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KAUTALYA STUDIES

BY

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A. W. BRAGGERS BOKTRYKKERI A/S
The problems raised by the discovery of the Kauṭaliya Arthaśāstra have not yet been finally solved. The work begins with the following statement:

prthiviya labhe pālane ca yāvanti arthaśāstraṁi pūrvācāryaiḥ prasthāpitāṁ prāyaśas tāṁ sanśīrṣyaikam idaṁ arthaśāstraṁ kṛtam,

by mainly condensing those arthaśastras which have been composed by earlier teachers about winning and guarding the earth this one arthaśāstra has been made.

And we are not left in doubt about the identity of the author, for in the final stanza, we read:

yena śāstraṁ ca śastraṁ ca Nandarājagata ca bhiḥ |
amarṣevoddṛtyaṁ aśu tena śāstram idaṁ kṛtam ||

this treatise has been made by him who in indignation quickly extracted the treatise and the sword and the earth that had gone to the Nandaking. And this is in accordance with Indian tradition.¹

If the Arthaśāstra itself is genuine, we can with safety draw the conclusion that it was actually the work of Kauṭalya, the minister of the Maurya Candragupta. For he is throughout mentioned as the final authority. But, curious enough, the frequent expression iti Kauṭalyaḥ has been considered to be apt to raise suspicion. Jacobi, Über die Echtheit, p. 833, says that it is, as far as he knows, the only argument which has been urged against Kauṭalya’s authorship.

Hillebrandt, l. c. p. 10, thought that we have to do with a work by an unknown author belonging to the school of Kauṭalīya. But it seems to me that Jacobii l. c. pp. 832 f., has shown that such cannot be the case.

An argument against the authenticity of the work has also been found in its disagreement in some details with Megasthenes' account of India. However, he cannot be characterized as a critical observer, but accepted even the most phantastical tales he heard. O. Stein, Megasthenes und Kauṭalīya, pp. 104—16, laid stress on Megasthenes' statement that there were no slaves in India: νεομοθέται γάρ παρ αὐτοῖς δοῦλον μηδένα τὸ παράπτων εἶναι; εἶναι δὲ καὶ τὸς μέγα έν τῇ 'Ινδῇ γῆ, πάντως 'Ινδοὺς εἶναι ἐλευθέρους οὐδὲ τινὰ δοῦλον εἶναι 'Ινδόν. Kauṭalīya, on the other hand, speaks of dāsas, slaves, in India. Breloer, Kauṭalīya-Studien II, pp. 12 ff., has shown that the terms δοῦλος and dāsa are not synonymous. He might have added a reference to Kauṭalīya III.xiii: mlecchānāṁ ādōṣaḥ praṇāṁ vikratum adhatum va na tva evāryasya dāsabhāvah, it is no fault with barbarians to sell their children or put them on, but an Aryan cannot be a slave. Such a statement would be apt to lead Megasthenes astray.

The fact that the Kauṭalīya is written in Sanskrit might lead people to doubt that it can be as old as the 4th century B. C. E. Senart, J.A.VIII. viii, p. 404, says: Pour le sanskrit classique, sa préparation dans le milieu brahmanique, fondée matériellement sur la langue védique, provoquée en fait par les premières applications de l'écriture aux dialectes populaires, doit se placer entre le IIIe siècle avant J. C. et le Ier siècle de l'ère chrétienne. Son emploi publique ou officiel n'a commencé de se répandre qu'à la fin du Ier siècle ou au commencement du IIe. Aucun ouvrage de la littérature classique ne peut être antérieur à cette époque.

Jacobi, Kultur. Sprach. und Literaturhistorisches, p. 961, is certainly right when he says that already the use of Sanskrit in the epics shows that such is not the case. The case of Aśoka was an exception, an episode, pp. 957 f. In his administration the Brahmins were not the leading authority, and the result was not always advantageous to his empire.

Hillebrandt, l. c. p. 13, drew attention to the fact that there was a fixed and settled terminology in Indian political lore, and Thomas,
JRAS 1909, p. 466, 1914, p. 323, &c., pointed out that there are some unmistakable parallels to Kauṭalya’s terms in the Aśoka inscriptions. But that does not prove that such terms were originally coined in Prākrit. They can have been translated from Sanskrit for the use of Aśoka’s officials. It is tempting to see an indication to this effect in the use of terms such as prādesika-, mahāmātra-, samāja-, &c., in the Girnar version.

That the Kauṭaliya was originally written in Sanskrit can hardly be doubted, and also Kauṭaliya’s predecessors are always quoted in that language. That does not, however, imply a later date than the 4th century B. C. We have an extensive prose literature in Sanskrit, in the Brāhmaṇas including the Upaniṣads, and in the Śūtras. And the old grammatical literature was based on and written in that language.

Then we have the Kāmasūtra, which according to Jacobi, Über die Echtheit, p. 841, in its original form cannot be older than the last half of the 5th century B. C., but which we only possess in a later retractatio, which Jacobi thought could not be older than the 3rd century A. D.

Another problem is raised by Kauṭaliya X. iii, where we read:

\[ \text{apīha śloka bhavataḥ:} \]
\[ \text{yān yajñasamghais tapasā ca viprāḥ svargaśiṣṭāḥ pātracayais ca yānti |} \]
\[ \text{kṣaṇena tān apy atiyānti śūrāḥ prānāṃ suyuddaḥsu parītyajantaḥ ||} \]
\[ \text{navān śarāvaṇa salilasya pūrṇaṇa susāṃśktāṇa darbhaktottariyaṃ |} \]
\[ \text{tat tasya mā bhīn naraśaṃ ca gaccheyo bhartṛpiṇḍasaya kṛte na yudhyet ||} \]

The second stanza is also found in Bhāsa’s Pratijñāyaugandharāyaṇa, IV. 3, and it may be asked to whom it originally belongs, to Kauṭalya or to Bhāsa.

Now Gaṇapati Śāstri, in the introduction to his edition of the Svaṃavāsavadattā, p. xxviii, draws attention to the fact that Kauṭalya does not elsewhere introduce his own verses with any such remark as here, and he draws the inference that Kauṭalya has borrowed the stanza from Bhāsa, while Jacobi, Internationale Wochenschrift, 1913, p. 655, thought that we may have to do with glosses. It is not possible to arrive at certainty, and if the stanzas cannot, for the reason stated by Gaṇapati, be ascribed to Kauṭalya, of which I am not at all certain, they may belong to that floating stock of stanzas by unknown authors.
which were current in ancient times. And it should not be overlooked that Kauṭalya quotes two stanzas, and that only one of them can be traced in Bhāsa’s play. I cannot see any serious objection to the assumption that Bhāsa has borrowed his stanza from Kauṭalya, and, so far as I can see, there is nothing that could lead us to think that Bhāsa is not considerably younger than Kauṭalya.

The most serious objection to referring Kauṭalya to the 4th century B.C. has been formulated by Jolly in his careful Kollektaneen zum Kauḍīlīya Arthaśāstra, Nachrichten von der K. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen. Philologisch-Historische Klasse, 1916, pp. 348 ff. He maintained that the parallels found in law-books and medical texts lead us to think of a period considerably later than the 4th century B.C.

This line of argument does not, however, carry conviction. It would be unconceivable that a work such as the Kauṭāliya, which was certainly considered, during a very long period, to be the leading authority on Arthaśāstra, had been handed down without any changes or additions. We must accordingly make a careful examination of the work itself and try to find out whether it contains reminiscences of an earlier stage, without such changes and additions. That has been done by Jacobi in his important papers in the Berlin Sitzungsberichte, and I can only add some remarks as a supplement to his argumentation.

THE VIDYĀŚ

The second adhyāya of the first adhikaraṇa opens with the remark ānvikṣikī trayā, vārttā, daṇḍanitiś ceti vidyāḥ. I shall follow Kauṭalya’s enumeration of the various branches of knowledge, and begin with the ānvikṣikī.

I. ĀNVĪKSĪKĪ

The term itself is well known from good sources and does not lead to any chronological inference. But it is of interest to see what Kauṭalya meant with it. In I. ii he says that it comprises Sāṁkhyā, Yoga and Lokāyata: Sāṁkhyāṇī Yogo Lokāyataṇi cety Ānvikṣikī.

The best analysis of this statement has been given by Jacobi, Zur Frühgeschichte der indischen Philosophie, Berliner Sitzungsberichte
1911, pp. 732 ff. So far as I can see he was evidently right when he maintained that Kauṭalya was the first one to teach that there are four vidyās, the fourth being the Ānvikṣīki, which looks into right and unright in the Trayā, advantage and disadvantage in the Vārtū, right and wrong measures in the Daṇḍanīti, and, with reasoning, into the strength and weakness of these (three) vidyās: dharmadharmau trayām, arthānarthau vartāyām, nayānayau daṇḍanītyām, balābale caīsāṃ hetubhir anvikṣamāṇā. Ānvikṣīki is accordingly a systematical method of investigation, without reference to the character of the individual vidyās.

Kauṭalya’s predecessors are stated to have denied the existence of the Ānvikṣīki as a vidyā of its own. The Mānavas included it in the Trayā: trayāviśeṣo hy ānvikṣīki; the Bārhapatyas also excluded the Trayā, because it was only an obscuration to him who knows the ways of the world: sanvaranamātraṃ hi trayā lokayātravida iti, and the Auṣanasas did not recognize more than one vidyā, the Daṇḍanīti, because all exertions in vidyā are bound up with it: tasyām hi sarvavidyārambhāḥ pratibaddhā iti.

Four as the number of the vidyās was later on recognized by all authorities. But it is characteristic that they make the ānvikṣīki an ātmavidyā, i.e. it ought to be orthodox and lead to final emancipation.

Not so Kauṭalya, and he could accordingly enumerate the Lokāyata together with Sāṁkhya and Yoga, though he knew that the Bārhapatyas were heretics who did not believe in the śruti. Lokāyata is the method of this world, practical philosophy, which was an auxiliary in every branch of knowledge. Jacobi draws attention to the fact that Nyāya and Vaiśeṣika are not mentioned, clearly because they did not then exist as independent systems, nor the two Mīmāṃsās, because Kauṭalya included them in the trayā. I do not doubt that Nyāya and Vaiśeṣika are later outcomes of the old Lokāyata, but that is of no importance in the present connection. On the other hand, it is of interest that there is no reference to Buddhist tenets such as the Kṣaṇikavāda, probably because they did not play a prominent rôle in Kauṭalya’s days.
II. TRAYĪ

The second vidyā according to Kauṭalya was Trayī, i.e. the three first Vedas. But it is added that also the Atharvaveda and the Itihāsaveda are Vedas, and that the term also comprises the Vedāṅgas: Śiksā, Kalpa, Vyākaraṇa, Nirukta, Chandovicitii and Jyotiṣa: Sāma Ṛg Yajurvedas trayas Trayī. AtharvavedaItihāsaveda ca vedāḥ. Śiksā Kalpo Vyākaraṇa Nirukta Chandovicitii Jyotiṣam iti cāṅgāni. This is in accordance with other old sources and does not lead to any chronological inference.

