment' towards his own party or that of the enemy, without hesitation, being possessed of forbearance in respect of the future and the present.

ṣīmā is a boundary between villages, while mārīḍā is a boundary between fields, houses etc. Cf. 3.9.10-23.

45 saṁbandhin, as distinguished from bandhu, is a relation by marriage.

47 āvesamika 'who lives in the residence,' is obviously 'a guest.' durgadāśya as guests of rāṣṭradāśya and vice versa are to be understood.

50 -mukham in the text is a misprint for -mukhyam. 51 svāmine, i.e., to the husband, father-in-law or father as the case may be. — abhimān: cf. 1.6.5 etc.

53 daydopanata ordinarily would mean 'who has submitted to force'; but 7.3.23-26 show that daydopanata involves the surrender of one's troops. — apakṛtya from Cb Cs is clearly necessary for upakṛtya of the mss. 55 anukṛṣi here is 'to survive,' but in 13.5.17 it seems to have the sense of 'to brood over (the death of), to think constantly of.'

56 asya refers to the king, hardly to the vassal of the preceding ss.

57 āyātyāṁ ca tadātāve ca ksamācāṁ, i.e., showing forbearance, bearing in mind future consequences and immediate results.
CHAPTER TWO

SECTION 90  REPLENISHMENT OF THE TREASURY

1. The (king) without a treasury should collect a treasury, when difficulties concerning money have arisen.

2. He should demand a third or a fourth part of the grains from a region, whether big or small in size, that is not dependent on rains and yields abundant crops; from a middling or inferior one, according to yield. 3. He should not make a demand on (a region) useful for building a fort or embankment or trade-routes or new settlements or mining or material forests or elephant forests, or on (a region) small in size which is on the frontier.

4. He should provide one making a new settlement with grains, cattle, money and other things.

5. He should purchase for money a fourth part of the grains after allowing for seeds and livelihood.  6. He should exempt forest produce

5.2

1. pratyutpannārthakṛcchraḥ ‘who is in difficulties in respect of money or some object to be achieved (artha).’ Cf. 7.8.5. Breloer (I, 78-81), arguing that this Chapter describes only normal sources of revenue, not special levies, considers this s. as without any significance for the rest of the Chapter; in the alternative, he proposes to translate ‘in times of peace, he should provide for a treasury against times of distress (with -kṛcchram as adjective to kośam).’ The translation appears quite unlikely, as is the reading -kṛcchram. To his question, how can the king collect treasury when there is general distress, the answer is that there is no reference to any general distress here. The king’s treasury is depleted because of some undertaking like war etc., and it has to be replenished for some other undertaking. It is not only money that constitutes the kośa; it consists of ratna, sāra, phalgū and kupya, as 2.11.1 shows, where there is no mention of cash. Stores, in fact, form an integral part of the treasury. It is true that ss. 4-7 mention monetary help given by the king; that is possible because the king, though lacking in kośa in the full sense of the term, may have some cash with him. And artha in arthakṛcchra need not refer to cash only. In any case, it is not possible to agree that the Chapter refers to normal sources of revenue. The various dubious ways of making collections described in ss.31-68 can hardly be regarded as normal ways of collecting revenue.

2. It is better to read adekamāṭrakam (with the avagraha) as in 6.1.8. — triyam caturthāṁ vā as E. H. Johnston (JRAS, 1929, 97) has pointed out, we have to think of levies from the stocks with the cultivators, not a share of the crops as land revenue. The latter is bhūga; here we have aṁśa, besides yāceta. — sāra, i.e., quality of the soil and the amount of its yield. 3. pratyantam...na yāceta: the reason is, the frontier people, if disgruntled because of the levy, may go over to the neighbouring king.

4. Cf. 2.1.13 above. The purpose of the new settlements is to increase agricultural revenue. The state is not absolutely bankrupt and is in a position to provide even cash for the purpose.
and the property of a Brahmin learned in the Vedas. 7 Even that he may purchase so as to favour them.

8 Or, in case that does not serve the purpose, officers of the Administrator should cause preparation of the fields for sowing to be made by farmers in summer. 9 At the time of (sowing) seeds, they should make a deed of (the grant of) seeds, laying down a penalty double that which may be lost through negligence. 10 When the crops have ripened, they should prevent the taking of green or ripe (grains), except handfuls of vegetables or grains plucked by hand for the purpose of worship of gods and manes and for charity or for the sake of cows. 11 And they should leave remnants of the heap for mendicants and village servants.

12 For one appropriating his own crops, compensation for loss shall be eightfold. 13 For one stealing another’s crops, the penalty for grains shall be fifty-fold, if he is of the same class; death, however, if he is an outsider.

14 They should take a fourth part of grains, a sixth part of wild produce and of goods made of silk-cotton, lac, linen, barks, cotton, wool and silk, medicines, perfumes, flowers, fruits and vegetables, also of wood, bamboos, meat and dried meat, one half of ivory and skins. 15 For one selling these without permission, (the punishment shall be) the lowest fine for violence.

16 Thus ends (the topic of) making demands on farmers.

8 tasya akaraṇe, i.e., when these measures do not bring in the necessary grains in the stores. The idiom is unusual. — samāhārtṛpurusāh, i.e., the gopas and the sthānikas. See 2.33.1-6. Cb has sitādhyaṃkṣa and others. Breloer (I, 78-89), holding that all land belongs to the state, thinks that the sitādhyaṃkṣa works under the samāhārtṛ. — uduḍāpam : as Johnston (JRAS, 1929, 99) says this refers to preparation of the land for sowing. He thinks that clearing fresh land is also intended; that, however, seems doubtful. 9 bijakāle bijalekhyam kuryaḥ : Breloer explains ‘when seedlings appear, the officers of the samāhārtṛ are to make a survey.’ This appears doubtful. bijalekhyya only shows that the state has a record of the amount of seeds given and has thus an idea of the crops expected. — kaṭabhaṅga ‘corn plucked by the hand.’ 11 Cf. 2.24.30.

12 pratipātāḥ : cf. 2.26.8. The compensation is for loss suffered by the state which is entitled to a larger share of the crops than the usual one-sixth. 13 sitāṭya-yaḥ : cf. 2.22.14, which has reference to normal times. — svavargasya, i.e., if he is himself a farmer.

14 grhiniyam : the subject may be samāhārtṛpurusāh, though some of the items mentioned are unconnected with farming. 15 tad may refer to dantājinam only; the inclusion of the other items is, however, also possible.

16 For pranāya as a special levy, cf. Rudradāman’s Junagadh Inscription, where it is used beside kara and viṣṭi.
17 Dealers in gold, silver, diamonds, gems, pearls, corals, horses and elephants shall pay a tax of fifty. 18 Dealers in yarn, cloth, copper, steel, bronze, perfumes, medicines and wines shall pay a tax of forty. 19 Dealers in grains, liquids and metals and those carrying on trade with carts shall pay a tax of thirty. 20 Traders in glass and major artisans shall pay a tax of twenty. 21 Minor artisans and keepers of harlots shall pay a tax of ten. 22 Dealers in articles of wood and bamboo, stoneware, earthenware, cooked food and green (vegetables), shall pay a tax of five. 23 Actors and prostitutes shall pay half their wage.

24 They shall recover a tax in cash from those skilled in work, and shall not overlook any offence of theirs. 25 For, these might sell (something) by representing it as not belonging to them.

26 Thus ends (the topic of) making a demand on dealers.

27 (Owners of) cocks and pigs shall give half; small animals one-sixth; cows, buffaloes, mules, donkeys and camels one-tenth.

28 Keepers of harlots should replenish the treasury through female servants of the king, possessed of great beauty and youth.

29 Thus ends the making of demands on breeders of animals.

30 The (demand) is to be made once only, not twice.

17 pañciḍatkarāh seems to mean ‘paying a tax of fifty (paṇas).’ Meyer understands 50% of the profit as tax. There is, however, no reference to profit or percentage. Cb Cs have ‘1/50th (of profit? or of commodities?)’ under the influence of Manu, 7.130, which, however, refers to normal times. 21 bandhakipoṣakāh from Cb Cs seems necessary. Cf. s. 28. vardhakipoṣakāh of the mss. is unlikely. Meyer suggests vardhakitakṣakāh; but either would be included in mahākāru or kṣudrakāru. 23 vetāndādhām, i.e., half their monthly wage; half the annual income is hardly conceivable.

24 kiranyakaraś karmanyān, the reading proposed, alone yields a reasonable sense. The idea is, those skilled in work or efficient (karmyna, cf. 5.3.6) are likely to cheat the state; so they must be made to pay the cash tax; a-hṛ to make one pay, to extort. With akarmanyān Cs (following Cb) explains ‘should make those not engaged in work (i.e., by selling grass, water etc., —Cb) pay a levy in cash, viz., one varīḍa (one kāna, —Cb) per head.’ This coin is unknown to the text. And s. 25 with its hi cannot be understood with this explanation. 25 aparigrhitam ‘not possessed or owned by themselves (but belonging to some one else).’ Cf. parigraha ‘possessions’. Cb Cs read apargrhitam ‘taken by others.’ — an iti before abhinīya would be better. Pleading that the goods do not belong to them, they evade the tax.

27 ardham, i.e., half the stock of fowl etc.

28 bandhakipoṣakāh: in s. 21 these contribute from their own income, while here they help indirectly in raising money.

29 yonipoṣaka: Meyer compares asatiṣṇa in Hemacandra’s Yogaśāstra, 3.111, which includes the keeping of animals as well as of prostitutes. Cf. asatiṣṇa-poṣaṇāyā in the Jaina Canon.
31 Or, in case that does not serve the purpose, the Administrator, pointing to some work to be done, should ask citizens and country people for contributions. 32 And secret agents should then first give large amounts. 33 Referring to that, the king should ask the citizens and country people (for corresponding contributions). 34 And sharp pupils should reproach those who give little.

35 Or, he should ask money of the rich according to their wealth, or according to benefits (conferred on them), or whatever they may offer of their own will. 36 He should bestow on them position, umbrella, turban or decorations in consideration for money.

37 Administrators should bring (to the treasury) the property of heretical corporations or the property of temples not intended for use by a Brahmin learned in the Vedas, declaring that it was deposited with a person who is dead or whose house is burnt.

38 The Superintendent of Temples should collect the treasures belonging to temples in the fort and in the country in one place, each separately, and bring them (to the treasury) in the same manner.

39 Or, after raising at night a god's temple or a sanctuary of a holy person as a miraculous happening, he should live on fairs and festive gatherings (at the place). 40 Or, he should proclaim the presence of a divinity by means of a tree in a sanctuary-park endowed with flowers and fruits out of season. 41 Or, agents appearing as holy men, after showing danger from an evil spirit in a tree demanding the tax of a human being, should ward it off for the citizens and the country people for money. 42 Or, in a well connected by a subterranean

31 tasyākaraṇe: see s. 8 above.

36 sthāna 'position' is evidently in state service. A mere title does not seem meant.

37 kṛtyakarāḥ: the context suggests the obvious meaning of 'administrators.' These appear to be state officers, or at least amenable to state influence. — dāgīdhahasya: the idea is, the property was supposed to have been kept in the house and burnt along with it, being of course secretly removed to the treasury. The reading dagd'vāhṛdayasya is impossible. There is no question of a man's heart burning in torture, as Meyer thinks.

38 yathāsvam ekastham, i.e., the property of durgadevacatās in one place and that of rāṣṭradevacatās in another. — tathaiva, i.e., as in s. 37, which makes upaharet necessary in place of apakaharet of the mss. Cb reads āharet.

39 auptadākam 'that has suddenly arisen.' The vā should have come before after this word, for the option is between daivatacātya and siddhapunya-sthāna, either of which could be auptapādika. Cs, with bhaumavādikam, explains 'associated with the rumour that it has appeared out of the ground at the holy place.' This is hardly satisfactory. Cb has the same reading, but its explanation contains no reference to bhūmi. 41 manueṣṭhakaram, i.e., demanding the tax of one human
passage, he should show a cobra with a number of hoods in return for a gift of money. 43 In a sanctuary hole or an ant-hill hole, (he should point to) the manifestation of a snake in an image of a cobra concealed inside, and after arresting its consciousness by means of food, should show it to the credulous. 44 To those who do not believe, he should administer poison when they are sipping water or washing themselves and declare it to be a curse of the divinity, or should cause a person condemned to death to be bitten.

45 Or, he should replenish the treasury by (offering) remedies against occult manifestations.

46 Or, an agent appearing as a trader should trade with plenty of goods and assistants. 47 When he has amassed wealth by entrusted deposits and loans against the value of goods, he should get him robbed at night. 48 By this are explained the Examiner of Coins and the Goldsmith.

49 Or, an agent appearing as a trader, with well-known dealings, should secure on loan or hire a large number of gold and silver articles on the occasion of a festive party. 50 Or, in a festive gathering he should obtain plenty of money and gold as a loan by a display of his entire goods, and also (collect) the price of each article. 51 Both these, he should cause to be stolen at night.

being per day. 42 surūṅgā is for a person who remains concealed there for manipulating the many-headed cobra to show that it is alive. 43 It is proposed to read antascharanayām for antaschidrāyām. The nāgapratiṃā is concealed in a hole in the caitya or in an ant-hill hole. There is little sense in making the image of the cobra have holes inside (antaschidrā). Cs, however, has 'in a cobra image sufficiently hollow inside (antaschidrā) to allow a real snake to remain inside,' reading the words at the end of the last s., instead of at the beginning of this s. Cb reads the words in this s. and understands that a live serpent is shown in the hollow of the nāga-image. There seems little point in keeping a snake image as well as a live snake in it. — sarpaḍārśanaṃ : Meyer proposes to read sarpaṃ only; that does not seem necessary. Even with the former we may understand rūpavītvā or the like. — āhāreṇa : Cs understands some magical rite. 'Food' might also do. — pratibaddha 'arrested, stopped.'

45 yogadārśana 'an occult or miraculous manifestation.' The s. is repeated in 15.3.38.

47 panyāmūlya : this seems to provide the security for the deposits and loans secured; it does not appear to be another means of becoming upacita, as Meyer thinks. In that case, it would have been in the instrumental, like niṣeṣaprapayogaiḥ. 48 The rūpapadarśaka collects coins for inspection, and gets himself robbed; so does the Goldsmith with the citizens' gold and silver.

50 sarpaṇyāsahādokēna : this again provides security for the loan. — pratibhāṇḍaṃāyam can hardly mean 'capital for counter-wares (to be brought from foreign lands),' as Meyer thinks. 51 ubhayam, i.e., the rūpa and the mūlya.
52 Or, after infatrating men suspected of treason with women appearing as pious ladies, and catching them in the houses of those same women, they should confiscate their entire property.

53 Or, when a dispute has arisen between members of treasonable families, poison-givers, who are employed there, should give poison. 54 For that offence, the others should be deprived of their property.

55 Or, a person condemned to death should demand of a treasonable person, on a credible pretext, a commodity or entrusted money or a loan given or an inheritance. 56 Or, he should address the treasonable person as a slave, or his wife, daughter-in-law or daughter as a slave or as wife. 57 As he lies down at the door of the treasonable person’s house or when he stays elsewhere, an assassin, slaying him, should declare ‘This fellow, longing for property, has been killed.’ 58 For that offence, the others should be deprived of their property.

59 Or, an agent appearing as a holy man, after luring a treasonable person with magical lores, should say to him, ‘I know the rite for inexhaustible wealth, for opening the doors of the king’s palace, for winning a woman’s heart, for causing disease to the enemy, for securing a long life or for getting a son.’ 60 When he consents, he should cause him to make an offering of plenty of wine, meat and perfumes in a sanctuary at night time. 61 And from a place, where money consisting of a single coin is buried beforehand (and) where a limb of a corpse or the corpse of an infant may have been placed, he should show him the money and say, ‘This is too little.’ 62 (He should add) ‘For plenty of money, offering must again be made; hence, with this very money you yourself purchase to-morrow plenty of articles of offering.’ 63 He should be arrested while purchasing articles of offering with that money.

52 sādhovī may convey the idea of a nun.

54 paryādātavyaḥ : cf. 2.9.24.

57 arthakāmukaḥ is an emendation from Meyer for itthasī kāmukaḥ of the mss. The latter would not include the cases mentioned in s. 55; and even s. 56 does not show kāmukataṣa in all cases. artha as ‘object, property’ would do in all cases. Cf. 5.1.10 above.

59 aksayahiranyam is also an emendation by Meyer; it is necessary as an adjective to karma. 61 ekarūpam : Meyer thinks that this is a false coin. That is possible, because the person is to be arrested while making purchases with that coin. Meyer, in fact, suggests the reading kūṭarūpam. — pretaṅgam etc. is there only to mark the place where the coin is buried before. 63 gṛhyeta : the arrest may be because of the false coin or perhaps also because the purchases are supposed to show that the person is engaged in the practice of black magic (which is an offence; cf. 4.4.14-16).
64 Or, (a treasonable person) should be charged by a female agent appearing as a mother, saying, 'You have killed my son.' 65 During his night sacrifice or a sacrifice in a forest or when sport in a forest has started, assassins, killing a condemned man due for execution, should smuggle him in.

66 Or, an agent working as a servant of the treasonable person should throw in a false coin in the money received as wages and point that out.

67 Or, an agent appearing as a workman should, while working in the house, place the implements of a thief or a maker of false coins there, or an agent appearing as a physician (should place) poison there in the guise of medicine.

68 Or, a secret agent close to the treasonable person should communicate through a sharp pupil (the presence of) articles for coronation and a letter from an enemy (secretly) planted there and should mention their purpose.

69. Thus he should behave towards treasonable and unrighteous persons, not towards others.

70 He should take from the kingdom fruits as they ripen, as from a garden; he should avoid unripe (fruit) that causes an uprising, for fear of his own destruction.

64-65 The reading adopted was on the basis of avakupitā in G₂, with mātrayaṇjanā emended from mātrayaṇjanadā. But avakupitā is obviously due to the copyist of that transcript. It seems better to adopt the readings of Cb Cs with mātrayaṇjanayā in the instrumental and avarūpitaḥ in the sense of 'shown up, i.e., accused.' The text should be read accordingly. saṁsiddham is to be understood as an adjective to abhityaktam in the sense of 'ready' for execution. — It seems that vanayāge is due to dittography. — atinayeyuḥ, i.e., secretly plant the corpse in the sacrifice, to make it appear as the 'son' killed by the dūṣya. The 'son' is supposed to be intended as a victim in the occult rite.

67 garam agadāpaḍesena, which is shown by Meyer's translation, is clearly necessary. gadam agadā- or garam agārā- are both unlikely. The poison implicates the dūṣya as a poison-giver.

68 abhiṣekabhaṇḍam: this is supposed to be for the coronation of the enemy, with whom the dūṣya is to be charged with being in league. In all these cases, the confiscation of the property of the dūṣyas is to be understood. That would help in replenishing the treasury.

69 This is an important safeguard against arbitrary extortions.

70 atmaccheda- from Cb Cs is clearly preferable to āmaccheda- of the mss. The danger is of the king himself being destroyed in a possible revolt (kopa).
CHAPTER THREE

SECTION 91 CONCERNING THE SALARIES OF (STATE) SERVANTS

1 In accordance with the capacity of the fortified city and the countryside, he should fix (wages for) the work of servants at one quarter of the revenue, or by payment to servants that enables the carrying out of works. 2 He should pay regard to the body (of income), not cause harm to spiritual good and material advantage.

3 The sacrificial priest, the preceptor, the minister, the chaplain, the commander-in-chief, the crown prince, the king’s mother and the crowned queen should receive forty-eight thousand (panas). 4 With this much remuneration, they become insusceptible to instigations and disinclined to revolt.

5 The Chief Palace Usher, the Chief of Palace Guards, the Director (of labour corps), the Administrator and the Director of Stores should receive twenty-four thousand. 6 With this much, they become efficient in their work.

7 The princes, the mothers of princes, the commandant, the city judge, the Director of Factories, the council of ministers, the provincial officer and the frontier officer should receive twelve thousand. 8 For, with this much, they help in strengthening the entourage of the master.

9 Heads of banded troops, commandants of elephants, horses and chariot corps, and magistrates should receive eight thousand. 10 For, with this much, they are able to carry their groups with them.

5.3

1 samudayapādena is from Cb Cs for -vādena, which makes little sense. — lābha is what is received by the servant; cf. 2.6.23 and Breloer referred to there.
2 sarīram, i.e., āyāsarīram, (2.6.1-9). The idea of ‘body politic’ (Meyer) does not seem intended.

3 aśṭacatvārinīśatsāhasrāḥ: this is obviously a year’s salary in panas. N. N. Law (IHQ, V, 780 ff.) thinks of monthly salaries. That is possible only if a copper paṇa is understood; but a copper paṇa is not known to this text. — It seems better to understand bharaneṇa instead of bharane. With the latter, nānāsvādyatvam is left, explained as ‘having many kinds of tasteful dishes’ (Cs). That does not appear a happy idea. The expressions seem to have in view the advantage to the state rather than to the recipients. anāspadatvam (anāspadatvam might perhaps have been better) refers to these persons being not susceptible to enemy instigations, just as akopakam refers to their being not likely to rise in revolt. anāsvādyam (with its passive sense) cannot be understood in the sense of ‘not given to misappropriation’ as suggested by 2.9.32.

5 praśāstr: for this and other officers mentioned in these ss., see 1.12.6. The rāṣṭrapāla, mentioned only here, seems to be an officer in charge of a province or a district; cf. 5.1.21,39. 8 paribandha seems to mean ‘entourage, retinue.’
11 Superintendents of infantry, cavalry, chariots and elephants and Guardians of material and elephant forests should receive four thousand.

12 The chariot-fighter, the elephant trainer, the physician, the horse-tamer and the carpenter and breeders of animals should receive two thousand.

13 The fortune-teller, the sooth-sayer, the astrologer, the narrator of Purāṇas, the charioteer and the bard, the chaplain’s men and all superintendents should receive one thousand.

14 Foot-soldiers trained in the (fighting) arts and the group of accountants, clerks and others should receive five hundred.

15 But actors should receive two hundred and fifty, and makers of musical instruments should receive double the wage of these.

16 Artisans and artists should receive one hundred and twenty.

17 Servants, valets, attendants and guards of quadrupeds and bipeds and foremen of labourers should receive a wage of sixty, also riders, bandits and mountain-diggers supervised by Āryas, as well as all attendants.

16 Teachers and learned men should receive an honorarium as deserved, a minimum of five hundred and a maximum of one thousand.

19 The average envoy should receive ten pāṇas per yojana, a double wage beyond ten (yojanas) up to one hundred yojanas.

10 svavaragānukarśīnaḥ, i.e., able to secure the loyalty and obedience of their subordinates.

12 rathika : cf. 2.33.6. Cb here has ‘chariot-fighter.' — vardhaki seems to be the officer mentioned in 10.1.1.17. — yonipoṣakāḥ : cf. 5.2.29. These here appear in state employ ; 5.2.29 does not visualise that.

14 śilpaṇantaḥ should be understood with pāḍātāḥ, since śilpins are separately mentioned in s. 16 below.

15 tāryakara seems to be the maker of musical instruments, though a player on musical instruments is not unlikely. Cb comment shows ‘chief (pradhāna)’ in explanation of this word.

17 It is proposed to add a ca after sarvopasthāgīnaḥ and read a stop here. The upasthāgīnaḥ, who can only be attendants, cannot be brought into relation with pūjāvetanam ; only the acāryāḥ and vidyāvantah can be thought of as receiving it. Nor can sarvopasthāgīnaḥ be brought into relation with acāryāḥ. — āryayukta seems to mean working under the supervision of Āryas, ārohaka etc. being themselves non-Āryans. ārohaka may mean ‘a rider’ or ‘a climber.’ — māṇavaka : see 4.5 above ; here these are to be supposed as being in state service.

19 dasapuniko etc. : if dīta is an ordinary messenger, the rates, as Meyer says, would appear exorbitant. He proposes to read dasayojane for yojane, i.e., 10 pāṇas for the first 10 yojanas and 20 up to 100 yojanas. This also is unlikely. Perhaps the dīta is the envoy of 1.16, madhyama being the parimitārtha of 1.16.3. The rates
20 The 'king' should receive three times the fee of those equal in learning at the Rājasūya and other sacrifices.

21 The king's charioteer should get one thousand.

22 Sharp pupils, monks fallen from vow, and agents appearing as householders, traders and ascetics should get one thousand.

23 Village servants, secret agents, assassins, poison-givers and female mendicants should get five hundred.

24 Those moving about for spying should get two hundred and fifty or should have their wage increased according to their efforts.

25 Supervisors of groups of one hundred and one thousand (troops) should carry out the payment of food and wages to them, give directions and order their dispersal. 26 There is to be no dispersal in the case of royal property and guarding the fortifications in the city and the country. 27 They shall have permanent heads and many (such) heads.

28 Of those dying while on duty, the sons and wives shall receive the food and wages. 29 And their minor children, old and sick persons should be helped. 30 And he should grant them money and do honour on occasions of death, illness and birth ceremonies.

31 If he has a small treasury, he should give forest produce, cattle and fields and a little money. 32 Or, if he has undertaken the settlement of new lands, he should give only money, not a village, in given here would cover the travelling expenses for the envoy and his retinue. The envoy is usually of the rank of a minister; it is possible that he would be entitled to his regular salary, over and above these expenses. — आयोजनासाृतादः: evidently a distance of 100 yojanas or about 900 miles was the maximum that was considered likely.

20 rājā is the adhvaryu priest who deputises for the ruler during a long sacrificial session, as shown by Āpastamba Śrauta Sūtra, 20.2.12.3 and Baudhāyana Śrauta Sūtra, 15.4. Cf. Kane, HD, III, 28.

21 sārathikā: this does not seem to have anything to do with the kratus of the last s., as Cb Cs think.

23 grāmabhṛttaka, i.e., washerman, barber, etc. (Cb).

24 cārasanācārināh, i.e., the lower staff of the spy establishments. Cf. 1.12.7-14.

25 vikṣeṣam ‘dispersal’ seems to refer to discharge, not to transfer to another place. Cf. especially 7.9.22 ff. Troops are to be thought of even here. Cb has ‘vikṣeṣa, i.e., assigning suitable work.’ 26 Cb has avikṣepe ‘when there is no work.’ 27 Cf. 2.4.29,30.

30 pretasyādhitā: etc.: this also seems to refer to those of the karmasu mṛta, hardly to those of all state servants.

32 grāmasanājita: etc.: The idea is to prevent old established dealings from being disturbed by the new owners. Money is given, so that new villages may be founded instead. Cb seems to mention as the reason the possibility that if the
order that transactions that have taken place in the village may be stabilised.

33 In this manner he should fix different (amounts of) food and wages for regular and casual servants according to their skill and work.

34 Fixing one ādhaka for a (servant with a) wage of sixty, he should fix food in accordance with the cash wage.

35 Infantry, cavalry, chariots and elephants should carry out practice in their arts outside (the city) at sun-rise, except on juncture-days. 36 The king should constantly attend to that, and should frequently inspect their arts.

37 He should allow weapons and armours that are stamped with the king's insignia to be brought into the armoury.

38 (People) shall move about unarmed, except those permitted with a sealed licence. 39 He shall pay double what is lost or destroyed. 40 And he shall keep an account of what has perished.

41 Frontier officers should seize the weapons and armours of caravan traders or allow them to pass after sealing them.

42 Or, when deciding on an expedition, he should make the army ready. 43 Then agents appearing as traders should give all goods to the soldiers at the time of the expedition to be recovered double (later). 44 Thus is made the secret sale of the king's goods as well as the recovery of wages.

village were required to give something (to the new owner) business in it might come to a stop.

33 ṛaṅkṣa are those not in regular service.

34 ṣaṅṣiṣvetaṁasya ādhakaṁ kṛtavā: this seems to mean that to a servant entitled to a wage of 60 panaṣ a year, a ration of one ādhaka of grains is to be given as part payment per day, the cash wage being correspondingly reduced; cf. 2.24.28. And apparently this is restricted to menials entitled to this wage only, hardly to those with 48,000 a year, for example. One could understand 1 ādhaka of grains per day as payment in lieu of the entire 60 panaṣ per year. But bhakta alone without some cash payment is unlikely. It is not possible to regard 1 ādhaka of grains as the equivalent of a wage of 60 (copper) panaṣ a month (Kane, HD, III, 124 ff). There is no copper pana in this text. Moreover, 1 ādhaka of grains would just about suffice for only four meals of a single individual. Cf. 2.15.43.

35 Ss. 35-44 and 47 are not relevant to the topic of this Chapter.

37 This s. should have been included in 2.18. — pravēṣayet: the subject is āyuḍhāṅgarāḍhyakṣaḥ.

38 aśastraḥ: this apparently refers to ordinary citizens, not to soldiers. 39, 40 The subject is again āyuḍhāṅgarāḍhyakṣaḥ.

43 yāṭrākāle is to be construed with dadyuḥ. — dvyuṇaśpratyaḍeyāṇi: the agreement is to receive double the normal price of the article at the end of the expedition. The soldiers would apparently agree because they want to provide for their
45 Looking after income and expenditure in this manner, he
does not suffer a calamity of the treasury and the army.
46 Thus (are explained) different rates of food and wages.
47 And secret agents, prostitutes, artisans and actors as well
as elders of the army should ascertain, with diligence, the
loyalty or disloyalty of soldiers.

CHAPTER FOUR

SECTION 92 CONDUCT (PROPER) FOR A DEPENDENT

1 One, conversant with the ways of the world, should seek service
with a king, endowed with personal excellences and the excellences
of material constituents, through such as are dear and beneficial (to
the king). 2 Or, he should have recourse to even one lacking in
material constituents, if he thinks, ‘Just as I am desirous of service,
so is he desirous of training and is endowed with qualities of one easily
approachable,’ but never one lacking in personal excellences. 3 For,
one lacking in qualities of the self, comes to an end even after receiving
mighty sovereignty, as a result of contempt for the political science or
as a result of association with harmful persons.

4 After securing an audience with a (king) endowed with qualities
of the self, he should give a test in the (political) science. 5 For,
he attains stability of position by not contradicting (the science).
6 Questioned about matters requiring intelligence, he should state
what is associated with spiritual and material benefit in the present
and in future (and) what is possible (of achievement), like an expert,
without being afraid of the assembly.

7 If approved, he should stipulate, ‘You should not question
those, who are not distinguished, concerning spiritual and material well-
families during their absence, and payment is not to be made immediately. Evident-
ly, if the soldiers were to die in the expedition, their relatives would be held liable for
the double charge. 44 vetanapratyādānam: this is in the form of the extra price
charged, which could come only from the soldiers’ salaries.

46 -vikalpaḥ: perhaps we should read -kalpaḥ 'the law of, rules about.'

5.4

anuṣṭhitin is principally an aspirant to ministership.
1 For utmasaṁpad see 6.1.3-6, and for dravyapraṇakṣitaṁpad 6.1.8-11. 2 abhi-
gāmikaguṇa: see 6.1.3. 3 anarthya: see 1.7.2, also 8.3.15.
5 avisaṁvādaṭ: the avisaṁvāda is with the sāstra (Cs) rather than with the king
(Meyer). 6 samartham, i.e., capable of being carried out. Cb comment shows
'saṁbandhārtham, what is relevant.'
being, nor inflict punishment on those who are associated with powerful (persons) nor inflict punishment on the instant on those associated with me; you should not harm my party, my livelihood and my secrets; and by signs I shall prevent you from inflicting punishment under the influence of passion or anger.

8 If appointed, he should, with permission, enter the place indicated, and should sit at the (king’s) side neither very near nor far, on another seat. 9 He shall not indulge in bellicose talk, nor make statements that are uncultured or not based on personal knowledge or untrustworthy or untrue, nor indulge in loud laughter when there is no joke nor break wind or spit with a sound. 10 He should avoid a secret talk with another, a quarrelsome remark during a discussion among men, a dress fit for a king or that of gaudy men or clowns, an open request for some jewel or a special favour, contracting one eye or lip, knitting of eye-brows and cutting short a remark when (another person is) speaking, opposition to those associated with the powerful, association, working for a common objective and union with women, persons (frequently) meeting women, envoys of neighbouring princes, persons belonging to the party of the inimical, persons dismissed and harmful persons.

11 He should declare without loss of time what is in the king’s interest, in the company of those dear and beneficial (to the king) what is in his own interest, at the proper place and time what is in the interest of another, (always) what is connected with spiritual and material well-being.

7 avisīṣṭa ‘not distinguished’ for learning or experience and hence not competent to advise on dharma and artha. — balavatsaśaṅkṣetu daṇḍadhārāgam: we have to supply na kuryāḥ. Meyer supplies kuryāḥ and proposes abalavat- ‘you must punish criminals before they attain prominence (avisīṣṭa), before they are associated with the mighty.’ This is quite unlikely. — matsaṁhyaṅge tadātve ca etc.: this is to be understood together ‘no punishment for my people at once’; ‘no punishment for my associates and no instantaneous punishment’ is possible, but seems less likely.

8 Cb reads āyuṭapradīṣṭayām. It seems that āyuṭaḥ should be read instead of ādiśaḥ. — saṁnikṛṣṭaviprakṛṣṭah is from Cs for saṁnikṛṣṭah viprakṛṣṭah of the mss. In fact the sense requires asaṁnikṛṣṭah aviprakṛṣṭah ‘not too near nor too far,’ as in Cb. — parīśanam: Cs reads varīśanam and places it at the beginning of the next s. But then it has to be construed with na kuryāt, which is far from happy. Cb has the same punctuation with parīśanam ‘a seat intended for some one else.’

10 dvundvacathanam ‘quarrelsome talk,’ rather than ‘talk between two’; cf. dvandva 1.13.2. — atisaya seems to refer to some special favour as Meyer says. — avakṣipta: cf. 1.10.2.5. — saṁghāta ‘union’ is more intimate than ekārthacaryā ‘working for a common object.’ All three, pratisaṁsarga etc., are to be construed with each of strībhīḥ, strīdarsībhīḥ etc. The strīs would appear to be those in the harem.
12 When asked, he should declare what is agreeable and beneficial, should not declare what is harmful but agreeable; or, he may, with permission, declare in private what is disagreeable but beneficial, when the (king) is prepared to listen.

13-14 Or, when making a reply he should remain silent and should not mention enemies and others. Those cast out from his affection may, though competent, become even disagreeable (to him), and harmful persons are known to have become favourites as they act according to their knowledge of his inclinations. He may laugh at laughable things, and avoid frightful laughter.

15 He should turn away from another frightful (words by the king), and should not himself use frightful words to another, and should tolerate (such words) addressed to himself, being full of forbearance like the earth.

16 For, self-protection must always be first secured by the wise (person); for, the conduct of those serving a king has been stated to be like (remaining) in fire.

17 Fire, when it reaches another, may burn a part or (at most) the whole body; but a king might kill one along with sons and wife or might cause one to prosper.

CHAPTER FIVE

SECTION 93 CONCERNING PROPER BEHAVIOUR (FOR A COURTIER)

1 When assigned work, he should show income cleared of expenses.

2 And he should specify a business that is inner or outer, open or secret, urgent or brooking delay, by saying 'This is of this nature.'

3 He should not humour him by (false) praises when he is addicted to hunting, gambling, wine or women. 4 And, remaining near, he

13-14 The second half of st. 13 and the first half of st. 14 form a single śloka and are quoted as such in the Daśakumārakacarita, VIII. It is possible that there has been some disarrangement of the lines in the text here. — prativākye 'when giving a reply' rather than 'when a reply is being given by the king.' — abhīhāṣyēṣu is from Cb Cs for abhihāṣyēṣu, which yields little sense.

15 ghoram, i.e., ghoravacanam by the king.

17 paraṁ gataḥ 'when it reaches another' may also mean 'when it reaches its maximum' (Meyer).

5.5

2 abhyantaram, i.e., pertaining to the city or the palace and bāhyam, i.e., pertaining to the outlying regions. See 9.5 below.

3 naivam anuvarteta is proposed for caivaṁ anuvarteta or caivaṁ anuvarteta. Considering the next s. and the general spirit of this section, it is little likely that advice
should endeavour to wean him from the vice, and should guard him from enemy’s instigations, cheating and fraud.

5 And he should observe his gestures and expressions. 6 For, a wise man shows, with his gestures and expressions, a reversal of the pairs of feelings, viz., liking and hatred, joy and distress, resoluteness and fear, for concealing his secret counsel.

7 The (king) is pleased at his sight, accepts his statement, gives him a seat, gives an audience in private, does not over-suspect on an occasion of suspicion, takes pleasure in his talk, pays regard to him in matters that are to be communicated, tolerates wholesome words spoken, appoints him to a task with a smile, touches him with the hand, does not ridicule him in a praiseworthy matter, speaks of his virtues in his absence, remembers him during meals, goes with him on a pleasure trip, helps him in a calamity, honours those devoted to him, tells him his secret, increases his honour, does what is advantageous to him, wards off what is harmful, — thus is known when the king is satisfied (with him).

8 These same reversed (are signs) of a dissatisfied (king); and we shall state more (such signs): 9 Anger at sight of him, not listening to and prohibition of his statements, not giving him a seat and not looking at him, change in complexion and voice, contraction of one eye, eye-brow or lip, appearance without cause of sweat, sighs or smile, consultation with another, going away suddenly, making another prosper, scratching the ground or limbs, goading another (against him) showing contempt for his learning, varṇa or country, censure of those with a like offence, censure of every single offence, praise of those against him, not paying regard to his good deeds, mentioning his evil deeds, paying attention at the back, extreme indifference, telling him a falsehood, and a difference in the behaviour towards him of those who frequently see the king.

would be given to humour the king in his vices; the reverse is far more likely. And eam or eva in the other readings has no significance.

5 iṅgītākraun: see 1.15.7-9. 6 vyāvasāya has almost the sense of ‘courage,’ being the opposite of bhaya. — prājñāḥ is as suggested by Meyer. The reading of the mss. is obviously corrupt.

7 śāghye nopahasati: Cs reads śāghyena upahasati ‘when a praiseworthy thing is done by the minister, he jokes in his presence’; this appears to be Cb’s explanation too. But it appears less likely. Meyer proposes asāghye nopahasati or śāghye śāghate marmāṇi nopahasati; neither seems necessary. — tadbhaktin, i.e., those loyal to the minister.

9 paramantraṇam is from Meyer for parimantaṇam, though Cs gets the same meaning ‘talking with another’ from the latter. Meyer also suggests aparimantaṇam ‘not talking with him,’ as supported by the Kāmasūtra. — pratido-
10. And he should observe the change in behaviour even of non-human beings. 11 ‘He is sprinkling (water) from on high,’ with this (thought) Kātyāyana left (his king’s service); ‘The heron (is flying) towards the left,’ with this Kanīṇkā Bhāravāja (left); ‘Ah, grass,’ with this Dirgha Carāyana (left); ‘The garment is cold,’ with this Ghōtamukha (left); ‘The elephant has sprinkled water,’ with this Kīnjalka (left); ‘He has praised the chariot and horse,’ with this Piśuna (left); at the barking of the dog, the son of Piśuna (left).

12. And in case of deprivation of emoluments and honour, leaving (the service of the king is recommended). 13 Or, knowing the master’s character and his own offence, he should remedy it. 14 Or he should approach his ally who may be close to him.

15. And staying there, he should, through friends, carry out the removal of his offence towards the master; then he should return again while the king is alive or when he is dead.

śanindā seems to be due to dittography. There is no comment on it in Cb. — — prṣṭādvadānām ‘paying attention at the back (and not in front where the minister is).’ — attiyāgah, i.e., having nothing to do with him.

11. ayam uccaiḥ śiścaṭi : according to Cb, followed by Cs, the minister found the gardener watering from on high instead of from the usual low level and thus making him wet; that served as a warning that the king wanted to kill him, because he thought that the minister had divulged a secret. This sounds plausible though the warning may only be about the king’s displeasure. — krauṇṭaḥ ‘pasavāyaḥ : this is even ordinarily an evil omen; the details in Cb Cs need not be necessarily accepted.

Kanīṇkā Bhāravājaḥ : it is possible that this Bhāravāja is the same as the author of a work on the Arthasastra frequently quoted in this text. Kanīṇkā Bhāravāja’s discourse on politics is found in the Mahābhārata, 12.138. — tṛṇam iti Dirghaś Cārīyanaḥ : it seems that grass appeared in a place where it was not expected and that set the minister thinking. According to Cb Cs, the king sent a plateful of food covered with grass; that would be too obvious an indication of displeasure. The story narrated in the Nandi Sūtra does not appear intended here. — sītā śāṭi : a cold garment when a warm one was expected apparently set the minister thinking. — hastī pratyauklit : the unusual occurrence of an elephant sprinkling him with water set the minister thinking. — rathāscaḥ prāśāntiḥ : the praise of the chariot and horse by the king is understood as a hint that the minister should depart. — Piśunāḥ : cf. 1.8.11. Piśuna is the name of Dusyanta’s minister in the Śākuntala. — pratiravaṇe śunāḥ : the barking of the dog is taken as a hint of the king’s displeasure. — Piśunaputraḥ : he may be the son of the Piśuna mentioned earlier.

12. This s. is not to be construed with the preceding s., and hence the emendations in the Punjab text are unacceptable. — avakṣepa ‘deprival’ rather than mere ‘diminution.’ 14 upaṅgṛṇam ‘near (to the king)’ both figuratively and literally.

15. jīva as adjective ‘living’ is known to the Rgveda (jīvā jyotirāśāmāhi, 7.32.26). Cb Cs read jīved for jīve. The latter, however, appears better.
CHAPTER SIX

SECTION 94 CONTINUANCE OF THE KINGDOM
SECTION 95 CONTINUOUS SOVEREIGNTY

1 The minister should take steps in case of a calamity of the king in the following manner:

2 Even before there is fear of the danger of (the king's) death, he should, by winning the support of those dear and beneficial (to the king), establish audience (with the king) at intervals of one month or two, under the pretext that 'The king is engaged in a rite for removing the troubles of the country or for destroying enemies or for securing long life or for getting a son.' 3 He should show, at a time when the appearance cannot be distinguished, a person appearing like the king to the subjects and to the envoys of allies and enemies. 4 And he should hold suitable conversation with them through the minister. 5 And through the Chief Usher and the Chief of Palace Guards, he should cause the king's daily duties to be carried out as described (before). 6 And towards those who do harm, he should cause disfavour or favour to be shown as it may be pleasing to the subjects, favour only towards those who have conferred benefits.

7 He should cause the treasury and the army to be collected in one place, in the fortified city or on the frontier, in charge of trustworthy men, also (bring together) members of the (royal) family, princes and principal officers under some pretext.

8 And if any principal officer, with a (strong) party, stationed in the fort or a forest, were to show hostility, he should get him won over. 9 Or, he should send him on an expedition full of dangers or to an ally's family.

5.6

The two sections are closely related; the dividing line between them, which is not quite distinct, may be found at s. 22.

1 rājavāyanam, i.e., a serious illness or death of the king. Mostly, death is thought of.

2 upagraha 'winning over,' i.e., securing the support of. 3 rājavāyājanam, i.e., some one who is the king's double. — arūpa velāyām is proposed in conformity with 7.17.41; the actual comment in Cb supports the emendation. The meaning is 'at a time when the form cannot be clearly seen,' i.e., when it is dark. 4 He, i.e., the person appearing like the king. 5 For dauvārika and āntaravānśika, see 1.12.6. — yathokta, i.e., as described in 1.19.

7 kula is independent of kumāra, not an adjective to it.

8 upagrahayet: this seems to mean 'should have him won over' as in s. 13 below, hardly 'should have him seized or imprisoned' as in 2.28.20,
10 And he should cause that vassal, from whom he apprehends danger, to be brought under control under the pretext of a festival, a wedding, an elephant hunt, a horse-sale, or grant of land, or through his own ally. 11 Then he should enter into a treaty that would be inviolable. 12 Or, he should bring about enmity (of the vassal) with forest chiefs or enemies. 13 Or, he should win over a pretender from his family or a prince in disfavour by (the promise of) a part of (his) territory.

14 Or, winning the support of members of the (royal) family, princes and principal officers, he should show a prince as already crowned.

15 Or, he should cause the administration to be carried on by weeding out the thorns of the kingdom in the manner described in (the section) ‘Infliction of (secret) Punishment.’

16 If, however, any principal officer or any one of the vassals were to rise in revolt, he should invite him, saying, ‘Come here, I shall make you the king,’ and get him killed. 17 Or, he should get rid of him by (using) ‘Remedies against Troubles.’

18 Or, after gradually transferring the burden of the kingdom to the crown prince, he should announce the calamity of the king.

19 In case the calamity has befallen the king in enemy territory (during war), he should secure a treaty with the enemy through an ally posing as a foe and retire. 20 Or, he should place one of the vassals in his fort and retire. 21 Or, after crowning the prince, he should fight back. 22 Or, if attacked by the enemy, he should use ‘Remedies against Troubles’ as described.

23 ‘In this way the minister should secure continuous sovereignty,’ says Kauṭilya.

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11 adūṣyaṃ seems to mean ‘which cannot be violated’; it may also mean ‘which would not make him treasonable.’ — takulīṇam aparuddham vā : cf. 1. 10.3. These cannot be members of the dying king’s family as Meyer thinks.

14 abhiṣiktam eva, i.e., already crowned before the news of the king’s death is announced.

15 dānḍakarmikavat, i.e., as in 5.1. above.

16 A vā would seem necessary after anyatamaḥ. 17 āpatpratikāreṇa, i.e., as in 9.5 below.

18 rājyabhāram āropya : this is without crowning him as king.

19 mitreṇa amitravyaṁjanena : such an ally is able to secure better terms from the enemy. 20 asya, i.e., sātroḥ. This implies that a fort of the enemy was captured before the king’s death. 21 kumāram abhiṣicya : this is done in the enemy’s fort.
24 ‘Not so,’ says Bhāradvāja. 25 ‘When the king is dying, the minister should make members of the family, princes, and principal officers fight against one another or against (other) principal officers. 26 When any one fights, he should get him slain by a rising of the subjects. 27 Or, getting rid of members of the family, princes and principal officers by silent punishment, he should seize the kingdom himself. 28 For, for the sake of the kingdom, the father fights with sons and the sons with the father, what to say then of the constituent, namely, the minister, the one support of the kingdom? 29 He should not disdain that when it has come to him of its own accord. 30 “A woman approaching of her own accord curses if discarded,” such is a saying among the people.

31 ‘Time comes but once to a man waiting for an opportunity; that time is difficult for that man to get again when he wants to do his work.’

32 ‘This incites subjects to revolt, is unrighteous and uncertain as to result,’ says Kauṭilya. 33 He should place on the throne a prince possessed of qualities of the self. 34 In the absence of one so endowed, he should call together high officers and, introducing a prince not addicted to vice or a princess or the queen enceinte, should say, ‘This

23 evam ekaiśvayam etc. shows that the preceding ss. are also concerned with ‘continuity of sovereignty,’ and the two prakaraṇas can hardly be separated.

24 Bhāradvājaḥ: he is a ruthless and cynical teacher; cf. 1.17.4-6. 25 pramriyamāne vā: Meyer suggests that vā may be understood as eva, or that mrte may be supposed to have dropped out before it or that vā shows an alternative in Bhāradvāja’s work, from which we have here an extensive quotation. The last suggestion seems reasonable. — kulyakumāramukhyān: it seems that the original reading was kulyakumārān only, as is shown by mukhyēṣu that follows. 28 abhidruhyanti, i.e., become enemies and fight. — ekapragrahahāḥ: cf. 1.10.3. The amātya thought of in this Chapter is the chief minister. 29 tat, i.e., rājyaṃ. 30 stri: rājyaśri is figuratively a woman. 31 This stanza marks the end of the quotation from Bhāradvāja’s work; an iti after it would have been better. Cb mentions the stanza as a śloka of Brhaspati. It is found with slight variations in the Mahābhārata, 12.104.20 and in the Tantrākhyāyika, 3.74.

32 The difficulty posed by Bhāradvāja saying ‘not so’ to Kauṭilya’s opinion (s. 24) and Kauṭilya then refuting the former’s opinion may be eased by supposing that naivam in s. 24 is not from Bhāradvāja’s work, but is put in his mouth only for emphasis, or that naivam has reference to all that is stated in ss. 1-22 which was there in the works of Bhāradvāja’s predecessors and is not directed against the statement in s. 23. Keith’s supposition (JRAS, 1916, 135-137) that this text was produced in Kauṭilya’s school which was conversant with the master’s views does not get over the difficulty of Bhāradvāja, a predecessor, refuting views attributed to Kauṭilya.

34 vypasaninam, which Cb Cs read for avypasaninam, seems hardly likely in the context.
is a trust with you; pay regard to his father as well as to your goodness and noble birth; he is only an emblem, you alone are masters; or, what (else) should be done?’ 35 When he says this, secret agents (among them) should say, ‘Who else but this king, with you to guide him, would be able to protect the four varnas?’ 36 Saying ‘So be it,’ the minister should invest with authority the prince or the princess or the enceinte queen and should introduce (him or her) to kinsmen and relations and to the envoys of allies and enemies.

37 He should cause an increase in the provisions and salaries of ministers and soldiers, and say, ‘When grown up, this (prince) will again give a rise.’ 38 Thus he should speak to the principal officers in the fort and the country, and to parties of allies and enemies (he should speak) as deserved.

39 And he should strive to give training to the prince.

40 Or, after getting an offspring begotten on the princess by a man of the same caste, he should crown him. 41 Through fear of change of the mother’s mind, he should keep near her a member of the family with small spirit and a young boy with auspicious marks. 42 And during the (monthly) periods he should guard her.

43 And he should not cause any excellent object of pleasure to be made for his own use. 44 For the king, however, he should cause belongings like carriages, riding animals, ornaments, dresses, women and houses, to be provided.

45 And when he has attained youth, he should ask for rest, to find out his inclination; he should leave him if he is not satisfied and continue to guard him if he is satisfied.

46 Or, if he has fallen from favour, he should repair to a forest or engage in a long sacrificial session after instructing select secret retinue to guard the prince.

40 kanyāyām etc.: this would operate when there is no prince. 41 mātuh: this is the kanyā of the last s. The danger is that she may waver and find some lover, ignoring the interests of the state and her own young prince. — kulyam alpasattcam, apparently as a check on the princess without involving any risk of himself enticing her. — chātraṁ ca: in view of the ca, this is different from the kulya, being apparently ‘a young boy’ intended as a companion to the young prince. Cb seems to understand a Brahmin boy, the excuse for keeping him being worship of the gods. — upanidadhyāt is used in the literal sense. 42 τφαυ etc.: this is to prevent another offspring, now that the continuity of the line is assured.

44 parivāpa ‘personal belongings’; cf. 3.6.6.

45 yauvanastham from Cb Cs is obviously necessary.

46 sīra ‘of the best kind, select’; Cb renders it by ‘pitrpaiṁama, hereditary.’ parigraha clearly is ‘an attendant, servant.’ — arucyatāṁ gataṁ ‘come to be disliked’ by the prince.
47 Or, if the king is under the influence of principal officers, he, well conversant with the science of politics, should enlighten him through historical and mythological tales, with the support of those dear (to the king).

48 Or, putting on the appearance of a holy man and resorting to secret practices, he should get hold of the king and after getting hold of him should employ 'the Infliction of Punishment' against the treasonable.

Herewith ends the Fifth Book of the Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya
'Secret Conduct'

48 siddhavyaḥjanarūpaḥ: rūpa does not seem quite necessary. — yogam, i.e., secret practices.
Chapter One

Section 96 Excellences of the Constituent Element

1. The king, the minister, the country, the fortified city, the treasury, the army, and the ally are the constituent elements (of the state).

\[ \sqrt{2} \] Among them, the excellences of the king are:

2. Born in a high family, endowed with good fortune, intelligence and spirit, given to seeing elders, pious, truthful in speech, not breaking his promise, grateful, liberal, of great energy, not dilatory, with weak neighbouring princes, resolute, not having a mean council (of ministers), desirous of training, — these are the qualities of one easily approachable.

3. Desire to learn, listening, learning, retention, thorough understanding, reflecting, rejecting (false views) and intentness on truth, — these are the qualities of intellect.

The Sixth Book deals with the circle of kings (mandala) and their constituents Cb Cs explain mandalayonih as 'the mandala, which is the yoni, i.e., basis of the six measures (sādgyanya). That is supported by 7.1.1. The description of the mandala in this Book serves as an introduction to the next Book which deals with sādgyanya. The expression, as a Tatpurusa compound, might also mean 'the source, i.e., the basic elements of the circle.'

6.1

1. G₁ and M₁ both have the faulty -dandaurgāṇi, which shows that the two are derived from the same exemplar.

2. avisāvadakaḥ 'one who does not contradict, i.e., is consistent or acts as he speaks.' — śakasāmantaḥ: as 7.10.9-10 show, śakya has the sense of durvala, the point being that the neighbouring princes are not a source of trouble. By śakya, Cb understands pitaṇiya, karṣaniya and ucchedaniya of 6.2.16. — Cb reads dr̥habhaktiḥ for dr̥habuddhiḥ. — aksudra- seems to refer to the quality of the ministers, hardly their number.

3. Cf. 1.5.5,
5 Bravery, resentment, quickness and dexterity, — these are the qualities of energy.

6 Eloquent, bold, endowed with memory, intellect and strength, exalted, easy to manage, trained in arts, free from vices, able to lead the army, able to require obligations and injury in the prescribed manner, possessed of a sense of shame, able to take suitable action in calamities and in normal conditions, seeing long and far, attaching prominence to undertakings at the proper place and time and with appropriate human endeavour, able to discriminate between peace and fighting, giving and withholding, and (observance of) conditions and (striking at) the enemy’s weak points, well-guarded, not laughing in an undignified manner, with a glance which is straight and without a frown, devoid of passion, anger, greed, stiffness, fickleness, troublesomeness and slanderousness, sweet in speech, speaking with a smile and with dignity, with conduct conforming to the advice of elders, — these are personal excellences.

7 The excellences of a minister have been stated before.

6 śvavaṅgraḥ ‘easy to control’ is usually used of an enemy or a servant; cf. 1.9.1. In the case of the master, it may convey the sense of ‘easy to lead or guide (along the right path)’, as suggested in 1.7.8. — avyāsanāḥ : Cb Cs read vyuṣane and construe it with daṇḍanāyī. But leadership of the army at all times is definitely a better idea. And freedom from vyuṣanas would be an independent qualification. Perhaps avyāsani should be read. — daṇḍanāyī is ‘able to lead the army’, hardly ‘inflicter of punishment’; in the latter sense, the root used is pra-ṇī. — dṛṣṭapratikāraḥ as Cb Cs explain, dṛṣṭa is śāstraśastra, as laid down in the science of politics. Meyer has ‘who knows how to require etc.’; but for this dṛṣṭapratikāraḥ would be necessary. With the suffix -in, dṛṣṭa can only be an adjective to pratiśāra in a Karṇadāhāraya compound. — āpatprakāśana vinivoktā ‘who makes appropriate use of, i.e., takes suitable action in calamities and normal times.’ — deśa-kāla- etc.: Cb Cs understand importance attached to each of deśa, kāla, puruṣaṇa and kāraṇa separately. It seems better, however, to understand importance given to kārya, which is done at the proper place and time, with requisite human effort. — saṁdhīvikrama- etc.: Cb Cs regard saṁyamapana as a single idea, ‘collection of treasury as in Chapter 5.2 (pana as coins?) without creating disaffection among the subjects (saṁyama as absence of troublesomeness?).’ This is doubtful. As Meyer says, there are three contrasted pairs, the second being tyāga and saṁyama, and the third pana and paracchidra; between each pair, the king must be able to distinguish or discriminate (vibhāga). tyāga refers to giving something to the enemy etc., saṁyama to withholding it. pana refers to the terms of a treaty, i.e., the observance of the terms, and paracchidra implies the idea of striking at the enemy’s weak point, even by violating the terms of a treaty. — saṁvyataḥ refers primarily to the guarding of the mantra. — ajiḥma- etc.: we have to understand ajiḥma and abhrukuṣṭi as describing the iṣṭaṇa. Cb understands ajiḥma as describing abhrukuṣṭi. That also is possible. — upatāpa is harassment of the subjects, as in Cb Cs. — sakkhaḥ outside the compound, as in Cb Cs, is better, though the compound smitodagraḥbhibhāṣi is a bit odd. Meyer suggests sakaṭaḥ smitavādi agraḥbhibhāṣi. But neither sakaṭaḥ nor agraḥbhibhāṣi appears likely.
8 Possessed of strong positions in the centre and at the frontiers, capable of sustaining itself and others in times of distress, easy to protect, providing excellent (means of) livelihood, malevolent towards enemies, with weak neighbouring princes, devoid of mud, stones, salty ground, uneven land, thorns, bands, wild animals, deer and forest tribes, charming, endowed with agricultural land, mines, material forests and elephant forests, beneficial to cattle, beneficial to men, with protected pastures, rich in animals, not depending on rain for water, provided with water-routes and land-routes, with valuable, manifold and plenty of commodities, capable of bearing fines and taxes, with farmers devoted to work, with a wise master, inhabited mostly by the lower varṇas, with men loyal and honest, — these are the excellences of a country.

9 The excellences of a fort have been stated before.

10 Acquired lawfully by the ancestors or by oneself, consisting mostly of gold and silver, containing various kinds of big jewels and cash, (one) that would withstand a calamity even of a long duration in which there is no income, — these are the excellences of a treasury.

11 Inherited from the father and the grandfather, constant, obedient, with the soldiers’ sons and wives contented, not disappointed during marches, unhindered everywhere, able to put up with troubles, that has fought many battles, skilled in the science of all types of war and weapons, not having a separate interest because of prosperity and adversity shared (with the king), consisting mostly of Kṣatriyas, — these are the excellences of an army.

7 purastāt: in 1.9.1 above.

8 sthānavān: sthāna obviously refers to positions of strength, such as a fort etc. — āpadi is to be constricted with the preceding (Meyer) rather than with the following svārakṣah (Cb Cs). — kanyāka may be understood in the figurative sense of the Fourth Book or in the literal sense. — adeva mātṛkāḥ ‘not depending on the god (of rain)’, having perennial sources of water supply, such as rivers etc. — dāṇḍakara- etc.: dāṇḍa can hardly be ‘army’ (Meyer). Cf. 1.13.3.8. — abāliśāsvāmi : on the strength of Kāmandaka, 4.54, Meyer would read bāliśāsvāmi ‘having foolish lords.’ But svāmin clearly refers to the king himself and not to other landlords (Kāmandaka has nāyaka); and even foolish landholders would hardly be an excellence in a janapada. Cf. 7.10.23-25. — avaraśvarṇa primarily refers to the Śūdras. Cf. 2.1.2.

9 purastāt: in 2.3 above.

10 anāyatim: this is an adjective to āpadam. For āyati ‘income, revenue’, cf. 2.9.10,11 etc.

11 bhṛta are the hired soldiers; cf. bhṛtabala 9.2.3 etc. — pravāsṛsu avisaṁvādītaḥ ‘not contradicted in long marches,’ i.e., not frustrated or disappointed during such marches. Cf. 10.3.38. This appears to be the explanation in Cb, though its text shows the reading pravāsṛsvapi samāpādītaḥ. Cs explains this as ‘receiving its customary comforts even during marches.’ — advaśādhyā may mean ‘having no
12 Allied from the days of the father and the grandfather, constant, under control, not having a separate interest, great, able to mobilise quickly, — these are the excellences of an ally.

13 Not of royal descent, greedy, with a mean council (of ministers), with disaffected subjects, unjust in behaviour, not applying himself (to duties), vicious, devoid of energy, trusting in fate, doing whatever pleases him, without shelter, without a following, impotent, ever doing harm (to others), — these are excellences in an enemy.

14 For, an enemy of this type becomes easy to exterminate.

15 Excluding the enemy, these seven constituent elements have been described with each one's excellences manifest; those, when they operate, become subordinate to the excellences of the king.

16 A king endowed with personal qualities endows with excellences the constituent elements not so endowed. One not endowed with personal qualities destroys the constituent elements that are prosperous and devoted (to him).

17 Then that (king) not endowed with personal qualities, with defective constituent elements is either killed by the subjects or subjugated by the enemies, even if he be ruler up to the four ends of the earth.

18 But one possessed of personal qualities, though ruling over a small territory, being united with the excellences of the constituent elements, (and) conversant with (the science of) politics, does conquer the entire earth, never loses.

separate interests of its own ' or ' not resorting to duplicity or double-dealing '; the former seems meant. Cf. s. 12 below and 7.9.48.

12 Cf. 7.9.38 and 7.9.9 ff.

13 ayuktah seems ' one not applying himself ' diligently to his duties (utthana-hina,—Cb), rather than ' one without servants ' or ' improperly behaved. ' — agatiḥ ' without support when being exterminated ' (Cb). — ananubandhaḥ: this may mean ' having no following ' or ' having no connections. ' anubandaḥ in this text usually refers to what follows from something, a consequence. Cf. 9.7.14.

15 It seems best to look upon ukāḥ as the predicate for the first half, as in Cb Cs; in the second half pratyaigakhāṭiḥ may be regarded as the predicate, with prakṛtiḥ in the sense of ' which function or operate' understood as descriptive of the constituent elements. The idea seems to be that the other constituents are dependent on the king and his qualities.

16 Breloer (III, 269 n. 2) thinks that the word ātmavān indicates that the verses are derived from Brhaspati.

17 duṣṭaprabhīḥ: in the context, prakṛti is a constituent element (Cs), rather than ' nature ' (as in Meyer) or ' subjects, ' though in prakṛtibhiḥ in the second half, subjects are clearly to be thought of. — caturantaḥ: cf. 1.6.4.
CHAPTER TWO

SECTION 97 CONCERNING PEACE AND ACTIVITY

1 Peace and activity constitute the source of acquisition and security. 2 Activity is that which brings about the accomplishment of works undertaken. 3 Peace is that which brings about security of enjoyment of the fruits of works.

4 The source of peace and activity is the six-fold policy. 5 Decline, stability and advancement are the consequences of that (policy).

6 (Acts) of human agency are good policy and bad policy; of divine agency good fortune and misfortune. 7 For, it is acts of human and divine agency that make the world go. 8 That caused by an unseen agency is the divine (act). 9 In that, the attainment of the desired fruit is good fortune; of undesired (fruit), misfortune. 10 That caused by a seen agency is the human (act). 11 In that, the coming into being of well-being is good policy; (its) ruin, bad policy. 12 That can be thought about; the divine is incalculable.

13 The king, endowed with personal excellences and those of his material constituents, the seat of good policy, is the would-be conqueror. 14 Encircling him on all sides, with territory immediately next to his is the constituent called the enemy. 15 In the same manner, one with territory separated by one (other territory) is the constituent called the ally.

16 A neighbouring prince possessed of the excellences of an enemy is the foe; one in calamity is vulnerable; one without

6.2

The Section, though named samavyāyāmikam, actually describes the nature of the circle of kings. That is because peace and activity in a state, which are necessary for its well-being, depend on its relations with the circle of neighbouring states.

2 yogāraḍhanāḥ: this can hardly mean ‘exertion and making it fruitful’ (Meyer); it seems to mean ‘what secures the acquisition or accomplishment (of the works).’ So kṣemāraḍhanāḥ is hardly ‘peacefully making it fruitful’ (Meyer).

5 udayāḥ ‘fruits,’ i.e., consequences.

6 mānusam: supply karma. 7 yāpayati, i.e., keeps it going. 9 aya as ‘goop fortune’ seems restricted to this science. Cf. Raghuvaśīśa, 4.26.

14 samantato maudalīkhātā: this would imply not one king, but all those whose territories are contiguous to that of the viṣṇuṣu; they are his aris. — It is to be noted that in 15.1.51-52, where this passage is quoted, we have pratamā prakṛtiḥ, devityā and tīṣṭyā in place of viṣṇuṣu, ariprakṛtiḥ and mitraprakṛtiḥ here. What is more, those terms are there called svasaṁjñāḥ ‘one’s own technical terms.’ Apparently, the numerical terms were first thought of by Kauṭilya. But he has used them only on a few occasions, as in 7.6.1 and 7.7.1. Cf. also 7.18.1-2.
support or with a weak support is fit to be exterminated; in the reverse case, fit to be harassed or weakened. 17 These are the different types of enemies.

18 Beyond him, the ally, the enemy’s ally, the ally’s ally, and the enemy’s ally’s ally are situated in front in accordance with the proximity of the territories; behind, the enemy in the rear, the ally in the rear, the rear enemy’s ally and the rear ally’s ally (one behind the other).

19 One with immediately proximate territory is the natural enemy; one of equal birth is the enemy by birth; one opposed or in opposition is the enemy made (for the time being).

20 One with territory separated by one other is the natural ally; one related through the mother or father is the ally by birth; one who has sought shelter for wealth or life is the ally made (for the time being).

21 One with territory immediately proximate to those of the enemy and the conqueror, capable of helping them when they are united or disunited and of suppressing them when they are disunited, is the middle king.

22 One outside (the sphere of) the enemy, the conqueror and the middle king, stronger than (their) constituents, capable of helping the enemy, the conqueror and the middle king when they are united or disunited and of suppressing them when they are disunited, is the neutral king.

16 anapārayaḥ: the shelter is either a fort or an ally. — viparyaye, i.e., when he has a strong support.

18 pārśvigrāhaḥ ‘the heel-catcher’, who attacks in the rear when one is fighting in front. — ākranda may contain a reference to ‘crying out for help’ on the part of the vijigīṣu. So āśāra ‘ally’ has reference to ‘moving forward’ for helping or rescuing.

19 Cb Cs regard prakṛtyamitra and tulyābhijana as two types of sahaja enemy; that is doubtful in the absence of a ca or a vā. And the literal sense of sahaja would restrict the term to the tulyābhijana only. This term seems to refer to some member of the same royal family as the vijigīṣu.

20 As before, Cb Cs regard prakṛtimitra also as a type of sahaja ally.

21 For the madhyama and udāśīna, cf. N.N. Law (IHQ, IX, 770-783). As he points out, these two are powerful rulers who could easily upset the balance of power in the circle of kings.

22 madhyānāṁ bāhīḥ prakṛtibhyo balavattaraḥ: the comment in Cb omits the reference to madhyama and understands daṇḍa and kośa by the prakṛtis. Cs understands ‘outside the constituents of’; for this, bāhīḥ should have come after prakṛtibhyāḥ; and ‘outside the constituents’ does not make much sense. Meyer has ‘stronger than the outer prakṛtis’; but such a description of the prakṛtis is uncertain. Outside the sphere of the three kings is what seems meant. ud-āśīna seems
23 These are the constituents (of the circle of kings).

24 Or, the conqueror, the ally and the ally’s ally are the three constituents of this (circle of kings). 25 They, each individually united with its five constituent elements, the minister, the country, the fort, the treasury and the army, constitute the eighteen-fold circle. 26 By that is explained a separate circle (for each of) the enemy, the middle and the neutral kings. 27 Thus there is a collection of four circles.

28 There are twelve constituents who are kings, sixty material constituents, a total of seventy-two in all. 29 Each of these has its own peculiar excellences.

30 Power and success (are to be explained). 31 Power is (possession of) strength. 32 Success is (obtaining) happiness.

33 Power is three-fold: the power of knowledge is the power of counsel, the power of the treasury and the army is the power of might, the power of valour is the power of energy.

34 In the same way, success is also three-fold: that attainable by the power of counsel is success by counsel, that attainable by the power of might is success by might, that attainable by the power of energy is success by energy.

35 Thriving with these, the (king) becomes superior; reduced (in these), inferior; with equal powers, equal. 36 Therefore, he should endeavour to endow himself with power and success, or, if similar, (to endow with power and success) the material constituents in accordance with their immediate proximity or integrity. 37 Or, he should endeavour to detract (these) from treacherous persons and enemies.

38 Or, if he were to see, ‘My enemy, possessed of power, will injure his subjects with verbal or physical injury or appropriation of their property, or, when endowed with success, will become negligent to contain a reference to his being outside the group of kings. He is the most powerful monarch thought of.

24 In these ss. we have a different arrangement of the twelve kings forming the circle. The text follows the earlier arrangement; pürṇigrāha, ākanda, etc. are frequently mentioned, the allies etc. of the madhyama or udāśīna hardly ever.

30 saktiḥ siddhiḥ ca: these are adhikāraṇādhas as in Cs; they cannot be construed with saṁpadah (regarded as genitive singular) as in Meyer or with tāsām of the preceding s.

35 jyāyān etc.: the comparison is with the enemy, the viṣṇiṣu’s rival. 36 sādhāraṇa ca: this refers to the viṣṇiṣu and his enemy being both endowed with personal excellences. The sense of ‘common, mediocre’ is possible, but seems less likely. 37 apakraṣṭum: the object is saktiḥ siddhiḥ ca.
because of (addiction to) hunting, gambling, wine or women, thus with subjects disaffected or (himself) become weakened or remiss, he will be easy to overpower for me; or, being attacked in war, he will remain in one place or not in his fort, with all his troops collected together, thus with his army brought together, (and himself) separated from his ally and fort, he will be easy to over-power for me; or, he will render help to me when I am attacked by a strong king, (thinking) "the strong king is desirous of exterminating my enemy elsewhere; after exterminating him, he might exterminate me," or (help me) when my undertakings have failed; ’ and when seeking to seize the middle king (the enemy’s help is needed); — for these and other reasons, he may wish power and success even to the enemy.

39 Making the kings separated by one (intervening territory) the felony and those immediately proximate the spokes, the leader should stretch himself out as the hub in the circle of constituents.

40 For, the enemy situated between the two, the leader and the ally, becomes easy to exterminate or to harass, even if strong.

Herewith ends the Sixth Book of the Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya

'THE CIRCLE (OF KINGS) AS THE BASIS'

38 There are three situations visualised in the thoughts of the viṣīgīśu, the fourth madhyamalipsīgyāṁ being added after that. — vāgroḍaṇḍa - etc.: these are kopāja vyāsanas; cf. 8.3.23. — mṛgāyā - etc.: these are kāmaja vyāsanas; cf. 8.3.38. — sarvasaṇīdoḥa refers to collecting the whole army together in one place. — ekasto ’durgastho vā: the avagraha is clearly necessary as in Meyer’s translation; that is shown by -durgaviyuktah that follows. — balavān vā etc. contain the enemy’s thoughts in his own words, which the viṣīgīśu can surmise. balavān rājā is a third king, the śatru in the enemy’s thoughts being the viṣīgīśu. — mām uchīndyāt is as proposed by Meyer. With na before these words as in the mss. we may have ‘he may not exterminate me.’ But without na the sense becomes more emphatic. — madhyamalipsīgyāṁ ca: it is the viṣīgīśu who wishes to overcome the madhyama king; for that he would require the enemy’s help; hence he wishes sākti and siddhi to the enemy. The expression cannot be construed with vipānakānapārāmabhāṣya vā etc. in the preceding clause, as in Cs. lipāri is not ‘expectation of help from ’; it is desire to seize or overcome ’; cf. 7.1.32, also 7.18.5ff. For madhyamalipā see 7.13.26.

39 netā is the same as the viṣīgīśu. — nābhim: Cf. Rağhu. 9.15.

40 madhye hyupahitah from Cb Cs is obviously the only correct reading.
BOOK SEVEN

THE SIX MEASURES OF FOREIGN POLICY

CHAPTER ONE

SECTION 98 ENUMERATION OF THE SIX MEASURES OF FOREIGN POLICY
SECTION 99 DETERMINATION OF (MEASURES IN) DECLINE, STABLE CONDITION AND ADVANCEMENT

1 The circle of constituent elements is the basis of the six measures of foreign policy.

2 'Peace, war, staying quiet, marching, seeking shelter and dual policy constitute the six measures,' say the teachers.

3 'There are (only) two measures,' says Vātavyādhi. 4 'For, out of peace and war the six measures come into being.'

5 'These are really six measures, because of differences in the situations,' says Kauṭilya.

6 Among them, entering into a treaty is peace. 7 Doing injury is war. 8 Remaining indifferent is staying quiet. 9 Augmentation (of powers) is marching. 10 Submitting to another is seeking shelter.

The Seventh Book deals with the use of the six measures that can be adopted by a state in its relations with foreign states. guṇa has the technical sense of a measure to be adopted as a policy.

7.1

The two Sections are to be found in ss. 1-19 and 20-38 respectively.

1 prakṛtimandalam, i.e., the twelve kings and their constituents as mentioned in 6.2.13-20.

3 Vātavyādhiḥ: see 1.7.20. 4 The idea is that peace and war are the basic policies, the others being only variations of these. There is some truth in this point of view.

5 avasthābhādhaḥ, i.e., the different situations warrant a six-fold division. Cf. Kāmandaka, 11.40.

6 paṇabandhaḥ 'the framing of terms or conditions,' i.e., entering into a formal treaty with specific clauses. 9 abhyuccayāḥ: the cause is used in place of its consequence (marching). 11 saṇḍhivigrahapāddānanam: as is clear from the
11. Resorting to peace (with one) and war (with another) is dual policy. 12. These are the six measures of foreign policy.

13. When in decline as compared to the enemy, he should make peace. 14. When prospering, he should make war. 15. (When he thinks) ‘The enemy is not able to do harm to me, nor I to him,’ he should stay quiet. 16. When possessed of a preponderance of excellent qualities, he should march. 17. Depleted in power, he should seek shelter. 18. In a work that can be achieved with the help of an associate, he should resort to a dual policy. 19. Thus are the measures established.

20. Of them, he should follow that policy by resorting to which he may be able to see, ‘By resorting to this, I shall be able to promote my own undertakings concerning forts, water-works, trade-routes, settling on waste land, mines, material forests and elephant forests, and to injure these undertakings of the enemy.’ 21. That is advancement. 22. Perceiving ‘My advancement will be quicker or greater or leading to a greater advancement in the future, the reverse (will be) that of the enemy,’ he should remain indifferent to the enemy’s advancement. 23. In case the advancement takes the same time or bears an equal fruit (for both), he should make peace.

24. He should not follow that policy by resorting to which he were to see the ruin of his own undertakings, not of (those of) the other (party). 25. This is decline. 26. Perceiving ‘I shall decline after a longer time or to a lesser extent or in such a way that I shall make text, this is peace with one king and war with another; cf. s. 37 below. See K. Nag (Les Théories Diplomatique etc., p. 78). Cs has in this s. ‘peace outwardly, but war secretly,’ but has the former explanation in s. 37. Meyer accepts the view that dvaidhībhāva is duplicity, making peace for the time being with a view to making better preparations for war against the same enemy. The text does not seem to support that explanation.

18. sahāyasādhye kārye: the help sought is from one who is ordinarily the vijigṣu’s enemy; but his help is necessary for getting the better of another enemy; hence the treaty with the former and war with the latter. Cf. 7.7.1-2 below.

20. durgasetu-etc.: Meyer thinks that agriculture is missing here from the usual list of the eight-fold karma. He would therefore read kārṣa for kārma or add kṛṣi after setukarma. Despite Manu, 7.154, however, that is unacceptable, because kārma, as fully described in 7.12, does not include kṛṣi. 22. vyṛddhyudayatāra (adjective to vyṛddhi) ‘which brings about a greater advancement (for the vijigṣu) in the future.’ For vyṛddhyudaya, see 9.4.20. 23. tulyakālapaloddayāyān vā: it seems that vā shows the option between tulyakālā and tulyapaloddayā in the compound. A single idea ‘which requires the same time for the appearance of the result’ (as in Meyer) does not seem meant in view of āsutarā and bhūyastarā used separately above.

26. vyṛddhyudayataram is adverbial.
a greater advancement, the enemy (will decline) in the reverse manner,' he should remain indifferent to his decline. 27 In case the decline lasts for the same period or leads to equal results (for both), he should make peace.

28 The policy, following which he were to see neither the advancement nor the decline of his own undertakings, constitutes stable condition. 29 Perceiving 'I shall remain stable for a shorter period or in such a way that I shall make a greater advancement, the enemy (will do so) in the opposite way,' he should remain indifferent to his stable condition. 30 'In case the stable condition lasts for the same period or leads to equal consequences (for both), he should make peace,' say the teachers. 31 This is not disputed, says Kauṭilya.

32 Or, if he were to see, 'Remaining at peace, I shall ruin the enemy's undertakings by my own undertakings bearing abundant fruits; or, I shall enjoy my own undertakings bearing abundant fruits or the undertakings of the enemy; or, by creating confidence by means of the peace, I shall ruin the enemy's undertakings by the employment of secret remedies and occult practices; or, I shall easily entice away the persons capable of carrying out the enemy's undertakings by (offering) a greater remuneration from my own undertakings, with facilities of favours and exemptions; or, the enemy, in alliance with an extremely strong king, will suffer the ruin of his own undertakings; or, I shall keep prolonged his war with the king, being at war with whom he is making peace with me; or, he will harass the country of the king, who is in alliance with me (but is) hostile to me; or, his country, laid waste by his enemy, will come to me, so that I shall achieve advancement in my undertakings; or, the enemy, with his

31 vibhāsitam: Cb Cs have 'viśeṣeṇa bhāsitam', i.e., stated with any special distinction. K. Nag (op. cit., p. 78) has 'unreasonable.' Meyer has 'option, alternative' as in grammar, the idea being, sthānām upekṣeta and sañādhim upeyāt come practically to the same thing. vibhāsita may also mean 'contradicted, disputed.'

32 yogopāniṣatprānīdhikibhiḥ: Meyer understands prānīdhi in the sense of 'a spy' (so Nag, p. 79). But the word by itself does not convey that sense. It is to be construed with yoga and upaṇiṣad in the sense of 'employment, use.' — -saukar-yam is adverbial. Cs treats it as an adjective to -janam. Meyer proposes to join this expression to the following compound phalaḷābha- etc. — balinā 'timātreṇa: Cs has 'with a very rich king, by offering him excessive tribute (atimātreṇa).' But atimātreṇa seems to be adverbial, going with balinā (or balavatā, the other v. l.). — parataḥ pravṛttakarmārmarbho vā: this describes the vijīgīṣu, who wants to start some undertaking away from the enemy's territory, but near the territory of some other king. tābhyyām saṁhitāḥ has reference to peace with the enemy and this other king (near whose territory the vijīgīṣu is active). Meyer construes parataḥ pravṛttata- etc. with the preceding (karmasu na me vibhrāmeta) and translates tābhyyām by 'in either eventuality.' This is far from happy. Nag (op. cit., p. 80) has 'with the
undertakings ruined (and himself) placed in a difficult situation, would not attack my undertakings; or, with my undertakings started elsewhere, I shall achieve advancement in my undertakings, being in alliance with both; or, by making peace with the enemy I shall divide from him the circle (of kings) which is attached to the enemy, (and) when divided, I shall secure it (for myself); or, by giving support to the enemy by favouring him with troops when he seeks to seize the circle, I shall create hostility towards him, (and) when he faces hostility I shall get him destroyed by that same (circle), he should secure advancement through peace.

33 Or, if he were to see, 'My country, consisting mostly of martial people or fighting bands, or secure in the protection of a single entrance through a mountain-fort, a forest-fort or a river-fort, will be able to repulse the enemy's attack; or, taking shelter in an impregnable fort on the border of my territory, I shall be able to ruin the enemy's undertakings; or, the enemy, with his energy sapped by the troubles caused by a calamity, has reached a time when his undertakings face ruin; or, when he is fighting elsewhere, I shall be able to carry off his country,' he should secure advancement by resorting to war.

34 Or, if he were to think, 'The enemy is not able to ruin my undertakings nor am I able to ruin his undertakings; or, (when) he is in a calamity, or (engaged) as in a conflict between a hound and a boar, I shall advance (myself), being intent on carrying out my own undertakings,' he should secure advancement by staying quiet.

35 Or, if he were to think, 'The ruin of the enemy's undertakings can be brought about by marching, and I have taken steps to secure the two adversaries of my enemy'; but it is difficult to see who these two adversaries of the enemy could be. — danḍānugraham cannot mean 'by favours or punishment' (Nag, op. cit., p. 80). This is lending of troops to the enemy so as to encourage him to fight the mayūra to his own ultimate ruin. — lipsā 'desire to seize, dominate or control.'

33 The difference between āyułāya and śreni seems to be that the former do not form a close-knit group or band like the latter. — śailavana- etc.: the fort itself constitutes the one entrance into the country (eka-dvāra). — āpavāhayitum: cf. 2.1.1; 8.2.3 etc. It can hardly mean 'to attack' (Cs).

34 vyasaman asya and kalahe are the two occasions when the viṣāṇasa can carry out his own works and augment his own power. The kalahe is between his enemy and some other king; it is a life and death struggle, but whatever its outcome, the viṣāṇasa stands to benefit. Cf. 9.2.6. The kalahe is not between the viṣāṇasa and the enemy (as in Cs). How can the viṣāṇasa carry out his works if he is engaged in a life and death struggle? Meyer proposes to read kalahe 'a calamity which I cause to him (vyasaman asya) is like a hound and boar fight.' But if the viṣāṇasa were to be active in causing such a calamity, that would not be in consonance with the advice to stay quiet. — vā (after -nusthānapāra) shows the option to the situation in na me śaktā paraḥ etc.
protection of my own undertakings,' he should secure advancement by marching.