The Itihāsaveda is stated, in I. v, to include Arthaśāstra and Dharmaśāstra: Purāṇam Itivrtaṃ Ākhyāyikā Udāharanaṃ Dharmaśāstram Arthaśāstraṃ ceti Itihāsaḥ. With regard to Arthaśāstra this is explained in the 3rd stanza V. vi of the great chapter on Yagavṛtta, the methods of government officials, to which the Arthaśāstra properly belongs:

\[ itivrtaṃpurāṇābhyāṃ bodhayed arthaśāstravit \]

knowing the Arthaśāstra he (the minister) should instruct (the king) through itivrta and purāṇa. The Arthaśāstra can thus be included in the term Itihāsa, to which it does not properly belong, because it contains accounts of how things happened (itivrta) and old tales (purāṇa) given as illustrations (udāharana). The same thing can of course be said of the Dharmaśāstra.

It is of no interest for our present purpose to give precise definitions of the various terms used in this text. The important thing to us are these tales themselves, because the form they take in the Kauṭalya might conceivably lead to chronological inferences; cf. Jacobi, Kultur, Sprach- und Literaturhistorisches, pp. 970 f. It will, therefore, be advisable to go into details. We evidently have to do with ancient traditional and popular tales, which partly existed already in Vedic times, and which we also know from the epics and folk-tales.

I. vi mentions rulers who have perished because they had not subdued their senses; and others who long enjoyed the earth because they exterminated the six inimical forces (śatruṣaḍvarga), viz. kāma, kopa, lobha, māna, mada and harṣa.

1. kāma: Dāṇḍakayo nāma Bhojaḥ kāmād brāhmaṇaḥ sa bāndhurasṭro vinānāśa Karālaś ca Vaidehāḥ, through
desire, violating a brähmana virgin, perished, with relatives and kingdom, the Bhoja named Dāṇḍakya and Karāla the Videha-King. The tale about Bhoja Dāṇḍakya is, as mentioned by Jacobi, referred to in the same terms in the Kāmasūtra, p. 24, which is younger than the Kauṭaliya, and further in the Rāmāyaṇa, VII. 79—81, where the king's name is Dāṇḍa, and the Jātakas 522.21, 530.21, where he is called Dāṇḍakin. The Videha-prince Karāla is mentioned in the Viṣayatīyāgopadesakulaka, which is not accessible to me, but is evidently a late work.

2. kopa. kopāḥ Janamejaya brähmaṇesu vikrantaś Tālajāṅghaś ca Bhṛgusuh, through anger (perished) Janamejaya, assailing brähmanaḥs, and Tālajāṅgha with the Bhṛgus. Mḥbh. XII. 150.3 we read:

āstā rājaḥ mahāvīryaḥ Pārīṣṭiḥ Janamejayaḥ |
abuddhīpūrvam āgacchad brahmahatyān mahāpātiḥ ||

there was a king of great vigour, Janamejaya the son of Parīṣṭi; inadvertently he betook himself to brähmana murder. And Mḥbh. III. 303.17 runs:

amānayan hi māṇīrhaṃ Vātapiś ca mahāsurah |
nihato brahmadaṇḍena Tālajāṅghhas tathaiva ca ||

3. lobha: lobhad Aīlaś caturvarṇyaṃ atyāhāraṇayaḥ Sauvīraś ca Ajābinduh, through greed, overassessing the four varṇas, perished Aīla and Ajābindu Sauvīra. Cf. Mḥbh. I. 75. 20 ff.:

vīpraiḥ sa vīgrahaṃ cakre vīryomattāḥ Purūravāḥ |
jāhara ca sa vīprāṇāṃ ratnāny utkrośatām api . . . . .
tato mahārṣibhiḥ kruddhāḥ ṣaṭpā sadyo vyanaṣyata ||

vigour-maddened Purūravas quarrelled with the brähmaṇas, and he took away the jewels of the brähmaṇas, though they cried out . . . . then he at once perished, cursed by the angry brähmaṇas.

4. māna. mānāh Rāvaṇaḥ parādārāṃ aprayacchaṃ Duryodhana rājyād aṁśaṃ ca, through haughtiness (perished) Rāvaṇa not giving up the other's wife, and Duryodhana (not giving up) a share in the kingdom. The tales here referred to are too well known to need any comment.

5. mada: madād Dambhodhavah bhūtāvamāṃ Haihayaś ca Arjunah, through wantonness (perished) Dambhodhava [I], despising (other) beings, and Arjuna Haihaya, Mḥbh. V. 96 relates how Dambhodhava
went about in search of somebody equal or superior to himself, was referred to Nara and Nārāyaṇa, was defeated and humbled by them, and then began to practise righteousness. Here there is no reference to his perishing. Mhbb. III. 116 narrates how the Haihaya Arjuna came to Jamadagni's hermitage, carried off the calf of the homadhenu and pulled down the trees. Paraśūrāma then chopped off Arjuna's thousand arms and killed him.

6. ḫarsā: ḫarsād Vātāpir Agastyaṃ atyāśadayan Vṛṣṇisaṅghaś ca Dvaiṣṭyanam iti, through merry-making (perished) Vātāpi doing violence to Agastya, and the Vṛṣṇi-community to Dvaiṣṭya (cf. above sub kopa, 2, for Vātāpi, and Mhbb. XVI. r. 15 f. about the Vṛṣṇis and Dvaiṣṭyan: they necked Viśvāmitra, Kaṇva and Nārada, dressing up Śāmba as a woman and asking the saints what he would give birth to). Kauṭalya's statement that they did violence to Dvaiṣṭya is of importance, for, as mentioned by Jacobi, Lüders has shown, ZDMG 58, p. 691, that this is in accordance with the original version of the Jātakas.

The final stanza of I. vi then mentions Jāmadagnya (Paraśūrāma) and Ambariṣa Nābhaṇa as having enjoyed the earth for a long time, because they kept aloof from the sātrusaḍavarga. As pointed out by Jacobi, there is no indication in the Mhbb. or in the first two books of the Rāmāyaṇa to the effect that Paraśūrāma ever ruled over the earth as king.

Another series of tales is indicated in the Niśāntapraṇidhi, I. xx, about the dangers menacing a king in his harem: antargṛhagataḥ sthavirasirṣopariśuddhāṃ deviṃ paśyey na kāmciḥ abhigacchet. devigrhe lmo li bhṛtā Bhadrasenāṃ jaghāṇa, mātuḥ śayyāntargataś ca putraḥ Kāruṣam. lājān madhuneti viṣṇeṇa paryaṣya devi Kāśirājan, viṣadighena nāpurenā Vairantyaṇa, mekalāmaninā Sauvirama, Jālūthama ādarsena, veyyān guḍham ṣastram kṛtvā devi Vidūrathāṃ jaghāṇa, having entered the inner apartment he should see his queen, after she has been proved to be pure by old women, and not approach any. For hidden in the queen's apartment the brother killed Bhadrasena, and, lying in his mother's bed the son Kāruṣa. The queen killed the Kāśi king having put poison on parched grains, saying it was honey, Vairantya with an anklet besmeared with poison, the Sauvīra with a girdle-jewel, Jālūtha with a mirror, Viḍūratha after having made a weapon hidden in her braid. Some of these tales are indicated in
Kāmandaki VII. 51 ff., where we find Vairūpya or Vairājya for Vairantya, and Jārūṣya for Jālūtha. Gaṇapati Śāstri everywhere paraphrases the Kauṭaliya or the Mbh., making some additions which he may partly have taken from a vernacular commentary in his possession, but which cannot be considered to be an old source.

A slight difference between the Kauṭaliya and the Mbh. has been pointed out by Jacobi, p. 970. Kauṭaliya IV. viii states that there have been people who have been found among thieves without themselves being thieves: yathā hi Māṇḍavyaḥ karmakleśabhāyād acoraḥ coro 'smīti bruvāṇaḥ, as Māṇḍavya, who was not a thief, but said he was from fear of molestation. Mbh. I. 107. 9 says: na kīncid vacanaṁ rājaman abravit sādvu asādhu viś, he did not say a word, good or bad.

Kauṭaliya V. v inculcates the necessity of observing the various behaviour also of other beings than men, and gives the following examples: ayam uccaiḥ sincaśiṇi Kātyāyanaḥ pravavvāja, Kātyāyana took the vows (saying): this one sprinkles high; kroñco 'pasavyam iti Kaṇiṅko Bhāradvājaḥ, Kaṇiṅka Bhāradvāja because there was a heron from the left: tṛyam iti Dīrghaś Cārāyaṇaḥ, Dīrgha Cārāyaṇa on account of grass; śīta śaŚiṇi Ghoṭamukhaḥ, Ghoṭamukha because the cloak was cold; hasti pratyaukṣid iti Kīṇjalkaḥ, Kīṇjalka because an elephant sprinkled towards him; rathāśvaṁ prāśamsid iti Piśuṇaḥ, Piśuna because a carriage with horses was praised; pratiravaṇe śunāḥ Piśumapatraḥ, the son of Piśuna when a dog barked against him. These tales are not, so far as I know, referred to in other sources. Gaṇapati Śāstri gives explanations, but we do not know anything about his sources. Gaṇapati Śāstri gives explanations, but we do not know anything about his sources. Piśuna is also quoted elsewhere, e. g. VIII, iii, where he is stated to have maintained that hunting is worse than gambling, because in the case of the latter one may win, as did Jayatsena and Duryodhana. But Kauṭalya objects that one must always lose, as shown by Nala and Yudhiṣṭhira. Jacobi, p. 970, reminds us of the fact that the Mbh. speaks of Puśkara and not of Jayatsena, but remarks that the latter is a likely name of Nala’s brother.

Such tales were evidently numerous. On the other hand we scarcely find any indications pointing to the existence of kāvyas, of lyrical poetry, or a real drama. We know from Buddhist works and

1 Cf. Jacobi, p. 959 about the curious names occurring in these tales.
from the discoveries in Chinese Turkistan that there were many lyrical poets in ancient days. And the oldest kavi known to us, Vālmiki, the author of the Rāmāyaṇa, takes us back to an earlier time than the 4th century B.C., and Jacobi, p. 972, maintains that Aśvaghoṣa's plays and his Buddhacarita show that there had been a long development which certainly goes back to that time. I am not able to accept this view. The Mahābhāṣya does not mention the drama, and Aśvaghoṣa is not older than the second half of the 1st, or, according to my chronology, the first half of the 2nd century A.D. The Kauṭaliya speaks of Kārttāntikas, Naimittikas and Mauhūrtikas I. xiii, and about Nāṭakas, Nartakas, Gāyana, Vādakas, Vāgīvanas and Kuśālavas I. xii, but what is meant are clearly various merry andrews, mimers, acrobats, mountebanks, &c., and not actors of real plays. And we ought to remember that such artists are not mentioned in the Aśoka inscriptions. So far as I can see the absence of all indications pointing to a real drama is an important sign of age.

Pantheon and Temples.

With regard to religion, we hear about sacrifices (yajña) as occasions when a king may be easily seen and attacked, and about temples (grha) for deities such as Aparājīta, Apratihatā, Jayanta, Vaijayanta, Śiva, Vaiśravaṇa, the Aśvins, Śrī and Madirā; about vāstu-devatās (house-gods), about devāras (town-gates) dedicated to Brahmā, Indra, Yama, and Senāpati, &c., but more is said about observances and rites of an Athishvanic nature. IV.iii speaks of nādīpurāṇa, Saćnātha-Gaṅgā-parvata-Mahākakachapīṣṭā. XIV. ii mentions various methods for disfiguring, colouring, causing diseases, heat and fever, for healing and making insensible to heat and pain, preventing fire, &c., and XIV. iii speaks of herbs, appliances and charms aiming at seeing in the dark, making oneself and cattle invisible, walking in the air, opening shut doors, putting people to sleep, neutralizing weapons, causing constipation and blindness, &c. The charms contain several names of deities and asuras: Bali Vairocana, Śatāmaya, Śambara, Bhaṅdirāpāka, Naraka, Nikumbha, Kumbha, Devala, Nārada, Sāvarṇi Gaḷava, Suvarṇapūṣpit, Brahmāṇī Brahmr Kuśadhvaja, &c. They are partly known from the Mābh. and other sources, and we have evidently
to do with practices which played a considerable rôle in the crafty political system of the Maurya minister.

The Ayurveda was held to be an Upāṅga of the Atharvaveda, and we have already seen which great rôle magic plays in Kauṭalya’s medical notes. We there learn his names of various drugs and herbs, which are mostly known from old sources such as Suṣruta, Caraka, and the Bower Manuscript, e. g. kārcikā, inispissated milk; kustumburu, coriander; huvarti, lac, &c. There are numerous detailed notes on fermentation, on grains and plants, on ores and their treatment, alchemy, amalgam, calcination, &c. It is of interest that mercury (rasa) was known. It is also mentioned by Caraka and Suṣruta, and in the Bower Manuscript, but elsewhere mainly in later texts. Also śūlba, sulphur, occurs, and it is perhaps best not to try to find out whether it has anything to do with the Latin word.

The whole system of the administration, under which everybody in the king’s neighbourhood, the queen, the princes, the ministers, and down to the meanest labourer, was mistrusted and watched, led to detailed rules and regulations about everything.

VEDĀṆĪGAS

1. Śikṣā.

There is only one statement in the Kauṭaliya which is connected with Śikṣā, vix. II.x akārādayo varṇās triṣaṣṭih, there are 63 sounds, beginning with a. We know from the commentary of the Taitt. Prātiṣakhya that the Śikṣākāra had said triṣaṣṭiṣ catuḥṣaṣṭiḥ vā varṇāḥ Śambunate matāḥ. The number 63 is also given in the Harivamśa 16161.

2. Kalpa.

The Kalpa-sūtras are Śrauta-, Grhya- and Dharmasūtras. Kauṭalya mentions the well-known rules about the duties of the four varṇas (castes) I.iii, which do not enable us to draw any chronological inference. We may note, however, the reference to remarriage of a widow, III.ii, which is certainly a sign of a comparatively early period.
3. Vyākaraṇa.

Kauṭalya’s notes about *Vyākaraṇa* are of considerable importance in connection with the question of date.

If we abstract from Pāṇini, the most important old grammatical work is the Mahābhāṣya, which presupposes a long development of grammatical lore between its author and Pāṇini. And we can, with some confidence, maintain that some of Pātanjali’s statements have been taken over from his predecessors.

Some of the authorities he quotes are also known from the Kauṭaliya and the Kāmasūtra, and as pointed out by Jacobi, Kultur-, Sprach- und Literaturhistorisches, p. 959, the predecessors of Kauṭalya and Vātsyāyana were sometimes also grammarians, and there is, moreover, a remarkable agreement between Pātanjali and Kauṭalya in the use of some grammatical terms.

Kauṭaliya II. x says: *varṇasaṃghātaḥ padam. tac caturvidbham nāmākhyātopasargānīpātāḥ ceti,* a word is a combination of sounds, and it is of four kinds: noun, verb, preposition, particle.

This agrees with Yāska’s Nirukta I. 8: *cātvāri padajātāni nāmākhyātāte copasargāni pātāḥ ceti,* and Mahābhāṣya p. 3:\textsuperscript{17} *cātvāri padajātāni nāmākhyātopasargānīpātāḥ ca.* Pāṇini does not use the terms nāma and ākhyāta for noun and verb, respectively, but replaces them by sup and tiṅ. It would, however, not be advisable to draw any chronological conclusions from this difference in terminology. As stated by Jacobi, l. c. p. 966, Kauṭalya’s definition of the terms upasarga and nipāta are, moreover, in accordance with Pāṇini and evidently based on his rules; of Kauṭalya II. x kriyāviśeṣitāḥ prādaya upasargaḥ. avyayās cādayo nipātaḥ with Pāṇini I. iv, 56 ff. prāg iṣvarāṁ nipātaḥ. cādayo ’sattva, prādaya upasargaḥ kriyāyoge.

A small, but interesting detail is the use of the particle ādāḥ in summing up a discussion, in the final stanza of VII. vii (where Shama Sastri changes to ādau), as frequently in the Mahābhāṣya with the meaning (and I say) “therefore”, introducing the reason; cf. Lüders, Sitzungsberichte 1916, p. 729.
4. Nirukta.

We cannot expect to find any remarks connected with the fourth Vedānga, the Nirukta, in the Kautāliya. But the enumeration of the four classes of words just mentioned, with the concluding ceti, looks like a quotation from Yāska.

5. Chandas.

Kautāliya cannot be expected to give rules about metrics, but Jacobi, p. 971, has shown that his own usage is in close agreement with that of the Rāmāyaṇa, and this is certainly a sign of age.


As mentioned by Jacobi, p. 972, a primitive astrology existed in Kautāliya's days. Of planets only Bṛhaspati (Jupiter) and Śukra (Venus) are mentioned, II.xxiv, but that does not show that they were the only ones known, and IX.iv we read about nakṣatras and tilhis, the latter without further explanation.

Much fuller are the notes about the calendar. II.vi explains the term kāla, time: rājavarsanī māsah pakṣo divasaś ca vyuṣṭam. varṣā-hemantagriśmāyāṁ ṭṛāvyasaaptamā divasomā pakṣāḥ, śeṣāḥ pūrnāḥ. prthag adhimāsaka iti kālah, royal year, month, fortnight, and day (are) the vyuṣṭa. In varṣāḥ (the rains), hemanta (winter) and grīśma (summer) the third and seventh fortnights are lacking one day, the other ones are full. The additional month stands apart, all this is kāla (time). Breloer, Staatverwaltung im alten Indien, pp. 257 f., follows Shamasastry, Second Oriental Conference, Calcutta 1922 (not accessible to me) and takes vyuṣṭa to mean beginning of the year, but the use of iti before vyuṣṭa, as elsewhere in Kautāliya's practice, shows that we have to do with a technical term, which seems to mean gone away, cf. vyuṣṭha in the Ruḍmāth edict of Aśoka.

Each of the three seasons mentioned above contained two months or four fortnights, thus together 6 months or twelve fortnights. The third and the seventh fortnights were each one day shorter than the others. There were thus 2 short as against 10 full fortnights, but nothing more is said about this matter. Then comes the accessory month, and all this is what is called kāla.
II. xx we read: *dvinañiko muñhūrtah. pañcadañamuhūrtoto divaso rātriś ca Caitre māṣy Āsvayujē ca māṣi bhavataḥ. tataḥ paraṁ tribhīr muñhūrtair anyatarāḥ śaṁmāsaṁ vaiṛdhate hrāsate ceti, a muñhūrtaḥ has two nālis. A day and a night last 15 muñhūrtaḥ in (the months) Caitra and Āsvayujē (i. e. at the vernal and autumnal equinoxes). Thereafter either increases or decreases during six months with three muñhūrtaḥ (i. e. they increase from Caitra onwards and decrease from Āsvayujē). Now as a muñhūrta is equivalent to 48 minutes, the longest day would have 18 muñhūrtaḥ or 14 hours 24 minutes, the shortest 9 h. 36 m. And this is in full agreement with old sources, and with the remark about the three short fortnights. We evidently have to do with the days of the lunar months.

The term *vyuṣṭa* is also used about the entering of receipts in the *aṇḍapātalā* (treasury), II. vii. The superintendent should enter the income after *vyuṣṭa*, place of deposit, time, heading, origin, way of coming in, measure, payer, collector, entering clerk, and receiving officer: *vyuṣṭadesakālamukhopattyanuvṛttipramāṇadāyakadāpabanidhakapratigrāhakaiś cāyaṁ samāñayet*. Here the first, *vyuṣṭa*, is the *rājavarṣa*, the year of the king, and we know from the Aśoka inscriptions that regnal dates were given in elapsed years. The entries should accordingly mention how many years, months, fortnights, and days had gone when the payment was made, the place where it was made, the time (rains, &c.) of entry, &c. There are similar instructions about expenditure (*vyaya*), capital (*nīva*), but all this has nothing to do with the calendar.

About the lunar months we read, II. xx: *pañcadañahorātṛāḥ pakṣaḥ. somāpyayanah śuklaḥ. somāvacchedano bahuḥaḥ*, a fortnight has 15 day-nights; when the moon increases, it is bright, when it is cut, dark.

Further we have the usual distinction between the northward and southward motion of the sun, the former beginning in the cold season, the latter in the rains: *śiśirādy uttarāyaṇam. varṣādi daksīnāyaṇam*. And we have the usual six seasons, each containing two months: *dvau māṣu rūh. Śrāvanāḥ Proṣṭhapaḍaḥ ca varṣaḥ. Āsvayujāḥ Kārttikaś ca śarat. Mārgaśiśraḥ Pauśaḥ ca hemantaḥ. Māghaḥ Phāḷgunaḥ ca śiśirāḥ. Caitro Vaiśākhaḥ ca vasantaḥ. Jyeṣṭhāmālīya Aśādhaś ca griśmaḥ*. This seems to be in disagreement with the Brāhmaṇas, which give Phāḷguna and Caitra for vasanta; *Vaiśākha* and
Jyaiśtha for grīsmā; Āṣādha and Sravaṇa for varṣāḥ, &c. But it will be seen that this only means that in the Kautālyya the months begin with full-moon, as is sometimes also the case in other old sources.

Then we have some remarks about the varying length of months for special reasons: triniśadahorātraḥ prakarmamāsah, a work-month has 30 day-nights; sārdhaḥ sauraḥ, a sun-month 30½; ardhanavyaś cāndramāsah, a moon-month 29½; sapatiśatir nāgṣatramāsah, a Nakṣatra-month 27; dvātriṃśad malamāsah, 32 the intercalated month; paṃcatṛiṃśad aśvavahāyāḥ, 35 the month of horse-grooming; cātvāriṃśad dhasīvahāyāḥ 40 the month of elephant-grooming.

These rules are not known from other sources which I have seen.

Kautālyya’s geographical horizon can be ascertained from the names of localities mentioned by him, especially in connection with the provenience of various objects II.xi, xiii, xix, xxiv, xxv, xxx. It takes in the whole of India, from the Himālaya in the north to the Tamil country in the south, from Afghanistan in the west to Assam and Burma in the east. Outside of India Kautālyya knew Ceylon and China. No chronological inference can be drawn from this state of things, for Jacobi was probably right in maintaining, Sprach- und Literaturhistorisches p. 961, that the name Cīna is not derived from the dynasty of the Thsin (247 B.C.).

The geographical names occurring in the Kautālyya cannot always be identified, when they are not known from other sources. In most cases Gaṇapati Śāstrī has tried to do so, and then I have added Gaṇ after the name. Sometimes it can be doubted whether we have to do with a name of locality or with a noun denoting some quality, and in such cases I have added a query. I have then drawn up an alphabetical list of such words, which may be of use, adding references to the text and the produce stated to be found in the various localities. Aparānta (Konkan and Malabar) II.xi (cotton), xxiv (about quantity of rain needed for sowing).