36 Or, if he were to think, 'I am not able to ruin the enemy's undertakings nor to avert the ruin of my own undertakings,' he should seek shelter with a strong king and by carrying out his own undertakings, should seek to progress from decline to stable condition and from stable condition to advancement.

37 Or, if he were to think, 'I shall promote my own undertakings by peace on one side and ruin the enemy's undertakings by war on the other side,' he should secure advancement through a dual policy.

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.

CHAPTER TWO

SECTION 100 CONDUCT WHEN SEEKING SHELTER

1. If there is equal advancement in peace or war, he should resort to peace. 2 For, in war there are losses, expenses, marches away from home and hindrances. 3 By that is explained (preference for) staying quiet, as between staying quiet and marching.

4 As between dual policy and seeking shelter, he should resort to dual policy. 5 For, he who resorts to the dual policy, giving prominence to his own undertakings, serves only his own interests, while he who takes shelter (with another) serves the interests of the other, not his own.

6 He should seek shelter with one whose strength is superior to the strength of the neighbouring (enemy). 7 In the absence of one

36 balavantam: some mss. show the faulty balavattam; Meyer therefore thinks that balavattam is more likely. balavantam, however, seems all right.

37 ekataḥ...ekataḥ, i.e., with one enemy and with another. This is not duplicity or double-dealing with the same king.

7.2

The 100th Section really begins at s. 6. The earlier ss. dealing with relative superiority among the six measures form a sort of an introduction.

2 -pratyavāyāḥ: Meyer regards kṣaya, vyaya and pravāsa as three 'hindrances'. pratyarāyāya may, however, be understood independently of the three. — Cf. 7.8.2.

6 sāmantaḥ is the neighbouring enemy, whose growing power makes the vijigīṣu seek shelter. 7 adṛṣṭāḥ, i.e., himself remaining away from the enemy, not surrendering his person. 8 anyatra arivoighrīḥ: the idea seems to be that when the
superior in strength to him, he should seek shelter with the (enemy) himself and, remaining out of sight, should try to serve him with any one of the (three): treasury, army and territory. 8 For, union with one superior in strength is a great danger to kings, except when he is at war with an enemy.

9 If this be impossible, he should behave like one submitting with troops. 10 And when he sees that the enemy is afflicted by a fatal disease or is facing an internal revolt or a growth in power of his enemy or a calamity of his ally and (sees) thereby his own advancement, he should go away under a plausible pretext of illness or the performance of a religious duty. 11 Or, if he is in his own territory, he should not go to him. 12 Or, if near him, he should strike in his weak points.

13 Or, if situated between two stronger kings, he should seek shelter with one capable of protecting him, or with one whose intervening weak neighbour he may be, or with both. 14 He should resort to the potsherder-treaty, declaring one (to the other) as plotting to seize his patrimony. 15 Or, he should employ dissension between the two by falsely implicating one against the other, and (use) silent punishment when they are in discord.

16 Or, if situated at the side of two strong kings, he should take steps against immediate danger. 17 Or, taking shelter in a fort, he should resort to the dual policy. 18 Or, he should act on motives for resorting to peace or war. 19 He should give support to the strong king is at war with some one else, he would remain grateful for the support given by the weak king and not treat him with contempt or in a high-handed manner.

9 asakye is from Cb Cs for ašakyo. For the latter, ašakto is conceivable, but ašakye is better. The idea is ' when the strong neighbour cannot be made to accept dayda etc. without the surrender of his person.' Meyer translates ' towards an enemy who cannot be so managed '; but a locative absolute might appear better. — daydopana†yat, i.e., as in 7.15.21 ff. 12 chidreṣu can hardly mean ' by means of secret coups ' (Nag, op. cit., p. 82).

13 antardhiḥ: 7.13.25 defines this king; he serves as a buffer to a powerful king, who would consequently refrain from totally exterminating him. Cb Cs read anantardhiḥ and explain ' who may be next to him, not separated from him.' That does not seem very likely. 14 kapālasaṅsrayah: this appears to be a reference to the kapālasaṅhidhi of 7.3.30, in which the weak king is advised to avoid meeting the exorbitant demands made on him under the pretext that his undertakings are ruined. The expression can also mean ' resorting to the begging bowl ', in which case ubhau vā may be included in this s. from the last, as Cb seems to do. — mūla-refers to the base, i.e., the kingdom, also the capital. — apadīsan involves the idea of a false declaration. 15 -apadesa again implies a false implication.

16 pārścavasthaḥ, as contrasted with madhyagataḥ of s. 13. 17 dvārdhībhūtaḥ, i.e., making peace with one and fighting with the other. 18 sanidhivigraha†kramahetu†bhīḥ: the reference is to 7.1.32, 33. krama serves little purpose; it seems to stand for ātiṣṭhet of that passage. Cb comment presupposes sanidhivikramahetu†bhīḥ and
treasonable officers, the enemies and forest chiefs of both. 20 Going over to one of these two, he should strike in the other’s calamity with these same (treasonable officers, etc.).

21 Or, if pressed by both, he should resort to the circle (of kings) for shelter, or find shelter with the middle or the neutral king. 22 Together with him, he should support one and exterminate the other, or (exterminate) both.

23 Or, if exterminated by both, he should find shelter with the justly behaved from among the middle king, the neutral king or kings belonging to their parties. 24 From among those equally just, (he should resort to that king) whose constituents would give him happiness or by staying with whom he would be able to raise himself or where his ancestors may have been accustomed to go or he may have close connections (or) where there may be many or very powerful friends.

25 He to whom he may be dear or he who may be dear to him, which one among these two (should he approach for shelter)? He should go to him to whom he may be dear. This is the best course for seeking shelter.

CHAPTER THREE

SECTION 101 ADHERENCE TO POLICIES BY THE EQUAL, THE WEAKER AND THE STRONGER (KINGS)

SECTION 102 PEACE-TREATIES BY THE WEAKER KING

1 The conqueror should employ the six measures of policy with due regard to his power. 2 He should make peace with the equal and the stronger; he should make war with the weaker. 3 For, going to war with the stronger, he engages as it were in a fight on foot that was obviously the original reading. 20 gacchan ‘going to’, i.e., joining hands with. It can hardly mean ‘engaging in fight’ (Cs); anyataram and anyatarasya do not refer to the same king, but to the two powerful kings, like itaram and itarasya in s.14. Meyer’s proposed yacchan (for gacchan) in the sense of ‘restraining’ is not very likely.

21 upahataḥ is as proposed by Meyer for upahitāḥ. The latter can hardly mean ‘pressed, harassed’, which is the sense required.

23 tatpakṣīyām : tat refers to the madhyama and the udāsina. 24 bhūyāṁsyatiśaktimanti is as proposed by Meyer for bhūyāṁśiti śaktimanti; the iti in the latter is little likely. Perhaps we should read only bhūyāṁśi śaktimanti.

25 We have to supply úśrayaniyāḥ at the end of the first half. The question is, when a choice for purposes of saṁśraya is available between yasya asau priyāḥ and yah asya priyāḥ, whom should he prefer? The answer given is, he should go to the former.
with an elephant. 4 And (at war) with the equal, he brings about loss on both sides, like an unbaked jar struck by an unbaked jar. 5 (At war) with the weaker, he attains absolute success, like a stone with an earthen vessel.

6 If the stronger were not to desire peace, he should resort to the conduct of one submitting with troops or measures recommended for the weaker king.

7 If the equal were not to desire peace, he should do harm to him in return to the extent that he may have done to him. 8 For, heat is the means of joining together. 9 Metal that is not heated does not become joined with metal.

10 If the weaker were to remain submissive in all respects, he should make peace with him. 11 For, heroism born of grief and resentment makes one fight bravely like a forest fire. 12 And he becomes the object of favour of the circle (of kings).

13 If, when at peace, he were to see, 'The enemy's subjects, who are greedy or impoverished or rebellious, do not come over (to me) through fear of being seized again (by the enemy),' even the weaker should make war.

14 If, when at war, he were to see, 'The enemy's subjects, greedy, impoverished or rebellious, do not come over, being frightened of war,' even the stronger should make peace, or should allay the fear of war.

15 Even in case of simultaneity of calamities, if he were to see, 'I am in a greater calamity; the enemy, in a lighter calamity, will easily

7.3

The two Sections are found in ss. 1-20 and 21-36 respectively; the latter is entirely in verse.

2 sanādihiteta: the passive is without significance. 5 ekāntasiddhim: Meyer justifies the reading ekāntah siddhim ('the exclusive king, i.e., alone, single-handed, attains success') on the ground that the text recommends war only as a last resort. But apart from the very unlikely rendering of ekāntah, the war with hīna is actually recommended in s. 2 and this s. merely explains why it should be undertaken.

6 daṇḍopanataytittam as in 7.15.21 ff. — ābaliyasaṁ yogam as in Book 12.

13 apacaritāḥ is the only correct reading, as shown by 7.5.12-15 and s. 14 below. It means 'disaffected, rebellious.' prakṛti refers to the subjects, particularly to principal officers and men. — pratyādānabhayāt: the idea is that these would-be seceders from the strong king's side do not go over to the weak king when there is peace between them, for they are afraid that the strong king would easily capture and punish them; in war, however, their going over would strengthen the weak king in his fight with their former master. The vā after this word has little significance; a māṁ or mā should be understood after it, as in the next s.

14 nigrahodvignā vā: here, too, vā serves little purpose.
overcome his own calamity and attack (me),’ even the stronger should make peace.

16 If by resorting to peace or war, he were not to see the weakening of the enemy or increase in his own strength, then even the stronger should stay quiet.

17 If he were to see the enemy’s calamity to be irremediable, then even the weaker should march against him.

18 Even the stronger, whose immediate calamity is irremediable, should seek shelter.

19 If he were to see success in his work by peace in one place and war in another, then even the stronger should resort to the dual policy.

20 Similar is the use of the six measures by the equal.

21 With regard to that, however, the special points are:

22 A weak king, over-run by a strong king who has set his armies in motion, should quickly submit, seeking peace with (the offer of) his treasury, army, himself or territory.

23 That he himself has to wait upon (the enemy) with a stipulated number of troops or according to the strength of the army, this treaty is known as ‘one with himself as prey.’

24 That the commander-in-chief or the (crown) prince has to wait upon (the enemy), this would be ‘the treaty through another

15 prakṛtya vyasanam from Cb Cs is quite obviously necessary for prakṛtya
vyasanam of the mss.

18 apratikāryāsannayyasano vā: Because of vā we may understand two kinds of calamities, apratikārya and āsanna, in the compound; or, we may understand the āsannayyasana to be apratikārya. The latter appears better, vā being then understood as being without much significance. It cannot indicate an option to the past s., as the two ss. refer to two different kings.

20 samasya: this can hardly mean ‘sarvasya’ (Cs) in view of sama- in the title of the Section. Meyer’s ‘taking together’ (gerund from sam-as) is also unlikely. With evam understood as ‘in this same manner’ there need be no difficulty.

21 tatra has reference to śādغنيयopayoga and has nothing to do with sama. — prativiṣēṣaḥ: the special case is that of the weak king forced to surrender to the strong king.

22 -danḍātma- : āt mopanatasaिणdhi is not separately treated in the sequel; it is included in the danḍopanatasaिणdhi.

23 danḍasya vibhāvena ‘in accordance with the strength of the army’ implies that a large part of the army is to be surrendered. The expression can hardly mean ‘with the entirety of his army’ (Meyer). — upasthitayam implies that the king is to surrender in person: Hence the name ātmāmisa ‘with himself as the prey or victim.’
person,' not through himself, hence one in which he himself is saved.

25 Either himself or the army has to go elsewhere alone; this treaty is 'with persons unseen,' in which the army chiefs and he himself are saved.

26 In the first two (treaties), he should bring about a marriage alliance of the chiefs; in the last, however, he should secretly get rid of the enemy. These are treaties with troops submitted.

27-28 The release of the rest of the constituents by handing over the treasury would become the treaty 'purchase.' And the same, when it is to be delivered in parts many times, at one's convenience, should be known as the treaty 'support'; the tribute restricted as to time and place, would be support.

29 Tolerable because of payment of a bearable amount in future, even because of a marriage alliance, it would be the 'golden treaty', bringing about union through (mutual) confidence.

24 puruṣāntarasāṇḍhiḥ: this treaty seems also called puruṣasaṇḍhi: cf. 12.1.26. Cb seems to regard atmarakṣaṇa as the name of the treaty.

25 ekena, i.e., either the king alone or the army alone. — anyatra, i.e., not where the enemy is stationed or operating, but elsewhere, though that is to serve the enemy's interest. — svayam dāṇḍena vā: in the former case, the king in person goes with a small army; in the latter case, the army is sent under the senāpati or the kumāra. — adṛṣṭapuruṣaḥ, so called because the king in one case and the senāpati etc. in the other are not within sight of the enemy, as they operate elsewhere independently. For adṛṣṭa, cf. 7.2.7. Cb seems to look upon dāṇḍa-mukhāyaṁatmarakṣaṇa as the name of the treaty.

26 mukhyastriṇḍhanam: the mukhya would appear to be the senāpati and kumāra of s. 24, hardly the king himself, striṇḍhanam is obviously a marriage alliance with the strong king. — sādhayed gūḍhām implies assassination. — dāṇḍopanata: in view of kōśopanata and desopaṇata that follow, this means 'in which the army is surrendered,' though the idea of 'subdued by force' is sometimes to be understood by this expression.

27 sa eva ca yathāsūkham: this is to be construed with skandhopaneyah in s. 28. Meyer understands these words of the parikraya saṇḍhi, 'it can be entered into when it appears good to him.' This is hardly likely. 28 skandhopaneyo: this may mean 'to be carried on the shoulder.' It seems, however, that skandha as 'branch' has reference to parts or instalments in which the tribute is to be paid; thus Cb. — aṭṭayaḥ eyād upagrahaḥ: Cs regards aṭṭaya as the name of another saṇḍhi. However, there are only four kōśopanata saṇḍhis (s. 31). Meyer understands two types of upagraha, viz., skandhopaneyā and aṭṭaya. It seems, however, that the second half only explains the term skandhopaneyā, the instalments being fixed as to place and time. aṭṭaya 'penalty' has here the sense of 'tribute.' — upagraha conveys the idea of instalments serving as 'a support' or 'help' to the weak king. Cb looks upon upagraha and aṭṭaya as two varieties of parikraya, referred to by pūrva-yah in s. 30.
30 The reverse would be the ‘potsherds’ (treaty), so called because of excessive payments received. In the first two (treaties), he should deliver forest produce, or elephants and horses that are poisoned.

31 In the third, he should pay the amount; in the fourth, he should tarry telling him of the decline of undertakings. These are treaties with treasury submitted.

32 The saving of the rest of the constituents by the surrender of a part of his territory is the ‘directed’ treaty, desirable in the case where one wishes to injure through secret agents and robbers.

33 The surrender of lands from which all riches have been removed, with the exception of his base, is the ‘exterminated’ treaty, desirable in the case where one hopes for a calamity for the enemy.

34 The saving of lands by the surrender of the produce is the ‘hire’ treaty; that with the produce completely surrendered from lands is the ‘ruinous’ treaty.

29 ayatyām ‘in future’ to be construed with viṣahyadānāt (Meyer) rather than with kṣamaḥ (Cs).

30 viparitaḥ implies not only atyādāna, but also immediate payment (as opposed to ayatyām). — kapālaḥ evidently has reference to the king being beggared by the payment. — atyādānābhīhāsitaḥ : Cb Cs read -dabhāsitaḥ ‘not recommended in the śāstra because of excessive levies.’ This is unlikely, as the treaty is actually mentioned, and s. 36, which is a summing up, makes no exceptions. — vā garānvitam from Cb Cs is supported by 12.1.25.

31 aridham : Cb Cs have artham in the sense of ‘some part.’ But since the payments in this treaty are reasonable, and the relations are cordial, artha as the whole amount appears preferable. — kathayan etc. is to be construed with tishtet caturte as in Meyer, and not with the preceding.

32 gudhastenopaghātinaḥ : Meyer’s ‘who would secretly destroy robbers’ is little likely. As the idea is to harm the enemy to whom the land is ceded, gudha, i.e., gudha puruṣa and stena would appear to be the means of doing so.

33 mula- the ‘base’ is the weak king’s capital. — uchinna may have reference to the lands being deprived of riches.

34 phalātīmukto bhūmībhyaḥ : this seems to mean ‘in which the produce is completely given away from the lands.’ Cb Cs read phalātībhukto and explain ‘in which more than the actual produce of the lands is promised’; this is not convincing. Meyer translates, with that reading, ‘bound up with an over-feeding on the produce’; but the enjoyment of more than what the lands produce would appear to be a doubtful idea. The former reading seems better. Meyer does not find a new saṁdhi in the second half, only a further description of avakraya. But s. 35 implies four deśapanata saṁdhis. — paridūṣanāḥ is as proposed by Meyer for paridūṣanāḥ. The reading is found in Cb. The names of the treaties have the weak king’s standpoint in view or mention their effect on him and do not refer to the enemy directly.
35 He should resort to waiting in the first two, in the last two, however, to ‘practises of the weaker king’, taking the produce (himself). These are treaties with territory surrendered.

36 These three types of treaties by the weaker king recommended for use at the proper place and time in accordance with one’s own undertakings, should be entered into as ‘practises of the weaker king.’

CHAPTER FOUR

SECTION 103 STAYING QUIET AFTER MAKING WAR
SECTION 104 STAYING QUIET AFTER MAKING PEACE
SECTION 105 MARCHING AFTER MAKING WAR
SECTION 106 MARCHING AFTER MAKING PEACE
SECTION 107 MARCHING TOGETHER (WITH OTHER KINGS)

1 Staying quiet and marching in peace and war are (now) explained.

2 Remaining still, staying quiet and remaining indifferent are synonyms of staying quiet. 3 The distinction, however, is: when there is (only) a part of the excellences present, it is remaining still; staying quiet is for attaining one’s own advancement; non-employment of the means is remaining indifferent.

4 When the enemy and the conqueror, desirous of over-reaching each other, are unable to injure each other, staying quiet after making war or after making peace (is recommended).

35 purcā paścima: the accusatives are strange, when locatives are expected. Perhaps pūrve paścime is to be read, as referring to the avakraya and the paridūṣaṇa only; in the case of ādiśṭa and ucchīna, the steps to be taken are already stated in gūḍhastena- and paravyasana- etc. respectively. — ādāya can hardly be ‘presenting it to the enemy’ (Cs). ādāya phalam is to be construed with the preceding and not with desopanatasamādhayāḥ, as Meyer does, ‘these are desopanata treaties in which the produce is carried away.’

36 ābalīyasikāḥ ‘associated with ābalīyasa, the practices of the weak king’ as in Book 12.

7.4

The five short Sections are to be found in ss. 1-12, 13, 1-17, 18 and 19-22 respectively.

1 vyākhyaṭam: the sense required is that of vyākhyaṭavyam; for the policies stated are being explained in this Chapter.

3 guṇākadeśe: guṇa clearly means the ‘excellence’ of the constituents, as in 6.1.15 and 7.1.16. It can hardly mean ‘the policy of āsana’ (Cb Cs); nor can the expression mean ‘remaining in one particular kind of political behaviour’ (Meyer). The idea is when one is weaker, sthāna is recommended. In āsana, one is equal.
5 Or, when he were to see, 'With my own troops or the ally's troops or forest troops, I can weaken the equal or stronger king,' then he should make war and stay quiet after taking precautions in the outer regions and in the interior.

6 Or, when he were to see, 'My constituents, full of energy, united and thriving, will carry out their works unhindered or will destroy the works of the enemy,' then he should make war and stay quiet.

7 Or, when he were to see, 'The enemy's subjects, rebellious, impoverished, greedy, or harassed by (the enemy's) own troops, robbers or foresters, will come to me of their own accord or through instigations; sources of livelihood in my state are flourishing, those of the enemy ruined, (hence) his subjects stricken by famine will come to me; sources of livelihood in my state are ruined, those of the enemy flourishing, my subjects will not go over to him (only if there is war), and after making war I shall plunder his grains, cattle and cash; or, I shall keep out the enemy's goods that are harmful to my own goods, or highly valuable goods will come to me from the enemy's trade-route, when he is at war, (and) will not go to the other; or, when at war, he will not suppress his traitors, enemies or forest-tribes, or will be involved in war with these same; marching against my ally having the nature of a true ally, he will obtain abundant wealth in a short time, with small losses and expenses or excellent land which can be easily seized; or, wishing to march with all troops mobilised in disregard of me, he must not somehow be allowed to march,' then in order to hinder the advancement of the enemy and to affirm his valour, he should make war and stay quiet. 8 'Turning back, he might swallow him up,' say

4 atisvindhānakāmayaḥ is as proposed by Meyer for iti (end of s. 3) svindhānakāmayaḥ. The actual comment in Cb presupposes the emended reading. The conqueror and the enemy cannot be described as svindhānakāma, when vighṛhya āśana is also recommended, nor does it fit in with upahantum āśaktayaḥ. The corruption is easily explained.

5 kṛtabhāyābhyantrarakṛtyaḥ : Cb Cs understand kṛtya as likely seechers as in 1.13 and 14. But kṛta would be unusual with it; upagṛhitā would have been used in that case.

6 svakarmāni : M has svakarmāni ; but if the locative were intended, we should expect svakarmasu.

7 netaram : the itara is the enemy, though we should expect para. Perhaps we should read netarathā. — mitraṁ mitrabhāvo is defined in 7.9.43. — bahvalpakālam : Meyer has 'in a longer or shorter time'; it seems, however, that bahu goes with artham, though we expect bahum in that case. — guṇavatīṁ ādeyāṁ vā : vā shows the option to artham, not an option between guṇavatīṁ and ādeyāṁ. For ādeya, see 9.4.5. — kathāṁ na yāyāt is rather awkward as put in the viṣījisū's thoughts. Either kathāṁ yāyāt or nā yāyāt would have been better. — pratāpartham is more applicable to the last case than to the others. 8 tameva etc. : the discussion has reference to the last case (sarvasvaṁdoṛoṇa etc.) only. — gravate ;
the teachers. 9 'No,' says Kauṭilya. 10 He would only cause a weakening of the (conqueror, if he is) not in a calamity, but when augmented by the (acquisition of the) enemy's prosperity, (he would cause) extermination. 11 (If he acts) thus, the vulnerable foe of the enemy would render help to him, being not destroyed. 12 Therefore, he should make war on one acting with all troops mobilised, and stay quiet.

13 In cases the reverse of the motives for staying quiet after making war, he should make peace and stay quiet.

14 When grown in power on the occasions for staying quiet after making war, he should make war and march, except when the enemy has mobilised all his troops.

15 Or, when he were to see, 'The enemy is in a calamity; or, a calamity of his constituent cannot be remedied by the remaining constituents; or, his subjects, harassed by his own army, or disaffected with him, are easy to entice, being weakened, without energy or divided among themselves; the enemy has his draught-animals, men, stores and fortifications reduced in consequence of fire, floods, disease, epidemic or famine,' then he should make war and march.

16 Or, when he were to see, 'My ally in front and my rear ally have brave, prosperous and devoted subjects, the enemy, the rear enemy and the rear enemy's ally have subjects the reverse of this, I shall (therefore) be able to march after engaging the enemy's ally in a fight with my ally or my rear enemy in a fight with my rear ally,' then he should make war and march.

17 Or, when he were to see that the fruit can be attained by a single person within a short time, then he should make war on the rear enemy and his ally and march.

we expect graseta. Possibly that was the original reading. 10 parāvṛddhāyā: the para is the enemy of the vijīgīṣu's enemy against whom the latter proposes to march with all troops. Meyer translates the s. thus, 'the conqueror should cause only the weakening of the enemy, if he is not in a calamity; if strengthened by complete prosperity (with the reading parivṛddhāyā) he should exterminate him.' This is quite unlikely. It constitutes no reply to the teachers. 11—evam, i.e., when the vijīgīṣu has declared war. — parasya yātavayā is the enemy of the vijīgīṣu's enemy.

13 According to Cb, in vīgrhyāśana the enemy's undertakings are to be destroyed and one's own furthered; in sanādhāyāśana only one's own undertakings are to be furthered.

14 sarvasaśādahavāfjam: this is the last case of s. 7; in that case, there is to be no marching, only staying quiet.

16 pārṣṇigrāhaḥ etc.: for these kings, see 6.2.18 above. — mitreṇa āśāram: the āśāra is the enemy's āśāra or helper; from the vijīgīṣu's stand-point he is the arimitra, with territory beyond that of the mitra. Even from the enemy's stand-point, he is really his ākraṇda, not āśāra. But the latter is a general term for an ally.
18 In the reverse cases, he should make peace and march.

19 Or, when he were to see, 'It is not possible to march alone, but it is necessary to march,' then joining forces with confederates, equal, weaker or stronger (than himself), he should march, for a stipulated share if in one place, for an unstipulated share if in more than one place. 20 In case there is no confederacy with them, he should request for troops from one of them in return for a fixed share. 21 Or, (the troops) should be hired by (a promise of) marching together (with them), with a fixed share when the gain is certain, with a portion of the gain when it is uncertain.

22 A share in conformity with troops is of the first type, in conformity with efforts is best; or plunder, as obtained (by each), (should be the share), or a share in conformity with the amount lent.

CHAPTER FIVE

SECTION 108 CONSIDERATIONS REGARDING AN ATTACK ON A VULNERABLE KING AND THE (NATURAL) ENEMY

SECTION 109 CAUSES LEADING TO DECLINE, GREED AND DISAFFECTION AMONG THE SUBJECTS

SECTION 110 REFLECTION ON CONFEDERATED ALLIES

1 In case the calamities of two neighbouring princes are alike, (should one march) against the vulnerable king or the enemy? — in such a case, he should march against the enemy; after subduing him, against the vulnerable king. 2 For, the vulnerable king might give

17 ekahāryam, i.e., obtainable without the help of the mitra or ākranda. — pārṣṇigrāhāsārabhyāṁ vīgrhyā : the reason for not taking the help of allies appears to be to avoid any sharing of the spoils of the expedition.

18 saṁdhyāya yāyāt : this is downright duplicity, making peace and then attacking the enemy when he is least expecting such an attack.

19 ekatra seems to refer to an expedition for a single specific objective, while anekattra refers to more than one objective requiring fighting in many places. 20 nirvīṣa 'laid down, fixed.' 21 saṁbhūyābhigamanena vā nirvīṣyeta : the subject is daṇḍaḥ. The idea in saṁbhūyābhigamanama seems to be that when hiring the troops the vijīguṣu agrees to march with them along with his own troops and not to send them alone on the expedition. Cs understands a promise to march in future with the other king when the latter wants his troops. With the reading nirvīṣyeta, Meyer translates 'a share should be fixed as the price for the joint expedition.' The reading itself is doubtful. The difference between ss. 19 and 21 is that in the former there is no hiring, but a confederacy of kings who join forces and receive agreed shares.

22 pūrvaḥ seems to convey the idea of lowest. — prakṣepa 'investment' is the kośa or money lent for the expedition. Though the text does not make it clear, it is possible that the second half mentions the madhyama kind of aṅśa.
him help in subduing the enemy, not the enemy in subduing the
vulnerable king.

3 (Should one march) against a vulnerable king in a serious
calamity or the enemy in a light calamity? ‘He should march against
the one in a serious calamity, because of ease (in subjugating),’ say
the teachers. 4 ‘No,’ says Kauṭilya. 5 He should march against
the enemy with a light calamity. 6 Even a light calamity becomes
dangerous to him when attacked. 7 True, even a serious (calamity)
becomes more serious (in that case). 8 But the enemy with a light
calamity, if not attacked, might easily overcome his calamity and go
to the rescue of the vulnerable king, or might attack in the rear.

9 In case there are many vulnerable kings at the same time,
(when the choice is) between one in a serious calamity but justly behaved
and one in a light calamity but unjustly behaved or with disaffected
subjects, he should march against the one with disaffected subjects.
10 The subjects help the king who is justly behaved but suffering
from a serious calamity, when he is attacked; remain indifferent to one
unjustly behaved, suffering from a light calamity; but if disaffected,
exterminate even a strong king. 11 Therefore, he should march
only against one with disaffected subjects.

12 (When the choice is) between one with impoverished and greedy
subjects and one with rebellious subjects, ‘He should march against
the one with impoverished and greedy subjects; for, impoverished
and greedy subjects easily yield themselves to instigations or harassment,
not the rebellious who can be overcome by the suppression of
their leaders,’ say the teachers. 13 ‘No,’ says Kauṭilya. 14 For,
impoverished and greedy subjects, when devoted to their master,
remain steadfast in what is beneficial to the master or make the
instigations futile, on the principle, ‘Where there is love, all qualities

7.5

The three Sections are to be found in ss. 1-18, 19-37 and 38-49 respectively.

1 yātavya is a neighbouring prince who is in a calamity; cf. 6.2.16. 2 amī-
trasiddhau is not to be understood as a locative absolute, but as meaning ‘in the
conquering of the enemy.’

8 vā after pāṛṣṇim is quite necessary as in Cs.

9 There are three alternatives, the third viraktapraṅkti apparently not suffering
from any calamity. 11 As between the guruvyasana nyāyavytī and laghuvyasana
anyāyavytī, s. 10 suggests that the latter should be preferred for an attack.

12 apacarita is stronger than virakta; the subjects are not only disaffected but
also rebellious. — pīḍām upagacchanti, i.e., they can be easily harassed. 14
anurāge sārvagunyam is apparently a maxim quoted in support of the statements
made. Cf. 8.2.24 below.
(are present).’ 15 Hence he should march only against one with rebellious subjects.

16 (When the choice is) between a strong king unjustly behaved and a weak king justly behaved, he should march against the strong king unjustly behaved. 17 The subjects do not help the strong unjust king when he is attacked, they drive him out or resort to his enemy. 18 But the subjects support in every way the weak but just king when he is attacked or follow him if he has to flee.

19-26 For, by discarding the good and favouring the wicked, and by starting unrighteous injuries not current before, by discontinuing customary practices that are righteous, by indulgence in impiety and suppression of piety, and by doing acts that ought not to be done and by ruining rightful acts, and by not giving what ought to be given and securing what ought not to be given (to him), and by not punishing those deserving to be punished and punishing those not deserving to be punished, by seizing those who ought not to be seized and not arresting those who ought to be seized, and by doing harmful things and destroying beneficial things, and by failing to protect from thieves and by robbing (them) himself, by ruining human exertions, by spoiling the excellence of works done, by doing harm to principal men and by dishonouring those worthy of honour, and by opposing the elders, by partiality and falsehood, by not requiting what is done and by not carrying out what is settled, through the negligence and indolence of the king and because of the destruction of well-being, — (through these causes) decline, greed and disaffection are produced among the subjects.

27 Subjects, when impoverished, become greedy; when greedy they become disaffected; when disaffected they either go over to the enemy or themselves kill the master.

17 niṣ-pat ‘to flee’ is common in this text.

19-26 The causes of impoverishment etc. of subjects seem to have been incorporated in a metrical form since early days; hence the stanzas in the middle of the Chapter. — hiṁsānām: this refers to injuries in general, not merely actual killing. 22 upagrāha, as the opposite of anabhigrāha, clearly means ‘seizing, arresting’, as pointed out by Meyer. Cb has ‘agrāhya, i.e., thieves etc. and upagrāha, i.e., favouring them.’ 24 gunadāsaṇānāh: dāsaṇa seems to be ‘spoiling, ruining’, not merely ‘censuring.’ 25 Cb has bhṛtyānām for vṛddhānām. — apratikāra conveys the idea of failure to requite (what is done by some one for you). — sthitasya ‘of a settled custom, such as the Śakra-festival’ (Cb Cs). sthita, however, may mean ‘what is agreed upon’; cf. yathāsthitakāri, s. 39 below. 26 ca should preferably be read for vā as in Cb.
28 Therefore, he should not allow these causes of decline, greed and disaffection among the subjects to arise, or, if arisen, should immediately counteract them.

29 (Which are worst), subjects that are impoverished or greedy or disaffected? 30 The impoverished, through fear of harassment or extermination, prefer an immediate peace or flight or flight. 31 The greedy, dissatisfied because of greed, willingly respond to the enemy’s instigations. 32 The disaffected rise in revolt when there is an enemy attack.

33 Among them, the exhaustion of money and grains is destructive of everything and difficult to remedy, the diminution of draught-animals and men can be remedied with money and grains. 34 Greed, restricted to a part, being confined to the principal men, can be directed to spend itself on the enemy’s possessions or can be removed. 35 Disaffection can be overcome by suppression of the leaders. 36 For, subjects, without leaders, become easy to rule, not susceptible to instigations by others, become, however, incapable of putting up with troubles. 37 But those divided into many groups by the favouring of the leaders of the subjects, become protected and able to put up with troubles.

38 Even among confederated allies, he should consider the grounds for making peace or war and march after joining forces with those possessed of power and uprightness. 39 For, the powerful king is capable of attacking in the rear or rendering help in the expedi-

30 yuddham: this is preferred apparently to escape harassment by their own king. — rocayante: the sense of the causal does not seem intended.

34 aikadesikeya mukhyayatatah: the idea is, only a part of the populace is affected by greed; the greed of the mukhyas alone has any bearing on state policy. Meyer would read amukhyayatatah ‘not dependent on the leaders, (but a natural tendency of the average citizen)’; that seems hardly likely. — addatum: this seems to refer to giving satisfaction to the greedy by giving them something. Meyer thinks of taking the greedy in service. 35 anapatsahās tu: Meyer construes these words with the next s. and translates ‘those that are unable to bear calamities would become divided because of the seizure (pragraha) of leaders of common people, well-protected and able to bear troubles.’ This is quite unlikely in view of another tu after pragraha. Cf. also 7.11.19. 37 bahudhā bhinnā: each leader with his followers is separately shown favour, so that there is no unity among the disaffected people. — Meyer thinks that of the three troubles, kṣaya, particularly of grains and money, is regarded as the worst, the other two being remediable. According to Cs each later trouble is more serious than the preceding one. That is right so far as danger to the state is concerned.

38 saktisaucauyuktaih is proposed for -yuktau of the mss. Cb Cs read -yuktena; but the plural seems necessary in view of the many confederates. saṁbhūyaḥ in the text is a misprint for saṁbhūya. 39 pāṛṣṇigrāhane: the pāṛṣṇi is that of the viṣiṣṭaḥ; by taking him along, a potential threat is averted. pāṛṣṇi of the intended victim of the expedition is possible, but that would be included in yātrāsāhāyyadāna
tion, the upright one carries out what is settled, in success as well as in failure.

40 Among them, as between marching after joining forces with one stronger king or two equals, it is better (to march) with two who are equals. 41 For, with a stronger, he moves over-powered by him; with two equals, with a greater (possibility of) over-reaching. 42 For, they are easy to divide from each other, and if one (of them) becomes treacherous, he is easy to restrain for the two or to seize through dissensions.

43 As between one equal and two weaker kings, it is better (to march) with two weaker kings. 44 For, they carry out two tasks and remain under control.

45 However, when the undertaking has succeeded, he should secretly go away under some pretext from the strong who has achieved his object, if he is not upright; in the case of the upright, however, he should wait till he is sent away.

46 Or, from a dangerous situation he should move away with effort, after removing his women-folk. For, even from the equal who has achieved his object there might be danger to the trusting one.

47 And even the equal who has achieved his object tends to be stronger, and when augmented in power, untrustworthy; prosperity tends to change the mind.

and would not have been separately mentioned. Cs has ' in keeping off the enemy in the viṣṭārīśu's rear', which is hardly likely. — *sthita- is 'what is settled, agreed upon' at the start of the expedition, hardly 'what is just' (Cs) or 'what is right' (Meyer).

41 atisaṁdhānādānīkṣye vā: we have to supply carati. The vā serves little purpose Meyer, however, proposes atisaṁdhāna (=ne) ādākṣye vā 'by over-reaching or by becoming superior.' This does not seem meant, as in the next s. there is no reference to the viṣṭārīśu becoming more powerful. Cb Cs construe the expression with what follows 'or, when he gets superiority through resort to subterfuge, the two can be easily divided.' This ignores the hi in the next s. 42 bhedopagraham copagantum seems to refer to the capture of the king through dissensions in his ranks.

45 kṛtārājayāsau from Cb Cs is obviously quite necessary for kṛtārāha jyāyaso of the mss. Cf. 7.8.31. — asūceḥ is to be construed with the first half as in Cb Cs. Meyer construes it with what follows 'from the dishonest, who shows himself honest in his conduct,' which is hardly possible.

46 sattrad : for sattra 'ambush' as a dangerous situation, cf. 10.3.24.

47 jyāyastvā cāpi etc.: Meyer understands 'being raised to a superior position (jyāyastvā), he becomes changed in mind (with viparikalpate as the reading).' But samo 'pi parikalpate is obviously a better reading, despite the presence of another api in the same half.
48 Even if he receives a small share or even no share from a superior, he should go away with a contented face; then striking at him when in his power, he should recover double.

49 But the leader, when he has himself achieved his object, should send away the confederated allies; he should, if need be, forgo (his dues), not score (over them). Thereby he would be liked by the circle (of kings).

CHAPTER SIX

SECTION 111 CONCERNING THE MARCH OF TWO (KINGS) WHO HAVE ENTERED INTO A TREATY OF ALLIANCE

SECTION 112 TREATIES WITH STIPULATIONS, WITHOUT STIPULATIONS AND WITH DESERTERS

1 The conqueror should over-reach the second member (of the circle of kings) in this manner. 2 He should induce the neighbouring king to march after entering into a treaty, ‘You march in this direction, I shall march in that; the gains shall be equal.’ 3 In case the gains are equal, there should be peace, if unequal, fight.

4 A treaty is with stipulations or without stipulations. 5 ‘You march to this region, I shall march to this,’ this is treaty with stipulations as to place. 6 ‘You operate for this length of time, I shall operate for this length of time,’ this is treaty with stipulations as to time. 7 ‘You carry out this much work, I shall carry out this much work,’ this is treaty with stipulations as to objects to be achieved.

8 If he were to think, ‘The enemy will march against a region, with a mountain-fort, a forest-fort or a river-fort, separated by a forest, with supplies of grains and men and allied troops cut off, deficient in

48 aṅka praṛtya: praṛghya is an unlikely reading. aṅka conveys the idea of ‘one’s control, one’s power’; cf. aṅkam upasthita 7.18.40, and aṅke kuryāt 1.17.10. The idea is, when the strong king comes under his power some time, he should strike. Cb Cs render aṅka by randhra.

49 netā is the vijīgīṣu; cf. 6.2.39.

7.6

The two Sections may be said to extend over ss. 1-3 and 4-41 respectively; but they are really very closely connected.

1 dvītīyāṁ prakṛtim, i.e., arim; cf. 6.2.14. 2 sāmanta is again the ari. — samhitaprayāne: the vijīgīṣu and the ari make a treaty for a common expedition against some other king or kings. 3 vaisamye: according to Cb Cs, the vijīgīṣu has got more out of the expedition; he attacks because he is now superior. It may also be that it is the ari who has got more; hence the recommendation to fight him. If the vijīgīṣu has got more, he has thereby already over-reached the enemy, and there would be no need to fight. See, however, s. 12 below.
fodder, fuel and water, unknown, far distant, or with natives hostile, or
one in which land is not available for the operations of the army, (and)
I (shall march) against a region the reverse of this,' in such a situation
he should enter into a treaty with stipulations as to place.

9 If he were to think, 'The enemy will operate at a time when
there is excessive rain, heat or cold, when there is plenty of illness,
when food and other articles of use are exhausted, which is a hindrance
to the operations of the army, which is too short or too long for accom-
plishing the work, (and) I at a time the reverse of this,' in such a situa-
tion, he should enter into a treaty with stipulations as to time.

10 If he were to think, 'The enemy will achieve an object, easily
recoverable (from him), causing revolt among the subjects, taking a long
time, involving heavy losses and expenses, insignificant, bound up with
troubles in future, unwholesome, unlawful, opposed by the middle or
neutral king, or ruinous to his own ally, (and) I (shall achieve) the
reverse of this,' in such a situation, he should enter into a treaty with
stipulations as to objects to be achieved.

11 By the fixing, in this manner, of place and time, of time and
object, of place and object, and of place, time and object, the treaty
with stipulations becomes seven-fold.

12 In the case of that (treaty), he should start and establish his
own undertakings right in advance and attack the enemy's undertakings.

13 Wishing to over-reach an enemy, who is vicious, hasty, con-
temptuous, slothful or ignorant, he should create confidence with a
treaty, saying 'We are in alliance,' without the fixing of place, time or
object, and after finding the enemy's weak point, strike at him; this is
(treaty) without stipulations.

14 In that connection, the following occurs:

15 The wise (conqueror), making one neighbouring king fight
with another neighbouring king, should seize the territory of
another, cutting off his party on all sides.

8 vividha stands for supplies (grains, men etc.) from his own land; cf. 10.2.6.
According to the Siddhántakaumudi on Panini 4.4.17, vividha or vividha is a contriv-
ance for carrying loads, a pole with slings at both ends carried on the shoulder.
For ásāra, see 10.2.7. — desīya 'natives of the country' that is to be attacked;
these are anyabhāva 'with different, i.e., hostile feelings' towards the attacker.
10 pratyādeyaṃ: cf. 9.4.5-6; for the other terms, too, see 9.4.16-22.
13 vyāsana seems here 'vice' (Cb) rather than 'calamity.'

14-15 These ss. appear to be out of context. They make no reference to saṃdhī,
which is the topic under discussion. They might fit in with 7.4.16. It may be that
they have got into the text at the wrong place. It is also possible that it is
16 Of a treaty, (there are) the desire to make a (treaty) not yet made, clinging fast to a treaty made, spoiling a treaty made and repair of what is broken. 17 Of war, there is open war, concealed war and silent war. 18 Thus (we have) treaty and war.

19 The examination of a new treaty in relation to conciliation and other means with their consequences, and the fixing of equal, weaker and stronger kings according to their strength, is the desire to make a (treaty) not made.

20 The observance, on both sides, of a (treaty) made, by means of what is agreeable and beneficial, and the carrying out of conditions as agreed upon and their safe-guarding (by seeing) that he may not be divided from the other party, is clinging fast to a treaty made.

21 Violation (of the treaty) after establishing that the enemy deserves to have the treaty with him broken, by cheating (him) through treasonable persons, is spoiling a treaty made.

22 Becoming reconciled with a servant or an ally who had deserted through some fault is repair of what is broken. 23 In that case, the deserter returning is of four kinds: one deserting and returning on good grounds, the reverse of this, one leaving on good grounds and returning without such grounds, and the reverse of this.

24 One deserting because of the master's fault and returning because of his virtue, (or) deserting because of the enemy's virtue and returning because of his fault, is one deserting and returning on good grounds, fit to be made peace with.

25 One deserting and returning because of his own fault ignoring the virtues of both, is one deserting and returning without ground, unfit to be made peace with, being fickle in mind.

26 One deserting because of the master's fault and returning from the enemy because of his own fault is one deserting on good grounds and returning without ground, about whom he should reflect. 'Has he a marginal comment which has got into the text. 15 anyasya: this would seem to be the ari, who is attacked by another king at the vijigiṣu's instance.

19 paryesaṇam 'thorough investigation' of the possible consequences of a treaty and of the possibility of using sāman, dāna etc. if the treaty is made. — akṛtacakirṣā is a preliminary investigation before a treaty is actually made.

20 nibandhana 'binding,' i.e., terms, conditions. — kathāṁ parasmān na bhidyeta has the appearance of an indirect construction.

21 dūṣyatisaṁdhanena: it seems that the vijigiṣu is to encourage his own dūṣyas to get in touch with the enemy; if the latter were to entertain any proposals by these, his apasaṁdheyatā would thereby be established.

22 avaśirṇakriyā 'repairing what is broken' is the same as apasaṅīsaṁdhi in the title.
come with the intention of doing harm at the enemy’s instigation or through his own evil-mindedness, or knowing my enemy to be an exterminator of his enemy (returned) through fear of reprisal, or leaving the enemy, who is planning to exterminate me, returned out of a feeling of compassion? 27 On finding out, he should honour one with benevolent intentions, should keep away at a distance one with different intentions.

28 One deserting because of his own fault and returning because of the enemy’s fault is one deserting without ground and returning on good grounds, about whom he should reflect, ‘Will he make good my weak point? Is he accustomed to live here? Do his people not find pleasure at the enemy’s place? Is he in alliance with my allies? Is he at war with my enemies? Is he frightened of the greedy or cruel (enemy) or of (the enemy) in alliance with his enemy?’ 29 On finding out, he should keep him in accordance with his intentions.

30 ‘Destruction of what one has done, diminution of power, treating learning as a commodity, despair in hopes, eagerness for (seeing) different lands, lack of trust, or conflict with a powerful person are the occasions for leaving (the master),’ say the teachers. 31 ‘Fear, lack of livelihood (and) resentment (are the main occasions),’ says Kautilya.

32 Among these, one who has done harm to him should be abandoned, one who has done harm to the enemy should be made peace with, regarding one who has done harm to both, he should reflect as before.

26 parasya ucchettārām amitraṁ me jñātvā : the deserter knows that the enemy to whom he had gone is severe on his enemies and fears severe punishment from him as he himself is at fault (svadoseṇa āgataḥ); hence he returns to his old master. Meyer proposes mām for me, his idea being that the deserter realises that the vijigīṣu would uproot the enemy to whom he has gone over; hence fearing reprisals he returns. This is little likely. The vijigīṣu in his thoughts would not refer to himself as amitra.

28 chidrāṁ me pūrayaṁyati : these are in the form of questions. The explanation in Cs ‘he will widen my weak points, so that the enemy may easily strike at them’ is quite unlikely. This deserter has returned because of the enemy’s fault; he could not be supposed to serve the enemy’s interests. — satrasanaṁhītād : the satru is the deserter’s enemy (Cb).

30 saktiḥāniḥ : the sakti seems to be that of the deserter rather than that of the king. Cb looks upon all these as defects of the king, not of the deserter. — vidyā-pangyatam, e.g., a clever minister going over to the enemy for higher emoluments. — desalaulyam : this can hardly mean ‘trouble in the country from flies, mosquitoes, etc.’ (Cb Cs). — balavadvigrahāḥ : the vigraha is that of the would-be deserter, hardly that of the king.
33 In case, however, it is absolutely necessary to make peace with one unfit to make peace with, he should take precautions with regard to that wherein the (other) has might.

34 In repairing what is broken, he should station one who belongs to the enemy’s party, if (on coming to him) he has conferred benefits, away (from himself), guarded till the end of his life.

35 Or, he should make him fight against his master, or, if completely secured, make him a leader of the army against the enemy or forest tribes or station him on one side on the frontier.

36 Or, if not secured, he should sell him as a commodity, or (sell) even a secured one concealed by that one, blaming him with the fault of that (other one) himself, for the sake of making peace with the enemy.

33 The reading asanaṣṭheyaṭacena of the mss. is quite obviously faulty. — yataḥ prabhācaḥ tataḥ, i.e., in that (kośa, daṇḍa etc.) in which the returning deserter may be powerful.

34 āyukṣayād iti: iti seems used because of ā; Meyer suggests aṭi or adhi for it; that is hardly an improvement. — aripākṣiyam: though avaśīṣnakriyāvidhau indicates a prime deserter from the viṣīṣṭu, it seems that in most of these stanzas a deserter from the enemy is to be understood. Cs understands an enemy’s servant coming to the viṣīṣṭu, going back to the enemy and returning to the viṣīṣṭu a second time. This seems hardly intended.

35 bhātari: this is clearly the ari. — siddham who has been secured, i.e., about whose loyalty there is no more any doubt. — amitrātavīṣu: with this we have to construe daṇḍakariṇam; the deserter may be sent to fight enemies or forest tribes. Meyer has ‘being given a command over alien troops or forest tribes.’ Cs construes amitrātavīṣu with kṣipet ‘should send him against enemies or forest tribes.’ It seems better, however, to look upon the last quarter as containing a separate clause.

36 panyaṁ kuryāt ‘should sell him,’ i.e., hand him over to the enemy, the deserter’s old master, for a price. Cs Cs, however, explain ‘should send him with goods for selling them.’ That appears hardly possible in view of the usual meaning of this expression. Cf. 9.3.27 etc. — siddhaṁ vā tena saṁvṛtāṁ tasyaiva uceṣa ṣaṭṣaṇya: this seems to mean that even the deserter proved loyal (siddhaṁ) may be sold to the enemy, his old master, in place of or along with the one proved disloyal (tena, i.e., asidhena and saṁvṛtam covered, concealed); the loyal one is charged with the offence really committed by the asidhena one. This is to be done in order that peace may be made with the enemy, who insists on the surrender of the loyal one (parasaṇḍheyaśakāraṇāt). The explanation in Cs seems to be, ‘if the deserter, after making a secret agreement with the enemy, were to kill the dūṣya etc. of the enemy and thus show to the viṣīṣṭu that he had suppressed (or weakened) the enemy (and is therefore an honest deserter), the viṣīṣṭu should proclaim this offence (of trying to cheat him) and kill him, in order that this may serve as a lesson to other dūṣyas of the enemy who may think of deserting to him.’ This hardly appears meant.
Or, he should do away with him silently for the sake of the future; and finding that the deserter who has returned is desirous of killing him in future, he should slay him.

One who has come from the enemy is a danger, caused by his staying with the enemy; being of the nature of staying with a serpent, it suffers from the defect of constant fear.

He becomes a cause of constant fear and dangerous even afterwards like (danger) to a salmali tree from a pigeon feeding on plakṣa seeds.

Open war is fighting at the place and time indicated; creating fright, sudden assault, striking when there is error or a calamity, giving way and striking in one place, are types of concealed warfare; that which concerns secret practices and instigations through secret agents is the mark of silent war.

CHAPTER SEVEN

SECTION 113 PEACE AND WAR CONNECTED WITH THE DUAL POLICY

1 The conqueror should accept as ally the second member (of the circle of kings) in this manner. 2 He should march against a neighbouring king after joining forces with the neighbouring enemy if he were to think, ‘(Thus) he will not attack me in the rear, will ward

37 hanyāśa may refer to open execution as against upāṁśunā śamayet.

38 doṣaḥ, i.e., a source of danger.

39 plakṣaśabjāśāt kapotād : nominatives would have been better, in view of the comparison of the abhyāgata with the kapota. plakṣa is the ari of the salmali, which is uprooted by the former’s seeds taking root at its base, being dropped there by the kapota.

40 nirdiśte deśe kāle ca : cf. 10.3.26. — vibhiṣanam appears to be the same as vibhiṣikā of 10.4.14. 41 ekatra tyāgaśatāu : this seems to refer to the tactics of making a show of yielding in one place and, when the enemy forces are lulled by a sense of victory or are scattered, striking back in force at the same place; cf. 10.3.4.6. Meyer would read ekavya ‘leaving in the lurch or killing one who is alone (eka).’ This is not mentioned in 10.3, the Section on kātyāuddha. — mātrkā ‘source, womb,’ i.e., types. — yogagāthopajāpartham : artham is rather strange; we expect the nominative; we cannot render it by ‘for the sake of.’ yoga and gāthopajāpa are described at length from 12.2 to 13.4 below. The reading gāthopa- is obviously faulty.

7.7

Cb is missing on Chapters 7.7 to 7.13.

1 dvitiyāṁ prakṛtim : see 7.6.1 above. — upaṁśiṣyāt ‘should secure support’ from him, by making a pact of alliance with him. 2 śamantham : this is a third
off my rear enemy, will not go to the help of the king against whom
I am marching, there will be double troops at my disposal, he will
provide me with supplies and reinforcements, will prevent these from
(reaching) the enemy, will crush for me the thorns on the way full of
many dangers, will operate with his army against (the enemy's) retreats
in forts or forests, will place the king I am marching against in an
unbearable danger or bring him to terms of peace, or as he receives
his share of the gain, will create confidence in my other enemies.'

3 Or, resorting to the dual policy, he should seek to obtain from
one of the neighbouring kings troops in return for treasury or treasury
in return for troops. 4 Among them, from the stronger for a larger
share, from the equal for an equal share, from the weaker for a smaller
share, — this is an equal pact. 5 In the reverse case, it is an unequal
pact. 6 By receiving a special gain in these two, there is over-
reaching.

7 A weaker king may bargain with a stronger king with the offer
of a gain equal to his troops, when he is in a calamity or is addicted to
what is harmful or is in trouble. 8 He with whom the bargain is made
should fight if capable of doing harm to him; else he should make the
pact.

9 A weaker king, when in the same situation, may bargain
with a stronger king with the offer of a gain greater than what is equal
to the troops, for the sake of recouping his diminished powers and
might or for the sake of guarding his base or rear when going after an
object which it is possible to secure. 10 He with whom the bargain
is made should help one with honourable intentions, else fight.

king against whom the viṣīṣṭa would march in alliance with his enemy (sāmantena
saṁbhāya). — baladavaigunyaṃ from Cn Cs is absolutely necessary. — dvāra-
vaṇapasaśaṃsu: a dvāra or vātāvī would provide a place of refuge (opasaśa) for the
yātāvya.

3 dvārābhūtaḥ, i.e., making a pact with his usual enemy in order to make war
on another king. 5 viparītāye: there are two viparītāyast in each case; e.g.,
from a jñāyān, a sama aṁśa or a hīna aṁśa, instead of adhika. There are thus six
viṣama saṁdhīs. — viśeṣalābhaḥ: according to Cn, the viśeṣa lies in quality rather
than quantity, e.g., gain of money rather than of ally or of land rather than of money,
as in 7.9.1. — atisāṁdhiḥ 'excessive treaty,' is over-reaching or cheating, which is
what the word usually means.

7 anarthinaṃ: for anartha see, 9.7.7. — balasamena, i.e., in proportion to the
number of troops, desired from him. This is a viṣama saṁdhī as the stronger king
is offered not adhika, but sama aṁśa. 8 paṇītaḥ is the jñāyān in difficulties.
Advice is given to both sides in this text.

9 evāṁbhūtaḥ, i.e., when he is vyasanin etc. as in s. 7. — saṁbhāvyārthaḥ
is an object that can conceivably be achieved. — jñāyāṁsane viśiṣṭena: this
thus is a sama saṁdhī.
11 A weaker king, entrenched in a fort or supported by an ally, may bargain with a stronger king on whom a calamity has fallen or who has a weak point among his subjects or to whom troubles have come, with the offer of a gain less than what is equal to his troops, when intending to march against an enemy over a short route or when intending to secure a gain without a fight or (a gain) of which the attainment is certain. 12 He with whom the bargain is made should fight if capable of doing harm to him, else make the pact.

13 A stronger king, (even when) without a weakness or a calamity, may accept a lesser gain when intending to make (a weaker king) who made a bad start in his undertaking suffer greater losses and expenses, or when intending to get his own treasonable troops killed, or when intending to bring to his side (the weaker king’s) treasonable troops, or when intending to cause trouble to (his own enemy) fit to be harassed or exterminated through the weaker king, or if he, attaching importance to peace, has honourable intentions. 14 Joining forces with one who has honourable intentions, he should seek to achieve his object, else fight.

15 In the same way, an equal should over-reach or help an equal.

16 An equal may bargain with a gain equal to the troops, for (troops) capable of fighting against the particular kind of the enemy’s troops or against those of the ally or forest troops, or for (troops) that would serve as a guide in terrains unfavourable to the enemy or for

11 jātavyasanapraśkritirandhranā: this should be understood as containing two ideas, jātavyasaṇān and jātavyasāketirandhranā. Thus Cn, which, however, refers randhram to krudha, lubdha etc. who are likely seers. It is more likely that the reference is to kṣiṇa, lubdha and virakta (and apacarita) as constituting the randhra of the subjects. Meyer has a single idea ‘in whom a weak point in the form of a calamity of a constituent has appeared.’ — durgamitra-pratīṣṭhādhaḥ vā: it seems that vā shows the option between dūrgha and mītra in the compound. This expression can hardly be understood as an option to what follows as in Cn. It describes the situation of the hīna and not his intentions. — śatrum as another object to yaddukāmaḥ is rather odd. It is unnecessary. — jyāyāṁsanā hiṇena is a viśamā samāśi.

13 arandhravyasano vā: again vā may show the option between randhra and vyasana. This expression is the negative of jātavyasana- etc. in s. 11. — yoktkāmaḥ: the sense of the causal seems implicit. — pratāsay is here ‘to kill,’ hardly ‘to send into exile.’

15 evam, i.e., as in ss. 13-14.

16 paraśikasya pratyanikam, i.e., the kind of troops that would be suitable for use against the troops that the enemy would be using. Considerations mentioned in 9.2.26-28 would seem to apply. — mītrātixinām: we have to supply pratyanikam. The ally and forest troops are those of the enemy. — tiḥumī ‘terrain which is unsuitable,’ — deśika seems to mean ‘who can point out,’ i.e., able to guide. — balasamena is proposed for samalabalaṃ in conformity with the reading in ss. 20,
guarding his base or rear. 17 He with whom the bargain is made should help one with honourable intentions, otherwise he should fight.

18 An equal may bargain with the offer of a gain less than equal to the troops with one on whom a calamity has fallen or who has a weak point among his subjects or who is opposed by many (kings) or when he himself can get help from another source. 19 He with whom the bargain is made should fight if capable of doing harm to him, else make the pact.

20 An equal, in this situation himself, should bargain with the offer of a gain greater than what is equal to the troops, if his affairs are dependent on the neighbouring king or when his strength is to be built up. 21 He with whom the bargain is made should help one with honourable intentions, otherwise fight.

22 One may ask for more (gain) from a stronger, a weaker or an equal, if intending to strike at him when a calamity has befallen him or his subjects show a weakness, or if intending to ruin his undertaking that may have been well started or that may be sure of success, or if intending to strike at his base or expedition, or if he is getting more from the king against whom (the other) is marching. 23 The one, asked for more, may give more for the sake of protecting his own troops when intending to crush another’s unassailable fort or allied or forest troops by means of enemy troops, or when intending to make the enemy troops suffer losses and expenses on a distant or prolonged expedition, or when intending to exterminate the enemy himself after growing in power through his troops, or when intending to take the enemy troops himself.

24 A stronger king may bargain with a weaker king with the offer of a gain greater than what is equal to the troops, when intending

24, 27 and 29. samabala is inappropriate with lābha. Similarly, balasamād is proposed in s. 18.

18 anyato labhamāno vā: if the king wanting troops can get them from another source, the sama, with whom negotiations are going on, may find the viṣṇīṣu getting more powerful without himself getting any gain; he might therefore prefer a smaller gain. Meyer (in the Berechtigung) finally prefers labhamānāḥ ‘if the viṣṇīṣu cannot get help from any other source.’ In that case, offering a smaller gain is quite inconceivable.

20 kartavyabalaḥ: the building up of an army is meant. — This and the last case are viparyayagas of the second kind of sama saṁdhī (samāt saṁena).

22 bhūyo yāceta: this seems to imply a demand for additional gain some time after the pact is made. — yātavyād bhūyo labhamānāḥ: the threat held out is, if you do not give me more, I can get it from your enemy and help him with troops to fight against you. 25 paradaṇḍam ādātukāmāḥ: Cn Cs think that para is the yātavya. But para as the enemy whose troops are borrowed is definitely better; it is these troops that are to be appropriated.
to get him in his power under the pretext of the enemy to be attacked, or when intending to exterminate him after exterminating the enemy, or when after making the bestowal, intending to recover it (later). 25 He with whom the bargain is made should fight if capable of doing harm to him, otherwise make the pact. 26 Or, he should enter into an alliance with the king to be attacked (by the other), or should give treasonable or alien or forest troops.

27 A stronger king, suffering from a calamity or a weak point among his subjects, may bargain with a weaker one with the offer of a gain equal to the troops. 28 He with whom the bargain is made should fight if capable of doing harm to him, otherwise make the pact.

29 A stronger king may bargain with a weaker one who is in this situation with the offer of a gain less than what is equal to the troops. 30 He with whom the bargain is made should fight if capable of doing him harm, otherwise make the pact.

31 The one to whom a pact is proposed and the one proposing the pact should first find out the motives; then after reflecting on both sides, he should follow the course wherein lies his well-being.

CHAPTER EIGHT

SECTION 114 CONDUCT (PROPER) FOR THE KING ABOUT TO BE ATTACKED

SECTION 115 DIFFERENT KINDS OF ALLIES FIT TO BE HELPED

1 The vulnerable king, about to be attacked, should bargain with one of the confederates with the offer of double the gain, with the intention of removing the motive of the alliance or of destroying

24 jayāṇā vai for jayāṁsanaṁ vai is from Cs. The latter is unlikely as the case of jayāṁsanaṁ viśiṣṭena lābhena is discussed already in s. 9. — yātasyāpadesena : the idea is, the request for troops for fighting a yālavya is only a pretext; the real intention is to weaken the hīna by taking his troops and thus get him in his power. — tyāga is that of the higher gain. — This and the case in s. 27 are viparyayās of the third sama sanidhi (hīnād hīnena).

31 ādo : Cn has ato, Cs ādo. But ādou seems better. — kārayam, i.e., motives of the other party. — ubhayātāḥ ‘on both sides’ may refer to the two sides of the pañīta and the pañamāna, or to the two alternatives of peace and war (Cs Cs). Cn remarks that pañīta and pañamāna refer to the different situations in which the vijigīta may find himself.

7.8

The two Sections are contained in ss. 1-4 and 11-34 respectively. Ss. 5-10 do not belong to either, but continue the topic of the last Chapter (Section 113). — yātasyācaryātih : Cn Cs and Meyer have ‘conduct of as well as conduct towards the yālavya.’ Of the latter there is little trace.
it. 2 Proposing the bargain, he should describe to him (likely) losses, expenses, marches, hindrances, benefits to enemies and danger to his person. 3 If he agrees, he should bestow wealth on him. 4 Or, making him entertain enmity towards the others, he should divide him (from them).

5 When intending to make one who has made a bad start in his undertaking suffer further losses and expenses, or when intending to obstruct the success of his expedition that has begun well, or when intending to strike at his base or expedition, or when intending to ask for more again after becoming allied with the king to be attacked, one may accept a small gain in the present and a large gain in the future, even when difficulties of money have arisen or he has no confidence in that (other king).

6 When he sees a benefit to his ally or harm to his enemy, with a continuity of advantage to himself, or when he intends to make the king who has helped him before help him further, he should forgo a great gain in the present and seek a small gain in the future.

7 When he wants to save a king engaged in a fight with traitors or enemies or with a stronger king seeking to seize his kingdom, or when he wants to make (that king) render the same kind of help (to himself) or when he takes relationship into consideration, he should not accept a gain in the present and in the future.

1 samdhikāryam 'the reason why the alliance was made,' viz., the gain. — aḍātukāmaḥ 'to take away,' i.e., to remove it. How to do this is explained in ss. 2-3 (Cn). — vihartukāmaḥ: this is explained in s. 4 (Cn). 2 pāyaṃānaḥ is from Cn for prapaṇitaḥ of the ms. Cf. 7.7.31 above. Cs reads prapaṇitā. — kṣaya-vyaya- etc.: cf. 7.2.2. 4 visaviṇādayet: make him disagree with the others and thus divide them from them.

5 svārābḍhān vā yātraīśiddhim: strictly svārābḍhā goes with yātra, not with siddhi; this is an ekadesin compound. Meyer prefers the reading svārābdham... -siddham and understands svārābdham as an accusative of relation 'when a thing has well begun.' That is doubtful. — prahartukāmaḥ is read as in 7.7.22 for pratihartukāmaḥ. It seems supported by Cn. — pratyutpānārthakṣācchraḥ: the sense of api is to be understood with this expression, as also with aviścastaḥ. The two expressions do not refer to any ulterior motives like the earlier clauses. For the former expression, cf. 5.2.1. — This s. can hardly be regarded as describing the behaviour of a confederate towards the yātavya, as in Cs. yātavyasaṁhitaḥ in one of the clauses precludes that.

6 arthānuṇbandham: as 9.7.14 shows, this should be regarded as an adjective to mitropakāram and amitropaghātam. — kārayitukāmaḥ: the object upakāram has to be understood. bhūyaḥ should have come before this word, not after.

7 mūlaharena: see 7.2.14 above. — tathācidham upakāram, i.e., the saving of himself when there may be need for it in the future. — sambandhävačasi: Cs reads -peksi and explains 'expecting a marriage alliance with the yātavya.' It is doubtful if the yātavya comes into the picture at all.
8 When after making a pact he intends to violate it, or when he intends to bring about the impoverishment of the enemy’s subjects or the breaking up of his alliance with his allies or foes, or when apprehensive of any attack by the enemy, he should demand a gain not received or more. 9 With respect to that, the other should consider the order (of preference) in the present and in the future. 10 By that are explained the earlier (cases).

11 But when the enemy and the conqueror help each his respective ally, a special advantage (results) from an ally whose undertaking is possible or sound or productive or who is resolute in his undertakings or who has loyal subjects. 12 One with a possible undertaking starts a work capable of accomplishment, one with a sound undertaking (starts a work) free from defects, one with a productive undertaking what leads to good results. 13 One resolute in his undertakings does not stop without completing his work. 14 One with loyal subjects accomplishes his work even with a little help, since he has (already) good helpmates. 15 These (allies), when they have achieved their objects, easily and abundantly oblige (in return). 16 The reverse of these should not be helped.

17 In case the two give help to the same individual, he who helps his ally or a better ally (of his) over-reaches (the other). 18 For, from the ally he attains his own advancement, the other (gets only) losses, expenses, marches and beneficence to enemies. 19 And the enemy, on achieving his object, becomes hostile.

20 But when the two help the middle king, he who helps the middle king when he is his ally or a better ally, over-reaches (the other). 21 For, from the ally he attains his own advancement, the other (gets only) losses, expenses, marches and beneficence to enemies. 22 If the middle king, after being helped, turns hostile, the enemy over-reaches (the conqueror). 23 For, he obtains (as an ally) the

8 parābhīyogāt: the para appears to be the enemy who is asking for troops. To prevent an attack on himself with the help of his own troops, a large amount is demanded. — śāṅkamāṇaḥ: a va after this seems necessary. — aprāptam implies demand for immediate payment of what was agreed. 9 tam is merely an accusative of reference, ‘with reference to him.’ — kramam, i.e., what would be best to do in the present and in future. 10 pūrve refers to the cases of ss. 5-7.

12 ārabhate in the indicative is from Cn for ārabheta; that is in keeping with the verbs in the following ss. 16 pratilomā is again from Cn. For pratilome of the mss. we should expect pratilomye.

17 mitrataram: though an ally of both, he is more friendly towards one of them. 19 śatrūḥ: this is the miira or mitrātara of the other party. — vaiguṇyam has the sense of ‘hostility.’ Cf. viguna in s. 22 below.

23 kṣtraprayāsam etc.: it is the vijīgīśu who had made the effort to help the madhyama; but since the latter has turned hostile (viguna), he has become his
enemy of the middle king, who had made exertions, (but) who has now deserted (him) and come to him with a common goal.

24 By that is explained help to the neutral king.

25 In the matter of giving a portion of one’s troops to the middle or neutral king, he who gives troops that are brave, skilled in the use of weapons, able to put up with troubles or loyal, is over-reached. 26 The opposite kind over-reaches.

27 Where, however, the troops, when sent, can accomplish that object as well as others, he should give any of the hereditary, hired, banded, allied or forest troops, when the place and time are known, or alien and forest troops, when the place is distant and time long.

28 But if he were to think of a king, ‘On achieving his object, he will appropriate my troops, or will camp them among alien or forest troops or in an unsuitable region or season, or might render them unserviceable,’ then he should not help him on the pretext that his troops are engaged (elsewhere). 29 If, however, he has necessarily to be given help in this manner, he should give him troops able to put up with that occasion (only). 30 And till the end (of the campaign) he should get them to encamp and fight (in another place?) and guard them from the calamities of an army. 31 And when the other has achieved his object, he should, under some pretext, get them removed from him. 32 Or, he should give him treasonable, alien or forest troops. 33 Or, making a treaty with the king to be attacked, he should over-reach him.

enemy (madhyamāmitram); so he deserts the madhyama (apāsṛta) and makes common cause with his usual enemy, who thus scores over him. ekārthā is hostility towards the madhyama.

25 Cn specifically adds that this does not apply to troops lent to one’s allies.

27 danyāḥ pratihataḥ etc.: the text does not seem quite right. One may understand that the troops given are repulsed, being cowardly etc., and so better troops are demanded of him. He may give such, if more objects can be achieved. But in the text there is no mention of a fresh demand or a demand for better troops. Perhaps pratihataḥ is wrong, and prakhitāḥ or pranvhitāḥ should be read, the idea being simply that when a number of objects can be attained by sending troops, good troops may be given. This is an exception to s. 25, as shown by tu. The translation presupposes prakhitāḥ for pratihataḥ. — tān vā cārthaṃ: the vā is unnecessary. — upalabdaḥ ‘acquainted with’ (Cn); rather ‘known’.

28 apahātaṁ kuryāt: cf. 9.2.11, which shows that ‘might deprive it of the reward due after the enemy’s defeat’ (Cn Cs) is not likely. What is meant is rendering them unserviceable or useless for fighting by neglecting to take proper care of them. — desenā naśinam from Cs is quite necessary for the sense. 29 tat-kālāśaḥam may mean ‘capable of fighting in that season only’ or ‘enabling him to tide over that occasion.’ Meyer has ‘raised at that time only’, i.e., not seasoned. 30 vāsa-yed etc.: it seems some such word as anyatra (i.e., at a place away from where
34 For, when the gain is equal there should be peace, when unequal war is considered (desirable) for the equal, weaker and stronger kings. Thus have peace and war been described.

CHAPTER NINE

SECTION 116 PACTS FOR (SECURING) AN ALLY, MONEY, LAND AND AN UNDERTAKING

(i) Pact for an Ally  (ii) Pact for Money

1 When marching after making a pact, of the gains of an ally, money and land, the gain of each later one is preferable to that of the earlier one. 2 For, an ally and money come from the gain of land, (and) an ally from the gain of money. 3 Or, that gain, which when secured helps in securing one of the remaining two (is preferable).

4 'Let us two secure an ally each,' this and the like is an equal pact. 5 'You secure an ally (I, one of the other two),' this and the like is an unequal pact. 6 By securing a special gain in these two (cases), there is over-reaching.

7 In an equal pact, however, he who secures an excellent ally or an ally in the ally's difficulty, over-reaches. 8 For, troubles produce firmness in friendship.

9 Even in the case of an ally's difficulty, (when there is a choice) between one who is constant but not under control and one inconstant but under control, 'The constant, though not under control, is preferable; for, he, though not helping, does not do harm,' say the teachers. 10 'No,' says Kauṭilya. 11 One under control, though inconstant,

the other king's troops are operating) or āsannam (near himself) has dropped out. — balavyasanas are enumerated in 8.5 below.

34 The stanza forms the conclusion of the discussion in the last Chapter, the two Sections in this Chapter being only special cases of the Section in that Chapter. — uktāh saṁdhivikramāḥ : the plurals are from Cn Cs, supported by the title of Section 113.

7.9

Section 116 is spread over the four Chapters 9 to 12.

4 tvāṁ cāhaṁ ca mitram : the same king is not sought as an ally by both; each seeks a different king as his ally. — tvāṁ mitram : we have to supply ahaṁ hiranyam bhumis tvā.

7 sanpañnam, i.e., possessed of mitrasampad as in 6.1.12. — mitrakṛcehre, i.e., when the king whose alliance is sought is in difficulties (Cn Cs). Meyer has 'when the viṣjīṣu is in need of an ally.' This is unlikely; the āpad in the next s. is not that of the conqueror, for the question of his own firmness in friendship is irrelevant when it is a matter of scoring over the rival.
is preferable. 12 As long as he helps, he becomes an ally; for, the characteristic of an ally is conferring benefit.

13 Even between two allies under control, (when there is a choice) between one rendering abundant help but inconstant and one rendering small help but constant, 'The one rendering abundant help, though inconstant, is preferable; one rendering abundant help, though inconstant, gives great help in a short time and provides against large items of expenditure,' say the teachers. 14 'No,' says Kauṭilya. 15 The constant one, though giving small help, is preferable. 16 The inconstant, though capable of great help, deserts through fear of (having to render) help or after giving help strives to take it back. 17 The constant one, giving a small help, rendering the small help continuously, renders great help over a long period of time.

18 As between a big ally mobilising slowly and a small ally mobilising quickly, 'The big ally, mobilising slowly, gives great prestige, and when he does mobilise, he secures the object,' say the teachers. 19 'No,' says Kauṭilya. 20 A small ally mobilising quickly is preferable. 21 The small ally mobilising quickly does not allow the time for action to pass, and because of his weakness becomes fit to be used at one's will, not the other, with an extensive territory.

22 As between dispersed troops and troops not under control, 'Dispersed troops can be collected together again, being under control,' say the teachers. 23 'No,' says Kauṭilya. 24 Troops not under control are better. 25 For, uncontrolled troops can be brought under control by conciliation and other means; the other (kind), being engaged in their work, cannot be collected together.

26 As between an ally giving the help of men and one giving the help of money, 'The ally giving the help of men is preferable; the ally

13 mahābhogam : bhoga 'enjoyment (of his resources)' conveys the sense of help received from him. 16 upakārabhayād : the fear is that he may really have to give the help expected of him.

18 gurusamuttham 'heavy to rise,' i.e., taking a long time to get his troops ready. — pratāpa, as Meyer points out, refers to prestige among the kings. — Ss. 20-23 are missing in M, showing that it was not the exemplar for G. — prakṛṣṭa-bhaumam : Cs renders prakṛṣṭa by 'distant,' Meyer by 'extensive, wide-flung.' The latter appears better in the present context. Cf., however, 7.6.8. The taddhita form of bhauma has little significance.

22 vikṣiptasainyam : though the discussion is about allies, and we can easily supply mitram after this, the ss. that follow consider the question of troops as such. The fact that the ally's armies are primarily meant can be easily understood. vikṣipta 'scattered,' i.e., dispersed in more than one place, not necessarily on different missions (as Cs has it). Cf. 9.2.11. 25 kāravyādaktem : the kārya seems to refer to the normal peaceful avocations of the soldiers. vikṣepa thus almost amounts to disbandment.
giving the help of men gives prestige and when he mobilises, he achieves the object,' say the teachers. 27 'No,' says Kauṭilya. 28 The ally giving the help of money is preferable. 29 For, the use of money is made at all times, only sometimes that of troops. 30 And with money, troops and other objects of desire are obtained.

31 As between an ally giving the help of money and one giving the help of land, 'The one giving the help of money, being possessed of mobility, enables one to meet all expenses,' say the teachers. 32 'No,' says Kauṭilya. 33 That an ally and money come from the acquisition of land has been stated before. 34 Therefore, the ally giving the help of land is preferable.

35 When help in men (from two allies) is equal, valour, ability to put up with troubles, loyalty or the gain of all troops from the side of the ally becomes a special advantage.

36 When the help in money is equal, getting the things asked for, plentifullness, smallness of exertion and continuity become a special advantage.

37 With respect to that, the following occurs:

38 A perfect ally is said to have six qualities, namely, constant, under control, quickly mobilising, hereditary, great and not given to double-dealing.

39 One, that is protected and that protects out of love, without (consideration of) money, with relationship grown since old times, is called the constant ally.

40 One under control is said to be three-fold, helping with all, with various or with great resources; giving help on one side, on

29 yogyah 'union with' refers to the use to which it can be put.

31 There can be no doubt that gatimattvāt from Cn is the correct reading. The question of the ally’s prudence (matimattvāt, which Meyer prefers) is hardly relevant. Of course, it is hiranya that is mobile, the ally only secondarily so. 33 purastüt: in s. 2 above.

35 sarvabalalābhah may be ‘getting all types of troops’ or ‘getting all the troops the ally has.’ — mitrakulād: kula does not seem to have much significance.

36 satatyām ca from Cn Cs is obviously preferable to satatyāc ca.

37 It is possible that this passage in ss. 37-49 is not genuine, like the other passage (7.6.14-15) introduced with the words tatraśūrd bhavati. It is not the usual practice of this text to introduce quotations in this manner. The stanzas have the appearance of being explanatory comments on expressions used in the text, which, however, do not stand in need of much explanation.

38 This is a repetition of 6.1.12.
both sides and on all sides is another (three-fold ally under control).

41 One who, whether receiving or giving (help), lives by doing harm to (one's) enemies, and is possessed of a fort or forest as a place of retreat, is a constant ally, (but) not under control.

42 He who, when engaged in war with another or even when only in a light calamity, makes a pact for help, is an ally under control, but not constant.

43 Now one related by a common objective, helpful and never changing, is the ally endowed with the nature of an ally, not given to double-dealing in times of trouble.

44 The ally is permanent because of (exclusive) feelings of friendship, fickle because of (his feelings) being common to the enemy, indifferent when not interested in either, with feelings for both when interested in the two.

45 That ally, (really) an enemy of the conqueror, who has become a buffer (between two strong kings), does not help, being not placed under obligations or being unable to help.

40 For the terms see 7.16.10-15 below. — apram: we have to understand trividham vasiyam.

41 durghatavyapasari: cf. 7.7.2.

42 upakara: a pact for mutual aid seems meant.

43 It is proposed to read ekarthanatha sanibaddham for ekarthanarthasanibhandham of the mss. One artha in the latter is superfluous. For the expression, cf. 7.8.23, also 9.2.17, which make ekarthanarthana, (i.e., with artha and anartha common) of Cn Cs less likely, though possible in itself.

44 The explanation of Cn is followed in the first half, understanding asadharaanat (with mitrabhavati) in the description of a dhruva ally and understanding mitrabhavat (after satrasadharaanat) in that of a cala ally. In the second half, Cn understands udatinam as only a description of the ubhayabhadhin. However, not only in this stanza but also in 47 and 48 udatina seems distinguished from ubhayabhadhin. Meyer translates this s. 'an ally, firm because of his friendly feelings, but vacillating because he has common interests with the enemy, indifferent to neither of the two, is ubhayabhadhin.' That the ally can be dhruva and cala at the same time is doubtful.

45 amitram seems used in the neuter because it is in apposition to mitram. — antardhitaan gutam: cf. 7.13.25. The idea is, an enemy of the conqueror, finding himself between two strong kings and in the position of a buffer to the vijigisiu, becomes his ally. Such an ally, of course, is unhelpful. — It is proposed to read an avagraha with nivista corresponding to 'sakta in Cs. With nivista, Cs has 'resolved on helping, but incapable of doing so,' which seems little likely. upakare anivista may be understood in the sense of 'not placed under obligations'; cf. 7.18.87 for the idiom. Being an amitra, he had not been helped by the vijigisiu before.
46 The ally who, (though) dear to the enemy or deserving to be protected or honoured by him or related to him, gives help, is common to the enemy.

47 The (ally) with an extensive territory, contented, strong and indolent becomes indifferent, (also) one disrespected because of a calamity.

48 One who, because of his weakness, is subservient to the prosperity of the enemy and the leader and is not treated as an enemy by either, should be known as (the ally) with feelings for both.

49 He, who would remain negligent about an ally who had deserted with or without reason and who has returned with or without reason, embraces death.

50 As between a small but quick gain and a large gain after a long time, 'The small but quick gain is preferable, if in consonance with the undertaking, the place and the time,' say the teachers.

51 'No,' says Kauṭilya. 52 A large gain after a long time is preferable, if not liable to disappear (and if) of the nature of a seed; in the reverse case, the former.

53 On thus perceiving the presence of excellence in a gain or a portion of gain, which is definite, he should march after making pacts with confederates, being intent on achieving his own object.

46 It is proposed to read pūjyaṁ samībaddhakam. With pūjyaṁ samībaddham, Cn Cs explain 'related to one worthy of honour (by the viṣīgīśu himself).' It seems, however, that in view of vā, parasya is to be construed with these words, in which case the reading proposed would be definitely better.

47 prakṛtyabhaumam: see s. 21 above. — Cn Cs understand each single term in the first half as making a type of uddāśina. — vyasaṇād: the calamity seems to be that of the viṣīgīśu. Cn has 'in the ally's calamity'; for that vyasaṇa would be expected. Cs also has 'because of the ally's vice.'

48 Cn Cs regard ubhayabhāvin as the name for all types mentioned in ss. 44-48. It seems, however, that ubhayabhāvin is restricted only to this s., except for a different description in s. 44. Cf. 7.18.34 ff., where ubhayabhāvin is not mentioned at all. In fact, 7.18.29 makes the present discussion superfluous and hence suspect. It also seems clear that the stanzas are derived from different sources.