Avanti (Mālava) II.xxiv (the same).
Asokagrāma (in Assam) II.xi (sandal).
Aṃsaka (in Sind) II.xxiv (as with Avanti).
Āntarapatya (from the River Antaravati in Assam, Gaṇ) II.xi (sandal).
Āraṭṭa (the country of the Sindhurāja, cf. Mah. VI. 85. 3784) II.xxx (horses).

Indravānika (from Kaliṅga, Gaṅ) II.xi (diamonds).
Auttaraparvataka (from the North-Mountain, i.e. Himālaya) II.xi (skins).
Kapiśā (river and town in the Kābul country) II.xxv (wine).
Kāntanāvaka (?) II.xi (skins).
Kāmbuka (?) some mountain. Gaṅ) II.xiii (silver).
Kāmbojakā (from Kamboja, Eastern Afghānīstān) II.xxx (horses).
Kārdamikā (from the river Kardama in Persia, Gaṅ) II.xi (mauktika).
Kālaparvata (?) II.xi (sandal).
Kālingakā (from Kalinga, Coromandel) II.xi, xiii (cotton and touchstones).
Kāśika (from Benares) II.xi (cotton and kṣauna, silken cloth).
Kāśmaka, Kāntira, or Kāstīra (reading and explanation uncertain) II.xi (diamonds).
Kośākārparvata (?) II.xi (sandal).
Kauṭa (from Koṭi, between Malaya and the sea, Gaṅ) II.xi (gems, maṇi).
Kauleya (from Kula, a river at the Mayūragrāma, Ceylon, Gaṅ) II.xi (mauktika, pearl).
Gośirṣa (Malayaikadeśe, Gaṅ.) II.xi (sandal).
Gauḍika (from Gauḍa, North Bengal) II.xiii (silver).
Grāmeruka (Malayaikadeśe, Gaṅ) II.xi (sandal, tailaparṇika sandal).
Cakravāli (an unidentified pit) II.xiii (silver).
Cinapatṭa, Cinabhūmija (silk cloth from China) II.xi.
Cinasi (in Balkh) II.xi (skins).
Caurṇeya (from the river Cūrṇi in the Kerala country, near the town Muraci, Gaṅ) II.xi (mauktika, pearls).
Jambunada (from Jambūnādi, one of the branches of the heavenly Gangā, cf. Mah. VI. 6. 243) II.xiii (gold).
Jāvaka or Jāpaka (in Kāmarūpa, Gaṅ.) II.xi (sandal).
Joṅgaka, or Coṅgaka (in Kāmarūpa, Gaṅ) II.xi (sandal, tailaparṇika sandal, aloe).
Tāpitāśa (a stone from the river Tāpi, Gaṅ.’s emendation, II.xiii, but r. Kālingakosthāli pāśaṇo vā (a Kaliṅga kettle or stone), II.xiii (touchstone).
Tāmraparṇika (from the river Tāmraparṇi in Malaya) II.xi (pearls).
Tārṇasa (?) from the river Tṛṇasā, Gaṅ) II.xi (sandal).
Tuttha (an unidentified mountain, Gaṅ) II.xiii (silver).
Taitala (unidentified) II.xxx (horses).
Taurūpa (in Kāmarūpa, Gaṅ) II.xi (sandal).
Daivasabhā (?) II.xi (sandal).
Dongaka (in Kāmarūpa, Gaṅ) II.xi (aloe).
dvādaśagrāmīya (from 12 mleccha villages in the Himalaya, Gaṅ) II.xi (bīsi and mahābīsi skins).
Nāgaparvata (unidentified) II.xi (sandal).
Naipālaka (from Nepāl) II.xi (sheepskins).
Pāṇḍyakavāṭaka (from Malayakoṭi hill, Gaṅ) II.xi (mauktika, pearls).
Pāpeyaka (unidentified) II.xxx (horses).
Pāralauhityaka (from beyond the Lauhitya, the Brahmaputra) II.xi (sandal).
Parasamudraka (from beyond the Sea, i. e. from Ceylon) II.xi (maṇi-gems, aloe).
Pāsiyka (from Pāsi, a river near Paṭāliputra, Gaṅ) II.xi (mauktika, pearls).
Pūrṇakadvipa (from Pūrṇadvipa in Kāmarūpa, Gaṅ) II.xi (taila-parṇika sandal).
Paunḍraka (from Puṇḍra, South Behār and Bengal) II.xi (duktula silk, kṣauma silk, patrorna silk).
Praiya (unidentified) II.xi (skins).
Bāhlaya (from Balkh) II.xi (skins); Bāhlika II.xxx (horses).
Magadha (South Behar) II.xi (patrorna silk), xix (weights of stone).
Maṇimantaka (hill in Northern India, r. maṇṭhaka, cf. Mah. XIII. 18. 1328) II.xi (diamonds).
Madhyamarāṣṭra (the Kosala country) II.xi (diamonds).
Madhura (from Madura) II.xi (cotton).
Mālā (river between Indraprastha and Girivraja, cf. Mah. II.20. 795)
II.xi (maṇi, gems).
Māhiṣaka (the country on the Narbādā, capital Māhiṣmati) II.xi (cotton).
Māhendra (from Mahendraparvata, the hills from Orissa to Madura)
II.xi (mauktika, pearls).
Mekala (Mount Amarakaṇṭaka where the Narbādā has its source; cf. Mah. VI.87.3855, where we read that the Mekalas followed the Kosala king) II.xix (weights of stone).
Vāngaka (from Vāṅga, Eastern Bengal) II.xi (duktula silk).
Vātsaka (from Vatsa, capital Kausāmbi) II.xi (cotton).
Vaiṇava (from Mount Veṇu, unidentified) II.xiii (gold).
Śākala (Sialkot) II.xi (inferior sandal).
Śītadākiya (?) II.xi (inferior sandal).
Śṛṅgaśukti (in Suvarṇabhūmi, Gaṇ.'s bhāṣāṭikā) II.xiii (gold).
Śīkaṭanaka (?) II.xi (diamonds).
Sabhārāśtra (Vaidarbha, Berār) II.xi (diamonds).
Sātana (?) II.xi (sandals).
Sātinā (?) II.xi (otter skins).
Sāmūra, Sāmūli (?) II.xi (skins from Bakh).
Saindhava (from Sind) II.xxx (horses).
Sauvīraka (from Suvīra) II.xxx (horses).
Srautasīya (from Srutast, a river Barbarakūla, Gaṇ.) II.xi (mauktika, pearls).
Svarṇabhūmi (Burma) II.xi (kāleyaka, saffron); Sauvarṇakuḍyaka
tailaparnika, dukūla, pattronā silk). (Acc. to E. Müller, Journal
of the Pali Text Society 1888, p. 102 “most probably the coast
from Rangoon to Singapore).
Haricandana (Harideśaja, Malayākadeśe, Gaṇ) II.xi (sandals).
Hāṭaka (Gandharvarakṣita deśa, cf. Mahā. II.28. 1042) II.xiii (gold).
Hārahūra (the Kābul country, Kāpiśāyanaṁ Hārarahūram) II.xxv (wine).
Haimavata (from Himālaya) II.xi (mauktika, pearls).
Haimya, Haimanya (himāmbunispādyā, to be produced with snow-
water, or, from the Himālaya) II.xxv (amount of rain needed
for sowing).
Hraiḍiya (from the hraḍa Śrīghaṇṭa in Barbarakūla, Gaṇ) II.xi (mauktika,
pearls).

III. VĀRṬĀ

I. iv opens with the remark: krṣi-pāṣupālye vauṣijyā ca vāṛṭā,
agriculture, cattle-breeding and trade (constitute) the vāṛṭā.

a. krṣi.

Krṣi, ploughing, is agriculture proper, sowing and harvesting.
II. xxiv we read: sūryād bijasiddhiḥ, from the sun the maturing of
the seed; bhāspateḥ sasyāṇāṁ stambhakaritā, from Bhāspati (Juppiter, the deity of the month Puṣya, December-January) the forming of ears; Śukrād vṛṣṭiḥ, from Śukra (Venus, the deity of May-June) the rain; tataḥ prabhūtadakam alpodakam va sasyāṁ vāpayet, then one should sow the grain needing much or little water; sālivṛ̥ṣikodravatilaphyaṅgudārakavarakāḥ pūrvavāpāḥ, sāli and vṛ̥ṣi rice, kodrava (Paspalum scrobicularatum), sesam, priyaṅgu (panic seed), dāraka (?), varaka (a kind of beans) are the first sowings; mudganiṣaśaśaibyā madhyavāpāḥ, mudga (Phaseolus Mungo) and māṣa (Phaseolus radiatus) beans, and saibya (?), the middle sowings; kusumbhaṇaśarakaḥ prakulavahayavagodhāmakaḷaṭṭāsarsaṇāḥ paścanvāpāḥ, safflower, lentils, small cardamoms, barley, wheat, peas, flax, mustard the last sowings... sālyādi jyeṣṭham, rice, &c., is the best; saṇḍo madhyamaḥ, saṇḍa (acc. to Gaṇapati bananas) middling, ikṣṇu pratyavaraḥ. ikṣuva hi bahūbadha vyayagrāhīnaḥ ca, sugar-cane is the meanest, for the sugar-canones are connected with much trouble and causing expense.

We here have to do with the well-known kharif and rabi crops, ripening in the late autumn and spring, respectively, i.e. with special Indian conditions which have not changed in historical times. At the present day the chief kharif crop is rice, and the principal rabi crop wheat. Other crops rotated with rice are kharif millet, kharif linseed, &c. The most important rabi crop is wheat, rotated with linseed, rabi millet, chick-pea, &c. The state of things according to the Kauṭalīya is so similar that no further remarks are necessary.

A long series of botanical names, with notes on provenience, colour, smell and qualities, is found II.xi: candana, sandal with varieties called tālalaparṇika, bhadrāṣṭṛṭya, &c.; aguru, aloe; kāleyaka, Curcuma xanthorrhiza, &c.

Bhūmicchidravidhānam, II.ii, deals with chidras, holes, gaps, in the soil, and is of importance for our understanding of the term bhūmicchidranyāya, the maxim of the rents in the soil, which is so common in inscriptions: akṛṣṭayāṁ bhūman paśubhyo vivītāni prayacchet, on soil that is not to be ploughed one should leave pasture-grounds for the cattle; prādiṣṭābhayasthāvarājaṅgamāṇi ca brāhmaṇebhyo brahmāsāranyāṁ, tapovanāṁ ca tapasadbhā vyāna parājyā prayacchē, groves for study and sacrifice, where stationary and movable objects are secure, one should give to brāhmaṇas, and groves for
austerities to ascetics, destined for the family (Gaś. corrects to goruta-parāṇi). In inscriptions we occasionally read about gotrāṇiṣa, the family share.

b. paśupatya.

Much information about cattle-breeding is found in the chapters dealing with the overseers of cows, horses, and elephants (godhyakṣa II.xxix, aśvādhyakṣa II.xxx, hastyadhyakṣa II.xxxi). We learn to know the designations of various kinds of herds, including the lubdhakas, hunters, who have to guard against harm from snakes, wild animals, &c. They should be paid in cash (hirṇya) and not with milk or butter, in order not to harm the calves.

Each herdsman takes care of 100 animals. In the case of old cows, milch-cows, pregnant cows, paśṭhauhiṣ, and heifers, these should be equally divided into five groups, and one person should take over each group.

The term paśṭhauhiṣ is of interest. It is used in the Vājasaneyī Saṃhitā, the Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa, the Kāthaka, the Kātyāyana Śrautasūtra, and the Śatapatha, and explained in commentaries as a four years old heifer. The actual meaning is probably, as suggested in the Petersburg Dictionary, able to calve, rutlish. The form is explained in Patañjali's notes on Pāṇini VI.iv.132 and the three vārttikas there, and it is evidently old.

There are notes about various breeds, about herding, feeding, grooming, training and stabling, marking and clipping, about trappings of elephants, galloping, trotting, &c.

Bells are to be attached to the animals in order to frighten away snakes and wild animals and to warn the herdsman about the danger.

We read about hides and skins, about the hairs of deer, about wool, silk, cotton, &c., and we are told about the size of the loads to be carried by the various animals of burden.

It was a capital crime if a herdsman slaughtered or carried away an animal or caused this to be done. But, as remarked by Jacobi, Über die Echtheit, p. 841.1, Kauṭalya has no objection to meat-eating. We know that Aśoka only after some years made great restrictions in this respect, and Yājñavalkya, Śat. Br. III.12.21, declared that he did eat it if it were soft. And the sale of meat was regulated by
the *śūnādhyakṣa*, the overseer of the slaughterhouse, II.xxvi. There was also a regulated sale of alcoholic drinks, under the *surādhyakṣa*,
the overseer of spirituous liquors, II.xxv.

All this is evidently a sign of an early age.

c. *vanijyā*.

*Vanijyā*, trade, was an important item and organized in great detail. The *samāharīṛ*, collector, II.vi, had, *inter alia*, to look after *vanikpatha*, merchant’s path, by land (*sthalapatha*) or by sea (*vāripatha*); after the *panyasāṃsthā*, ware-houses, the *vanij*, traders, &c., and the *āya*, official income derived from such items. The *panyādhyakṣa*,
ware-controller, II.xvi, has to be informed about wares produced on dry land and in water (*sthalajala*), brought in by land or sea-routes (*sthalapathavāripathopayāta*), their varying value (*sāraphalgyarghāntara*), and whether they are much or little demanded (*priyāpriyata*), about the proper time to distribute or to collect, to buy or to sell (*vikṣepasāṃkṣepakrayaivikrayaprayogakāla*); he should fix prices, regulate the sale, and control tolls and taxes.

The *nāvādhyakṣa*, ship- overseer, II.xxviii, should look after sea-going and river-craft (*samudrasanyāyanadīnukhataraścra*); the *mudrādhyakṣa*, seal- overseer, II.xxxiv, should provide the carriers of in- and outgoing wares with passage-stamps, charging a certain amount in fees. Provided with such stamps one could enter and leave the place: *mudrādhyakṣo mudrāṁ māṣakena (7—8 guṇjās in cash) dāyāt.

*Samudro janapadom pravesaṁ niśhrāmitum vā labheta.*

In this connection it may be convenient to mention the chapter *janapadaniveśaḥ*, II.i, the transferring of people from or to other countries: *bhūtāpāravāḥ abhūtāpārvaṁ vā janapadoṁ paraśāpavāhānena svadesābhīṣyanavamananena vā nivesayet*, an old or new place for people he should settle by leading it away from other countries or by “vomiting” the surplus of one’s own country.

As mentioned by Jacobi, Kultur-, Sprach- und Literaturhistorisches, p. 960, we are here informed about sending out colonies, and he is certainly right in maintaining that not only the Dekhan, but also Further India had been brought under the sway of Brāhmaṇism in Kauṭalya’s days.
The term *svadeśābhisyandavamanana* is of some interest, because it was evidently known to Kālidāsa. Raghuvanṣa XV. 29 and Kumārasambhava VI. 37 he says that Mathurā and Oṣadhiprastha, respectively, were founded, as it were, after making a "vomiting" of the surplus (population) of heaven (*svargābhisyandavamananaḥ kṛtevopanivesita*).

I have no doubt that Kālidāsa has borrowed this expression from the Arthaśāstra, and then probably from the Kauṭalya. For he is evidently indebted to the same source in another passage. The first editor of our text, R. Shama Sastri, draws attention to Kauṭalya's praise of hunting, VIII.iii, because it leads to exercise (*uvāyāma*), does away with phlegm, bile, fat, and sweat (*ūsmapātāmedahśvedanāsa*), makes one familiar with aiming at fixed and movable aims (*cāle sthīre ca kāye laṁṣaparīcayat*), gives insight into the mind of the deer in anger, fear, standing and striving (*kopabhayastheḥeṣu ca mṛgāṇām citta-jñāna*). He aptly compares the 5th stanza of the second act of the Śakuntalā:

medāscribedakṣodaraṃ laghu bhavaty utthānayoṣyant vapiḥ
sattvāniḥ api lakṣyate vikṛtimac cittaṃ bhayakrodhayoh|
ukarṣāḥ sa ca dhanvināṃ yad iṣavah sidhyanti lakṣyē cale
mithyaiva vyasanam vaḍanti mṛgāyam ̀dṛg vinodaḥ kutaḥ||

the body, with the belly thinned through the reduction of fat, becomes light and capable of exertion; one also sees how the mentality of animals is modified in anger and fear; and then this glory of the archers that the arrows hit in the moving aim: falsely indeed do they call hunting a dissipation; where is there such a pastime?

There are here so many parallels, even in the wording, that it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that Kālidāsa knew Kauṭalya's text.

IV. *DANDANĪTI*

*Dandanīti*, "the leading of the rod", *i. e.* the exercise of punitive power, is the most important branch of knowledge from the viewpoint of government. Some of Kauṭalya's predecessors went so far as to say that it was the only one. He himself states, I.iv, that the
(king) makes the own party and the other party subject to his will by means of kośa (treasure) and danda (punishing power); danda provides security in the other branches of knowledge (ānvikṣikitrāyī-vārttānāṁ yogakṣemasādhano dandaḥ), and danda nīti leads to acquisition of what one has not got, preservation of what one has got, increase of what has been preserved, and use of the increase for worthy objects (alabdhahārārtha labdhaparirakṣayā rakṣitaivivardhāni vṛddhasya tirtheśu pratipādaṇī ca); the course of worldly life it dependent on it, and he who cares for this should always raise the danda (tasyāṁ āyattā lokāyatraṁ tasmāl lokāyārthāṁ nityam udyatadandaḥ syāt); if it is not applied the result is the fish-maxim, for the stronger devours the weak ones where there is nobody who holds the rod (aṇītaṇī hi mātasyāyayām udbhāvayati | baliyān abalaṁ hi grasate danda-dhārābhāve).

Here we should accordingly expect to learn more than anywhere else about Kauṭalya’s policy and principles, the more so because his remarks here make a strong personal impression.

The problems connected with danda nīti have therefore been carefully dealt with by the authorities quoted above, and, most fully, by Breloer, Staatsverwaltung im alten Indien, where we also find a long list of technical terms and special expressions. It will not, therefore, be necessary to give a long analysis of all details.

The king is the danda dāhara and, on the whole, the supreme ruler. But kingship has to be exercised through associates, a single wheel (an undivided rule) does not roll; therefore he should appoint companions and listen to their advice:

sahāyasādhyāṁ rajatvāṁ cakram ekam na vartate |
kurvaṇa saciṁḥams tasmāt teśāṁ ca śṛṇyaṁ matam || I.vii.

We read, I.xiii, about the subjects who made Manu Vaivasvata king, oppressed through the mātasyāyāya, and settled as his share a sixth of the grain, one tenth of the proceeds of trade, and gold, and therefore the kings bring the subjects security and take away their guilt; even the dwellers in the forest bring a sixth of their gleanings. This well-known fiction is kept alive, but in reality it is the impossibility of making one wheel run which makes it necessary for the king to have coadjutors.
Amātyotpatti, the appointing of ministers, is dealt with I.viii, and that of councillors and family-priests, māntri pururohitotpatti, I.ix, and the necessary qualifications for such charges are discussed. I.x then proceeds to show how the reliability or non-reliability of the ministers should be tested by various trials and temptations. Without such tests nobody is trusted.

The king is the central figure of the state, and it may be worth while noting that he is simply designated rāja, as Asoka in his edicts. I.vi inculcates the importance of indriyajaya, “victory over the senses”, selfdiscipline, without which the king at once would perish, though he ruled over the earth within its four limits. Under the head of Itihāsaveda, above pp. 9 f., we have read about the disastrous results of neglecting this discipline under the influence of arisaṅgavarga, the six inimical forces kāma, kopa, lobha, māna, mada and harṣa. I.vii is a continuance of I.vi, and deals with rājasvīrttam, the proper behaviour of the royal saint: indriyajayaṃ kuruṭa, yuddhasanyogena prajñāṃ, cāreṇa caksuḥ, uṭṭhānena yogakṣesmasādhanam, kāryānunāsa-nena svadharmasthāpanaṃ, vinayāṇa vidyopadesena, lokapriyavam arthaśanyogena, hitena vṛttam, he should effect victory over his senses, insight through associating with old, i.e. experienced, people, eye (sight) through spying, means of security through energy, keeping people to their duty by instruction in what is to be done, discipline by teaching knowledge, popularity in the world by providing for its weal, and regulate his conduct by what is wholesome.

Then follow the chapters about the choice of councillors and ministers and the upadhiḥ, tricks, trials, used for testing their trustworthiness.

I.xi: upadhiḥ suddhāmātyavargo guḍhapuruṣan utpādayet kāpaṭikodasthitagṛhapatičavaidehakatāpasasvayjanan satritikṣṇarasa-dabhikṣukīś ca, having tested the host of councillors by means of trials, he should appoint hidden persons (secret agents) disguised as kāpaṭikās, udāsthīlas, grhapatičīs, vaidehakās, tāpasās, and satriṇās, rikṣuśas, rasadās and bhikṣukīs. These terms are then explained: paramarmajñaḥ pragālbhaḥ chātraḥ kāpaṭikaḥ, a kāpaṭika is an intrepid scholar who knows the weak points of others; pravrjayā-pratyavaśiṭaḥ prajñaśaucaṇaṅka udāsthitaḥ, an udāsthita is one who has resolved to take the vows and is in possession of insight and
honesty; karṣako vṛttikṣaḥ prajñāsaucayukto gṛhapatiyavyayānāḥ, a cultivator out of employment, who is in possession of insight and honesty, is a householder in disguise; vāṇijako vṛttikṣaḥ prajñāsaucayukto vaidehakavyānāḥ, a tradesman in disguise in a merchant out of employment, who is in possession of insight and honesty; munaḍo jaṭilo vṛttikāmas tāpasavyānāḥ, an ascetic in disguise is a person with shaved hair or twisted locks. I.xii: ye cāpy asaṁbandhino vaśyabhartavyās te laksanam aṅgavidyaṁ jambhakavidyaṁ māyāgamam āśramadharmanī niṣīdhitam antaracaram ity adhyāyāḥ satrīṇāḥ saṁsargavidya vā, and satrins are also those who, not being related (Gap. reads ye cāsya saṁbandhino), and should certainly be supported, who have studied the marks (indicative of good luck), the lore of body (marks), the lore of charms (cf. Mbh.V. 64.67), delusion, the rules about the various stages of life, omana, the intermediate circle (i.e. the meaning of the varying direction of birds' flight), or the art of associating with people (cf. Mbh.XIV. 7.7 where Nilakaṇṭha glosses kapaṭayevaśacchanaḥ); ye janapade śīrṣas tyaktāmāno hastānāṁ vyālas vā dravyahetoḥ pratiyodhayeyuṣ te tīkṣṇāḥ, sharpers are those who with danger to their life, for the sake of gain fight an elephant or tiger before people; ye bandhuṣu niḥsneḥāḥ krūraṁ cālasīś ca te rasaṇāḥ, poisons are those who, not loving their relatives, are cruel and idle; pariṇājikā vṛttikāmā daridrā vidhavā pragalbhā brahmānv antahpure kṛtasaktārā mahāmātrakulānī adhigacchāt, a wandering female mendicant, wanting a livelihood, poor, a widow, bold, a brāhmaṇī, honoured in the harem, should approach the high officials; bhikṣuktrapratisedhe dvāḥsthaparamparā mātipūrṇyānāṁ śilpakarikāḥ kuśalā dāsyo vā gūḍavāyabhāndagāndhakekhyasaṁjñābhīr vā cāram niḥhareṇāḥ, where female mendicants are not admitted, the door-keepers, one after the other, people disguised as parents, or charwomen, songstresses, or female slaves, should bring out the information, or others by means of indications through song, music, or writing hidden on utensils; dirgharogonnādagniragasvarṣaṇa vā gūḍhanirgamanam, or they should go out secretly on account of a long illness, madness, or causing fire or poisoning. Trayāṇāṁ ekavākye sampratīyayaḥ, where three say the same thing, they should be trusted.