49 kāraṇākāraṇa: a vā is implied between kāraṇa and akāraṇa. Most mss. show kāraṇākāraṇa- 'when a cause has not arisen,' which is not happy. Cf. 7.6.28 ff.

50 This s. and the following two ss. refer to hiranyawindhi. 52 bijasadharmā, i.e., yielding abundant gains in the future. — viparyaye, i.e., if it is vinipāṭi and not bijasadharmā.

53 dhrule to be construed with lābhe as well as lābhāṁśe.
CHAPTER TEN

SECTION 116 (Continued)

(iii) Pact for Land

1 'Let us two obtain land,' this is a pact for land.

2 Of the two, he who obtains land possessed of excellences, when need for it has arisen, over-reaches.

3 In case there is an equal acquisition of excellent land, he who obtains land after attacking a strong king over-reaches. 4 For, he secures acquisition of land, weakening of the enemy and prestige.

5 It is true that in obtaining land from a weak king, there is ease.

6 But the gain of land is poor and his neighbour, (who was) one's ally, becomes an enemy.

7 In case the strength (of kings overthrown) is equal, he who obtains land after uprooting a firmly entrenched enemy, over-reaches.

8 For, the acquisition of a fort brings about the protection of his own land and the repulsion of enemies and forest tribes.

9 In case of acquisition of land from a moving enemy, (there is) special advantage from a weak neighbour. 10 For, (land) with a weak neighbour has its well-being and security quickly augmented. 11 Land with a strong neighbour is the opposite of this and becomes ruinous to the treasury and the army.

12 As between excellent land with permanent enemies and one with few excellences without permanent enemies, 'The excellent land with permanent enemies is preferable; for, excellent land enables one to secure treasury and army, and these two destroy enemies,' say the teachers. 13 'No,' says Kauṭilya. 14 In acquiring land with permanent enemies, there is a greater acquisition of enemies. 15 And a permanent enemy remains an enemy whether he is obliged or injured; the impermanent enemy, however, ceases to be so through obligations (conferred on him) or by desisting from injury (to him).

7.10

2 saṁpannām, i.e., possessed of the excellences of a janapada as in 6.1.8.

4 satrukaraṇam: śatru is the strong king of the last s., whose land he has conquered. 6 tatasāmantah, i.e., the neighbour of the weak king whose overthrow has brought the viṣṇiṣṭu into contiguity with him; so by theory, he becomes the viṣṇiṣṭu's enemy, when formerly he was his ally, being one state away.

7 sthitasaṭru is clearly one who has a fort; so calamitra is an enemy without a fort. 8 amitrātavi- from Cn Cs is quite necessary. Cf. 1.13.15.

9 sākya is obviously paraphrased by durbala. 10 bhavati in the singular is necessary; bhūmih is used in the singular throughout.
16 The land, whose frontiers have many forts (beyond them) and are never devoid of robber-bands or Mleccha forest tribes, is one with permanent enemies; in the reverse case, it is one without permanent enemies.

17 As between a small proximate land and a big land that is distant, the small proximate land is preferable. 18 For, it is easy to obtain, to protect and to get it to rescue (oneself). 19 The distant one is the opposite of this.

20 Even of two distant lands, as between land held by troops and one held by itself, the one held by itself is preferable. 21 For, it is held by the treasury and the army produced within itself. 22 That held by troops is the opposite of this, (being merely) a station for troops.

23 As between acquisition of land from a foolish king and from a wise king, the acquisition of land from a foolish king is preferable. 24 For, it is easy to obtain and protect and cannot be taken back. 25 That from a wise king is the opposite of this, being loyal (to him).

26 As between an enemy fit to be harassed and an enemy fit to be exterminated, acquisition of land from an enemy fit to be exterminated is preferable. 27 For, the king fit to be exterminated, being without support or with a weak support, is deserted by his subjects when, on being attacked, he wishes to flee taking with him the treasury and the army, not the one fit to be harassed, entrenched in a fort or supported by an ally.

28 Even of two kings entrenched in a fort, one in a land-fort and the other in a river-fort, the acquisition of land from one in a land-fort is preferable. 29 For, a land-fort is easy to besiege, to storm and to assault suddenly and does not allow the enemy to slip out. 30 A river-fort, however, causes double exertion, and water has to be drunk and it yields livelihood to the enemy.

16 Mlecchātavibhiḥ: Mleccha is an adjective to atavi, not an independent substantive.

18 abhisārayitum from the causal of abhi-ṣr 'to make (the land) go to the rescue of '; as Cs makes clear, 'to make it a refuge in times of distress.'

22 daṇḍasthānam, i.e., a sort of a place for the camping of the army.

26 pīṇaniya: see 6.2.16.

29 avamardana is described in 13.4. — anīhśravī- with the visarga as in Cs is to be preferred. 30 udakam ca pātayam 'there is water fit for drinking' (Cn Cs Meyer); this does not have the look of being a hardship for the vijitīṣu, which is what is expected to be mentioned; the whole river could not be enclosed in the fort to prevent the vijitīṣu from using its water. pātayam can also mean 'to be guarded', but that seems less likely. Perhaps pāraityatayam 'to be crossed' is to be read? — vytti-karam perhaps because of fish in it or because supplies can come along the river.
31 As between an enemy in a river-fort and an enemy in a mountain-fort, acquisition of land from one in a river-fort is preferable. 32 For, a river-fort can be conquered by means of elephants, bridges of wooden posts, embankments and boats, it is of varying depth and its water can be made to flow away. 33 A mountain-fort, however, is easy to protect, difficult to lay siege to, difficult to climb; and even if one (part) is breached, the destruction of all does not follow; and (there can be) throwing down of rocks and trees on those doing great damage.

34 As between those who fight in water and those who fight on land, the acquisition of land from those who fight in water is preferable. 35 For, those fighting in water are restricted as to the place and time (of fighting); fighters on land, however, can fight in all places and in all seasons.

36 As between fighters in trenches and fighters in the open, acquisition of land from trench-fighters is preferable. 37 For, trench-fighters fight with both, trenches and weapons, those fighting in the open, with weapons alone.

38 The (king) conversant with the science of politics, acquiring lands from kings like these, secures a special advantage over confederates and enemies.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

SECTION 116 (Continued)

(iii a) Pact for Unsettled Land

1 ‘Let us two settle waste land,’ this is a pact for unsettled land.

32 stambhasaṅkrama ‘a bridge of pillars.’ Cf. 10.2.14. Cn Cs understand planks fixed on pillars (in the river-bed). Tree-stems thrown across rivers may also appear possible. — avasūryudakam : cf. 13.4.9. 33 bhagne caikasmin ‘when a part of the fortifications is breached’ (Meyer) appears preferable to ‘when some warriors are killed by arrows etc.’ (Cn Cs). — duruparodhi : it seems that avarodha and uparodha both mean ‘a siege,’ though the former is favoured in 12.5.9 and 13.3.37.

34 vimna obviously means ‘water’; cf. 2.3.1.

37 khetena saśtreṇa ca, i.e., they require not only weapons but also trenches, and there may be no time to dig trenches before the fight begins. That would be a handicap to the fighters.

7.11

1 anavasita is ‘unoccupied, untenanted.’ Cf. avasita in 3.8.17. The discussion in this Chapter is part of bhūmisanḍhi, and is about qualities necessary in land to be acquired for fresh settlement.
2 Of the two, he who causes settlement on land possessed of excellences as mentioned, when the need for it has arisen, over-reaches (the other).

3 Even in that case, as between a dry tract and land abounding in water, a small land abounding in water is preferable to a large dry tract, because of the continousness and fixity of produce.

4 Even between two dry tracts, one with plentiful earlier and later crops, with crops ripening with a little rain, with undertakings not held up, is preferable.

5 Even between two tracts abounding in water, one with sowings of grains is preferable to one not conducive to the sowing of grains.

6 In the case of the smallness or largeness of these two, a large tract, (though) unfavourable to crops, is preferable to a small one favourable to crops. 7 For, in a large tract, there are plants growing on land and those growing in water. 8 And undertakings like the fort and so on are carried out in plenty. 9 For, the qualities of land are such as are contrived by man.

10 As between the benefit of mines and that of grains, the benefit of mines brings the treasury into being, that of grains brings the treasury and the magazine into being. 11 For, the undertaking of works like the fort and so on is dependent on grains. 12 Or, the benefit of mines, with an extensive sale (of their produce), is preferable.

13 'As between the usefulness of a material forest and an elephant forest, the use of a material forest is the source of all undertakings and able to secure plenty of stores, the reverse is the use of an elephant forest,' say the teachers. 14 'No,' says Kautilya. 15 It is possible to plant many material forests in many tracts of land, not so an elephant forest. 16 For, the destruction of an enemy's forces is principally dependent on elephants.

2 pratyupaśhitārthaḥ : Cn Cs explain 'who has all the necessary materials ready at hand for the settlement.' It seems better, however, to stick to the meaning 'when need for it has arisen' as in 7.10.2 above. The need might arise when there is excess population, part of which is to be shifted. Cf. 2.1.1.

3 sthalam 'which gets water only from the rains' (Cn). — audakam 'having a river with flowing water' (Cn).

4 alpavarṣapākam : it is not necessary to read karsa or karma for varṣa in the compound, as Meyer proposes to do. — asakta 'not sticking,' i.e., not obstructed, not held up.

10 khani- etc.: the reference to khani, vana and vanikptha (in ss. 10-17) here is from the point of view of the land, whether it is better to have a mine or fields on the land and so on. Their intrinsic merits are considered in 7.12.6-28. 12 mahāvīṣayaśvākraṇaḥ, i.e., for whose sale there are many customers (Cn). Cf. 7.12.25.

16 hastipradhāno etc.: cf. 2.2.13.
17 As between the use of a water-route and that of a land-route, the use of a water-route is not constant, the use of a land-route is constant.

18 As between land with people disunited and one with people in bands, that with people disunited is preferable. 19 One with people disunited becomes easy to enjoy, not susceptible to the instigations of others, is, however, unable to bear difficulties. 20 One with people in bands is the reverse of this, full of danger when there is a revolt.

21 In the matter of settling the four varṇas on that (land), one consisting mostly of lower varṇas is preferable because of its capacity to yield all (kinds of) benefits, one with farmers (being preferable) because of plenitude and definiteness of agriculture, one with cowherds because of its starting agriculture and other undertakings, one with rich traders because of the benefit of stores of goods and loans.

22 Of the excellences of land, affording shelter is best.

23 As between land with the support of a fort and one with the support of men, the one with the support of men is preferable. 24 For, a kingdom is that which has men. 25 Without men, like a barren cow what could it yield?

26 But when intending to acquire land, the settlement of which would entail heavy losses and expenses, he should first make a bargain with a purchaser, who is weak, or not of royal blood, or without energy, or without a party, or unjustly behaved, or vicious, or trusting in fate, or who does whatever pleases him.

27 For, a weak king, (though) of royal blood, settling on land, the settlement of which entails heavy losses and expenses, perishes with his subjects bound to him by ties, because of the losses and expenses.

18 śreṇīmanusyaḥ: the śreṇī is a compact group following the same profession; some of the groups followed the profession of arms when occasion required it. It is these that are meant here. 19 anāpatsahā: Cf. 7.5.36.

21 cāturvarṇyaniveśa is from Cn: -abhīniveśa in the reading of the mss. is not likely. — It is proposed to read kāraṇakavati, corresponding to goraksaka- and vaṇika- in the following clauses; these are the practitioners of the three-fold vārttā. Cn seems to have read kāraṇa-, gorakṣya- and vaṇijya-, which refer to vārttā directly. But a reference to the inhabitants seems better in connection with cāturvarṇyaniveśa, though the four varṇas as such are not mentioned. — ṛṇa: loans by the traders to the state appear also a possible idea.

23 puruṣāpāsrayā ‘having the support of men,’ i.e., with plenty of men to sustain the kingdom, and ensure its security. 25 gauḥ: there may be a pun on the word, ‘cow’ and ‘earth’; cf. s. 45 below.

26 pāram eva: the idea is, the land would be seized from the purchaser by the vijigīṣu after the former is broken in the attempt. If the land remains undeveloped, the only gain of the vijigīṣu would be the sale-price.
28 One not of royal blood, (though) strong, is deserted by his subjects not bound by ties to him, through fear of losses and expenses.

29 One without energy, however, not using force even when possessed of troops, is broken along with his troops because of the losses and expenses.

30 One without a party, though possessed of a treasury, does not achieve anything, being deficient in conferring the benefit (on the land) of losses and expenses.

31 The unjustly behaved would cause even settled land to be laid waste. 32 How could he cause settlement on unsettled land? 33 By that is explained the vicious king.

34 One trusting in fate, being devoid of human endeavour, perishes, because he does not start undertakings or his undertakings have miscarried.

35 One doing whatever pleases him does not achieve anything. 36 And he is the worst of them all. 37 'One undertaking any work whatever, may perchance find a weak point of the conqueror,' say the teachers. 38 'As (he may find) a weak point, so he may meet with destruction as well,' says Kauṭilya.

39 In case he does not find (any of) these, he should settle the land as we shall explain in 'securing the enemy in the rear.'

40 This is a pact for fixing.

41 When asked by a strong king to sell land which is possessed of excellences or which can be seized (by him), he should give it after making a pact. 42 This is an open pact. 43 When asked by an equal, he should give after considering grounds for doing so: 'The land

27 sagandhāḥkī: this means in effect that the subjects are attached to the dynasty for generations. Cf. 1.8.16 ff.

29 daṇḍa is 'army' as well as 'force.'

30 ksāyayayānugraha: the 'benefit' of ksāya and vyāya is conferred on the land, which only then yields fruits; and vyāya etc. cannot be made in the absence of people (party) to support him in the undertaking. — na kutaścit prāṇott, i.e., does not get anything out of the land.

37 The hi shows that the ācāryas are justifying a view which does not agree that yātākhyateṣānākārī is the worst of these. We have obviously a quotation here from an early source discussing this point. 38 There is a little sarcasm here.

39 pārśṇuṣānavagrohe, i.e., as described in 7.16.16 below.

40 abhīhitā 'spoken' seems rather to have reference to 'fixing' or fastening the land on someone through the treaty.

41 For ādeya, cf. 9.4.5. 42 anibhītā, i.e., open or public; there is no intention to over-reach the strong king. 43 mitrahiranyalābbhā: an ally is secured in the sama king, and the price realised from the sale is the hiranyā that is secured.
is easily recoverable by me or under my control; being tied to it, the enemy will come under my control; or, through the sale of the land, I shall get an ally and money, which will strengthen my undertakings.'

44 By that is explained a weaker king purchasing (land from him).

45 A king knowing the science (of polities), acquiring in this manner an ally, money and land with men and without men, over-reaches the confederates.

CHAPTER TWELVE

SECTION 116 (Continued)

(iv) Pact for an Undertaking

1 'Let us two build a fort,' is a pact for an undertaking.

2 Of the two, he who causes a fort to be built that is nature-made, unassailable, (and) requires small expenses in making, over-reaches.

3 Even among them, of a land-fort, a river-fort and a mountain-fort, each later one is preferable to the earlier one.

4 Of two water-works, one with naturally flowing water is preferable to one into which water has to be brought. 5 Even among two water-works with naturally flowing water, one with an extensive region for sowing is preferable.

6 Of two material forests, he who fells (for his use) a material forest, which is large, has forest land rich in materials of high value, is on the border of his territory and is watered by a river, over-reaches.

7 For, that which is watered by a river has easy means of livelihood and becomes a refuge in times of trouble.

8 Of two elephant forests, he who raises an elephant forest, with many brave animals, with weak neighbours, causing endless trouble (to enemies), on the border of his territory, over-reaches. 9 Even in that

7.12

1 tvain cāham ca etc.: each separately proposes to build his own fort. — Other types of karma such as setubandha would be covered by similar pacts.

3 For forts of different kinds, see 2.3.1-2.

4 āhāryodaka refers principally to reservoirs for storing rain-water (Cs). Cf. 2.1.20 for these terms.

6 chedayati apparently refers to the cutting of trees which is the prime use of these forests. We expect, however, a reference to the laying out of these forests rather than to their cutting.

8 durbalapratīvem: this is because if the neighbouring king is strong, he might seize the elephant forest. Cs has 'where there is less comfortable residence than in the fixed stables,' which seems doubtful. — anantāvaklēsi: the troubles would evidently be caused to neighbouring kingdoms. Cs has 'with numerous exits and
case, 'As between one with many but dull (elephants) and one with few but brave, the one with few but brave elephants is preferable; for, on the brave depends the fight; the few brave rout the many dull, and those routed become the destroyers of their own troops,' say the teachers.

10 'No,' says Kauṭilya. 11 The many dull are preferable; because of their use in the army, they carry out many tasks, become the refuge of their own troops in battle and unassailable and frightful to the enemies. 12 For, to the many dull, bravery can be imparted by means of training, but numerosness cannot be created at all in the few brave.

13 Of two mines, he who causes a mine to be opened, yielding plenty of valuable ores, with roads not inaccessible, and operated with small expenditure, over-reaches. 14 Even in that case, as between few things of high value and plenty of things of small value, 'The few things of high value are to be preferred, for, diamonds, rubies, pearls, corals and gold and silver ores swallow up the many objects of small value by their excessively high value,' say the teachers. 15 'No,' says Kauṭilya. 16 A purchaser for an object of high value is rare and found after a long time, while there are plenty for objects of small value because of a constant demand.

17 By that is explained the trade route.

18 Even as to that, 'As between a water-route and a land-route, the water-route is preferable, involving little expenditure and exertion and yielding plenty of goods,' say the teachers. 19 'No,' says Kauṭilya. 20 The water-route is restricted in movements, not usable at all times, a source of great dangers and without remedies; the land-route is the opposite of this.

21 In the case of a water-way, however, as between a route along the shore and one on high sea, the route along the coast is preferable because of the large number of ports, or a river-route, because of perennial use and because the dangers in it can be withstood.

entrances 'which again is doubtful. Meyer proposes -avakledi 'having a perennial source of moisture, i.e., water,' which also is unconvincing. 9 kuṣṭha primarily means 'dull, indolent' and does not quite mean 'courageous, cowardly,' though it is replaced by aṣīra in the sequel. 11 skandhaciniyagāt : the word skandha seems to mean 'troops, armed forces' as in 12.3.16; 12.4.20; cf. skandhācāra 'an enclosure for troops, a camp.'

14 grasaṭe 'swallows up,' i.e., surpasses in usefulness. 15 sātasyād, i.e., because there are always customers for them.

18 probhitapanyodayāḥ 'in which there is the securing of many commodities' appears better than 'in which great profit (udaya) is secured on commodities.'

20 prakṛṣṭabhayayoniḥ : sea-voyage is primarily thought of.

21 sānyānapatha is clearly voyage on the high seas. Cf. 2.28.1. — panyupattana is read in conformity with earlier passages, 2.6.3; 2.28.4,12 etc.
22 Even in the case of a land-route, 'The route to the Himavat is preferable to the southern route, for the commodities of elephants, horses, perfumes, ivory, skins, silver and gold are of very high value,' say the teachers. 23 'No,' says Kauṭilya. 24 (These) with the exception of the commodities of blankets, skins and horses, besides the commodities of conch-shells, diamonds, rubies, pearls and gold are more plentiful on the southern route.

25 Even in the case of the route to the south, the trade-route with many mines, with commodities of high value, with well-secured movements, or requiring little expenditure and exertion, is preferable, or one with commodities of small value, with an extensive scope (for sale).

26 By that are explained the trade-routes to the east and the west.

27 Even in that case, as between a wheel-track and a foot-path, the wheel-track is preferable, as it enables undertakings on a large scale, or the path for donkeys and camels in conformity with the place and time. 28 By these is explained the 'shoulder' path.

29 The flourishing of an enemy's undertaking is decline for the leader, advancement in the reverse case; when the course of undertakings is equal, that should be known by the conqueror as his own stable condition.

30 Smallness of profit and excess of expenditure is decline, advancement in the reverse case; equality of income and expenditure in undertakings should be known as the stable condition for himself.

31 Therefore, from among a fort and so on, he should secure an undertaking requiring little expenditure and yielding large profit and get a special advantage. Thus have been described pacts for undertakings.

22 daksināpatha 'route to the south' is not the name of a region here. The stand-point is that of a person in the midlands, neither a southerner nor a northerner.

24 Apparently trade to the south was more developed in Kauṭilya's days than in those of the earlier teachers.

25 prasiddha- seems to have the sense of 'well-secured,' not infested by robbers, etc. It may also mean 'well-known,' i.e., well-established. — prabhūtavisayāḥ : see 7.11.12.

27 cakrapatha is obviously 'a track for carriages'; it can hardly mean 'for a wheel-barrow carried about by a man' (Cs). — pādāpatha appears to mean 'a road for draught-animals' as in Meyer. 28 ausapatha seems to be a path for men carrying goods on their shoulders; cf. ausabhāra in 2.12.24. The word can hardly mean 'path for bullocks etc. yoked to carts' (Cs).

29 karmacāt : perhaps the original reading was karmacahale.

30 This description is independent of any comparison with a rival enemy.

31 viśiṣṭaḥ syād : this has reference to viśiṣṭa lābha that is to be secured.
CHAPTER THIRTEEN

SECTION 117 CONSIDERATIONS REGARDING THE KING ATTACKING IN THE REAR

1 Of the conqueror and the enemy, who, joining together, intend attacking in the rear two enemies who have attacked their enemies, he, who attacks in the rear a king rich in powers, over-reaches (the other). For, one, rich in powers, might, after exterminating the enemy, exterminate the attacker in the rear, not the one, weak in power, who has not obtained any gain.

3 In case of equality of power, he, who attacks in the rear one with an extensive undertaking, over-reaches. 4 For, one with an extensive undertaking, might, after exterminating the enemy, exterminate the attacker in the rear, not the one with a small undertaking, with his army stuck.

5 In case of equality of undertakings, he, who attacks in the rear one marching with all troops mobilised, over-reaches. 6 For, with his base denuded (of troops), he becomes easy to overpower for him, not the one marching with a part of the troops only, who has made provision for guarding his rear.

7 In case of equality of troops raised, he, who attacks in the rear one marching against a moving enemy, over-reaches. 8 For, one

7.13

The question discussed is, when is it profitable to attack an enemy in the rear while he is engaged in fighting in front?

1 The discussion assumes a rivalry between the vijigīṣu and his enemy in the matter of pārśmigrahaṇa; each has an enemy engaged in a fight elsewhere and each can attack his own enemy in the rear. The situation is likely to occur only rarely in actual life. But for purposes of discussion, visualisation of such situations is more convenient and is hence availed of in these Chapters beginning with 7.6 — samākhatya ‘joining together’ refers only to a common understanding between the two. There is no joining of forces nor a pact between the two. — atisanādhante : Meyer thinks that here and in some places in this Chapter we have to read atisanādhīyate. That is not right. The next s. points out the necessity of attacking a powerful king in the rear; the king who does that definitely gains an advantage. The pārśmigrahaṇa in this case is preventive in character, to avert a future disaster.

3 vipulārāmbha refers to a military operation on an extensive scale. That being likely to yield results, a preventive pārśmigrahaṇa is recommended. Here too Meyer has atisanādhīyate. 4 saktacakraḥ ‘whose army is stuck (i.e., being small, is unable to achieve its object).’ There is thus no future danger for the king in the rear. Cs has ‘whose army is dispersed (vīkṣipta),’ which is doubtful.

6 śūnyamīlo etc. : this is an aggressive pārśmigrahaṇa.

7 calāmītram, i.e., an enemy without a fort. — Meyer has atisanādhīyate here. 9 pratiniśṭātāḥ sthitena is as proposed by Meyer for pratiniśṭātasthitena.
marching against a moving enemy might, after easily attaining success, exterminate the attacker in the rear, not the one marching against an entrenched enemy. 9 For, that (king), if he is repulsed by the fort and turns round against the attacker in the rear, is checked by the entrenched enemy.

10 By that are explained the earlier (kings).

11 In case of equality of the enemies, he, who attacks in the rear one attacking a righteous king, over-reaches. 12 For, one attacking a righteous king is hated by his own people and by others, one attacking an unrighteous king is liked (by them).

13 By that is explained the attack in the rear of one who squanders his patrimony, one living in the present and the niggardly one.

14 The same motives (hold good) for attacking in the rear those attacking their allies.

15 As between one attacking his ally and the other attacking his enemy, he, who attacks in the rear the one attacking his ally, over-reaches. 16 For, one attacking an ally, might, after easily obtaining

Cs explains the latter ‘if the rear is attacked (pāryānigrāhe, i.e., pāryānigrahaṇe kriya-māṇe sati), the heel-catcher is suppressed by the enemy who has turned back, being foiled by the fort.’ This is unlikely. The subject for avagrahyate cannot be different from asau durgaprathihataḥ. The idea here seems to be, there is no future danger that needs to be averted by the preventive action of pāryānigrahaṇa; it is, therefore, unnecessary. For the enemy would be foiled by the fort; and even if he were to turn back against the rear enemy (who might have attacked him) he would be held in check by the enemy in the fort, who may be supposed to be the ally of the pāryānigrāha and who, in any case, would harass the repulsed enemy who had attacked him.

10 pūrve seems to refer to the hīnāṣakti, the alpārambha and the ekadeśabala-prayāta of ss. 2, 4 and 6 in whose case also the pāryānigrahaṇa is unnecessary.

11 After sveṣām, it is proposed to add paresām as in 0.4.10; that is shown by the ca. — The motive here is case in overthrowing the enemy.

13 mūlaha- etc.: cf. 2.9.21-23; though the definitions there refer primarily to state servants, they can also apply to kings. The idea evidently is, one who attacks such kings becomes saṃprīya and hence his pāryānigrahaṇa is inadvisable. According to Cs, as between the attacker of a mūlaha and that of a tādāvīka, the former should be preferred for attack in the rear, while as between the attacker of a tādāvīka and that of a kadārya, the latter should be preferred for an attack in the rear. This is hardly likely. The preference for the former in one case and for the latter in the other would be very strange. And no comparison between these seems intended.

14 te eva hetavā, i.e., all considerations mentioned in ss. 1-13 in connection with parābhīyogināu would also apply to mitrābhīyogināu, enemies who attack their own allies.

15 uśtrābhīyogināḥ: Meyer would read amitrābhīyoginah or in the alternative atisanādhyate. The correctness of mitra- is, however, shown by the next s.
success, exterminate the attacker in the rear. 17 For, it is easy to make peace with an ally, not with an enemy.

18 As between one uprooting an ally and one uprooting an enemy, he, who attacks in the rear one uprooting an enemy, over-reaches, 19 For, one uprooting his enemy, with allies grown in strength, might exterminate the attacker in the rear, not the other, destroying his own party.

20 In case the two (enemies) have come away without obtaining a gain, that attacker in the rear, whose enemy is frustrated in securing a great gain or whose enemy has suffered heavy losses and expenses, over-reaches. 21 In case they have come after obtaining a gain, that attacker in the rear, whose enemy is weaker in point of gain or power, over-reaches, or in whose case the enemy against whom (his enemy) had marched might do harm to the enemy in battle.

22 Even of two kings attacking (their enemies) in the rear, he who is superior in raising troops for an undertaking capable of achievement, or who is an entrenched enemy, or who is situated on the flank (of the enemy), over-reaches. 23 For, one situated on the flank can go to the rescue of the king to be attacked and is dangerous to the (enemy’s) base, one situated in the rear is only dangerous to the base.

24 Three kinds of attackers in the rear should be known as impeding the activity of the enemy: the group of neighbouring kings in the rear and the two neighbours on the two flanks.

18 amitroddhārinah is from Cs; its correctness is shown by the next s. — The difference between abhi-yuy and ud-hṛ seems to be that in the latter the enemy is completely exterminated, and his territory seized. — vyddhamitraḥ: apparently the success in uprooting the enemy brings in new allies.

20 yasya amitraḥ: the amitra is not the viṣījśu’s rival as Meyer thinks, but the king who is to be attacked in the rear. 21 lābhena sākyāṁ hīnāḥ: a vā seems necessary after sākyā. Meyer, however, has ‘who has lost in power because of the gain,’ which seems hardly likely. — yasya vā etc.: yasya refers to the attacker in the rear; sātroh refers to the enemy whose rear he would attack; and yātasya is the king attacked by this sātroh. Cs has ‘that pāṛṇīgrāha gets an advantage to whose enemy (viz., the viṣījśu) the enemy attacked (viz., the ari) is able to do harm in battle.’ This is quite unlikely; the viṣījśu and ari are themselves thought of as pāṛṇīgrāhās in this Chapter. See s. 1.

22 sākyārambha– etc.: a single idea ‘raising troops for an undertaking which can succeed’ (Cs) is better than two ideas ‘possible undertakings and the raising of troops’ (Meyer). — pārścā is not the side of the yātasya (Cs), but of the attacking king. Cf. s. 24 below.

24 sāmantah is an emendation from Meyer; the singular is preferable in view of vargaḥ with which it should be construed. — Cs understands the three to be (i) sāmantah, (ii) prṣhatovargaḥ and (iii) prativesaḥ at the sides. This is unlikely. A sāmanda who can be described as a pāṛṇīgrāha, cannot be in front and if he is in the rear or at the side, he would be included in (ii) or (iii) of Cs.
25 The weak king situated between the leader and the enemy is called a buffer; he is a hindrance to the strong, if possessed of a fort or a forest as a place of retreat.

26 But when the conqueror and the enemy, intending to secure the middle king, attack the middle king in the rear, he who, when that king returns after securing the gain, divides the middle king from his ally and secures a former enemy as an ally, over-reaches. 27 The enemy who helps is fit to be allied with, not the ally who has renounced his friendly feelings.

28 By that is explained the intention to secure the neutral king.

29 'But in the case of attack in the rear and march against an enemy, prosperity results from diplomatic fight. 30 For, in a fight with military operations, there is loss of prosperity for both sides because of losses and expenses. 31 For, even after winning, a king with his army and treasury depleted becomes a loser,' say the teachers. 32 'No,' says Kauṭilya. 33 Even with very great losses and expenses, the destruction of the enemy must be brought about.

34 When losses and expenses are equal, he who, after first bringing about the destruction of his own reasonable troops (and) becoming free

25 pratigātaka: Cs reads pratigātā and explains 'when the strong king attacks him, he has a refuge in a fort or a forest,' adding that antardhi is so called because he disappears in this way (cf. antardhāna). pratigātā is, however, an obstacle, a hindrance, hardly an attack. And antardhi seems to be from antar-dhā 'to place between two.' Cf. 7.18.29, where curiously Cs quotes the present passage with the reading pratigātaka. — durgātayapāsārāvān: cf. 7.7.2.

26 madhyamaṁ lipsamānayoḥ: both the viśiṣṭu and the ari are anxious to get the madhyama in his own control; one of them is an ally of the madhyama, the other is not. In this situation, the madhyama launches an attack on a third king; the viśiṣṭu and the ari each wants to attack him in the rear. The one who is not in alliance with the madhyama scores over the other who is his ally. For, the madhyama would naturally be angry with the latter who despite the alliance had attacked him in the rear; he would leave that ally and make an alliance with the rival of that old ally. He might regard the latter's pārṣṇigrāhaṇa as understandable because he was known to be originally hostile. — amitraṁ, i.e., madhyamaṁ. 27 satruḥ is the pārṣṇigrāha who formerly was not in alliance with the madhyama. — upakurvaṇaḥ suggests that the attack in the rear by this former enemy was nominal, and even aid may have been surreptitiously given by this pārṣṇigrāha to the madhyama. Meyer thinks that it is the viśiṣṭu and the ari who return with the gain (labhā-laṁbhaṇaṁ). That is unlikely. It is the attacking king who would be returning with the gain, not the pārṣṇigrāha. Cf. ss. 20, 21 above. — In s. 26 Cs has grhaṇataḥ for grhaṇatoh; but yoh presupposes the dual. The idea (in Cs) that the madhyama is engaged in helping one (viṣīṣṭu or ari) while the other attacks him in the rear does not seem likely because both of them are lipsamāna in respect of the madhyama.

29 For mantrayuddha, cf. 12.2. The ancient teachers seem to be averse to actual fighting. 33 abhyupagantavyah used in the literal sense, 'should be brought about.'
from thorns, would afterwards fight with troops under control, over-reaches. 35 Even of two, securing first the destruction of their treasonable troops, he, who would secure the destruction of a large number, of more powerful and extremely treacherous troops, over-reaches.

36 By that is explained the destruction of alien and forest troops.

37 When the conqueror may become the attacker in the rear, the attacker in front or one marched against, then in those cases, he should carry out the following course for a leader.

38 The leader should attack in the rear the enemy attacking his ally, after first making (the enemy’s) ally in (his) rear become engaged in a fight with the rescuer of the attacker in the rear (i.e., of himself).

39 When attacking (in front) he should keep off the enemy in his rear by his ally in the rear, similarly (keep off) the ally of the enemy in the rear by the ally of his ally in the rear.

40 And in front he should make his ally engage in fight with the enemy’s ally, and should keep off the ally of the enemy’s ally by the ally of his own ally.

41 When attacked, he should cause the rear of the attacker to be attacked by his ally and keep off the rear ally (of the attacker) from the attacker in the rear by the ally of his ally.

34 purastāt...ghātayitrā, i.e., by placing them in front to bear the enemy’s first onslaught. — The atisanādhi is on the hypothetical basis of rivalry between the viśigīṣu and arī, hardly between combatants in the same fight.

37 The viśigīṣu may find himself in three situations, as a pārśnigrāha or as an abhiyokyta (aggressor) or as a yātacyn (victim of aggression). The three situations are discussed in ss. 38, 39-40 and 41 respectively. Meyer thinks of two cases, an abhiyokyta becoming a pārśnigrāha of the conqueror and a yātacyn becoming the conqueror’s pārśnigrāha. This is quite unlikely. How can kings supposedly in front attack in the rear?

38 The sātru attacks the viśigīṣu’s ally; hence the viśigīṣu attacks the sātru in the rear; he becomes his pārśnigrāha. — ākranda is the sātru’s ally in the rear; he is really the viśigīṣu’s rear enemy, his pārśnigrāha. He is engaged in fight by the viśigīṣu’s own rear ally, who is called pārśnigrāhābhisārīn, because the viśigīṣu has become the pārśnigrāha. These terms are not rigid as Meyer supposes, but differ according to each particular situation. In this stanza, the enemy as the attacker becomes the centre and the viśigīṣu becomes his pārśnigrāha. Meyer’s translation ’ after he has made his own ally in the rear engage in fight the ally of his rear enemy ’ does not show what the viśigīṣu’s pārśnigrāha himself is to do.

39 ākranda is to be construed with nivārayet, not with abhiyujānap (as in Meyer).

40 avaghātayet, i.e., make him engage in fight. — Stanzas 39 and 40 go together.
42 In this way, the conqueror should establish in the rear and in front, a circle (of kings) in his own interest, with the excellences of the constituent, called the ally.

43 And in the entire circle, he should ever station envoys and secret agents, becoming a friend of the rivals, maintaining secrecy when striking again and again.

44 The affairs of one, who cannot maintain secrecy, even if achieved with particular success, undoubtedly perish, like a broken boat in the ocean.

CHAPTER FOURTEEN

SECTION 118 RECOUPMENT OF POWERS THAT HAVE BECOME WEAK

1 When attacked by confederates in this manner, the conqueror should say to the one who is the principal among them, 'With you, I would make peace; here is money and I shall be an ally, you will (thus) have a double advancement; it does not behove you to let your enemies, masquerading as friends, thrive at your cost; for, these, when grown powerful, will over-throw you yourself.'

2 Or, he should sow dissensions, saying 'Just as I, who had done no harm, am attacked by these kings joining together, so will they, with their forces combined, attack you also, when at ease or in a calamity; for, strength changes the mind; prevent that (strength) of theirs.'

3 When they are divided, he should support the principal and make him fight with the weaker (confederates) or giving help to the weaker make them fight with the principal, or so (act) as he may consider

41 Whereas mitra and mitramitra are from the vijigishu's point of view, akranda and paresigraha are from the attacking enemy's point of view; the latter are the vijigishu's arimitra and mitra respectively. Meyer who understands fixed princes by these terms (from the vijigishu's point) finds himself in deep waters. He asks, how can the mitramitra, three states away in front, help the akranda one state away in the rear? His rendering of nicevrayet 'should rescue' or 'should warn,' unlikely in itself, is of no help.

42 mitraprakrtyi, i.e., the ally himself as a prakrty rather than the constituents of the ally.

7.14

1 pradhanah: this is the foremost among the confederates, their leader. deigunada, because he would be getting the money and also securing a new ally. There is nothing to show that double the amount is promised, as Cb Cs imply.

2 svasthā vyasane vā: perhaps we should read svastham; both the expressions would then refer to the king addressed. svasthāḥ is odd as it is descriptive of the other confederates.
better (for himself). 4 Or, making one entertain enmity towards the others, he should divide him from them.

5 Or, secretly offering a greater gain to the principal, he should get peace made (through him). 6 Then agents in the pay of both, pointing to the greater gain, should poison the minds of the confederates, saying 'You have been cheated.' 7 When they have become vitiated, he should violate the treaty. 8 Then agents in the pay of both should bring about a further discord among them, saying 'This is what we had pointed out.' 9 When they are divided, he should act by supporting one of them.

10 In the absence of a principal (among them), he should secure from among the confederates one who had roused them, or one persevering in his undertakings, or one with loyal subjects, or one who had joined the confedera cy out of greed or fear, or one afraid of the conqueror, or one bound to his kingdom, or his ally or a moving enemy, the earlier ones in the absence of the later ones (in this list), — one who had roused them by a surrender of himself, one persevering in his undertakings by bowing down with conciliation, one with loyal subjects by offering and accepting girls in marriage, the greedy one by double the share, one afraid of them by helping him with treasury and army, one

3 anugrāhya refers to the lending of troops in particular; cf. 7.8.28-29. 4 vai-rāṁ vā etc. is repeated from 7.8.4 above.

5 phalabhāya-vratvam, i.e., by the promise of more than what he would be getting from the confederacy. 6 ubhayavatvanāḥ: see 1.12.17-18. — uddāsayeyuh: the idea is of poisoning their minds against the pradhāna. 7 samādhim: the treaty mentioned in s. 5. — dāṣayet, i.e., should not pay what he had agreed to pay under the treaty. 8 evaṁ tad: they argue, 'we told you that you were cheated; this is the proof. He is not giving you anything because he is giving more to the pradhāna.' This brings about the bheda of the other confederates from the pradhāna. Cs (mostly following Cb) explains 'he should violate the treaty and not give anything to the pradhāna on the plea that the confederates had violated it. Then the agents should say to the confederates that the pradhāna has brought about this violation of the treaty since he did not get the promised higher gain and since he wants to act again after joining our confederacy.' All this seems a little strange. How can the pradhāna be said to have brought about the violation of the treaty? And so long as he has not received anything, he would probably be able to prove his innocence. The reasoning thought of would not necessarily lead to bheda. — anyatamopagrahaṇa: the vā after this is unnecessary and has been dropped.

10 pūrāṇo uttarābhāvac: this reading from Cb Cs should be read in the text for pūrāṇo uttarābhāvac, which is an odd compound. The idea is that the later kings in the list should be tackled first for the purpose of bringing about bheda in the confederacy. The reason for that is that it is easier to tackle them. Thus the calāmitra and the mitra can be more easily divided from the confederacy than the earlier kings. Cb Cs, however, think that each later king is to be tackled first because he is more dangerous to the viśāda than the earlier one, and tackling him would be more advantageous. That is not correct. The mitra and the calāmitra, mentioned
afraid of himself by creating confidence by the giving of a surety, one bound to his kingdom by becoming one with him, his ally by doing what is agreeable and beneficial to both or by giving up benefits (received), the moving enemy by reassuring him by desisting from doing harm and rendering help (to him). 11 Or, by whichever means any of them may be separated, by that he should secure him, or by means of conciliation, gifts, dissension and force, as we shall explain in (the section on) troubles.

12 Or, when in a hurry because of harm caused by a calamity, he should enter into a treaty with the (surrender of his) treasury and army, stipulating the place, the time or the work. 13 After making the treaty, he should (try to) remedy his weakness.

14 If weak in a party, he should create a party of kinsmen and allies, or an unassailable fort. 15 For, one entrenched in a fort or supported by allies, becomes worthy of honour by his own (people) and by those of others.

16 If weak in the power of counsel, he should get a large number of wise men in service or associate with elders in the sciences. 17 For, in that way, he attains immediate good.

18 If weak in might, he should endeavour to secure the welfare of his subjects. 19 The countryside is the source of all undertakings; from them comes might. 20 The abode for it and for himself, when in trouble, is the fort. 21 Water-works are the source of crops. 22 For, ever continuous is the benefit (as) from an excellent rainfall to sowings watered by irrigation. 23 A trade-route is the means of over-reaching the enemy. 24 For, along the trade-route is made the carrying over of troops and secret agents (into enemy territory) and the purchase of weapons, armours, carriages and vehicles, as well

last in the list, are certainly not more dangerous than those mentioned earlier. — kanyādānayāpanabhāyāṃ: Cb Cs have ādāna ‘receiving’ and yāpana ‘giving.’ It is likely, however, that kanyādāna has the usual meaning of ‘giving a girl’ in marriage; cf. 7.16.6. yāpana can mean ‘receiving, accepting.’ — viśvāsya is from a suggestion of Meyer for viśvāsayet of the mss. The actual comment in Cb presupposes a form in the absolute. A finite verb in the midst of clauses all connected with sādhayet is quite unlikely. — upakārātyāgena: the benefit received or expected from the ally might have caused estrangement; hence it is to be given up. Cs has ‘giving up tribute which he used to receive from the ally.’ The idea of a regular tribute would be unusual in the case of upakāra. Meyer suggests apakārātyāgena, which does not appear necessary. — avadhrātam ‘held,’ i.e., given assurances. 11 ayogam ‘separation.’ — āpsasu, i.e., in 9.5-7.

12 avadhrātam ‘fixed’ as to place, time etc.

18 For prabhāva in this and the next s. the mss. curiously show prabhava. 20 tasya, i.e., janapadasya, implying the inhabitants in it; Cf. 8.1.25. tasya can hardly be prabhāvasya (Cs). 22 The idea is, what good rain secures in the monsoon, irrigation secures all the year round. 24 atinayana: Cf. 13.3.48. — Cb com-
as bringing in and taking out. 25 Mines are the source of implements of war; material forests, of fortification work and of carriages and chariots; elephant forests, of elephants; and herds, of cattle, horses, donkeys and camels. 26 In case of their non-availability, obtaining them from groups of kinsmen and allies (should be resorted to).

27 If weak in energy, he should secure the services, as they may be available, of heroic men from bands, robber-bands, foresters and Mleecha tribes, and of secret agents capable of doing harm to enemies.

28 Or, he should employ against the enemies ' steps against an enemy-mixed trouble ' or ' the conduct of the weaker king. '

29 Being thus enriched with a party, with counsel, with material resources and army, he should march out to overthrow the suppression of himself by enemies.

CHAPTER FIFTEEN

SECTION 119 REASONS FOR ENTRENCHING ONESELF (IN A FORT) AFTER MAKING WAR WITH A STRONG KING

SECTION 120 CONDUCT (PROPER) FOR THE KING SURRENDERING WITH HIS TROOPS

1 A weak king attacked by a strong king, should resort for shelter to one with strength greater than his, whom the other would not over-reach by the power of counsel. 2 Among those with an equal power of counsel, superiority (comes) from the excellence of men under them or from association with elders.

27 parāpakāriṇām is an adjective to guḍhapuruṣāṇām (Cs) rather than an independent substantive (Meyer).

28 paramiṣārāpatikāram as in 9.6.11 ff. Cb Cs read paramiṣārāḥ pra- ‘ having made peace with the enemy etc.’ Cb comment shows paramitraḥ ‘ turning his enemy into an ally ’; neither of these is likely. 9.6.11 was obviously lost sight of. — ādaliyasam as in Book 12.

29 parāvagraham ātmanāḥ can hardly mean ‘ for the putting down of his enemies ’ (Meyer). For such a sense ātmanāḥ would be quite unnecessary.

7.15

The two closely related Sections are to be found in ss. 1-20 and 21-30 respectively.

2 tulyamantrasaktinām : Cb Cs read -bala- after tulya-. But bala is out of place here. — āyattasaniṣpadah : it is possible that the original reading was amdiya-, who are principally to be understood by āyatta. Cf., however, 9.6.7. These expressions describe characteristics of the weak king’s possible ally.
3 In the absence of one of greater strength, he should stay joining forces with kings equal in strength or with oligarchies equal in strength to the strong king, whom he would not over-reach with powers of counsel and might. Among those with equal powers of counsel and might, superiority (comes) from extensiveness of undertakings.

5 In the absence of those equal in strength, he should stay joining forces with kings inferior in strength who are upright, energetic and opposed to the strong king, whom he would not over-reach with powers of counsel, might and energy. Among those with an equal power of energy, superiority (comes) from the attainment of terrain suitable for one’s own (mode of) fighting. Among those with an equally suitable terrain, superiority (comes) from the attainment of a season suited to one’s own (mode of) fighting. Among those with equally suitable terrains and seasons, superiority (comes) from draught-animals, weapons and armours.

9 In the absence of help-mates, he should find shelter in a fort where the enemy, even with a large army, would not cut off his food, fodder, fuel and water, and would himself meet with losses and expenses. Among forts equally impregnable, superiority (comes) from stores and refuge. ‘For, one should seek a fortress with men, rich in stores and provided with refuge,’ says Kauṭilya.

12 He should resort to that (fort) for these reasons: ‘I shall win over the enemy in the rear or his ally or the middle king or the neutral king; or, I shall cause his kingdom to be seized or destroyed by one of these, viz., his neighbouring king, a forest chief, a pretender

3 Most mss. read tulyabalasaṁkhyaśā, which Cs explains ‘having the same number of troops.’ This does not differ from samabala. Meyer has ‘who are his equals (tulya) in point of number of troops.’ Equality with the king attacked is beside the point. -saṁkhyaśā is definitely better, the reference being to states mentioned in Book 11. — yān na is proposed for yāvan na of the mss. yācat is unlikely. The actual comment in Cb seems to support yān na; it has no explanation of yācat. Cs has ‘should fight (tisthet) so long as the enemy does not succeed in over-reaching him,’ i.e., the king is to go on fighting till the enemy divides his helpmates from him, which is a strange idea. Meyer’s ‘till he is able to over-reach his enemy by mantra and prabhācā etc.’ is also little likely. The parallel s. i shows that it is the strong king who might try to over-reach, not the king attacked. The latter intends to strengthen his position by alliances, which the former might try to break up.

5 yān na is again proposed for yāvan na as in s. 3. 6 svā- in this and the next s. refers to the helpmate, not to the king attacked.

10 According to Cb, this s. represents the opinion of the ancient teachers: manusyaadurgam, i.e., a fort with men to defend it. — apasāra is a place of refuge for the king as well as the subjects. A means of escape from the fort does not seem intended here. — iti Kauṭilyaḥ: this does not show a material difference of opinion, except that the presence of men, i.e., troops in the fort is insisted upon.
from his family and a prince in disfavour; or, by supporting the party
of likely seceders, I shall raise a revolt in his fort, country or camp;
or, I shall kill him as I please, when he comes near, by the use of
weapons, fire or poison or by occult means; or, I shall put him to losses and
expenses on account of secret practices employed by myself; or,
I shall succeed in gradually instigating (against him) the group of his
allies or his army, when they are severely afflicted by losses, expenses
and long marches; or, by destroying his supplies, reserves and foraging
parties, I shall bring about the subjugation of his encamped army;
or, by taking out troops, I shall create a weak point in him and strike
with all troops mobilised; or, I shall secure a treaty with him as desired
when his energy is damped; or, while he is engaged in a struggle with
me, insurrections will rise all round him; or, I shall cause his base,
denuded of reserves, to be devastated by my ally’s troops or forest
troops; or, staying in this fort, I shall protect the welfare of a vast
territory; or, if I stay here, my own dispersed troops and those of my
ally will collect in one place and be irresistible; or, my army skilled in
fighting in water, in trenches or at night, being freed of the dangers
of (marches on the) roads, will carry out operations when the (enemy)
is near; or, coming here on a terrain and in a season adverse to him,
he will himself cease to be because of losses and expenses, (as) this
region can be approached only with heavy losses and expenses because
of the abundance of forts and forests as places of refuge, is full of sickness
for foreigners and without a suitable terrain for the operation of their
troops, (and hence) he will enter it (only) when in trouble, and will
not get out of it if he enters.’

13 ‘In the absence of (such) reasons, or when the enemy has very
great strength, he should leave the fort and go away. 14 Or, like a moth

12 pratipādayisyām ‘will secure them,’ i.e., win them over and get their help.
— auspāṇiṣadikāt: supply yogaih. This expression should preferably be understood
independently rather than as an adjective to the preceding śastraṅgirasapraṇidhānaih.
— svayam refers to the viṣiṣṭu (Cs); a reference to the enemy (Meyer) appears less
likely. — daṇḍopanayena, i.e., by secretly sending out some troops into the
enemy’s encamped forces; that would create a weak point (randhra) in the enemy’s
army, making a sudden assault on it advantageous. The enemy must be supposed
to remain unaware of the arrival in his camp of these troops. It is also possible
that the troops are not sent into the camp itself, but to a place where they would
create a diversion. — āsanna: this can hardly mean ‘when the time comes.’
āsanna refers to the enemy who has approached near. — mahākṣayaṣayayād-
hīgamyo etc. is understood in Cn as only an explanation of viruddhaṭaḥ etc., and
not as a separate kārana. That is supported by the absence of tā. In fact, it seems
that this whole passage beginning with mahākṣayaṣayaya- etc. up to nirgamiṣyati
seems to be a marginal gloss in explanation of the preceding clause. — āpadgato
pravekṣyati ‘will enter when in dire straits and there is no other go’ (Cn) is to be
preferred to ‘as soon as he enters he will be in trouble’ (Cs).
in fire, he should fall (desperately) on the enemy. 15 For, achievement of one thing or the other is certain for one giving up all hope of himself,' say the teachers. 16 'No,' says Kauṭilya. 17 Finding out suitable conditions for peace between himself and the enemy, he should make peace. 18 In the reverse case, he should seek peace after a fight or seek escape. 19 To one with whom peace is possible, he should send an envoy. 20 Or, if one is sent by him, he should welcome him with money and honour, and say, 'These are gifts for the king, these for the queen and princes from my queen and princes; this kingdom and myself are at your disposal.'

21 After obtaining shelter, he should behave towards the suzerain as in (the section on) 'proper behaviour.' 22 And he should carry out undertakings like the fort and others as well as the accepting and giving of princesses in marriage, coronation of the prince, purchase of horses, catching of elephants, holding sacrificial sessions or fairs and going on pleasure-trips, (only) when permitted. 23 Agreements with constituents remaining in his own territory or punishment of deserters, — he should carry out all, when permitted.

24 Or, if his citizens and country people have turned hostile, he should request for another land, being justly behaved. 25 Or, he should deal with them by silent punishment, as with treasonable persons. 26 He should not accept even suitable land being given to him from his ally.

27 When the suzerain cannot be seen, he should see one of these, viz., (his) minister, chaplain, commander-in-chief and crown prince, and should confer obligations on them as far as he is able.

15 anyatarasiddhī, i.e., victory or death (and consequent heaven). 18 vikramena saṁdhiṁ: the idea apparently is, the strong king may be impressed by his valour and agree to come to terms. — apasāram is here escape to a fort or forest. 20 panyāgāram refers to goods sent as gifts.

21 labhhasamārayataḥ: the shelter obtained is with the strong king himself as suggested in ss. 19-20. — samayācārikavat, i.e., as in 5.5. 22 āvāhavikāha ‘receiving and giving girls in marriage’ (Cs). The other way about is also possible. — yātrā can hardly mean ‘a military expedition’ in this context. 23 prakṛti would be ministers in particular; saṁdhi with them would be agreements or instructions about carrying out work in his own former state.

24 nyāyavingitī is from Cb Cn Cs; nyāyavingtim, which would be an adjective to bhūmin, is much less likely. 26 uciṭāṁ vā: vā has the sense of api (Meyer). A former ally must not be antagonised.

27 aṛṣiyamāne bhartari: Cn Cs have ‘should see his own minister etc. only when the suzerain is not there.’ His own ministers etc. are unlikely in view of upakuryāt that follows. Meyer proposes drṣṭamāne bhartari ‘only when the suzerain is there,’ the ministers being those of the vassal. That also is unlikely. The idea clearly is,
28 On occasions of worship of deities and recitations of blessings, he should cause blessings to be pronounced on him. 29 In every case, he should speak of his surrender as an excellent thing.

30 One surrendering to force should thus behave towards the suzerain in a steadfast manner, waiting on the strong, united (with him), and opposed to those suspected and so on (by him).

CHAPTER SIXTEEN

SECTION 121 CONDUCT (PROPER) FOR THE KING SUBJUGATING (OTHER KINGS) BY FORCE

1 The strong king, desirous of conquering one causing harassment, though the terms of the treaty were accepted (by him), should march in that direction in which there is suitable terrain, suitable season and livelihood for his own troops, in which the enemy is without the refuge of a fort and (he himself is) without a rear enemy and his ally. 2 In the reverse case, he should march after taking protective measures.

when the suzerain cannot be seen, his minister etc. may be seen. This appears to be the explanation in Cb.

28 After daivata-, pujā is to be understood. 29 The idea is, he should not show dissatisfaction with his condition. The explanation in Cs ‘to all people he should speak of his surrender and should praise the virtues of his sovereign’ is little likely. Cb has a similar explanation.

30 Samyuktatabarata: these are the ministers etc. of the sovereign (Cn Cs). acasthita may mean ‘firm, steadfast.’ If evam could be construed with it (instead of with varīta) we could understand ‘placed in this situation.’

7.16

Cn Cs point out that dāṇḍopanāmin would be a more appropriate name for this king as shown by s. 3. Meyer’s idea that dāṇḍopanāya is the weak king taking his troops to the strong king is unlikely in the light of the contents of the Chapter.

1 It is proposed to read anujñātasāṃdhīpanaṇḍvegaśakaram for anujñātasaṣṭaddhiranyo- of the mss. The idea understood is that the weak king, though he had consented to the terms of the treaty, has started ignoring them, and causing harassment or trouble to the strong king, (anujñātasāṃdhīpanah api udvegakarah). We may also understand udvega as ‘shaking,’ i.e., violation (anujñātasāṃdhīpanām udvegakaram causing violation of the terms of the treaty accepted by him). Cn reads ananujñāta- sāṃdhīpanyodvegakaram “who has not accepted (ananujñāta) the terms of peace (sāṃdhīpanya) and is therefore causing harassment (udvega).” panya is unusual in this sense, for which pana is the usual word. Otherwise, the meaning arrived at in Cn is also good. It adds that the reading of the mss. is an aprājīha and that those trying to explain it are to be pitied. Thus Cs (mostly following Cb) has ‘who causes trouble because of money promised but not paid (adattahiranya) by him, (i.e., by the strong king) though he had agreed to do so (anujñātaḥ as ablative singular of anujñā, agreement or promise).’ Meyer understands the expression as an adjective to karma (supplied), and, with the vassal king in view, translates ‘when
3 He should subjugate the weak by means of conciliation and gifts, the strong by means of dissension and force. 4 And he should secure the members (of the kings’ circle) who are immediately next to him and who are separated by one intervening state, by the exclusive use, the alternative use or the combined use of the (four) means.

5 The protection of those dwelling in villages and forests, of cattle-herds and trade-routes, and the handing over of those who are discarded, who have deserted and who have done harm, — thus should he practise conciliation. 6 The giving of land, money and girls, and the promise of safety, — thus should he practise gifts. 7 Making a demand for treasury, troops, land or inheritance by supporting one of these, viz., a neighbouring prince, a forest chief, a pretender from the family and a prince in disfavour, — thus should he sow discord. 8 Subjugation of the enemy in open, concealed or silent war or through ‘ means for taking a fort,’ — thus should he make use of force.

9 Thus he should place those full of energy in such a way that they are helpful to the army, those possessed of might so that they are helpful to the treasury, those endowed with intellect so that they are helpful to the land.

10 Among them, he who helps in many ways with gems, articles of high value, of low value and forest produce produced in his ports, villages and mines, or with carriages and vehicles arising from material forests, elephant forests and herds, is (the ally) of varied usefulness. 11 He who gives substantial help with troops or treasury is one of permitted (anujñātah) to carry out an undertaking bringing money and formidable might (udvēga) to him, (tad, i.e., his suzerain), he who has surrendered, after growing strong (balavān) and wishing to conquer etc.’ This is hardly possible. — svartvyātthā: yāti is ‘livelihood, food etc.’ (Cn Cs). — apārṇīḥ: we have, it seems, to undertsand svayam before this. For, this and the next word describe the balavān, not the śatru. It is clear that pārṇi stands for pārśnigrāha. — anāśaraḥ is from Cn Cs; Cb Cs understand this as describing the weak yūtavya in the sense of ‘without any help.’ It seems better, however, to regard the āśāra as the pārśnigrāhāśāra, from the point of view of the balavān king himself.

3 upanamayet: it is this root that is found in dāṇḍopanāta; hence Cn’s preference for dāṇḍopanāmi- in the title. 4 niyoga etc.: cf. 9.7.73-76. — anantarākāntarāḥ: see 6.2.14 ff.

7 Land and inheritance would be demanded on behalf of the tatkulina and aparuddha. 8 kābyayuddha: see 10.3. — tāṃśinyuddha: see 12.4 and 12.5. — durgatanubhopolya is Book 13.

9 dāṇḍopakārīnaḥ ‘helpful to the army (of the balavān), — The connection between praśāḥ and bhāmi is not quite obvious. mantrasakti may be helpful for administration of the territory.

10 phalga had clearly got dropped out from the exemplar of the ms. through a scribal error. — yad...lad has the neuter mitram in view. 12 -bhūmibhiḥ is as
great usefulness. 12 He who helps with troops, treasury and land is one of all-sided usefulness.

13 He who withstands one's enemy on one side is the (ally) useful on one side. 14 He who withstands the enemy and the enemy's ally on the two sides is one useful on both sides. 15 He who withstands the enemy, his ally, the neighbour and the forest chief on all sides is one useful on all sides.

16 And if an enemy in the rear,—a forest chieftain, a principal officer of the enemy or the enemy (himself)—be found capable of being secured by a gift of land, he should win his support with (the grant of) land without excellences; one stationed in a fort, with land not contiguous; a forest chief, with land not yielding livelihood; a pretender from the family of the enemy, with recoverable land; a prince in disfavour of the enemy, with land snatched; one with banded troops, with land having permanent enemies; one with compact troops, with land having strong neighbouring kings; one opposing in war, with land having both these characteristics; one with energy, with land where military operations are not possible; one belonging to the enemy's party, with waste land; one enticed away, with impoverished land; a deserter who has returned, with land the settlement of which would involve great losses and expenses; the deserter (from the enemy) who has come over, with land without shelter; with land that cannot be occupied by any one else, he should secure the support of its master himself.

proposed by Meyer, and is obviously quite necessary in view of the instrumentals in the parallel ss. 10-11.

14 cobbhayatah pratikaroti is as proposed by Meyer; that is obviously supported by the parallels in the other ss.

16 pārśnigrāhaś ca etc.: the translation follows Meyer in regarding āṅkika, satrumukhya and satru as three types of pārśnigrāha of the balavān; and for this the reading satrumukhyaḥ satrur vā from Cb Cs is preferred to satrur sukhyasatrur vā (or mukhyah satrur) of the ms. Cb Cs understand pārśnigrāhaḥ independently as the first of four kings mentioned. But the s. has in view pārśnigrāhas of different types. For, it is this s. that seems to be referred to as pārśnigrāhopagraha in 7.11.39. — apratisambaddha, i.e., far away from the fort. — apacchinnyāḥ is as suggested by Meyer. The land snatched may be from the enemy himself. — śrēṇibalam and saṅkhatabalam (saṅghatabalam in Cb) are descriptive of a king. Cb Cn Cs understand these as substantives, i.e., such armies themselves are to be understood, the former being without a leader, the latter with a leader (Cb Cn Cs). — apaṇāḥitam ‘carried off,’ i.e., enticed to come over.’ Cb Cs have ‘distressed by the fight’; Cn ‘with whom a treaty was first made, but who was then made to violate the treaty.’ Cf., however, 12.3.14. — pratyanapaśtam: a deserter from the enemy who has come over to him. Cf. 13.4.51. The Glossary needs correction. — bharitāram, i.e., the owner of the land. This can hardly mean ‘the sovereign’ in the context, as Meyer thinks. He is clearly on a wrong track in this Chapter.
17 He should allow to continue (as before) that one among them who is of great help and unchanging in loyalty. 18 He should silently do away with the contrary one. 19 He should gratify, according to his power to help, one who has helped him. 20 And in conformity with his efforts, he should bestow wealth and honour on him, and give help in calamities. 21 To those coming of their own accord, he should grant interviews as desired and make arrangements (for receiving them). 22 He should not use towards them insults, injuries, contemptuous words or reproaches. 23 And after promising them safety, he should favour them like a father.

24 And if any of them were to do him harm, he should proclaim his guilt and slay him openly. 25 Or, because of fright (likely) among others, he should act as in ‘infliction of secret punishment’. 26 And he shall not covet the land, property, sons or wives of the slain one. 27 He should place in their appropriate positions even the members of his family. 28 He should place on the throne the son of one killed in action.

29 In this way, the princes surrendering to force remain loyal to his sons and grandsons.

30 But the circle (of kings), being frightened, rises to destroy one who were to kill or imprison those who have submitted and covet their land, property, sons or wives. 31 And those ministers, who are under his control in their own lands, become frightened of him and resort to the circle. 32 Or, they themselves seek to take his kingdom or life.

33 And therefore, kings, protected in their own territories by means of conciliation, become favourably disposed towards the king, remaining obedient to his sons and grandsons.

17 *anuvartayet*, i.e., allow him to continue in his own realm as before. ‘Secure his obedience’ is possible, but seems less likely. 21 *prativedhāna* seems to refer to ‘arrangements’ for receiving them, rather than to ‘steps for protecting (himself from them)’ (Cb Cs). 22 *ativāda* may mean ‘excessive praise’ (Cb Cn Cs) as in 4.1.59. However, ‘reproach, reproof’ appears more likely in the context. Cf. *ativādāṇās titikṣeta*, Manu, 6.47.

25 *dāṇḍakarmikavat*, i.e., as in 5.1. 27 *pātreṣu* ‘in suitable positions’ is an unusual sense.

31 *ye cāṣyāmātyāḥ svabhāmiścāyattāḥ* : these ministers are those of the vassals, *svabhāmiśu* being the respective territories of the latter, and *asya*, referring to the sovereign, to be construed with *āyattāḥ*. Cb Cn Cs understand the ministers to be those of the sovereign, engaged in work (*āyatta*, i.e., *vyāpṛta*) in the vassals’ territories. But if *asya* refers to the sovereign, *sva-* can hardly refer to the vassals. Meyer suggests *anāyattāḥ* ‘his viceroyys, unconnected with lands under their control (*svabhāmiśu*).’ *svabhāmiśu* can hardly be understood in this way. Cf. s. 33 below.
CHAPTER SEVENTEEN

SECTION 122  THE MAKING OF PEACE
SECTION 123  LIBERATION OF THE HOSTAGE

1 Peace, treaty, hostage, these are one and the same thing.
2 The creation of confidence among kings is (the purpose of) peace, treaty or hostage.
3 'Plighting one's troth or taking an oath is an unstable pact, a surety or a hostage is stable,' say the teachers. 4 'No,' says Kauṭilya. 5 Plighting one's troth or taking an oath is a pact stable in the next world as well as here, a surety or a hostage is of use only in this world, depending on strength.
6 'We have made a pact,' thus kings of old, faithful to their word, made pacts by plighting their troth. 7 In case of (fear of) its transgression, they touched fire, water, a furrow in the field, a clod of earth from the rampart, the shoulder of an elephant, the back of a horse, the box of a chariot, a weapon, a gem, seeds, a fragrant substance, a liquid, gold or money, affirming with an oath, 'May these kill or abandon him who would break the oath.'
8 In case of (fear of) transgression of oath, the binding to suretyship of great men, ascetics or principal men constitutes surety. 9 With respect to that, he who receives sureties capable of suppressing the enemy, over-reaches. 10 The opposite of this is over-reached.
11 The holding of a kinsman or a principal officer, is receiving a hostage. 12 With respect to that, he who gives a treasonable minister or a treasonable child, over-reaches. 13 The opposite of

7.17

The two Sections are to be found in ss. 1-31 and 32-61 respectively.

1 samādhi 'hostage' is related to ādhi 'pledge.' A samādhi may or may not contain a stipulation as to samādhi. And there can be śama without a samādhi.

3 pratigraha 'acceptance (of a hostage),' i.e., a hostage. 5 balāpekṣaḥ: the strength is the relative strength of the parties to the transaction. The explanation in Ch Cs 'the surety can be trusted only when he is strong, and the hostage only when he is the object of love (snehapātra) of the king who hands him over,' is hardly acceptable.

7 agni etc. might kill, ratna etc. might leave.

8 mahatām should be understood independently of tapasvinām. 9 atisanḍhatte: comparison between two similarly placed kings is to be understood here as before.

10 viparitāḥ, i.e., who does not receive sureties that are paraśvagrahāsamartha.

11 bandhumukhya can hardly be 'a distinguished relation' (Meyer) in view of amātya and apatyā in the next s. 14 paraḥ is the one who gives the hostage. — nirapekṣaḥ, i.e., not caring for what happens to the hostage.
this is over-reached. 14 For, the enemy strikes without compunction at the weak points of one who is trustful because of receiving a hostage.

15 When keeping a child as a hostage, however, as between giving a son and a daughter, he who gives a daughter over-reaches. 16 For, a daughter is not an heir, and is of use to others only and cannot be harassed. 17 A son is the reverse of this.

18 Even of two sons, he who gives a son legitimately born, wise, brave, trained in the use of weapons, or an only son, is over-reached. 19 The opposite of this over-reaches. 20 For, it is better to hand over as a hostage an illegitimate son than a legitimate one, because of the loss of continuity of heirs (in his case), the unwise son than the wise, because of the absence of the power of counsel, a son not brave than a brave one, because of the absence of the power of energy, one not trained in the use of weapons to one trained in their use, because of the absence of the ability to strike, one not an only son than an only son, because of the absence of expectations (being centred in him alone).

21 As between a legitimate son and a wise son, the attribute of sovereignty goes with one who is legitimate though unwise, the function of counsel (goes) with one who is wise though illegitimate. 22 Even in the matter of counsel, the legitimate over-reaches the wise through association with elders.

23 As between a wise son and a brave son, the possession of acts of intelligence belongs to the wise though cowardly, the function of valour to the brave though unwise. 24 Even in the matter of valour, the wise one over-reaches the brave, as the hunter does the elephant.

16 adāyādā from Cb Cn Cs is the only correct reading. Meyer's remark (in the Nachtrag) that even the daughter inherits in the absence of a son is beside the point; the question here is as between a son and a daughter when both are there, whom to give as a hostage? His further discussion regarding the conqueror's responsibility to get the conquered king's daughters married has little relevance here. — pāreṣāṁ, i.e., of the husband and his family. — aklesya not liable to be troubled as a male is. With klesya Cb has 'a trouble to her father because of money he has to spend on her.'

18 yo is added as being necessary as usual. 20 luptadāyādasamātvatvāt: Cs has 'because he cannot have an offspring who can inherit.' But the illegitimate son himself would also be unable to inherit. — prahartavyaśsanipad: Cn Cs have 'excellence in using weapons (prahartavya as praharāṇa)'; Meyer has 'capacity when it is necessary to strike'; 'excellence in hitting or striking' may appear sufficient.

21 aścaryopaprakṛtiḥ, i.e., a natural ability to rule or a naturally majestic bearing. Cf. 8.2.23. — mantrādhiśkāraḥ, i.e., ability to give counsel and make use of it.

22 This means that as between a jātya and a prājña, the latter should preferably be given.
25 As between a brave son and one trained in the use of weapons, valorous behaviour belongs to the brave though untrained in the use of weapons, the power to hit the target (comes) to one trained in weapons though not brave. 26 Even in the matter of hitting the target, the brave one over-reaches the trained one, because of his firmness, quick understanding and watchfulness.

27 As between a king with many sons and a king with an only son, the one with many sons, handing over one and supported by the rest, can violate the pact, not the other.

28 If the pact is on condition of giving the son who is his all, advantage (comes) from the offspring of the son. 29 Between two, equally having offspring from a son, advantage (comes) from the power to procreate. 30 Even between two, possessing the power to procreate, advantage (comes) from the birth being close at hand.

31 But when there is a capable only son, he should hand over himself, if he has lost the power of procreation, but should not give the only son.

32 When grown in strength, he should bring about the liberation of the hostage.

33 Secret agents disguised as artisans or artists, carrying out works in the proximity of the prince, should dig up a subterranean passage at night and carry away the prince.

34 Or, actors, dancers, singers, musicians, reciters, minstrels, rope-walkers and showmen, stationed (there) beforehand, should

23 matikarmanāṁ yogāḥ, i.e., association with acts requiring intelligence. 24 That is, a śūra should be given, rather than a prājña.

26 asaṅmoṣa ‘watchfulness in protecting oneself’ (Cn) is better than ‘absence of bewilderment or delusion (asaṅmoha)’ (Cs). 26 That is, a kṛtāstra should be given rather than a śūra.

27 śesapratistabdhaḥ : both pravṛtti and vyṛtti in place of prati are unlikely. For pratistabdha, cf. 7.7.11 ; 7.10.27.

28 putrasarvasa is the only son, who is the all in all of the father. Meyer’s ‘all the sons he has’ is little likely. putraphalataḥ, i.e., if the son to be given as a hostage has a son. The grandchild would be there to continue the line. Meyer’s ‘when there is power to procreate sons (in the king himself)’ is little likely. 29 sama-

phalayoḥ : comparison is again thought of; when two kings give each an only son, and this son has an offspring. — saktaprajanaṇataḥ : the capacity to procreate is that of the king himself (Cn) rather than that of the only son (Cb Cs). Cf. upata-

putropattir ātmānam, s. 31 below. The question of the son’s capacity to procreate would appear to be premature. Meyer has ‘whose progeny is capable.’ There is little point in that. 30 upasthitā- etc.: Meyer’s ‘with progeny which is already capable of doing work (upasthitā, i.e., ready for work)’ is altogether beside the point and is unlikely in itself.

33 upakhānayīvā is an archaic form.
wait upon the enemy. 35 They should (then) wait upon the prince one after the other. 36 He should fix for them entry, stay and departure without restriction as to time. 37 Then, disguised as one of them, he should leave at night. 38 By that are explained courtesans and women appearing as wives.

39 Or, he should go out carrying the box of their musical instruments or (other) articles.

40 Or, he should be carried out by cooks, waiters, bath-attendants, shampooers, bed-preparers, barbers, toilet-attendants or water-servers along with boxes of materials, dresses and articles, beds and seats after they have been used.

41 Or, he should go out at a time when the appearance cannot be distinguished, disguised as a servant, carrying something with him, or, (go out) through a subterranean passage with (materials for) a night oblation. 42 Or, he should practise the trick of Varuṇa in a reservoir of water.

43 Or, secret agents disguised as traders should administer poison to guards by selling cooked food and fruits.

44 Or, on the occasion of offerings to deities or worship of manes or picnic parties, he should administer food and drink mixed with

34 natanartaka- etc. : cf. 1.12.9, also 2.27.25. — saubhika, one who puts up a show on the stage. Cf. 11.1.34. — pūrva-pranihilītah, i.e., stationed in the enemy territory before the hostage was given. 36 sthāpayet : the subject is kumāraḥ. 37 tadoyaṁjano vā : vā serves no purpose. Meyer thinks that some words like tair nirhriyeta have dropped out. It is not necessary to suppose that. 38 bhārga-vaṁśajandah, i.e., female agents posing as the wives of the prince; as wife, the agent would be allowed unrestricted entry; then the prince is to leave in her garb.

39 teṣām refers to natanartaka- etc. as well as rūpājyāvā etc.; hence tāṣām is not necessary as Meyer thinks. For phēlā, cf. 13.2.48.

40 sūdārālika- etc. : cf. 1.12.9. — One is reminded of the trick used by Shivaji to escape from Aurangzeb's custody in Agra; he was carried out in a fruit basket. — saṁbhogaḥ, i.e., when they are sent out after use.

41 arūpavelanāyām ‘at a time when the form is indistinguishable’, i.e., when it is dark. — suruṅgāmukhena va nīsopahāreṇa: Cn Cs have ‘sending all attendants away on the pretext that he wants to offer night oblations.’ Cb has a similar explanation. We may also understand the offering of night oblations as a pretext for his leaving the residence alone and then arriving at the opening of an underground passage through which to escape. This suruṅgā, unlike that in s. 33, is not made by his agents and starts at a place away from his residence. Meyer proposes nīsā-pahāreṇa ‘by a nocturnal removal through a tunnel.’ apahāra does not go well with nīrghacchet. 42 vīruṇāṁ yogam : Cn Cs refer to 13.1.3-4. The idea rather is that of remaining submerged in water for a long time and coming up at a very distant place from where he plunged in (apparently for a bath).

43 rasam from Cn Cs is quite necessary.
a stupefying mixture or poison, and depart, or (he should leave) by seducing the guards.

45 Or, secret agents disguised as gallants, minstrels, physicians or vendors of cooked food should set fire at night to houses of the rich or of the guards. 46 Or, those disguised as traders should set fire to the market-place. 47 Or, after throwing another body inside, he should set his own residence on fire, for fear of pursuit. 48 Then he should leave through a hole in the wall, a channel or a subterranean passage.

49 Or, disguised as a carrier of loads of goods in jars suspended in slings from a pole, he should leave at night.

50 Or, entering the roving camps of ascetics with shaved heads or matted hair, he should leave at night disguised as one of them, or with the help of one of these, viz., change of appearance, inducing a malady and the disguise of a forester.

51 Or, made to appear as a corpse, he should be carried out by secret agents. 52 Or, dressed as a woman, he should follow (the funeral procession of) some one dead.

53 And agents appearing as foresters should direct (pursuers) to another direction when he is going in one. 54 Then he should go in another direction. 55 Or, he should escape through groups of carts of cartmen.

56 And when pursuit is close on his heels, he should remain hidden. 57 In the absence of a hiding place, he should scatter on both sides of the road money or poisoned food-stuffs. 58 Then he should go away in another direction.

44 madanayoga; see 14.1.16,17. — protsāhaka is inducing them to let him go 'by a promise of gifts' (Cn Cs) rather than 'by stirring up a fight amongst them' (Meyer).

45 nāgaraka 'a gallant' is different from nāgarika. — āraksīṇām : Cb Cn have no comment on this word. Cs puts it in brackets without comment. If it is to be read, a vā after it is necessary, gṛhāṇi being supplied from the preceding. The prince would escape when the guards are busy putting out the fire. 47 anyad vā sārīram etc.: one is reminded of the escape of the Pāṇḍavas from the lac-house. 48 kāṭā : cf. 3.8.21.

49 kāca is a contrivance for carrying loads on the shoulder, consisting of a pole with slings at the two ends, a contrivance still in common use in India. Cb, however, has 'kācabhāra, i.e., carriers of grass, fuel etc., kumkabhbhāra, i.e., carriers of water and bhādbhāra, i.e., dealers in horses etc.' Cs follows.

50 virūpakaraṇa; see 14.2.4 ff. — vyādhikaraṇa is described in 14.1. The disease would, however, be only apparent; the pretence of illness may induce the guards to allow him to go ostensibly for treatment.

55 sākapavātāh : sāta usually 'an enclosure,' seems used in the sense of 'group' (Cn Cs), somāha (Cb).
59 If caught, he should over-reach the pursuers with conciliation and other means, or with poisoned food on the way.

60 Or, in the trick of Varuṇa and in acts of setting fire, he should place another body and accuse the enemy, ‘You have killed my son.’

61 Or, taking up weapons secretly (brought), and falling on the guards at night, he should escape on quick-marching (horses) along with secret agents.

CHAPTER EIGHTEEN

SECTION 124 CONDUCT TOWARDS THE MIDDLE KING
SECTION 125 CONDUCT TOWARDS THE NEUTRAL KING
SECTION 126 CONDUCT TOWARDS THE CIRCLE OF KINGS

1 With respect to the middle king, he himself, the third and the fifth constituents are friendly elements. 2 The second, the fourth and the sixth are unfriendly elements.

3 If the middle king were to help both these, the conqueror should be favourably inclined towards the middle king. 4 If he does not help (either), he should remain favourable to the friendly elements.

5 If the middle king were to desire to seize an ally of the conqueror having the feelings of a friend, he should save the ally by rousing the allies of the ally and his own allies, and dividing his allies from the

56 sattram is a place where one can hide oneself, particularly for lying in ambush; cf. 10.3.24.

59 pathyadānena read in the mss. is obviously not right; cf. 2.16.24.

60 The subject for abhiruṇājita is the father of the prince, while that for ādhāya would be the secret agents; the sense of the causal may therefore be understood in ādhāya. — abhiruṇājita ‘should accuse’ may also suggest the idea of attacking.

61 śīgrapattaiḥ: Ca supplies aśvaiḥ, Cb yānaiḥ.

7.18

The three Sections are found in ss. 1-25, 26-27 and 28-44 respectively.

1 madhyamasya: this word seems out of place here. This and the next s. describe the prakṛtis and the vikṛtis of the viṣṭihīṣu, not of the madhyama, as Cb Cs understand. For, ubhayam in s. 3, who are likely to be favoured by the madhyama, cannot include his own enemies; and the prakṛtis in s. 4, to whom the viṣṭihīṣu is advised to be favourably disposed if the madhyama does not help either party, can be the prakṛtis of the viṣṭihīṣu himself, not those of the madhyama. If at all the word madhyamasya is read at the beginning of this s., it should be understood in some such sense as ‘in relation to, with respect to, the madhyama king.’ — ātmā as a separate word is quite necessary as in the commentators. It refers to the viṣṭihīṣu himself, the third and fifth prakṛtis being his mitra and mitramitra. 2 The second, fourth and sixth prakṛtis are the ari, arimitra and arimitramitra of the viṣṭihīṣu.
middle king. 6 Or, he should incite the circle: ‘This middle king, grown very powerful, has risen for the destruction of all of us; let us join together and frustrate his expedition.’ 7 If the circle were to favour that, he should, by the suppression of the middle king, augment himself. 8 If it were not to favour, helping the ally with treasury and army, he should win over by conciliation and gifts one — the principal or the proximate — from among the kings inimical to the middle king, who, many in number, may be helping each other, or of whom, by winning over one, many would be won over, or who, being afraid of each other, would not rise. 9 Being thus double, (he should win over) a second king; being three-fold, a third king. 10 Augmented in power in this way, he should suppress the middle king. 11 Or, if place and time were to lapse, he should make peace with the middle king and be helpful to the ally, or make a pact for an undertaking with the treasuable (officers of the middle king).

12 If the middle king were to desire to seize an ally of his deserving to be weakened, he should sustain him, saying ‘I will save you,’ till he is weakened. 13 He should save him when weakened.

14 If the middle king were to desire to seize an ally of his deserving to be exterminated, he should save him when weakened through fear of the increase of the middle king’s power. 15 Or, if he is exterminated, he should get him in his power by the grant of land, through fear of his going elsewhere.

16 If the allies of his ally, deserving to be weakened or exterminated, were to be helpful to the middle king, he should have peace made through another person. 17 Or, if the allies of those two were capable of suppressing the conqueror, he should make peace (with the middle king).

8 ye madhyamadvesino rājanaḥ is to be understood with each of the following three clauses (Cn Cs) rather than as a separate fourth clause (Meyer). — nottiṣṭheran ‘not rise (against the madhyama),’ though they are hostile (doṣin) to him. — āsannam ‘proximate’ to himself or to the ally who is to be saved. 11 deśakālātīpattau, i.e., when the matter is urgent. Cf. 3.16.11. — sācīvyam kuryāt: by secretly helping the ally with troops and money, as in Cn; cf. s.16 below. — dūṣyeṣu: these are clearly those of the middle king. — karmasaṁdhīhim: see 7.12.

12 asya, i.e., vijīgisoḥ. Similarly in ss. 14 and 18.

14 madhyamavṛddhībhavyāt: the fear is that if his ally were totally crushed, the madhyama would be very strong. 15 anyatra, i.e., in the enemy’s camp (Cn Cs).

16 sācīvyakarāṇī: they render aid against their own ally, clandestinely. — puruṣāntareṇa saṁdhīyeta: this refers to 7.3.24, a treaty in which the senāpati or the kumāra is surrendered to the enemy. Here the senāpati or kumāra would appear to be that of the ally. The causal would have been preferable to the passive of saṁdhīyeta.
18 If the middle king were to desire to seize his (i.e., the conqueror's) enemy, he should make peace. 19 Thus his own ends are secured and the middle king is also pleased.