Such agents the king should employ in order to get informed about everybody in his service in his own country. And they should
not know about each other. They should also be sent abroad, to foe and friend, those between both, and those who are indifferent, and find out who can and who cannot be managed, and what people tell.

I.xv, Mantrādhikāraḥ, gives rules about the deliberations in council and about the necessity of secrecy, and here Kauṭalya quotes the opinions of his predecessors and finally gives his own, that much depends on the different circumstances. His opinion about the proper number of ministers is similar, one must consider their ability. The ruler should look into matters together with those who are present and communicate with those who are not in writing (patrasamprēṣanena).

His messengers (duās) may be fully entrusted with the object in view, with the power of a councillor (nirṣṭārtha), or with a quarter less (pādaguṇahinaḥ parimitārthaḥ), or only with a half, as simple order-carriers (ardha-guṇahinaḥ sāsanaharaḥ). They must be careful to notice everything and to reveal nothing, as set forth in Dītapraṇidhiḥ, I.xvi.

I.xvii. Rājaputraraṅgaṇam, the watching over the princes. The king guards his rule against near and distant people, and in the first place against his consort and sons, as set forth in some detail in this and the following chapters.

I.xix, Rājapraṇidhiḥ, gives a sketch of the king's working day, which is, in most details, repeated by later authors. It may be noted that the secret agents should be received in the first part of the night, evidently to secure greater secrecy, and they should be sent out in the last but one.

I.xx, Ātmaraṅgaṇakama, the guarding of (the king's) person, shows how important this matter was considered to be. As soon as he rises, he is taken care of by female archers (śayaṇād utthitaḥ strīgaṇēi dhanviṣebhiḥ parigṛhyeta). Meant is clearly the royal body-guard of women, who were later on called yavanī, Greek women. This designation is not, so far as I know, found earlier than in Kālidāsa's works. But it can well be older. The much discussed yavanāni, which Kātyāyana in Vārātika on Pāṇini IV.i.49 says means Greek writing, can very well mean a Greek woman. There is absolutely nothing in Pāṇini's text which points to another meaning than in the remaining words formed with the suffix āni, which all designate the female corresponding to a masculine ending in -a. And I do not understand how the Indians could have received any information
about Greek writing before Alexander, and, we may add, Kātyāyana. Pāṇini, on the other hand, must belong to an earlier time.

In other apartments the guarding in taken over by armed attendants of various kinds; in the kitchen the king’s food is tasted in beforehand, to see if it may be poisoned, &c.

When the king goes out, everything is done to protect him against danger.

The second chapter, Adhyāyakṣapracāraḥ, deals with the many “over-seers” who have to look after the various branches, about their offices and stations. The terms used in this section are mostly unknown from old sources and probably coined by Kauṭalya.

An important official, with extensive control of state business, is the samvidhātya, the depositor or Treasurer General, II.v. He provides for the building of a koṣagrha, treasure house; a panyagrha, ware-house; a koṣṭhāgāra, granary, store-room; a kupyagrha, wood arsenals; an āyudhāgāra, weapon-arsenal, and a bandhanāgāra, prison, and rules are given for their erection and safety and about the punishment of negligence.

Another high functionary was the samāhartr, the Collector General, II.vi, xxxv. He should control durga (difficult passages, places to be approached with care), rāṣṭra (ploughing, taxes, &c.), khani (mining), setu (places for sowing and irrigating flowers, fruits, &c.), vana (groves for cattle, game, wood, elephants), vraja herds of cows, buffaloes, goats, sheep, donkeys, camels, horses and mules), and vantiPATHA (trade-routes). All these, partly artificial, terms are specified. The various items form part of the income (āya), which should be balanced against the expenses (vyaya).

Numerous overseers are at work in this connection. In the aksapataśa (treasury) the overseer should have a place made for the nibhandhapustakas (ledgers) where the number, provenience and origin of the various heads, gains and losses, profit, fees and tolls, are booked. This is the gaṇanikyādhihāra, the accountant office, II.vii.

II.viii explains how one should restore what is removed by the yuktas, a term which we know from the Aśoka edicts, where it has been shown by Thomas, Ind. Ant. 37.11, JRAS 1909, 467; 1914, 387 ff., to mean official. Every undertaking is dependent on wealth, and therefore one should first of all look after one’s wealth (koṣapūrvāḥ
sarvārambhāḥ | tasmāt pūrvan kośam avekṣeta). The terms kośaurdhi and kośakṣaya (increase and decrease of the treasure), &c., are explained, and we read about many devices for cheating, and how they can be detected and punished.

II.ix, upayuktaparikṣā, testing of the over-officials, enjoins the appointment of sarvādhyakṣās (overseers general), with the competence of councillors (amātyasampadopeta), and acquaintance with their activity. They should act according to their instructions, neither consulting nor opposing each other, and they should inform their master about everything they undertake, unless it is to obviate some calamity. Their actions should be controlled by spies and secret agents.

II.x, Śasanādhikāraḥ, the chapter about royal orders, mentions the lekhaka, the secretary who has to put them into writing. He should have the competency of a councillor (amātyasampadopeta), know the whole conventional usage (sarvasamayavid), be able to write quickly (aṅugrantha), have a pleasing hand-writing (cārvakṣara), be able to read out the written message (lekhavācanasamarthā) and to write it down in the proper order (arthakrama) and sequence (saṃbandha), with completeness (paripūrṇatā), urbanity (mādhurya), nobility (audārya), and clearness (spaṣṭatva), i.e., as pointed out by Jacobi, Kultur, Sprach- und Literaturhistorisches, p. 967, we have to do with the rudiments of a literary style. Among the shortcomings of a writer, II.x, is mentioned the use of dirty sheets (kālapatraka), and from II.xxvii we learn that the writing materials were leaves of tāli and tāla palms and birch-bark. Copperplates are not mentioned, and we do not know whether they were used before Aśoka’s time.

We learn to know a long series of adhyakṣas, overseers, superintendents: the kośādhyakṣa, II.xi, receives everything of value that should be deposited in the treasury, pearls, necklaces, gems, sandal; aloe, oils, hides and skins, wool, &c., and the designations, provenience and shapes of such objects are mentioned; the ākarādhyakṣa, the mining overseer, II.xii, looks after the produce of mining, ores and metals from old and new pits, from the ground or from water, their colour, smell, and other features, their cleaning, weight and sale, the punishment of embezzlement and fraud, &c.; the lohādhyakṣa takes care of copper-, lead-, tin-, mercury- and bell-metal work and the sale of utensils made from them; the laksanādhyakṣa looks after the
stamping of coins; the rūpadarśaka, assayer, regulates the pañayātra, the procedure of paying and receiving fees, the rūpika with 8%, the vyāji with 5%, the pārīkṣīka with ½%; the khanyādhyakṣa, the pit-overseer, provides for the works connected with shells, diamonds, pearls, corals, saltpetre, and for their sale; the lavanādhyakṣa collects the salt-tax and the duties on sale of salt.

II.xiii, akṣaṣālīyāṇu svaryādhyakṣa, the gold-overseer in the treasury, provides for the erection of a treasure-hall, with four unconnected rooms, and installs a dexterous and reliable goldsmith in the main street, who carefully examines the metals. No stranger was admitted, and those who had to work there were carefully searched on entering and leaving. We read about the various kinds of work done by them, for which cf. Jolly's Kolpektaneen, pp. 355 ff., where most of the technical terms have been satisfactorily explained. Cf. II.xiv, viśīkhāyāṇu svaryākṣapracāraḥ, the activity of the goldsmith in the main street, where we also read about the various ways of defrauding and the punishment of fraud.

II.xv, koṣṭhagārādhyakṣa, the store-house overseer, superintends sītā, rāṣṭra, krayima, parivartaka, prāmityaka, apamityaka, siṃhanikā, anyajāta, vyayapratyāya, and upashīkā, and all these terms are explained. Further he takes care of corn, fat, molasses and salts (dhānyasneakṣāralavaṇa), honey (madhur), acids (śūkta), sour fruits and gruel (āmlavarga), pungent stuffs, pepper, &c. (katuḥavarga), dried fish, meat, roots, fruits, pot-herbs, &c. (sakavarga), about all of which information is given, i.e. about how much is to be eaten by elephants horses, &c.

II.xvi, pañyādhyakṣa, the ware-controller, s. above under vanijyā, p. 23.

II.xvii, kupyaadhyakṣa, the kupya controller, takes care that the rangers bring the kupya, i.e. the valuable wood, bamboos, creepers, bark, rope materials, leaves, flowers, plants, poisons, snakes and worms in jars, hides, bones, &c., of various animals, iron ores, wicker- and clay-utensils.

II.xviii, ayudhagārādhyakṣa, the controller of the weapon arsenal, provides for the manufacturing and deposition of all kinds of weapons and war-implements, armour and trappings, stratagems, &c.

II.xix, pautavādhyakṣa, the weight- and measure-controller, takes care of the various weights and scales.
II. xx, mānādhyakṣa, the measure-controller, should be familiar with linear measures, the subdivisions of time, &c.; cf. above under Jyotiṣa, pp. 15 ff.

II. xxi, śulkaśālā, the tax controller, establishes a tax hall (śulkaśālā) with a badge or flag (dhvaja) near the head-gate, where the tax-receivers control merchants and others and see to it that their wares are properly stamped. The traders offer their wares for sale and pay the taxes and duties. We read about what can be brought in duty-free, and about the punishment for attempts at defrauding.

II. xxii, śulkavyavahāra, deals with the tax question. There was an ātithyam (guest's treatment) of out- and in-going wares, and duty for what should be brought outside and entered (bāhyam abhyantarām cātithyam, niśkrāmyam praveśyaṃ ca śulkam). The guest’s treatment, applied to exports and imports free from duty, is specified II. xxi: vaiśānikam anvayaṇam aupayāṇikam yajñakṛtyaprasavanaimittakaṃ devajācaulopanayanagodānavaratadikṣanādiṣu kriyāviśeṣeṣu bhauṣam uchulkam gacchet, wares and utensils connected with the marriage and home-bringing (of the bride), and with initiation in the ceremonies, in sacrifices, birth, offerings to the gods, tonsure, investing with the sacred thread, hair-cutting, vows and consecration, should pass free of duty. The duty itself varies from 1/6 to 1/16 of the value.