20 If the middle king were to desire to seize his own ally having friendly feelings, he should have peace made through another person. 21 Or, if he were to care (for the conqueror), he should dissuade him, saying 'It does not behove you to exterminate an ally.' 22 Or, he should remain indifferent, thinking 'Let the circle be enraged with him on account of the destruction of his own party.'

23 If the middle king were to desire to seize his own enemy, he should help him with treasury and army, unseen.

24 If the middle king were to desire to seize the neutral king, he should give him aid, thinking 'Let him be divided from the neutral king.' 25 Of the middle and the neutral kings, he should resort to the one who is liked by the circle of kings.

26 By conduct towards the middle king is explained conduct towards the neutral king.

27 If the neutral king were to desire to seize the middle king, he should turn to that side where he would over-reach his enemy or render help to his ally or secure the neutral king for rendering aid with troops to himself.

28 Augmenting himself in this way, he should weaken the constituent, enemy, and support the constituent, ally.

29 Though there are feelings of enmity (among all), the enemy (in front) not self-possessed (and) constantly doing injury, or the enemy

20 saṁdadhyañ : apparently the vijj̣iṣu induces the madhyama king's ally to make a treaty of this kind. saṁdhiṁ kāraṇet would have been better. 21 sāpekṣaṁ seems to mean 'if the madhyama has regard for him (the vijj̣iṣu).' Cn has 'anucchedarucim if he is disinclined to exterminate.' Meyer treats it as an adverb 'respectfully, discreetly.'

23 enam, i.e., to the enemy of the madhyama.

24 After viprata, the words asmai saṁhāryaṁ dadyāt are added as in Cn ; the comment in Cb also presupposes those words. In their absence, the words that follow, udāśīnāv etc. (including those in s. 25 in that case), cannot be construed with the preceding clause. And s. 25 very clearly contains a new idea, unconnected with words in s. 24. For bheda implied by bhidyatām cannot be brought about by what is recommended in s. 25. The help given might encourage the madhyama to take a strong line against the udāśīna. — asmai is madhyamāya ; he is weaker than the udāśīna, and his strengthening would be necessary for bheda. — udāśīnād bhidyatām cannot mean ' turn away from the udāśīna ' as words addressed by the madhyama to the vijj̣iṣu, as Meyer thinks.

27 udāśināṁ vā : Cb Cs add madhyamam before this. But though possible, the labha of the madhyama does not seem intended here.
in the rear in league with the enemy (in front), one vulnerable, being in a calamity, or one attacking the leader in his calamity, these are (neighbouring kings) with a hostile disposition; one marching for a common objective, one marching for a separate object, one marching after joining forces, one marching after making a pact, one marching for his own object, one rising together (with the leader), one purchasing or selling either treasury or troops as he resorts to a dual policy, these are with a friendly disposition; the neighbour placed in between or at the side as a hindrance to the strong king, or one in the rear of the strong king, one who has submitted to force, either submitting of his own accord or submitting because of the might, these are neighbours with a dependent's feelings. 30 By these are explained those separated by one intervening state.

31 Of these, that ally who would make common cause with him in case of hostility with the enemy, he should help with power, with which he would withstand the enemy.

32 He should get that ally, who, after conquering the enemy, might grow in strength and go out of control, into conflict with the two constituents, the neighbour and the one separated by one state.

33 Or, he should cause his territory to be seized by a pretender from his family or a prince in disfavour or so act that he would remain under control in consideration of help (received).

29 All neighbouring kings (sāmantāḥ) normally tend to be inimical, possessed of amitrabhāca; yet three classes are distinguished here, aribhācīn, mitrabhācīn and bhṛtyabhācīn. — adānāvān and niṣṭāpakārī are descriptions of śatru and not independent categories (as in Cs and Meyer). So śatrasaṁhītāḥ is an adjective to pārṣṣughrāhāḥ and not an independent category. — vyāsāni yātāvyāḥ is one king; cf. 6.2.16. — aribhācvānāḥ: the substantive is sāmantāḥ at the end. — svā in svārtha- etc. seems to refer to the vijīgīṣu, not to the sāmantā. The latter's artha is mentioned in prthagarthā. — dvaidhībhācīkaḥ is the sāmantā who makes peace with the vijīgīṣu, when engaged in war elsewhere; while making the peace, he purchases or sells daṇḍa or kośa to the vijīgīṣu. Hence kośadaṇḍayor etc. does not constitute a category independent of dvaidhībhācīka. — balavataḥ pratīghātāḥ is a description of the antardhi and the pratīcēśa, and not a separate type of king as Cb Cs think. Cf. 7.13.24-25. There is no definition of pratīghāta in 7.13.25 as Cs states here (though not while commenting on the passage itself). svāyamupanāta and pratīpovanāta are two types of daṇḍopanāta, and not separate categories.

31 ekārthātāṁ vrojaṁ viśmahyām āvijñate (Cb Cs). Cn rightly has 'vijīgīṣunā saha.'

32 sāmantakāntarābhikhyāṁ pratītibhyām: these would be those of the ally himself, hardly those of the vijīgīṣu.

33 anupradhēpekṣam may be 'in expectation of help' or 'in consideration of help received.' The latter seems meant.
34 That ally, who being much weakened might not help or might go over to the enemy, he, well-versed in polities, should keep neither weak nor strong.

35 That unstable ally, who for the sake of his own ends makes peace (with him), — he should remove the reason for his leaving, so that he would not waver.

36 That ally who remains common to the enemy (and himself), he should divide that rogue from the enemy, (and) when divided, exterminate him, thereafter (exterminate) the enemy.

37 And he should get that ally, who would remain indifferent, into conflict with neighbouring kings; then when he is severely distressed by the fight, he should place him under (his) obligations.

38 That weak ally, who goes to the enemy and the conqueror (for support), he should help with troops, so that he would not turn away from him.

39 Or, removing him from that (territory) he should settle him in another land, after first settling another (ally) there because of help with troops (received from him).

40 That ally who might do harm or who, though capable, would not help in times of trouble, he should certainly exterminate him, when, trustingly, he comes within his reach.

41 When the enemy has risen, unrestrained, because of a calamity of the ally, he should be got over-powered by that ally himself, with his calamity removed (by him).

34 arthavid seems to be arthasastra vid, hardly ' who knows his interests.'

35 arthayuktya ' with the purpose of securing his own interests.' Cf. 8.1.59.

37 upabare nicesayet: the same idiom as in ' place under obligation.' It can hardly mean 'take him into favour and allow him to render service (to himself)' (Meyer).

39 tatra, i.e., in the territory of the weak king, who is shifted from there. — dandanaugraha is help of troops already received from him, hardly that expected from him.

40 aikam upasthitam, i.e., come within his reach or in his power. Cf. 1.17.10.

41 Meyer understands the vā in this stanza in the sense of śva or yathā, and construes this stanza (as containing a comparison) with the next stanza, 'just as an enemy, rising because of an ally's calamity can be put down through the ally, so an ally rising because of an enemy's calamity should be put down through the enemy etc.' This is not likely. There is no tathā or evam in s. 42. And vā as śva is doubtful. And even though s. 41 speaks of the ari, the mention of the mitravyasana and of the viṣīguṣu's duty towards the ally show that the context of 'ally' is not violated.
42 That ally who, after rising because of a calamity of the enemy, becomes disaffected, is over-powered through the enemy himself, by overcoming the calamity of the enemy.

43 He, who is well-versed in the science of politics, should employ all the means, viz., advancement, decline and stable condition as well as weakening and extermination.

44 He who sees the six measures of policy as being inter-dependent in this manner, plays, as he pleases, with kings tied by the chains of his intellect.

Herewith ends the Seventh Book of the Arthashastra of Kauṭiliya

'The Six Measures of Foreign Policy'

42 prasidhyati is used with the sense of the passive voice.

44 anyonyasaścāram 'moving to each other,' i.e., connected with each other, bound up with one another.
BOOK EIGHT

CONCERNING THE TOPIC OF CALAMITIES

CHAPTER ONE

SECTION 127  THE GROUP OF CALAMITIES OF THE CONSTITUENT ELEMENTS

1 In case of simultaneity of calamities (the question arises) should one march or guard (oneself) because of ease, hence a consideration of calamities (is necessary).

2 A calamity of a constituent, of a divine or human origin, springs from ill luck or wrong policy.

3 Inversion of excellences, absence, a great defect, addiction, or affliction constitutes a calamity. 4 It throws out a person from his good, hence it is called vyasana.

The Eighth Book deals with the calamities that affect the various constituents (prakrtis) of the state. It is necessary to take precautions against these before one can start on an expedition of conquest, which is to be described in the following Books.

8.1

1 vyasanayaugapadye: for the purpose of the discussion of the calamities befalling the different prakrtis, it is assumed that the vijjigṣu and the ari are both suffering from a calamity affecting one of their prakṛtis. The relative seriousness of the calamities befalling the various prakṛtis being pointed out, it becomes easy for the vijjigṣu to decide whether he should march against the ari or should stay quiet. If his calamity is lighter, he is to march; if it is more serious, he is to remain quiet. — saukaryataḥ ‘because of the ease,’ i.e., with ease in the carrying out of the policy either of yāna or of sthāna. — yātāvyam rakṣitavyam vā: the vā is from Ca Cs; it is to be preferred to the ca of the mss. The two policies of yāna and sthāna (i.e., āsana) cannot be pursued simultaneously. There can be no doubt that rakṣitavyam refers to the policy of sthāna, as is clearly shown by 8.2.26. With ca, Meyer has ‘going forth (yātāvyam) and finding means of protection (rakṣitavyam ca).’ He supposes that the two or more calamities have befallen the vijjigṣu himself. That is hardly right. Meyer further suggests that yātāvyam may mean ‘he should run away’ or that pātāvyam should be read instead. yā cannot mean ‘to run away’ in this case and there would be no difference between pātāvyam and rakṣitavyam.

2 For anaya and apanaya see 6.2.6-12.
5 'Of calamities befalling the king, the minister, the country, the fort, the treasury, the army and the ally, that of each earlier one is more serious,' say the teachers.

6 'No,' says Bhāradvāja. 7 'Of calamities befalling the king and the minister, the calamity of the minister is more serious. 8 Deliberation in counsel, securing the fruits of deliberation, carrying out undertakings, managing income and expenditure, infliction of punishment, warding off of enemies and forest tribes, protection of the kingdom, taking steps against calamities, guarding of princes and the installation of princes, are (all) dependent on ministers. 9 In the absence of these, those (activities) are lacking, and there is loss of all activity on the part of the king, as of a (bird) with clipped wings. 10 And in the calamities (of these), secret instigations by the enemy are close at hand. 11 And if these are hostile, there is danger to (the king's) life, since they move near the person of the king.'

12 'No,' says Kauṭilya. 13 It is the king alone who appoints the group of servants like the councillor, the chaplain and others, directs the activity of departmental heads, takes counter-measures

3 gunaprātimoyam, i.e., the possession of qualities the opposite of those regarded as constituting the excellences of the various prakṛtis as in 6.1. Cn Cs give an alternative explanation 'the wrong use of the six gunas or policies.' But that is not right. This and the following expressions are attributes of the prakṛtis which represent a vyasana in their case. And guna in connection with prakṛtis can only refer to their qualities, not to the six-fold guna; cf. s. 62 below. Besides, the wrong use of gunas (or policies) is apanaga, as stated in 9.5.1; and apanaya is the cause of vyasana (s. 2 above), is not itself a vyasana. — abhāvaḥ is the absence of any of the prakṛtis, such as absence of durgā or kṣaṇa. — pradosaḥ 'a great defect' refers to spoiling or deterioration of a prakṛti. Material elements may get ruined; human beings may become dāṣya. — prasaṅgakā is applicable to human beings only. — pīṭhā is the same as the pīṭhāna of 8.4.1 ff.

5 Manu, 7.294-295, puts pura (i.e., durgā) before rāṣṭra (i.e., janapada); that agrees with the view of the Pārāśaras (s. 24 below).

8 daṇḍaprāṇāyanaḥ refers to infliction of punishment, rather than to the raising or disposing of an army (as Cn Cs understand it). Cf. 1.4.11-12 for daṇḍa with praṇī. — daṇḍaprāṇāyanaḥ of the mss. is obviously faulty. — kumārarakṣaṇaḥ: according to Cn Cs this is 'guarding against princes' as in 1.17. However, 'protection of the princes' appears more likely here. 9 tadabhāvaḥ: Cn seems to have read tadabhācāt 'because there would be no mantra etc. in the absence of ministers, there would be cēṣṭānāśa.' This would dispense with the necessity of ca after cēṣṭānāśa. But in 15.1.39, where this passage is quoted, the ca is read; on the strength of that, a ca is added here and in consequence tadabhāvaḥ is retained.

11 For vaighṛtya 'hostility,' cf. 5.6.8; 7.8.10. — prāntikaḥ: prāṇa here is the person of the king. antika has nothing to do with anta and the expression cannot mean 'life-threatening,' i.e., fatal (Meyer).

13 edhanam is that of the two kinds of prakṛtis. 14 Cn seems to have read vyasaniṣu śāṅkhyeṣu, which might appear better. 16 saṃprāṇaḥ and svasaṁ-
against the calamities of constituents, whether human or material, and secures their advancement. 14 If the ministers are suffering from calamities, he appoints others who are not in calamities. 15 He remains ever diligent in honouring those worthy of honour and suppressing the treasurers. 16 And when the king is possessed of excellences, he makes the constituents perfect with their respective excellences. 17 What character he has, that character the constituents come to have, being dependent on him in the matter of energetic activity and remissness. 18 For, the king is in the place of their head.

19 'Of calamities befalling the minister and the country, the calamity of the country is more serious,' says Viśālākṣa. 20 'The treasury, the army, forest produce, labourers, means of transport and stores spring from the country. 21 In the absence of the country, there would be lack of these, and (the disappearance) of the king and the minister (would follow) immediately thereafter.'

22 'No,' says Kauṭilya. 23 All undertakings have their origin in the ministers, (viz.), successful execution of works in the country, bringing about its well-being and security from one's own and from the enemy's people, taking counter-measures against calamities, settlement of new lands and their development, and (bringing in) the benefit of fines and taxes.

24 'Of calamities befalling the country and the fort, the calamity of the fort (is more serious),' say the followers of Parāśara. 25 'For, it is in the fort that the treasury and the army spring up and a place (secured) for the country people in times of trouble. 26 And city-dwellers are stronger than the country people and being steadfast (in loyalty) are helpful to the king in times of trouble. 27 Country people, on the other hand, are common to the enemy.'

paṭabhīḥ refer to excellences as described in 6.1 and elsewhere. 17 utthāne pramāde ca : cf. 1.19.1-2. 18 kīṭa is ‘peak, head’ rather than ‘root cause’ (Cn Cs).

20 vāhanam refers to bullocks and carts in particular. 21 svāmyamātyayoś cānantarāḥ : we have to supply abhūcaḥ from the preceding, the idea being, if there is no country and therefore no treasury etc., there will soon be no king and no minister. Cn Cs, however, treat this as a new s., ‘the country should really occupy the position between the king and the minister in the list of prakriti.’ For this, anantarā would be necessary, and janapadaḥ would have to be supplied from janapada-dābhāc. It is extremely doubtful if anantarā can mean ‘placed in between.’ The clause, as naturally understood, does not imply that the janapada is superior to the king, as Cn objects.

23 dayākara- : cf. 1.13.8, though here dayā may also mean ‘army’ (Meyer).

25 ārge : Cn reads ārge. 26 paurā jānapadebhīyāḥ from Cs is clearly necessary in place of paurājānapadebhīyāḥ of the mss. — nityāḥ : Cn seems to understand this independently ‘steadfastly loyal’; in view of the position of ca, it seems
28 'No,' says Kauṭilya. 29 The undertakings of the fort, the treasury, the army, water-works and the occupations for livelihood have their source in the country. 30 And bravery, firmness, cleverness and large numbers are (found) among the country people. 31 And mountain forts and island forts are not inhabited because of the absence of the country. 32 However, in a country inhabited mostly by agriculturists, the calamity of the fort (is more serious), while in a country inhabited mostly by martial people, the calamity of the country (is more serious).

33 'Of calamities befalling the fort and the treasury, the calamity of the treasury (is more serious),' says Piśuna. 34 'For, dependent on the treasury are building of the fort, protection of the fort, control over the country, the allies and the enemies, incitement of those away from the land, and the use of armed forces. 35 A fort is susceptible to secret instigations by enemies with money. 36 And in a calamity, it is possible to go away with the treasury, not with the fort.'

37 'No,' says Kauṭilya. 38 Dependent on the fort are the treasury, the army, silent war, restraint of one's own party, use of armed forces, receiving allied troops, and warding off enemy troops and forest tribes. 39 And in the absence of a fort, the treasury will fall better to understand it as the reason for their being āpadi sahāyāḥ. 27 amītrāsādhāraṇāḥ: this is because when they are over-run by the enemy they easily transfer their allegiance to him.

31 parvatāndaśrīvīpāḥ durgāḥ: see 2.3.1-2. 32 kṛṣṇakapraye tu etc.: this is a partial agreement with the view of the Pārasaras. We have to supply janapade after kṛṣṇakapraye and understand garviyāḥ after durgāvyasanaṃ. Thus Cn. Cs explains 'in a land with a few warriors and many agriculturists there is trouble in the absence of a fort; that trouble can be avoided in a land of warriors, but even they cannot ward off the calamity of the land; hence calamity of the land is more serious.' All this could hardly have been meant. Meyer supplies durgā after kṛṣṇakapraye, 'on the one hand, the preponderance of agriculturists in a fort is a calamity; on the other, the preponderance of soldiers on the land is a calamity for the countryside.' This also appears extremely doubtful.

34 durgāvāsakāraḥ: cf. 2.4.31. — It is proposed to read, with Meyer, jana-pada- . . . -vyavahārah in this s., instead of after pāreśām at the end of the next s. The words transposed can be construed with kośamūlaḥ, but not with durgāḥ — desāntarīta may be natives who have gone away or foreigners in their own lands. — dandabolavāvahārah: Cn has 'forcing some one to send troops (bala) by threats of punishment (dandābhayāt)'; Cs 'dealing in, i.e., giving and receiving of troops'; this sense does not suit s. 38 or 9.2.4; see also 13.3.15. Meyer has 'activity and maintenance (vyavahāra) of professional troops (dandabala),' 'The use of armed forces' would appear to be sufficient in all places where the expression occurs.

38 dandabolavāvahārah: Cn here has 'disposition of troops sent through fear of use of force.' — āśāra is the ally's troops; cf. 10.2.7.
into the hands of enemies. 40 For, it is seen that those with forts are not exterminated.

41 'Of calamities befalling the treasury and the army, the calamity of the army (is more serious),' says Kaṇṇapadanta. 42 'For, dependent on the army are restraint of allies and enemies, rousing alien troops to action, and reinforcement of one's own troops. 43 And in the absence of an army, the loss of the treasury is certain. 44 And in the absence of a treasury, it is possible to collect an army with forest produce or land or by allowing seizure of enemy's land by each for himself, and to collect a treasury, when one has an army. 45 And being in close proximity to the king, the army has the same characteristics as the minister.'

46 'No,' says Kauṭilya. 47 The army, indeed, is rooted in the treasury. 48 In the absence of a treasury, the army goes over to the enemy or kills the king. 49 And the treasury, ensuring (the success of) all endeavours, is the means of deeds of piety and sensual pleasures. 50 In conformity with the place, the time and the work, however, one of the two, treasury and army, becomes important. 51 For, the army is the means of acquiring and protecting the treasury, the treasury that of the treasury and the army. 52 Because it brings into being all objects, the calamity of the treasury is more serious.

53 'Of calamities befalling the army and the ally, the calamity of the ally (is more serious),' says Vātavyādhī. 54 'The ally does the work without being paid and at a distance, repels the enemy in the rear, his ally, the enemy and the forest chief, and helps with treasury, army and territory, remaining united in conditions of calamity.'

42 parādaṇḍotsādanam : the alien troops are part of one's army. Meyer proposes utsādanam for utsāhanam ; that does not seem necessary. The idea of urging them to fight is better. — svadaṇḍapratigrahāḥ : pratigraha means 1 reserves which are used to reinforce the troops engaged in fighting ; cf. 10.2.20. Cn's explanation seems to imply the idea of raising troops. Cs has 'acceptance of one's army as attacking the enemy's troops,' i.e., apparently its use for attack. Meyer has 'possession of one's army ' or mastery over it. 44 kośāḥbhāc ca : we expect a tu in place of ca. — svayamgrāha : cf. 8.4.23 ; 9.3.17. 45 rājāḥ āśanāvṛttītivād : this is because the army is directly under the king. For the idea, cf. s. II above.

49 sarvābhīhyogakaraṇaḥ : it seems that abhiyoga is used in the sense of 'effort, endeavour.' Cs has 'capable of carrying out attacks against all neighbours' which is hardly appropriate in the case of koṣa. Cn seems to have read -taraṇaḥ 'capable of saving from attacks by all.' These explanations might suit daṇḍa but the expression cannot be included in the preceding s. 50 This is a partial concession to Kaṇṇapadanta's view. 52 sarvadraya-. : Cn Cs understand the dravyapakārītis.

54 vyasanācaṣṭāḥyogam as an adjective to mitram rather than to viṣṇuṣum 'who has fallen in a state of misfortune' (Meyer). With upakaroti, we generally have the genitive, not the accusative.
55 ‘No,’ says Kautilya. 56 When one has an army, one’s ally remains friendly, or (even) the enemy becomes friendly. 57 However, in a work that can well be performed either by the army or the ally, advantage comes from their strength (and) the attainment of suitable place and time for their own type of warfare. 58 But an ally is of no avail in a speedy expedition against enemies or forest chiefs and in a rising in the interior. 59 An ally looks to the securing of his own interests in the event of simultaneity of calamities and in the event of the growth of the enemy’s power.

60 Thus has been stated the determination of (the seriousness of) calamities befalling the constituents.

61 But in accordance with the peculiar nature of the calamity, the numerousness or loyalty or strength of parts of the constituent leads to the accomplishment of a work.

62 But when the calamity of two (constituents) is equal, the difference (arises) from a decline in qualities, if the possession

56 Cn reads a hi after danagavato. 57 sādhārane, i.e., which can be carried out either by the army or the ally. Cs understands kārya in the sense of kāryasādhakatva and construes sārataḥ ‘in point of strength’ with it. That is unnecessary. — For sāra ‘strength,’ cf. 10.5.14 ff. — After -lābhat a ca or vā would seem necessary. 58 amitrātavikān is proposed as the object of śīghrābhīhiyāne, since kope cannot be construed with amitra or ātavika. kopa refers to a revolt in the kingdom. For abhyantarākopa, see 9.3.12. 59 vyasanayayugapadye, i.e., when the vijigīsū and the enemy are both in calamity, as in s. 1. — arthayuktāu: cf. 7.18.35.

61 prakṛtyavayavānām is construed with bahubhāvāḥ etc. in the second half and vyasanasya vīśeṣataḥ understood as an independent clause. The idea is, it would depend on the nature of the particular calamity whether bahubhāva or anurūga or sāra of parts of the prakṛti would be helpful in overcoming the calamity. Meyer has ‘in the case of a calamity (vyasanasya) befalling single parts of a constituent, it is in accordance with the peculiar nature (vīśeṣataḥ, of the calamity) that numerousness etc. leads to success.’ It is not necessary to understand the vyasana to be that of parts of a prakṛti. Cn has two explanations, the second of which is adopted in Cs. According to it, ‘the numerousness etc. of parts of constituents is more effective than the greater or less importance (vīśeṣa) of the calamity affecting those parts.’ Cn adds ‘if, for example, the vijigīsū has janapadavyasana and the enemy has durgavyasana, the former (even though in a greater calamity) would succeed, if his janapada has numerousness etc. and if the avayavas of the enemy’s durga (such as dhānacana, rana, etc.) do not have bahubhāva etc.’ This is reading too much in the words. It is also doubtful if a comparison between the calamities of two kings is intended in this stanza. Cn’s first explanation is ‘on account of the greater or less importance (vīśeṣataḥ, i.e., balīgaśāvān) of the calamities of the members (avayavas), viz., the constituents (i.e., with prakṛtyagah eva avayavāḥ) being thus declared, the numerousness etc. (of a later prakṛti, whose calamity is lighter) brings success.’ The first half does not seem properly understood. — 9.7.48-49 show that bahubhāva and anurūga belong to avayavas of purusaprakṛtis, while sāra to those of dravyapratītis.

62 It is proposed to read nāvidheyakam for nābhidheyikam of the mss., and avidheyaka is understood as ‘not under control, not effective, etc.’; nāvidhāyakam
of excellences by the rest of the constituents is not rendered un
serviceable.

63 But where the destruction of the rest of the constituents is likely to follow from the calamity of one, that calamity would be more serious, whether of the principal or of (some) other (constituent).

CHAPTER TWO

SECTION 128 CONSIDERATIONS REGARDING THE CALAMITIES OF THE KING AND KINGSHIP

1 The king and (his) rule, this is the sum-total of the constituents.

2 For the king, there is (danger of) revolt in the interior or in the outer regions. 3 Because of danger as from a snake, a rising in

may also be read in this sense. dvayoḥ refers to two constituents of the same state. gunataḥ is construed with kṣayāt, the idea understood being that the difference arises from a greater or less deterioration in the excellences of the prakrtis. Cn has two explanations, the first of which is 'when the same prakrti of the conqueror and the enemy is in a calamity, the difference is due to absence of bahubhāva and other qualities; but if the remaining prakrtis possess their excellences, that renders the absence of bahubhāva and other qualities ineffective (gūnakṣayasya avidhāyaṁ bhavati). ' In the second, Cn has 'the distinction is according to presence of qualities (gunataḥ) or their absence (kṣayāt), provided the excellences of the remaining prakrtis mentioned above (abhidheyaka, i.e., abhidhāya viṣayikṛtam) are not present in those of the enemy.' There seems little justification for supposing parasya in the second half. Cn differs from the second explanation in Cn only in referring gunataḥ to the conqueror and kṣayāt to the enemy or vice versa instead of referring both to the viṣajīṣu. In this s. dvayoḥ can be understood to refer to two rival kings; however, it appears better to understand two prakṛtis of the same state by it. Meyer construes kṣayāt with the second half, 'if after deterioration of a constituent, the remaining constituents are in an excellent condition, the calamity is not worth mentioning (nabhidheyikam). ' This last is extremely doubtful.

63 ekavyaṣanād shows that dvayoḥ in the last stanza refers to prakṛtis rather than to rival kings. — pradhānasya, i.e., of the king.

8.2

The Chapter deals with rājavyasana and rāgyavyasana in ss. 2-4 and 5-25 respectively. The former is concerned with danger to the king’s person, the latter with abnormal forms of rule.

1 rājā rājyaṃ: this is not the same thing as ‘l’état c’est moi’ of Louis XIV. rājya refers to rulership or rule and does not mean ‘kingdom.’ The idea here is, the king and his rule constitute the sum-total of prakṛtis. The other prakṛtis are subservient to that. The supreme importance of the king and his rule is thus emphasised. Because of this importance, the question of the vyasanas befalling them is taken up first. Cn Cs (agreeing in this with Kāmandaka, 15.1) understand by rājya all the other prakṛtis from amātya to mitra. But rājya in this Chapter has nothing to do with those prakṛtis.
the interior is a greater evil than a rising in the outer regions, and a rising of ministers of the interior (a greater evil) than a rising in the interior. 4 Therefore, he should keep the power of the treasury and the army in his own hands.

5 'As between rule by two and rule without the (legitimate) king, rule by two is destroyed by hatred and loyalty towards each other's parties or by mutual rivalry; rule without the (legitimate) king, on the other hand, looking to the winning of the hearts of the subjects, is enjoyed by the others as it exists,' say the teachers.

6 'No,' says Kauṭilya. 7 Rule by two, (e.g.), by father and son or by two brothers, continues to exist, with well-being and security equally shared and with ministers held in check. 8 Rule without the (legitimate) king, on the other hand, snatching what belongs to another still living, and thinking, 'This does not belong to me,' impoverishes it, carries it off or sells it or, if (still) disaffected, leaves it and goes away.

2 abhyantaraka kopa and bāhya kopa are described in 9.3.12 and 22 respectively. 3 abhībhyād: a simile is implied; the ablative shows hetu. — antaramālāyakopa is defined in 9.3.20 and refers to a rising of palace officials like dāvairīka, antaraṃāśika etc. — antabhākopa is the same as abhyantaraka kopa.

5 dvairājya: as the sequel shows, this is joint rule by two kings, not a partition of a kingdom into two, as is the case in Mālavikāgnimitra, Act 5. — vairājya 'being without the king' is in effect rule by one other than the legitimate ruler of the state. Some enemy, after conquering a state, has driven out its ruler and started ruling over it from his own state. The text does not justify the thesis of Jayaswal (Hindu Polity, I, 92) that this means a kingless state and that it implies a real democratic constitution, nor is vairājya an aristocracy (ni-rāj) ruling under authority from janapada or the entire body of the people (H. K. Deb, IHQ, XIV, 372 ff.) — anyātī cannot mean 'by the subjects' (Cn) or 'by everybody' (Deb, loc. cit., p. 370). It refers to those who have forcibly seized the kingdom.

7 tulyayogakṣemam is a reply to parasparasāngharṣeṇa; if welfare is equally shared, there need be no rivalry. Cn rightly adds 'mitho virodhāsanābhavāt' by way of explanation. — amālāyacagrahā is from Cn Cn. It means 'where the ministers are held in check' and is a reply to anyonyapakṣadveṣa- etc. Cn, however, has 'if a conflict does arise, the ministers can set it right'; Cn has 'the ministers can prevent double rule from coming into existence,' which is hardly likely; the question of preventing dvairājya is not being discussed here. V. Raghavan (Proceedings of the All-India Oriental Conference, Nagpur, 1946, pp. 103-4) proposes mitho 'cagraham, regarding tulyayogakṣemam as a reply to anyonyapakṣa- etc. and mitho 'cagraham as a reply to parasparasāngharṣeṇa. He thinks that the amālāyas have no place here. But anyonyapakṣa- does contain a reference to such officers in both parties. And tulya- etc. appears more likely as a reply to paraspara- etc. The case of Mālavikāgnimitra 5.14 (parasparāvagranānirvīkārau) is not exactly parallel. The two kings there rule over two halves of Vidarbha independently and are both vassals to another sovereign. 8 vairājya does not necessarily refer to rule by foreigners from outside India, as Meyer thinks. The foreign ruler is only from a neighbouring state in India. Though the subject for karśayati etc. is vairājya, we have to understand
9 As between a king blind and a king deviating from the science, 'The king, blind because he is without the eye of science, doing whatsoever pleases him, obstinately resolved, or led by others, ruins the kingdom with (his acts of) injustice; but one deviating from the science is easy of persuasion in those cases where his mind has strayed from the science,' say the teachers.

10 'No,' says Kautšila. 11 The blind king can be made to follow any course of action through the excellence of his associates. 12 One deviating from the science, however, with his mind firmly fixed on what is contrary to the science, ruins the kingdom and himself with his injustice.

13 As between a sick and a new king, 'The sick king meets with (the danger of) the overthrow of his rule caused by ministers or danger to his own life caused by (carrying on the) rule; the new king, on the other hand, busies himself with acts like observance of his duties, showing favours, granting exemptions, bestowing gifts and conferring honour, which please and benefit the subjects,' say the teachers.

14 'No,' says Kautšila. 15 The sick king carries on the kingly duties as they were going on before. 16 The new king, however, thinking the kingdom, won by force, to be his, behaves as he likes without restraint. 17 Or, being in the power of his associates in revolt, he tolerates the ruin of the kingdom. 18 Not being rooted among the subjects, he becomes easy to uproot.

19 With respect to the sick king, there is this distinction, one afflicted by a foul disease and one not so afflicted. 20 With respect the foreign ruler as meant. Cn Cs read vairājya for vairājyam. The construction becomes easy in that case, though the subject for karāyati etc. has then to be supplied. — Jayaswal's translation of the s. (Hindu Polity, I, 94) 'nobody feels in a Vairājya government the feeling of "mine" (with regard to the state), the aim of political organism is rejected, any one can sell away (the country), no one feels responsible, or becoming indifferent leaves the state' does too much violence to the text.

9 For asāstracaksur andhah, cf. 1.14.7. — calitaśāstra is one who deliberately flouts the teaching of the śāstra.

13 prānābdhaṁ vā rājyamālam : this clearly means that carrying on the rule would be too much for the health of the king and he might die, as Meyer says. Cn has 'the people consider him unfit to rule and overthrow him.' — prakṛtirājya-nopakāraṁ is an adjective to the preceding expression.

15 rājapramidhim as in 1.19. 16 balācarjitaṁ and sāmuthāyikāṁ (s. 17) show that 'new king' means a usurper. The difference from vairājya is that in this case the new ruler is not a foreigner, but a usurper from the same land, perhaps even a scion of the same family to which the ousted king belonged.

19 pāparogi, i.e., suffering from foul disease such as leprosy and so on. — The idea in these two ss. appears to be that in connection with the choice between a sick
to the new, also, (the distinction is) one of noble birth and one not of noble birth.

21 As between a weak king of noble birth and a strong king not of noble birth, 'The subjects yield with difficulty to the overtures of the weak though nobly-born king, having regard to his weakness, but easily (yield) to those of the strong though low-born king, having regard to his strength,' say the teachers.

22 'No,' says Kauṭilya. 23 The subjects submit of their own accord to a weak king of noble birth, as a natural capacity to rule devolves on one of noble birth. 24 And they frustrate the overtures of the strong but low-born king, since in love are all virtues present. 25 The loss of the crops is a greater evil than the loss of sowings, as it involves loss of efforts, drought (a greater evil) than excessive-rain, as it involves loss of livelihood.

26 The relative seriousness or otherwise of calamities of the constituents, (taken) two at a time, has been set forth in the traditional order, as the ground for marching or staying quiet.

king and a new king, the preference indicated above need not be mechanically followed, but the nature of the illness and the nobility or otherwise of birth of the new king should also be taken into account.

21 upajāpa is usually 'secret instigation' in order to win a person over to one's side. Here it refers to overtures, not necessarily secret, made for that purpose.

23 jātyam etc. is repeated from 7.17.21. 24 anurāga sārvagunyām from Cn Cs is found in 7.3.14 in the same connection. The reading of the mss. anuyoga sādguṇyām yields little relevant sense. 25 prayāśavadhāt etc.: Cn Cs regard the two statements in this s. as dealing with troubles caused by foreign invasion and divine calamities respectively. But this seems hardly right. Such a discussion would be out of place here; it would have been included in 8.4, under piśanavarga. The two things are unconnected with rājavyasana or rājavyasana, which form the topic of this Chapter. The s. seems to contain two maxims pertaining to rule by a weak king and a strong king. Rule by the latter is like sasyavadha or avṛṣṭi, that by a weak king like muṣṭivadhā 'destruction of sowings' or ativṛṣṭi. This is intended to support the view that rule by the durbala noble king is preferable. It is not unlikely that the s. is a marginal comment that has got into the text. — Meyer finds here the words of experience of Candragupta's minister, who, having fallen from the 'rains (of favour)' to the gutter, is bitter against the low upstart whom he helped to power. It is as difficult to agree with this inference as with Jolly's opposite inference that the author could not have been the minister who had helped an upstart to power. Personal experience need not be understood as reflected in this passage.

26 The stanza is unrelated to the contents of this Chapter, but forms a summing up of the discussion in the last Chapter; it should have preferably come at the end of 8.1. — yātāne sthāne refers to yātāvyaṁ rakṣitavyam of 8.1.1. Hence Meyer's proposal to read sthāne sthāne 'in each case' is unacceptable.
CHAPTER THREE

SECTION 129 THE GROUP OF THE VICES OF MAN

1 Absence of training in the lores is the cause of a man's vices.
2 For, an untrained person does not see the faults in vices. 3 We shall set them forth.
4 A group of three (vices) springs from anger, a group of four springs from lust.
5 Of the two, anger is more serious. 6 For, anger acts everywhere. 7 And mostly kings under the influence of anger are known to have been killed by risings among the subjects, those under the influence of lust (are known to be killed) by enemies and diseases as a result of losses.
8 'No,' says Bhāradvāja. 9 'Anger is behaviour proper for a good man, (a means of) requiting enmity, extirpation of insults and keeping men in dread. 10 And resort to anger is ever needed for putting down evil. 11 Lust is (a means of) attainment of success, conciliation, generosity of nature and being lovable. 12 And resort to lust is ever needed for the enjoyment of the fruits of works done.'
18 'No,' says Kautilya. 14 Becoming hated, making enemies, and association with pain, that is anger. 15 Humiliation, loss of wealth, and association with harmful persons like thieves, gamblers, hunters, singers and players on instruments, that is lust. 16 Of these, being hated is a greater evil than humiliation. 17 One humiliated is held in their power by his own people and by others; the hated one is exterminated. 18 Making enemies is a greater evil than loss of wealth. 19 Loss of wealth endangers the treasury, making enemies endangers life. 20 Association with pain is a greater evil than associa-

8.3

3 tān has in view dosān; hence the masculine.

7 kṣayanimittam is read as in Cn, and arivyādhibhiḥ is preferred to ativyādhibhiḥ. As Cn explains kṣaya refers to losses of kośa and dāṇḍa (in the case of ari) and to decay of the body (in the case of vyādhi). vyāyā does not have such a double significance and does not appear authentic. ativyādhi, though possible (cf. 7.6.9), seems less likely. — iti: Meyer thinks that the name of the teacher or school holding this view is lost. Perhaps ṣāryāḥ was originally there after iti.

9 vairagātanem and avajñāvedho from Cn Cs are quite obviously the only correct readings. 11 siddhīlābbah: a strong desire or urge often leads to success. — Bhāradvāja does not regard kopa and kāma as vices and is therefore unconcerned with their relative seriousness.

14 satruvedanam 'finding enemies,' i.e., making enemies. Meyer's 'feeling enmity towards others' does not quite fit s. 19. — duhkhaśaṅgah: āsāṅga is close contact, association. 15 pāṭaceura 'a thief' is explained in Cn as 'a drunk-
tion with harmful persons. 21 Association with harmful persons can be remedied in a moment, association with pain causes prolonged distress. 22 Therefore, anger is more serious.

23 Verbal injury, violation of property and physical injury (are vices springing from anger).

24 'As between verbal injury and violation of property, verbal injury is worse,' says Viśalākṣa. 25 'For, a spirited man, spoken to harshly, retaliates with energy. 26 The bāb of offensive speech, embedded in the heart, inflames the spirit and afflicts the senses.'

27 'No,' says Kauṭilya. 28Honouring with money removes the dart of speech, but violation of property means loss of livelihood. 29 Not giving (what belongs to the other), taking away, destroying or abandoning property is violation of property.

30 'As between violation of property and physical injury, violation of property is worse,' say the followers of Parāśara. 31 'Spiritual good and pleasures are rooted in money. 32 And the world is tied up with money. 33 Its destruction is a greater evil.'

34 'No,' says Kauṭilya. 35 Even for a very large sum of money, no one would desire the loss of his life. 36 And through physical injury a person incurs that same danger at the hands of others.

37 This is the group of three (vices) springing from anger.

38 The group of four (vices) springing from lust, however, is, hunting, gambling, women and drink.

39 Among them, 'Of hunting and gambling, hunting is worse,' says Piśuna. 40 'For, in it, the danger of robbers, enemies, wild animals, forest fires and stumbling and loss of way as well as hunger and thirst constitute a danger to life. 41 In gambling, however, there is only winning for one expert in dice, as it was for Jayatsena and Duryodhana.'

42 'No,' says Kauṭilya. 43 Of the two (parties in gambling) there is also loss for one, as is illustrated by Nala and Yudhiṣṭhira. 44 And the same money, won at gambling, becomes a bait and leads to formation of enmities. 45 Uncertainty as to existing wealth and

ard'. 21 *muhūrtapratikāro*: Cn Cs read *muhūrtapritikāro*; but the former presents a better contrast to *dīrghaḥklesakaro*.

25 *pratyārohati* 'climbs back,' i.e., retaliates.

29 *parityāgah*, i.e., 'non-protection of goods entrusted to one's care' (Cn Cs).

40 *prāṇābādhaḥ* is the predicate for *stenāmitra* etc. and *kṣutpipāse*. 41 Jayatsena is apparently the name of Nala's brother. According to the *Mahābhārata*, 3.56.4 ff., however, Nala had lost to Puṣkara.

44 *āmīṣam* 'a bait' which lures other gamblers to covet it (Meyer) rather than 'a prey, i.e., an object of enjoyment for all (not for himself)' (Cn Cs). — vairā-
obtaining non-existing wealth, loss before a thing is enjoyed and getting illness due to retention of urine, motions of the bowel, hunger and so on, are the evils of gambling. 46 But in hunting, there is exercise, getting rid of phlegm, bile, fat and (a tendency to) perspiration, practice in hitting the targets of moving and stationary bodies, knowledge of the minds of animals in anger, fear and condition of ease, and (only) occasional marching.

47 'Of the vices of gambling and women, the vice of gambling (is worse),' says Kaunapadanta. 48 'For, continuously, at night in lamplight, and (even) when the mother has died, the gambler goes on playing. 49 And if questioned in difficulties, he becomes enraged. 50 But in case of indulgence in women, questioning concerning spiritual and material well-being is indeed possible on occasions of bath, toilet and meals. 51 And it is possible to employ a woman in what is beneficial to the king or to turn her away by means of silent punishment or disease or to make her go away.'

52 'No,' says Kauṭilya. 58 Deliverance is possible in gambling, without deliverance is addiction to women. 54 Failure to show himself, aversion for work, absence of material good and loss of spiritual good by allowing the right time to pass, weakness in administration and addiction to drink (result from addiction to women).

55 'Of the vices of women and drink, indulgence in women (is worse),' says Vātavyādhi. 56 'For, harmfulness among women is of various kinds as explained in (the Section on) rules for the royal...

nubandhāḥ from Cn is a better expression than vairabandhāḥ of the mss. 45 vipratiṭipattiḥ 'conflict' seems to refer to uncertainty, rather than 'misuse' (Cn). Meyer has 'slipping out of one's hand'. 46 kopābhayaḍasthāneṣu is from Cn. Cn explains sthāna as 'condition of ease'. With -sthāneṣu of the mss., Cs understands ihiṣa in the sense of 'activity'. Meyer prefers to read kiteṣu as a separate word 'in conditions of well-being,' which is not very happy. — anityayāna, i.e., you do not have to go out always; only occasionally you go hunting. Meyer thinks that nityayānam 'being always on the move' is better. But that would hardly be a point in favour of hunting.

51 upāṇāṣudāṇḍena; Meyer's attempts to get over the difficulty of 'silent' punishment for women, occasioned by his belief that Indians looked upon a woman's murder as a ghastly sin, are all unsuccessful. We have to face the fact that one teacher, Kaunapadanta, at least had no scruples on that score. — Cn construes vyāvarayājītum with upāṇāṣudāṇḍena, and avasrāvayājītum with vyādhiṇā. That is also likely.

53 sapratyādeyam, i.e., from which a person can be reclaimed. 'The losses of which can be recovered' is much less likely. 54 In view of the ca after dharmalopaḥ, anartho is read as a separate word. The compound anarthatdharmaṇopaḥ is awkward.

56 bāḷīṣyaṃ is not mere foolishness, but harmfulness, as shown by the contents of 1.20.14-17. — As the quotation from Vātavyādhi refers to the section
residence. 57 In drink, on the other hand, there is the enjoyment of pleasures of the senses, such as sound and others, making gifts of love, honouring attendants, and the removal of fatigue caused by work.’

58 ‘No,’ says Kauṭilya. 59 In the case of indulgence in women there is begetting of an offspring and protection of oneself with wives at home, the opposite of this with outside women, ruin of everything with women unapproachable (for one). 60 Both these (evils) are there in the vice of drink. 61 The excellences of drink are: loss of consciousness, insane behaviour of one not insane, appearing like a corpse when not deceased, exposing private parts to view, loss of learning, intellect, strength, wealth and friends, separation from the good, association with the harmful, and attachment to skill in lute and song, destructive of wealth.

62 Of gambling and wine, gambling (is worse). 63 The success or failure of one side, due to the stakes, leads to strife among the subjects by creating two factions concerning animate and inanimate objects. 64 And in particular, in the case of oligarchies and of royal families having the character of an oligarchy, there are dissensions caused by gambling and destruction caused by that; hence it is the most evil among vices, as it favours evil men, (and) since it leads to weakness in administration.

65 Lust means the favouring of evil persons, anger, the suppression of good persons. Because of the multitude of evils (resulting from them), both are held to be a calamity without end.

66 Hence, the self-possessed (kīṅg) should give up anger and lust, the starting point of all calamities, the destroyers of the patrimony, by waiting upon elders and gaining control over his senses.

on niśāntapraṇidhi, it is reasonable to suppose that his work contained a section similar to 1.20 above.

60 tat ubhayaṁ, i.e., the viparyaya (viz., absence of offspring and absence of self-protection) and sarvacchīṭīṁ ruṁ of everything’. 61 pānasānapad: sam-pad appears to be used ironically.

62 Cn, followed by Cs, reads ekeśāṁ at the end of this s., explaining it by ‘in the opinion of some’. It then adds anyeṣāṁ after vināśa iti in s. 64, interpreting asatpragraha there as ‘indulgence in drink’. That is quite unlikely, as is shown by the fact that s. 64 is quoted in 13.1.43-44 as an illustration of vyākhyāna, where anyeṣāṁ is not to be found, showing that right up to the end of s. 64 we have only dyūta in view and nowhere pāna. It is therefore better to read ekeśāṁ at the beginning of s. 63 in the sense of ‘of one party (to the game)’. 63 prāṇiṣu refers to betting on animal fights, races etc., while niścetaneṣu refers to dice etc. 64 saṅghāṇāṁ: see 11.1 below. — saṅghadharmināṁ rājakulaṇāṁ: this refers to the kulasaṅgha of 1.17.53 in which all male adults of the dynasty form a condominium over the state.
CHAPTER FOUR

SECTION 130 THE GROUP OF AFFLICTIONS
SECTION 131 THE GROUP OF Hindrances
SECTION 132 THE GROUP OF Stoppages OF PAYMENT TO THE TREASURY

1 Visitations from the gods are: fire, floods, disease, famine and epidemic.

2 'Of fire and floods, the affliction of fire is irredeemable and all-consuming, while the affliction of floods is such that escape from it is possible and its dangers can be tided over,' say the teachers. 3 'No,' says Kautilya. 4 Fire burns (at most) a village or half a village; floods, on the other hand, carry away hundreds of villages.

5 'Of disease and famine, disease ruins undertakings by hindering the activity of workers who die or are sick or afflicted, whereas famine does not ruin undertakings and yields taxes in money and cattle,' say the teachers. 6 'No,' says Kautilya. 7 Disease afflicts only one region and remedies can be found for it, while famine afflicts the whole country and leads to absence of livelihood for living beings.

8 By that is explained epidemic.

9 'Of the loss of common men and that of chiefs, the loss of common men brings about insecurity of undertakings, the loss of chiefs

66 mūlaharam: mūla refers to the inherited kingdom, as Cn points out. Cf. 2.9.20 ff. — vyḍhas evi jiteriṭiḥ: cf. 1.5-7 above. — For vyasanās, cf. Manu 7.45-52, which show some expansion and much difference as compared to the present text.

8.4

The first of the three Sections in this Chapter, which is mainly concerned with janapadaVyasanā, extends up to s. 47, the other two being disposed of in a single s. each.

1 Cf. 4.3.1 for eight calamities of a divine origin. Rats, serpents etc. mentioned there are calamities of much less importance. — maraka is a pestilential epidemic.

2 sakyapagamanam from Cn is certainly preferable to sakyopagamanam; the idea is of possibility of escaping from the floods. — uktaam, which appears in the reading of the mss., is due to a scribal error.

5 -vyḍhitiparasṭa is read as in Cs for -vyḍhitaparasṭa. It seems that upasṛṣṭa should be understood in the sense of 'afflicted,' i.e., incapacitated for work because of the illness. Cf. rogoparasṭa (Raghuvanśa, 8.94). Cs, understanding it in the sense of 'sick,' explains upasṛṣṭaparicdraka by 'who nurse the sick.' paricdraka, however, is to be construed with preta and vyḍhitara as well and evidently refers to workmen employed on works. upasṛṣṭa may mean 'who is relieved of his work' (Meyer), or 'who has left'; but upasṛṣṭa is a better reading.

8 tena seems to refer to famine as in Cs rather than to disease as in Cn.
is characterised by a hindrance to the carrying out of works,’ say the teachers. 10 ‘No,’ says Kauśītya. 11 The loss of common men can be made good because of the very large number of common men, not the loss of chiefs. 12 For, among thousands there is one chief or not (even one), because of the high degree of spirit and intelligence (necessary, and) because of the dependence of common men on him.

13 ‘Of one’s own army and an enemy’s army, one’s own army harasses by excessive violence and levies, and cannot be warded off, whereas an enemy’s army can be given a fight or can be escaped from by means of flight or by a treaty,’ say the teachers. 14 ‘No,’ says Kauśītya. 15 Harassment by one’s own army can be avoided by winning over or destroying the leaders among the principal officers or it afflicts (only) a part of the country, whereas the enemy’s army, which afflicts the whole country, ruins it by plunder, slaughter, burning, destroying and carrying (people) off.

16 ‘Of strife among subjects and strife in the royal family, strife among subjects, creating a split among subjects, invites attacks by enemies, while strife in the royal family brings about double food, wages and exemptions for the subjects,’ say the teachers. 17 ‘No,’ says Kauśītya. 18 Strife among subjects can be averted by winning over the leaders among the subjects or by removal of the cause of strife. 19 And subjects, contending among themselves, benefit (the king) by their mutual rivalry. 20 Strife in the royal family, on the other hand, leads to harassment and destruction of the subjects and can be overcome (only) with a double exertion.

21 ‘Of indulgence in pleasures by the country people and that by the king, indulgence in pleasures by the country people brings about the destruction of the fruits of works for all three times, whereas indulgence

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9 kṣudraka: cf. 1.13.13. — mukhya refers to principal officers and chieftains, including feudatories. 12 saitvaprajñādhibhyāt: Cs makes this the reason for kṣudrakānām tadāśrayatvām. Cn does not read tadāśrayatvāt kṣudrakānām, and it seems very likely that these words are only a marginal comment that has crept into the text. They do not provide the reason for the statement in bhavati eko na vac, as the use of the ablative is expected to do.

13 dāndakarābhyām: in spite of its use along with kara, dānḍa here is obviously ‘force’ rather than ‘fines’. — apasāreṇa: the flight is by the people rather than by the king. 15 prakṛtipuruṣamukhya: it seems that prakṛtipuruṣa means a principal officer, and mukhya refers to leaders or the foremost among them. Cf. 12.3.14. Cn seems to have read only prakṛtimukhya and explained it by ‘chief among ministers’. — apavāghanāth from Cn Cs is clearly necessary. Cf. 2.1.1, also 8.2.8.

16 rājāvidēḍāḥ is strife among members of the royal family for power. 18 upagrahā is conciliation, winning over. 20 dviguṇacaryāyāma, i.e., effort double that required for putting down strife among subjects.
in pleasures by the king confers benefit on artisans, artists, actors, reeiters, prostitutes and traders,' say the teachers. 22 'No,' says Kautilya. 23 Indulgence in pleasures by the country people consumes little for the sake of the removal of fatigue caused by work and, after consuming, leads to application to work once again, whereas indulgence in pleasures by the king afflicts (the subjects) through seizure of what he pleases, demands, gifts and seizure of works by (the king) himself and by his favourites.

24 'Of the king's beloved and the prince, the prince harasses through seizure of what he pleases, demands, gifts and seizure of works by himself and by his favourites, the king's beloved through enjoyment of pleasures,' say the teachers. 25 'No,' says Kautilya. 26 The prince can be held in check through the minister and the chaplain, not the king's beloved, because of her foolishness and association with harmful persons.

27 'Of a band (of fighting units) and a chief, the band, impossible to suppress because of large numbers, harasses through robbery and forcible seizure, the chief through favouring and destroying undertakings,' say the teachers. 28 'No,' says Kautilya. 29 A band is easy to restrain because of common character and vices or through the winning over of the chief or a part of the band. 30 The chief, full of hauteur, harasses by destroying the lives and property of others.

31 'Of the Director of Stores and the Administrator, the Director of Stores harasses by finding fault with what is done and by (imposing) penalties, while the Administrator, supervised by a bureau, enjoys (only) the fruit assigned,' say the teachers. 32 'No,' says Kautilya. 33 The Director of Stores receives as admissible in the treasury what

21 *traikālyena* 'e.g., crops sown in the past are not cared for, sowings in the present are not made and preparation of land for future sowing is not made.' (Cn). — -ṛūpājivā-, found in Cn Cs, is missing in the mss. It seems quite authentic. 23 *gacchati*: as the subject is -vihāraḥ, *gamanai* would appear better. — *svayamgrāha*: cf. 8.1.44. — *praśaya*: cf. 5.2.16 etc. — *pavyāgara*: a present consisting of goods. Cf. 7.15.20 etc. — *kāryapagraha*: Cn has 'receiving bribes for allowing any work to be done'. Meyer has 'seizure of works', i.e., appropriation of their fruits. That would appear to be better.

24 *subhaga* 'beloved' of the king. In 12.2.15, the word is used as an adjective to *mahīśi*. Here a queen or a mistress may be understood.

27 *śevi* is clearly a band or community of fighting men, normally carrying on some peaceful occupation. Cf. 7.11.18. For *mukhya*, cf. ss. 9-12 above. 29 *samānāśilavayasanatvāt*: the idea seems to be, if one of them can be won over, the others would follow suit. The idea in Cs is, they can be restrained by other men of the same character and vices. 30 *stambha* 'haughtiness'; cf. 1.9.1.3 etc.

31 *karanādhiśkīhā*: this can mean 'under the control of a bureau' as in Breloer (III, 223), and that sense better suits the context here, though in 2.5.8 and
is guaranteed by others, whereas the Administrator first secures wealth for himself, then collects revenue for the king or allows it to perish, and in the matter of receiving others’ property he acts on his own authority.

34 'Of the frontier officer and the trader, the frontier officer harasses a trade-route by allowing the activity of robbers and charging excessive duties, whereas traders promote (a trade-route) through benefits conferred by goods carried out and goods brought in exchange,' say the teachers. 35 'No,' says Kauṭilya. 36 The frontier officer maintains (a trade-route) by favouring the bringing together of goods, whereas traders, joining together and raising or lowering the (prices of) goods, make a profit of one hundred pānas on one pāna or of one hundred kumbhas on one kumbha.

37 As between land seized by a person of noble birth and land occupied by herds of cattle, 'Land seized by a person of noble birth, though yielding abundant produce, is not fit to be retrieved (if) useful in providing soldiers, because of the fear of the danger of a calamity, while land occupied by herds of cattle, being suited for agriculture, is fit to be reclaimed. 38 For, pasture-land is made to yield before fields,' say the teachers. 39 'No,' says Kauṭilya. 40 Land seized

2.11.1, the expression seems to mean 'presiding over an office'. 33 kṛtavastham: for avasthā 'guarantee,' cf. 2.8.29. — svaprtyayāḥ 'trusting in himself,' i.e., acting on his own authority. Cf. 2.36.5; 3.14.34. — Bremer (III, 101-102) makes this comment: 'The ācāryas look only at the goods; what the somāharti pilfers is for the private individuals to see, the state is not harmed thereby. Kauṭilya, on the contrary, looks upon harm to the people and to the economy as harm to the state, a sort of state socialism.' It is doubtful if this view can be sustained on the strength of this passage.

34 coraprasaṅga 'letting loose thieves,' i.e., encouraging them. Cn Cs read -prasāṅga, understanding it as 'instigation'. — pāpyapratipaṇya: cf. 2.16.18 etc. 36 sampāta ‘coming together’ or ‘bringing together’. — vartayati: the object is vanikpayam. — pane paṇasataṇam is a profit of 10,000%; this is an exaggeration, as pointed out in Cn. — ājivanti ‘live on’ as well as ‘make a profit of.’

37 abhiṣāta is a man from a noble family, particularly from the royal family itself. Cf. 13.5.13. — uparruddha ‘blocked,’ i.e., occupied, seized. — mahāphala ‘payudhiyopakārina: the contribution of fighting men which the land is likely to make is not to be understood as the great phala derived from it. — vyasannābādhahavyā: Cn Cs understand the danger to be that soldiers would not be available in times of calamities (i.e., vyasane abādhanāhavyā). But if the land is recovered, the fighting men in it would certainly be available. The danger would rather appear to be that of a fight in case an attempt is made to rescue it; such a conflict would be a calamity. vyasannābādha may be understood as ‘the danger of a calamity’. — Meyer has an altogether different explanation. He reads amahāphala, interprets abhiṣāta as 'cultivable plants' and translates, ‘land fully covered by cultivable plants, even though not yielding great produce, should not be freed, being useful for service in war.’ This is highly doubtful. 40 atyaṃtama-
by a person of noble birth, even if yielding extremely great benefit, is fit to be retrieved because of the fear of the danger of a calamity, whereas that occupied by herds of cattle, of benefit to the treasury and useful for transport, is not fit to be reclaimed, except in case of obstruction to the sowing of crops.

41 Of highway robbers and forest tribes, highway robbers, operating at night and lying in wait, attack men’s bodies, are a constant danger, rob hundreds of thousands (in cash) and stir up principal men, (while) forest tribes, operating in forests on the frontier far away, are openly known and move before the eyes of all, and harm only a part of the country,’ say the teachers. 42 ‘No,’ says Kauṭilya. 43 Robbers rob only the negligent, are few in number, powerless and easy to know and capture, whereas forest tribes, living in their own territory, are many in number and brave, fight openly, seize and ruin countries, having the same characteristics as a king.

44 Of deer parks and elephant forests, deer, being plenty in number, yield the benefit of abundant meat and skins, cause little trouble about fodder and are easy to control. 45 Elephants are the reverse of this: when being caught, and if rogues, they lead to the ruin of the country.

46 Of benefit conferred on one’s own sthāniya and that conferred on an enemy’s sthāniya, the benefit conferred on one’s own sthāniya, (viz.,) the benefit of grains, cattle, money and forest produce, is capable hopakāra, because it supplies a very large number of fighting men. There is no reference to phala here. — vyāsanābodha: the danger is of the abhijñā becoming very powerful and attempting to seize the kingdom for himself.

41 rātrisattrascarāḥ: it is true that rātri is one of the sattras mentioned in 10.3.24 and that therefore a single idea ‘ operating under cover of night ’ is possible; nevertheless, two ideas ‘ operating at night and after lying in wait ’ seem better. rātrisattra can hardly mean ‘ nocturnal assemblies (of thieves, robbers etc.) ’ as J. Charpentier (JRAS, 1934, 113-4) thinks it means in Saundarananda, 2.28. With these words, -carāḥ from Cn Cs is to be preferred to -parāḥ. — nityāḥ: Cn does not seem to have read this word. Meyer suggests anityāḥ ‘ never in one place ’; Charpentier suggests nityam.

43 kunṭhāḥ: cf. 7.12.9,13. — rājasadhmānah, i.e., as dangerous as an enemy king.

44 mandagrāivaklesināḥ: Cs has ‘ eating little fodder and hence causing little trouble in catching them.’ It may simply mean ‘ causing little trouble about food.’ 45 gṛhyamānah: Cs construes this with dūṣṭā ca; it seems, however, that the latter begins a new clause. Meyer proposes agraḥyamānah ‘ if they are not caught and if they are wicked etc.’ However, gṛhyamānah appears better. — Meyer thinks that ss. 44-45 contain the opinion of the dēnīyos and that its refutation by Kauṭilya has been lost. The latter, he argues, would not be so hard on his favourite elephants. However, when it is a question of piktana or affliction, even Kauṭilya could not possibly have argued that elephants are less troublesome than deer.
of sustaining the lives of the country people in times of trouble. 47 The reverse is the benefit conferred on an enemy’s sthāniya.

Thus ends the topic of afflictions.

48 Internal (hindrance) is hindrance by the chiefs, external the hindrance caused by enemies or forest tribes.

Thus ends the topic of hindrances.

49 Affected by those two (hindrances) and by the afflictions as described, appropriated by chiefs, impaired by exemptions, scattered, wrongfully collected, (and) carried off by neighbouring kings and forest tribes, — these are stoppages of (payment to the) treasury.

50 The (king) should strive to prevent the afflictions from arising and to overcome those that have arisen, as well as to destroy the hindrances and stoppages (of payment) for the sake of the country’s prosperity.

CHAPTER FIVE

SECTION 133 THE GROUP OF CALAMITIES OF THE ARMY
SECTION 134 THE GROUP OF CALAMITIES OF THE ALLEY

1 The calamities of the army are: (the state of being) unhonoured, dishonoured, unpaid, sick, newly arrived, come after a long march, exhausted, depleted, repulsed, broken in the first onslaught, caught in an unsuitable season, caught on an unsuitable terrain, despondent

46 sthāniya: see 2.3.3, also 2.1.4. The upakāra is help rendered in times of difficulty. Cn explains ‘durbhikṣā́duṣu krayokrayavāvahāraḥ’. Such help may be given even to an enemy’s sthāniya. The upakāra on a sthāniya is regarded as a pīḍana, perhaps because it is done at the cost of the rest of the country. However, such an upakāra on one’s sthāniya is said to sustain jānapadas in times of difficulty. It seems, therefore, that jānapada means only ‘natives’ as contrasted with foreigners in the parasthāniya.

48 stambha refers to hindrances or obstructions caused to state undertakings by officers themselves or by enemies etc. — As suggested by Meyer an avagraha should be read after bāhyo, so that amitra is understood, not mitra. Forest tribes are invariably mentioned together with enemies, not with allies. — It may be that this vyasanā refers principally that of a durgā; for the vyasanās of this prakṛti are not mentioned elsewhere in this Book.

49 saktah ‘clinging to,’ i.e., misappropriated, not paid into the treasury.

8.5

The two Sections are to be found in ss. 1-21 and 22-30 respectively.

1 Here and in s. 9 below Meyer’s proposal to read kalatragarbi (for -garhi) has been adopted, being necessary for the sense required. It is supported by Kāmandaka, 14.69,80. — parikṣiptam is from Cs for upakṣiptam; it is supported by s. 18; cf. also Kāmandaka, 14.67,73.
of hope, deserted, with women-folk inside, with 'darts' inside, with a rebellious base, split inside, run away, widely scattered, encamped near, completely absorbed, blocked, encircled, with supplies of grains and men cut off, dispersed in one's own land, dispersed in an ally's land, infested by treasonable men, with a hostile enemy in the rear, with its base denuded (of troops), not united with the master, with head broken, and blind.

2 Among these, as between an unhonoured and a dishonoured (army), the unhonoured would fight when honoured with money, not the dishonoured, with resentment in its heart.

3 As between an unpaid and a sick (army), the unpaid would fight if given pay at once, not the sick, unfit for work.

4 As between a newly arrived (army) and one that has come after a long march, the newly arrived would fight after learning about the region from others and being mixed with old troops, not the one that has come after a long march, being troubled by the long march.

5 As between an exhausted and a depleted (army), the exhausted would fight after getting refreshed with bath, food and sleep, not the depleted, with its draught-animals and men reduced in a fight elsewhere.

6 As between a repulsed (army) and one broken in the first onslaught, the repulsed, thrown back in the first encounter, would fight, being rallied by heroic men, not the one broken in the first onslaught, with its heroic men slain in the first encounter.

7 As between an (army) caught in an unsuitable season and one caught on an unsuitable terrain, the one caught in an unsuitable season would fight when equipped with vehicles, weapons and armours suited to the season, not the one caught on an unsuitable terrain, with its foraging raids and operations impeded.

8. As between an (army) desponent of hope and a deserted one, the desponent would fight when its desires are fulfilled, not the deserted one, from which its chiefs have run away.

2 kṛtārthamāṇam: 'which is honoured by giving money' seems better than 'given money and shown honour' (Meyer).

4 Here, as in s. 1, the mss. show dārayāta; but dārayāta from Cs seems preferable. It is supported by Kāmandaka, 14.67,76. Cn seems to have read dāraya-gata.

7 yathārtuyogya- is as proposed by Meyer for yathārtuyogyayugya-. When yathā is there, yogya is unnecessary. — prasāra 'a foraging raid'; cf. 10.2.5.

8 aparṣṭamukhyam is from Cs. Cn seems to have read parasṛṣṭamukhyam. — Meyer remarks that parśṛṣṭam is a mistake for parasṛṣṭam 'abandoned'. Kāmandaka, 14.69,83, has avamukta for parśṛṣṭa.
9 As between an (army) with women-folk inside and one with darts inside, the one with women inside would fight after getting rid of the women, not the one with darts inside, having enemies inside it.

10 As between an (army) with a rebellious base and one split inside, the one with a rebellious base would fight when its resentment is overcome by conciliation and other means, not the one split inside, divided from one another.

11 As between an (army) run away and one widely scattered, the army that has run away, having crossed over to a single realm, would fight with diplomacy and military activity, finding shelter in a fastness or an ally, not the widely scattered one, gone to more than one realm, because of there being many dangers.

12 As between an (army) encamped near (the enemy) and one completely absorbed (in his forces), the one encamped near, having separate marches and halts, would fight by over-reaching the enemy, not the one completely absorbed, with its halts and marches one with the enemy.

13 As between a blocked and an encircled (army), the blocked one would fight the obstructor by getting out in another direction, not the encircled one, obstructed on all sides.

14 As between an (army) with supplies of grains cut off and one with reserves of men cut off, that with supplies of grains cut off would fight after bringing grains from elsewhere or by subsisting on animal and vegetable food, not the one with reserves of men cut off, being without help.

9 The explanation of the reading kalatragarhi in Cs is 'finding fault with the womenfolk, i.e., the retinue, for being a burden and a hindrance in the work of fighting'; that is highly problematical.

10 kupitamūlam: Cn Cs understand mūla in the sense of 'principal officers'; that is better than understanding it in the sense of 'the hereditary army (maulabala)' as in Meyer, though in Kāmandaka, 14.70,83, kruddhamaula appears for kupitamūla.

11 It seems that the army has run away or been scattered, because it is defeated and the kingdom is conquered. In apasṛta, the whole of it goes into one other land; in atīksipta it is split up and scattered in many lands. - sattra is, in particular, a fortress.

12 upaniciṣṭam: this happens when there is a joint expedition. Meyer's 'on whose neck the enemy has sat, i.e., hard-pressed by the enemy' is not possible. atisanidhāryaṃ is proposed for atisanidhārām (or -tāram). The mention of ari in the next clause suggests its use also in this. And the question is not of fighting the enemy trying to cheat (atisanidhātr), but a third king along with the enemy. - sanighā in the text is a misprint. - samāptam 'completely joined', because under a single command of the enemy. It cannot mean 'captured' (Meyer). - Kāmandaka, 14.84, regards upaniciṣṭa also as incapable of fighting.
15 As between an (army) dispersed in one’s own land and one dispersed in an ally’s land, that dispersed in one’s own land, being disbanded in one’s own territory, can be collected together in case of trouble, not the one dispersed in an ally’s land, because of the distant place and time.

16 As between an (army) infested by treasonable men and one with a hostile enemy in the rear, that infested by treasonable men would fight when officered by trustworthy men and kept apart, not the one with a hostile enemy in the rear, being frightened of an attack in the rear.

17 As between an (army) with a denuded base and one not united with the master, that with a denuded base would fight with full mobilisation, after protection is secured through the citizens and the country people, not the one not united with the master, being without the king or the commander-in-chief.

18 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.

19 Removal of defects, insertion of (fresh) troops, over-reaching by remaining in a strong place, and peace with the superior party, are the means of overcoming the calamities of an army.

20 Being ever active, he should protect his own army, in its calamity, from the enemies; and being ever active, he should strike at the weak points of the army of the enemies.

14 anabhīṣāram; abhisāra refers to help or rescue. Cn reads anāśāram which comes to the same thing.

15 viśṣāpta is explained in Cn Cs as ‘sent on some mission or task’. However, no mission or task can be thought of in 9.2.11 and other places. — āvāhāyitum from Cn provides the action necessary in the case of viśṣāpta, not avarāvayitum. The latter can hardly mean ‘to bring together’ as Cs interprets it; cf. 8.3.51. For āvāhay in this sense, cf. 7.7.13.

16 asaihatam, i.e., kept as a separate unit. Meyer suggests adāśyasaśaihatam and thinks that Kāmandaka, 14.85, presupposes saśaihatam ‘purged’. Cn seems to have read mitho śaihatam.

17 śāṇyaṃśālaṃ; mūla is the country and its capital from which the troops have come; these are now without troops. — It is clear that svāmin refers to the commander-in-chief besides the king.

18 kūṭa ‘head’ is the commandant; his death is implied in bhīnna.

19 sattrasthānaśaihatam from Cn Cs is metricaly preferable, though the bhāve kūṭa is a little awkward. A single idea seems intended ‘over-reaching the enemy after taking up a position in a strong place like a fort,’ though the commentators understand two ideas ‘remaining in a strong place and over-reaching.’
21 The (king), ever diligent, should take steps right beforehand against that cause because of which he might suffer a calamity of the constituents.

22-27 An ally against whom one has marched oneself after joining forces (with others) or under the influence of others, or who is deserted through weakness or greed or regard (for another), or who is sold to the attacker by turning away from the battle or by planning to march against another enemy in another direction when pursuing the dual policy, or who after being inspired with confidence is over-reached either in a separate or a joint march, or who is rescued from a calamity through fear or disrespect or laziness, or who, being kept out of his own lands, has gone away from one's side through fear, or who is humiliated by snatching (something) away (from him) or by not giving (something to him)

— uttarapakṣasya : we expect the instrumental, 'with the stronger party,' i.e., with the enemy, if he is stronger.

21 Cn Cs read this stanza at the end of the chapter, after the discussion of the mitrayasanas. That may appear reasonable since mitra also is one of the prakṛtis. Nevertheless, the present place would seem all right for the stanza as it refers to the prakṛtis that are part of the same state, regarding which steps can be taken right before calamities overtake them. A mitra is not on the same footing. A provision for preventing a mitrayasana is separately mentioned in stanza 30.

— yatonimittam is a bit awkward as an adjective to vyasanam. Perhaps yato nimittād would simplify the construction.

22 svayam etc.: Cn Cs understand three cases 'oneself in one's own interest (svayam), in combination with others (sambhūya) and at the instigation of another (anyavaśena).’ It seems, however, that svayam is to be understood in any case and the alternative is only between sambhūya and anyavaśena.

23 abhiyuñjāne, i.e., to the enemy who has attacked one's ally. — saṅgrema apavartina refers to one method of 'selling'; instead of going to the ally's help, the viśiṣṭa turns away from the fight, leaving the attacker free to overcome the ally. This would be for some consideration; that is the price received for the sale.

— dvaidhiḥbhāṣena : Cn reads dvaidhiḥbhātena, which is slightly better. The idea is, the viśiṣṭa, in following the dual policy, makes peace with the attacker of his ally because he wants to march against some enemy (anyam amitrām) of his own elsewhere (anyataḥ) ; the ally is thus 'sold' to his attacker. Because of the second vā (after yasyatā), Cn Cs find two situations in the second half; but the two situations as explained in them do not differ at all. The vā seems used a second time merely for the sake of metre.

25. avaraśādam etc.: the idea seems to be that the ally is obstructed when returning to his own land; he thus gets frightened and manages to escape from the viśiṣṭa's side. The two were apparently on a joint expedition on the viśiṣṭa's account. — ācchedanāt of the ally's land. — adānāt of what was due to him for his part in the expedition.

26 atyāhārītam : cf. 1.6.7. — bhaṅktā seems used intransitively 'being broken' in attempting the very heavy task, and then gone over to the enemy, who had proved to be very strong. Cn Cs have 'who is set a very heavy task
or even by giving (something to him), or whose wealth is extorted from him by oneself or through another’s agency, or who, being assigned a very heavy task, is broken (in the attempt) and has gone over to the enemy, or who, neglected because of weakness, is antagonised after making a request, (such an ally) can be secured with difficulty, and (even) when secured becomes quickly disaffected.

28-29 An ally, who has exerted himself or is worthy of honour, but is not honoured through one’s folly, or is not honoured in a suitable manner, or who is prevented from gaining strength, or who is frightened because of harm done to (another) ally, or who is suspicious of oneself making a treaty with the enemy, or who is divided (from oneself) by treasonable persons, is easy to secure and remains (loyal, when) secured.

30 Therefore he should not allow these defects harmful to allies to arise, or, when they have arisen, he should remove them by qualities capable of removing the defects.

Herewith ends the Eighth Book of the Arthasastra of Kautilya

‘Concerning the Topic of Calamities’

when he has just broken the enemy.’ It is doubtful, however, if the vijigisu would think of dictating terms to a victorious ally. — upasthitam from Cn is preferable to avasthitam.

27 upekṣitam etc.: Cs has ‘who, though treated with indifference because of his weakness, approaches again with a proposal for alliance but is antagonised.’ It is doubtful if mitram can be the subject for prārthayitvā. The vijigisu alone can be thought of as making the proposal. Cn’s reading prārthayitrā makes this clear. It is, in any case, a bit strange that a proposal for alliance should antagonise the ally. Perhaps that is because of the upeka that has led to resentment. Understanding prāthay in the sense of ‘to attack’ (Meyer in a foot-note) appears to improve matters; but that case seems covered by abhiyātam svayam in s. 22.

28 saktito vā niyāritam: Cn Cs read bhaktito for saktito and explain ‘weaned away from his devotion to the vijigisu by others.’ That is possible, but ‘prevented from growing strong’ might appear slightly better.

29 arisamhitat: when the vijigisu has made a treaty or pact with his enemy.
Book Nine

The Activity of the King about to March

Chapter One

Section 135 Ascertainment of the (Relative) Strength or Weakness of Powers, Place and Time

Section 136 Seasons for Marching on an Expedition

1 After ascertaining the (relative) strength or weakness of powers, place, time, seasons for marching, time for raising armies, revolt in the rear, losses, expenses, gains and troubles, of himself and of the enemy, the conqueror should march if superior in strength, otherwise stay quiet.

2 'Of (the powers of) energy and might, energy is superior. 3 For, the king himself, if brave, strong, healthy, trained in the use of missiles, is able to conquer a king possessed of might with the aid of the army alone. 4 And even his small army becomes capable of achieving its object, because of its spirit. 5 But a king without energy, though possessed of might, perishes when overpowered by valour,' say the teachers.

6 'No,' says Kautilya. 7 The king, possessed of might, overreaches the king possessed of energy, by his might, by inviting another king superior to him (in energy), by hiring or purchasing heroic men. 8 And his army, richly endowed with abundant might, horses, ele-

The Ninth Book deals with preparations to be made before starting on an expedition and the precautions that have to be taken at the time.

9.1

The two Sections are to be found in ss. 1-33 and 34-52 respectively.

1 saktidesa- etc. contains a list of all the topics discussed in this Book.

3 daṇḍadvitiyo 'pi: the point of api is, he may have no other resources except an army; particularly he may have no treasury. Meyer proposes adana- 'even without an army'. That is not likely. The next s. refers to this king's army though it may be small. And Kāmandaka, 18.44, does speak of the use of an army (daṇḍam adhike nayet), though he gives the illustration of Paraśurāma.

7 tadvisēṣṭam: tad would refer to utsāha, not to bala or forces (Cn Cs). The king is already prabhāvavān; he will not be in need of superior forces. bṛtyā is proposed for hṛtyā, in accordance with the explanation in Cs 'having hired for wages',
phants, chariots and equipment, moves unhindered everywhere. 9 And winning over and purchasing men of energy, those possessed of might, even women, children, lame and blind persons, have conquered the world.

10 ‘Of (the powers of) might and counsel, might is superior.
11 For, one, though richly endowed with the power of counsel, has only barren wisdom, if without might. 12 And lack of might ruins his works decided upon after deliberation, as lack of rain ruins the grains in the womb (of the earth),’ say the teachers.

13 ‘No,’ says Kauṭilya. 14 The power of counsel is superior.
15 For, the king with the eyes of intelligence and science, is able to take counsel even with a small effort and to over-reach enemies possessed of energy and might, by conciliation and other means and by secret and occult practices.

16 Thus the king, superior in each later one among the powers of energy, might and counsel, over-reaches (the enemy).

17 Place means the earth. 18 In that, the region of the sovereign ruler extends northwards between the Himavat and the sea, one thousand yojanas in extent across. 19 There the various types (of land are): forest land, village land, mountainous land, marshy land, dry land, level land and uneven land. 20 In them, he should start work that would augment his own strength.

21 That in which there is terrain suitable for the operations of one’s own army and unsuitable for those of the enemy, is the best region, the opposite kind is the worst, alike to both is middling.

*hr in its usual sense is little likely in the case of brave warriors. 9 utsāhayataḥ in the accusative as in Cn Cs is quite necessary. — jītvā ‘winning over’ rather than ‘conquering in battle’.

15 prajñāstračakṣuḥ: prajñā is one eye and šāstra the other. — prabhāvataś ca of the mss. is an obvious corruption. — yoga is described in Books 12 and 13 and upaniṣad in Book 14.

18 udičiṇam ‘to the north,’ i.e., from the sea in the south to the Himālayas in the north. tiryak is explained as ‘between the eastern and the western ocean,’ i.e., the extent breadthwise (Cn). The extent of 1,000 yojanas would be that of the breadth rather than that between the north and the south; it could possibly apply to both, but hardly to north-south alone. Usually, however, 1,000 yojanas is given as the extent from north to south; cf. kumāripūrā tadbhāti bindusaravadhi yojanāṇāṁ dasāṣati cakravartiṣṭram — Kāśyapaṁiśa, p. 92 (Kane, HD, III, p. 66, fn. 96). In either case one thousand yojanas which is a little more than nine thousand miles is far outside the actual measurements. It is quite impossible to accept navayojanasaharsapramāṇam as the reading on the strength of the quotation in Śāṅkarārāya on Kāmandaka, 1.39 (D. R. Bhandarkar, Some Aspects etc., p. 96). — The cakravartiṣṭra does not seem intended to include regions beyond the borders of India.
22 Time is of the nature of cold, heat and rain. 23 Its various parts are: night, day, fortnight, month, season, half year, year and yuga. 24 In them, he should start work that would augment his own strength.

25 That in which the season is suitable for the operations of one’s own army, unsuitable for those of the enemy, is the best time, the opposite kind is the worst, alike to both is middling.

26 ‘Of power, place and time, however, power is superior,’ say the teachers. 27 For, one possessed of power is able to counter-act (the difficulties of) marshy or dry region and (those of) time with cold, heat or rain. 28 ‘Place is superior,’ say some. 29 ‘For, a dog on land drags a crocodile, a crocodile in water drags a dog.’ 30 ‘Time is superior,’ say some (others). 31 ‘By day a crow kills an owl, at night an owl kills a crow.’ 32 ‘No,’ says Kautilya. 33 Power, place and time are mutually helpful.

34 Grown superior in these, keeping a third or a fourth part of the army as protection in the base, in the rear, and in forests on the borders and taking with him treasury and troops capable of carrying out the undertaking, he should march against the enemy, whose old stocks of food are exhausted, who has not yet collected the new food-grains and whose fort is unrepaired, on an expedition in Maargastra, with a view to destroy his monsoon crops and winter sowings. 35 He should march on an expedition in Caitra, with a view to destroy his winter crops and spring sowings. 36 He should march on an expedition in Jyesta, against the enemy, whose stores of grass, timber and water are exhausted and whose fort is unrepaired, with a view to destroy his spring crops and monsoon sowings.

37 He should march in winter against a country which is very hot or which has little fodder, fuel and water. 38 He should march in summer against a country with showers of snow, or consisting mostly of deep water or with dense grass and trees. 39 He should march when it is raining against a country suited to the operations of his own army and unsuited to those of the enemy.

27 nimna refers to water, watery regions.

34 mule, i.e., in the kingdom from which the expedition starts. 35 In this case there is no reference to the enemy’s difficulties. Perhaps in Caitra, conditions described in kṣṇapurāṇa- etc. are not expected to arise. 36 Meyer thinks that Jyesta is absurd and that Śravaṇa was expected. But monsoon sowings so late as in Śravaṇa are not very likely. And s. 40 supports Jyesta, as it supports Maargastra and Caitra.

38 tusāradurdiram ‘always having showers of snow’ (Cn Cs) is preferable to ‘rich in mist and clouds’ (Meyer).
40 He should march on an expedition of long duration between the Mārgaśīra and the Pauṣa full moon days, on one of medium duration between the Caitra and the Vaiśākha full moon days, on one of short duration between the Jyeṣṭha and the Āṣādha full moon days, on the fourth (expedition), if desirous of burning up (the enemy) in his calamity.