II. xxiii, sūtrādhyakṣa, the thread-inspector, takes care of spinning and weaving operations.

II. xxiv, sitādhyakṣa, the furrow-inspector, is in charge of ploughing and harvesting, cf. above under vārtā, p. 20.

II. xxv, surādhyakṣa, the liquor-superintendent, regulates the liquor-trade. Drinking was not yet a great sin.

II. xxvi, sānādhyakṣa, the slaughterhouse-superintendent, takes care that protected animals are not slaughtered, and regulates the sale of meat, which was by no means forbidden cf. above under paśupatya, p. 22.

II. xxvii, gaṇikādhyakṣa, the courtesan-inspector, has the supervision of brothels, &c.

II. xxviii, nāvadhyakṣa, the ship-superintendent, s. above under vanijyā, p. 23.

II. xxix, godhyakṣa, the cattle-superintendent; II. xxx, āśvādhyakṣa, the horse-superintendent; II. xxxi, hastādhyakṣa the elephant-super-
intendant; II.xxxii hastyadhyaśe hastipracāra the dealings with elephants under the elephant-superintendent; II.xxxiii, rathādyahykaśa, patyadhya-
kaśa, senāpatipracāra, the superintendents of war-chariots and foot-
soldiers, the activity of the army-leader, are officials whose activity is clear from their designations.

II.xxxiv mudrādyahykaśa, viviśādyahykaśa, the superintendents of pass-
ports and pasture land, take care that out- and in-going can be controlled.

II.xxxv, samāhatrpracāraḥ, grhapativaideha katāpasavyaṇjanāḥ
prayidhayāḥ, the activity of the samāhartṛ, the sending out of persons disguised as householders, traders, or ascetics, cf. above pp. 26 f. Under the direction of the samāhartṛ other officials act as inspectors, a gopa (lit. cow-herd) of five or ten villages; a sthānikā (lieutenant) of a district-quarter; persons garbed as householders of fields, houses and families; others, as traders, of wares and products from mining, forests, &c.; others, as ascetics, cultivators, cowherds, traders, &c.

II.xxxvi nāgarakaprayidhi, appointment of a town-chief, police-
master, whose functions are similar to those of the samāhartṛ, but limited to a town. A gopa has charge of groups of 10, 20 or 40 families; a sthānikā of a durga-quarter; the dharmāvasathinaḥ, the managers of the dharmāvasatha now called dharmśālā, rest house, put up sectarianists, travellers, ascetics and learned persons, &c. Care is taken to avoid and to extinguish fire, to prevent incendiaryism and throwing out of rubbish, sweepings, &c.

As we have seen, the ruler has many assistants and helpers, but they are not trusted, but constantly controlled by scouts and secret agents. Even these are distrusted. They must not know each other, they are received and sent out at night, and their reports are examined and compared. When three agree, they may be reliable, but suspicion is the prevailing attitude towards everybody. It is difficult to avoid thinking of Rgveda VII. 61.3:

prórör Mitrāvaruṇaḥ prthivyāḥ
prā divā rśvād bhātāḥ sudānāḥ
spaṣo dadhāthe osadhitu viksu
iḍhag yatā animiṣāṇaṃ rāksanaṇā, ||

O Mitra and Varuṇa, from the broad earth, from the high heaven you place scouts in herbs and dwellings, who go separately, watching them without shutting your eyes.

And this policy is ancient in India. What is said about Mitra and Varuṇa, was a reflex of what was the rule in the state, for, as the Indians say:

\[ \text{yadannāḥ puruṣo bhavati tadannās tasya devatāḥ} \]

what man eats, that his gods eat, *i.e.* man has created the gods in his own image.

V. **MANDALAYONIḤ**

An important term in Kauṭalya’s political language is *maṇḍala*, circle, sphere, where the political methods are applied, and its *yoni*, origin, source; cf. VI.i *maṇḍalayonīḥ*. It comprises the ruler, who wishes to conquer, his enemies, those standing between them, and the indifferent elements. The constituent elements of the body politic are ruler, ministers, people, fastnesses, treasure, army and friends: *svāmyamātya-janapadadurgakośadanāmitraṇī prakṛṭayah*. We are told which accomplishments are desirable with each *prakṛti*; cf. VI.i *prakṛtisampadāḥ*.

VI.ii *śamavyāyāmikam*, about pacification and vigour, opens with the remark that these two are the source of acquiring and preserving: *śamavyāyāmāu yogakṣemanor yoniḥ*. In this connection are added the designations of the persons with whom the state policy is concerned: the *vijīgaśu*, the ruler bent on conquest; *ariprakṛtiḥ*, the enemy element, *i.e.* the neighbouring kings (*tasya saṃantarato maṇḍalībhūtā bhūmyantarā*); the *mitraprakṛtiḥ*, the friend element, separated by another country (*bhūmyekāntarā*). After the enemy we then have, in uninterrupted sequence, friend, foe’s friend, friend’s friend, foe’s friend’s friend in front, the *pārṣṇigrāha*, the ākṛnda, the *pārṣṇigrāhāsāra* and the ākṛndāsāra behind (*tasman mitram arimitram mitramitrān arimitramitrān cānantarēṣa bhūmīmaṇi prasajyate prasūlāt | pāscāt pārṣṇigrāha ākṛndāḥ pārṣṇigrāhāsāra ākṛndāsāra itī*). I am not able to give a satisfactory translation of these terms, which have perhaps mostly been coined by Kauṭalya, but their meaning is perfectly clear and fully explained in Kauṭalya’s text.
The source of pacification and vigour is the six-quality group (śamavāyāmayor yonīḥ sādgunyam). The word sādgunya is not known from older sources and was probably introduced by Kauṭalya. It is formed in accordance with Pāṇini V.i.124: guṇavacanabrāhmaṇādibhyah karmāṇi ca (the suffix āyāḥ) after words expressive of quality and after brāhmaṇa, &c., in the sense of being and of activity. No authorities are quoted in the chapters maṇḍalayoniḥ and śamavyāyāmikam, which make the impression of being the independent work of Kauṭalya.

VII. SĀDGUNYAM

Sādgunya is treated at length in the eighteen sections of the 7th adhikaraṇa. Its source is the prakṛti-maṇḍala; sādgunyasya prakṛtimayaṇḍalāṃ yonīḥ. Differing opinions are occasionally quoted, usually with the remark iti ācāryaḥ, thus the teachers, but once, VII.i, with the addition iti Vātavyādhiḥ, thus Vātavyādhi. We get the impression that Kauṭalya has put the section into its final shape, after his predecessors had begun to draft it. There are several comparisons from daily life and practice, which make the text livelier than usual in the Kauṭalya, and we have every reason to think that they are due to Kauṭalya. Thus VII.iii he who goes to war against a stronger one is compared with one who fights an elephant on foot.

The six qualities are enumerated VII.i: saṃdhi, vigraha, āsana, yāna, saṃśraya, dvaidhībhāva, and here Kauṭalya agrees with his predecessors, only Vātavyādhi dissenting. Saṃdhi is explained as meaning paṇabandha, agreement; vigraha as apakāra, harming, war; āsana, sitting, as upēksā, overlooking, disregarding; yāna, going, marching, as abhyuccaya, increase, scil. of one's own resources; saṃśraya, leaguing, joining, as parārpaṇa, entrusting oneself to another, and dvaidhībhāva, duplicity, as saṃdhivigrahopādāna, adopting agreement and fight. It is shown at great length which of the six qualities brings the greatest advantage in the varying circumstances, and how one ought to act when two go together and each of them wants to get the better of the other (aṭisamdhātum).
VIII. JURISDICTION

The 3rd and 4th adhikaraṇas, Dharmasthīya, the judge-activity, and Kaṭakasodhana, the thorn-clearing, have been fully dealt with by Jolly, Eine neue indisch Rechtsquelle¹, and it is superfluous to give a detailed analysis in the present place.

As stated by Jolly, the former deals with minor, the latter with more serious crimes; the former under the presidency of three judges (dharmastha), and three councillors (amāṭya), the latter under three higher judges (pradeśṭr) or three councillors (amāṭya). The former comprises twenty, the latter thirteen adhyāyas.

The word dharmasthīya is formed with the suffix īya² from dharmastha, which Kullūka states to mean prādīvīkā, judge (Manu VIII.57). Kaṭaka, thorn, is, according to the same authority (Manu IX.252), caurasāhasikādi, thieves, felons, &c., thorns from the viewpoint of the state, enemies of good government. Pradeśṭr is known from the Pañcatantra (ed. Bühler, 2. edition, Bombay 1881, p. 48⁰), but the ultimate source of these terms can very well be Kauṭalya.

Since jurisdiction is dealt with in the Arthaśāstra, one might be inclined to think that, from the beginning, it formed part of political lore, as is was finally codified by Kauṭalya. A priori, however, we would expect it to belong to the Dharmaśāstra. And such was evidently the case.

No weight can be laid on the fact that Dharmaśāstra is mentioned before Arthaśāstra in the enumeration of the treatises constituting the Itihāsaveda, I,v: Purāṇam, Itivṛttam, Ākhyāyikā, Udāharaṇam, Dharmaśāstram, Arthaśāstram. But it is of especial interest that we read in the Dharmaśīya, III,i, that when the judge is in doubt which principles he should apply, he should act according to dharma:

\[
\text{saṃsthaḥ yā dharmāshāstreṇa śāstraṁ vā vyāvahārikam|}
\text{yasminn arthe virudhyeta dharmenārtham vinīścayet||}
\]

where the convention or the lawsuit-lore (based on the saying of witnesses) is in disagreement with the Dharmaśāstra one should decide according to dharma. Shama Sastri compares Yājñavalkya II.21:

¹ Zeitschrift für vergleichende Rechtswissenschaft, 37, pp. 329–347.
² See Renou, Grammaire Sanscrite, p. 251.
it is an established maxim that the Dharmaśāstra has more weight than the Arthaśāstra, which can very well be based on the Kautalya; cf. Nārada I.1.39f.

There is still another detail which should not be overlooked. In the adhikaraṇas dealing with jurisdiction Kautālya only quotes such authorities as are known as authors of Dharmasūtras, Usanas, Bṛhaspati and Manu, and not the predecessors of Kautālya in the Arthaśāstra. Usually we find such statements as *īty ācāryāḥ* . . . *īti Kautālyāḥ* (III.iv, v; III.xix, xx (*neti Kautālyāḥ*; III.vi has *īty Usānasā vibhāgaḥ*; III.vii *īty ācāryāḥ* . . . *īty aparā* . . . *īti Kautālyāḥ*; III.xi *īty Usānasāḥ* . . . *īti Mānavāḥ* *īti Bṛhaspatyāḥ* . . . *īti Kautālyāḥ*; III.xvii *īti Mānavāḥ* . . . *īty Usānasāḥ* . . . *īty Kautālyāḥ*).

Such indications point to the conclusion that Kautālya’s chapters on jurisdiction are based on the Dharmaśastras and have only been slightly modified. Jolly draws attention to one detail, the evident tendency to replace corporeal punishment, often a most barbarous one, by fines. And the reason is evident, the fines went into the king’s pocket, with additional payments of *rūpa* (with 8 %) and *vṛyājī* (with 5 %).