41 Marching in (the enemy's) calamity has been explained in (the Section on) 'marching after making war'.

42 And in general the teachers advise, 'One should march in the enemy's calamity.' 43 'On accession of strength one should march, there being uncertainty as to calamities,' says Kauṭilya. 44 Or, he should march when by marching he would be able to weaken or exterminate the enemy.

45 At a time when excessive heat is over, he should march with elephant divisions for the most part. 46 For, elephants, sweating inside, become leprous. 47 And not getting a plunge in water or a drink of water, they become blind through internal secretion. 48 Hence in a region with plenty of water and when it is raining he should march with elephant divisions for the most part. 49 In the reverse case, (he should march) with troops consisting mostly of donkeys, camels and horses, in a region with little rain and mud. 50 In a region mostly desert, he should march with the fourfold army when it is raining.

51 He should regulate the expedition in accordance with the evenness or unevenness of the road, the presence of water or land on it, or the shortness or length of the march.

40 Mārgaśīraḥ etc.: the feminines refer to the full moon days. Cs reads Mārgaśiṣṭam etc., as names of months. But with antareṇa 'between', particular days appear preferable to months. — upoṣīṣṭam (from upa-uṣ 'to burn') should be construed with vyasana rather than with the preceding hrasyakālām (as in Cn Cs). — caturthām is from Cn Cs. We have to supply yātrāṁ yāyāṁ. The point seems to be that it is different from the three just mentioned, in not being restricted as to duration and season. The only occasion is the enemy's calamity. Meyer supplies pūrṇimām 'on the fourth full moon day'. But in view of antareṇa, the full moon days themselves are not to be thought of as days for starting. 41 vīghrāya yāne, i.e., in 7.4 above.

43 anaitkāntikatva 'uncertainty' as to there being a vyasana at all and as to any benefit that can be derived from it.

45 atyugnopakaśīne kāle, i.e., when summer is past. Cs explains 'which ends in excessive heat, i.e., in summer,' and consequently reads ahasītabalaprayāyā 'without elephants'. Such a negative description of troops to be used does not appear very likely. 49 Cs removes the stop after -pankam, so that alpacuṣnopankam goes with maruprayam. But the order of words favours the other punctuation.

51 sama- etc. stand for samatva- etc.
52 Or, all expeditions should be of short duration in conformity with the lightness of the undertaking, or of long duration in conformity with the heaviness of the undertaking, and (then there may be) camping during rains in the foreign land.

CHAPTER TWO

SECTION 137 OCCASIONS FOR THE EMPLOYMENT OF (THE DIFFERENT KINDS OF) TROOPS

SECTION 138 MERITS OF EQUIPPING FOR WAR (THE DIFFERENT KINDS OF TROOPS)

SECTION 139 THE WORK OF (EMPLOYING SUITABLE) TROOPS AGAINST ENEMY TROOPS

1 Occasions for the employment of the hereditary, the hired, the banded, the ally’s, the alien and the forest troops are:

2 When hereditary troops are in excess of what is required for the defence of the base; or, when hereditary troops, being over-strewn with treasonable men, might create trouble at the base; or, the enemy has plenty of loyal hereditary troops or a strong army, (hence) it is necessary to fight with military operations; or, because on a long march or on one of long duration, hereditary troops can bear losses and expenses; or, when plenty of loyal troops being got together, no trust can be placed in other troops, hired and other, through fear of secret instigations by the enemy against whom one is marching; or, when the strength of all (other) troops is depleted;—these are occasions for the use of hereditary troops.

52 yātavyāḥ is used as a substantive in the sense of yātrāḥ.

9.2

The three Sections are to be found in ss. 1-12, 13-24 and 25-29 respectively.

1 samudāna is synonymous with upādāna.

2 mauła is derived from mūla, the kingdom or the capital, of which the troops are natives. The word, however, conveys the sense of hereditary troops loyal to the dynasty from generation to generation. — ahyāvāpa: see 10.5.28. — bahulānuraktasamipāte: the mss. show -samipāte, which would imply that the many loyal troops of the vijīgāha create (samipāta) distrust in his mind (avivāsa) regarding bṛha and other troops. This would appear to be a very strange idea. Meyer therefore proposes bahulānuraktaśasamipāte ‘created by many faithless troops’. With -samipāte, Cn Cs understand ‘the coming (samipāta) of many loyal agents of the enemy and their engaging in upajāpa.’ The idea would rather appear to be ‘when a large number of loyal troops (of the mauła type) can be collected (samipāta) and other troops cannot be trusted because of instigations etc.’ The expression is a little odd.
3 (When he thinks), 'I have a large hired army and only a small hereditary army; or, the enemy has a small or disaffected hereditary army or a hired army consisting mostly of weak troops or without strong troops; or, it is to be a fight with diplomacy with slight military operations; or, the distance is short or duration brief, involving few losses and expenses; or, my army is with few treasonable men in it, with secret (enemy) instigations frustrated, and trustworthy; a small raid of the enemy is to be repelled;'—these are occasions for the use of hired troops.

4 (When he thinks), 'I have a large army of warrior bands, capable of being used at the base and in the expedition; the distance is short, the enemy, having mostly an army of warrior bands, intends to fight with diplomacy and military operations; use of armed forces is to be made;’—these are occasions for the use of an army consisting of bands.

5 (When he thinks), 'I have a large allied army that can be used at the base and in the expedition; the distance is small and war with military operations is to be more extensive than diplomatic war; or, having first engaged in fight the forest troops or the site of the capital or the allied troops of the enemy with my allied troops, I shall then engage them in fight with my own troops; or, my undertaking is shared in common with the ally; or, the success of my undertaking is dependent on the ally; or, my ally is close to me, deserving to be favoured; or, I shall destroy the excess of traitors (in his troops) for him;'—these are occasions for the use of an ally’s troops.

6 (When he thinks), 'I have a large alien army, with alien troops I shall fight at the site of the (enemy’s) capital or against (his) forest troops, in that case I shall gain in either eventuality, as does the Cauḍāla in

3 alpaćāpam is proposed in the sense of 'with few treasonable men in it' as contrasted with atyācāpam 'having many treasonable men in it' (10.5.28). Cs reads alpaśanīpātām 'to which few secret agents from the enemy come'; Cn seems to have read alpaśaṅghātam or -saṁvādām in this sense. alpaśaṅgṛpaṁ 'with little sleep' hardly suits even in a figurative sense. — prasāraḥ, primarily a foraging raid (10.2.5), refers to a raid or advance.

4 Whereas in bhṛtabala the soldiers are recruited individually, the śreniḥbala is a band of fighting men under its own leader. — danaṭabalaśvāvahāraḥ : cf 8.1.34, 38. This seems to be an independent substantive. Cn Cs treat it as an adjective to pratiyodhā 'who has to fight with troops (bala) sent to him by his enemy through fear of chastisement (dana).’ Meyer renders danaṭabala by 'professional troops.'

5 atyācāpam : see 10.5.28.

6 śavaraḥāyoh etc. : cf. 7.1.34. — atypacitam vā etc. up to -kopaśaṅkāyāḥ is misplaced. The passage does not state any occasion for the use of alien troops. That they are not, however, a late gloss is shown by the fact that they are quoted in 15.1.50. The words should preferably be read after s. 11 below. — anyatra etc.
a fight between a dog and a boar; or, I shall make these the means of crushing the thorns among allied or forest troops;'—or, when they have grown excessively large, he should always station alien troops in close proximity (to himself) for fear of a revolt, except in case of fear of a rising in the interior; — and when the time for (one's own) fighting is later than that for the enemy's fighting;—these are occasions for the use of alien troops.

7 By that are explained occasions for the use of forest troops. 8 When useful for showing the way; when suited for the terrain of the enemy; when capable of counter-acting the enemy's mode of fighting; or when the enemy has mostly forest troops, (on the principle) 'let the Bilva-fruit be destroyed by the Bilva-fruit'; when a small raid is to be repelled;—these are (further) occasions for the use of forest troops.

9 An army not in one unit, coming from many regions, which, whether asked or unasked, gets ready with the object of getting plunder is the volunteer army, not given food and wages, carrying out plunder, doing labour and heroic deeds, liable to be divided by the enemies, (but) not liable to be divided if consisting mostly of persons from the same region, caste or profession, united and large in number. These are occasions for the use of (various kinds of) troops.

10 Of these, he should remunerate alien and forest troops with forest produce or with booty. 11 Or, when an occasion has arisen for the enemy to raise troops, he should keep alien troops in his control, or send them elsewhere, or render them ineffective, or keep them dispersed, or should release them when the time for them is past.

12 And he should obstruct such raising of troops by the enemy and secure that for himself.

i.e., if stationing the alien troops near him were to lead to a rising by mantran, senāpati etc. For abhyantarākopa, see 9.3.12. — satruyuddhāvāra- etc., i.e., when the vijīgīṣu wants to fight after the enemy (from whom the troops are received) has finished his own fighting.

8 ariyuddhapatriloman : it is not necessary to read -apratiloman 'not averse to fighting' as Meyer proposes. pratiloma can mean 'able to fight against'.

9 anekam 'not in one unit,' i.e., 'not under one leadership' (Cn Cs). — anekastham is read as in Cn. anekajātiyam would also be possible, but not anekajātiyastham as found in the mss. — vilomasyati- is an obvious corruption of vilopaviṣṭi-. — Cn Cs interpret -pratāpakara as 'carrying out the king's orders'. That would be an unusual sense.

11 śatrubalam is proposed for śatrum ; that is necessary. — aphalam etc.: cf. 7.8.23. Cn Cs understand 'should not give the stipulated money for the troops.' But 'should render them unserviceable' appears better. — vikṣiptam : cf. 7.9.22 etc.
13 And it is better to equip for war each earlier one among these than each later one.

14 Because of their having the same feelings as the king and because of constant enjoyment of his regard (for them), hereditary troops are better than hired troops.

15 Being always proximate to him, quick in rising for action, and under control, hired troops are better than banded troops.

16 Being native to the country, actuated by a common purpose, and having the same rivalry, resentment, success and gain (as the king), banded troops are better than allied troops.

17 Being not restricted as to place and time and because of having a common purpose, allied troops are better than alien troops.

18 Being under the command of Āryas, alien troops are better than forest troops. 19 These two have plunder as their objective.

20 When there is no plunder or when there is a calamity, there might be danger from them as from a snake.

21 ‘Among Brāhmaṇa, Kṣatriya, Vaiśya and Śūdra troops, each earlier one is better for equipping for war than each later one, on account of superiority of spirit,’ say the teachers. 22 ‘No,’ says Kauṭiliya. 23 By prostration, an enemy may win over Brāhmaṇa troops.

24 A Kṣatriya army, trained in the art of weapons, is better, or a Vaiśya or a Śūdra army, when possessed of great strength.

25 Therefore, he should raise troops keeping in mind ‘The enemy has these troops; for them these would be counter-troops.’

26 That with elephants, machines and carts at the centre, equipped with lances, javelins, spears, reeds and arrows, is a

13 *sāṇmāhayitum* ‘to equip with armour,’ i.e., to make it ready for fight, to use it for fighting.

14 *tadbhāvabhāvitvāt* : Cn Cs understand *bhāva* as ‘existence’, and explain ‘whose existence depends on that of the king.’ *bhāva* as ‘feeling’ would also do; cf. *mitrabhāvin, arībhāvin* etc., 7.18.29. — *satkāra-* from the commentators is preferable to *saṁskāra-* of the mss. Cn reads *-anurāgāt* in place of *-anugāmāt*. Kāman-daka, 19.4, satkārad *anurāgāc ca* seems to support that.

16 *ekārthopagatam* : Cn understands the common purpose to be that of members of the śrenī among themselves, not as that of the viṣṇiṣu and the śrenībala. — Cs includes *aparimita-...-gamāc ca* from the next s. at the end of this s., making *ekārthopagamāt* an adjective to *mitrabalāt*. That is hardly right. With that punctuation there would be no statement of reasons for preferring a *mitrabala* to an *amitrabala*.

18 Clearly forest troops had their own non-Āryan or Melecha commanders. 20 *ahībhayam* : cf. 1.17.9.

24 *bahulasāram* ‘possessed of great strength,’ is understood as ‘having many brave men in it’ (Cn Cs Meyer).
counter-force against elephant divisions. 27 The same, equipped mostly with stones, clubs, armours, hooks and 'hair-seizers', is a counter-force against chariot divisions. 28 The same is a counter-force against cavalry, or mailed elephants or mailed horses. 29 Mailed chariots and armoured infantrymen are a counter-force against the fourfold troops.

30 Thus he should carry out the raising of troops so as to withstand enemy troops, in conformity with the strength of his own troops, (and) in accordance with the various types of divisions (that may be necessary).

CHAPTER THREE

SECTION 140 CONSIDERATION OF REVOLTS IN THE REAR
SECTION 141 COUNTER-MEASURES AGAINST RISINGS OF CONSTITUENTS IN THE OUTER REGIONS AND IN THE INTERIOR

1 As between a small disturbance in the rear and a large gain in front, the small disturbance in the rear is of greater importance.

2 For, when he is gone, treasonable men, enemies and foresters augment the small disturbance in the rear on all sides, or a rising of

26 It would be better to read śakaṭagarbhām separately as in the quotation in Śaṅkarārya on Kāmandaka, 19.26. Cn interprets śakaṭagarbha (in the compound) as 'a centre consisting of carts,' understanding hasti and yantra as two things or hasti-yantra as one (machine against elephants? or machine to be used from elephants?).

— kāṭaka is from the commentators for bharaṭaka. It is 'of the size of the kūnta and has three points' (Cn Cs).
— veṇu 'a long whip' (Cn Cs).
— sālya 'an iron club with spikes all round' (Cn Cs).
It may also mean 'a dart, an arrow'.

27 kacagrahāṇi: cf. 2.36.18. It is 'a long, broad bamboo with a hook' (Cn Cs).

28 ladeva 'i.e., rathapratibala, according to some, hastipratibala, according to others' (Cn).
— varmaṇo vā hastino ' śvā vā varmaṇāḥ: Cn Cs include these words in the
next s. and explain 'mailed elephants against elephants, mailed horses against cavalry, mailed chariots against chariots and armoured infantrymen against infantry, this in general should be the counter-force against the fourfold army.' For this, the two vās should be dropped or a vā read after kavacināḥ and āvaraninaḥ. Even so the explanation does not appear convincing. The punctuation adopted is found in the quotation in Śaṅkarārya on Kāmandaka, 19.26. — The ca after pattayaḥ is from Cn; it seems to have dropped out because of the following ca- (in caturāṇa). 30 parasainyaniśvāram is an adjective to samuddānam. — anāgavikalpaḥ, i.e., according as one or the other of the four anāgas may be needed.

9.3

The two Sections are very closely related and it is difficult to find a demarcation line between the two.

2 prakṛti refers to such officers etc. as are mentioned in ss. 12,15,20 and 22 below. It may also refer to subjects. 3 bhṛtyamitraśayawyaḥ is 'servants, allies, losses and expenses' rather than 'loss of servants and allies and expenses'. — bhrte in
the constituents (augments it). 3 And if this happens servants, allies, losses and expenses eat up the large gain in front even if obtained. 4 Therefore, the advantage from a gain in front being one in a thousand or (at most) one in a hundred when there is a disturbance in the rear, he should not march. 5 ‘Misfortunes, indeed, have the mouth of a needle’ is a saying among the people.

6 In case of revolt in the rear, he should make use of conciliation, gifts, dissension and force. 7 For the gain in front he should make the commander-in-chief or the crown prince the commandant of the troops. 8 Or, if strong (and) capable of suppressing the revolt in the rear, the king (himself) should march to secure the gain in front.

9 In case of suspicion of a revolt in the interior, he should march taking with him the suspected persons, or in case of suspicion of a revolt in the outer regions, (taking with him) the sons and wives of these.

10 He should march after suppressing the (revolt in the) interior and appointing a regent with many types of troops under more than one chief, or he may not march. 11 That a revolt in the interior is a greater evil than a rising in the outer regions has been stated before.

12 A revolt by one of (the following), the minister, the chaplain, the commander-in-chief and the crown prince, is a revolt in the interior. 13 He should overcome that by giving up his own faults or in accordance with the power and offence of the other. 14 In the case of the chaplain, even when his offence is great, the punishment should be confinement or exile, in the case of the crown prince, confinement or death, if there is another virtuous son.

G, is due to dittography. 4 sahasraikṣiyah etc.: Cn explains ‘the gain in front is one-thousandth, while trouble in the rear is one-hundredth (with paścātkopah nominative).’ Thus Cs. vā does not seem properly explained in this. Cn has another explanation ‘when the gain is one thousand and loss (-ayogah) one; similarly when gain is one hundred and loss one.’ Meyer (with paścātko pe locative) has ‘advantage from a gain is one in a thousand, or (at most) one in a hundred when there is trouble in the rear.’ That explanation is adopted. In the text, paścātkopa should be read for paścātko pe. For śataikīya in this sense, cf. Rājatarāginī, 8.1272 (śataikīyo yo 'vaśīsto viplavakṣayite jane).

9 Cn Cs include abhyantarāvagrahāṁ kṛtvā at the end of this s., not at the beginning of the next. That is far from happy. avagraha can mean only ‘suppression’; and the idea of keeping the wives and sons of bāhyas in charge of (avagraha) abhyantaras is quite unlikely. Moreover, s.11 would have significance only if the words are read in s. 10.

11 purastāt : in 8.2.3 above.

14 nigrahāḥ: ‘death’ (Cn Cs) seems clearly intended. — tābhīyāṁ mantri-senaḥpati vyākhyātau found in the mss. after s.14 are clearly an interpolation. The maunrin is not on the same footing as the purohita nor the senāpati on the same footing as the yuvārāja. Moreover, their case is specifically mentioned in s. 19.
15 He should overcome, with energy, a son, a brother or another member of the family, planning to seize the kingdom; if lacking in energy, by acquiescing in what is seized and by entering into a pact (with him), for fear that he might join the enemy. 16 Or, he should create confidence in him by grants of land to others like him. 17 Or, he should send (against him) troops superior to him, that are permitted to seize what they can, or a neighbouring vassal or a forest chieftain, (and) should over-reach him when he is fighting with these. 18 Or, he should make use of ways for securing a prince in disfavour, or secret ways of capturing an enemy’s town. 19 By this are explained the minister and the commander-in-chief.

20 A revolt by any one of the officers of the interior except the minister and others is a rising of ministers of the interior. 21 In their case, too, he should use means as deserved.

22 A revolt by one of (the following), the chief of the countryside, the frontier officer, the forest chieftain and the vassal surrendering to force, is a revolt in the outer regions. 23 He should cause that to be suppressed through one another. 24 Or, if he is strongly entrenched in a fort, he should cause him to be suppressed by any one of (the following), a neighbouring prince, a forest chieftain, a pretender from his family or a prince in disfavour. 25 Or, he should make his ally win him over, so that he does not go over to the enemy.

26 Or, a secret agent should divide him from the enemy, (saying), ‘This (enemy), looking upon you as a secret agent, will make you fight against the king himself, (and) with his object achieved, will employ you, in charge of troops, against his enemy or forest chieftain or in a difficult undertaking, or will post you at the frontier, separated from wife and sons. 27 If you fail in the fight (against your king),

15 putram: son other than the yuvarāja. — utsāhena, i.e., by energetic action. 17 tadviśiṣṭam, i.e., superior to the rebel’s troops. It can hardly mean ‘commanded by the rebel’ (Cs); that would be very risky. Meyer has ‘(after creating confidence) he should send him against one who is superior to him (tadviśiṣṭam) for plunder (svayāngrabham) or for execution of punishment (daṇḍam).’ This is unlikely. daṇḍa cannot be understood in this sense; in fact, svayāngrabham daṇḍam conveys a single idea. And Meyer’s construction shows three accusatives (tadviśiṣṭam, enam and svayāngrabham) with preṣayet, which is very unlikely. 18 aparuddhādānam as in 118.13-16. — pāragrāmikam yogam as in 18.1.

20 antaramātya: ‘daurvārika, antarvaniśika and others’ (Cn), i.e., palace officials. 22 rāṣṭramukhya would principally include the samāhātrya. 24 tatkalina and aparuddha show that the rebel has the status of a king; a vassal seems primarily thought of.

26 ayan refers to the enemy, whose aid the rebel has sought or is likely to seek 27 tvayā vā samāhām kṛtvā: in this, no material gain is derived as in panyā.
he will sell you to the king, or making peace through you, will conciliate the king himself. 28 You should go to his best ally.' 29 If he agrees, he should honour him by the fulfilment of his wishes. 30 If he does not agree, the (agent) should divide the support from him, (saying), 'He is kept as a secret agent against you.' 31 And the secret agent should get him killed on the strength of letters carried by men condemned to death or through secret agents. 32 Or, he should win back warriors, who had left along with him, by granting their wishes. 33 The secret agent should (then) declare them as having been employed by him. 34 Thus is success to be achieved.

35 And he should cause these revolts to arise for the enemy, and suppress those against himself.

36 Secret instigations (to revolt) should be made to one who is capable of starting or putting down a revolt.

37 A response to instigations (to revolt) should be made to one who is true of promise, capable of helping in carrying out the undertaking and securing its reward and of saving in case of failure, and about him one should form a conjecture as to whether he has honest intentions or is a rogue.

38 A roughish officer from the outer regions instigates an officer in the interior (to revolt) with these motives: 'If after killing the king, he will make me accepted (as king), I shall make a double gain, death of the enemy and acquisition of land; or, the enemy will kill him, so that the party of kinsmen of the officer put to death and those frightened of punishment because of a likely offence, will become for me a very large non-seduceable party; or, the (king) will be suspicious even of others like him, and (then) I shall get his other chiefs killed one by one through letters carried by men condemned to death.'

*kariṣyati*; in either case, the rebel is handed over to his former master. 28 *uṣṭairpan vā*: the *vā* is due to 5.5.14, where it is necessary. *Cs* reads *gaccheta* as in 5.5.14; but the potential form is quite unlikely here. 30 *saṁśrayaṁ* is the enemy with whom the rebel has found shelter. 31 *abhityakta*: this is the usual form of the word for 'a person condemned to death'; that is adopted throughout on the authority of *Cn Cs*. The mss. show *abhivyakta*, which, if genuine, must be understood in the same sense. *abhivyaktaśaśana* cannot mean 'a letter brought to light' (Meyer); cf. 9.6.29 and 13.4.28. A man condemned to death is preferred for carrying the implicating letter, as the enemy is likely to kill the person carrying it. 32 *ādāhayaṁ* is the usual word; cf. 7.7.13. 33 *tena*, i.e., by their old master. As they have gone back, they are proved to have been his agents; the rebel also, therefore, must be one such.

36 This and the following ss. contain advice to rebels; the king comes in only as a victim of their intrigues.

38 *pratipādāyasyati*; cf. 1.10.3. — *tulyadosa*- etc. need not be understood as an adjective to *hatabandhupakṣaḥ*; in view of *ca*, a separate idea is better.
39 Or, a roguish officer from the interior instigates an officer in the outer regions (to revolt) with these motives: 'I shall appropriate his treasury or I shall destroy his troops, or I shall get the wicked king killed by him; when he responds I shall make the officer from the outer regions fight against the enemy or forest chieftains (with the idea), "Let his army get stuck, let his enmity be firmly fixed, then he will be in my power, then I shall conciliate the king himself or shall seize the kingdom myself"; or, after imprisoning him, I shall secure both—the territory of the officer from the outer region and the territory of the king; or, inviting the officer from the outer region, when he has become hostile (to the king) and is full of trust (in me), I shall get him killed; or, I shall seize his base when it is without him.'

40 One with honest intentions, however, instigates (others to revolt) in the interests of those who live with him.

41 One should make a pact with one of honest intentions; agreeing 'So let us do,' one should over-reach a roguish one.

42 Understanding all this,

the wise (king) should guard others from others, his own people from his own people, his own people from others, and others from his own people, and always guard himself from his own people and from others.

bhūyānakṛtya- is as proposed by Meyer for bhūyat na kṛtya- of the mss. and bhūyān kṛtya- of Cn Cs. akṛtya implying that they cannot be seduced from his side by the king is preferable to kṛtya implying that he will have to make efforts to win them over to his side. — asya, i.e., of the king. — abhityaktaśāsanena: see s. 31 above.

39 vairam is apparently with the king. — svayam vā rājyam: Cn Cs think that this is the kingdom of the bāhya; that, however, is referred to in śūnyam vā asya mūlam later on. This is the master's kingdom. — āvāhayite: the invitation to come is as a fellow-conspirator.

40 sahajīvayartham: sahajīvin seems to refer to fellow officers who live in the same state and are fed up with the king. Cs makes sahajīvī 'living in close association with fellow-conspirators' an adjective to kalpātābuddhiḥ and understands artham 'what is beneficial' as the object of upajapati. That is not happy.

42 evam upalābhya is to be construed with the stanza; it is thus that the vijītasya is brought into relation with the discussion on rebel conspirators. — pare sve: Cn remarks that pare in effect refers to bāyahya and sve to abhyantaraha. That is possible in the context; 'those hostile' and 'those loyal' would, however, appear more likely. — raksyaḥ can hardly mean 'should keep the roguishness etc. of one a secret from the others' (Cs). That is impossible with ātmā with which also raksyaḥ is to be understood.
CHAPTER FOUR

SECTION 142 CONSIDERATION OF LOSSES, EXPENSES AND GAINS

1 The diminution of draught-animals and men is loss. 2 The diminution of money and grains is expense.

3 He should march when the gain is superior, because of many good points, to these two.

4 That which can be seized, which can be recovered, which is pleasing, which is rousing to anger, which requires a short time, which involves small losses, which requires small expenses, which is great, which leads to further increase, which is safe, which is lawful and which is foremost,—these are the excellences of gain.

5 That which is easy to obtain and protect, and cannot be recovered by the enemies is the (gain) which can be seized. 6 In the reverse case, it is one that can be recovered. 7 One, seizing it or staying there, meets with destruction.

8 If, however, he were to see, ‘After seizing the recoverable gain, I shall cause (the enemy’s) treasury, army, stores and fortifications to disappear; I shall make the mines, the produce forests, the elephant forests, water-works and trade-routes denuded of all valuables; I shall impoverish his subjects, carry them away or conciliate them by suitable means, (while) the (enemy) will afterwards rouse them by contrary means; or, I shall sell this (gain) to his rival or make his ally or a prince in disfavour accept it; or, remaining here, I shall take steps against the harassment of my ally’s or my own territory by robbers and enemies; or, I shall make his ally or support realise his deficiency,

3 bahugunāviśīṣṭe ‘superior (to kṣaya and vyaya) because of many excellences ’; we can also understand ‘greater by many times (than the two).’ But s. 24 shows that guna refers to qualities like dèyata etc.

7 tatras'ho : the labhā thought of is that of land.

8 apavahayasyāmi : cf. 8.2.8. That makes avāhayisyāmi of Cs little likely. The idea is, when the enemy recovers it, he would find it impoverished and deserted. — ṣāyogena : this seems contrasted with pratiyogena that follows and may be understood as ‘suitable means’, while pratiyoga may be ‘contrary means’. Meyer has ‘application (to duty) ’; Cs has ‘not taking away their gains’. ṣāyoga may also mean ‘employing (them) ’ as in 9.5.11. — param, i.e., when the enemy tries to recover it; his ways would alienate the subjects, who would then support the viṣeṣā and prevent the recovery. Cs seems to have read parah, though its explanation has ‘pāscāt’. — mitram aparuddhānān vā : the mitra is that of the enemy (Meyer) not of the viṣeṣā (Cs); the idea is to alienate the enemy’s ally from him. — vaigunyana grahahayasyāmi : vaigunya is usually ‘hostility ’; cf. 5.6.8; 8.1.11. But here it seems to mean ‘deficiency ’. The idea is, the fact that his land is occupied by the viṣeṣā would show the enemy’s weakness to his ally, who would
so that being disaffected with the enemy, he will accept a member of his family; or, I shall honour him and return the land to him, so that I shall have an ally bound to me and acting with me for a long time;’ in such cases, he should seize even a recoverable gain.

9 Thus the gains that can be seized and that can be recovered have been explained.

10 The gain, being obtained by a righteous (king) from an unrighteous one becomes pleasing to his own people and to others. 11 The reverse rouses to anger.

12 A gain, not being obtained on the advice of ministers, leads to a rising, (as they think), ‘He has been made to undergo losses and expenses by us.’ 13 A gain, being obtained in disregard of treasonable ministers, leads to a rising, (as they think), ‘Having achieved his object, he will destroy us.’ 14 The reverse is the gain that pleases.

15 Thus the gains that please and that rouse have been explained.

16 Because it can be secured by merely going (there), the gain is one requiring a short time. 17 Because it can be secured by diplomacy, it is one involving small losses. 18 Because there is only the expense of food, it is one requiring small expenses. 19 Because thereafter be amitravirakta and extend his support to another member of the enemy’s family (tatkuśnam) who may have a claim to the throne. Thus Cs; this explanation appears the least unsatisfactory. For this amitravirakta should be read in the text as in Cs, in place of amitrān viroktam. With the latter reading, amitra could refer to the enemy’s enemy and virakta could qualify tatkuśna; even then a vā would be necessary to show the option between amitra and tatkuśna. Cn mentions pratipatsye or pratipatsyate as the reading, explaining ‘I shall get that ally (tad) for myself, as he is disaffected with the enemy (amitravirakta)’; or ‘that ally will take that (tad, i.e., the enemy’s kingdom), being disaffected with the enemy.’ In neither explanation does tatkuśnam find a place. Meyer has ‘I shall bring his ally to harm (vaigunya)’ and then separately ‘that (tad, i.e., gain) will fall to the lot of one hostile to him (amitrām) or to one disaffected with him (virokta) or to a pretender from his family (when the gain is ultimately recovered from me).’ It is doubtful if tad can refer to the labha, and if pratipatsyate could have labhaḥ for its subject.

12 labhaḥ labhyamānaḥ kopaka bhavati: the situation is: the king fails in an adventure recommended by the ministers and has incurred losses and expenses in the expedition. This is kopaka. This word is understood in Cs as ‘producing hatred (pradveṣa) in the king and fear in the ministers’; Cn has ‘bhayaḥetuh (cause of fear among the ministers).’ Though the sense suits, that is not the usual meaning of kopaka. It would mean either ‘rousing to anger,’ which does not suit, or ‘leading to a rising’ by the ministers, who apparently think of revolting in order to forestall the king’s anger; there may be hopes of the rising succeeding, as the king is weakened by losses and expenses. This latter meaning for kopaka is necessary in the next s. There the dūṣyas would rise in order to prevent the king from obtaining the gain and then wreaking his vengeance on them. 14 viparītah, i.e., labhyamānaḥ in the first case and alabhhyamānaḥ in the second (Cs).
of vastness in the present, it is great. 20 Because it leads to continuity of advantage, it is one that leads to further increase. 21 Because it is free from dangers, it is one that is safe. 22 Because it is obtained in a praiseworthy manner, it is one that is lawful. 23 Because it comes without restrictions in the case of confederates, it is one that is foremost.

24 When the gain is equal (from two expeditions), he should consider the place and the time, powers and means, agreeableness and disagreeableness, speed and absence of speed, nearness and distance, the present and consequences in the future, valuableness and continuousness, and abundance and richness in qualities, and seize that gain which is possessed of many good points.

25 Hindrances to gain are: passion, anger, nervousness, pity, shyness, ignobleness, haughtiness, a sympathetic nature, regard for the other world, piousness, illiberality, abjectness, jealousy, contempt for what is in the hand, wickedness, lack of trust, fear, failure to counter-act, inability to endure cold, heat and rain, and fondness for auspicious days and constellations.

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 stars do?

27 Men, without wealth, do not attain their objects even with hundreds of efforts; objects are secured through objects, as elephants are through elephants set to catch them.

22 prasastopādānāt refers to such ways of acquisition as conquest, purchase etc. 23 sānavyāgikānām anirbandhasāṅkātāt: this seems to mean that one of the confederates receives a higher share in the joint expedition, without restrictions or objections by others. Cn seems to understand 'a higher share (bhūgāntarotkṛṣṭāḥ) because there is no restriction as to each one's gain (svasvālābhoktarṣanirbandhaḥāṅkātāt). In 9.7.59, apuroga is used of a confederate who is not the leader. We need not, however, understand that the puroga or leader alone gets a puroga share. Any one of the confederates may appropriate a higher share if the others do not object. Meyer has 'one in which one need not march (gam) together with the allies any further,' which hardly suits.

24 priyāpriyau, i.e., priyataca and apriyataca of the lābha. — sāratvasāhatye: for the contrast implied in the two terms, Cn compares 7.12.16.

25 kārnaga, according to Cn Cs, leads to aversion to fighting, while sānakrośatā leads to forgiveness for an offender. — kṛiḥ: it prevents the use of force when the offenders cry for mercy (Cn Cs); it is the noble feeling that recoils from soiling itself with evil (Meyer). — For atyāśātvam, Cs reads atyāśātvam 'consuming more than one's share'; apratikāraḥ is from Cn; Cs reads anikāraḥ 'absence of contempt for the enemy'.

27 nādhanāḥ is from Cs for sādhanāḥ of the mss. The latter has to be understood as sādhanavantaḥ and even then yatnaśatair api cannot be construed naturally with it. The Mahābhārata, 12.8.20 (adhanārthākāmena nārthāḥ sākṣyo vivitsatā, arthār arthā nibadhyante gajair iva mahāgajāḥ) supports nādhanāḥ.
CHAPTER FIVE

SECTION 148  DANGERS FROM (OFFICERS IN) THE OUTER REGIONS AND THE INTERIOR

1 The use of peace and other policies not in the prescribed manner is wrong policy. 2 From that spring dangers (of conspiracy or revolt).

3 Originating in the outer region and responded to from the interior, originating in the interior and responded to from the outer region, originating in the outer region and responded to from the outer region, (and) originating in the interior and responded to from the interior: these are the (four types of) conspiracies.

4 Where those in the outer regions instigate those in the interior, or those in the interior instigate those in the outer regions, in these cases where there is association between the two types, success over the one who responds is of greater advantage. 5 For, those who respond are full of guile, not those who instigate. 6 When they are subdued, the instigators would not be able to instigate others. 7 For, those in the interior are difficult to instigate for those in the outer regions, or these for the former. 8 There is a waste of great effort for the others and a continuous advantage for oneself.

9 When those in the interior respond, he should make use of conciliation and gifts. 10 Giving a position and showing honour is conciliation. 11 Favours and exemptions or employment in works is gifts.

9.5

As Meyer observes āpad in this Chapter refers to conspiracies against the king or the state.

1 ayathoddeśa-, i.e., not as recommended in Book 7 above.

3 For abhyantara and bāhya, see 9.3.12,22.

4 ubhayayoge: ubhaya refers to abhyantara and bāhya, at the two ends of the realm. 5 suvyājāḥ: Cn explains vyāja by ‘abhyupagamanimitta, an indication that he agrees’, such as a bribe received, etc. That is not very happy. Meyer’s ‘easy to cheat (for the authorities)’ seems less likely. It seems we have to understand ‘full of deceit or guile’. Success over them may be not easy, but for that very reason would be specially advantageous. 8 This s. seems to mention further advantages of overcoming the pratijapitṛs. The instigators are referred to in paresām, while ātmanaḥ refers to the king. Cn, however, regards the s. as stating the reason why upajāpa, though difficult, should still be attempted: thereby the efforts of others are frustrated and one attains one’s own objective. This hardly seems intended. Cs adds anyaḥ after ātmanaḥ and explains ‘(if the pratijapitṛs were to reveal the plot to the king) there is great loss of effort (of the upajāpa), a great gain, viz., favour of the king to the others (paresām, i.e., pratijapitṛṣaṃ) and the opposite of that (anyaḥ), i.e., disaster for himself (i.e., the upajāpa).’ This appears even less likely. There is no reference to the revealing of the plot; and anya can hardly be ‘opposite, reverse’.
12 When those in the outer regions respond, he should make use of dissension and force. 13 Secret agents, posing as friends of those in the outer regions should communicate to them (the following, as) secret information spied out, ‘This king intends to over-reach you through these posing as treasonable men; beware.’ 14 Or, secret agents, posing as treasonable men, employed with the treasonable men (in the interior), should divide the treasonable men from those in the outer regions or those in the outer regions from the treasonable men (in the interior). 15 Or, assassins, insinuating themselves should slay the treasonable men with weapon or poison. 16 Or, after inviting (to the capital) those from the outer regions, they should get them killed.

17 Where those in the outer regions instigate others in the outer regions or those in the interior instigate others in the interior, in these cases, where there is association at one end only, success over the instigator is of greater advantage. 18 For, when the evil (of treason) is removed, there remain no treasonable men. 19 But when treasonable men are over-come, the evil again makes others treasonable.

20 Therefore, when those in the outer regions are instigators, he should make use of dissension and force. 21 Secret agents, posing as friends, should say, ‘This king himself intends to seize you; you are at war with this king; beware.’ 22 Or, assassins, insinuating themselves in the troops of the envoy of the one responding, should strike at their weak points with weapon, poison and so on. 23 Then secret agents should accuse the one responding (of that crime).

13 vā here as well as in s. 21 has no significance. — cāram : cf. 1.12.7 etc. Hence ‘use of a secret trick (by the king)’ (Cn Cs) is less likely. 14 dūṣyaṁ bāhyair bhedaṁyath : it seems that the instrumental is used in the sense of the ablative. In any case, ‘through the bāhyas who have instigated’ (Cn Cs) is quite unlikely in the context where the bāhyas are the pratijāpiṭras. The instigators are the abhyantarās, referred to here as dūṣyas. 15 anupraviśṭāh : insinuating themselves in their service is primarily meant, though the idea of first winning their confidence is also possible. Cf. 1.17.39 etc. 16 ghātayetath : the singular would have been better, with the king as subject. As it is, sattvinaḥ may be the subject, hardly tīkṣṇaḥ in view of the causal.

17 ekāntayoge from Cn Cs is read in conformity with ubhaya-yoge above. ekānta is one end of the realm, either the interior or the outer regions. 18 doṣa is the evil of treason that is there in the upajāpiṭras. 19 dūṣya, i.e., pratijāpiṭr.

21 ādātukāmaḥ : i.e., the king will seize you through the pratijāpiṭras who are really his agents. 22 This s. describes the use of daṇḍa and hence is unrelated to s. 21; tataḥ found in the mss. has therefore no place in this s. and it is proposed to drop it. It seems to have been repeated here from the next s. by some copyist. The attempts in Cn Cs to explain ‘tataḥ are far from satisfactory. — esām, i.e., upajāpiṭrṇām. 23 akhiśiṁśeyath : the accusation is of murder of the upajāpiṭras.
24 When those in the interior instigate others in the interior, he should make use of the means as deserved. 25 He should use conciliation in the case of one discontented though showing signs of contentment, or the reverse of this. 26 Honouring under the pretext of (appreciating) integrity or capability or by showing consideration in a calamity or on a happy occasion, is the use of gifts. 27 Or, an agent posing as a friend, should say to them, ‘In order to find out your feelings, the king will put you to test; you should disclose them to him.’ 28 Or, he should divide them from each other, saying, ‘So and so is thus whispering to the king about you’; thus is dissension (to be brought about). 29 And force should be used as in ‘the infliction of (secret) punishment’.

30 Of these four conspiracies, he should first deal with that in the interior. 31 That a rising in the interior is a greater evil than a rising in the outer regions because of danger as from a snake has been stated before.

32 Of the conspiracies, he should know each earlier one as a less serious conspiracy than each later one, or that starting from strong men as more serious, the reverse as less serious.

CHAPTER SIX

SECTION 144 (DANGERS) CONNECTED WITH TRAITORS AND ENEMIES

1 (That) from the treasonable only and (that) from the enemies only: this is the two-fold unmixed (danger).

2 In the case of unmixed (danger) from the treasonable, he should use against the citizens and the country people the (various)

27 upadhāsayati refers to the upadhās of 1.10. — tad, i.e., ‘your mind’ (Cn Cs). — upajapati seems used in the literal sense ‘whispers’. Meyer proposes upajalpati, since the former has a technical sense. That, however, is not necessary.

29 dāṇḍakarmikavat, i.e., as in 5.1 above.

30 abhyantarām ‘where the abhyantarās are the upajapitras’ (Cn); ‘where both instigators and responders are abhyantarās’ (Meyer).

31 purastāt in 8.2.8.

32 pārvam pārvam as enumerated in s. 3 above. — Meyer, preferring the faulty sūdhim for gurvām translates ‘should know the removal (śuddhi) of the conspiracies to be, however (vā), easy (laghvām) against opponents (viparyaye) when it (i.e., śuddhi) springs from the powerful (king, balavaabhyah).’ This is quite unlikely.

9.6 We have to supply āpadaḥ as the substantive in the title, as is clear from the colophon after 9.7.66. Meyer understands ‘events, situations’, with the result that he is often misled in this Chapter. Cn Cs supply būhyābhyantarāḥ as well; but that is not intended.
means excepting force. 3 For, force cannot be used against a multitude of people. 4 Even if used, it might not achieve its object and at the same time might bring on another disaster. 5 But against the leaders among them, he should act as in 'the infliction of (secret) punishment'.

6 In the case of unmixed (danger) from enemies, he should seek success by conciliation and other means in that place where the enemy, whether the principal or the subordinate, is. 7 Success over the principal is dependent on the king, success over dependents is dependent on ministers, (and) success over the principal and the dependents is dependent on both.

8 Because the reasonable and the non-treasonable have joined hands, it is mixed (danger). 9 In the case of mixed (danger) success (should be sought) through the non-treasonable. 10 For, in the absence of the support, the supported do not exist.

11 Because allies and enemies have become one, it is (danger) mixed with the enemy. 12 In the case of enemy-mixed (danger), success (should be sought) through allies. 13 For, peace is easy to make with an ally, not with an enemy.

14 If the ally were not to desire peace, he should constantly instigate him secretly. 15 Then dividing him from the enemy through secret agents, he should win the ally. 16 Or, he should win over

1 śuddhā in the singular is necessary. This āpad is contrasted with āmiśrā and paramiśrā. In this Chapter āpad is more 'danger' than 'conspiracy'.

2 paureśu jñāpadeśu vā: this shows that sedition is not restricted to officers. In this, dāśyasuddhā differs from bāhyābhyyantarā āpad; also there is no upajāpa apparent in it. 5 mukhyēśu: these would be ring-leaders, not necessarily officers.

6 śatrusuddhā is nothing more than an actual or impending attack by an enemy, including intrigues by him to oust the king. — yataḥ satruḥ etc.: Ĉn Ĉs have 'on whom is dependent (yataḥ) the enemy or his minister (pradhānāḥ) or an officer other than the minister (kārya), these being the ally etc., the enemy himself and the minister respectively.' This seems doubtful; yataḥ can hardly mean 'yasmin adhīnaḥ'. And the next s. does not speak of satrusuddhā, as would have been expected if three persons were intended in this s. It seems therefore that pradhānāḥ kāryo vā is merely in elucidation of satruḥ — the principal enemy, i.e., the enemy king in person, or his kārya, i.e., dependent, such as a minister or general. yataḥ ... tataḥ may refer to the place or the situation, 'there ... where' or 'in respect of that ... which'.

7 āyatta is used as a substantive as well as an adjective in this s. — Meyer remarks that this is strange wisdom. Over-zealousness in classification is responsible for what are often quite obvious statements.

8 dāśyādāśyānām: both the dāśyā and the adāśyā are state subjects. For the time being they have joined in a conspiracy.

11 paramiśrā: Meyer thinks that parimiśrā with a preposition would be better as the name, like āmiśrā. That is possible, but not certain. 13 Cf. 7.13.17.
the (king) situated on the border of the confederacy of allies. 17 When one situated on the border is won over, those situated in the centre become divided. 18 Or, he should win over one situated in the centre. 19 When one situated in the centre is won over, those situated on the border do not remain united.

20 And he should use such means as would secure the defection of the support of these (confederates).

21 He should conciliate a pious king by extolling his birth, family, learning and conduct, by (mention of) relationship of ancestors (of both) or by rendering service and refraining from injury in all three times. 22 He should win over by conciliation one whose energy has left him, one weary of war, one whose efforts are frustrated, one distressed by losses and expenses and by the expedition abroad, one seeking another (ally) with (his) integrity, one afraid of another or one of honourable intentions, attaching prominence to friendship.

23 He should win over a greedy or a weakened king with gifts after first making an ascetic or a chief stand surety. 24 Gift is five-fold: relinquishing what is due, acquiescence in what is taken, return of what is received, bestowal of one’s own goods not given before, and permission to seize what he can from others’ goods. 25 This is making gifts.

26 He should divide one frightened because of mutual hatred or enmity or afraid of seizure of his land, through one of these (causes of fear). 27 (He should divide) a timid king by (threat of) reprisals, ‘After making peace, this king will take action against you; his ally has been sent (to negotiate); you are not in the peace (negotiations) even.’

28 Or, when for any king goods from his own land or from another’s land should come as presents, secret agents should spread reports,

16 Cs reads mitrāmitrasāṅghasya for mitrasāṅghasya. But that is not necessary. It is a confederacy of allies from their own point of view, not that of the viṣṭigīśu.

20 Cn has vaiśām for vaiśām; that might appear better. — aśraya is the chief among the confederates.

22 It seems that kalyāṇabuddhim is to be construed with maitypradāhānam only, not with niśrṣṭotāham and others. Thus Meyer.

23 -avasthāpanā has reference to giving a surety. tapasvin and mukhya are to be distinguished; cf. 7.17.8.

27 pratighātena ‘by counter-attack,’ i.e., by a threat of reprisals. — niśrṣṭam: cf. niśrṣṭartha dūta in 1.16.2. — saṃdha vā nābhyaantarāḥ: we have to understand tvam as the subject. The idea is, you have no place in the negotiations, and, further, the terms of the treaty will not cover you, so that you will be at the mercy of the viṣṭigīśu.

28 panyāgāra is ‘a present, primarily consisting of goods’; cf. 7.15.20. — cāra-veyuḥ, i.e., spread the report as news secretly spied out. 30 grāhāyeyuḥ ‘should
'These have been received from the king against whom we are to march.'
29 When (the report) is spread wide, he should send a letter with a man condemned to death, 'These goods have been sent by me to you as a present; attack your confederates or desert them; then you will receive the rest of the stipulated amount.' 30 Then secret agents should make the others realise, 'This was given by the enemy.'

31 Or, an article, well-known as belonging to the enemy, should go, unknown, to the conqueror. 32 Secret agents appearing as traders from him should sell it among enemy chiefs. 33 Then secret agents should make the others realise, 'This commodity was given to the enemy.'

34 Or, after favouring with money and honour persons who have committed great crimes, he should employ them against the enemy with weapon, poison and fire. 35 Then he should make one minister (seemingly) desert. 36 Taking his sons and wife under protection, he should have it proclaimed, 'They were killed at night.' 37 Then the minister should disclose those (criminals) one by one to the enemy. 38 If they were to act as directed, he should not get them seized. 39 Or, if unable (to do as told), he should get them seized. 40 Securing the position of a trusted counsellor, the (minister) should speak of the necessity of (the enemy) being on his guard against the chief (confederate). 41 Then an agent in the pay of both should get an order of the enemy for the chief's destruction seized.

make them understand '. The object can hardly be śāsanaṁ here, in view of ari-pradattam, which can be understood of the goods only.

31 satruprakhyātan panyam is curious; śatroḥ prakhyātan would be better. — avijñātan, i.e., in effect, by theft. 33 grāhayeyuḥ: it can hardly mean 'have the goods seized by the guards' (Cn Cs). There is no need for seizing the goods. — aripradattam: this may mean 'given to the enemy' by the particular confederate, or 'given by the enemy' to the traders. As āri is the viṣṭāṣu, with whom the particular confederate is thus proved to have been in league, the former meaning appears slightly better.

34 mahāparādhaḥ: these seem to be ordinary criminals, who are pardoned and in return for that are asked to act as agents for killing the enemy. These are not likely to be amātyas, as Cn Cs think. amātyas would hardly be asked to serve as assassins. 35 ekam amātyam: this in reality is a very trustworthy minister who is assigned the task of bringing about bheda. He could not be mahāparādha in reality. One is reminded of Bhāgarūyaṇa in the Mudrārākṣasa. — nispātayet: the desertion of the minister and the consequent disappearance of his wife and sons are only a pretence, used to outwit the enemy; he might think the desertion etc. to be real. For this trick, cf. 13.3.11-14 below. 37 tān, i.e., the mahāparādhas. — prarūpayet 'point out, disclose'; cf. 4.5.18; 11.1.49. This is done one by one as they may be found to have failed in their mission of secretly killing the enemy. Thus the amātya wins the enemy's confidence; he is not concerned with the fate of the mahāparādha at the hands of the enemy. 38 The two ss. 38 and 39 are pointless; it seems
42 Or, he should send a letter to one possessed of the power of energy, ‘Seize the kingdom of so and so; our treaty stands as before.’
43 Then secret agents should have it seized among the enemies.
44 Or, (agents) should destroy the camp or supplies or allied troops of one (of the confederates). 45 Speaking of friendship with the others, they should suggest to him, ‘You are sought to be destroyed by these.’
46 Or if a great warrior or an elephant or a horse of some one were to die or to be killed or carried away by secret agents, (other) secret agents should declare him as destroyed by others. 47 Then he should send a letter to the one who is accused, ‘Do more of this; then you will receive the rest of the stipulated amount.’ 48 Agents in the pay of both should get that seized.
49 When they are thus divided, he should secure one of them.
50 By that are explained (dissensions among) commanders-in-chief, princes and commandants of armies.
51 And he should make use of dissensions as for oligarchies.
52 This is the work of creating dissensions.
53 Secret agents should dispose of a fiery or energetic enemy or one in a calamity or one entrenched in a fort, by weapon, fire, poison and so on, or one of them (should do so) because of ease in doing it.
54 For, an assassin, single-handed, may be able to achieve his end with weapon, poison and fire. 55 He does the work of a whole army or more.
56 This is the group of four means. 57 In that, each earlier one is lighter than each later one. 58 Conciliation is one-fold.

likely that they are a marginal gloss that has got into the text. 41 amitraśā-
sanaṁ mukhyopagāṭāya is from Cn. amitra is the enemy with whom the viśiṣṭu’s minister is staying. The letter may be addressed to his officer or agent; ‘to another confederate’ (Cn) appears less likely. — grāhayed is here ‘cause it to be seized,’ i.e., let it fall into their hands. The ubhayacetana does this, as he is really the viśiṣṭu’s agent, working also as the enemy’s agent. Cf. 1.12.18-19. — The idea is to divide the enemy from the chief confederate and others.

45 itāreṣu maitrīṁ bravānāḥ: it is better to construe these words with the following than with the preceding ghaṭayeyuḥ (as in Cs). For the ghaṭā, mention of friendship with others is unnecessary, but it is necessary for the upājāpa.

50 tena etc.: this means that the senāpati of one should be similarly divided from the senāpati of the other confederates and so on. This is when the armies of the confederates are led not by the respective kings, but by senāpati, kumāra and so on.

51 sāṅghikain bhedam, i.e., ways of dissension recommended in the case of saṁghas in 11.1 below.

53 tikṣṇam: cf. 1.14.5. — sthitāsātram: see 7.10.7. — suṣauryataḥ ‘because of the ease in doing’. 55 sarvasaṁdoha, i.e., the full army mobilised; cf. 6.2.38 etc.
59 Gifts are two-fold, being preceded by conciliation. 60 Dissension is three-fold, being preceded by conciliation and gifts. 61 Force is four-fold, being preceded by conciliation, gifts and dissension.

62 Thus has been declared (what is to be done) against those who attack.

63 But the same means (are to be used) against those in their own territories. 64 Special steps, however, are: 65 He should frequently send well-known envoy-chiefs with presents to one of the (confederates) who are in their own territories. 66 They should urge him to a treaty or to kill another (confederate). 67 If he does not agree, they should announce, ‘We have made a treaty.’ 68 Agents in the pay of both should communicate that to the others (adding) ‘This king of yours is treacherous.’

69 Or, if any of them has fear of or enmity towards or hatred of another, (agents) should divide him from the other, (suggesting), ‘This king is making peace with your enemy; presently he will overreach you; make peace yourself very quickly and try to restrain him.’

70 Or, establishing relationship by accepting or giving (girls) in marriage, he should divide those not so related.

71 He should cause their kingdoms to be destroyed by a neighbouring prince or a forest chieftain or a pretender from his family or a prince in disfavour, or (destroy) their caravans, herds and forests or troops approaching to render help. 72 And guilds of castes, supported by one another, should strike at their weak points, and secret agents (should strike) with fire, poison and weapon.

57 laghiṣṭḥaḥ: the comparative would have been better. laghu ‘light,’ i.e., easy to employ.

62 abhiṣiṇḍjānṣu: when the kings forming the confederacy have already attacked his territory.

65 abhijñātān dātamukhyān: these envoys would be well-known to the other kings as those coming from the viṣṇiṣṭu. 67 kṛto naḥ saṁddhīḥ: apparently the denial of the king would not convince the other confederates, because the envoy was known to have frequently gone to him with panyāgāra.

69 Meyer construes purā tvām atisaṁddhate ‘before he deceives you’ with the following clause; cf. 1.14.8.

70 āvāhavicāhābhāyāṁ: see 7.15.22.

71 rājyāṁ ghāṭayet is from Cn’s comment ‘janapaddātinī’; Cs has rājyam in the singular. — sāṛhavrajaṭāvārī rā is from Cn Cs for -tavāhīr rā of the ms. The instrumental in the latter is unlikely. These are objects to be destroyed, not means of destruction. — abhiṣīrtam ‘come for rescuing’ the rājya, sāṛtha etc. 72 jāti-saṁghāḥ ‘corporations or guilds of castes’. This could hardly be a reference to the ruling saṁghas, Lichchivika and others mentioned in 11.1.4-5 below, as Cn Cs understand it. Clearly, castes were spread over many states and often caste loyalties transcended those to the state. These are intended to be exploited.
73 And in case of enemy-mixed danger, he, being deceitful, should kill the enemies by secret practices like a (fowler using a) cloak and a bait (to lure birds) by creating confidence and offering a bait.

CHAPTER SEVEN

SECTION 145 (DANGERS) ASSOCIATED WITH ADVANTAGE, DISADVANTAGE AND UNCERTAINTY (AS TO EITHER)

SECTION 146 OVERCOMING THESE (DANGERS) BY THE USE OF THE DIFFERENT MEANS

1 Immoderation, such as passion and so on, rouses one’s own constituents, wrong policy (roused) foreign (constituents). 2 Both those amount to demoniacal conduct. 3 A change in one’s own people is revolt.

4 In cases that cause advancement of the enemy, there may be advantage that is dangerous, disadvantage or uncertainty.

5 That gain, which when not obtained leads to the prosperity of the enemy, or when obtained is recoverable by enemies, or when being

73 vitāṁśagilā is proposed as the most likely reading. vitāṁsa is given in the lexicons the sense of ‘a trap or snare for binding or catching birds and deer’ or ‘a cloak worn by fowlers to create confidence among birds and deer (when catching them).’ The latter meaning is adopted as in Cn Cs. gilā is ‘a bait’. The idea is that the vijīgīṣu should act like a fowler who uses a vitāṁsa or a gilā for catching birds. The two correspond to viśūṣena and āmīṣena respectively. Meyer, with -galā, explains ‘like a fowler who produces from his throat (gala) imitative luring cries.’ That does not sound very likely. — paramiśrāyām: the paramiśrā āpad is nothing but an attack by confederates. The situation is similar to that in 7.8.1-4 (yatayavavṛttiḥ) and in 7.14.1-11, the present passage on paramiśrā being in fact only an expansion of the latter Section (hināśaktipūraṇam).

9.7

The two Sections are found in ss.1-66 and 67-84 respectively. In the first of the two Sections we have to supply āpadah as the substantive.

1 kāmādir utsekaḥ: see 1.15.11. — bāhyāḥ are foreign states, hardly state officers in the outer regions (Cs). The contrary of bāhyāḥ here is svāḥ, not athyantarāḥ. 3 Cn Cs read ss. 3 and 4 together, explaining ‘revolt, which is change in the feelings of the subjects, when it leads to the prosperity of enemies, is an āpad, which may be an artha or an anarthā or a samāśaya.’ It seems, however, that s. 3 only defines kopa and is quite unconnected with the discussion on āpadas that follows, in which s.vajānavikāra has no place at all. A kopa can hardly be described as an āpad which may be an artha. Moreover, ss. 5-6 show that āpadartha is to be understood as a single idea ‘āpadārpaṇārthaḥ, an advantage that may turn out to be disastrous’; a kopa cannot be so described. It is also possible that s. 3 is a marginal gloss.

5 aprāptaḥ: because you do not seize the artha, the enemy grows stronger; its non-seizure is an āpad. 6 sāmantānām āmiśabhūtaḥ sāmantavyasanājaḥ: one
obtained gives rise to losses and expenses, is a dangerous advantage.

6 For example, a gain which is a tempting morsel for neighbours being caused by a calamity of the neighbour, or a gain sought by the enemy obtainable (by him) by its very nature, or a gain in front contested by a rising in the rear or an enemy in the rear, or a gain repugnant to the circle (of kings) because of the extermination of an ally or the violation of a treaty, is an advantage that is dangerous.

7 The rise of one's own people or from enemies is a disadvantage.

8 Concerning these two, 'Is it an advantage or no?' 'Is it a disadvantage or no?' 'Is the advantage a disadvantage?' 'Is the disadvantage an advantage?' is uncertainty. 9 (Thus) stirring up an ally of the enemy is uncertainty as to whether it is an advantage or no. 10 Inviting alien troops with money and honour is uncertainty as to whether it is a disadvantage or no. 11 Seizing land with a strong neighbour is uncertainty as to whether the advantage is a disadvantage. 12 Marching after joining forces with a superior king is uncertainty as to whether the disadvantage is an advantage. 13 Among these, he should act in the case of the uncertainty associated with advantage.

14 Advantage followed by advantage, advantage without a consequence, advantage followed by disadvantage, disadvantage following sāmanta is in a calamity; other sāmantas are waiting to benefit from it. If you do not seize the artha, some other sāmanta will; that will be an āpad (as this other sāmanta will be growing strong). It seems that this illustrates śatruṇḍhim aprāptaḥ karoti of s. 5. Cn Cs, however, understand two types here, āmiṣabhūtaḥ and -vya-sanajah, though there is no vā. — śatruṇḍhito etc.: this illustrates prāptaḥ pratydeyajah etc. of s. 5. Hence the vā after svabhāvadhigamoṣyo should be dropped as in Cn Cs.

7 svataḥ parato vā bhayotpattih: Cn Cs have 'danger when a gain (artha) is taken away from oneself and danger arising while one is seizing a gain from one's enemy (parataḥ)' . It is not easy to see why artha should be brought in at all. The latter at least would be an āpadartha, not an anartha pure and simple.

8 artho na veti (in this s.) and ss. 11-12 are from the commentators. There can be no question about their authenticity. — artho 'nartha iti, i.e., is what appears to be an artha in reality an anartha? 9 śatrumitrāṃ uṣṭāhāyītum: the enemy's ally is roused against him; this would ordinarily be an artha, as it would weaken the enemy and place him in danger. The uncertainty arises because the enemy's ally may not be quite reliable. 10 Inviting enemy troops is ordinarily an anartha; but if treated with honour etc., they may prove loyal. 11 Seizing land is an artha, but if it has strong neighbours, it may turn out to be an anartha. 13 arthasaṃśayam: Cn Cs understand only the first type. The third type could also be understood.

14 amuṣaṃdhapāvyavahā from Cn Cs is quite obviously necessary. amuṣaṇaḥ is 'a consequence.' 16 phalena, i.e., for money received when giving troops.
ed by advantage, disadvantage without a consequence, disadvantage followed by disadvantage: this is the group of six consequences. 15 Seizing the enemy in the rear after uprooting the enemy (in front) is advantage followed by advantage. 16 Helping the neutral king with troops in return for reward is advantage without a consequence. 17 Uprooting a buffer king of the enemy is advantage followed by disadvantage. 18 Helping the enemy's neighbour at the side with treasury and troops is disadvantage followed by advantage. 19 Desisting after stirring up a weak king is disadvantage without a consequence. 20 Desisting after rousing a superior king is disadvantage followed by disadvantage. 21 Of these, each earlier one is better for attaining than a later one.

22 Thus has been laid down the nature of enterprises.

23 The presentation of advantages simultaneously from all sides is the danger of advantages from all sides. 24 The same, when contested by the enemy in the rear, is the danger of uncertainty concerning advantages from all sides. 25 In the case of these, success (should be sought) by securing the support of the ally and the rear ally.

26 The appearance of danger from enemies from all sides is danger of disasters from all sides. 27 The same, when checked by the ally, is the danger of uncertainty concerning disasters from all sides. 28 In the case of these, success (should be sought) by securing the support of a mobile enemy and the rear ally or taking the steps (recommended) against enemy-mixed danger.

29 When there is gain from one side and gain from another side, that is danger of advantage from two sides. 30 In that and in the

antar is the antardhi, as in Cn Cs. Exterminating another king is ordinarily an artha, but if thereby you remove the buffer between you and a powerful king, that would be an anarthha. 18 Giving kośa or danda without receiving anything in return is an anarthha, but if it helps in putting down your enemy, that is a result to be welcomed. 21 pūrvaḥ pūrvaḥ śreyāṇ : Cn Cs understand in the last three cases (anarthatricarga) the earlier one as preferable for avoiding. That cannot be right. An anarthha leading to artha cannot be 'more fit to avoid' than one without a further consequence and most certainly not than one leading to a further anarthha. All six cases are arranged in a descending order for purposes of preference.

22 kārya ' the enterprise,' i.e., whether it is to be undertaken or not.

23 samantato'rtāpād : this is an āpad apparently because one cannot decide which artha to secure first. But it is an āpad only technically. 25 tayoḥ : it would be better to read tasyāṁ ; for, the case of samantato'rtāḥ is referred to in ss. 30-31 below and steps recommended here do not apply to it.

28 tayoḥ : here, too, tasyāṁ would be better. For, measures in the case of samantato'ntārtāḥ are stated in ss. 33-36 below. — calāmithra is an enemy who has no fort. Cf. 7.10.9. Such a foe, being easy to manage, should be tackled first ; cf. 7.14.10. — paramiśrāpratikārāḥ as recommended in 9.6.11 ff.
one with advantages from all sides, he should march to obtain the object possessed of the excellences of a gain. 31 If excellences of the gains are equal, he should march to secure that which is prominent or proximate or not brooking delay or in which he may be deficient.

32 When there is disaster on one side and disaster on another side, that is danger with disasters on two sides. 33 In that and in the one with disasters on all sides, he should seek success through allies. 34 In the absence of allies, he should overcome the disaster on one side with a less important constituent, the disaster from two sides with a more important (constituent), the disaster from all sides with his base. 35 If that is impossible, he should leave everything and go away. 36 For, the coming back to the throne of one continuing to live is observed as in the case of Suyātra and Udayana.

37 When there is gain on one side and an attack on the kingdom on the other, that is danger with advantage and disaster on the two sides. 38 In that, he should march to secure that object which would overcome the disaster. 39 Otherwise, he should ward off the attack on the kingdom. 40 By that is explained the danger with advantage and disadvantage on all sides.

41 When there is disaster on one side and uncertainty as to advantage on the other, that is danger with disaster and uncertainty as to advantage on the two sides. 42 In that he should first overcome the disaster; when that is overcome, (he should seek) the uncertain gain. 43 By that is explained the danger with disaster and uncertainty as to gain on all sides.

44 When there is gain on one side and uncertainty as to disaster on the other, that is danger with gain and uncertainty as to disaster

31 anatipātīnām, i.e., urgent. — āno vā yena bharet : Cs has 'which, if not secured, would render him weak'. A more direct 'in which he may be deficient' appears, however, preferable.

34 laghyasyā, i.e., by surrendering daṇḍa before koṣa, the latter before dūrga and so on. — mūlena, i.e., by a surrender of the kingdom. 35 The mss. show samutṣṛjya for sarvam uṭṭṛjya. The latter is definitely better and is supported by the quotation in the Nāṭyādarpaṇa, p. 36. 36 jivaṭaḥ : Cs reads jivāṭa to correspond to the instrumental in Suyātrodayanābhyāṃ. It would perhaps be better to read -dayanayoh in the genitive in the latter word, as the quotation in the Nāṭyādarpaṇa (p. 36) has it. Suyātra is Nala (Cn Cs).

39 vāraṇaṭ : Meyer proposes kāraṇaṭ, 'otherwise, he would be bringing about an attack on his kingship.' In spite of hi, however, this does not seem likely. The idea is simply, if the artha is not anarthaśādhaṇa, steps to ward off the anartha itself should be taken first.

44 Meyer thinks that a s. to the effect ' in that case, he should try to overcome the real anartha and then the things that threaten anartha ', is missing after s. 44. If at all a missing s. is to be understood, it should rather be to this effect, ' in that
on the two sides. 45 By that is explained one with gain and uncertainty as to disaster on all sides. 46 In that, he should strive to rescue each earlier one among the constituents from the possibility of disaster in preference to a later one. 47 For, it is better that the ally remain in peril of disaster, not the army, or the army, not the treasury. 48 If the entire (constituent) cannot be saved, he should strive to rescue parts of the constituents. 49 Then of constituents consisting of men, (he should rescue) the more numerous or the loyal, excepting the sharp and the greedy, of material constituents, that of high value or of great benefit. 50 By peace or staying quiet or the dual policy, (he should rescue) the insignificant ones, by the opposite (of these) the important ones. 51 And of decline, stationary condition and advancement, he should seek to attain each later one in preference to an earlier one. 52 Or, he may see a special advantage in the future by seeking decline and others in the reverse order.

53 Thus has been laid down place (in the matter of dangers).

54 By this is explained meeting with gain, disaster and uncertainty at the start, in the middle or at the end of an expedition.

55 And because gain, disaster and uncertainty are immediately effective, it is better to obtain gain at the start of an expedition, (as) it becomes (useful) for overcoming the enemy in the rear and his ally, for reimbursing losses, expenses and marches and for guarding the base. 56 Similarly, a disaster or an uncertainty becomes bearable to one staying in his own territory.

57 By this is explained meeting with gain, disaster and uncertainty in the middle of an expedition.

58 At the end of an expedition, however, after weakening an enemy fit to be weakened or exterminating one fit to be exterminated, he should first overcome the anarthasamśaya and then proceed to secure the artha.

49 ikṣṇa- : it is not necessary to read kṣṇa- for this, as Meyer proposes. Cf. 1.14.5 ; 9.6.53. 50 lāghūṁ ... gurūṇi : this seems common gender to cover prakṛti feminine and avayava masculine. 52 prāṭītomyena, i.e., by seeking kṣaya rather than sthāna or urddhi and so on. For a full discussion of this, see 7.1.20 ff.

54 yātrādi- : ādi is necessary in view of the discussion that follows. — upa- saṃprūptum ‘to meet with’.

55 nirantarayogitāt, i.e., because artha etc. produce their effect or results immediately. Cs’s ‘in case all three simultaneously present themselves’ seems unlikely. Meyer’s ‘because the three are intimately connected with each other’ seems also little likely. — pārśmigrādhā etc. : having three separate expressions in the locative appears better in view of ca than having a single long compound.

56 svabhāmiṣṭhāsyā : this is the case yātrādau.

58 The point seems to be that karaṇa etc. should be resorted to only if it leads to artha, not if it leads to anartha or saṁśaya. — parābadha : the para is some other enemy, hardly the karaṇiya etc. himself.
it is better to meet with a gain, not a disaster or uncertainty, because of the fear of danger from an enemy.

59 But for one not the leader among confederates, it is better to meet with disaster or uncertainty in the middle or at the end of an expedition, because of its affecting (all) without restrictions.

60 Material gain, spiritual good and pleasures: this is the triad of gain. 61 Of that, it is better to attain each earlier one in preference to each later one.

62 Material loss, spiritual evil and misery: this is the triad of disaster. 63 Of that, it is better to remedy each earlier one in preference to each later one.

64 'Is it material gain or loss?' 'Is it spiritual good or evil?' 'Is it pleasure or pain?': this is the triad of uncertainty. 65 Of that, it is better to secure the first alternative after overcoming the second (in each case).

66 Thus has been laid down time (in the matter of dangers). Thus ends the topic of dangers.

67 The means of overcoming these are:

68 In the case of a son, a brother or a kinsman, overcoming (dangers from them) through conciliation and gifts is appropriate, in the case of leaders among citizens, country people and in the army, through gifts and dissension, in the case of neighbouring princes and forest chieftains, through dissension and force. 69 This is the natural method; in the reverse case, it is unnatural.

70 In the case of allies and enemies, success (should be sought) by a combination (of the means). 71 For, the means help each other.

59 apurosasya, i.e., an ordinary or subordinate member of the confederacy.
— anirbandhagāmitvāt is proposed as in 9.4.23 and as suggested by Meyer. The idea seems to be that the anarthta etc. would not be restricted to him, and would be shared by the confederates with him, or, if he alone is in trouble, the confederates would come to his rescue. Meyer, however, explains 'because then there is no urgent need further to march', which seems hardly meant. Cn Cs, with ani-bandha-, explain 'because he can go elsewhere being unrestricted in his movements.' This is doubtful. The confederate could hardly be so free.

60 It is significant that artha is placed before dharma; cf. 1.7.6-7; also s. 81 below.

66 ityāpadaḥ is a sort of colophon for all three Sections 143-145 which deal with the various kinds of āpads.

69 anulomā, i.e., natural. It can hardly mean 'to be used in normal cases, i.e., when the sons etc. are obedient' (Cn Cs). In that case, there is no need to use any remedy at all. — viparyaye, i.e., when sūmadāna is not used of sons etc., but bhedadanā instead.
72 Conciliation used in the case of ministers under suspicion of the enemy renders unnecessary the use of the remaining (means), gifts used in the case of treasonable ministers, dissension used in the case of confederates, (and) force used in the case of the powerful (render other means unnecessary).

73 And in accordance with the seriousness or lightness of the dangers, there is restriction or option or combination (in the use of means). 74 With this (means) only, not with another: this is restriction. 75 With this (means) or with another: this is option. 76 With this and with another: this is combination.

77 Of these, the use of one means at a time is four-fold, so is the use of three at a time; the use of two at a time is six-fold; the use of four at a time is single. 78 Thus there are fifteen (ways of using the) means. 79 The same number (of using them are there) in an unnatural way.

80 Of these, success with one means is single success, with two, two-way success, with three, three-way success, with four, four-way success. 81 And since material wealth is the root of spiritual good and has pleasure for its fruit, that attainment of material gain which continuously results in spiritual good, material gain and pleasures, is attainment of all gains.

These are ways of overcoming (dangers).

82 Caused by providence are the troubles: fire, floods, disease, epidemic, panic, famine and demoniacal creation. 83 Overcoming them is through prostration before gods and Brahmins.

84 When there is excessive rain or drought or demoniac creation, then the means of overcoming it are rites prescribed in the Atharvaveda and undertakings by holy men.

Herewith ends the Ninth Book of the Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya

'The Activity of the King about to March'

72 dāṣṭāmātyeṣu: with this also śatroṣ is to be understood. — saṁghāteṣu, i.e., confederacies.

79 pratilomāḥ, i.e., when the means are used in an unnatural or wrongfull manner.

81 dharmamūla- is a Tatpuruṣa compound rather than a Bahuvrihi. Cf. ss. 60-61 above.

82 Cf. 4.3.1 and 8.4.1. Strictly speaking, fire, floods etc. are pīdanaś (8.4), hardly āpads. The reference to them here is unnecessary. — pramārāḥ is clearly the same as maraka. — vidrava 'running away in panic'. — āśuri śr IPV : rats, serpents, spirits etc.

84 atīśṭir āṣṭīr vā is from Cn ; the reading of the mss., āṣṭīr atīśṭir vā, is impossible.
BOOK TEN

CONCERNING WAR

CHAPTER ONE

SECTION 147 SETTING UP OF THE CAMP

1 On a site, approved by experts in the science of building, the commandant, carpenters and astrologers should cause the camp to be set up, circular, rectangular or square or in conformity with the nature of the ground, with four gates, six roads and nine divisions, endowed with a moat, a rampart, a parapet, gates and towers, when there is danger and when the army has to halt.

2 In the ninth part to the north of the central (should be erected) quarters for the king, one hundred dhanuses in length and half that in width, (with) the royal residence in the western half of that. 3 The palace guards should be stationed on the borders. 4 In front (should be erected) the audience-hall, to the right the treasury and offices for issuing orders and carrying out works, to the left the place for elephants, horses and chariots intended for the king’s use.

10.1

The description of the skandhāvāra shows that it is a strongly fortified cantonment area where troops raised are stationed over a long period before starting on an expedition. The standing army, at other times, must also have been stationed there.

1 vāstuka- : cf. 1.20.1; 2.3.3. — nāyaka is the general who marches at the head of the army; cf. 10.2.4, also 10.6.45. — navasaṁsthānam : apparently, saṁsthāna is the same as bhāga in the next s. According to an alternative explanation in Cn, saṁsthāna is a square formed by intersection of roads. That fits in with six roads. — khāta- etc.: cf. 2.3.4 ff. sāla here is the same as prākāra there. — bhaye sthāne ca : these are the two occasions when the setting up of a camp is recommended.

2 madhyamasya uttare navabhāge : perhaps we have to understand this in the same sense as vāstuḥṛdayaḥ uttare navabhāge in 2.4.7, i.e., in the ninth part to the north of the central one-eighty-first part on the paramaśāyika plan of 81 squares. And by the ninth part we have probably to understand the one-eighty-first part lying to the north of the central square. Cf. Śaṁkarārya on Kāmandaka, 17.5, — rājavāstukam : the quotation in Śaṁkarārya shows rājavāstunivesāṁ kārayet in place of rājavāstukam; that reading is adopted in the Punjab edition. — Whereas rājavāstuka refers to palace grounds as a whole including the upasthāna.
5 Beyond this at a distance of one hundred dhanuses from each other (there should be) four enclosures, with carts, stretches of thorny branches, pillars and the parapet.

6 In the first (enclosure) in front, the councillors and the chaplain (should be encamped), to the right the magazine and the kitchen, to the left the store for forest produce and the armoury. 7 In the second, (there should be) quarters for hereditary and hired troops, for horses and chariots and for the commander-in-chief. 8 In the third, elephants, banded troops and the camp-superintendent (should be encamped). 9 In the fourth, the labour-corps, the commandant and allied, alien and forest troops under the command of their own officers (should be encamped). 10 Traders and courtesans (should be encamped) along the highways.

11 Outside (the camp), fowlers and hunters (should be stationed) with drums and fire, as well as secret guards.

12 In the path of the march of enemies he should cause to be placed (hidden) wells, concealed hollows and barbed wires.

13 He should cause a change of guards to be made in the eighteen groups. 14 And he should cause watches to be kept (even) by day in order to discover spying.

e etc. of s. 4, antahpura refers to the actual royal residence. Cf. 1.20.1. 3 antarvamāsikasainyam : cf. 1.20.13 and 1.21.3. 4 śasanakaraṇa can hardly be the aksapata la (Cn Cs) ; the record-cum-audit office (2.7) is hardly likely to be shifted to the camp. Moreover, śasana would seem to refer to the decrees or orders, the issuing of which would be so necessary in the camp. Similarly, kāryakaraṇa can hardly be 'dispensation of justice' (Cn Cs), in view of the separate mention of the upasthāna. It may be the staff headquarters for control of the camp.

5 methi pratati 'stretches of thorny branches' (Cn Cs). methi means 'a post, particularly at the threshing floor'; but in view of stambha, which is also used here, that sense is not very likely. Meyer understands pratistambha as one, 'posts with creeper-entanglements'.

6 mahānasam : this is meant for the palace, hardly for the entire camp; cf. 2.4.8. 7 It is possible but not certain that in this and the following two ss., we have to understand purastā, daksināṭah and vāmaṭah respectively of the three groups mentioned in each s. 8 śrenya h : this clearly refers to the śrenybala; a reference to Kāmboja, Surāstra and other svānghas of 11.1.4-5 (Cn) can hardly be understood. — prāśastā : see s. 17 below. He is obviously not the same as the prāśastā mentioned in 5.3.5 and 1.12.6.

12 ṛpāte 'in the path of advance'. — kūpa- etc. : cf. 2.3.15. kaṇṭakini here is probably the same as kaṇṭakapratīsara there. Cs explains by 'planks with thorns'. kaṇṭakini is also the name of some thorny plants.

13 aśṭādāsavargāṇām : Cn Cs have 'the six kinds of troops, each threefold because of the leaders, padika, senāpati and nāyaka (of 10.6.45)'. This is not very convincing. Perhaps the positions mentioned in ss. 6-9 above can be understood, with aśvaratha as one, and mitra-, amitra- and aṭavibala each separately.
15 He should prohibit disputes, drinking, festive gatherings and gambling and secure the guarding of the seal.

16 The regent shall arrest a soldier returning from the army without a written order.

17 The camp-superintendent should march ahead on the road, and should make carpenters and labourers prepare arrangements for protection and for water in the proper manner.

CHAPTER TWO

SECTION 148 MARCH FROM THE CAMP
SECTION 149 GUARDING (TROOPS) DURING THE CALAMITIES OF
THE ARMY AND AT THE TIME OF ATTACK

1 After calculating the halts on the way in villages and in forests, in accordance with the supply of fodder, fuel and water, and (calculating) the time for camping, halting and marching, he should start on the expedition. 2 He should cause food and equipment to be transported in double the quantity required to meet the case. 3 Or, if unable to do so, he should assign it to the troops, or should store them at intervals on the route.

Or, places mentioned in ss. 2-4 may also be included for arriving at the number eighteen.

15 mudrārakṣaṇam may refer to allowing entry or departure only with a sealed pass, also perhaps to preventing fraud in connection with the seal.

16 senānīcīrttam from Cn Cs alone makes sense. — śūnyapālaḥ also from the commentators is preferred to antapālaḥ of the mss. As the camp is obviously still inside the state territory, a deserer from it is hardly likely to come across the antapāla. As the king is in the camp, a śūnyapāla or regent would be appointed to deputise for him.

17 rakṣaṇāṇi is from Cn Cs for grahaṇāni; the latter may mean ‘taking up positions’ for the halts on the way. But rakṣaṇa ‘securing protection’ on the way appears preferable. The commentators understand levelling of roads, removal of wild animals etc. — yāyāt should have come before samyak, for the latter and rakṣaṇāṇi are to be construed with kārayet.

10.2

The two Sections are to be found in ss. 1-16 and 17-20 respectively. śkanḍhācāraprayāṇam is ‘march from a camp’ rather than ‘march to a camp’ (Cn Cs).

1 sthāna ‘a halt of two or three months’ (Cn), ‘a long halt of a month or a fortnight’ (Cs); āsana ‘a halt of five or six days’ (Cn Cs); gamana ‘halt for the night’ (Cn Cs). 3 āyojayet from Cs is preferable to prayojayet; Cn seems to have read sainyeṣu vāyojayet.
4 In front (shall march) the commandant, in the centre womenfolk and the king, on the flanks horses as repellers as with arms, at the end elephants or extensive raids, in the rear the commander-in-chief shall march (and) encamp.

5 Getting supplies from forests on all sides is a raid. 6 The flow (of equipment and men) from one's own country is supplies. 7 An ally's army is help. 8 The place where the women-folk are kept is a place of retreat.

9 In case of an attack in front he should march in the crocodile array, in the rear, in the cart array, on the two flanks, in the thunderbolt array, on all sides, in the 'excellent-on-all-sides' array, in a region where march in a single file alone is possible, in the needle array.

10 In case of two alternate routes, he should march in a region suitable to himself. 11 For, those on terrain suitable to themselves effectively resist those on unsuitable terrain.

12 One yojana is the slowest (rate of marching), one and a half middling, two yojanas fastest, or, the rate of march may be as possible (for him).

4 The arrangement of ss. 4-12 is as in Cs, except that paścāt senāpatir yāyāt nivīśeta is read at the end of s. 4, not after s. 8 as in Cs., also with sarvato in s. 5 instead of after prasāra-vyṛddhir vā (s. 4) as in Cs. Thus we get a description of the order of the march in one place. — bāhūtsārah: this seems to convey the idea of spreading out on the flanks and repelling an attack in those quarters, as a man does with his arms. Cf. 10.4.13-14. — cakrānteṣu refers to the rear ends of the army (Cn Cs). — prasāra-vyṛddhi vā: this is an option to hastināḥ. It is horses that carry out prasāra-vyṛddhi (10.4.13). If there are no elephants, raids by horses in large numbers are recommended. If cakrānteṣu in the sense of the rear ends is to be understood with this, sarvatoḥ is less likely to be used with it. — senāpatir yāyāt nivīśeta: a ca seems obviously necessary. Cs, however, reads paryāyāt (for yāyāt) and explains 'in the rear (paścāt) of their respective army-divisions (svacaṇa-paścādbhāgakramat)' . It is doubtful, however, if more than one senāpati is meant in this passage. Cf. 10.1.7 above. paryāyāt cannot be understood in the sense of ‘by turns’ as Meyer in the Nachtrag suggests. yāyāt is found in Kāmandaka, 19.47.

5 vanājīvaḥ ‘living on the forests’; vana, it seems, stands for all places where supplies of food can be found, and prasāra seems to imply a foraging raid; often, however, an ordinary raid seems intended. 8 This definition of apasāra is not found in the mss. It may well be that all the definitions in ss. 5-8 are derived from some marginal gloss. Those of vīcādaḥ, asāra and apasāra are uncalled for here.

9 abhyāghāte seems to refer to an expected attack from the enemy, rather than one planned by the viṣṭiṣṭa himself. — makaraṇa: for the arrays, see 10.6.8 ff.

11 pratilomāḥ ‘contrary’, i.e., able to fight effectively against the others.

12 With saṁbhācyā cāgatiḥ, Meyer translates ‘and in accordance with that, one should calculate the arrival (āgatiḥ, at a particular place)’. This is unlikely.
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13 When steps have to be taken against an enemy in the rear, his ally, the middle or the neutral king, who may give shelter (to the enemy) and destroy (one’s) rich lands; when a difficult path has to be cleared; when the treasury, the army, allied, alien or forest troops, labourers or a suitable season has to be awaited; when (he thinks) ‘There will come about a deterioration in the fortifications made (by the enemy), in his stores and in his precautions for protection, a feeling of despondency in his purchased troops and a feeling of despondency in his ally’s troops; or, the instigators are not very quick; or, the enemy will fulfil my desires;’ (then) he should march slowly, in the reverse case, quickly.

14 He should make the army cross waters with (the help of) elephants, pillar-bridges, embankments, boats, rafts of wood and bamboo and by means of gourds, leather, baskets, skins, canoes, tree-stems and ropes. 15 In case the ford is seized (by the enemy), he should get (the army) across at another place at night with the help of elephants and horses and lie in ambush.

16 And in a waterless region, he should make carts and animals carry water according to their capacity, in conformity with the length of the route.

17 He should guard his own army when on a long march in a wilderness, when without water, when lacking in fodder, fuel and water,

18 āśrayakārī saṁpunnaghāti: these are not independent occasions when a slow march is recommended (as in Cn Cs), but are only adjectives qualifying pārṣṇiḥ āśāraḥ etc. The idea is, when any of these is likely to give shelter to the enemy or to lay waste one’s rich lands during one’s absence, precautions are necessary beforehand (pratikṣayāḥ); hence a slow march is recommended. āśrayakārī can hardly mean ‘when one is seeking a shelter for oneself’ or saṁpunnaghāti ‘when one plans to destroy the rich territory of the enemy.’ In the latter case, it is not clear why one should march slowly. Meyer, understanding the passage up to pratikṣayāḥ independently of āśair yāyāt, translates, ‘precautions have to be taken against the āśrayakārī and the saṁpunnaghāti, no less than against the pārṣṇi etc.’ This is unlikely in the absence of api and yathā...tathā. And there is little doubt that the entire passage is to be understood with āśair yāyāt. — viṣṭīr of the mss. (for viṣṭir) would seem to be included in īttu. — upajapitāro nātiṭvarayantī: these are his own agents trying to weaken the enemy’s officers etc. from their loyalty to him. These can hardly be ‘the treacherous elements of the enemy’ with whom the viṣṭīr is conspiring (Cn Cs). upa-jap is ‘to instigate to treason in order to win over to one’s side’. — abhiprāyam etc.: this will be without having to fight.

14 stambhasaṅkrama: see 7.10.32. — caramakaraṇa ‘a wicker basket covered with hide’ (Cn). — ḍṛti ‘animal skin filled with water’. 15 For sattrā, see 10.3.24 below.

16 adhpapramāṇena from Cn Cs is preferable to the locative -pramāṇa.

17 anudakam seems superfluous when the next expression has -udakahinam. Cn remarks that this shows that waterlessness is the greatest calamity. Meyer pro-
when marching on a difficult road, when broken by an attack, when exhausted by hunger, thirst or a long march, when engaged in crossing rivers deep in mud and water or climbing up and down valleys and mountains, when crowded on a road where march in a single file alone is possible or in a region uneven with mountains or in a narrow place, when without equipment whether in the camp or on the march, when engaged in meals, when tired after a long march, when sleeping, when troubled by diseases, epidemics or famine, when infantrymen, horses and elephants are ill, when not on terrain suitable to it, or when any of the calamities of an army has befallen it; and he should strike at the enemy’s troops (when they are in these predicaments).

18 Ascertainment of the strength of the enemy’s army (is made) by counting the number of troops marching out along a route allowing a march in a single file only, their fodder, foodstuffs, beds spread out, cooking fires laid out, banners and weapons. 19 He should conceal (all) that in his own case.

20 After securing a mountain fort or a forest fort in the rear, with means of retreat and reserves, he should fight and encamp on land suitable to himself.

CHAPTER THREE

SECTION 150 VARIOUS TYPES OF COVERT FIGHTING
SECTION 151 ENCOURAGING ONE’S OWN TROOPS
SECTION 152 DISPOSITION OF ONE’S TROOPS TO COUNTER-ACT ENEMY TROOPS

1 When he is superior in troops, when secret instigations are made (in the enemy’s camp), when precautions are taken about the season, poses to read *anugatam* ‘pursued’, or *dirghakāntārāmanusya* ‘when in the wilderness superhuman beings (amanusya) threaten it’. This last is quite fanciful. — The participle in *praskannam* (Cn Cs) is preferable to the noun *praskandananam*. — *gambhirānām* goes with *nadi-* only in the compound. Cn seems to have read *gambhirana*-, the whole in a single compound. That might appear better. — *avayāne*, as Meyer says, might appear better than *apayāne*. — *abhūmiśtham* is from Cn Cs for *abhūyāśtham*; the latter is unlikely, though *dvipabhūyāśtham* is conceivable. — *balavasana*; see 8.5.1-18.

18 *senaṁścāra* ‘marching out of the army’ and *grāśāhāra* ‘fodder and food’ are both from the commentators. The other readings are obviously faulty.

20 *vānadvargaṁ vā* is from Cn Cs for *vānadvargaṁ vā* of G M. vā *naddurgam* is unlikely. 2.3.2 mentions *vānadvarga* as a place of retreat in difficulties, *apāsāra* being mentioned there. — *pratigrāha* seems to refer to the place in the rear where the king remains with reserves. Cf. 10.5.58. In view of that passage, *where the king meets the attacking enemy forces* (Cn Cs) seems less likely.
(and) when he is on land suitable to himself, he should engage in open fight. 2 In the reverse case, (he should resort to) concealed fighting.

3 He should strike at the enemy on the occasions of the calamities of his troops and on occasions for assault, or when he is on unsuitable terrain, being himself on suitable terrain, or (even) one on suitable terrain, if (he himself is) possessed of the support of constituents.

4 Or, feigning a rout with treasonable, alien and forest troops, he should strike at the (pursuing enemy when he has) reached unsuitable ground.

5 He should break compact ranks through elephants.

6 He should strike by turning round at the (enemy) who is pursuing when a rout is first feigned and who is broken (in the attempt), himself remaining unbroken.

7 Or, striking in front, he should strike in the rear with elephants and horses, when the (enemy) is reeling or has turned back. 8 Striking in the rear, he should strike in front with strong forces, when the (enemy) is reeling or has turned back. 9 By these are explained attacks on the flanks. 10 Or, he should strike at the point where the treasonable or weak troops (of the enemy) may be stationed.

11 If the ground in front is uneven, he should strike in the rear.

12 If uneven in the (enemy's) rear he should strike in front. 13 If uneven on one flank, he should strike at the other flank.

14 Or, after first engaging (the enemy) in fight with treasonable, alien and forest troops, he should strike at him when he is exhausted, himself remaining fresh.

15 Or, making a show of a rout himself through treasonable troops, he should strike at the enemy, who is confident that he has won, by resorting to ambuscade, being himself on his guard.

10.3

The three Sections are to be found in ss. 1-25, 26-47 and 48-57 respectively.

1 prativihiñkārakah of the mss. is faulty. Meyer's proposal to read prativihiñtañkārakah is unlikely, as a reference to durga is out of place here. 2 śakṣāna- for kūṭa- is also faulty.

3 avaskandakālas are occasions mentioned in 10.2.17. — prakṛṭipragrahāḥ: the prakṛti would appear to be his own constituents (Meyer), rather than those of the enemy (Cs).

4 bhagam dā has the sense of 'to make a show of being broken in ranks, to feign a rout'. — Most of the kūṭayuddhas are nothing but normal tactics common on the battlefield, and there is nothing wrong about them.

6 abhinnaḥ is proposed for abhinnam as suggested by Meyer. That is in conformity with s. 22 and other parallel expressions.

15 sattra, i.e., one of the places mentioned in s. 24 below.
16 Remaining ever vigilant he should strike at the (enemy) negligent when engaged in plundering a caravan, a herd of cattle, an encampment or transport.

17 Or, with strong troops concealed by weak troops, he should enter the ranks of enemy warriors and slay them.

18 Or, luring enemy warriors with (prospects of) cattle seizure or hunting wild animals, he should, concealed in an ambush, strike at them.

19 After keeping (enemy troops) awake at night by a sudden assault, he should slay them by day when they are overpowered by sleep or are asleep.

20 Or, he should make an attack on those asleep (at night) with elephants having leather-cases on their feet.

21 He should strike in the latter part of the day at troops exhausted by keeping fighting equipment on for the day.

22 Or, he should strike at the enemy, whose elephants and horses are made ineffective through herds of cattle, buffaloes and camels carrying sacks of dry skins containing round pebbles and taking fright, who is broken and has turned back (in flight), remaining unbroken himself.

23 Or, he should strike at all (kinds of troops) when they are facing the sun or the wind.

24 A desert, a forest, a strait path, a muddy place, a mountain, a marshy place, uneven ground, a boat, cattle, a cart array, mist and night: these are places for ambush.

16 saivāha is understood in Cn Cs as 'guarding'; but troops engaged in guarding can hardly be described as pramatta. saivāha as 'transport' seems better, as another object of plunder.

17 -echannasārabalo is proposed for -echannah sārabalo. Cf. Kāmandaka, 19.63 (phalgsainapratichannam kṛtvā vā sārabalo bālam).

18 gograhāśena, i.e., 'for seizing cattle on the viṣīgīṣu's side' (Meyer) rather than 'for preventing viṣīgīṣu's men from seizing the enemy's cattle' (Cn Cs). So svapadavadhena is 'for engaging in hunting' rather than 'for preventing the viṣīgīṣu's men from hunting in enemy territory' (Cn Cs). One is reminded of Udayana lured with hunting.

20 The leather-coverings on the feet of elephants are for protection against thorns etc. or 'against śvadanāstra' (Meyer).

22 The idea seems to be that the herds are frightened (trasnu) by the noise of the pebbles (śārkarā) in the sacks they carry and run helter-skelter, thus creating confusion in the ranks of the enemy's elephants and horses.

23 sarvam: Meyer thinks that we should read kharvam 'crippled', i.e., unable to see clearly. That is extremely doubtful.
25 And the occasions for assault mentioned before are also occasions for concealed fighting.

26 Open warfare, however, in which the place and time (for the fighting) are indicated, is most righteous.

27 Collecting the troops together, he should address them, 'I receive a wage like you; this kingdom is to be enjoyed together with you; the enemy should be attacked by you at my request.'

28 Even in the Vedas, on the occasions 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).' Moreover, there are two stanzas in this connection:

30 Brave men, giving up their lives in good battles, reach in one moment even beyond those (worlds), which Brahmins, desirous of heaven, reach by a large number of sacrifices, by penance and by many gifts to worthy persons.

31 A new vessel, filled with water, properly consecrated, with a mantle of darbha 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 of food received from the master.

32 He should make the minister and the chaplain encourage the warriors by (pointing out) the excellences of the array.

33 And the group of his astrologers and others should fill his own side with enthusiasm by proclaiming his omniscience and asso-

25 praḥarāṇakālāḥ are those of 10.2.17.

26 The punctuation is as in Cs, with a stop after dharmiṣṭhaḥ. Open warfare is recommended as righteous. dharmiṣṭha as descriptive of the king in the next s. is not so happy.

27 mayā 'bhīhitaiḥ is from Cn; that is preferable to mayā 'bhīhitaiḥ 'specified by me' or mayā 'bhīhataḥ 'attacked by me'.

28 It seems that the passage in ss. 28-31 is a later addition. It is not part of the king’s exhortation as is clear from the iti at the end of s. 27, nor can it be understood as part of the encouragement to be attempted by the mantram and the purohitā mentioned in s. 32. In any case, it is quite unlikely that anyone would say on the battlefield ‘apīha ślokau bhavataḥ’, in the manner of an expository treatise. The whole passage is obviously a marginal gloss that has crept into the text. The question of the indebtedness of this text to Bhāsa’s Pratījñāyugandharāyana, where in Act 4, s. 31 occurs, is therefore hardly relevant. 31 navaṁ śaṅcāram clearly refers to the vessel from which libations of water are offered to the deceased.

32 vyūhasaṁpadā is included at the end of this s. as in Cn; it states the ground on which the minister and chaplain encourage the troops. It could hardly be appropriately used with kārtūntikādiḥ vargaḥ in the next s.
ciation with divine agencies, and should fill the enemy’s side with terror.

34 When ‘to-morrow is the fight’, he should observe a fast and sleep beside his weapons and vehicles. 35 He should offer oblations in the fire with Atharva-mantras. 36 He should make (Brahmins) recite blessings invoking victory and securing heaven. 37 And he should consign himself to (the care of) Brahmins.

38 He should make troops that are possessed of bravery, skill, nobility of birth and loyalty and that are not cheated in the matter of money and honour, the centre of the ranks.

39 A bare army, without standards, consisting of warriors related as fathers, sons and brothers, should be the place for the king. 40 An elephant or a chariot should be the vehicle for the king, guarded by cavalry. 41 He should mount that (vehicle), of which the army mostly consists or in which he may be trained. 42 One appearing as the king should be stationed at the head of the array.

43 Bards and panegyrists should describe the attainment of heaven by the brave and the absence of heaven for cowards, and sing praises of the caste, corporation, family, deeds and conduct of the warriors. 44 Assistants of the chaplain should speak of the use of sorcery and black magic, mechanics, carpenters and astrologers (should speak) of success in their own works and failure in those of the enemy.

45 The commander-in-chief should address the ranks after they are carefully made well-disposed with money and honour, ‘One hundred thousand (shall be the prize) for killing the (enemy) king, fifty thousand for killing the commander-in-chief or a prince, ten thousand for killing a foremost warrior, five thousand for killing an elephant or chariot warrior, one thousand for killing a horseman, one hundred for killing a chief of infantrymen, twenty per head (of infantrymen killed), beside double the wage and whatever one seizes.’ 46 Heads of groups of ten should ascertain that about them.

33 sarvajña-, i.e., sarvajñatva-. Cf. 1.8.6 etc. — daivatasanyoga is read as in 13.1.1.3.

39 munḍānikam ‘like a shaven head, because of the absence of crest-like flags’ (Cn). It cannot mean ‘like the head, i.e., the principal army’ (Cs). 42 vyuhādhikṣṭhānam is from Cn Cs; the reference is to the most prominent place in the array, ‘the head’ (Cs).

44 kṛtyābhiścāram; this is for the destruction of the enemy. — yantrika is from Cn, ‘mechanics who had manufactured the machinery of war like jāmadagnya etc.’ natārika, as secret agents, would hardly go about speaking of the success of their work. — mauhūrtika is in strange company with yantrika and vardhaki.
47 Physicians, with surgical instruments, apparatus, medicines, oils and bandages, and women in charge of food and drink and capable of filling men with enthusiasm, should be stationed in the rear.

48 He should arrange his ranks in a battle-array on ground suitable to himself in such a way that it does not face the south, has the sun at the back and the wind favourable. 49 And in a battle-array on land suitable to the enemy, they should set the horses moving.

50 Where a firm stand and speed in movements of the array have no favourable terrain, there he would be conquered in either case, whether standing firm or moving quickly. 51 In the reverse case, he wins in either case by standing firm or moving quickly.

52 Ground being level, uneven or mixed, its nature in front, on the flanks and in the rear should be ascertained. 53 On level ground (there should be) the staff and circle arrays, on uneven the snake and diffuse arrays, on mixed mixed arrays.

54 After breaking an (enemy) superior in strength he should ask for peace. 55 If sued for peace by one equal in strength, he should make peace. 56 He should continue to strike at one inferior in strength, but not at all at one who has reached his own land or is ready to sacrifice himself.

57 The vehemence of one returning again to the fight and despairing of his life becomes irresistible; therefore, he should not harass a broken enemy.

45 śatasāhasraḥ: we cannot understand gold coins in the higher cases as Cn Cs do; pana must be understood throughout. — bhogadvaiguṇyam svayaṃgrāhaḥ ca need not be restricted to the viṇśatika, as Meyer does. 46 daśavargādhipatayah, i.e., patika, senāpati and nāyaka as in 10.6.45.

47 sastrayantra is a reference to surgical instruments and other apparatus, hardly to weapons and machines. — uddhāraṇīya has the sense of the active voice: 'uccair harsaṇahetavah' (Cn).

49 aścāṇīś cārayeyuh: this is in order to prevent the enemy arranging his battle-array there.

50 abhūmir vyūhasya is one of the readings in Cn; that is better than abhūmi (Cs); abhūmau might be better still; but perhaps sthāne praśave ca abhūmir would be best.

57 Cf. Mahābhārata, 12.100.13 'punarāvatamāṇānāṁ nirāśānāṁ ca jīvite, vegaḥ sudūṣaḥ rājaṁs tasmānātyaṇusūrayet.'
CHAPTER FOUR

SECTION 153 GROUNDS SUITABLE FOR FIGHTING

1 Suitable ground is desirable for infantrymen, horses, chariots and elephants, for fighting and for camping. 2 Battle-fields and seasons for men fighting in deserts, forests, water or dry lands and for those fighting in trenches, on open ground, by day or by night, and for elephants from rivers, mountains, marshes and lakes, and for horses are desirable for each as suited to him.

3 Level, firm, clear, not causing jolting, not causing wheels or hooves to get stuck, not obstructing axles, not broken with trees, thickets, creepers, tree-stems, fields under water, pits, ant-hills, sand and mud, and free from clefts, this is ground for chariots, beneficial (also) to elephants and horses as well as men, for fighting and for camping, in normal and in difficult (situations).

4 That with small stones and trees, with small pits that can be jumped over, and with the blemish of small clefts is the ground for horses.

5 That with big tree-stems, stones, trees, creepers, ant-hills and thickets is the ground for infantrymen.

6 That with traversable mountains, water and uneven places, with trees that can be uprooted and creepers that can be cut, broken with mud and free from clefts is the ground for elephants.

10.4

The two Sections are found in ss. 1-12 and 13-18 respectively.

3 abhikāsā, i.e., clearly visible. — acakrahurā 'naksagrāhīṇī; Meyer thinks that the original reading was asaktacakra- etc. It is also possible that it was acakrahurāksagrāhīṇī as a single compound ' not catching wheels, hooves or axles '. — Both here and in s. 6 Cn has -bhaṅguradaravahānā in a continuous compound, bhaṅgura being understood as ' a wavy surface '. The word, however, is more likely to be an adjective ' broken '. — same viṣame seem to refer to normal and abnormal situations. In the locative masculine or neuter the words can hardly refer to bhūmiḥ for elephants etc. (as Meyer has it). We also cannot supply deśe after the words (as in Cs), since the bhūmi is described as samā only.

6 gomuyāśailanimmavisaṃā is from Cn Cs. The idea is of land dotted with hills and streams which can be easily traversed by elephants and with uneven regions (viṣama) which elephants can easily cross. Kāmandaka, 20.14, supports the interpretation of viṣama as a noun in the sense of ' an uneven place ' (Cn Cs). — Cn reads bhaṅjanīya- for chedaniya-. — pankabhaṅgurā, i.e., ' having mud in places ' seems supported by the reference to the presence of kārāṇa in the best kind of land for elephants in s. 9.
7. Without thorns, not very uneven, with room for retreat, this is excellence (of ground) for infantrymen.

8. With double the room for retreat, free from mud, water and bogs and devoid of pebbles is excellence for horses.

9. With dust, mud, water, reeds and growth of rushes, free from ‘dog’s teeth’, and free from obstruction by big branches of trees, is excellence for elephants.

10. Possessed of water-reservoirs and shelters, not causing jolting, without fields under water, and enabling a turn round, is excellence for chariots.

11. Ground (suitable) for all has been declared. 12. By this camping and fighting of all kinds of troops becomes explained.

13. Investigation of the ground, the halting place and forests, securing land without unevenness, water, ford, wind and sun’s rays, destruction of supplies and reserves or their protection, cleansing and steadying the army, extension of raids, repelling as with arms, making the first attack, penetration, breaking through, comforting, capturing, setting free, causing a change in the path of pursuit, carrying off the treasury or the prince, assault on the rear and the tips, pursuit of the weak, accompanying, and the work of rallying, these are the functions of cavalry.

7. Cn seems to have read bahuviśamā for abahuviśamā. The latter appears better. — pratyāśāra is a place for retreat in the rear; ‘vyāhasya paścād bhāgah’. (Cn).

9. saradāhāna appears to mean ‘growth of grass, rushes etc.’ Cn seems to understand ‘pointed roots of grass’. — śvadānśṭra is the plant gokṣura, according to Cn. Cs. Cf. 2.3.15.

10. -apāśraya which is found in Cn for -āśraya is the usual word. — vyāvartana is turning round.

13. -vicayaḥ in the sense of ‘search’ is preferable to -nicayaḥ which means ‘collecting’. — avisama is from a reading in Cn, understood in the sense of ‘land without unevenness’. viṣama as ‘land inaccessible to the enemy’ appears less likely. — ghūtaḥ is that of those of the enemy, while rakṣā is that of those of oneself. — viśuddhiḥ is clearing the wounded etc. from the army, hardly clearing it of treasonable elements. — sthāpanā is steadying of the army. — prasāraṇaḥdhir bāhūlsāraḥ as two separate items are necessary. Cf. 10.2.5. — vyāvedhanam ‘piercing’ refers to ‘breaking through’. — grahaṇam, i.e., making prisoners; mokṣaṇam setting one’s own prisoners free. — mārgāṇusāravimāṇam, i.e., making the enemy give up his pursuit of one’s troops by going to his rear and pursuing him in turn. — kośākumāra- may be those of the enemy or of oneself; the latter are carried off to safety. — hinānusāraṇam: the causal does not seem to have any significance. Meyer thinks that we should read dinānusaraṇam as in Kāmadaka, 20.6. That does not appear necessary. — anuyānam is simply accompanying one’s troops in
14 Marching in the van, making new roads, halting places and fords, repelling as with arms, crossing and descending in water, remaining steadfast, marching forward and descending, entering difficult and crowded places, setting fire and extinguishing it, securing victory single-handed, reuniting broken ranks, breaking up unbroken ranks, protecting in a calamity, assault, frightening, causing terror, showing magnificence, capturing, setting free, breaking ramparts, gates and towers, bringing in and carrying away treasury, these are the functions of elephants.

15 Guarding one’s own troops, repelling the fourfold army in battle, capturing, setting free, reuniting broken ranks, breaking up unbroken ranks, causing terror, showing magnificence, and making a frightful din, these are the functions of chariots.

16 Bearing arms in all places and seasons, and military activity are the functions of infantrymen.

17 The work of clearing camps, roads, water-works, wells and fords, carrying machines, weapons, armours, implements and food, and removing from the battle-field weapons, armours and wounded men are the functions of labourers.

18 A king, with few horses, should yoke bullocks and horses to chariots; similarly, one with few elephants, should make the centre consist of carts driven by donkeys and camels.

order to guard them. Cn Cs have ‘pursuing the fleeing enemy’. _anu-sr_ is the usual root for ‘to pursue’. _samāja_ is ‘getting together,’ i.e., rallying.

14 The first _acatarāna_ (with _toya_) refers to getting in water, while the second refers to descending from a height. _viṣamasakinbādhapravacatāh_ as a single word (as in Cn Cs) is distinctly better than the three words separately. _ekāṅgavijaya_ is ‘victory with one arm of the army, viz., with the elephants’ (Cn Cs); it can hardly mean ‘victory over a single element of the enemy’ (Meyer). _abhīghāṭaḥ_ may be construed with _vyāstane_ or understood independently. _vibhīṣitā_ is ‘frightening at mere sight’, while _trāśanam_ is by frightful deeds (Cs). _audāryam_ is lending grandeur or magnificence to the army. _brokenāhānapavāhanam_ is from Cn Cs. According to Cs some read _upavāhana_ as the last word in the compound in the sense of ‘carrying (king and others) on the back’. _apavāhana_ would refer to carrying away the enemy’s treasury.

15 _saṅgrāme_ is to be construed with the preceding _pratiṣedhāḥ_ (Cn Cs), rather than with the following _graṇham_ etc. (Meyer).

16 _vyāyamah_ refers to actual fighting.

18 _guvaśeṣavāyogam_, i.e., yoking horses to some chariots and bullocks to others.
CHAPTER FIVE

SECTION 155 ARRANGEMENT OF BATTLE-ARRAYS IN WINGS, FLANKS AND FRONT IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE STRENGTH OF TROOPS

SECTION 156 DISTRIBUTION OF STRONG AND WEAK TROOPS


1 He should engage in fight after establishing a fortified place at a distance of five hundred dhanuses, or in accordance with the nature of the ground.

2 The commander-in-chief and the commandant should arrange the army in a battle-array, with chiefs assigned different positions, after detaching it out of sight (of the enemy).

3 He should place a foot-soldier at a distance of one śama (from the next), a horseman at a distance of three śamas, a chariot or an elephant at a distance of five śamas. 4 Or, he should arrange with double or treble the distance. 5 Thus one should fight in comfort, without being crowded.

6 A dhanus is five aratnis. 7 At that distance (from the next) he should place an archer, at a distance of three dhanuses a horseman, at a distance of five dhanuses, a chariot or an elephant.

8 Five dhanuses (should be) the juncture of the divisions of wings, flanks and centre.

10.5

The three Sections are to be found in ss. 1-40, 41-52 and 53-56 respectively.

1 It is proposed to read -pakṣṭam durgam as separate words, so that durgam alone can be understood with bhūmiśāsenā vā. If a single compound is read as in the mss. the option in bhūmiśāsenā vā would have no meaning. The durga is a fortified place (not a regular fort) which is inaccessible to the enemy. It seems to be the same as pratigraha of s. 58, though that is 200 dhanuses behind the army, while the durga is 500 dhanuses away. The difference in distance as well as nomenclature may be due to a difference in sources.

2 mokṣayjīvā, i.e., detaching the main army from the reserves in the rear.

3 śama is a distance of 14 aṅgulas; cf. 2.20.11. The distance is between two soldiers in a row. 4 dvigunānāram : According to Cn, the greater distances are recommended when foot-soldiers are few in number and elephants etc. are of the middling or best types (as against lowest types in s. 3).

5 pañcaratni : the ordinary dhanus is 4 aratnis; cf. 2.20.18. Meyer thinks that ss. 6-7 are interpolations. Kāmandaka, 20.22, however, presupposes them. It is possible that these distances are for fighters with bow and arrow, while those in ss. 3-4 are for those fighting with swords, spears etc.

6 anikasāvidhī : anika seems used of the divisions of an array, such as pakṣa, kakṣa, etc., and sāvida is the open space between any two of these. 7 pakṣas
9 For a horse, (there are) three soldiers as fighters in front. 10 (There are) fifteen for a chariot or an elephant, as well as five horses. 11 The same number of foot-guards should be arranged for horses, chariots and elephants.

12 He should place as the centre a division of three rows of three chariot-units, a flank and a wing of the same size on either side. 13 There are thus forty-five chariots in a chariot division, two hundred and twenty-five horses, six hundred and seventy-five soldiers as fighters in front and the same number as foot-guards.

14 This is the uniform array. 15 It may increase in size by two chariot-units at a time up to twenty-one chariot-units. 16 Thus the odd numbers become the ten bases of the uniform array.

17 In case of an unequal number in the wings, the flanks and the centre as compared to one another, there is uneven array. 18 It may also increase in size by two chariot-units at a time up to twenty-one chariot-units. 19 Thus the odd numbers become the ten bases of the uneven array.

are outside in front, kakṣas inside at the back and urasya is in the middle' (Cn Cs). The terms are suggested by the figure of a flying bird.

10 rathasya hastaṁ vā: chariots and elephants are generally not used together. Here a unit is based either on chariots or on elephants. 11 tācantaḥ, i.e., 3 for a horse and 15 for a chariot or an elephant. Cs understands tācantaḥ to mean 5, which seems hardly correct. Cn thinks that there are 5 horses and 15 foot-guards for a chariot, making 10 horses and 30 foot-soldiers in the unit. That also is hardly right. As each horse has 3 pratyardhyās and 3 pādagopas, that would give 60 foot-soldiers, not 80. Meyer arrives at 1 chariot, 5 horses and 90 infantrymen. That is unlikely, as shown by s. 13 below.

12 triṇī trikāṇi, i.e., three rows of three chariot-units each. 13 In view of the explicit statement here, 450 horses (in Cn) or 4050 foot-soldiers (in Meyer) cannot be right. — rathavyaḥe, which is read in the Punjab edition is quite necessary. Here we have a description of a rathavyaḥa only. — It is proposed to drop vājirathadoipāṇāṃ found after pādagopāḥ at the end. The expression is unlikely here in a description of a rathavyaḥa; it is clearly repeated by a copyist from s. 11 above.

14 sama-, i.e., one in which each of the five divisions of the vyāha has the same number of units. 15 dvirathottarā is from Cn Cs. It seems that each row of chariots (trīka of s. 12) is to increase successively by two, 5, 7, 9, etc., up to 21 chariots. The actual number of chariots in each of the five divisions of the array comes to 9, 15, 21 and so on up to 63, and in the array as a whole to 45, 75, 105, and so on up to 315. In the largest array we get 315 chariots, 1575 horses and 9450 foot-soldiers. 16 ośāh: 3, 5, 7 etc. are odd numbers.

17 mitha is from Cn for aṭo, which has little significance. The unevenness of numbers is with reference to one another (mithaḥ), e.g., 9 in urasya, 15 in pakṣa 17 in kakṣa and so on; the permutations can be very large in number. 18 tasyāpyi etc. means little more than that the series 3, 5, to 21 is available for each of
20 Troops left over after this array should be made an insertion.
21 He should insert two thirds of the chariots in the (outer) parts, the rest he should place as the centre. 22 Thus an insertion of chariots less by one-third should be made.

23 By that is explained the insertion of elephants and horses. 24 The insertion should be so made that it does not cause crowding in the fighting of horses, chariots and elephants.

25 Excess of troops is insertion. 26 Excess of infantry is counter-insertion. 27 Excess of one arm is side-insertion. 28 Excess of treasonable troops is over-insertion.

29 Insertion should be made according to the strength of the troops up to four times or up to eight times the insertion or counter-insertion of the enemy.

30 By the chariot-array is explained the elephant-array.

31 Or, (the array may be) mixed, of elephants, chariots and horses — elephants at the ends of the army, horses on the flanks, cha-

the five divisions in different numbers. 19 These prakṛtis do not differ in any way from those of s.16.

20 avaśpaḥ 'an insertion'. The idea seems to be that of reinforcing or strengthening of the array. 21 dvau tribhāgau anṛgesu etc.: this would disturb the character of a sama tyāha; for, while in the latter the urasya has only one-fifth of the whole, the addition to urasya is to the extent of one-third of it. — It may be assumed that the chariots added are accompanied by the usual number of horses and foot-soldiers. 22 tribhāgonāh etc.: the idea seems to be that the insertion is to be less by one-third, i.e., up to two-thirds; thus in an array with 45 chariots, the addition is to be of 30 chariots only (20 of these being in the wings and flanks and 10 in the centre). Thus Cn. Cs seems to understand that the total addition is to be less than one-third, e.g., less than 15 in a unit of 45. Meyer thinks that this s. only sums up the preceding statement; two-thirds in the aṅgas is the only avaśpa; one-third placed at the centre is not to be considered an avaśpa, because it is not inserted in between any two parts. It is to be noted that in the quotation in Śāṅkarārya on Kāmandaka, 20.40, this s. is not to be found; it is therefore quite possible that it is a marginal gloss that has got into the text.

25 bāhulyam 'excess, i.e., surplus left over after the array is formed ' (Cn). This is the means of avaśpa. Cs has 'bāhulya, i.e., strengthening by the insertion of the excess.' This sense of bāhulya does not fit in the case of dūsyabhāhulya.

29 The ms. read the ca after ā; it is proposed to read it before, to make the construction smoother. The idea seems to be that the avaśpa is to be four times or eight times that of the enemy's avaśpa and pratyavaśpa. It seems that avaśpa refers to chariot (or elephant) units, while pratyavaśpa to foot-soldiers. — viḥāvatah sainyānām is not a third option as Cn seems to understand it.

30 This clearly shows that a rathayāha as described so far contains no elephants.

31 hastirathāścānām: as Cn remarks, horses here are those used independently of chariot or elephant units. — cakrānteṣu: Cn Cs read cakrāntayoh 'in the
riots in the centre. 32 A centre of elephants, flanks of chariots and wings of horses — this is (an array) breaking with the centre. 33 The reverse is one breaking with the ends.

34 But the unmixed (array) of elephants is — war-elephants at the centre, riding elephants in the rear, vicious elephants at the tips.

35 (An unmixed) horse-array is — a centre of armoured horses, flanks and wings of unarmoured.

36 (An unmixed) infantry-array is — armoured soldiers in front, archers behind. 37 Thus the unmixed (arrays).

38 Foot-soldiers (should be) in the wings, horses on the flanks, elephants in the rear, chariots in front, or a reversal of this (may be made) in accordance with the enemy’s array. 39 This is disposition of troops with two arms. 40 By that is explained disposition of troops with three arms.

41 In the case of men, the excellences of an army constitute the best troops. 42 In the case of elephants and horses, special excellences are: pedigree, breed, mettle, youthfulness, vigour, height, speed, spiritedness, training, firmness, loftiness, obedience and possession of auspicious marks and good conduct.

The dual is not quite necessary. — The mss. add mukhyā after aśvā; Cs has aśvamukhyā in a compound. It is proposed to drop mukhyā, as it is unlikely either with aśvā or rathā. — Cn adds that after urasye, the words ayaṁ pakṣaḥbhedi have to be read, having dropped out through a scribal error. It then reads antarbhedi in s. 33, understanding antar in the sense of kakṣa. However, it seems better to stick to the readings of the mss. Kāmanda, 20.37-38, has only madhyabhedi and antabhidi. And madhyā and anta are the usual terms of contrast; cf. 9.6.16-19. 33 viparītāḥ, i.e., with horses in the centre and elephants in the wings, as shown by Kāmanda, 20.38. Cn Cs have ‘ horses in centre, elephants on the flanks and chariots in the wings.’ The objection in Cn that the other arrangement would not differ from that in s. 31 is not quite valid; and it is not necessary to provide for the case where elephants are in the flanks (as Cn also objects).

34 jaghana, i.e., kakṣa and koti, i.e., pakṣa (Cn).

38 pattaṇāḥ etc.: Cn Cs understand two arrays here, infantry and horses alone in one and elephants and chariots alone in the other. It seems rather that the s. states the general position of each of the four arms in an array whenever two arms are used, irrespective of the usual division into kakṣa, pakṣa and urasya. In any case, a combination of elephants and chariots alone would hardly be recommended. Meyer proposes caturāṅgā- for doyaṅgā- in the next s. As, however, the preceding ss. 34-37 have referred to ekāṅgabalaṁbhamā, a reference to doyaṅgabalavibhāga would seem expected. Nevertheless, the arrangement might appear applicable to caturāṅgabala also.

41 daṇḍasāṭipāt etc.: when men are possessed of qualities mentioned in 6.1.11, they make the best army (sārabala). 42 udagrātā: Cn Cs have ‘ having a high or uplifted face.’ A lofty bearing is what seems intended.
43 He should place one-third of the best among foot-soldiers, horses, chariots and elephants as the centre, two-thirds as flanks and wings on the two sides, behind them the second best, against the order the third best, weak troops against the order. 44 Thus he should make use of all.

45 By placing weak troops at the ends, he becomes able to overpower (the enemy) with his vehemence.

46 Placing the best troops in front he should place the next best at the ends, the third best in the rear, (and) weak troops in the centre. 47 Thus it becomes capable of resisting.

48 After arranging the battle-array, however, he should strike with one or two out of the wings, flanks and centre; with the remaining he should support (the attack).

49 He should attack with plenty of best troops that army of the enemy which is weak, lacking in elephants and horses, with treasonable officers in it or seduced by secret instigations. 50 Or, when the enemy’s army is most strong, he should attack it with double that number of best troops. 51 He should reinforce that arm of his which has few best troops with a large number of them. 52 He should arrange the troops near the place where the enemy has suffered a loss, or whence there may be danger.

53 Rushing forth, rushing about, rushing beyond, rushing back, holding together after pounding, enclasping, moving zigzag, encircling, scattering, turning back after fleeing, guarding broken ranks along

43 *anulomam* ‘in the natural order’, i.e., behind the best troops. — *pratilomam*, i.e., in front of the sārabala, the phalgubala being stationed right in front of all.

45 *vegabhihūlikaḥ* is an emendation suggested by Meyer for *hūlitāḥ*. The former may mean *who wears down the enemy’s vehemence, who withstands his vehemence* or *who overpowers the enemy by his vehemence*. The latter reading would mean *who is overpowered by vehemence*, which is inapt in the context. Cn seems to read *vegabhuhutah*, Cs *vego bhuhutah*, the explanation being *the enemy’s vehemence is burnt up as an oblation in the fire of weak troops*. Cs overcomes the grammatical difficulty in his reading by understanding *yudhyamāṇena* after *avadhāya*. Cn Cs mention another reading *vego bhuhatah* ‘the vehemence of the enemy becomes shattered.’

46 *kōfisu*: the plural shows that the two wings alone are not intended. See s. 34 above.

48 *pratigrhaḥ*: Cn Cs understand ‘should hold (the enemy’s attack)’. In view of *pratigraha* as used in s. 58 below, also in 12.4.19 and 13.3.46, the root *prati-graha* seems to have the sense of ‘to support an attack (made by oneself)’. The idea here may be that of supporting the attack (already made) at a later stage.

50 *dvīgunaśārena*: as the enemy’s troops are sāriṣṭha, ‘double’ can only refer to quantity 51 *bahunā*: we should supply sārena, rather than anāgena (Cn Cs).
the lines, in front, on the flanks (and) in the rear, pursuing broken ranks—these are modes of fighting for horses.

54 These same with the exception of scattering, (and) destruction of the four arms whether combined or separate, smashing of wings, flanks and centre, making a sudden assault, and attacking those asleep—these are modes of fighting for elephants.

55 These same with the exception of holding together after pounding, (and) marching forth, marching away, fighting in a stationary position on land suitable to them—these are modes of fighting for chariots.

56 Striking in all places and at all times, and silent punishment are the modes of fighting for foot-soldiers.

57 In this manner he should arrange battle-arrays, odd and even, in such a way that the strength of the four arms becomes suitably used.

58 Retiring to a distance of two hundred dhanusës, the king should remain in the rear; from that (comes) the rallying of broken ranks; he should not fight without reserves in the rear.

53 unmāthypācādhānam: Cn Cs have ‘holding together, keeping together (avadhānam) after pounding the enemy.’ Meyer understands avadhāna as ‘throwing down’ or apadhāna as ‘driving away’. — valayāh is a sort of pincer movement with two daṇḍa arrays (cf. 10.6.21). — maṇḍalam ‘encirclement’ of a part of enemy troops after cutting them off (Cn Cs). — prakīrtika ‘scattering’ is ‘the use of all the above movements together’ (Cn Cs). — vyāvṛttapṛṣṭham seems to refer to making a show of flight (pṛṣṭha) and then turning round to attack. — anuvanīsam seems used adverbially to be construed with bhagnaraksā. Cn Cs, however, understand it independently ‘following one’s troops that face the enemy’ or ‘retiring and coming back to fight’.

54 vyāstasamastānām vā: the vā obviously shows the option between vyāsta and samasta.

55 sthitayuddha: this can hardly mean ‘fighting after remaining for a long time round the enemy’s fortified wall (prākāra)’ (Cs). It only refers to fighting without manoeuvring or movements.

56 karmāṇi in 10.4.13-16 differ from yuddhāṇi here in that they include functions not involving actual fighting.

57 yugmān, i.e., even. The Chapter itself has mentioned only odd vyūhas. — sadṛṣṭah ‘suitable,’ i.e., suitably distributed or used.

58 pratigraha is from Cn Cs; pratigraha in the nominative would have to be construed with rāja, which would be odd. pratigraha is ‘rear of the army’ according to Cn Cs. It is the place where reserves are kept; these are to be used to reinforce the fighting troops when need for it arises. — bhinnasamghātanāṁ tasmāt should be understood as a separate sentence. In the quotation in Sānti-kārāya on Kāmandaka, 20.13, we have bhinnasamhārānāḥ (with pratigrahaḥ for -grahe); in that case tasmāt in the sense of ‘therefore’ can be construed with the last clause na yuddhyetāpratigrahaḥ.
CHAPTER SIX


SECTION 159 ARRANGING COUNTER-ARRAYS AGAINST THEM

1 Two wings, a centre and reserves — this is the arrangement of a battle-array according to Uśanas. 2 Two wings, two flanks, a centre and reserves — this is according to Brhaspati.

3 According to both, arrays with wings, flanks and centre are the basic arrays, the staff, the snake, the circle and the diffuse. 4 Among them, that with crosswise operations is the staff array. 5 Operation of all (divisions) one after the other is the snake array. 6 Operation on all sides of advancing (divisions) is the circle array. 7 The separate operation of divisions as stationed is the diffuse array.

8 That operating evenly with wings, flanks and centre is the staff (array). 9 That, marching beyond with the flanks is the ‘splitter’. 10 The same falling back with wings and flanks is the ‘strengthener’. 11 The same, marching out with the wings is the ‘unbearable’.

10.6

The two Sections are found in ss. 1-41 and 42-44, the rest of the ss. being miscellaneous in character.

1 In 15.1.41-42, this s. is quoted as an illustration of anumata ‘another’s opinion which is not contradicted’. However, kakṣa which is not mentioned by Uśanas is frequently referred to in the text. — pratigrahaḥ: see 10.5.58 above.

3 prapakṣa- etc.: Cn Cs explain ‘with wings etc. arranged (pra as pravibhakta) as described below.’ That is not very satisfactory. Perhaps the original reading was sapakṣa-. — ubhayoh, i.e., according to both Uśanas and Brhaspati. This is strange, as Uśanas does not mention kakṣa at all in his scheme. Perhaps the word has wrongly got into the text. 4 tiryaVyartitiḥ: vṛtti seems to refer to the mode of operations during the fight, though Cn Cs render it by ‘avasthāna, taking up a position’. tiryak may refer to the crosswise movements of the divisions, though the use of tiryak in describing something called danḍa does not seem quite appropriate. Perhaps atriyak is to be read; samam in s. 8 might seem to support this. — samastānām: supply anikānām. — anvāryrtiḥ ‘coming one behind the other’ as in a serpent’s body. The idea seems to be that the divisions operate one behind the other. 6 saratām from Cn Cs is preferable to sutarām, which has little significance. saratām presents a contrast to sthitānām in the next s.

8 Cn Cs state that these definitions are in accordance with Brhaspati’s ideas whereas the earlier ones were acceptable to both. This is hardly convincing. The two sets of definitions do not quite agree with each other. — samāś vartamānāḥ may refer to simultaneity of operations by the various divisions, though ‘operating in a straight line’ may well have been meant. 9 kakṣātikrantaḥ ‘breaking through with the flanks,’ the urasya and pakṣas remaining in their positions. 10 pakṣakakṣābhīyām : Cn Cs have pakṣabhīyām only. But the former is supported by Kāmandaka, 20.45. — pratikrantaḥ ‘falling back’; this is obviously the opposite of atikrantaḥ. 11 sa evātikrantaḥ is from Cn Cs, supported by Kāmandaka,
12. Marching out with the centre keeping the wings stationary is the ‘falcon’. 13. In the reverse case, (these four become) the ‘bow’, the ‘bow-flank’, the ‘established’ and the ‘well-established’ (respectively).

14. That with wings of bows is the ‘conqueror’. 15. The same, marching out with the centre, is the ‘victory’. 16. That with wings like big ears is the ‘pillar-eared’. 17. That with double pillars in the wings is the ‘extensive-victory’. 18. That with wings augmented threefold is the ‘army-face’. 19. In the reverse case, it is the ‘fish-mouth’. 20. The staff, in a straight line, is the ‘needle’. 21. Two staffs is the ‘bracelet’. 22. Four staffs is the ‘invincible’. 23. These are staff arrays.

24. That operating unevenly with wings, flanks and centre is the snake array. 25. It is ‘moving-like-a-serpent’ or ‘cow’s-urination’. 26. That with two (divisions) at the centre and staffs in the wings is the ‘cart’. 27. In the reverse case, it is the ‘crocodile’. 28. The cart, inter-mixed with elephants, horses and chariots is the ‘flying-about’. 29. These are snake arrays.

though *niskrāntaḥ* of the nss. would mean the same thing. 12. *paksuacasthāpya* : perhaps *paksakaścācavasthāpya* is to be read. 13. *viparyaye*, i.e., with *pratikrānta* and vice versa in the earlier four cases. 14. *cāpaṃakṣaḥ* : this may mean ‘with wings shaped like bows’ or ‘with a *cāpavīyāḥ* in each of the wings’; in the latter case, there would be five divisions in each of the wings, besides the other three (2 *kakṣas* and an *urasya*), i.e., 13 in all, as Śāṅkarārya points out on Kāmandaka, 20.46. It is not certain that this is really meant. 16. 16. It is proposed to read *sthālakarnapakṣaḥ* as a single compound. According to Kāmandaka, 20.47, each of the wings has two *anikas* instead of one. 17. *devigunapakṣa-sthāṇaḥ* : this seems to mean that the size of the *pakṣa* is twice that in the *sthāṇa-karnāḥ*, i.e., 4 *anikas* in each. Kāmandaka’s definition is *dvisthāṇaḥ*, which Śāṅkarārya understands as two *sthāṇa-karnas* one beyond the other, with 14 *anikas* in all.

18. *tryabhikrāntapakṣaḥ* : Cn has ‘when the wings go beyond three’; does this mean ‘with more than three *anikas* in each wing’? Śāṅkarārya in fact understands four *anikas* in each wing, and eleven *anikas* in all. It is possible that we have to understand ‘with three *anikas* in each wing’. 19. *viparyaye*, i.e., with the *urasya* and *kakṣa* threefold. 20. *udāharaṇīḥ daṇḍaḥ*, i.e., a *daṇḍa* going in a straight line. This seems to mean that the five divisions move one behind the other. 21. *dvau daṇḍau* : *daṇḍa* here is evidently as arranged for *suci*. Two parallel columns seem to be meant, each with five divisions. 22. *catvāraḥ*, i.e., four *suci*-formations.

24. *viṣamānī varāmānaḥ* ‘moving unevenly’, i.e., apparently not in a straight line. 25. According to Cn Cs (also Kāmandaka, 20.48) *sarpasāri* and *gomūrtikaḥ* are names of two varieties of the bhoga *vyāha* ; their definitions are not given, because the names are self-explanatory. The difference between the two is that in the former the divisions are close to each other, while in the latter they are broken and of various sizes (bahudhā viśhimāṇākārāḥ). *Meyer* thinks that these are not varieties of bhoga, only other names by which also it is known. 26. *yugmorasyo daṇḍapakṣaḥ* : Śāṅkarārya on Kāmandaka, 20.49, understands a double-sized *urasya* and the *pakṣa* and *kakṣa* arranged one behind the other as in *daṇḍa*, on either side, with six *anikas*.
When the wings, flanks and centre become one, it is the circle array.

That with faces on all sides is the ‘good-on-all-sides.’

That with eight divisions (or faces) is the ‘invincible.’

These are circle arrays.

Because of the disjoined nature of the wings, flanks and centre it is the diffuse array.

By the formation of the figure with five divisions, it is the ‘thunder-bolt’ or the ‘lizard.’

With four (divisions), it is the ‘hearth’ or the ‘crow’s-feet’.

With three, it is the ‘half-moon’ or the ‘crab-horned’.

These are diffuse arrays.

One with chariots at the centre, elephants on the flanks and horses in the rear is the ‘unharmed’ array.

Foot-soldiers, horses, chariots and elephants, one behind the other is the ‘immovable’ array.

Elephants, horses, chariots, and foot-soldiers, one behind the other is the ‘unrepulsed’.

in all. Cn Cs have with the centre shaped as a daṇḍa split into two and each wing like a full daṇḍa. This would seem to give 15 divisions, if daṇḍa of the sūcī type is to be understood. — viparyayā, i.e., daṇḍorasyah and yugmapakṣaḥ. Śaṅkarārya does not explain beyond saying that it too has six anikas. Perhaps he would have three anikas in the centre one behind the other and a pakṣa on each side in a line. Cn Cs have urasya like one daṇḍa and the wings of the shape of a split daṇḍa. ‘A daṇḍa (five divisions one behind the other) in the centre and two divisions in each wing seems more likely. The exact nature of many of these arrays is far from clear.

vyatikīrṇah: this seems to imply that an ādāpa of these is made in the regular sakaṭa array.

ekihāve, i.e., when the distance between them (10.5.8) is not there. aśāṅkikaḥ, i.e., 2 urasyas, 2 kākṣas and 4 pakṣas (Cn Cs). Śaṅkarārya has 2 urasyas, 4 kākṣas and 2 pakṣas. — Meyer thinks that we have four types of mandala cyuha, without the description of any one of them. That is probably because of the plural -cyuhaḥ in s. 33. Cs states that the plural may serve to include varieties not mentioned here. Kāmandaka, 20.50, also has only two types. — durjaya figures also among daṇḍavyāhas (s. 22).

asauḥhatāt, i.e., asauḥhatateṭāt. ākṛtisthāpanāt, i.e., the five divisions are so arranged that they present the appearance of a vaṃra and so on. The figure of the vaṃra is not at all clear. The description in Śaṅkarārya on Kāmandaka, 20.52, does not throw much light. 36 uddhānakā is from Kāmandaka as suggested by Meyer for udyānakah. The former is a fire-place or hearth; the latter suggesting a park is not likely when some ākṛti is expected. Whereas the uddhānaka would appear to be a square, the kākapadi would appear to be diamond-shaped, with the tip in front. 37 ardhaandratākāh, i.e., with the centre moved forward of the two side-divisions. This seems meant, since in the karkaṭakaṣrūgī the sides would obviously be moved forward, not the centre.

Cn Cs state that in this array, the foot-soldiers are in the wings. That is possible, but not certain. Cn Cs have infantry in the wings, cavalry in the centre, chariots in the flanks, and elephants in the rear. The idea of urasya, kākṣa etc. does not seem intended in this s. and in the next. Cn Cs have elephants in the wings, cavalry in the centre, chariots in the flanks and infantry in
42 Among these, he should counteract the ‘splitter’ with the ‘strengtheners’, the ‘strengtheners’ with the ‘unbearable’, the ‘falcon’ with the ‘bow’, the ‘established’ with the ‘well-established’, the ‘conqueror’ with the ‘victory’, the ‘pillar-eared’ with the ‘extensive-victory’, the ‘flying-about’ with the ‘good-on-all-sides’. 43 With the ‘invincible’, he should counter-arrange against all other arrays.

44 Of foot-soldiers, horses, chariots, and elephants, he should strike at each earlier one with a later one, and an inferior arm with a superior arm.

45 The one commander of ten single units is the lieutenant, the one (commander) of ten lieutenants is the general, the one (commander) of ten of these is the commandant. 46 With drum-beats, flags and banners, he should establish signals for the divisions of the array, for dividing (themselves) into sections, for joining together, for halting, for marching, for turning back and for attacking.

47 In case the (opposite) arrays are equally matched, success (comes) from the possession of suitable place, time and strength.

48-50. He should strike terror in the enemy with machines, by the employment of occult practices, through assassins slaying those engaged in something else, by magical arts, by (a show of) association with divinities, through carts, by frightening with elephants, by rousing the reasonable, through herds of cattle, by setting fire to camps, by attacks on the tips and in the rear, by creating dissensions though agents appearing as messengers (saying), ‘Your fort has been burnt down or captured; a revolt in the rear.’ These arrays seem to be unconnected with the four basic vyūhas and are, therefore, separately mentioned.

48 durjaya may be the one of s. 22 or of s. 38.

49 aṅgadasakasya : the aṅga is the unit as described in 10.5.9-11, viz., 1 chariot (or elephant), 5 horses and 30 infantrymen. — patikāḥ : this form is from Cn for padikāḥ ; it is more appropriate, since it is applicable to all arms. padika would refer to an infantry officer only. As Meyer says, this officer corresponds to the lieutenant. — senāpatiḥ : this officer here is clearly subordinate to the nāyaka and hence cannot be identified with the usual senāpati who is one of the highest dignitaries of the state. — The nāyaka thus commands 1,000 units as described above. 46 dhvaja is a big flag, while patikā is smaller.

47 The word -sāra- is from the commentators. It seems to be authentic.

48 yantraiḥ is from Cn Cs for dandaiaḥ ; the latter is hardly ever used in the plural. — sāktaiaiḥ hasthibhīṣaṇaiḥ : bhīṣaṇaiḥ is proposed for -bhīṣaṇaiḥ. With the latter Cn Cs have ‘ with carts whose appearance is concealed by accoutrements etc. proper for an elephant ’, i.e., carts decked as elephants. That appears a very strange idea. Meyer proposes kapataiaiḥ hasthidūṣaṇaiḥ ‘ with tricks destroying the enemy’s elephants.’ bhīṣaṇa, however, would appear better in view of vibhīṣikā and trāṣana being mentioned among hastikarmāni in 10.4.14. 49 goyūthaiḥ seems
by a member of your family has broken out; or, your enemy or a forest chieftain has risen (against you).’

51 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.

Herewith ends the Tenth Book of the Arthasastra of Kautilya

‘Concerning War.’

to be a reference to 10.3.22. 50 durgam dagdham: ordinarily the word durga is masculine. — kopah kulyah seems to contain a single idea rather than two, ‘an insurrection has broken out; a pretender from your family has arisen’ (Meyer).
BOOK ELEVEN

POLICY TOWARDS OLIGARCHIES

CHAPTER ONE

SECTION 160 (WAYS OF) RESORTING TO THE POLICY OF (SOWING) DISSENSIONS

SECTION 161 FORMS OF SILENT PUNISHMENT

1. The gain of an oligarchy is best among gains of an army and an ally. 2. For, oligarchies being closely knit are unassailable for enemies. 3. He should win over those of them who are friendly with conciliation and gifts, those hostile through dissensions and force.

4. The Kāmbojas, the Surāṣṭras, the Kṣatriyas, the Śrenīs and others live by an economic vocation and the profession of arms.

saṅgha is a form of rule evolved from clan rule. Fairly big states were formed with councils of elders to rule over them. The Chapter clearly shows that a saṅgha had more than one chief or mukhya. In some saṅghas, the chiefs styled themselves rāja or king. saṅgha is best rendered by 'oligarchy'. It seems to be assumed in the Chapter that the vijjīṣu has or proposes to have suzerainty over the saṅghas. The Chapter is concerned with showing how he should maintain strict control over them.

11.1

The two Sections may be found in ss. 1-30 and 31-54 respectively.

1. labhānām uttamaḥ: the use of the comparative would have been better. Having a saṅgha under you and loyal to you is preferable to having an army of one's own or an ally. Meyer identifies saṅgha with śrenībalā. But that would be part of danḍa; moreover, the saṅghas enumerated in ss. 4-5 cannot be looked upon as constituting the śrenībalā of any king. 2. saṁshatavat: this is so because the ultimate basis of a saṅgha is the clan. 3. anuguna 'favourable', i.e., friendly to the vijjīṣu. — For vighuṇa in the sense of 'hostile', cf. 7.8.22.

4. Kāmboja-Surāṣṭra-Kṣatriya-Śrenīyādayāḥ: As K. P. Jayaswal (Hindu Polity, I, 62) argues, the position of ādi in the compound is against our understanding 'Kāmboja, Surāṣṭra and other Kṣatriya bands', and that Kṣatriya and Śrenī must also be understood as proper nouns. He identifies Kṣatriyas with the Xathroi of the Greek historians and Śrenī with 'sinac' in Agesine (i.e., agra-Śrenī) of those historians. One cannot be sure about the latter. Cn has 'Kṣatriya bands such as Kāmboja and Surāṣṭra and (bands of) other (varṇas)'. Even for this, ādi should have come before Śrenī. — vārttāṣastropajīvinah, i.e., following agriculture and other vocations.
5 The Liechivikas, the Vṛjikas, the Mallakas, the Madrakas, the Kukuras, the Kurus, the Paṇeḍaras and others make use of the title of king.

6 In the case of all, secret agents close to them should find out one another’s defects, and occasions for mutual hatred, enmity or strife among members of the oligarchy, and should sow discord in one who is gradually brought round to believe (them, saying), ‘So and so is slandering you.’ 7 When resentment is thus built up on both sides, agents serving as teachers should start quarrels among pupils concerning learning, skill, gambling and pleasure sports.

8 Or, assassins should start quarrels among the followers of the chiefs in the oligarchy by praising the opponents in brothels and taverns, or by supporting seducible parties.

9 They should stir up princelings enjoying low comforts with (a longing for) superior comforts.

10 And they should prevent inter-dining or inter-marriage of the superior with the inferior. 11 Or, they should urge inferiors to

in peace time, but taking to arms in case of need. 5 Liechivika- etc.: for these, see Jayaswal (op. cit., 58-60). The Liechivis, the Vṛjis and the Mallas are well-known from Buddhist and other sources. Kukuras are a member of the Andhaka-Vṛṣṇi league according to the Mahābhārata. The Kurus and the Paṇeḍaras are monarchical in the Mahābhārata. Jayaswal has further pointed out that the suffix -ka indicates a political group, not a tribe, since it implies loyalty (bhakti) to other than one’s country of origin, according to Paṇini 4.3.95-100 and Kātyāyana thereon (op. cit., 120-121). — rājasāsadopajñīvānā: this simply means that the chiefs who formed the ruling council of the saṅgha styled themselves ‘rājān’. — Most of the saṅghas mentioned belong to the north and the north-west of India. It is also clear that the second group is politically more developed; it is this group that seems to have had a ruling council, which wielded political authority. Kāmboja and others do not seem to have gone much beyond the state of a clan.

6 saṅghānām, i.e., saṅghamukhyānām. It is not a question of one saṅgha being set up against another, but of one mukhya being set up against another in the same saṅgha. — nyāṅga seems to stand for nyāṅgata, some defect or deformity. Cn Cs render the word by ‘slander’, which is doubtful. — kramāḥhinītam ‘who has been gradually made to believe what is being suggested to him’. 7 vaihārika seems derived from vahāra ‘pleasure sport’. Cn Cs, however, have ‘answering riddles, recondivite questions etc.’ — bala ‘pupils’ are the chiefs, who are learning from the so-called ācāryas.

8 saṅghamukhyamanusyānām: this may refer to the servants or followers (manusya) of the different chiefs in the saṅgha or to the chiefs themselves; in the latter case, manusya would be superfluous. In the former case, we can understand that the quarrels between the followers would be taken up by the chiefs. — kṛtyapakṣa: cf. 1.14.

9 chandikā ‘pleasure, comfort’. Cn explains by ‘pariccheda, retinue, paraphernalia’.

10 ekapātram vivāham as separate words (cf. the next s.) with a vā after them are necessary. — It is clear that inter-dining and inter-marriage were not easy even
inter-dining or inter-marrying with superiors. 12 Or, (they should urge) the very low ones to obtain a position of equality in the matter of family, valour or change of status.

13 Or, they should nullify a transaction that is settled by establishing its opposite.

14 Or, in cases of legal dispute, assassins should start quarrels by injuring objects, cattle or men at night.

15 And in all cases of strife, the king should support the weak party with treasury and troops and urge them to kill the rival party.

16 Or, he should carry away those that have been divided. 17 And he should settle groups of five families or ten families of them on land suitable for agriculture. 18 For, if stationed in one place, they might be capable of bearing arms. 19 And he should fix a penalty if they come together.

20 He should appoint as crown prince a nobly born member of the (ruling) families, who is in disfavour or has been discarded by those using the title of king. 21 And the group of his astrologers and others should declare among members of the oligarchy the possession of marks of royalty by him. 22 And he should instigate the pious chiefs of the oligarchy, (saying) ‘Observe your duties towards the son or brother of such and such a king.’ 23 When they have agreed, he should send money and troops for supporting the seducible party.

24 At the time of fighting, agents appearing as vintners should offer, in hundreds, jars of wine mixed with a stupefying liquid, as libation to the deceased, under the pretext of the death of a son or wife.

25 And secret agents should point out the depositing (of an object) after an agreement, (such as) sealed (bags) with money and vessels containing money, at the gates of sanctuaries or temples and among members of the same sangha. 12 avahīnān: these are apparently even lower than the bhūna. We have to supply yojayeyuh.

13 vyavahāram ‘transaction’, rather than ‘a legal case’ (Cs). — niśāmayeyuh ‘should extinguish,’ i.e., make it inoperative. Cs has ‘should let the litigant concerned know, by justifying the contrary view’. But sthāpana can hardly be mere samartha. It is the upsetting of the vyavahāra that is likely to lead to quarrels. 16 apavāhayet, i.e., carry them to his own kingdom. That would weaken the sangha. 17 It is proposed to omit the words ekadeśe samastān vā nivesya found in the ms. before bhūmau. They contradict s. 18; and nivesya and niveshayet in the same sentence do not appear likely. — bhūmau ca etc. explains what is to be done after apavāhana.

20 rājugapratave sthāpayet, i.e., should give him recognition as the crown prince.

24 madanarasā: cf. 1.18.9 etc.

25 samayakaranikṣepam: this seems to refer to the placing of certain things at the places mentioned for one of the chiefs with whom the king is supposed to arrive at an
near fortified places. 26 When members of the oligarchy are seen (approaching), they should declare, ‘These belong to the king.’ 27 Then he should make an attack.

28 Or, borrowing for temporary use vehicles or money from members of the oligarchy, he should give a well-known article to a chief of the oligarchy. 29 When it is demanded back by them, he should say, ‘It has been given to such and such a chief.’

30 By this is explained (the method of creating) dissensions in the (enemy’s) camp and among forestchieftains.

31 Or, a secret agent should make a son of a chief of the ruling council, who thinks highly of himself, come to believe, ‘You are the son of such and such a king, kept here through fear of the enemy.’ 32 When he agrees, the king should support him with treasury and troops and make him fight the members of the oligarchy. 33 When his object is achieved, he should get him also slain.

34 Keepers of prostitutes or acrobats, actors, dancers or showmen, employed as agents, should make chiefs of the ruling council infatuated with women possessed of great beauty and youth. 35 When passion is roused in them, they should start quarrels by creating belief (about agreement (samaya). The objects placed would seem to be referred to in sahiranya-etc. In view of ca, two things are evidently to be understood, sealed packets with money inside or vessels full of coins. The places mentioned must be supposed to be in charge of the chief who is to be implicated. When the other chiefs find the articles to have come from the king, they come to believe that the particular chief has been bribed. Thus is dissension created. For this rājakīṣaḥ from Ca is to be preferred to vikritāḥ, which conveys little sense. — sahiranyābhiḥjanamudrāṇī: some noun conveying the sense of a bag or packet has to be understood with this. It may also be that we have to read only bhājanāni (for hiranyabhājanāni), and omit the ca after it; in this case the compound sahiranya-etc. would qualify bhājanāni. 26 rājakīṣaḥ: we expect the neuter as describing bhājanāni. In the masculine it may refer to the chiefs; in that case, the plural might suggest that a number of chiefs come to take the hoard, these then are declared to be partisans of the king. This, however, appears to be a less likely idea. 27 avaskandam: the attack would be in support of the chief implicated, with whom the others may be supposed to have quarrelled. It may also be that the attack is for recovery of the hoard which belongs to the king; but that seems less likely.

28 prakhyātam: cf. 9.6.31. Meyer proposes aprakhyātam, comparing 9.6.31; but there we have prakhyātam and aviṣñātam. — We have to assume that the chief who has received the article does not inform his colleagues. That would lead to strife.

30 This is incidental, unconnected with sāṅghas.

31 aṭmasanabhācavitam etc.: cf. 5.1.15-18; some of the tricks mentioned in this Chapter have parallels in Chapter 5.1. 33 pravāsayet ‘should kill’ (Ca).

34 bandhakīpoṣakāḥ: cf. 5.2.21,28. — saubhika would appear to be one who puts up a dramatic or other show on the stage; cf. 7.17.34. 36 ikṣṇāḥ: these
their love) in one and by going to another, or by forcible abduction (by the other). 36 During the quarrel, assassins should do their work, saying, ‘Thus has this passionate fellow been slain.’ 37 Or, if the one frustrated puts up with his disappointment, the woman should approach him and say, ‘Such and such a chief is harassing me, who am in love with you; so long as he is alive, I shall not stay here,’ and thus urge his murder. 38 Or, the woman, if forcibly abducted, should get the abductor murdered at night by an assassin at the edge of the park or in a pleasure house, or should herself kill him with poison. 39 Then she should proclaim, ‘My lover has been killed by so and so.’

40 Or, an agent appearing as a holy man should create confidence in a chief, in whom passion is roused, by means of love-winning herbs and then killing him with poison should disappear. 41 When he has gone away, secret agents should declare that as the act of the other.

42 Or, female secret agents (posing as) rich widows or living by a secret profession, and contending for inheritance or a deposit should infatuate chiefs of the ruling council, or Aditikausika women or dancers or songstresses (should do so). 43 When they have agreed and come to secret houses for the night’s meeting, assassins should kill them or carry them off imprisoned.

44 Or, a secret agent should describe to a chief of the oligarchy who is fond of women, ‘In such and such a village, the family of a poor man has migrated; his wife is fit for a king; seize her.’

claim to have been employed by the other chief. 39 amunā etc.: the other chief is thus implicated in the murder.

40 For the trick and expressions used, cf. 5.1.19. 41 para, i.e., the other chief, the rival in love.

42 ādhyāvidhavā etc.: it seems that yogastriyāḥ, i.e., female secret agents, are to pose as rich widows or carry on some secret profession (such as of a sorceress a counterfeiter of coins etc., as in 4.4). As rich widows they contend for dāya, and as gudhājīvāḥ they contend for a nikṣepa. — Aditikausīka- is from the commentators, read as in 1.17.19. They understand ‘women earning their living by showing pictures of deities, and female snake-charmers (kausīka)’. But a single idea, ‘females dedicated to some deity’ might appear better. V. Raghavan (Journal of Oriental Research, vol. XV, December 1945, pp. 110-116) objects that mendicant women are very unlikely in the present context and suggests that Kausīka (a variant of Kaisīka) is the name of a community devoted to the arts of music, dancing, toilet etc., and frequently engaged in aiding love-affairs; he compares Kausīkī of the Mālavikāgnimitra. But the Kausīkas are Brahmans, and it is extremely doubtful if the women-folk of any Brahmin community were engaged in the sort of work expected of them here. It is impossible to believe that the noble Kausīki of the Mālavikāgnimitra could have played such a role as the one described here. However, kaiśikāstrīyāḥ may appear possible. 43 -praviśtan in the accusative as in Cs is necessary for sense.
45 When she is seized, after a fortnight, an agent appearing as a holy man should cry out in the midst of the chiefs of the treasonable oligarchy, 'That chief has violated my wife or daughter-in-law or sister or daughter.' 46 If the ruling council were to chastise him, the king should support him and make him fight against those hostile to him. 47 If he is not punished, assassins should slay at night the agent appearing as a holy man. 48 Then others appearing in the same disguise should cry out, 'So and so is a Brahmin-slayer and the paramour of a Brahmin woman.'

49 Or, an agent appearing as an astrologer, should describe a maiden chosen as the bride by one (chief) to another, 'The daughter of so and so is destined to become the wife of a king or the mother of a king; get her by spending all you have or by force.' 50 If she cannot be obtained, he should rouse the other party. 51 If she is obtained, the strife is (at once) brought about.

52 Or, a female mendicant should say to a chief fond of his wife, 'Such and such a chief, conceited by reason of youth, sent me to your wife; through fear of him I have brought a letter and ornaments from him; your wife is innocent; steps against him should be taken secretly; in the meantime I shall accept (on your wife's behalf).'</p>

53 On these and other occasions of strife, whether the strife has arisen of its own accord or has been created by assassins, the king should support the weak party with treasury and troops and make him fight against those hostile to him, or should carry him away.

54 The single monarch should deal with oligarchies in this manner.

44 *apasātṛam* : this has to be understood in the sense of 'that has come away (from some other place)'. It is also possible that the idea to be understood is that of *apasatamukhya* 'with the head of the family away from home'. Cn Cs understand 'gone away elsewhere for livelihood'. In the context of what follows that appears less likely. 45 *dāsya*saṅghamukhyamadhye is read as suggested by Meyer instead of *dāsyaḥ saṅgha*- etc. Outside the compound, *dāsyaḥ* would be a description of the *siddhayānyāna*. But it is doubtful if a real *dāsya* would be employed to serve as a secret agent in this manner. It is, however, possible that an *abhityakta*, a man condemned to death and apparently reprieved, might be asked to undertake such work. — *asau me* etc. : cf. 5.1.51. — *mukhyo* for *mukhyām* is also from Meyer, and is necessary. *mukhyām* is pointless. 47 *siddhayānyāna*naṁ pravāsayeyah : if the *siddhayānyāna* is not an *abhityakta* as suggested above, this would be a case of a state servant being sacrificed for reasons of state. Perhaps that is why the mss. read *dāsyaḥ* in s. 45 above. 48 *tadāyaṁ*naṁ, *i.e.*, *siddhayānyānaḥ*.

50 *para*, i.e., the one who had chosen her as his bride.

52 *pratipaṭyāmi*, i.e., will make a show of accepting his proposal on your wife's behalf, so that a meeting may be fixed, giving you an opportunity to have your revenge. It can hardly mean 'I shall be by your side till you kill him' (Cs).
55 The oligarchies also should thus guard themselves against these deceitful tricks by the single monarch.

56 And the head of the oligarchy should remain just in behaviour towards the members of the oligarchy, beneficial (and) agreeable (to them), self-controlled, with devoted men, and following the wishes of all.

Herewith ends the Eleventh Book of the Arthasastra of Kautilya

'POLICY TOWARDS OLIGARCHIES'

54 ekarājaḥ : Kātyāyana on Pāṇini, 4.1.168, distinguishes ekarāja the single monarch from a saṁgha in which rule is shared by a number of persons. Cf. Jayaswal, op. cit., I, 34.

55 With its usual impartiality, the text offers advice to both sides. — ekarājād in the ablative, as read in Cs, is necessary, unless we read ekarājasya. — rākṣeyuh : the object is ātmānam.

56 nyāyavruttir hitaḥ as in Cn is decidedly better than nyāyavruttihitaḥ of the mss. — yutta may be ‘diligent in their work’, perhaps also ‘attached to him’.
BOOK TWELVE

CONCERNING THE WEAKER KING

CHAPTER ONE

SECTION 162 THE MISSION OF THE ENVOY

1 'A weak king, attacked by a stronger king, should everywhere remain submissive showing the characteristics of a reed. 2 For, he submits to Indra who submits to a stronger king,' says Bhāradvāja.

3 'He should fight with the mobilisation of all troops. 4 For, valour overcomes a calamity. 5 And this is a Kṣatriya's special duty, whether there be victory or defeat in war,' says Viśālakṣa.

6 'No,' says Kautilya. 7 One submissive everywhere lives despairing of life like a ram (strayed) from a herd. 8 And one fighting with only a small army perishes like one plunging in the ocean without a boat. 9 He should, however, act finding shelter with a king superior to him or in an unassailable fort.

10 There are three kings who attack: the righteous conqueror, the greedy conqueror and the demoniacal conqueror. 11 Of them, the righteous conqueror is satisfied with submission. 12 He should submit to him, also when there is danger from others. 13 The greedy

ābaliyasam is 'what concerns the ābaliyas, one who is not stronger'. Meyer understands ā-baliyasam 'till one gets stronger', which seems grammatically doubtful. The Book, for the most part, expands ideas already found elsewhere, particularly in 7.14-17 above.

12.1

1-2 Cf. Mahābhārata, 12.67.11 'etayopamayā dhīraḥ saṁnāmeta baliyase, Indrāya sa pranamate namate yo baliyase.'

3 saṁdohena: cf. 7.4.7,14.

7 kulaiḍakaḥ: Meyer proposes akulaiḍakaḥ 'a sheep lost from the herd'. Cn Cs get the same meaning from kulaiḍaka. Cf. 13.1.16. 9 tadviśiṣṭam: tad is the balavān king. Cf. 7.15.1. — durgam: cf. 7.15.9.

10 dharmalohāṣura- from Cs is in accordance with the order that follows. 12 pareṣām api bhayāt: i.e., even when the dharmavijayin is not threatening him, but danger from another source is feared,
conqueror is satisfied with the seizure of land and goods. 14 He should yield money to him. 15 The demoniacl conqueror (is satisfied only) with the seizure of land, goods, sons, wives and life. 16 By yielding land and goods to him, he should take counter-steps, remaining out of reach himself.

17 When one of these is making ready to start, he should make a counter-move through peace or diplomatic war or concealed warfare. 18 (He should win over) the party inimical to him with conciliation and gifts, his own party through dissension and force.

19 Secret agents should destroy his fort, country or camp with weapons, poison or fire. 20 He should cause his rear to be attacked from all sides. 21 Or, he should cause the kingdom to be destroyed through forest tribes or to be seized by a pretended from his family or a prince in disfavour. 22 And at the end of (such) injurious acts, he should send an envoy (for peace). 23 Or, peace (may be sued for) without doing any injurious act.

24 If he marches even then, he should sue for peace with a successive increase of one-quarter of the treasury and troops or a successive increase of a day and night.

25 If he were to sue for peace with the offer of troops, he should give him dull elephants and horses, or such energetic ones as are administered poison.

26 If he were to sue for peace with men, he should give him reasonable, alien or forest troops under the command of secret agents. 27 He should so manage that the destruction of both would take place. 28 Or, he should give him troops with a fiery temper which,

17 mantrayuddhana as in 12.2 below. — kālayuddha does not seem to refer to the tactics on the field described in 10.3; for, there is no attack yet on the weak king. Perhaps secret murders are to be understood, as detailed in 12.2-5 below. 18 asya, i.e., of the stronger king. — sva- also refers to the stronger king. We have to understand the idea of sādhyet in the sentence.

24 pādottaram, i.e., by offering him one quarter more than what was offered before but not accepted; thus one lac and a quarter if one lac is not accepted or 125 horses if 100 are not accepted (Cn Cs). — ahorātottaram: Cs has 'increasing the period during which to do a work by more days'. This is not satisfactory. Meyer suggests period for disbanding or surrendering troops to be reduced successively by one day, (i.e., in 9 days instead of 10). This gives a good sense, but it is doubtful if uttara can be so understood.

25 saḥ: in view of yāceta, this is the weak king (Cn Cs), hardly the attacking king (Meyer). The acceptance of the terms by the latter is implied. — danda, as distinguished from puruṣa (in s. 26), refers to horses and elephants. — kuntham 'ineffective' or 'cowardly'; cf. 7.12.9 ff. — gara 'poison, which would kill after a month or a fortnight' (Cs). Cf. 14.1.6-7. For the idea, cf. 7.3.30.

27 ubhaya, i.e., the enemy as well as the dūṣyabala etc.
when insulted, would injure him, or hereditary, loyal troops that would injure him in his calamity.

29 If he were to sue for peace with treasury, he should give him articles of high value, for which he would not find a purchaser, or forest produce that is unfit for use in war.

30 If he were to sue for peace with land, he should give him land which can be easily recovered, or which has constant enemies, or which is without a shelter, or such that settlement on it would involve heavy losses and expenses.

31 Or, he should sue a stronger king for peace with the offer of all his possessions, with the exception of the capital.

32 That which the other might seize by force, he should offer through one of the means. He should preserve his body, not wealth; for, what regret can there be for wealth that is impermanent?

CHAPTER TWO

SECTION 163 FIGHT WITH (THE WEAPON OF) DIPLOMACY
SECTION 164 ASSASSINATION OF (THE ENEMY’S) ARMY CHIEFS

1 If he were not to accept a peace-treaty, he should say to him, ‘Such and such kings, under the influence of the group of six enemies, have perished; it does not behove you to follow in the footsteps of those who were without self-control. 2 You should pay regard to spiritual and material well-being. 3 For, those are really enemies, wearing the mask of friends, who make you undertake a rash deed, an impious act and the forgoing of material good. 4 To fight with brave men who have given up all hope of life is a rash deed, to bring about the loss of men on both sides is an impious act, to give up a good in hand and to forsake a blameless ally is forgoing of material good. 5 And that king has allies and with this object he will raise

29 sāram etc.: cf. 7.12.10.
30 nityāmitrām: cf. 7.10.12. — anapāṣrayām: the shelter meant is a fortress.
32 upāyataḥ: particularly by resorting to saṁdhi, as in Cs.

12.2

The first of the two Sections is restricted to ss. 1-7, the rest of the Chapter together with the next is concerned with the other Section. — mantrayuddha amounts to cajoling, warning, threatening etc. through an envoy.

1 so cet: this is in continuation of the last Section; saḥ is the stronger king, — sātrusadvarga: see 1.6. 3 mitramukhāḥ from Cs is quite necessary, mitramukhāḥ of the mss. is unlikely. 5 sa rājā is the weak king, for whom the envoy is speaking. — etena arthena ‘with this object that was offered to you by him,
more allies, who will attack you from all sides. 6 Nor is he forsaken by the middle and neutral kings or by the circle of kings; you, however, are forsaken (by them), since, while you are ready to fight, they are looking on (with the idea), “Let him meet with further losses and expenses, let him be divided from his ally; then we shall easily exterminate him when he has left his kingdom”. 7 It does not behove you, therefore, to listen to enemies masquerading as friends, to frighten your allies and to confer good on your enemies and to face the risk of (losing your) life and meet with disaster;’ thus he should (try to) restrain him.

8 If he starts even then, he should engender a revolt among the constituents as explained in the ‘policy towards oligarchies’ and in ‘drawing out by means of stratagems’. 9 And he should employ assassins and poison-givers. 10 He should employ assassins and poison-givers at those points which have been declared as fit to be guarded in ‘concerning self-protection’.

11 Keepers of prostitutes should make the (enemy’s) army chiefs infatuated with women possessed of great beauty and youth. 12 When many or two of the chiefs feel passion for one woman, assassins should create quarrels among them. 13 (Agents) should urge the party worsted in the strife to go away elsewhere or to render help to their master in the expedition.

14 Or, agents appearing as holy men should cause poison to be given to those among the chiefs who are under the influence of passion, along with love-winning medicines, in order to overreach them.

but rejected by you.’ 6 yat tvā from M is preferable to ye tvā. The ye in the latter would refer to madhyama etc., hardly to mitramukha amitra of the next s. as Meyer understands it. — yacchet; this seems to be from yam ‘to restrain, to check’. Cs has ‘should give (the object that was offered before)’; but this presupposes acceptance of the suggestions on the enemy’s part.

8 saṁghavṛtte: actually in 11.1 there is little about stirring constituents or subjects (prakṛti) to revolt. — yogavaṁane, i.e., in 13.2. 10 ātmaraṁṣitake, i.e., in 1.21.

11 bandhakipōṣakāḥ: cf. 11.1.34. 13 bhartuḥ ‘to the master (of the agents)’, i.e., to the weaker king.

14 kāmavaśān vā: it would have been better if mukhyena had come before kāmavaśān. Cn seems to have read kāmavaśāḥ vā, which cannot be construed properly. In any case Jolly-Schmidt’s rendering of it ‘under the pretext of giving them an aphrodisiac’ is altogether unlikely. Meyer proposes kāmavaśāḥ (striḥ) ‘make women under the influence of love administer poison etc.’ But it is doubtful if the women, who are merely agents, have to be themselves in love in order that the siddhavyājyāna may make use of the love-winning potion on the mukhyas. The mukhya is in love and wants it to be reciprocated by the woman and therefore
15 Or, an agent appearing as a trader should shower wealth on an intimate maid of the favourite queen (of the enemy) for the sake of love and then leave her. 16 An agent appearing as a holy man, recommended by an agent appearing as an attendant of that same (trader), should give a love-winning medicine, saying, ‘This should be placed on the person of the trader.’ 17 When this has succeeded, he should advise this remedy also to the favourite queen, saying, ‘This should be placed on the king’s person.’ 18 Then he should overreach with poison.

19 Or, an agent appearing as an astrologer should declare to a high officer, whose confidence has been gradually won, that he is possessed of the marks of a king. 20 A female mendicant (should declare) to his wife, ‘You will be the wife of a king or the mother of a king.’

21 Or, a female agent who is the wife of a high officer should say to him, ‘The king wants to keep me in his harem; this letter and these ornaments have been brought to your house by a female mendicant.’

22 Or, an agent appearing as a cook or a waiter should inform (a chief) about the king’s instruction for administering poison (to him) and the money offered to tempt him (to do so). 23 An agent appearing as a trader should corroborate that (information) of his, and should speak of the success of the undertaking.

24 Thus with one or two or three means, he should incite the high officers one by one to fight or to desert him.

uses the potion to make himself loved by her. Cf. 11.1.40 for the same trick. If we suppose that the nukhya is cold and his passion is to be roused, it is difficult to see how the siddhayavañjana could induce him to drink the potion.

16 vaidehakasāristre ‘vadhātavyāḥ: in this case, the medicine is apparently used on the person of the individual in whom passion is to be roused. — The vaidehaka, of course, pretends to be in love again, so that the power of the medicine is proved. That would induce the queen to try it on the king.

19 kramābhinītam: cf. 11.1.6. 20 Cf. 11.1.49.

21 bhāryāyañjanaḥ: we must suppose that a female agent had earlier got herself married to one of the high officials of the enemy; this is a long term plan. The idea that an agent appears in the garb of a wife of the officer is less likely, as the officer would certainly see through the disguise of any one posing as his wife. — acarodhañjasyati clearly refers to making her an inmate of the harem. — lekhyam abharaṇam: cf. 11.1.52.

22 rājavacaṇam from Cs is necessary in view of the ea after arthām. The enemy king is himself represented as planning the officer’s murder through the cook etc. — abhinayet: cf. 5.2.25. 23 kāryasiddham, i.e., ‘the effectiveness of the poison in killing instantaneously’ (Cs Cs). Meyer has ‘the successful outcome of the affair (by the officer taking revenge on the king); this is little likely. It may simply mean ‘success in his work (of selling the poison)."

24 ekaikamasya: ekaikasya of the mss. is quite obviously faulty.
25 And in his fortified cities, secret agents serving in close proximity to the Regent, should declare among citizens and country people, (as if) out of friendship, 'The Regent has said to warriors and heads of departments, "The king is in a difficult position; he may or may not come back alive; obtain wealth by force and slay your enemies."' 26 When the rumour has spread far and wide, assassins should rob citizens at night and slay chiefs, (saying at the time), 'Thus are dealt with those who do not obey the Regent.' 27 And they should leave blood-stained weapons, articles and binding ropes in the quarters of the Regent. 28 Then secret agents should proclaim, 'The Regent is slaying and robbing (the subjects).'

29 In the same manner, they should divide the country people from the Administrator. 30 But assassins should kill the subordinates of the Administrator in the midst of villages at night and say, 'Thus are dealt with those who oppress the countryside unrighteously.'

31 When trouble has (thus) started, they should cause the Regent or the Administrator to be killed by a rising of the subjects. 32 They should get a pretender from his family or a prince in disfavour accepted as a ruler.

33 They should set fire to royal palaces and city gates, to stores of articles and grains, or should kill those (officers there) and, crying piteously, should declare that as done by him.

25 *maitrinimitam*: the friendship pretended is for the persons addressed. It can hardly mean 'in order to produce loyalty towards the *sûnapâla* ' (Cs). This loyalty, in fact, is to be undermined. — *bhaulibhûte*: the subject is 'report' or 'rumour'. Cf. 12.3.2. — Jayaswal's translation 'when the Pauras held a general meeting (bhaulibhûte) to give their votes on the subject, the leaders were to be done away with secretly' (Hindu Polity, II, 88 ff.) has little relation either to the context or to the words used. — *ceam kriyante* etc.: this is in order to throw the blame for the robberies and murders on the *sûnapâla*.

29 Apparently, the *sûnapâla* had jurisdiction only in the fort; the *samâharti* continued to wield power in the countryside. 30 *samâhartipuruśan*, i.e., *gopa*, *sthânika* etc.

32 *pratipâdayeyuh*: cf. 1.10.3.

33 *dvâram* is a Samâhâradvandva. — *tân* refers to officers stationed there. — *asya* refers to the *sûnapâla* or the *samâharti* on whom the blame for the fire and murder is to be thrown. It can hardly refer to 'citizens and country people' (Cs).
CHAPTER THREE

SECTION 164 (Continued)
SECTION 165 STIRRING UP THE CIRCLE OF KINGS

1 Secret agents working in close proximity to the (enemy) king and the king’s favourites should inform those in the position of friends to chiefs of infantry, cavalry, chariots and elephants that the king is enraged with these, by showing confidence as in a friend. 2 When the rumours have become thick, assassins, after taking precautions against (dangers arising from) moving at night-time, should go to their houses and say, ‘At the king’s order, come (with us).’ 3 They should slay them even as they come out and say to those near, ‘This is the king’s message.’ 4 And to those who have not been slain, secret agents should say, ‘This is what we had told you; he who wants to remain alive should go away.’

5 And to those to whom the king does not give (some object) when asked for it, secret agents should say, ‘The Regent was told by the king, “Such and such persons are asking me for something that ought not to be asked for; refused by me, they have joined the enemy; strive to exterminate them.”’ 6 Then he should act as before.

7 And to those to whom the king gives (something) when asked for it, secret agents should say, ‘The Regent was told by the king, “Such and such persons ask me for something that ought not to be asked for; I gave it to them to ensure trust (in me); they are in league with the enemy; strive to exterminate them.”’ 8 Then he should act as before.

9 And to those who do not ask him for something that ought to be asked for, secret agents should say, ‘The Regent was told by the king, “Such and such persons do not ask me for something which

12.3

Section 165 is to be found only in ss. 18-21 as a sort of a tag at the end; it is really a continuation of the preceding topic.

1 suhṛdviśvāsena, i.e., divulging it as a secret, which could be done only to a trusted friend. — mitraśāṁśeṣu, i.e., to those who are the friends of the mukhyas (with whom the king is supposed to be angry). 2 kṣatradvīcārapratikārāḥ: e.g., providing themselves with passes for moving in the camp at night time. 3 āsannāṁ is from Cs; āsannāḥ of the mss. can only go with tīkṣṇāḥ, which makes little sense. 4 ye cā̄pravāsītāḥ is as suggested by Meyer. pravāṣita, either as ‘murdered’ or ‘gone away’ does not fit in with apakrāṇtvam addressed to them.

5 cāsau from Cs is missing from the mss. through a scribal error; that it is necessary is shown by ss. 7 and 9. 6 pūrvavat, i.e., assassins killing some officers ostensibly under orders from the Regent and frightening away others, as in ss. 2-4.

9 svadopa: the doṣa is that of treason.
ought to be asked for; what else (could there be) but their being apprehensive because of their own guilt? Strive to exterminate them.”’

10 Then he should act as before.

11 By this is explained the whole party of seducible persons.

12 Or, a secret agent, serving in close proximity, should give the (enemy) king to understand, ‘Such and such a high officer is in communication with men of the enemy.’ 13 When this is believed, he should show treasonable men carrying letters from him and say, ‘This is it.’

14 Or, after tempting with land or money the principal officers among the chiefs of the army, he should make them fight their own people or should carry them away.

15 He should cause that son of his, who may be staying near or in a fort, to be instigated through a secret agent, ‘You are a son possessed of greater personal excellences, yet you have been set aside; why then are you indifferent? Fight and seize (the kingdom); the crown prince will soon destroy you.’

16 After tempting with money a pretender from his family or a prince in disfavour, he should say to him, ‘Crush his troops inside (the kingdom) or the troops on the frontier or the frontier fort.’

17 After winning the forest chieftains with money and honour, he should cause his kingdom to be destroyed.

18 Or, he should say to the enemy in the rear of the (enemy), ‘This king, after exterminating me, will indeed exterminate you; attack

11 kṛtyopakṣaḥ: see 1.14 above.
12 saṁbhāṣate: the passive in the reading of the mss. (saṁbhāṣyate) is unnecessary.
13 dūṣyāṇ etc.: the bearers of letters are treasonable men, whose rough treatment by the enemy when they are caught would be welcome to the weak king. — asya, if referring to the weak king, would be construed with śūsanahāraṇ; if referring to the enemy, it would be construed with darśayet.

14 senāmukhyapракṛṭipurusāṇ: this seems to contain a single idea, ‘the principal officers (pракṛṭipurusā) among the army chiefs’. Cf. 8.4.15, where we have pракṛṭipurusānukhyā. Meyer, in the Nachtrag, has ‘army officers and administrative officers in the army’. In any case, ‘army chiefs, ministers (pракṛṭi) and servants (purusa) ’ (Cn Cs) is quite unlikely.

15 saṁipe, i.e., near the weak king’s territory. — durge, i.e., in the strong king’s capital fort. — dūmasaṁpavanatarāṇ: the comparison is with the yuvarāja. — purā vināśayati: for the idiom, cf. 9.6.69, also 1.14.8.

16 antarbandham, i.e., troops left for the protection of the kingdom. — antam this seems to refer to the frontier fort, the place for the antapāla. Cn explains it by janapada etc.: Cn reads anyam, supplying skandham from the preceding, ‘other troops’. That is far from happy.
him in the rear; if he turns round on you, I shall attack him in the rear.'

19 Or, he should say to the allies of the (enemy), 'I am your dam; with me broken, this king will overwhelm all of you; let us join together and frustrate his expedition.'

20 And he should send (letters) to those united with him and to those not united, 'This king, after uprooting me, will indeed take action against you; beware; it is better for you to help me.'

21 He should send (appeals) to the middle king or again to the neutral king, according as the one or the other may be near, making a surrender to him of all possessions, in order to be saved.

CHAPTER FOUR

SECTION 166 SECRET USE OF WEAPONS, FIRE AND POISON
SECTION 167 DESTRUCTION OF (THE ENEMY'S) SUPPLIES, REINFORCEMENTS AND FORAGING RAIDS

1 And those agents who are living disguised as traders in the fortified towns of the (enemy), disguised as householders in his villages, disguised as cow-herds and ascetics in the frontier posts of the country, should send, along with presents, (word) to a neighbouring prince, a forest chief, a pretender from his family or a prince in disfavour, 'This region can be seized.' 2 And when secret agents of these have come to the fortified town, they should welcome them with money and honour and show them the weak points of the constituents. 3 They should strike at those (weak points) along with them.

18-19 Through an obvious copyist's slip, the words esa khalu...va 'syu bruyāt (in ss. 18-19) are missing in the mss., showing that they are all derived from a single exemplar. Cn presupposes the passage which is quite necessary. aham vah setuḥ could not be addressed to a pārśvigrāha.

20 abhyupapattum is read for abhyavapattum; the latter has the sense of 'to submit to, to surrender', from which the former must be distinguished. Cf. 2.10.24,35 and 5.5.7.

21 sarvascena tadarpaṇam: what seems meant is sarvascasya tadarpaṇena. Cs seems to have read tvadarpaṇam, though its text shows tadarpaṇam. One can hardly look upon tadarpaṇam as the object of prakīnuṣyāt as in Cn Cs.

12.4

The whole Chapter really contains a single Section, the second of the two Sections being disposed of in half of s. 20 in the middle of the Chapter.

1 janapadasonidhi: see 3.1.1. — panyāgāra: cf. 7.15.20 etc. — ayaḥ desaḥ: this is some region in the enemy's country. 2 durge, i.e., in the enemy's fortified capital.
4 Or, an agent appearing as a vintner in his camp, showing a person condemned to death as his son and killing him by poison at the time of an attack, should offer, in hundreds, jars of wine as libation in honour of the dead. 5 He should give on the first day unadulterated wine or wine with one quarter (poison), on the next, (wine) mixed with poison. 6 Or, giving unadulterated wine to the army chiefs, he should give them (wine) mixed with poison when they are in a state of intoxication.

7 Or, an agent, serving as a chief in the army, (should show) a condemned person as a son and so on, as before.

8 Or, agents disguised as dealers in cooked meat or cooked rice or vintners or dealers in cakes, should advertise their special goods and, in mutual rivalry, call the enemies, proclaiming ‘This is given on credit, this is very cheap,’ and mix their goods with poison.

9 Or, women and children, purchasing wine, milk, curds, butter or oil from dealers in these commodities, should pour them in their own vessels containing poison. 10 (Saying) ‘Give us at this price, or give us of better quality again,’ they should pour that back in the same place. 11 Agents appearing as traders or those who bring goods for sale (to the camp, should sell) these same articles (after mixing them with poison).

12 Those near should mix poison with the fodder and grass for elephants and horses. 13 Or, agents appearing as workmen should sell grass or water mixed with poison.

4 For the trick, cf. 11.1.24. — madanamadya- found in the mss. is unlikely in view of the details given in the next s. madya- alone is therefore proposed. 5 pōdyam seems to mean ‘with one-quarter madanarasa, the rest wine’. Cs has ‘with a quarter of the dose sufficient to kill a person’. Meyer’s suggestion to read māṇdyam ‘very mild’ seems hardly plausible. The expression is odd; it is quite possible that the words pōdyam vā madyam are due to a scribal error and are not authentic. Cn does not show them.

7 dāthagamukhyavyaṅjana : this presupposes a secret agent serving in the enemy’s army as an officer for quite some time. A mere disguise would not be convincing and might even arouse suspicion.

8 kālikam : cf. 2.25.7. — apacārayeyuḥ should be read and understood in the sense of ‘mix’. The text has a misprint here.

9 tadvyavakharṭhyastu is from Cs, though hasta is not quite necessary. Perhaps tadvyavakharṭṣu should be read, as in ms. T. In either case, however, we expect the ablative rather than the locative. 10 visīṣṭam, i.e., better in quality. — tatraiva, i.e., in the containers of the shopkeepers. The whole stock of the shopkeepers becomes poisoned, to be sold later to the troops by the unsuspecting shopkeepers. 11 etāṅgeva seems to refer to surā, kṣīra etc., ‘poisoned’ being understood and cikṛṣṇaṁ being supplied. The liquids as poisoned by the women need not be understood; for, the vaidehakavyaṅjanas could themselves procure poisoned
14 Or, cattle-traders, long associated (with the camp), should let loose herds of cattle or of sheep and goats on the occasion of an attack, in places likely to cause confusion among the enemies, also (should let loose) the vicious among horses, donkeys, camels, buffaloes and other animals. 15 Or, agents appearing as above (should let loose) animals whose eyes have been smeared with the blood of muskrats. 16 Or, those appearing as hunters should let loose wild animals from their cages, or snake charmers, serpents with deadly poison, or those living by elephants, elephants. 17 Or, those living by fire should set fire to things.

18 Or, secret agents should kill the chiefs of infantry, cavalry, chariots or elephants, when they have turned back, or should set fire to the quarters of the chiefs.

19 Those appearing as treasonable or alien or forest troops, being employed (with the enemy), should make an attack on the rear or give support to the (weak king's) attack.

20 Or, those concealed in forests should lure out troops on the frontier and slay them, or (should destroy) the supplies, the reinforcements and foraging raids on a path where march in a single file alone is possible.

21 Or, on the occasion of a night-battle, they should strike many drums, fixed beforehand as a signal, and announce, 'We have entered in; the kingdom is won.'

22 Or, entering the king's quarters, they should kill the king in the tumult. 23 Or, if he is trying to escape, leaders of Mleccha and forest troops, on all sides, should kill him, taking cover in places of goods. — *panyāvikrayeṇa āhartāraḥ* seems to mean something like hawkers, as Meyer implies. *panyāṇi vikrayārtham āhartāraḥ* is what seems intended. — Cn comes to an end with this s.

14 *mohasthānesu* 'in places where the enemy ranks are thereby likely to be thrown into confusion'. Cs has 'when the enemy is at his wit's end as to what to do'. 15 *tadvyaṅjanāḥ* : *tad* refers to the *govānjaka*. — *cucchandarīṣopitāktāksān* : apparently this makes the animals mad. Cf. 14.1.29.

18 *vimukhān* 'who are turning back from the battle, who are in flight'.

19 *dāsyaṁitraśaṁvikrayaṅjanāḥ* : the idea is, loyal troops go over as deserters from the weak king, some of them his own troops pretending to be treasonable, others alien and still others forest troops. The unsuspecting enemy welcomes them. — *pratigraha* is 'giving support'. Cf. 13.3.46.

21 *sāṅketa* is a signal fixed with the weak king before the night attack. — *brāyuḥ* : the subject seems to be the so-called deserters from the weak king. We must suppose them to be somewhere else in the enemy's kingdom, probably in the capital. When they cry *labdhaṁ rājyaṁ*, the enemy may be expected to give up the fight and return to the kingdom to save it.
ambush or taking cover behind hedges of tree-stems. 24 Or, agents appearing as hunters should, in the tumult of an attack, strike at him on occasions fit for secret fight. 25 Or, they should strike at him when he is on a path where march in a single file alone is possible or on a mountain, or behind a hedge of tree-stems or in a marshy place or inside water, in accordance with the favourableness of the terrain to themselves. 26 Or, they should drown him through a rush of water by breaking dams in rivers, lakes and tanks. 27 Or, if he is in a desert fort, a forest fort or a water fort, they should destroy him with poisonous fire and smoke. 28 Assassins should do away with him by fire when he is in a narrow place, by smoke when he is in a desert, by poison if he is in his residence, by frightful crocodiles or persons moving in water if he has taken a plunge in water, or (kill him) as he is coming out of his quarters set on fire.

29 He should overreach the enemy, clinging to the places mentioned, by forcing him out through trickery and by secret practices or by using one of the secret tricks.

CHAPTER FIVE

SECTION 168 OVER-REACHING (THE ENEMY) BY TRICKERY
SECTION 169 OVER-REACHING (THE ENEMY) BY FORCE
SECTION 170 VICTORY OF THE SINGLE KING

1 On the occasion of a festival in honour of a deity, (there may be) many places for the enemy’s coming to worship because of his devotion. 2 In those places, he should practise secret tricks on him.

23 stambhavāta seems to mean a hedge or fence made of tree-stems. 24 gūḍha-yuddha is not the same as kūṭa-yauddha (10.3). It is murder pure and simple. 25 Some mss. show stambhavanā here for stambhavāta. (Cs). The latter may be preferred in view of s. 23. — khaṇjana : cf. 10.4.8. 26 It seems that setubandhahṛda is to be construed with nādi, saras and tātāka, though vegā is conceivable of a river even without a dam breaking. 27 yogāṇidhāna : see 14.1.4-14. 28 nīḍhāna is little more than ‘residence, abode’; ‘store-house’ or ‘treasure-house’ seems less likely. — udakacaranātīih : see 13.1.3-5 for ways of moving in water.

29 yogasāmana is described in 13.2 below. — yoga refers to the yogāṭisāṁdhāna of the next Chapter (Cs). — yogenānyatamena vā : this yoga would seem to refer to the tricks described in this Chapter. — uktāsu bhūmiṣu seems to refer to saṅkaṭa etc. of s. 28, perhaps also to ss. 23 ff.

12.5

The three Sections are closely inter-related and there is no clear demarcation line between them; at most we can say that the third begins at s. 43. eka in ekaviṣayaḥ refers to the king being alone, with his fort in the enemy’s possession.

1 daicatējyāyām yātrāyām : Cs Meyer have ‘on the occasion of the worship of a deity or of a festival’; however, in the absence of a ca or a vā, a single idea would ap-
3. When he has entered the temple, he should cause a concealed wall or a huge stone to fall on him by the release of a mechanism. 4. Or, he should cause to be dropped down on him a shower of stones and weapons from an upper chamber, or a door panel thrown down or a door-bar placed in a wall and fixed at one end. 5. Or, he should cause the image, the banner and the weapons of the deity to fall upon him. 6. Or, in the places where he stays, sits or moves about, he should cause poison to be used along with the cow-dung smearing or with the scented water used for sprinkling on the floor, or with the offering of flowers and fragrant powder. 7. Or, he should carry over to him poisonous smoke concealed by perfume. 8. Or, he should make him drop down, by the release of a pin, into a well with spikes or a pit, underneath the bed or seat, where the floor is fixed by a mechanism.

9. Or, when the enemy has come near, he should carry over (into the fort) persons capable of withstanding a siege from the countryside. 10. And from the fort he should remove those incapable of withstanding a siege or send them to the enemy’s territory which is easily recoverable. 11. And he should place the country people in one place in a mountain fort, a forest fort or a river fort, or in regions separated by forests, in charge of a son or a brother.

12. Reasons for entrenching oneself in a fort have been explained in ‘the conduct of one surrendering with troops’.

13. He should cause grass and wood to be burnt up to one yojana (all round the fort). 14. And he should cause waters to be spoiled.

— pūjāgama- is proposed for pūjyāgama-; pūjya in the latter is little likely. — bhaktitāḥ : Meyer construes this word with the next s. That seems less happy. 2. ubjaya- : Cs paraphrases by prasāraya- ‘should spread’. Cf. s. 15 below. 6. puspacūrṇa- : these would be offered as prasāda to the enemy. 7. For poisonous smoke, cf. 14.1.9-14. 8. yantrabaddhatalam : the tala is the floor of the room; it sinks down when the pin is removed, and the bed or seat topples down into the well full of spikes.

9. avarodhakṣamam : Cs has ‘people from the enemy’s country who are fit to be put in confinement’; that appears very strange. 10. anavarodhakṣamam etc. : the explanation in Cs ‘should set free those not deserving to be confined, yet confined by the enemy’ is still more strange. Can the weak king be supposed to bring about the release of such men when the enemy is drawing near? — pratyādegam etc. : this is his own land, now in enemy occupation, which he hopes to recover later. 11. putrabhrtr- : these are those of the weak king. Cs, however, understands the enemy’s son etc. being placed in charge of his territory after dividing it. Would the weak king be able to do so? Cs is on a wrong track. The idea here is of preparing for a siege.

12. avarodha- is read here as in s. 9. However, since the title of the 119th Section has uparodhahetavah, we should retain uparodha- here as well. The hetus are enumerated in 7.15.12.
and to flow away. 15 And he should place wells, concealed pits and barbed wires outside.

16 Making an underground passage with many openings up to the enemy's camp, he should cause the chiefs of stores to be carried away, or the enemy (himself). 17 Or, if an underground passage is made by the enemy, he should cause the moat to be dug deeper till its water reaches the passage, or a well-shed along the rampart. 18 In suspected places, he should cause to be placed jars of water or bell-metal vessels, in order to find out any digging done there. 19 When the underground passage is known, he should cause a counter-passage to be dug. 20 Breaking it in the middle, he should let in smoke or water.

21 Or, making arrangements for the defence of the fort, and appointing a kinsman (as regent) in the base, he should go in the direction opposite to that of the (enemy), or where he might be united with allies, kinsmen or forest chiefs or with great enemies and traitors of the enemy, or where, by going there, he might be able to separate him from his allies or to attack him in the rear or cause his kingdom to be seized or to prevent his supplies, reinforcements and foraging raids, or from where he might be able to strike at him with a foul throw like a gambler, or from where his kingdom may be protected or he might be able to strengthen the base. 22 Or, he should go there where he might be able to secure desirable peace.

23 Or, those who have left (the fort) with him should send (word) to the (enemy), 'This enemy of yours has fallen in our hands; on the pretext of (the purchase of) a commodity or of (doing) injury, send

15 kāpakāṭāvāpaṭā- etc.: cf. 2.3.15 and 10.1.12. — ubjayet : see s. 2.

16 nicaṇamukhyān 'chiefs of stores' is not very satisfactory. Perhaps 'supplies (nicaya) and army-chiefs (mukhyā)' is meant; but then the compound would be unusual. Cs has nicaṇamukhyān 'chief inspecting officers' which is little better. 17 udakāntikām 'ending in water' implies water reaching down to the surugā and flooding it. — kāpaśālam : i.e., a well is to be dug for flooding the passage. sālā is unusual with kāpa. 18 toyakumbhān is proposed for atoyakumbhān; since kāsyaḥabhāndānī may be supposed to contain no water, indicating only by their vibrations if digging is going on, atoyakumbhas would not materially differ from them. The water in the toyakumbhas may be supposed to indicate digging by its movement or by spilling over. 20 madhye bhitteś : the enemy's tunnel is breached and then flooded.

21 mule, i.e., in the fort. — akṣikacard a pakepeṇa 'with a foul throw like a gambler'. This is not very satisfactory; but that appears to be the only meaning possible. Meyer's suggested āśāyakapādāpakepeṇa 'by throwing stones and trees' is quite fanciful.

23 panyam : the idea is that the weak king, who is supposed to be held in custody by his associates, is offered to the besieging king for a price. as a commodity for sale.
money and a strong force, to which we should hand him over, bound or killed.' 24 When he agrees, he should appropriate the money and the strong force.

25 Or, the commander of a frontier fort, by offering the surrender of the fort, should get a part of the (enemy's) troops inside and destroy them when full of trust.

26 Or, (the regent) should invite a division of the enemy's army to destroy the country people stationed in one place. 27 Taking it to the enclosed region, he should destroy it when full of trust.

28 Or, an agent posing as a friend should send (word) to the besieger, 'In this fort, grains, fats, sugar or salt is exhausted; (new stocks of) it will come in at this place and time; seize it.' 29 Then treasonable, alien or forest troops should bring in poisoned grains, fats, sugar or salt, or others condemned to death (should bring it in). 30 By that is explained the seizure of all goods and supplies.

31 Or, making peace, he should give him a part of the (tribute-) money, the rest after a long delay. 32 Then he should cause his fortifications to be weakened. 33 Or, he should strike with fire, poison or weapon. 34 Or, he should favour those of his favourites who (come to) receive the money.

35 Or, if quite exhausted, he should surrender the fort to him and depart. 36 He should go out by an underground passage or an opening in the rampart, breaking through the side.

For the idea, cf. 8.2.8 etc. The hiranya asked for represents this price. The army is asked for ostensibly for taking charge of the weak king and to fight if the latter's troops offer any resistance.

25 balaikadesam atiniya: these come in to take over the surrendered fort.

26 āvāhayet: the subject would be the son or the brother of s.11, who is in charge of the people and is a sort of a regent in the place. 27 avaruddhadesam: this apparently refers to the region to which the people have been taken, as in s. 11.

28 bāhya is the king outside the fort who has laid siege to it. 29 dūṣyāmitrātavikāh: these, if caught by the enemy, would not be a source of worry to the besieged king.

32 rakṣāvāddhānāni; these are arrangements for the defence of his kingdom by the enemy. — acasīvayet: cf. 9.4.8. 34 hiranyapratisrāhitāh: Cs has 'who are used to receiving bribes' with ansgrhiṇiyāt as 'should give a bribe (so that they may strike at their master)'. This is little likely. hiranya is the stipulated tribute which the vallaḥbas come to receive; the bribe is given so that they may go back without the tribute.

36 kuṣṭipradareṇa etc.: apparently, the enemy troops are mainly concentrated at the gates for entering the fort; so that an escape through a hole in the side of the wall would not be noticed.
37 Making a sudden assault at night, he should remain if successful; if not successful he should go out by some stratagem. 38 In the disguise of a heretical monk, he should go out with a small retinue. 39 Or, he should be carried out decked as a corpse by secret agents. 40 Or, wearing a woman’s garb, he should follow a funeral procession. 41 Or, (he should go away) leaving behind poisoned food and drink on occasions of offerings to gods, obsequial rites or festivals.

42 After making secret instigations, he should come out with apparently treasonable troops and strike with the concealed army.

43 Or, if his fort is thus seized, he should, after setting up a sanctuary with plenty of food to eat, remain concealed in a hollow inside the image of the deity or in a hollow wall or in an underground chamber endowed with the image of a deity. 44 When (things are) forgotten, he should enter the king’s chamber at night by an underground passage and kill the sleeping enemy. 45 Or, loosening something that can be loosened by a mechanism, he should make it fall down (on him). 46 Or, as the enemy is sleeping in a house smeared with a poisonous fire-mixture or in a lac-house, he should set it on fire. 47 Or, when the (enemy) is careless in a place of recreation in a pleasure park or other recreation grounds, assassins, entering through underground chambers or tunnels or hollow walls, should slay him, or those employed in secret service (should do so) by poison. 48 Or, when he is sleeping in a secluded place, female secret agents should drop on him serpents or poisonous fire and smoke.

37 pārśvaena ‘by the side’, i.e., by a stratagem or trick to be presently described (Ca). 38 For this and the following tricks, cf. 7.17.50-52 and 44. 41 The step after avasṛṣṭja is as proposed by Meyer; Ca reads ss. 41-42 as one. It is doubtful, however, if the two ideas, leaving poisoned food and attacking with a concealed army can be combined. After avasṛṣṭja, we should supply nirgachet. For this idea, cf. 7.17.44. The king would allow the poisoned food to fall into the hands of enemy troops who come in, while he makes good his escape.

42 The idea seems to be that secret agents assure the enemy that the army of the weak king is dūṣya; the officers, in fact, are in touch with the enemy, pretending to be traitors. When he comes out for the attack with these supposed traitors, the enemy thinks that the troops will desert and come over to him; as he is negligent in view of this expectation, the troops, firm in loyalty, overwhelm him. gūḍhasatinyah seems to mean that the army is concealed in the appearance of dūṣyas. An army concealed somewhere outside the fort is conceivable, but does not appear very likely.

43 prāṣyapṛāśam seems intended as an adjective to caityam. The expression is awkward. As two words, it could mean ‘having eaten food’ which is hardly likely. — daivatatratamāchidram : cf. 13.1.3. The image must be assumed to be fairly big, with openings for ventilation. — gūḍhabhītātim ‘a hollow wall’ in the palace itself. — daivatatratimā- etc.: the ceiling has the image of a deity covering it. entrance, so that its existence is not suspected by the enemy occupying the palaces Cf. 1.20.2. 45 yantraviśeṣanam : a substantive such as a kapālam or parigham
49 Or, when an occasion arises, he should, moving about secretly, use everything that may be possible against the enemy staying in the palace. 50 Then he should go away in a secret manner, and give signals to his own men.

51 Calling by signals of drums door-keepers, eunuchs and others secretly employed with the enemy, he should get the rest of the enemies killed.

Herewith ends the Twelfth Book of the Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya
‘ Concerning the Weaker King ’

is to be understood. 46 avaliptām grham as well as jatugraham would be prepared before leaving the palace.

50 apagacchet: the reason for this is not obvious, perhaps to escape being regarded as a murderer. It is possible that āgacchet was the original reading. — svajanasaṁjñām: the signals are fixed with his own men in the palace, who continue in service with the occupying enemy.

51 pare is from Cs; paraṭh of the mss. is unlikely. Similarly, ghātayet from Cs is preferable to kārayet. In any case, Meyer’s ‘ should make (kārayet) only a few enemies left (dvīśaccheṣāni) ’ is hardly possible.
Book Thirteen

Means of Taking a Fort

Chapter One

Section 171 Instigation to Sedition

1 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, by getting his omniscience and association with divinities proclaimed.

2 The proclamation of omniscience, however, (is to be made thus): after ascertaining secret information from their houses, communicating it to the chiefs; after finding out through spies used in suppression of criminals, bringing to light traitors to the king; announcing a request or a present (about to be made) through unnoticed signs and other things according to the science of association; (showing) knowledge of news from foreign lands on the same day through a domestic pigeon carrying a sealed communication.

3 The proclamation of association with divinities, however, (should be arranged thus): conversing with and worshipping agents appearing as deities in fire-sanctuaries, who have entered the hollow

Cf (on 1.1.15) says ‘lambha for lābha is a wrong form grammatically.’ — The capture of enemy forts is recommended mostly through stratagems.

13.1

1 grāma refers to the durga or the fortified capital. The reference to pāragrāmika yoga in 1.18.10 and 9.3.18 and to the pāragrāmika Section in 5.1.3 is clearly to details found in this Book. — sarvajñā stands for sarvajñatva, as elsewhere.

2 pratyādeśah ‘communicating’; for this sense of the root, cf. 1.11.3, also 4.5.14. — avagamena is proposed for -āgamenā or -apagamenā of the mss. For the sense ‘knowing, finding out,’ avagama is clearly preferable. — vijnāpyopyāyanā seems to contain two ideas ‘a request to be made (vijñāpya) and presents to be given (upāyana).’ It could hardly mean ‘a present about to be offered (vijñāpya)’ (Ca) or ‘information (upāyana) yet to be communicated to the king (vijñāpya)’ (Meyer). — For saṁsargāvidyā, see 1.12.1. adṛṣṭa is to be construed with saṁjñā, in the sense of ‘not noticed by others’. — grhakapotena: this would be sent by agents working in foreign lands.
images of deities in fire-sanctuaries by an underground passage; or, conversing with and worshipping agents appearing as Nāgas or Varuṇa risen from the water; showing a row of fires at night inside water by placing a container with sea-sand; standing on a boat held down by slings containing stones; application to the nose, of oil boiled a hundred times with the entrails of a spotted deer or the fats of crabs, crocodiles, dolphins and otters, to a person whose head without the nose is covered with water-bladder or an embryo-covering. 4 With that, the group of nocturnal creatures moves about. 5 These are ways of moving in water. 6 Through them (there is) use of speech by Varuṇa or by Nāga maidens and conversation (with them, and) the emitting of fire and smoke from the mouth on occasions of anger.

7 Soothsayers, interpreters of omens, astrologers, reciters of Purāṇas, seers, and secret agents, those who have helped and those who have witnessed it, should broadcast that (power) of the (king) in his own territory. 8 In the enemy’s territory, they should speak about his meeting with divinities and the acquisition of a treasury and army from a divine source. 9 And when interpreting questions to deities, omens, crows’ flight, the science of the body, dreams and utterances of animals and birds, they should predict victory for him, the reverse of it for the enemy. 10 And they should point to a meteor in the enemy’s constellation with a beat of drum.

3 agnicaitiya daicatapratimā is clearly an image of the fire-god in a temple dedicated to him. The image must be assumed to be fairly big to accommodate a human being inside. — -harina- in the mss. for -varuna- is an obvious corruption. — samudravālukākōśam is not clear. Cs has ‘bags of sand with their mouths sewn up ’; how these are to produce fire in water is not explained. 14.2.36 states that samudraphena smeared with oil floats on water and burns. Perhaps that is meant here, though the words contain no reference to it. kōśa seems to mean ‘a container ’; -kōśan in the plural might have been expected to create the illusion of agnimalā. — udaka- is strange with basti. Perhaps some aquatic animal is meant; udakāhi of 14.3.67 is possible, but not certain. — śirocagūḍhanāsaḥ is also an odd expression. What seems meant is that the head is covered, leaving the nose out (to make it appear blazing). ‘With the nose covered along with the head ’ (Cs) could hardly have been meant. As nastah prayogah is obviously to be construed with this expression, the genitive would have been better; or should we read -nasah (in the genitive singular from nas ‘nose’)? — vasūbhīr vā: the vā apparently shows the option between prsatāntra and the vasā of the various animals. — tailam: we expect the instrumental, since it is this oil applied to the nose that will apparently make it glow. The whole clause appears loosely constructed. 5 udakacaraṇāṇi, i.e., moving in water or on the surface of water. 6 agnidhūmotsargaḥ as described in 14.2.34.

7 sācivyakarāḥ, i.e., those who have helped him in manipulating these tricks. 9 vāyasa is ‘crows’ flight’ rather than their cries. — aṅgavidyā : see 1.12.1. 10 sadundubhim cannot be included in s. 9 (as is done in Cs), as fortune-telling with drum-beats does not appear likely. — ulkām : this is managed
11 Agents working as envoys, speaking to the chiefs of the enemy out of friendship, should tell them of the king's high regard for them, of the strengthening of his own party and the deterioration of the enemy's party. 12 They should tell ministers and soldiers of the same well-being and security (as before). 13 He should show consideration for them in calamities and on festive occasions, and honour their children.

14 In that way he should stir up the enemy's party (against him) as explained before. 15 And we shall explain further. 16 (He should stir up) the diligent by (speaking of) the ordinary donkey; the leaders of the army, by the stick and the striking of the branch; those frightened, by the ram (strayed) from the herd; those insulted, by a shower of thunder-bolts; those with hopes frustrated, by the cane bearing no fruit, balls of rice to crows and the cloud created by magic; those receiving the reward of honour, by decoration of a disliked wife by one who hates; those secretly put to test, by the tiger-skin and the death-trap; those who constantly oblige, by the eating of the pilu-fruit, the hail, the female camel and churning of the she-donkey's milk.

artificially as in 14.2.30. — parasya nakṣatre, i.e., when the moon is in the birth-constellation of the enemy.

11 svāmīsatkāraṁ, i.e., regard felt by the vījīgīśu for the particular mukhya of the enemy; it can hardly mean 'honour done to the dūta-agent (described so as to tempt the mukhya)' (Cs). — svapakṣabalādāhānam: this and the following expression are construed in Cs with tūlya-yogaṅgṣemam in the next s., the explanation being 'should declare svapakṣabalādāhāna and parapakṣapratīghāta as leading to a gain and security (yogaṅgṣema) for ministers and soldiers, equal to that of the king himself (tūlya, i.e., rājāṇa samāṇam)'. This is hardly satisfactory, particularly the equality with the king. Meyer understands by tūlya the same prosperity for ministers and soldiers, which would hardly tempt the mukhyas. tūlya seems to refer to the same position as now enjoyed by them, though it must be confessed that this by itself would hardly be a sufficient temptation to change sides. 13 apatya-pājanam: according to Cs, this is done after the death of the mukhya. This is unlikely; the vījīgīśu would not be interested in their children for their own sake. Honouring the children is only a means of winning over the father.

14 purasatā, i.e., in 1.14.6 ff. 16 sādhāraṇa-gārdha-bhena, i.e., by comparing them with a donkey that labours without getting adequate compensation. — lakutāsākāhanānābhymā, i.e., comparing them to a stick which strikes a branch so that others may get the fruits; so a general fight so that the king may enjoy himself. — kula-dākena: cf. 12.1.7; the suggestion is, like such a ram, he may be caught any time and killed. — aśāmicarṣena implying that an insult is like a thunder-bolt. — vidulena avakēśāṁ, i.e., by comparing the enemy king with a reed that promises but does not bear fruit. — vāyasāpiṇḍena, i.e., by comparing what is given by the king with an offering to a crow, suggesting its meagreness as well as contempt for the recipient. Cs understands vā ayasāpiṇḍena 'or, an un-eatable lump of iron'; that is very doubtful. — kaitavajāmeṣṭhena: by comparing the king with a magic cloud from which there is no rain. — durbhāgālāna-kāraṇa dveśiṇeti (this last is from Cs for dveśino 'ti'). The king is compared to a husband
17 Those who agree (to desert), he should endow with money and honour. 18 And in their difficulties regarding goods and food, he should favour them with gifts of goods and food. 19 In the case of those not accepting (these), they should bring ornaments to their women and children.

20 And on occasions of famine, or troubles by robbers or forest tribes, secret agents, stirring up the citizens and the country people, should say, ‘Let us ask the king for help; if we do not get help, let us go elsewhere.’

21 When, saying ‘All right’, they agree, help should be given to them by the grant of goods and grains. Thus is this great miracle of secret instigation.

CHAPTER TWO

SECTION 172 DRAWING OUT (THE ENEMY) BY MEANS OF STRATAGEMS

1 An ascetic with shaven head or with matted locks, living in a mountain cave, (and) declaring himself to be four hundred years old, should stay in the vicinity of the city with plenty of disciples with who dislikes his wife and yet provides her with ornaments etc.; deśinā describes the king or the husband. deśināḥ in the other reading would describe the mukhyas, who would also appear as atipājāpahaltā. But if they are already full of hate for the king, no instigation would be necessary in their case. atipājā also appears doubtful. The explanation in Cs ‘those honoured by the king, by speaking of the gift (alaṅkāra) being defective (durbha) or that the king is displeased (deśinā)’ is, however, quite unlikely. durbhāgā is contrasted with subhagā of 8.4.24 etc. Cf. ‘durbhāgā paitiśechariti (Trikāṇḍāsa). — vyāghracaṁmanda, i.e., suggesting that the king is ferocious like a tiger. — upahitān: this has reference to the upadhās of 1.10. — pīthuviįhādanēna: pīṭu is a kind of fruit which apparently provides no nourishment, but is only a source of trouble; so is upakāra conferred on this king. — karakā ‘hail’ is understood as a kind of bitter vegetable in Cs., as a water-jug by Meyer. A hail-stone may signify harmfulness or uselessness. — uṣṭīyā: this also is a kind of bitter plant, according to Cs. One may understand the female camel as being useless for purposes of milk. — gardaḥa etc. apparently signifies great effort with no return. — dhrupakārīnāḥ an emendation from Meyer. dhrupakārīnāḥ ‘constantly doing harm’ seems little likely in the context.

18 chidra clearly refers to want or lack of the things mentioned.

21 parigraha seems to have the sense of ‘favouring’, i.e., granting or giving.

13.2

vāmana ‘emptying’ refers to forcing the enemy king out of his fort and then getting him killed. Meyer understands ‘emptying’ to imply weakening of the king. But vāmana refers to movement from one place to another; cf. 2.1.1. vāmana is the causal of that.
matted locks. 2 And his disciples, approaching with roots and fruits, should induce the ministers and the king to pay a visit to the holy master. 3 And, visited by the king, he should speak of identification marks of former kings and their countries (adding), 'When every one hundred years of my life are completed, I enter fire and become a child again; so here in your presence, I shall enter fire for the fourth time; you have necessarily to be honoured by me; choose three boons.' 4. When he agrees, he should say, 'You should stay here with sons and wife for seven nights, after arranging a festival with shows.' 5 He should attack him while he is staying there.

6 Or, an agent appearing as a seer of underground objects, with shaven head or with matted hair, having plenty of disciples with matted hair, should place in an ant-hill a bamboo-strip smeared with goat's blood, after smearing it with gold powder, in order that ants may follow it, or (place there) a hollow tube of gold. 7 Then a secret agent should tell the king, 'That holy man knows a flowering treasure-trove.' 8 Questioned by the king, he should say, 'Yes,' and point out that proof, or after placing more money in the earth. 9 And he should say to him, 'This treasure-trove, guarded by a cobra, can be obtained through worship.' 10 When he agrees, 'for seven nights' and so on as before.

11 Or, as an agent appearing as a seer of underground objects, with his body enveloped in a burning fire at night, is staying in a solitary place, secret agents should say to the king after making him gradually entertain faith (in him), 'That holy man is able to secure

1 nagara- is the enemy's capital. 3 abhijñānāni : these are, of course, learnt from history. — bhavān mānayitavyah is from Cs; bhavānānānayitavyah of the mss. is an obvious corruption. 5 avaskandeta : the subject is the vijigīṣu.

6 sthānika, as the context shows, seems to mean one who is able to see what is underground in any particular place (sthāna); the usual meaning of a divisional officer is out of the question. — bastāṣoṇita- is from Cs for the unlikely vastra-ṣoṇita- of the mss. — upajikheikānasaranārtham : apparently the ants would be attracted by the goat's blood and their presence may be regarded as an indication of a treasure-trove there. It is, however, quite likely that the absence of ants would indicate the presence of a cobra and the treasure guarded by him and that the goat's blood is in order to drive away ants. For this -aparanārtham would have to be read. 7 puspitaṁ nidhim : On the strength of parallels from other folk-tales, Meyer thinks that a light is supposed to appear at the place, indicating that the treasure is flowering, i.e., shooting forth and growing, the flower being the salākā or nālikā. 8 bhūya vā hiranyamādāhya : this may be in place of or in addition to the salākā or nālikā of s. 6. 10 samānam, i.e., as in ss. 4-5.

11 tejanāgni is described in 14.2.18-26. — kramābhinītām : 'faith in whom is gradually created'; the meaning is slightly different from that in 11.1.6 and 12.2.19. — sāmedhikāh : cf. 1.11.16.
prosperity.' 12 Promising to ensure what object the king were to ask for, (the seer should say), ‘for seven nights’ and so on as before.

13 Or, an agent appearing as a holy man should tempt the king with magical lores. 14 ‘What object the king’ and so on as before.

15 Or, an agent appearing as a holy man, finding shelter in (the temple of) an honoured deity of the country, should, by frequent festivities, win over the chiefs among the constituents and gradually overreach the king.

16 Or, as an agent appearing as an ascetic with matted locks, all white, is staying in water, with means of getting away to an underground tunnel or chamber under the bank, secret agents should tell the king, after gradually making him believe, that he is Varuṇa or the King of Nāgas. 17 ‘What object the king’ and so on as before.

18 Or, an agent appearing as a holy man, living on the border of the country, should induce the king to have a sight of the enemy. 19 When he agrees, he should make an effigy and invoke the enemy, and should kill (the king) in a secluded spot.

20 Agents appearing as traders, coming with horses for sale, should invite the king to purchase or receive (horses) as a gift, and kill him while engrossed in inspecting the goods or when mingled with horses and should strike with the horses.

21 Or, assassins, climbing a sacred tree near the city at night-time, and blowing into jars through stalks or reeds, should say indistinctly, ‘We shall eat the flesh of the king or the chiefs; let worship be offered to us.’ 22 Agents appearing as interpreters of omens and astrologers should make that (utterance) of theirs known.

15 abhyarhitam, i.e., worshipped by all the people there. — abhisānavāsyā: making them stay with him and thus creating confidence in him. Cf. saṃvedṣya 5.1.19; 11.1.40.

16 taṭasurūṅgā: from Cs is clearly necessary; tadāsurūṅgā: of the mss. conveys little sense.

18 śatruḍarsanāya: the darśana is for working on his effigy for black magic. 19 bimbam is the enemy's effigy, and āvāhayitvā refers to ‘invoking’ the enemy to come and be present in the effigy. It is this ‘presence’ that is apparently to be held responsible for the death of the king. Cs has ‘giving a sign (bimba) and bringing in the enemy (in person)’. It is doubtful if the vijiṣṭu is intended to be brought face to face with the enemy.

20 panyopāyamanimittam: two separate purposes, sale and gift, are intended. — ascavi ca prahareyuh: after killing him themselves, they get him trampled upon by horses, so that his death would appear as being due to a stampede of horses.

21 caityam, i.e., caityawṛkṣam. — nālīn vā vidulāni: the vā is misplaced; it should have come after vidulāni. The idea seems to be to muffle the voice by blow-
23 Or, agents appearing as Nāgas, with their bodies smeared with burning oil, should, at night-time, pound together iron clubs and pestles in a holy lake or in the middle of a tank and utter in the same way.

24 Or, agents robed in the skins of bears, giving out fire and smoke (from the mouths), and having the appearance of Rākṣasas, should go three times left-wise round the city and utter in the same way, in the intervals between the cries of dogs and jackals.

25 Or, making the image of a deity in a sanctuary burn at night with burning oil or with fire covered by a layer of mica, (agents) should utter in the same way. 26 Others should make that known.

27 Or, with blood (of animals) they should cause an excessive flow (of blood) from honoured images of deities. 28 Then others should declare defeat in battle in consequence of the flow of the blood of the deity.

29 Or, on the nights of the month’s junctures, they should point out a sanctuary in a prominent part of the cemetary as with men eaten standing. 30 Thereafter an agent appearing as a Rākṣasa should demand the offering of a human being. 31 And whoever, calling himself brave or some one else, were to come there to see, others should kill him with iron pestles, so that it would be known that he was killed by the Rākṣasas. 32 Those who have witnessed it and secret agents should report that miracle to the king. 33 Then agents appearing as interpreters of omens and astrologers should prescribe pacificatory and expiatory rites (adding), ‘Otherwise a great disaster

ing through hollow reeds into jars, so that it would sound as the voice of a spirit. Cs, reading vidaláni, has ‘by burning as incense (dhamantaḥ) grain-stalks (nālīn) and splinters of wood (vidalāni)’. It is doubtful if incense-smoke can be supposed to be created by spirits. Meyer suggests vādayantaḥ in place of vā ‘playing on the reeds in the pots or blowing into rattan-sticks’. This does not seem meant. 22 After this, some rite is recommended to the enemy, during the course of which he is to be murdered. See ss. 33-34 below.

23 tejanataila as described in 14.2.25.

24 anidhūimotsarga from the mouth, as described in 14.2.34. — apasanyam : see 1.20.4. — śvasgāla- is from Cs for śivasgāla-: the latter may mean ‘female and male jackals’; but the expression appears doubtful. The cries of the animals may be supposed to have been also imitated.

25 abhrapatacalacchannena agninā : Meyer thinks that the mere application of mica would make the image burn at night. But the wording presupposes an inflammatory substance covered by mica.

29 sanidhirātrisu, i.e., full moon and new moon nights, particularly the latter. — ārdhacabhāskātaḥ ‘eaten upright’, i.e., eaten while they are alive, as in Meyer. Cs has ‘with the upper part of the body eaten’ which appears less likely. 34
will befall the king and the country.’ 34 When he has agreed, they should say, ‘In these (manifestations), for seven nights the king himself should make offerings of oblations with mantras on each single day.’ 35 Then as before.

36 Or, showing these tricks practised on himself, he should overcome them, in order to convince the enemies. 37 Then he should employ the tricks (against them).

38 Or, by overcoming occult manifestations, he should replenish the treasury.

39 Keepers of elephant forests should tempt the (enemy) fond of elephants with an elephant possessed of auspicious marks. 40 When he agrees, they should take him to a dense forest or a path allowing only one person to march at a time, and kill him, or carry him off imprisoned. 41 By that is explained the (enemy) fond of hunting.

42 Or, secret agents should tempt the (enemy) greedy of money or women with rich widows (or) women possessed of great beauty and youth, taken to him for the sake of inheritance or deposit. 43 When he agrees, they should, concealed in ambush, kill him with weapon or poison at the time of the meeting.

44 Or, on the occasions of his frequent visits to holy men, mendicants, images of deities in sanctuaries and stūpas, assassins, concealed in underground chambers or passages or inside hollow walls, should strike at the enemy.

cetesu refers to all the manifestations mentioned above in ss. 21 onwards. — ekaika seems to refer to bāli or homa on each one of the seven days. Meyer has ‘one single chant, offering and oblation, for seven days’.

36 pareṣāṁ upadesārtham, i.e., to show to the enemy that the manifestations can be successfully overcome and so to induce him to take the same measures when the manifestations are produced in his state, so that he could then be done away with. pareṣāṁ can hardly refer to his own men, as Cs understands. It is unlikely that the king would be teaching these tricks to his servants. Meyer proposes upadesārtham ‘in order to have a pretext for using them against the enemies’; that is not necessary at all.

38 This s. is repeated from 5.2.45 and is really out of place here.

39 Cs rightly compares the capture of Udayana by Pradyota’s men.

42 As it appears that women of great beauty and youth are to be distinguished from rich widows, it would be better to read the vā after paramarūpayayawanābhīḥ instead of after ādhyāvadaḥkacābhbīḥ. It is also possible, however, that paramarūpa-etc. only further describes the rich widows themselves. — dāyaniṣkepārtham is proposed as in 11.1.42; there is little doubt that dāyāda ‘heir’ is unlikely. A vivaśā with respect to dāya or nīkṣepa is meant. 43 sattracehannāḥ is as proposed by Meyer; sattracehannāḥ of the mss. is little likely. sattracehanna is, in fact, a paraphrase of sattrin.
45 In those places, in which the king himself is witnessing a
    dramatic show, or is enjoying himself in a festival or where he is
    sporting in water;

46 On all occasions of speaking words of reproof and so on,
    during sacrifices and festive parties, during birth-rites, funeral
    rites and illnesses, on occasions of love, sorrow or fear;

47 Or, when at a festival of his own people, he, being full of
    trust, becomes careless, or when he moves about without a guard,
    on a rainy day or in crowds;

48-49 When he has strayed from the route, or when there is
    a fire or when he has entered a place without any men in it, as-
    sassins, entering with packages of clothes, ornaments and flowers,
    with beds and seats, or with vessels containing wine and food or
    with musical instruments, should strike at the enemy along with
    those employed there beforehand.

50 And in the same way as they may have entered on the
    occasions for an ambush of the enemy, they should depart. Thus
    has been described the drawing out (of the enemy) by stratagems.

CHAPTER THREE

SECTION 173 EMPLOYMENT OF SECRET AGENTS

1 He should make a trustworthy chief of a band (ostensibly)
    desert him. 2 Finding shelter with the enemy, he should bring over
    helpmates and associates from his own country on the pretext of their

45 yāḥ (in yāḥ preksāḥ) has little significance. — yātrāvihāre : Meyer thinks
    that we should read yatra vihāre, since yātrā as 'festival ' is not common in this text.
    But that is not correct. For yātrāvihāra, cf. 7.15.22 and for yātrā 1.21.28 and 12.5.1.

46 dhiguktyādisu sarvesu : Cs reads cāṭākyādādisu kṛtyeṣu ‘on occasions of panegy-
    ries and on ceremonial occasions.’ Meyer proposes rguktiādisu ‘on occasions when
    these are recited.’ This is little likely.

48 viprasthāne, i.e., when he has missed the road and is lost. 49 abhigataḥ is
    an emendation from Meyer; abhihataḥ of the mss. implies that drums would be
    beaten when killing the enemy, which would be strange. And abhigatāḥ is neces-
    sary in itself. — arim in the singular is also from Meyer; that is in conformity with
    the singulars in the earlier clauses.

50 dvīgataḥ : Cs understands this as accusative plural construed with praviṣe-
    yath; that is not a happy construction. It is obviously genitive singular to be con-
    structed with satrhetenubhiḥ. These latter refer to the occasions enumerated in
    the preceding stanzas. — tathaiva, i.e., with the phelās as in ss. 48-49.

13.3

1 śreṇi here obviously refers to the śreṇibala. — nispātayet: cf. 9.6.35. That
    passage describes a similar stratagem. See also ss.11 ff. below. 3 vitahasthāvakṣaṇ
15 Or, he should get him destroyed by rousing the enemy with the use of armed forces.

16 Or, by supporting the seduceable party, he should make the king who is the enemy’s enemy do injury to himself and then should attack him. 17 Then he should send word to the enemy, ‘This enemy of yours is doing injury to me; come, let us join forces and destroy him; you will have a share in (his) land or money.’ 18 If he agrees and comes after honouring (these words), he should get him killed by the enemy in a sudden assault or in open battle. 19 Or, under the pretext of giving land or crowning his son or giving protection, in order to create confidence, he should get him seized. 20 Or, if he is unassailable, he should get him killed by silent punishment. 21 If he were to lend a force and not come himself, he should get it destroyed by his enemy. 22 Or, if he were to desire to march with troops, but not with the conqueror, even then he should get him destroyed by a squeezing from both sides. 23 Or, if, full of distrust, he were to wish to march, each separately, or were desirous of seizing a part of the territory of the king against whom they are marching, even then he should get him killed by the enemy or by mobilising all his troops. 24 Or, when he is engaged in a fight with the enemy, he should get his base seized from another direction by sending troops (there).

25 Or, he should bargain with the ally with the (offer of the) enemy’s land, or with the enemy with the (offer of the) ally’s land. 26 Then making the ally do injury to himself when seeking to seize the enemy’s land, he should attack him and so on, all the tricks exactly as before.

_upaharet_ can hardly mean ‘should present to the enemy as helpmates’; it could not possibly apply to the stena and ātavika who harass both kingdoms. 13 pravirapurusopaghāta is ‘injury by brave men,’ i.e., some offence of theirs. antapāla etc. illustrates pravirapurusa and satruṇa satradhatte illustrates the upaghāta.

15 danābalavayavahāreṇa : cf. 8.1.34,38. — satrum seems to be the enemy’s enemy, though there is no asya to show that. The ss. that follow illustrate this s. The enemy himself as the object of udgaṇja appears little likely in the context.

16 kṛtyapakṣopagraha is the reason why the enemy’s enemy would be doing injury to the viṣṇijñā, who would then attack in retaliation. 17 parigrahah ‘allotment’ or assignment of a share. 19 abhiviveśāsanārtham : this is when he is not killed, but is successful in defeating his enemy. He is invited to receive the promised share of land or get his son crowned there and so on. 20 avīṣṭāyam refers primarily to the fort in which he is safe. 22 ubhayatah saṁśiptanena, i.e., between himself and the enemy’s enemy.

25 mitram : this is the viṣṇijñā’s ally as in Cs. 26 sarva eva yogāḥ, i.e., those of ss. 17-24, substituting me mitram for te vairī in 17.
being his (own) party. 3 Or, bringing about an influx of secret agents, he should, after securing the enemy’s consent, destroy a treasonable town of his master, or an army devoid of elephants and horses with treasonable officers, or a (treasonable) ally in the rear (of his master), and should send word to the enemy. 4 Or, he should resort to a part of the country or a band or forest chiefs for obtaining help. 5 Winning (the enemy’s) confidence he should send word to his master. 6 Then the master, pretending (an expedition for) catching elephants or destruction of forest tribes, should attack secretly.

7 By this are explained ministers and forest chiefs.

8 After making friends with the enemy, he should dismiss (some) ministers. 9 They should send a request to his enemy, ‘Propitiate the master for us.’ 10 He should upbraid the messenger whom he might send (with such a request), ‘Your master is dividing me from the ministers; you should not come here again.’ 11 Then he should make one minister desert him. 12 Finding shelter with the enemy, he should bring to the notice of the enemy treacherous spies, the disaffected and the treasonable, who are weak, or robbers and forest chiefs who harass both (kingdoms). 13 Winning (thus) a position of trust, he should bring to his notice the offence of brave men (of the enemy, such as) a frontier officer or a forest chief or a leader of the army, saying, ‘So and so is surely in league with your enemy.’ 14 Then afterwards he should get them killed through letters carried by men condemned to death.

dūṣyāmāṭyaṃ : cf. 10.5.40. — With ākrandam, we have to understand dūṣya from the preceding. — The object is two-fold, to get rid of the dūṣyas and at the same time to convince the enemy that he really has become hostile to his old master. 4 janapadaikādeśam etc.: this seems to mean that instead of attacking the dūṣyagrāma etc. of his old master, he goes to the countryside of the enemy to raise troops for him. These troops would be under him, so that he is in a position to get them destroyed by inviting a secret attack by his old master. Cs, however, understands the idea in this and the next s. as follows, ‘he should secretly go to the country etc. to receive them as helpmates for his old master; when after receiving them he feels confidence in them, he should send them to his old master.’ This is altogether unlikely. viśāṣa in the next s. refers to the trust which the enemy would be placing in the ‘deserter,’ not the latter’s confidence in the troops. And presayet is as usual only ‘should send word;’ cf. 12.5.23, also ss. 9,10,17 below. Besides, it is unlikely that enemy’s men are here intended to be won over to the viṣīgilṣu’s side. The idea here is that of preparing for a secret attack on the enemy. 6 gūḍham eva praharet: the ‘deserting’ śṛṇiṃukhya would, of course, be helping in this attack to destroy the enemy’s troops.

8 avakṣipet : cf. 1.10.2. 10 sa yam from Cs is clearly necessary for svayam. 11 athaikam etc.: for this stratagem, cf. 9.6.35-41. 12 yogāpasarpma seems to mean ‘agents who have turned traitors’ to the viṣīgilṣu. These and the aparaka and dūṣya are brought to the notice of the enemy by the deserting amātya in order to win his confidence. — asaktimataḥ: the point seems to be that even if the enemy takes them in service, they will not be much use to him. — parasya
27 Or, he should help with troops the enemy, who has agreed, when he is seeking to seize the ally’s land. 28 Then he should overreach him, as he marches against the ally.

29 Or, after taking remedial measures, he should show a calamity for himself, and rousing the enemy through the ally, should get him to attack himself. 30 Then he should destroy him by squeezing or, catching him alive, make an exchange of the kingdom (for his life).

31 If, sheltered by the ally, the enemy were to wish to remain out of reach, he should get his base seized by a neighbouring prince and so on. 32 Or, if he were to seek to protect it with troops, he should cause those to be destroyed.

33 If the two were not to become estranged, he should quite openly bargain with each other’s land. 34 Then agents posing as friends or those in the pay of both should send messengers to one or the other, ‘This king wants to seize your land, being in league with the enemy.’ 35 (If) one of them is filled with apprehension or anger, he should act as before.

36 Or, he should banish chiefs of the fort or the country or the army, after proclaiming the grounds for their being the seducible party. 37 They should overreach the enemy in a battle or a sudden assault or a siege or a calamity. 38 Or, they should bring about his estrangement from his own groups. 39 They should get corroboration through letters carried by men condemned to death.

40 Or, secret agents appearing as hunters, remaining at the gates for the sale of meat, and given shelter by gate-keepers, should win the enemy’s confidence by informing him of the approach of dacoits two or

29 tataḥ pratīvidhāmena of the mss. is not right, since this trick is not connected with the preceding as would be implied by tataḥ. — mitreṇa : this again is the vijjīṣu’s ally; he is to urge the enemy to attack the vijjīṣu because of the pretended vyasana. 30 saṃpiṣṭanena, i.e., between his ally and himself; cf s. 22.

31 mitreṇa āśritaḥ : this is equivalent to mitram āśritaḥ, the ally being that of the enemy. The latter has gone to the ally’s capital. — agrāhyat ‘in a position where he cannot be captured’. agrāhyat might appear better as in 12.1.16. — trātum : the object is mūlam.

33 tau, i.e., the enemy and his ally. — bhūmyāḥ in the instrumental is preferable to bhūmyāṃ; cf s. 25. 34 paraspa.āṃ is not from the enemy to the ally and vice versa, but to the enemy or to the ally from third parties. — mitra-vyaṁjana ubhayavetetāṃ vā : in view of vā, two separate words are proposed in place of a single compound. 35 jātāśānkalakrōṣṭaḥ etc. : we have to supply cet with this, for the subject for cēṣṭa is vijjīṣuḥ.

36 kṛtyapakṣahetu are mentioned in 1.14. — pravrājyaet : the banishment is for hoodwinking the enemy, who unsuspectingly gives them shelter. 37 acarodha : cf. 12.5.9,10. 38 sevargēbhyaḥ : these would be the enemy’s own chiefs or officers.
three times, (then) getting their master’s army stationed in two places, one for destroying a town and the other for a sudden assault, should say to the enemies, ‘A band of robbers is close by; there is a great din; let a large force come.’ 41 Handing that over to the troops (of their master) meant for destroying the town and taking the other troops to the gates of the fort at night, (they) should say, ‘The band of robbers is killed; the troops, successful in the expedition, have come back; open the gate.’ 42 Or, those secretly employed there beforehand should open the gates. 43 Along with them they should strike.

44 Or, he should station in the enemy’s fort soldiers disguised as artisans, artists, heretical monks, actors and traders. 45 Agents appearing as householders should bring to them weapons and armours in carts carrying wood, grass, grains and other goods, or in flags and images of gods. 46 Then those disguised like them (should carry out) the slaughter of the unwary, the supporting of sudden assault, or a strike in the rear, or should announce by the sound of conches and drums, ‘The (army of the enemy) has come in.’ 47 They should open rampart-gates and towers, divide the enemy’s divisions or destroy them.

40 māṁsāvīkrayena dovāhstāh: apparently the hunters remained outside the gates to avoid duty. — grāmavadhe: one part of the vijīgisu’s troops is assigned the task of attacking a town (other than the durga) as dacoits, the other is intended for an assault on the durga. — deviṣatah: the plural has in view the officers in the enemy’s fort. 41 tad, i.e., the large force of the enemy. — arpaṇītā suggests absence of any fight, as the enemy’s troops realise that they have been tricked. — itarad, i.e., that meant for the avaskanda. — The explanation in Cs is much beside the point and bristles with difficulties. The pratajya won is supposed to be that of the master (not of the enemy), grāmavadhe and avaskande are understood as ‘for defending against an attack on the town and against an assault,’ the handing over is supposed to be for the purpose of warding off the attack on the town, and the hunters themselves are supposed to kill the enemy troops so that those who want to leave the fort may do so easily; all this implies that a real attack by robbers is visualised, which is hardly conceivable.

44 āyudhiyān here and prabaraṇāvaranāṇi in the next s. are from Cs and are obviously the only correct readings. 45 dhenja: spears could be brought in with flags. 46 tadcseyanjanāḥ: tad may refer to kāru etc. and grhapatika. It is also possible that it has reference to enemy troops, suggesting the putting on of their uniform. — pṛṣṭhataḥ: after this kuryaḥ is to be understood. In fact, the words pramatta... pṛṣṭhataḥ do not seem to belong to this s. and should preferably be read at the beginning of the next s. In that case tadcseyanana might refer to putting on the appearance of those whose duty it is to announce something to the sound of conches etc. Cs construes pramattavadhām etc. with praviṣṭam ‘should announce that pramattavadhā etc. has appeared in the rear.’ That is extremely doubtful. — vā seems to show the option between saṅkha and dundubhi. 47 ghāta is preferable to pāta in connection with the antikas.
48 The carrying over of troops (into the enemy's fort) is to be along with those moving in caravans or groups, with escorts, with those accompanying brides, with dealers in horses, with carriers of implements, with sellers or purchasers of grains, with those bearing the marks of monks and with envoys; peace is to be made (during the period) for creating confidence.

49 These are secret agents for (outwitting) the king.

50 These same are agents for forest tribes, also those mentioned in 'the suppression of criminals'. 51 Secret agents should cause a herd of cattle or a caravan in the vicinity of a forest to be destroyed by robbers. 52 And making the food and drink placed there, in accordance with an agreement, mixed with a stupefying liquid, they should go away. 53 Then cowherds and traders should cause the robbers carrying loads of stolen goods to be attacked when the stupefying liquid is having its effect.

54 Or, an agent appearing as an ascetic with a shaven head or with matted locks and posing as a devotee of god Saṅkarṣaṇa, should overreach (the forest robbers) by using a stupefying liquid after holding a festival. 55 Then he should make an attack.

56 Or, an agent appearing as a vintner should overreach foresters by using a stupefying liquid on the occasion of the sale or presen-
tation of wine during festivities in honour of gods or funeral rites or festive gatherings. 57 Then he should make an attack.

58 Or, after scattering in many groups the forest tribes that have come for plundering the town, he should destroy them. Thus secret agents for robbers have been described.

CHAPTER FOUR

SECTION 174 THE WORK OF LAYING SIEGE (TO A FORT)
SECTION 175 STORMING (A FORT)

1 The work of laying siege (to a fort) should be preceded by weakening (the enemy).

2 He should grant safety to the countryside as it may have been settled. 3 He should induce those, who have risen, to settle down through favours and exemptions, excepting those who go away. 4 He should settle them on land away from the battle-field or make them stay in one region. 5 For, there is no country without people and no kingdom without a country, says Kauṭilya.

6 He should destroy the sowings or crops of one entrenched in an inaccessible fort, also his supplies and foraging raids.

58 apasarpāḥ are principally agents who ingratiate themselves with persons whose ruin is to be brought about.

13.4

The two Sections are found in ss. 1-24 and 25-53; the last few ss. discuss the order in which conquest of lands should be made.

1 karṣana- is described in ss. 6-7.

2 abhayē from Cs is clearly the original reading. — utthitam: the rising is not in revolt against the conqueror, but only to get out of his way to make room for military operations. — anugraha- etc.: cf. 2.1.15. — anyatra apasaratāḥ: the exception is that of those who wish to go away and do not wish to live under the conqueror. 4 saṅgrāmāḥ anyasyāṁ bhūmau (saṅgrāmāḥ is from Meyer for saṅgrāmam): the idea seems to be that the people who are to be settled should be settled where there is going to be no battle. It is possible to construe anyatra apasaratāḥ with this s., i.e., those who move away from their lands should be settled in a place where there is going to be no battle. Meyer, who has this punctuation, explains ‘those who have run away from other places’; for this last clause, anyataḥ would be expected. Cs reads samagram and has ‘those over and above (the number engaged in agriculture, utthita)’. This is highly problematical. 5 The point of this dictum is that the viṣāja, while engaged in conquest, should see to it that the country is not ravaged nor the people exterminated; otherwise the conquest will be fruitless.

6 viṣama refers to the inaccessible fort, not to any difficulty or danger.
7 By cutting off foraging raids and supplies, also by destroying sowings and crops, by removing (from their place) and by secret murder, a deterioration of the constituents takes place.

8 (When he thinks), ‘My troops are fully supplied with abundant and excellent grains, forest produce, machines, weapons, armours, labourers and ropes; the season is favourable (to me), unfavourable to the enemy; (he is suffering from) a deterioration of his stores and fortifications through diseases and famine, there is weariness among his purchased troops and weariness among the ally’s troops;’ then he should lay siege.

9 After securing the protection of the camp, of supplies and reinforcements and of the roads, he should encircle the fort along the moat and the rampart, defile the water, empty the moats or fill them, and cause the parapet and the rampart to be taken by means of an underground passage and storming by troops, and the breach by means of elephant-armour. 10 He should fill hollows with piles of earth. 11 He should destroy with machines what is guarded with many troops. 12 Dragging out (soldiers) from the run-way exit, they should strike with horses. 13 And in the intervals between fighting, he should seek success by the exclusive, alternate or combined use of the (four) means.

7 vamanād: cf. 2.1.1. — prakṛti ‘constituents’ rather than ‘subjects’.

8 rasāmi may be ropes (for scaling?) or reins. — vyādhi and durbhikṣa are the causes that have led to the kṣaya of nicaya and rakṣā. — For some of the expressions, cf. 10.2.13.

9 surusīgābhalaṅkūṭikābhīyām is obscure. In spite of the dual, Cs has a single idea ‘army huts (saṅgyapaliṣṭāḥ) dug crosswise in the ground’. What this means is hard to make out. Meyer renders balakūṭikā by ‘a sort of vinea (?)’; he also suggests ‘a false wall’ or ‘a strong hammering’. Can it mean ‘a sudden storming by troops’? — dāram: this refers to a breach in the wall. With this hārayet is to be understood from the preceding. Cs understands dāchādayet from what follows and, with gula in the sense of ‘a lump for covering’, has ‘should cover the breach with a lump’. Why the besieger should cover the breach is not clear. guḍa (which is the form preferred) is given the sense of ‘an elephant’s armour’ in the Medini; it is possible to understand the storming of the breach with armoured elephants. Meyer proposes doārum for dāram, in which case we can understand the idea of storming the gate with elephants. bahulenā is a faulty reading. 10 nimnam vā: vā serves little purpose. 12 niśkirād, has ‘by means of a trick (kapaṭā)’ or ‘by making the elephant put forth his trunk (kara)’. The second explanation is quite fanciful. — asvaś ca prahareyuḥ: the ca and the plural of the verb seem due to repetition from 13.2.20. — niyoga-etc.: see 9.7.78-86. — Cs reads durgavāśinaḥ at the end of this s. instead of at the beginning of the next and understands it as genitive singular ‘of the enemy in the fort’ over whom he is to seek success. It is, however, distinctly better to understand the word as describing the birds in the next s.
14 Getting hawks, crows, pheasants, kites, parrots, śārikūs, owls and pigeons, with nests in the fort, caught, he should release them in the enemy’s fort with fire-mixtures tied to the tails. 15 Or, from the camp stationed at a distance (from the fort) he should set fire to the enemy’s fort with human fire, being guarded by bows with flags raised aloft. 16 And secret agents, serving as guards inside the fort, should place a fire-mixture in the tails of ichneumons, monkeys, cats and dogs, and let them loose in stores of reeds, fortifications and houses. 17 Placing fire in the interior of dried fish or in dried meat, they should have it carried in through birds by offering it to crows.

18 Balls of sarala, devadāru, ‘stinking-grass’, bdellium, pine-resin, sāla resin and lac and the dung of donkeys, camels, goats and sheep, are (good) retainers of fire.

19 The powder of priyāla, the soot of avalguja, wax and the dung of horses, donkeys, camels and bullocks make a fire-mixture which can be thrown (into the fort).

20 Or, the powder of all metals, of the colour of fire, or the powder of kumbhi, lead and tin, mixed with the flowers of pāribhadraka and palāśa, the soot of keśa, oil, wax and pine-resin makes a fire-mixture, one that kills the trusting. 21 An arrow smeared with it (and) covered with hemp and the bark of trapusa, is a (means of) setting on fire.

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14 napṭi is ‘viśkira’ (Cs); the lexicons give the latter as ‘a cock’ or ‘a pheasant’. 15 The emendation to apakṛṣṭaḥ in the text should be rejected. The camp is to be at some distance (from the fort) so that it is not affected by the fire. — dhanvāraṇaḥ in the singular is read to conform with the verb āḍīpayet of the mss. — uccritasthadhanvāraṇaḥ vēḥ: the purpose of the raised flags is not clear. Apparently they are intended as a sort of protection from the human fire that is being used. Cs breaks the compound at dhanvā (singular), with ārakṣaḥ (plural) as the option to it, understanding āḍīpayeyuḥ with the latter. This is far from happy. Meyer suggests uccritasthadhanvākṣepāḥ ‘throwers of fire by means of bows, stationed on high ground’, his verb being āḍīpayeyuḥ in the plural. The suggestion is not satisfactory. — mānuṣena agradā as described in 14.2.38. 16 antardurga- is as suggested by Meyer; antadurga- of the mss. would refer to a frontier fort, which has no propriety here. — kūṇaḥ ‘reed’, used as an arrow.

18 pūtitra is apparently some kind of grass. — śriṃstaka is ‘the resin of sarala-pine’ (Cs). — It is not clear if the balls and the dung are to be mixed together or not; perhaps not.

19 avalgujamaṣṭi- : Cs understands maṣṭi as a variety of the śēphyālīkā plant, instead of as ‘soot’. All substances mentioned in this s. together form an incendiary compound, that can be hurled with the hand.

20 agnivarnāḥ: how the powder of all metals is to get the colour of fire is not at all clear. Meyer suggests agnipārṇam ‘with fire in it’, which is not convincing. — kumbhi is ‘the śriṃṣarī’ (Cs); the latter means ‘the silk cotton tree’. Meyer thinks that kumbhi may be some metal. — keṣamaṣṭi- : ‘keśa is the
22 However, when fighting is possible, he should not at all make use of fire. 23 For, fire is unreliable and is a divine calamity, the destroyer of innumerable creatures, grains, animals, money, forest produce and goods. 24 And a kingdom, with stores exhausted, even if obtained, leads only to loss.

Thus ends (the topic of) laying siege (to a fort).

25 (When he thinks), ‘I am fully provided with equipment and labourers for the undertaking; the enemy is ill, has the constituents estranged because of secret tests, or has made no fortifications or stores; being without reinforcements or with reinforcements, he will soon make peace with allies;’ that is the time for storming (the fort).

26 When a fire is accidentally caused or is produced (by agents), when there is a festival, when troops are engaged in witnessing a show, during quarrels caused by drink, when troops are tired by constant fighting, when his men are wounded or killed in many battles, when people, tired of keeping awake, are asleep, when it is raining or the river is flooded or there is a thick fog, he should storm (the fort).

27 Or, abandoning the camp, (and) hiding in a forest, he should kill the enemy as he sallies out.

hrībera and maṣi is a variety of śephālikā’ (Cs). Meyer understands ‘soot’ not only of the keśa plant, but also of the flowers of pāribhadra & palāśa. — śrīveṣṭakayuktāḥ: the masculine seems due to agniyoga; actually the compound qualifies -cūrṇam neuter. — viśvásaṃghāṭi vā: the vā is strange; for, viśvásaṃghāṭi is only a description of the agniyoga, not an option to it. In 2.18.5, viśvásaṃghāṭīn appears as a sthitayantarā; it may have been used for throwing fire into the fort. Meyer reads viśvāṣa- etc., at the beginning of the next s., which is no improvement. 21 trapūsa is a kind of plant. — bāna can hardly mean ‘arjunavṛkṣa’ (Cs) in the context.

23 apratisaṃghātā- of the mss. yields little sense. apratisaṃkhyāta- is necessary.

25 upadāśviruddhaprakṛtiḥ: as upadāś has a technical sense (cf.1.10), prakṛti would refer primarily to ministers. Meyer thinks of upadāś as ‘deceit’ and prakṛti as ‘subjects’. — purā mitraḥ saṃbhāte: the idea apparently is that he might make fresh alliances with a view to raise the siege with their help; to prevent that, an immediate assault is to be made. Meyer’s translation presupposes purā mitraḥ ‘make peace with his other enemies’; that does not yield a better sense. For the idiom with purā, cf. 9.6.69 and 12.3.15.

26 preksāṇikadarsaṇasāṅga: what seems meant is preksāādarsaṇaṁ kausāṅga ‘engrossment of the troops in seeing a theatrical show’. In a footnote Meyer suggests preksāṇām anikadarsaṇasāṅga ‘when in a show, the sight of the troops is obstructed’. The inability to see a show would hardly be a reason for storming the fort.

27 Cs reads satruḥ sattrāt for satrum, and understands that the enemy is hiding in a forest. That the enemy, who is besieged, would be hiding in a forest is altogether unlikely.
28 Or, one posing as the chief ally or helpmate should make friendship with the besieged and send a man condemned to death as a messenger, saying, 'This is your weak point; these men are treasonable;' or 'This is the weak point of the besieger; this is the seducible party for you.' 29 As he comes out with a return messenger, the conqueror should seize him and proclaiming his offence, slay him and go away. 30 Then the one posing as an ally or a helpmate should say to the besieged, 'Come out to save me,' or 'Kill the besieger along with me.' 31 When he agrees, he should destroy him by squeezing from both sides, or, catching him alive, make an exchange of the kingdom (for his life). 32 Or, he should demolish his capital city. 33 Or, forcing out his best troops he should strike.

34 By that are explained the king surrendering with troops and forest chieftains. 35 One of the two, a king surrendering with troops or a forest chieftain, should send word to the besieged, 'This besieger is ill, (or) he is attacked by an enemy in the rear, (or) another weak point has appeared, (or) he wants to go to another land.' 36 When he has agreed, the besieger should set fire to the camp and go away. 37 Then he should act as before.

38 Or, making a collection of merchandise, he should overreach him with goods mixed with poison.

39 Or, one posing as a helpmate should send a messenger to the besieged, 'Come out to attack the enemy outside, already attacked by me.' 40 When he agrees, he should act as before.

41 Entering the fort under the pretext of (seeing) a friend or a kinsman, with sealed passes in hand, secret agents should get it seized (by the besieger).

28 mitrādāramukhyavyaṅjana vā is from Cs. vā shows the option between mitra and āśāra; cf. s. 30. mukhya does not mean merely 'a chief officer' (Cs). It refers to the principal one among the kings who are supposed to be the enemy's allies. vyaṅjana shows that this king is in reality in league with the vijīgīṣu. āme dasyūḥ: these innocent men being removed by the enemy on this suggestion, he thereby becomes weakened. 29 apagaccheta: go away with the ostensible object of attacking the mitra or āśāra who had given information about his kṛtyapakṣa to the enemy. 31 ubhayataḥ: etc.: cf. 13.3.22 and 30. 33 sārabalaṁ vā vamanayitvā, i.e., when the enemy, instead of coming out in person, sends a strong force in response to the appeal of the mitra or āśāra.

34 dāṇḍopanāta: see 7.15. He is to pretend to be dissatisfied with his suzerain, the vijīgīṣu; so is the ṛṭavika to pretend. 37 pūrṇavat, i.e., as in ss. 31-33.

38 panyasamāpālam 'an accumulation of goods'; this may be done when leaving the camp, as Meyer thinks, or by simply allowing goods to fall in the enemy's hands.

39 bāhyam is from Cs; for the word, cf. 12.5.28.
42 Or, one posing as a helpmate should send word to the besieged, ‘At such and such a place and at such and such a time, I shall strike at the camp; you also must fight (then).’ 43 When he agrees, he should show the tumult of an attack as mentioned and destroy him as he sallies out of the fort at night.

44 Or, he should invite an ally or a forest chieftain (and) incite him, ‘Fight against the besieged and seize his land.’ 45 When he fights, he should get him slain through the subjects or by supporting his treasonable chiefs, or kill him himself with poison, achieving his object (of implicating the enemy), ‘He is the slayer of his ally’.

46 Or, one posing as a friend should inform the enemy about (the ally etc.) wanting to attack. 47 Securing a position of trust, he should get his brave warriors slain.

48 Or, making peace with him, he should induce him to settle the country. 49 When settled, he should, unknown, destroy his country.

50 Or, after causing an injury to be done and getting part of the (enemy’s) troops led against treasonable or forest troops, he should capture the fort by a sudden assault.

51 Treasonable, alien and forest troops, hostile men and deserters (from the enemy) who have come over, being given money and honour and supplied with signals and signs, should attack the enemy fort.

52 When attacking the enemy’s fort or camp, they should grant safety to those fallen down, those turning back, those surrendering,

41 śāsanamudrā : this seems to be merely a sealed pass allowing entry in the fort, it being, of course, forged.

44 mitram : this is the ally of the besieged enemy. 45 prakṛtibhiḥ seems to be 'subjects'. — dāṣyasamukhya- are those of the ally or forest chief. — mira-ghātakaḥ describes the enemy on whom the blame is thrown for the murder, so that the other allies may leave him.

46 vikramitukāmam refers to mitram āṭavikām vā of s. 44. 47 This is done as in 13.3.13-14 and other places, through faked letters.

49 janapadaṁ hanyāt : this goes counter to Kauṭilya’s own opinion as stated in ss. 2-5 above. The tricks seem to be simply repeated from earlier writers.

50 The idea seems to be that the vijigīṣu causes some injury to the enemy through his dāṣya and āṭavika troops; the enemy would send a part of his troops against them, whereupon the fort, with depleted troops, may be seized. For balakadeśam aṭiniya, cf. 12.5.25. aṭiniya has the sense of the causal. The usual idea of smuggling troops into the fort, which Meyer understands, does not seem meant here.

51 pratyaṛpasṛta is apparently a deserter (from the enemy) who has come over to him; cf. 7.16.16. Meyer construes this word with each of the other words in the compound; that is not likely. — sanjñā is a signal for acting at a particular time or place; cihna is a sign for recognizing one’s own side.
those with loose hair, those without weapons, those disfigured by terror and to those not fighting.

53 After obtaining the enemy’s fort, he should enter it after it is cleared of the enemy’s party and after precautions against silent punishment are taken inside and outside.

54 After thus conquering the enemy’s territory, the conqueror should seek to seize the middle king, after succeeding over him, the neutral king. 55 This is the first method of conquering the world.

56 In the absence of the middle and neutral kings, he should overcome the enemy constituents by superiority of policy, then the other constituents. 57 This is the second method.

58 In the absence of the circle, he should overcome by squeezing from both sides the ally through the enemy or the enemy through the ally. 59 This is the third method.

60 He should first overcome a weak or a single neighbouring prince; becoming doubly powerful through him, a second prince; three times powerful, a third. 61 This is the fourth method of conquering the world.

62 And after conquering the world, he should enjoy it, divided into varnas and ástamas, in accordance with his own duty.

63 Secret instigation, secret agents, drawing out (of the fort), laying siege and storming, these are the five means of taking a fort.

CHAPTER FIVE

SECTION 176 PACIFICATION OF THE CONQUERED TERRITORY

1 The (object of the) conqueror’s activity is two-fold: forests and so on, and a single city and so on. 2 Its acquisition is of three kinds: new, formerly possessed and inherited.

52 abhipanna: cf. 1.18.6. — -śastra- is to be construed with the preceding mukta, rather than with the following bhaya.

56 gunātiṣayena: guna would seem to refer to the ‘policy’ pursued, though ‘qualities in himself and his constituents’ is not unlikely. — ariprakṛṭih, i.e., the enemy and his allies. — uttarāḥ, i.e., the other kings of the circle.

58 mandalasya abhāve, i.e., when there are only two states to be tackled, one friendly, the other hostile.

60 śakyam: cf. 6.1.8. — ekam, i.e., without an ally.

62 svadharmaneṣa refers to the king’s own duties rather than to those of the varnas and ástamas, as in Cs.

63 These are the titles of the Sections in the first four Chapters of this Book.
3 After gaining new territory, he should cover the enemy’s faults with his own virtues, his virtues with double virtues. 4 He should carry out what is agreeable and beneficial to the subjects by doing his own duty as laid down, granting favours, giving exemptions, making gifts and showing honour. 5 And he should cause the (enemy’s) seducible party to be favoured as promised, and more if they had exerted themselves. 6 For, he who does not keep his promise becomes unworthy of trust for his own and other people, also he whose behaviour is contrary to that of the subjects. 7 Hence he should adopt a similar character, dress, language and behaviour (as the subjects). 8 And he should show the same devotion in festivals in honour of deities of the country, festive gatherings and sportive amusements.

9 Secret agents should frequently point out the enemy’s misconduct to chiefs in the country, towns, castes and corporations, the master’s great good fortune and love for them, and the master’s great regard for them. 10 And he should make use of them by looking after their customary rights, exemptions and protection.

11 And he should cause the honouring of all deities and hermitages, and make grants of land, money and exemptions to men distinguished in learning, speech and piety, order the release of all prisoners and render help to the distressed, the helpless and the diseased. 12 (He should order) the stopping of slaughter for half a month in every four months, for four nights (and days) on the occasion of full moon nights, for one night (and day) on the days of the constellations of the king and the country. 13 He should prohibit the killing of females and young ones and the destruction of a male’s virility.

13.5

1 samutthānam refers to engaging in military and allied activity for conquest; atavi etc. are its objects. — atavyādikam refers to extensive dominion over all kinds of territory, while ekagrāmādikam refers to the capture of a single city or fort.

2 pitryam ‘inherited from the father’. Cs has ‘lost by the father and recovered by the son’. That is not meant.

4 svadharmakarma, i.e., carrying out tasks prescribed as his special duty; cf. I.4.16. 5 upagrāhaṇet, i.e., do for them what he had promised in return for their help against their master. The causal has little significance. 8 It seems that uṣaṇa is to be construed with deśadaivata and samāja, while vihāra is to be understood independently.

9 deśajāti etc.: cf. 3.10.45. saṅgha is not to be construed with deśa, grāma and jāti, as Jayasswal (Hindu Polity, II, 65 ff.) thinks.

11 vidyācāryadharmasūra: it seems better to understand sāra as ‘brave in, i.e., distinguished in’, rather than independently as ‘brave’. 13 yonibāla refers to females and young ones of all species, particularly animals. Meyer has ‘female children’ only; K. Nag has ‘girls and the newly born’ (Les Théories etc., p. 112).

puṇṇastra is also that of all creatures.
14 And discontinuing whatever custom he might regard as harmful to the treasury and the army, or as unrighteous, he should establish a righteous course of conduct.

15 And he should cause a change of residence, not in one place, of those in the habit of robbing and of Mleccha communities, and of chiefs of forts, country and army. 16 And he should cause ministers, chaplains and others favoured by the enemy, to reside on the enemy's frontiers, not in one place. 17 He should put down by silent punishment those capable of injuring or those brooding on the master's destruction. 18 In the places of those removed, he should establish men from his own country or those in disfavour with the enemy.

19 And if any pretender from the (enemy's) family be capable of seizing easily recoverable territory, or a nobleman staying in a frontier forest be capable of troubling him, he should give him worthless land or a fourth part of valuable land, after fixing a tribute in treasury and army, such that while paying it he would rouse the citizens and country people to revolt. 20 He should get him killed through these, when they are roused. 21 He should remove one denounced by the subjects or station him in a dangerous region.

22 In the case of territory formerly possessed (and reconquered), he should cover up that defect of the constituents because of which he had to leave and should strengthen that quality on the strength of which he has returned.

23 In the case of inherited territory, he should cover up the father's defects and display his virtues.

24 He should institute a righteous custom, not initiated before and continue one initiated by others; and he should not institute an unrighteous custom, and should stop any initiated by others.

Herewith ends the Thirteenth Book of the Arthaśāstra of Kautilya

'MEANS OF TAKING A FORT'

15 In view of the position of ca, coreapraśrītinām is different from Mlecchajātinām. 17 anukṣiyatah, in the context, has the sense of 'brooding over'. Cf. 5.1.55 for the normal sense of 'to survive'. 18 aparuddhān 'in disfavour', not necessarily thrown in prison, as in Cs.

19 kośadaṇḍadānām avasthāpya: the amount is not stated, but must be assumed to be exorbitant. It cannot be supposed to be stated in caturbhāgam 'one-fourth of the produce' as Meyer thinks. That would hardly lead to a rising of the people. 21 upakruṣṭam: this would apply to any officer, not to tatkuśina or abhijāta alone.

23 For labdhapraśamana in the case of an inherited kingdom, cf. Raghuvanśa 4.14 and preceding verses. We need not suppose pitrya to have been lost by the father and recovered by the son, as that passage clearly shows.
BOOK FOURTEEN

CONCERNING SECRET PRACTICES

CHAPTER ONE

SECTION 177 SECRET PRACTICES FOR THE DESTRUCTION OF ENEMY TROOPS

1 For the sake of protecting the four varnas, he should use secret practices against the unrighteous.

2 The group of poisons, kālakūta and others, should be introduced into articles used on his person by the enemy, by approved men and women of the Mleccha communities, disguised as humpbacks, dwarfs, Kirātas, dumb or deaf persons, idiots, or blind persons, in an appearance credible as to country, dress, profession, language and birth.

3 Secret agents should introduce weapons in the articles for the (enemy) king's sports and in objects from the stores used by him, and agents following a secret activity, moving about at night, and those living by fire, should put fire (in those objects).

The Fourteenth 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.

14.1

We have in this Chapter recipes intended to kill, maim or disfigure a person. The ingredients cannot often be identified; in fact, sometimes it is not even clear if a name stands for a plant or some creature. The efficacy of the recipes cannot, of course, be tested.

1 It may be noted that these preparations are to be used against the unrighteous, the object being the protection of the four varnas.

2 viśavargaḥ : see 2.17.12. — śraddhya- etc. : cf. 1.12.6. — Mlecchajāti- yaṁ suggests that Aryans were not favoured for the work of administering poison. — abhipretaiḥ ' liked ', i.e., enjoying the confidence of the king on whom poisoning is to be tried. — sarīropabhogeṣu ' articles used on the person ' appears better than ' on the body and in the articles used by him. '

3 rājaśrī- etc. : upabhoga can be construed with kriyāhānda ' articles for sport ' and nidhānadrayya ' goods from stores '; but it seems preferable to understand it with nidhānadrayya only. — sastranidhānam : nidhāna ' placing ' is
The powder of the speckled frog, the insects kauṇḍīnyaka and krkaṇa, the paṇcakusṭha and the centipede, the powder of uccidiṅga, kambali, śatakanda, idhma and the lizard, the powder of the house-lizard, the ‘blind reptile’, the kraṇṭaka, the ‘stink-insect’, and the gomārikā, mixed with the sap of bhallāṭaka and avalguja, causes instantaneous death, or the smoke of these (causes it).

5 Or, any one of the insects, boiled along with the black serpent and priyaṅgu—one should dry up (this mixture); this mixture is believed to cause instantaneous death.

6 The root of dhāmārgava and yātudhāna, mixed with the powder of bhallāṭaka flowers (is a preparation) for bringing on death in a fortnight.

7 The root of vyāghāṭaka, mixed with the powder of bhallāṭaka flowers (and) a mixture of insects, brings on death in a month.

8 Only a minute portion (is the dose) for men, double for donkeys and horses, four times for elephants and camels.

9 The smoke of śatakardama, uccidiṅga, karavīra, the bitter gourd and fish, with the stalks of madana and koḍrava or with the stalks of hastikarna and palāśa, when carried forth in a breeze blowing forward, kills everything to which it blows.

practically ‘using’ the weapon. — sattrāśvināḥ is little more than sattrināḥ. — rātricārināḥ : the agents appear as night watchmen etc.

4 paṇcakusṭha is, according to Cs, the five products of the kuṣṭha plant (bark, leaf, flower, fruit and root). It may, however, be the name of some insect. The other words in the compound refer to insects. — idhma ‘fuel of palāśa’ (Cs). Meyer has idhmakṣaṇaśa as one ‘a lizard living in fuel’. idhma, however, seems to be the name of a plant or a creature. Cf. s. 10. — andhāhika ‘blind reptile’ is a kind of fish, according to Cs. — gomārikā ‘some sort of reptile’ (Meyer); ‘a kind of herb’ (Cs). — avalguja is as suggested by Meyer for avalgukā of the ms. avalguja is the name of a plant, known to this text; cf. 13.4.19.

5 tapāḥ ‘heated’ seems to mean ‘boiled’ with krṣnasarpa- etc. We expect kṛṣam . . . tapam as the object of śoṣayet; that is probably why Cs has ‘an insect by itself would dry up a person (śoṣayet); when mixed with black serpent and priyaṅgu it kills immediately’. It is doubtful, however, if śoṣayet contains a reference to the effect produced by the recipe; moreover, the construction is far from natural.

6 ardhamāśikāḥ : we have to understand praṇaharo yogah (Cs). — It seems kīṭayogah is to be understood in this s. as in s. 7; the word seems to have dropped out accidentally from this s.

7 kīṭayogah refers to the mixture of insects mentioned in s. 4.

8 kalā : this measure is not mentioned in 2.19, clearly suggesting a difference in sources.

9 Cs understands śata and kardama as two plants. — palāśa ‘stalks’ or ‘grass’; it is this that makes the smoke. — pravāhdāvāde, i.e., when the wind is blowing forward towards the enemy. — praṇītaḥ ‘led, directed’.
10 The powder of the ‘stink-insect’, fish, bitter gourd, šatakardama, idhma, and the indragopa insect, or the powder of the ‘stink-insect’, kṣudrā, arālā, hema and vidārī, mixed with the powder of the horns and hooves of a goat, makes a smoke that blinds (one).

11 The leaves of pūṭikaraṇja, yellow orpiment, red arsenic, guṇjā seeds and stalks of red cotton plant, made into a dough with the sap of āśphoṭa, kāca and cow-dung, make a blinding smoke.

12 The slough of a serpent, the dung of the cow and the horse and the head of a ‘blind reptile’, make a blinding smoke.

13 The urine and dung of pigeons, frogs and carnivorous animals and of elephants, men and boars, green sulphate of iron, asafoetida, the husk and broken and whole grains of barley, the seeds of cotton, kuṭaja and kośātaki, the roots of gomūtrikā and bhāṇḍi, bits of nimba, śigru, pahanirjaka, aksīva and pīluka, the skin of a serpent and a female saphara and the powder of the nails and tusk of an elephant—the smoke of this produced with the stalks of madana and kodrava or with the stalks of hastikarṇa and palāśa, kills each singly, wherever it moves.

14 The roots of kāli, kuṣṭha, naḍa and satāvarī, or the powder of the serpent, pracalāka, krkana and paṇcakusṭha — this smoke produced in the manner mentioned before or with half-wet, half-dry stalks, (and) directed to (the enemy’s) coming on the battle-field or crowding in a sudden assault, by men who have taken precautions for their own eyes with ‘washing water’, destroys the sight of all creatures.

15 The dung of the śārīkā, the pigeon, the heron and the crane, kneaded with the milk of arka, aksi, pīluka and snuhi plants is a blinding eye-salve and a polluter of water.

16 A mixture of the roots of barley and sāli-rice, the fruit of madana, nutmeg leaves and man’s urine, mixed with the roots of plakṣa and vidārī, (and) mixed with a decoction of mūka, udumbara, madana and kodrava, or mixed with a decoction of hastikarṇa and palāśa, is a stupefying preparation.

11 kāca ‘a variety of salt produced from salty ground’ (Cs).

13 kravyāda: perhaps any carnivorous animal would do. — pratyekasāh to be construed with mārayati (Meyer). Cs understands the smoke of each one of the objects mentioned, used singly; that appears less likely in view of ityesa dhūmaḥ coming after the enumeration of all the ingredients.

14 pūrvakaḷpaṇa (from Cs) refers to madanakodravapalālena etc. — ādṛḍra-śuṣka- may be ‘half-wet, half-dry‘ or ‘wet or dry‘; the former seems preferable. — nejanadaka is proposed as in 14.4.2. tejanadaka in Cs is little likely.

16 mūka: Cs paraphrases by ‘āvilaṁ jalam, turbid water‘, which is doubtful. Meyer suggests musta in place of mūka. — madanavyogāḥ ‘a mixture that causes stupefaction or swoon’. Cs has ‘cittavibhramakarāḥ, causing madness‘.
17 A mixture of śṛṅgi, the gautama-tree, kaṇṭakāra and mayūrapadi, a mixture of guṇjā, lāṅgali, viṣamālikā and iṅgudi, a mixture of karavīra, akṣi, piluka, arka and mrugamāraṇi, mixed with a decoction of madana and kodrava, or mixed with a decoction of hastikarṇa and palaśa is a stupefying preparation.

18 Or, all these are polluters of fodder, fuel and water.

19 The smoke of kr̥takandala, the lizard, the house-lizard and the ‘blind reptile’ causes loss of eyesight and madness.

20 A mixture of the lizard and the house-lizard causes leprosy.

21 The same, mixed with the entrails of the speckled frog and honey brings on a disease of the bladder; mixed with human blood, (it causes) consumption.

22 The (poison) dūśīvīsa and the powder of madana and kodrava is a preparation for bringing on paralysis of the tongue.

23 A mixture of mātrvāhaka, aṅjālikāra, pracalāka, the frog, akṣi and piluka causes cholera.

24 A mixture of paṅcakuṣṭha, kaunḍīnyaka, the flowers of rājavṛkṣa and honey, causes fever.

25 A mixture of (the flesh of) bhāsa and nakula and (the plants) jihvā and granthikā, kneaded with the milk of a female donkey, makes one dumb and deaf, in a month or half a month.

26 Only a minute portion for men and so on as before.

27 The administration of a decoction of bits in the case of plants, powder in the case of creatures, or the administration of a decoction in

17 śṛṅgi- etc.: Cs has ‘the fat (gautama) of the śṛṅgi-fish and the lodhra tree (vṛkṣa as lodhra)’. This is very doubtful.

18 somastāḥ ‘all these’, i.e., each singly, not all mixed together, as Meyer thinks.

19 kr̥takandala seems to be the name of some reptile. Cs, however, has ‘whose muscles have been cooked’ as adjective to kr̥kalāsa etc., or ‘mixed with the kapikacehāka plant’. Neither is satisfactory. Meyer thinks of kr̥vakā a magic bird mentioned in the Pāraskara Gṛhya Sūtra, 1.19.10.

21 śoṣam ‘drying up’, i.e., consumption.

22 dūśīvīsa: ‘in medicinal works, a dry vegetable poison which does not cause death, but remains long in the system’ (Jolly-Schmidt). Cs has ‘poison whose potency has been removed by herbs etc.’; that is unlikely in view of 14.4.1. — apajjivikā ‘removal of the tongue’ seems to refer to loss of its use. Cs, reading upajjivikāyogaḥ includes it in the next s. in the sense of ‘a mixture of ants’. That does not sound plausible.

25 jihvā and granthikā are understood as names of plants; may it be that the tongue and the muscles of bhāsa and nakula are to be understood? — māśardhamaśikāḥ: this seems to mean ‘effective in a month or in a fortnight’, though ‘effective in a month and a half’ is also possible; cf. 14.2.4 below.
all cases, thus it becomes more potent. 28 These are the excellences of mixtures.

29 The man, whom an arrow, prepared with the seeds of śālmalī and vidārī, joined with mūla and vatsanābha and smeared with the blood of musk-rat, hits, bites, when wounded (by it), other ten persons, and those bitten bite other ten persons each.

30 The decoction of elaka, aksi, guggulu, and hālāhala, together with the flowers of bhallātaka, yātudhāna, avānu, dhāmārgava and bāna, mixed with the blood of a goat and man, is a preparation causing biting. 31 A measure of one-half dharaṇa of this preparation, introduced in water with barley meal and oil-cake, poisons a reservoir of water, one hundred dhanusases in extent. 32 For, a shoal of fish bitten or touched by this, becomes poisonous, also whoever drinks this water or touches its

33 An iguana, placed along with red and white mustard seeds in a camel-shaped vessel buried in the ground for three fortnights, (and) taken out by a man condemned to death, kills wherever it casts its glance, or a black serpent (does so).

34 A charcoal burnt by lightning or a flame (caused by it), caught and fed with wood burnt by lightning — this fire, with offerings made into it under the Kṛttikās or the Bharaṇīs in a rite in honour of Rudra, burns, when directed (towards an enemy), without there being any remedy for it.

35 Bringing fire from a blacksmith, he should offer honey in it separately, wine in the fire from the vintner, and ghee in the fire from the roads;

29 dhānya 'grains', i.e., seeds. Cs understands kustumburu by it.

30 avānu is uncertain and seems due to a corruption of the text; Cs drops it but reads apāmārga for dhāmārgava; for the latter, however, cf. s. 6. — dāsāyogah: probably the same idea as in s. 29 is to be understood. 31 For dharaṇa, see 2.19.5-6. 32 daṣṭa in the case of fish probably means only drunk by them, and thus introduced in their system.

34 -pradagdho 'ṅgāro jvālo vā is proposed for the corrupt-pradagdhogārojvālo vā. Cs has ajvālo; but in view of vā, jvāla (masculine) as 'flame' appears preferable to ajvāla (adjective) 'without flame' describing āṅgāra. — anuvāsitaḥ, i.e., maintained for some days. — raudreṇa karmanā: Meyer refers to the Atharvaveda Parisiṣṭa, 1. 406. 415.

35 mārgato 'gnim is a very tentative suggestion for bhāgaṇī yo 'gnim of the ms. Meyer proposes bhāgato 'gnim, but his explanation 'fire from a brothel (bhāga from bhaga the female organ)' is quite fanciful. Cs reads bhārgyāyognim 'the fire from ayes, i.e., ayaskāra, with the offering of the bhārgī-plant and ghee.' But ayaskāra could hardly be different from karmāra, already mentioned. One might also suggest bhārgavāgnim 'fire of archers', mārganāgnim 'the fire of a beggar', mārgikāgnim 'the fire of a hunter', or bhārikāgnim 'the fire of a porter.' But none is satisfactory.
36 And, (he should offer) garland-flowers in the fire from a woman devoted to her husband, mustard seeds in the fire from a harlot, curds in the fire from a woman in confinement and rice-grains in the fire from one who has kept the sacrificial fires;

37 Meat in the fire from a Cāṇḍāla, human flesh in the fire from a funeral pyre, the fat of a goat, and human dhruva in all these together.

38 He should offer the wood of rājaśyrkṣa with mantras in honour of Agni. This is a fire against which there is no remedy, which confounds the eyes of enemies.

39 O Aditi, a salutation to thee; O Anumati, a salutation to thee; O Sarasvati, a salutation to thee; O God Savitṛ, a salutation to thee.

40 To Agni, hail! To Soma, hail! Earth hail! Atmosphere hail!

CHAPTER TWO

SECTION 178 DECEIVING (BY MEANS OF OCCULT PRACTICES)

(i) Working of Miracles

1 The powder of śiriṣa, udumbara and samī, mixed with clarified butter, is a recipé against hunger, effective for half a month. 2 That, prepared out of kāṣeruka, the bulbous root of the lotus, the root of sugar-cane, lotus-fibres, dūrvā grass, milk, ghee and cream, is effective for one month.

3 Drinking, with milk and ghee, the powder of mūsa-beans, barley, kulathā and the roots of darbha grass, or valli, milk and ghee

36 sāttikāśa : the locative is strange.

37 samastān : i.e., after the separate offerings are made, all fires are put together and the offering of bastavasā etc. made. — mānuṣeṇa dhruvaṇa ca: Cs understands dhruva in the sense of the banyan tree, mānuṣa being human flesh. Meyer proposes sraveṇa ‘urine’ for dhruvaṇa, or in the alternative manusyaarudhireṇa ca as the last quarter. dhruva, among other things, means ‘tip of the nose’, but it can hardly be understood here. Can it mean flesh?

39-40 These are evidently formulas to be repeated after the offerings in the fire. They themselves do not constitute the agnimantra. The deities are mostly Vedic.

14.2

The 178th Section is spread over this and the next Chapter. pralambhana is ‘deceiving, deluding.’

1. ksudrāpyogah is a remedy for keeping off hunger. Apparently the mixture is to be taken only once at the start of the fortnightly period. 2 Meyer has kandeṣu as a kind of grass.

3 A vā seems necessary after payasā, so that we get four recipes in all. In the absence of vā, Meyer, proposing valliṣṭṝṣṭṝṣṭṝbhṛtyaṃ, has ‘drinking as a drink
boiled together in equal quantities, (or) the paste of the roots of sāla and pršniparnī along with milk, or partaking of milk boiled together with that, along with honey and ghee, one is able to fast for a month.

4 Oil, prepared from mustard seeds kept for seven nights in the urine of white goats and kept in a bitter gourd for a month and half a month, is a means of disfiguring quadrupeds and bipeds.

5 The oil of white mustard seeds, boiled with barley-grains (taken) from the dung of a white donkey fed on butter-milk and barley, after seven nights, is a means of disfiguration.

6 Mustard oil, boiled along with the urine and dung of either of these two, with the addition of the powder of arka, tūla and pataṅga, is a means of making (a person) white.

7 A mixture of the dung of a white cock and a boa constrictor, is a means of making white.

8 White mustard seeds, kept in the urine of a white goat for seven nights, butter-milk, the milk of arka, salt and grains — this mixture kept for a fortnight is a means of making white.

9 The flour of white mustard seeds, kept for half a month in a bitter gourd while still on the creeper, is a means of making hair white.

10 The insect that is known as alojuna and the white house-lizard — hair smeared with this paste would become as white as a conch-shell.

(payāsā pītā) the pulp of the roots of sāla and pršniparnī prepared in equal quantities with the juice of vallī and ghee.' The rendering of payāsā pītā is doubtful.

4 māśārdhamāsā: sārdhamāsa would have been better for the sense intended. ‘A month or half a month’ is possible, but seems less likely.

5 leṇḍayavaiḥ ‘barley-grains picked from the dung’ (Meyer) is preferable to ‘dung and barley-grains’ (Cs).

6 etayoh, i.e., of the white goat or white donkey. — pataṅga ‘moth’ (Meyer), sāliḥ’ (Cs). — pratīvāpa : cf. 2.25.22.

8 In this recipe, Cs has in addition arka, tūla, kaṭuka, matsuya and vilaṅga, but no lavana and dhānya. — After this, Cs has two additional recipes for making white: ‘A mixture of the female sea-frog, conch-shell, sudhā, i.e., mūrvā grass, kadalī, salt and butter-milk, is a means of making white. The soured juices of kadalī avalgajja and ksāra, mixed with wine, butter-milk, arka, tūla, snuhī, and salt and the sour gruel of grains,—this mixture kept for a fortnight is a means of making white.’ The ss. seem to be derived from the mss. which cannot be traced now. These recipes may well be genuine, though the possibility of addition by later copyists cannot be ruled out.

9 For gatam Cs reads nagaram which is explained as ‘dried ginger’; this is very doubtful.
11 One, with his body rubbed with cow-dung or with the pulp of tinduka and arisṭa, (and) smeared with the sap of bhallātaka, gets leprosy within a month.

12 Guṇājā-seeds kept for seven nights in the mouth of a black serpent or in the mouth of a house-lizard is a means of causing leprosy.

13 Application all over the body of the bile and the liquid of the egg of a parrot is a means of causing leprosy.

14 A decoction of the pulp of priyāla is a remedy for leprosy.

15 One, eating (food) containing the roots of kukkuṭa, kośātaki and satāvari, becomes fair-complexioned in a month.

16 One, bathing in a decoction of vaṭa, (and) smeared with the pulp of sahacara, becomes black.

17 Yellow orpiment and red arsenic, mixed with the oil of śakuna and kaṅgu, are a means of making dark.

18 The powder of the fire-fly, mixed with mustard oil, burns at night.

19 The powder of the fire-fly and the insect gaṇḍāpada, or the powder of the flowers of samudra-jantus, bhringakapālas, khadira and karṇikīra, mixed with the oil of śakuna and kaṅgu, is a powder that makes (an object) glow.

20 The soot of the bark of pāribhadraka, mixed with the fat of a frog, is a means of making limbs burn with fire. 21 The body, smeared with the pulp of the bark of the pāribhadraka and sesamum seeds, burns with fire.

22 A lump, consisting of the soot of the bark of pilu, burns in the hand. 23 Smeared with the fat of a frog, it burns with fire. 24 The body, smeared with that, or, sprinkled with the oil of the

10 Cs has arkatūlo 'ṛjune kīṭaḥ in the first quarter, 'arka, tūla, two kinds of arjuna (viz., kakubha and yavasa) and an insect (to be learnt from tradition). This is not very convincing.

14 kalkakaḍaṇyāḥ 'decoction of the pulp' (Cs); 'pulp and decoction' (Meyer).

15 Cs reads kukkuṭi- for kukkuṭa-. Either word must be understood as referring to some plant.

17 śakunakāṇgu 'vulture and the priyāṅgu-plant' (Cs); 'the fins of birds' (Meyer). If śakuna means a bird, taita would apparently refer to its fat.

19 samudrājantu etc. appear to be names of plants, as puspacūrṇam is to be understood of them, though Cs construes the latter only with khadira-karnikārāṇām (looking upon samudrājantu as sea-creatures, bhrīga as the kālinīga bird and kapāla as skull). — tejana-cūrṇam 'powder that makes an object glow'; cf. 13.2.23. Cs, interpreting it as 'the powder of bamboo', construes it with the next s., which does not appear right.
kusuṣmaṇḍra fruit (and) mixed with the powder of a female sea-frog, sea-
foam and sarja-exudation, burns.

25 Oil, boiled with equal quantities of the fat of the frog, crab
and so on, causes the blazing of limbs with fire all over.

26 The body, smeared with the roots of bamboo and moss,
(and) smeared with the fat of a frog, burns with fire.

27 One, with his feet smeared with oil boiled together with the
fat of a frog and the pulp of the roots of pāribhadraka, pratibalā, vaṁjula,
vajra and kadali, walks on burning charcoal.

28-29 One should prepare oil from the pulp of these, namely,
upodakā, pratibalā, vaṁjula and pāribhadraka, by boiling together
with the fat of a frog; after smearing one’s clean feet with this
(oil), one may walk on a heap of burning charcoal as on a heap of
flowers.

30 Lamps of reeds, tied to the tails of swans, herons and peacocks
or of other big birds swimming in water, is a manifestation of meteors
at night.

31 Ashes caused by lightning are a means of extinguishing fire.

32 Māṣa-beans, soaked in a woman’s menstrual fluid (and) the
root of vṛajākuli, mixed with the fat of a frog, is a means of prevent-
ing cooking even when the oven is burning. 33 Cleansing the oven
is the remedy for it.

34 A ball made of pīlū, with fire in the interior, with a knot of
the root of swampalū or with a knot of thread, encircled by cotton, is
(a means of) emitting fire and smoke from the mouth.

35 Fire, sprinkled with the oil of the kusuṣmaṇḍra fruit, burns in
rain and in strong winds.

23 -digdho: we have to supply piṇḍaḥ from the preceding, hardly hastaḥ. —
24 kusuṣmaṇḍra- etc. and samudra- etc. constitute a single yoga, an option to tena
(piṇḍena) pradīghdam.

25 maṇḍākakulirādānām is proposed for maṇḍākavasākuliirādānām of the mss.
vāsāyā is there outside the compound; its use also in the compound is unlikely.
— abhyaṇgam is proposed for abhyaṇgo; there is no word in the masculine with
which the latter can be construed. — The repetition of s. 23 after this s. is
clearly due to a scribal slip.

28 Apparently, upodakā is the same as vajra of s. 27, of which these two stanzas
appear to be only a versification.

30 ulkā may mean ‘a meteor’ or a ‘fire-brand, a flame’ floating on water.
34 pīlumayo maṇiḥ, i.e., a ball made of pīlū wood, which is hollow inside. It
cannot be the lump of the soot of its bark mentioned in s. 22, as Meyer thinks.
— granthi refers to the stopper at the mouth of the ball; this granthi encircled by
cotton (picu) burns and produces the fire and smoke coming out of the mouth.
36 Sea-foam, soaked in oil, burns floating on water.
37 Fire, kindled by churning a speckled bamboo-reed in the bones of swimming birds, is not put out by water, (but) burns with water.
38 Where a fire kindled by churning a speckled bamboo-reed in the ribs from the left side of a man slain with a weapon or impaled on the stake, (or) a fire kindled by churning the rib of a human being, in the bones of a woman or a man, goes round three times left-wise, there no other fire burns.
39 The musk-rat, the wag-tail and the salt-insect are ground to powder; mixed with the urine of a horse, (they are) a means of breaking chains.
40 Or, the load-stone, made doubly powerful by the smearing of the fats of the crab, the frog and the salt-insect, (is a breaker of chains).
41 The foetus of a calf, ground together with the sides of the heron and the bhāsa, lotus and water, is a foot-salve for quadrupeds and bipeds.
42 Smearing sandals made of camel-hide with the fat of the owl and the vulture, covering them with leaves of the banyan tree, one walks fifty yojanas without being fatigued.
43 The bone-marrow or the semen of the hawk, the heron, the crow, the vulture, the swan, the plover and the vīcīralla (enables one to walk untired) for one hundred yojanas, or the bone-marrow or semen of the lion, the tiger, the leopard, the crow and the owl.
44 After pressing in a camel-shaped vessel the aborted foetuses of all the varṇas, or dead infants in the cemetary—the fat produced from that (enables one to walk untired) for one hundred yojanas.

37 plavamānānām is proposed for plavamānām of G M; plavaṅgamānām 'of monkeys' is not very likely in the context.
38 This is the mānuṣa agni; cf. 1.20.4.
39 Meyer remarks that khāra- here and in the next s. is a Prākritism for ksāra-; that appears plausible.
40 kulāra- is from Meyer for kulinda; Cs has kulirānda, where anda would appear oddly placed in the compound. — We have to supply nigalānāṁ bhājanam as the predicate. Cs, however, has a stop after pāsāṇah (so that this itself is a means of breaking chains), and includes the rest in the next s. Meyer reads a stop after pradehena and another after nārakagarbhaḥ of the next s. He explains 'it becomes doubly powerful when human fat (nārakagarbha) is added to it'. This is very doubtful.
41 nārakagarbhaḥ: the Medīnī gives nāra in the sense of a fresh-born calf; that sense may be understood for nārakagarbha. Cs, reading dāraka-, explains it by 'pig'. — utpala is a kind of fish (Cs).
45 He should cause fright to the enemy with (these) evil, miraculous portents; because it is for the consolidation of the kingdom, a similar blameworthy conduct is recommended when there is a revolt.

CHAPTER THREE

SECTION 178 (Continued)

(ii) The Use of Medicines and Spells

1 Taking the right and the left eyes of one, two or more of (the following), the cat, the camel, the wolf, the boar, the porcupine, the flying fox, the naptr, the crow, the owl or other creatures roaming at night, one should prepare two separate powders. 2 Then anointing the right eye with (the powder of) the left (eye) and the left with (that of) the right, one is able to see at night and in darkness.

3 One amlaka-fruit, the eye of a boar, the fire-fly, the black sārivā—one with his eyes anointed with this (preparation), sees objects at night time.

4 After fasting for three (days and) nights, one should sow, on the pusya day, barley-seeds in earth in the skull of a man killed with a weapon or impaled on the stake, and sprinkle them with sheep’s milk. 5 Then wearing a garland of the sprouts of barley, one is able to move about with one’s shadow and form invisible.

44 abhīṣāya refers to infusing or distilling.

45 ārājyāya: this seems to mean ‘for securing the kingdom on all sides, consolidating the kingdom’. — nirvādah ‘censure, blame’, i.e., blameworthy conduct implicit in the use of these manifestations. — kope, i.e., when there is revolt among the officers etc. Cs construes ārājyāya ‘for depriving (the enemy) of his kingdom’ with the first half and then goes on ‘this activity is common (to the vijīgiṣu and the enemy) when passions are aroused (kope); hence it is described here (ucyat)’. Among a bewildering variety of explanations and suggestions offered by Meyer (here and in his Über das Wesen usw., p. 400 n.) one is to read ā rājyāya ‘till the kingdom is obtained’ or svārājyāya, further nirvādah (for nirvādah) as ‘means of doing things’. This latter suggestion appears not unreasonable.

14.3

1 väguli appears to be a Prākṛtism for valgult, the flying fox. — vāmānī cākṣiṇī is emended as in Meyer for vāmānī vākṣiṇī. The former is necessary as shown by what follows as well as s. 6.

3 amlaka ‘lakoça, the bread-fruit’ (Cs); ‘tamarind’ (Meyer). — kālaśārīvā is ‘a black plant known as bhadrā’ (Cs). Meyer thinks that we should read kālaśārīkā.

4 yavān avāṣya: for the correctness of this reading from Cs, cf. the parallels in ss. 64 and 79 below. 5 yavavirūḍha-, i.e., the sprouts of the barley sown as above.
6 After fasting for three (days and) nights, one should, on the pūṣya day, powder separately the right and the left eyes of a dog, a cat, an owl and a flying fox. 7 Then anointing the eyes with the (powder of the) corresponding (eyes), one moves about with shadow and form invisible.

8 After fasting for three (days and) nights, one should prepare, on the pūṣya day, a pin and a salve-container out of the thigh-bone of a murderer. 9 Then, with eyes anointed with the powder of the eyes of any one of these, one moves about with shadow and form invisible.

10 After fasting for three (days and) nights, one should prepare, on the pūṣya day, an iron salve-container and a pin. 11 Then, filling the skull of any one of the night-roaming creatures with an eye-salve, one should insert it in the vagina of a dead woman and cause it to be burnt. 12 Taking out that salve on the pūṣya day, one should keep it in that salve-container. 13 With eyes anointed with that, one moves about with shadow and form invisible.

14 Where one sees a Brahmin, who has maintained the sacred fires, cremated or burning on the pyre, there, after fasting for three (days and) nights, one should, on the pūṣya day, make a bag out of the garment of a man who has died naturally and fill it with the ashes of the funeral pyre; wearing that (bag), one moves about with shadow and form invisible.

15 The skin of a serpent, filled with the powder of the bones and marrow of that bull which is slaughtered in the funeral rites of a Brahmin, is the means of making animals invisible.

16 The skin of a praçālāka, filled with the ashes of one bitten by a serpent, is the means of making deer invisible.

17 The skin of a serpent, filled with the powder of the tail, the dung and the knee-bones of an owl and a flying fox, is the means of making birds invisible.

7 yathāsvam, i.e., the powder of the right eyes in the right eye and that of the left in the left.

8 kāndaka means a thigh-bone or an arm-bone. 9 anyatamena seems to refer to any one of the creatures mentioned in s. 6. If the option were between the powder of the right eyes and that of the left eyes, we would have had anyatareṇa. Meyer's proposal to read tatra nyastena (for tato 'nyatamena) is unnecessary.

14 svayaṁprātasya: cf. 2.2.9. — citābhasmanā: this is that of the Brahmin.

15 bhastrā is a bag made of the creature’s skin. — paśunām: these are other than mrga, referred to in the next s.

17 jānvasthi can hardly be 'knee and bones' (Cs); knee-bones would appear meant.
18 These are the eight recipes for making invisible.

19 ‘I bow to Bali, the son of Virocana and to Šambara of the hundred guiles, to Bhanḍirapāka, to Naraka, to Nikumbha, as well as to Kumbha.

20 I bow to Devala (and) to Nārada; I bow to Sāvarṇi Gālava. According to the prescription of these this great sleep has been brought on you.

21 As the boa constrictors sleep, as also the camākhalas sleep, so may men sleep, also those who, in the village, are curious.

22 With a thousand vessels and with a hundred fellyes of chariots, I shall enter this house; let the vessels remain silent.

23-24 Bowing to Manu and tying the dog-kennels, and (bowing) to those who are gods in the worlds of the gods and are Brahmins among men, to holy men who have completed their study and to ascetics on the Kailāsa-mountain, (bowing) to all these holy men, this great sleep has been brought on you.

25 As I go beyond, may all together go away.

26 O Alitā, O Valitā, hail to Manu!’

27 The method of using this is: 28 After fasting for three (days and) nights, one should, on the fourteenth of the dark half of a month with (the moon in) conjunction with the pūṣya-constellation, purchase from a Śvapāka woman the scrapings made by bilakhas. 29 Placing them with māṣa-beans in a basket, one should bury it in an uncerrowed cremation-ground. 30 Taking it out on the fourteenth of the next fortnight and getting it pounded by a maiden, one should make pills out of it. 31 Then wherever one throws one pill after reciting this mantra over it, there one sends all to sleep.

32 In this same manner, one should bury the quill of a porcupine with three black and three white lines in an uncerrowed cremation-

19 The spells are clearly prasūpāṇa-mantras, intended primarily for thieves. Asuras and sages are invoked to send people to sleep. 20 anuyogena: this seems to mean ‘teaching, instruction, prespiration’. 21 camākhalāḥ is obscure. Some creature is apparently meant. Meyer proposes ca mūrkhalāḥ ‘and fools,’ which is not convincing. 22 bhaṇḍaka seems to be the same as bhaṇḍaka ‘vessel’ in which apparently the loot is to be carried away. Meyer would read bhaṇḍakānām ‘something for the dogs (from bhaṇḍ to bark), i.e., kennels’ and understand bhaṇḍakāḥ at the end as ‘dogs.’ This is very doubtful. — ásantu: the Parasmai-pada is archaic. 23 phelakāḥ ‘boxes, caskets’ may refer to kennels; can it possibly mean ‘muzzles’? 26 Alitē may be a corruption of Adite, and Valitē only a name formed by analogy.

28 bilakha ‘a mouse-like burrowing creature’ (Cs). The word literally means ‘a hole-digger’.
33. Taking it out on the fourteenth of the next fortnight, wherever one throws it along with ashes from the burning ground, reciting this mantra over it, one sends all there to sleep.

34. ‘I bow to Brahmānī with the golden flowers and to Brahman with the flag of kuśa-grass and to all the deities; and I bow to all the ascetics.

35. May Brahmins come under my control, and may the Kṣatriyas who protect the earth; may the Vaiśyas and the Śūdras be ever under my control.

36. Hail! O Amilā, O Kimilā, O Vayucārā, O Prayogā, O Phakkā, O Vayuhvā, O Vihālā, O Dantakaṭakā, hail!

37. May the dogs sleep happily, and those who, in the village, are curious; and this quill of the porcupine, white in three places, is created by Brahman.

38. For, all successful men are asleep; this sleep has been brought on you, up to where the end of the boundary of the village is and till the rising of the sun.

39. Hail!’

40. The use of this (mantra is as follows): 41. The quills of a porcupine with three white lines (should be taken); after fasting for seven (days and) nights, one should, on the fourteenth of the dark fortnight, offer into the fire sticks of khadira accumulating them to one hundred and eight, along with honey and ghee, reciting this mantra. 42. Then where at the village-gate or the door of a house, one of these is buried, with the recitation of this mantra, one sends all there to sleep.

43. ‘I bow to Bali, the son of Virocana and to Śambara of the hundred guiles, to Nikumbha, to Naraka, to Kumbha, to Tantuka-čeha, the great Asura;

34-39 also contain a prasvāpana-mantra. 36. The names of these female spirits are unknown elsewhere; the correct form of the names is also uncertain. 38. siddhāh may be the same as siddhārthāh (s. 46), i.e., successful or wealthy men.

41. After triśvetāni, Cs supplies ādakane nikhānayet as in s. 32. But there is no reference in the sequel to ‘taking out’ as there is in s. 33 there. Meyer supplies grhiniyā or grhītā; that appears better. — asaṣatastasaṁpātām: this means little more than that 108 sticks of khadira are to be offered in the agni. Cs interprets saṁpātā as homa ‘offering as oblation’ and adds that the quills are to be dug out after the homā is over. That is possible, though there is no reference to burying and digging out, as there is in ss. 55-56 below.

43-47 is again a prasvāpana-mantra. 44. Kṛṣṇa-Kaṁsopacāram ‘the service of Kṛṣṇa and Kānisa, i.e., those who wait upon these two spirits’ (Meyer). That Kṛṣṇa and Kānisa here are unrelated to the heroes of the Harivānśa is likely, though not certain. So Paulomi may or may not refer to Śaci, Indra’s wife. 45. siddhāhyartām is proposed for siddhārthām; if the latter is ‘mustard seeds’, there is no
44 (I bow) to Armatova, to Pramila, to Mandoluka, to Ghatodbala, and to the service of Krsna and Kauna, and to Paulomi, the successful.

45 Consecrating with mantras, I take the dead sarika for the sake of success; may it succeed, and it does succeed; salutation to quill-beings. Hail!

46 May the dogs sleep happily, and those who, in the village, are curious. May those who have achieved their object—the object which we seek—sleep happily till the rising (of the sun) after its setting, till the object is mine as the fruit.

47 Hail.'

48 The use of this (mantra is as follows): 49 One who has fasted for four meals should make an offering in an uncrowded cremation ground on the fourteenth of the dark fortnight, and taking, with this mantra, a dead sarika should tie (it in) a bag made of a hog's snout. 50 Piercing it in the middle with the quill of a porcupine, where it is buried with this mantra, one sends all there to sleep.

51 'I seek refuge with Agni and the deities, the ten quarters; and may all go away, may they be ever under my control.

52 Hail!'

53 The use of this (mantra is as follows): 54 After fasting for three (days and) nights, one should, on the pusya day, make an aggregate of twenty-one pebble-stones and offer oblations of honey and ghee (in the fire). 55 Then, worshipping them with incense and flowers, one should bury them. 56 Taking them out on the next pusya day, one should consecrate one pebble with this mantra and strike a door-panel with it. 57 Within four pebbles, the door is opened.

58 After fasting for four meals, one should, on the fourteenth of the dark fortnight, make a bull out of the bone of a broken man, and reference to them in the prayoga that follows. 46 siddharta refers to wealthy men in the town. — yadaad astamayad udage, i.e., from sunset to sunrise. — artham neuter is unusual; Meyer remarks that artha neuter is found in the Mahabharata, 12.142.14. The Critical Edition of the Mahabharata (12.140.14), however, has atha, not artham in that passage. It is possible to look upon yavadartham as an adjective to phalam 'in which the total (yavat) wealth is secured.'

49 caturbhaktopavasi would mean 'who fasts for four meals', i.e., fasts for two days, rather than 'abstaining from four days' food' (Cs); for the latter, we would have had catu{atra}po{asitah like trirdro{asitah above. — pautri{opali}kam; potri means 'a hog's snout'; pautri seems used in the same sense. Cs reads potri'- but understands by it 'a piece of garment'. po{tali}ka is an obvious deshi word.

54 ekavinasatisampatam: cf. s. 41 above. Though agni is not mentioned here, the offering of madhu and ghrita could only be in fire. 57 The interpretation in Cs 'a hole four sarvása in diameter is made in the door' seems quite unlikely.
should consecrate it with this mantra. 59 A bullock-cart with two bullocks yoked is brought to him. 60 Thereafter, he moves about in the sky. 61 Becoming akin to the sun, he penetrates everything beyond the gate-bar.

62 'Thou art possessed of the bitter strength of the pitcher-gourd of a Caṇḍāla woman, and possessed of a woman’s organ; hail!’ 63 This is a means of opening locks and sending (all) to sleep.

64 After fasting for three (days and) nights, one should, on the ānusya day, sow tuvarī-seeds in earth in the skull of a man killed with a weapon or impaled on the stake, and sprinkle them with water. 65 When grown, he should take them on the ānusya day itself and twist them into a rope. 66 Then, the cutting of it in front of bows and machines fitted with strings causes the snapping of (those) strings.

67 One should fill the skin of a water-snake with the earth into which a woman or a man has breathed; this is a means of blocking the nostrils and choking the mouth.

68 Filling the skin of a boar with breathed-in earth, one should tie it with a monkey’s tendons; this is a means of causing suppression of urine and stools.

58 bhagnasya evidently refers to a murdered man. Meyer suggests magnasya ‘drowned’ for it. 61 ravisagandhaḥ parigham ati sarvaṁ prāti is proposed with hesitation and understood to mean that the person is able to move about in the sky like the sun, flying over the bars of city-gates. With sadā raviraviḥ sagandhaparighaṁ sarvaṁ bhaṇḍaṁ, Cs includes this in the mantra in s. 62. But the next mantra seems addressed to the gate-bar or lock and has asī in the Second Person, whereas in this s., we have bhaṇḍaṁ in the Third Person. Meyer in the Nachtrag ultimately agrees with Cs (only proposing bhṛṇḍaṁ for bhaṇḍaṁ) and explains ‘always as loud roarer (raviraviḥ from the frequentative of ru to cry) the full-cheeked (sagaṇḍaḥ) or the stinking (with sagandhaḥ) bar bears above everything else’. This is far from satisfactory. The s. appears better as a further description of ākāśe vikramaṁ of s. 60.

62 -kumbhitumba- and -sūraughaḥ are tentatively proposed for the uncertain -kumbhituma- and -sūríghaḥ. Meyer understands Caṇḍālikumbā ‘the petticoat of a Caṇḍāla woman’ as a separate upamāna. He also proposes parigha (for sārīghaḥ) and looks upon it and -kaṭuka as vocatives, i.e. ‘o bar! you who are bitter like a Caṇḍāla woman’s petticoat and like a gourd etc.’ — sanārībhagaḥ : this apparently has reference to the hole in the side-wall in which the bar is fixed when the gate is closed; it may also refer to the hoop-like brackets fixed to the gates through which the bar is passed when the gate is closed.

64 tuvarīḥ refers to a kind of pulse. 66 The idea is, when this rope is cut in front of the enemies’ bows etc., the latter have their strings cut automatically.

67 nāśīrā̄bhandhanam (from Cs) is preferable to -vardhanam ‘growth’, or ‘cutting’. — mukhagraha refers to obstruction of the functions of the mouth.

68 varāhahāstrāṇam is proposed for varāhahastim of M. Cs reads varāhahastibhas-trāṁ, where -hasti- seems unlikely. ānāha ‘suppression of urine and stools’. 
69 On the fourteenth of the dark fortnight, one should anoint (the eyes of) an effigy of the enemy made out of rājavṛkṣa wood with the bile of a tawny-coloured cow killed with a weapon; this is a means of making (him) blind.

70 One who has fasted for four meals should make an offering on the fourteenth of the dark fortnight and make pins out of the bones of a man impaled on the stake. 71 One of these planted in the dung or urine (of an enemy) causes suppression of stools and urine, planted in his foot-step or seat it kills by consumption, planted in his shop, field or house, it destroys the source of his livelihood.

72 With this same procedure are explained wedges made out of a tree burnt by lightning.

73-74 He, in whose house the punarnava turned downwards, the nimba and the kāmamadhu, the hair of a monkey and the bone of a human being, tied up in the garment of a corpse, are buried, or to whose foot-step one takes it after seeing it, does not survive beyond three fortights with his sons and wife and his wealth.

75-76 He, in whose foot-step are buried the punarnava turned downwards, the nimba, the kāmamadhu, the svayaṁgupta and the bone of a human being, at the gate of the house or army (camp) or village or city, does not survive beyond three fortights with his sons and wife and his wealth.

77 One should procure the hairs of a goat and a monkey, of a cat and an ichneumon, of Brahmans and Śvapākas, and of a crow and an owl; the ordure (of an enemy) pounded with this causes immediate destruction.

69 pratimāṁ aṁjyāt: the collyrium is put in the eyes of the effigy.

71 pade is proposed for pāde as suggested by Meyer, supported by ss. 74, 75 and 78. pada, however, can hardly mean 'the place where he moves about, i.e., the living room' (Meyer).

72 etenaiva kalpena is emended from etena lepakalpena of the mss. Cs drops eva, which, however, may appear necessary for emphasis; cf. s. 32 above.

73 punarnavam may be the same as the plant punarnava; cf. 14.4.2. — avācinam ‘turned downwards’ is not clear; may it be the name of some plant? 74 drṣṭvā vā yatpadam nayet: (yatpadam is proposed for yaṁ padam). The object of drṣṭvā as of nayet is padam. It is clear that padam nayet means the same as pade nikhānayet. Cs reads piṣṭvā vā yaṁ prapāṇayet ‘whom he gives it as a drink after grinding it’. There seems to be nothing in the prescription that can be given as a drink. For drṣṭvā, Meyer suggests dvīṣṭvā or sṛṣṭvā or sṛṣṭyā (by placing), all unnecessary.

76 dvārē from Cs is better than pāre; in the case of senā, it would refer to the entrance to the camp.

77 viṣṭhā is clearly right, not piṣṭā.
78 He, in whose foot-step are buried flowers removed from a corpse, fermenting stuff, the hairs of an ichneumon and the skins of a scorpion, a bee and a snake, becomes immediately impotent so long as that is not removed.

79 After fasting for three (days and) nights, one should, on the puṣya day, sow guṇjā-seeds in earth in the skull of a man killed with a weapon or impaled on the stake, and sprinkle them with water.

80 When they have grown, one should cause the guṇjā-creepers to be taken on the new moon night or full moon night when there is conjunction (of the moon) with the puṣya-constellation, and make rings out of them.

81 Vessels with food and drink, placed on them, are never exhausted.

82 When a night show is going on, one should cut out the udders of a dead cow and burn them in the flames of a lamp.

83 When burnt, he should grind them with the urine of a bull and smear a new jar inside (with it).

84 When one takes it round the village left-wise, whatever butter may have been kept there by those (villagers), all that comes (into it).

85 On the fourteenth of the dark fortnight when there is conjunction (of the moon) with the puṣya-constellation, one should insert into the vulva of a bitch in heat an iron signet ring.

86 One should pick it up when fallen of its own accord.

87 Fruits from trees come to one when called with it.

88 Practices accompanied by mantras and medicines and those that are caused by illusion—with them he should destroy the enemies and protect his own people.

CHAPTER FOUR

SECTION 179 COUNTER-MEASURES AGAINST INJURIES TO ONE’S OWN TROOPS

1 Counter-measures against dūṣivīśa and other poisons used by the enemy against one’s own party (should be taken as follows):

78 vrśćikāyahi:- Cs understands alī ‘a variety of scorpion’, not alī ‘a bee’.

79 It is proposed to drop the ca found in the mss. after udakena. Cf. s. 64 above.

80 māndalikāni ‘rings’ on which vessels are placed so that they may remain steady and upright whether on the ground or on the head and the contents do not spill over.

84 esām clearly refers to the villagers.

85 śuno lagnakasya: Cs has ‘the masculine is not intended; hence a bitch is to be understood’.

88 yogā māyākritā ca from Cs is quite necessary in place of yogamāyā- etc. of the mss. It provides the substantive yogāḥ.
2 Washing water, mixed with a decoction of ślesmātaka, kapittha, danti, dantaśaṭha, goji, śirīṣa, pāṭali, balā, syonāga, punarnavā, and svetāvaranā, (and) mixed with sandalwood and the blood of a female hyena, is a wash for the private parts of women to be enjoyed by the king and an antidote against the poisoning of the army.

3 The powder of mahirājī, mixed with the bile of the speckled deer, the ichneumon, the peacock and the iguana, (and) the mixture of sinduvārita, varana, vāruni, tāndulīyaka, the tips of sataparvan and pindiṭaka, remove the evil effects of a stupefying mixture.

4 A drink of the decoction of one or of all of the roots of (the following), sṛgālavinnā, madana, sinduvārita, varana, vārana, and valli, together with milk, removes the evil effects of a stupefying mixture.

5 The oil of kaiḍarya, pūti and sesame removes madness, when used in the nostrils.

6 The mixture of priyaṅgu and naktamāla cures leprosy.

7 The mixture of kuṣṭha and lodhra cures whiteness of hair and consumption.

8 The powder of kataphala, dravanti and vilāṅga, used as snuff, removes headaches.

9 The mixture of priyaṅgu, maṇījīthi, tagara, lac-juice, liquorice, turmeric and honey, is a means of bringing back to consciousness those who have lost it through rope (strangling), water (drowning), poison beating or fall.

10 A measure of one akṣa (is the dose) for men, double for cattle and horses, four times for elephants and camels.

14.4

1 dūśeśa : cf. 14.1.22. gera would refer to poisons other than this.

2 senāyāś ca: Cs construes this with the preceding guhyaprakṣālanam; it seems better, however, to construe it with viṣapratikāraṇaḥ as in Meyer.

3 It seems better to read -yuktam separately. — mahirājī: Cs reads maśirājī and explains 'the blue sēpālikā (maṣi) and the royal mustard (rajjī)'. mahirājī appears to be the name of a single plant. — sataparvan is 'a bamboo'.

4 vārana is 'gajapippali' (Cs).

7 pākaśaṣaghinaḥ : Cs has 'whiteness of the hair (pāka) and consumption (śoṣa)'. Meyer thinks of 'suppuration and consumption' or 'serofulous tuberculosis'.

8 kataphala : Cs reads kataphala; Meyer proposes katuphala. — nastāṅkarma s here 'use as snuff'.

9 The mss. favour the form maṇījīthi ; Cs reads maṇījīthā.

10 akṣa is not mentioned among the weights in 2.19. According to Cs it is equal to 16 māsas. The lexicons show this measure.
11 And a pill made of these, with gold inside, removes (the evil effects of) all poisons.

12 A pill made of jīvanti, śvetā, muśkaka and puspavandākā (and) of āsvattha growing on moist soil, removes (the evil effects of) all poisons.

13 The sound of drums, smeared with these, destroys poison; by looking at a flag or a banner, smeared with these, one becomes free from poison.

14 After using these remedial measures for the safety of his own troops and himself, he should use against enemies poisonous smoke and pollution of water.

Herewith ends the Fourteenth Book of the Arthaśāstra of Kauṭīlya

‘Concerning Secret Practices’
BOOK FIFTEEN

THE METHOD OF THE SCIENCE

CHAPTER ONE

SECTION 180 DEVICES USED IN THE (TREATMENT OF THE) SCIENCE

1 The source of the livelihood of men is wealth, in other words, the earth inhabited by men. 2 The science which is the means of the attainment and protection of that earth is the Science of Politics.

3 That contains thirty-two devices of treatment: topic, statement (of contents), employment (of sentences), meaning of words, reason for (establishing) something, mention, explanation, advice, reference, application, indication, analogy, implication, doubt, (similar) situation, contrary (corollary), completion of a sentence, agreement, emphasising, derivation (of a word), illustration, exception, one’s own technical term, the prima facie view, the correct view, invariable rule, reference to a future statement, reference to a past statement, restriction, option, combination, and what is understood.

15.1

The Fifteenth Book, in a single Chapter, explains and illustrates the various stylistic devices used to elucidate a scientific subject. tantra means a science. The Sūrutasamhitā (Uttaratantra, Ch. 65) describes closely allied 32 tantrayuktis; we read there 'dvātriniśad yuktayo hṛtās tantrasārāgavesasā, mayā samyag vinivātāḥ sabdasyāyārthasamjñatāḥ'. The Carakasamhitā (Siddhisthāna, Ch. 12) enumerates 34 tantrayuktis; the two additional seem to be pratyuccāra (repetition) and samābhava (possibility). S. Vidyabhusan (History of Indian Logic, pp. 24-25) remarks that the tantra-yukti ‘was compiled possibly in the 6th century B.C. to systematize debates in pariṣads or learned assemblies. It is distinctly stated in the Sūrutasamhitā: asadadvādpalayuktanām vākyānām pratiṣedhānam, svadvādyasiddhārapa ca kriyate tan-
trayuktitāḥ.’

1 vṛtti is livelihood, i.e., means of livelihood. It may also mean ‘existence’, i.e., men’s existence on earth (Cf. Jayaswal, Hindu Polity, I, 5 n.3). According to P. Masson-Oursel (Ancient India, p. 106) vṛtti, which is the basis of vārttā, refers to the whole of human activity; artha raises the question of ends, vārttā that of means. The idea here is, the earth inhabited by men following various occupations constitutes artha; the science dealing with such an earth is Arthaśāstra. Its main concern is, how to obtain such earth and how to protect it; in other words, it is the Science of Polities. 2 prthivyāḥ etc.: cf. 1.1.1.
4 The object, with respect to which a statement is made, is the topic. 5 For instance: 'This single (treatise on the) Science of Politics is composed mostly by bringing together (the teachings of) as many treatises on the Science of Politics as have been composed by the ancient teachers for the acquisition and protection of the earth.' (1.1.1)

6 A serial enumeration of the sections of the science is statement (of contents). 7 For instance: 'Enumeration of the sciences, association with elders, control over the senses, appointment of ministers,' and so on. (1.1.3)

8 The arrangement of a sentence is employment (of sentences). 9 For instance: 'The people, of the four varṇas and in the four āśramas.' (1.4.16)

10 That which has its limit in the word is the meaning of the word. 11 For instance: mūlahara is the word. 12 'He who consumes in unjust ways the property inherited from the father and the grandfather is mūlahara,' (2.9.21) is the meaning.

13 A reason proving a thing is the reason for (establishing) a thing. 14 For instance: 'For, spiritual good and sensual pleasures depend on material well-being.' (1.7.7)

15 A statement in brief is mention. 16 For instance: 'Control over the senses is motivated by training in the sciences.' (1.6.1)

17 A detailed statement is explanation. 18 For instance: 'Absence of improper indulgence in (the pleasures of) sound, touch, colour, taste and smell by the senses of hearing, touch and sight, the tongue and the sense of smell, means control over the senses.' (1.6.2)

19 'One should behave in this manner,' is advice. 20 For instance: 'He should enjoy sensual pleasures without contravening his spiritual good and material well-being; he should not deprive himself of pleasures.' (1.7.8)

21 'So and so says this' is reference. 22 For instance: 'He should appoint a council consisting of twelve ministers,' say the followers of Manu. 'Sixteen,' say the followers of Bṛhaspati. 'Twenty,' say the followers of Uśanas. 'According to capacity,' says Kauṭilya.' (1.15.47-50)

4 The illustration implies that by adhikaraṇa the subject matter of the entire work is to be understood. It may be presumed, however, that the definition would cover the subject-matter of each of the fifteen adhikaraṇas in the text.

6 vidhāńa appears to be little more than a table of contents.

8 vākṣyayojana seems to refer to a syntactical arrangement of words so as to form a sentence, though the illustration does not give a complete sentence. The illustration does not justify the explanation 'arrangement of sentences, so as to establish a mutual relation between them'.
23 Setting forth (a thing) with what is already said is application.
24 For instance: 'Non-conveyance of gifts is explained by the non-
   payment of debts.' (3.16.1)

25 Setting forth (a thing) with what is going to be said is indica-
   tion. 26 For instance: 'Or, by means of conciliation, gifts, dissension
   and force, as we shall explain in (the Section on) troubles.' (7.14.11)

27 Setting forth an unknown (thing) with the help of the known
   is analogy. 28 For instance: 'He should, like a father, show favours
   to those whose exemptions have ceased.' (2.1.18)

29 That which, though not stated, follows as a matter of course
   is implication. 30 For instance: 'One conversant with the ways of
   the world should resort to a king endowed with personal excellences
   and the excellences of material constituents through such as are dear
   and beneficial (to the king).' (5.4.1) 31 That he should not resort
   through one who is not dear and beneficial follows as a matter of course.

32 A thing with reasons on both sides is doubt. 33 For instance:
   '(Should one march) against a king with impoverished and greedy
   subjects or a king with rebellious subjects?' (7.5.12)

34 A thing common to another topic is (similar) situation. 35
   For instance: 'In a place assigned (to him) for agricultural work
   and so on, exactly as before.' (1.11.10)

36 Setting forth (a thing) with the help of the opposite is contrary
   (corollary). 37 For instance: 'The opposite, as those of one dis-
   pleased.' (1.16.12)

38 That by which a sentence is completed is completion of a
   sentence. 39 For instance: 'And there is loss of all activity on the
   part of the king, as of a (bird) with clipped wings.' (8.1.9) 40 There,
   'of a bird' is the completion of the sentence.

41 The statement of another, not contradicted, is agreement.
42 For instance: 'Two wings, a centre and reserves,—this is the ar-
   rangement of a battle-array according to Ušanas.' (10.6.1)

43 The description of a speciality is emphasising. 44 For
   instance: 'And in particular, in the case of oligarchies and of royal
   families having the character of an oligarchy, there are dissensions
   caused by gambling and destruction caused by that; hence it is the

21-22 The inclusion of Kautiliya among those referred to as asau is taken to imply
   that he himself could not have been the author of this work. But asau is 'so and so',
   not 'some other person'; and if an author has chosen to refer to himself in the third
   person, there would be nothing strange in referring to himself as asau.

41-42 The author, however, recognizes two kakṣas in addition to what is supposed
to be approved by him. See 10.6.1.
most evil among vices, as it favours evil men and leads to weakness in administration." (8.3.64)

45 Deriving the meaning of a word through its components is derivation. 46 For instance: 'It throws out a person from his good, hence it is called vyasana.' (8.1.4)

47 Exemplifying by means of an example is illustration. 48 For instance: 'For, going to war with the stronger, he engages as it were in a fight on foot with an elephant.' (7.3.3)

49 Taking away from a rule of universal application is exception. 50 For instance: 'He should always station alien troops in close proximity (to himself), except in case of fear of a rising in the interior.' (9.2.6)

51 A word, not agreed to by others, is one's own technical term. 52 For instance: '(The would-be conqueror is) the first constituent; one immediately next to his territory is the second; one separated by an intervening territory is the third.' (Cf. 6.2.13-15)

53 A statement to be rejected is the prima facie view. 54 For instance: 'Of calamities befalling the king and the minister, the calamity of the minister is more serious.' (8.1.7)

55 A statement giving the final view on that is the correct view. 56 For instance: 'being dependent on him; for, the king is in the place of the head.' (8.1.17-18)

57 What is applicable everywhere is invariable rule. 58 For instance: 'Therefore, he should himself be energetically active.' (1.19.5)

59 'This will be stated afterwards' is reference to a future statement. 60 For instance: 'Weights and measures we shall explain in (the Section on) the Superintendent of Standardisation.' (2.13.28)

61 'This has been stated before' is reference to a past statement. 62 For instance: 'The excellences of a minister have been stated before.' (6.1.7).

48 As 7.3.3 shows, hastinā is to be read as in Cs for hastinaḥ of the mss.

49 abhipluta 'what is spread all over' refers to a rule of general or universal application; vyanapakarṣaṇa is 'taking away' from it.

51 asamitaḥ 'not agreed to, not accepted'; paraiḥ would seem to refer to other sciences, rather than to other authors of this science. The passage given in illustration is found with some variations in 6.2.13-15. We have there viṣijīṣuh, aripraṇāh and mitraṇāraṇaḥ, not prathamā prakṛtiḥ etc. But daityaḥ, tiśyaḥ and other terms are known to the text; cf. 7.6.1; 7.7.1; 7.18.1-2. The discrepancy in quotation is, however, difficult to explain. Understanding seva to refer to Kauṭilya alone (and not to the science), Meyer thinks that the use of the word prakṛti for princes is an innovation by Kauṭilya. That could hardly be right.
63 ‘Thus and in no other way’ is restriction. 64 For instance:
‘Therefore, he should instruct him in what conduces to spiritual and
material good, not in what is spiritually and materially harmful.’
(1.17.33)

65 ‘Either in this way or in that’ is option. 66 For instance:
‘Or, daughters, born in the pious marriages.’ (3.5.10)

67 ‘In this way and in that’ is combination. 68 For instance:
‘Begotten by oneself, the (son) becomes the heir to his father and
kinsmen.’ (3.7.13)

69 The doing of what is not expressly stated is what is understood.
70 For instance: ‘And experts shall fix revocation in such a way
that neither the donor nor the donee is injured.’ (3.16.5)

71 Thus this science, expounded with these devices of
a science, has been composed for the acquisition and protection
of this world and of the next.

72 This science brings into being and preserves spiritual
good, material well-being and pleasures, and destroys spiritual
evil, material loss and hatred.

73 This science has been composed by him, who, in resentment,
quickly regenerated the science and the weapon and the
earth that was under the control of the Nanda kings.

Herewith ends the Fifteenth Book of the Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya
‘THE METHOD OF THE SCIENCE’

59 anāgatāvākašaṇa differs from pradeśa (s. 25) in that a future statement is not
made applicable to a present case; there is only a reference to a future discussion.
Similar is the difference between atikrāntāvākaśaṇa (s. 61) and atiśāsa (s. 23).

63 For niyoga, viñkala and samuccaya, cf. 9.7.73-76 above.
64 dharmyam etc. is read here as in the actual passage, 1.17.33.
68 svayamjñātaḥ is read here as in the actual passage (3.7.13) for svasaṁjñātaḥ,
which, however, means the same thing.
70 As the actual passage shows, we have to read yathā ca for yathāvad of the mss.
71 parasya ca: with this pālane is not to be understood, only avāptau.
73 sāstra ca sāstra ca: apparently the Science of Politics had fallen into
neglect in the author’s day. The uddhāra of sāstra or weapon seems to refer to its
‘raising’ it for striking down enemies. It could hardly mean a resurrection of the
science of fighting. Meyer would interpret sāstra as ‘the prime minister’s office
(from sās to rule)’. That does not appear possible. — Kāmandaka, 1.6, refers to
the fact that Viśnugupta extracted (uddadhre) the nectar of Nitisāstra from the vast
ocean of Arthaśāstra.
(Seeing the manifold errors of the writers of commentaries on scientific treatises, Viṣṇugupta himself composed the sūtra as well as the bhāṣya).

**HEREWITH ENDS THE ARTHŚĀSTRA OF KAUṬILYA**

The stanza that follows the colophon of the final Book is clearly a later addition. It refers to the text as containing a sūtra as well as a bhāṣya on it by the same author. But the text contains only sūtras and no bhāṣya. It is erroneous to look upon the titles of the prakaraṇas as constituting the sūtra portion and the entire text as a bhāṣya on it, as the commentators do. The fact that the author is referred to in the stanza by his personal name Viṣṇugupta and not by his gotra name Kauṭilya used throughout in the text also raises doubts about the genuineness of the stanza.
The following are some of the more important renderings in the Russian translation of this text, which are worthy of note.

1.3.9 ṣeṣa- 'remnants of the sacrifice.' 1.12.25 akṛtyaṁ etc. 'should station his own chief spies (mukhyaṁ), meriting trust (akṛtyaṁ) revealed (darśitaṁ) on the ground of their actions in the matter of traitors (kṛtyapakṣiyaiḥ hetubhiḥ).'

1.17.13 pratyāpateḥ kārayaṁ 'the cause of the father's disgust with him.' 1.20.23 mudrā- etc. 'provided with a seal with an indication of the place of destination.'

2.7.3 upasthānam 'side-income from office-presence.' 2.8.4,10 acastāraḥ 'exceeding one's authority.' 2.10.9 aṣṭāntapadatā 'without superfluous proximity.'

2.13.3 rasaviddham 'obtained from streams.' 2.15.1,8 śivhanikā 'receipts from treatment of agricultural products.' 2.19.11 yantram etc. 'on both sides appliances for regulation of scales (yantram) or chains for cups (āyikam).'

2.19.34 samam 'cylindrical in form.' 2.22.8 dvārādeyaṁ 'collections meant for the door-keeper.'

2.22.14 śitātyayah 'transgression of rules about sowing.' 2.26.12 parisītānam 'not gone through the slaughter-house' (or, 'rejected by the slaughter-house' n. 16, p. 624).

3.2.3 upavicāraḥ 'preliminary work (necessary for training).'</p>

3.1.6 avaktaṇyakaraḥ 'which do not deserve consideration (i.e., petty).'</p>
3.1.17 karaṇaṁ adhikaraṇaṁ 'the essence of the matter, its circumstances.'

3.3.3 bharm- anyāyaṁ etc. 'if one keeps a lady-in-waiting for an indefinite time, then one should give her food and clothing as much as one gives to one's own servant-men or even more than that.'

3.3.14 dhṛtaśaṁge etc. 'if he makes false statements that he has clear proof that she refuses intercourse or that she tells him through a woman similar to herself used as an informer (that the wife refuses intercourse).'

3.5.2 teṣām etc. 'parents directly (without anyone suggesting it) divide inheritance among them (the sons).'

3.10.16 upavāsāḥ 'farm labourers.' 3.11.49 tato 'ṛdham adhuvāṇāṁ 'half that if (they emphasise) the testimony of unreliable witnesses.'

3.13.21 sārrodhaḥ cākāraṇaṁ 'and the same fine for one who puts obstacles (to liberation) without sufficient cause.'

3.14.1 sārrodhaḥ cākāraṇaṁ 'if he obstructs work without cause.'

3.14.13 teṣām ādhiḥ etc. 'the time given to such a union is weekly; thereafter agreements are allowed with others and work given for carrying it out.'

4.1.2 'Honest leaders of artisans (arthyaṇprakāraḥ kāruladitāraḥ), trusted depositaries (svānikiṣṭāraḥ) independent workmen, and those having authority in their unions (śreṣṭhipramāṇaḥ) should receive commission to do the work.'

4.4.3 pra-cchandaka 'middle-men' (or, 'those who carry secret messages' n. 3, p. 656).

4.7.4 avaropitaṁ 'asphyxiated by some object being stuck into his mouth.'

5.1.4 dāya 'who ought to be removed or eliminated.' (understood as tyāja by Mallinātha on Śīṣupālavadha, 2.56,—n. 3, p. 665).

5.2.61 ekarūpam hiranyam
money of one particular type.' 5.3.17 Āryayukta 'those in the service of Āryas.' — ārohaka 'a horseman.'

6.1.15 uktaḥ prayạṅga- etc. 'they appear as composite parts, on which is dependent the well-being of the state' (Should not one read rājyasamāpudaḥ? n. 13, p. 669). 6.2.22 arivijīgīsumadhyaṃānām etc. 'standing independently by himself away from the enemy, the conqueror and the middle king, and stronger (than the other three) on the basis of his own state (prakteśāhā).'

7.3.20 samasya 'briefly.' 7.3.28 niruddho etc. 'concluding such a treaty where the place and time are not suitable is a mistake (atayahā).’ 7.3.30 atyādānaśabhiptā-śitaḥ 'dictated with extreme demands for payments.' 7.5.41 atisāndhānādhiṃye 'over one's rival one might gain superiority and benefit.' 7.6.36 ‘Otherwise, if he is unreliable he may be made into goods or handed over under the supervision of a reliable person, so that he may not have contact with the enemy, (and) by the way, he to whom he is entrusted can be spoiled by him. 7.6.41 ekatra tyāgagahātau 'abandoning (a bogus ally) and destruction of him when he is alone.' 7.11.40 abhīhitasaṃsāndhiḥ 'an agreement with pre-conditions.' 7.12.8 anāntāvakteli 'possessing considerable humility.' 7.17.5 balopēkṣaḥ 'dependent on the measure of strength of him who gives them.' 7.18.37 upakāre nivēṣayet 'should make him serve oneself anew.'

8.1.32 karsakaprayāge tu etc. 'if the people consist for the most part of farmers then is felt the calamity of the fort; if the countryside consists mostly of fighters, then the country suffers in the same manner' (because soldiers take away the resources—n. 17, p. 687). 8.1.42 svadaṇḍapratigrahaḥ 'taking punitive measures in one's own property.' 8.5.19 sattrasthāna- etc. 'placing oneself in a concealed place and thus getting an opportunity to outwit the enemy and agreement with one who may take counter-action (against rebellious army?).'

9.1.18 atiryak 'in the longitudinal direction (i.e., from east to west).’ (tiryak, crosswise, i.e., from north to south; we think that this is less happy, as in most ancient references to India, South India is hardly understood; therefore, atiryak, east to west, is more acceptable. N. 14, p. 693). 9.2.2 bahulānu- etc. 'not trusting hired and other troops at their presence in large numbers and at their devotion, as there is danger that they may succumb to the instigations of the enemy.' 9.2.3 alpasampātām 'which does not fail in spirits, indifferent to temptations.' 9.2.4 daṇḍabalaṇYYYavahāraḥ 'when the (rival) uses the army under fear of punishment.' 9.4.23 anirbandha- etc. 'received without obstacles from councillors.' 9.6.29 bahulībhūte 'when that happens.'

10.2.4 bāhūtāraḥ 'infantry reconnoitring.' 10.5.53 unmāthāvadadhānam 'a destructive raid.' — prakṛṣṇikā 'scattering the array.' — vyāṛcitapṛṣṭham 'deliberately retreating to lure the enemy and then striking anew.' — anucāṇasam 'turning back of a part of one's troops before the enemy.' 10.6.4 tiyagerttiḥ 'exactly according to the length of the front.' 10.6.9,11 atikrāntaḥ 'taken to the front. 10.6.10 pratikrāntaḥ 'taken back.'
11.1.5 rājaśabdopa- etc. ‘who derive benefit from their royal rank itself.’ 11.1.42 adityakauśikastriyaḥ ‘actresses.’

13.2.6 sthānīka ‘one who constantly stays in one place.’ 13.4.3 utthitam ‘who love their work.’ 13.4.4 anyasyām ‘different from where agricultural people live.’ 13.4.9 balakūṭikā ‘dug-outs (mud-huts) for one’s own troops.’ — gulena ‘with unwieldy objects.’ 13.5.13 yonībāla ‘young females.’

14.1.37 dhruveya ‘with flat cakes.’ 14.2.45 ārājyāyati etc. ‘but if rumour spreads that (such an action) does not serve the interests of the state, then there will be a general uprising.’ 14.3.23 suṇakaphelakāḥ ‘a pack of hounds.’ 14.3.29 asanīkīrṇe ‘not desecrated.’ 14.3.49 potrī ‘a bundle of pigs’ bristles.’ 14.3.61 raviṇaviḥ etc. ‘and announces everything that appears under the sun and up to the limit of the horizon.’ 14.3.62 Caṇḍāli- etc. ‘O bolt, you have a sharp smell like the skirt or milk-bucket of a Caṇḍāla-woman.’

15.1.1 manuṣyānām etc. ‘Riches, valuables sustain human existence; (in the present case) valuability is land populated by people.’
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Revision of the Text as Adopted in the Translation

Read मूलनुतुर्षा वा (as in D) in place of मूलहनुतुर्षा (2.3.4)
Omit देवताविघानं (as in D) (2.5.2)
Read भूमि प्राप्तः (as in Cp) in place of भूमिमप्राप्तः (2.16.23)
Read कार्मिकः प्रत्यवः (em.) in place of कार्मिकप्रत्यवः (2.28.27)
Read अजाजीनां (em.) in place of अजाजीनां (2.29.41)
Read द्रादनार्थो (as in Cb) in place of द्रादनार्थो (4.1.60)
Read प्रेशः (as in Cb) in place of प्रेशः (4.8.10)
Read मातुर्वयमाजज्ञाना…अवरूपितः (as in Cb) in place of मातुर्वयमाजज्ञाना…अवरूपित (5.2.64)
Read प्रज्ञात्सां (em.) in place of प्रज्ञात्सां (7.8.27)
Read पूर्वनुतिराजावे (as in Cb) in place of पूर्वनुतिराजावे (7.14.10)
Read अमितर्विरलटं (as in Cs) in place of अमितिर्विरलटं (9.4.8)
Read उपरोधः (as in mss.) in place of उपरोधः (12.5.12)
Read अपकृष्टस्त्रादर्शा (as in mss.) in place of अपकृष्टः स्त्रादर्शा (13.4.15)

Misprints in the Text, not Indicated in the Errata

Read अद्वा विऀष प्रकरणम् for अद्वा विद्वान् प्रकरणम् (2.20)
Read भूस्तः for भूस्तः (2.25.38)
Read गणिकादासी for गणिका दासी (2.27.8)
Read विषण्: for विषण् (2.30.35)
Read राजाभृत्वयं for राजाभृत्वयं (5.1.50)
Read समुयं for समुयं (7.5.38)
Read बाह्योमित्रा for बाह्यो मित्रा (8.4.48)
Read राजायारि for राजायारि (8.5.12)
Read पश्चात्कोप for पश्चात्कोप (9.3.4)
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TRANSLATION

P. 56 s. 1.20.16 1.4 read Sauvīras for Sanvīras
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P. 104 s. 2.9.21 1.2 read property for prop rty
P. 105 s. 2.10.5 1.1 read edicts, for edicts.
P. 185 s. 2.27.24 1.1 read Superintendent) for Superintendent
P. 234 s. 3.3.14 1.2 read approach is for approac his
P. 252 s. 3.8.28 1.1 read 28 for 27
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P. 333 s. 4.13.5 1.1 read person, for person.
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P. 524 ss. 10.6.48-50 1.7 read through for though
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P. 89 s. 2.6.12 1.17 read can be no for can no
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P. 123 s. 2.12.17 1.1 read taken for taken)
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P. 227 Ch. 3.2 1.2 read *sub-sections* for *sub-sections*
P. 229 s. 3.2.24 1.3 read *ṣṛṣṭāyāḥ* for *ṛṣṭāyāḥ*
P. 230 s. 3.2.41 1.3 read *likely* for *likely*
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P. 293 s. 3.20.23 1.1 read *them.* for *them*
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P. 501 s. 10.1.12 1.7 read *upasthāna* for *upasthāṇa*
P. 548 s. 12.5.43 1.5 read *its* for *its*
P. 548 s. 12.5.43 1.6 read *palace.* for *palaces*
P. 578 s. 14.1.37 1.4 read *sravaṇa* for *sravaṇa*
P. 597 s. 15.1.73 1.2 read *his* for *its*
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