On the other hand Kautālya does not make any reference to ordeals, but he speaks of eighteen kinds of torture of a most barbarous description (IV.viii). A *brahmaṇaḥ*, however, cannot be tortured: *sva-vāparādheṣu api daṇṭanīyo brahmaṇaḥ*. His forehead is marked as belonging to a criminal, and he can be banished or sent to the pits. As is well known, this exemption from torture is corroborated by a comparatively old source. In the Mṛcchakatikā (ed. Stenzler, p. 141.9f.) Cārūdatta, whom the Śakāra accuses of having murdered Vasantasena, asks the Adhikaraṇika if the accusation made by such a villain should be accepted and not tested through an ordeal (*tad grahyam bhavati? na tad vicāraṇīyam?*). And (p. 156.3)

viṣasalatulāgnipraarthite me vicāre
krakačam iha śārire vikṣya dātavyam iha |
atka rīpuvacanad vā brahmaṇaṁ māṁ niḥaṁsi
patasi narakamadhye putraputraṁ sametaḥ ||
now since an ordeal concerning me, through poison, water, weighing or fire has been demanded, and after seeing the saw that should be applied to my body, if you then slay me, a brâhmaṇa, on the word of my enemy, you fall into the midst of hell, accompanied by your sons and sons' sons.

The three dharmanahas and the three councillors should discharge law-suits on the border of a district, at the group-, droma-capital, and session courts: dharmanaha trayo mātyā janapadasaṃdhisani-grahaṇadronamukhasthāntyeṣu vyāvahārikaṁ arthān kuryuḥ.

Most of these terms are explained in the adhyakṣaprācāra, II.i. After having spoken about the foundation and arrangement of villages (grāma) Kauṭalya goes on to say: in the centre of a group of 800 villages he should establish a sthāniya, of 400 villages a dronamukha, of 200 villages a kharvaṭika, of 10 villages a saṅgrahaṇa. These words are of rare occurrence and probably belong to the old terminology of jurisdiction. The Divyāvadāna mentions dronamukhyā (p. 620.2) and kharvaṭika (445.2). Kharvaṭika is formed from kharvaṭa, which the Mitakṣara, Yājñavalkya II. 167, glosses praçuraṇaṇṭakasaṃtāna-grāma, a village with many “thorns”, adding that the pariṇāha, circumference, of a grāma, a kharvaṭa, and a nagara should be 100, 200 and 400 dhanus, respectively.

Kauṭalya then goes on to explain what kinds of law-suits the judges should refuse to deal with: III.i vyavahāraśāśāpanā vivāda-padanibandhaḥ, arrangement of procedure, treatise on objects of law-suits. Tirohitāntaraśāranyopadhyapakvarakṛtyaṃ ca vyavahārān pratiṣedhayeyuh, they should not admit law-suits about what is done in secret, within the house, at night, in the forest, deceitfully, or clandestinely. There are exceptions to this restriction, and they are enumerated; cf. Yājñavalkya II. 31 ff., Nārada I.i 43.

Then follows an important treatise about marriage, III.ii vivāhasamvakte vivāhadharmaḥ strīdhanaṅkalpā adhivedanikam, in connection with marriage, the marriage usage, the law about women's property, the gifts to a superseded wife. Then follow the designations of the traditional 8 kinds of marriage, in close accordance with the Āsvalāyana Gṛhya sūtra I. 6:

1. kanyādānaṁ kanyām alaṅkṛitya brāhmaṁ vivāhaḥ
Āsv. 1. alaṅkṛitya kanyām udakapārvāṁ dadyād esa brāhmaṁ vivāhaḥ
Āsv. 2. *rtvije vālate karmāṇi dadyād alāṅkṛtya sa daivo, see Kauṭalya 4.
2. saha dharmacāryā prajāpataḥ, Āsv. 3 saha dharmāṇi carata iti prajāpataḥ.
3. gominihunādatā ārṣaḥ, Āsv. 4 gominihunāṇi dattvopayaccheta sa ārṣaḥ
4. antarvedyāṁ rtvije dānāda daivo, see Āsv. 2.
5. mihāḥ samavāyād gāṇḍharvāḥ, Āsv. 5 mihāḥ samayāṇi kṛtvapayaccheta sa gāṇḍharvāḥ
6. šulkādānād āsaraḥ, Āsv. 6 dhanenopatosvopayaccheta sa āsuraḥ
7. prasahyādānād rākṣasāḥ, Āsv. 7 supāhāṇi pramattāṇi vāpaḥaret sa paśācāḥ, see Kauṭ. 8.
8. supādānāt paśācāḥ, see Āsv. 7; Āsv. 8 hatvā bhittvā ca śṛṣṭāni rudātinī rudaddhiyo haret sa rākṣasāḥ, see Kauṭ. 7.

The correspondence is so close that we must infer that Kauṭalya has simply adopted the Vedic definitions. The numbers differ: Kauṭ. 2 = Āsv. 3, Kauṭ. 3 = Āsv. 4, Kauṭ. 4 = Āsv. 2, Kauṭ. 7 = Āsv. 8, Kauṭ. 8 = Āsv. 7. Nārada XII. 40—4 follows Kauṭalya.

Pitṛpramāṇaś catvāraḥ purve dharmyaḥ, mātāpitṛpramāṇah śeṣāḥ; tau hi śulkaharau duhituḥ; anyataarābhāve 'nyataro va, the four first ones are under the authority of the father and righteous, the other ones are under the authority of mother and father, for those two take the bride-price for the daughter, or one of them if one of them is not existing.

Dvitiyaṃ śulkaṃ strī haret; sarveśaṃ pitṛyaropanam apratiśiddam, a second (additional) bride-price the wife should take; to all it is unforbidden to give gifts of love. (Shama Sastri reads advitiyaṃ).

Vṛttir ābadyaṃ và strīdhanaṃ. Paradvisahāsra sthāpya vṛttik | ābadyāṇiyamaḥ, maintenance or ornaments are what is due to the wife; the maintenance should be settled up to 2000; there is no restriction on ornaments. It is further stated how she can spend this. What has been enjoyed in the gāṇḍharaṇa and āsura she should be made to give away, that in the rākṣasa and paśāca she should give as if it were stolen.

Mrte bhartari dharmakāmā tadānīm evaḥsthāpyābharaṇaṇi ca labheṣa, when the husband has died, she should get her ornaments and the remainder of the bride-price, if she wishes to embrace a religious life; cf. Nārada I.28; labdhvā và vindamāṇā
sau̇rdhikam ubhȧyam dāpīyeta, or, if she has found (a new husband), she should be made to renounce both; kuṭumbakāmā tu śvašura- patidattanā niveśakāle labheta, but if she wishes to have a household, she should get what is given by father-in-law and husband, at the time of settling down; śvaśuraprātilomyna vā niśīṭā śvaśurapati- dattanī jīyeta, or, if she has settled down against the wish of the father-in-law, she should lose what was given by father-in-law and husband; jñātīhaśād abhimrṣīyā jñātīyo yathāgrīhatanī dadvaha, if she has been violated at the hand of her relatives, the relatives should give them in accordance with what was received; nyāyopagutāyāḥ pratipatā śrīdhanaṃ gopayet, of one who has been approached according to rule the man who gets her should guard the property of the wife; patidāyanaṃ vindamānā jīyeta, when she finds (another husband) she should lose the inheritance from her husband; dharmakāmā bhūṣīta, if she wishes to embrace a religious life, she should enjoy it; putravatī vindamānā śrīdhanaṃ jīyeta, tat tu śrīdhanaṃ putrā hareyuh, if she has sons and finds (another husband), she should lose the wife-property, but the sons should take it; putrabharṣārthaṃ vā vindamānā putrārthaṃ sphātikuryāḥ, or when she finds one, she should increase it for the benefit of her sons; bahupuruṣaprajānām putrāyaṃ yathā pītradattanī śrīdhanaṃ avasthāpayet, for sons begotten by many men she should settle the wife-property as it was given by the fathers; . . . aputrā patiśayanāṃ pālayante gurusamipī śrīdhanaṃ āyuḥkṣayād bhūṣīta, āpadarthaṃ hi śrīdhanaṃ, ārthvāṃ dāyādānī gacchet, if she, having no sons, keeps her husband’s bed, in the presence of her superiors she should enjoy the wife-property till the end of her life, for the wife-property is there for the sake of calamities, and afterwards it should go to the heir.

The most interesting feature in these rules is the fact that they show that a widow could marry another husband, and this points to an early date for the Kauṭaliya. Modifications and minor additions there may have been made, but, so far as I can see, Jacobi’s judgement about its authenticity still remains the most likely one.

Varṣāṇy aṣṭāu apraśāyanānām aputrāṃ bandhāyāṃ cākāṅkṣeta, daśa nindūm, dvādaśa kanyāprasavinīm; tataḥ putrārghī dvītiyāṃ vimānīt; tasyātikrame śūlaṃ śrīdhanaṃ ardhaṃ cāhvīvadaniḥ kaṃ dadvat, caturviniśatipāpaṃ paraṃ ca daṇḍam, eight years he should wait
when the wife does not bear children, has no son, or is barren; ten
when she is delivered of a dead child, twelve when she gives birth
to girls; after that he should find a second (wife), if he wants a son,
after the lapse of that he should give the bride-price and half of the
wife's fortune as ādhivedanika, gift to the superseded wife, and a
fine up to 24 paṇas; cf. Yājñavalkya II.148, Manu IX.81.
Śulkastridhanam asūlkastridhanas tatpranāvam ādhivedanikam
anurāpaḥ ca vṛtīno dattavā bahvūr api vindeta, putrārthā hi striyaḥ,
having given bride-price and wife's property, a supersession gift of
the same value, and a suitable maintenance, he may also find many,
who have not received bride-price or wife's property, for women are
there for the sake of (bearing) sons.

III.iii Vivāhasanyukte śuṣṭisabharmanapārusyadvesatīcāropakāraya-
vahārapratiṣedhās ca, in connection with marriages: obedience (to
parents), maintenance (of females), harshness (in words- and acts),
disaffection, misconduct, forbidden favours and association.

Dvādaśavarṣa stri prāptavyavahārā bhavati śoḍaśavarṣaḥ punān,
atu ārdhva asuṣṭrasāyaḥ dvādaśapāṇah striya dandaḥ puniso dviguṇaḥ,
twelve years old a woman comes of age, sixteen years old a man;
in the case of disobedience thereafter a woman is fined 12 paṇa, a man
the double. In the chapter about marriages this can only bear reference
to the proper age of marriage (cf. Manu IX.94, Nārada I.35 f.), and
it is therefore of interest, for the younger the source, the lower the
age. In the modern act about marriage of 1929 the corresponding
figures are 14 and 18. There is no reference in the Kauṭaliya to
marriage between children.

Bharmanāyām aniṃdiṣṭakālayām grāmāchādanaṃ vadhikaṃ yatā-
purṣaparivāpaṃ saviseṣaṃ dadyāt; nirdiṣṭakālayām tat saṃkhāya
bandhaṃ ca dadyāt, śulkastridhanādhivedanikānam anādāne ca;
svaṣurakulapraṇiṣṭhayām vibhaktāyām vā nābhiyojyaḥ pathiḥ, when the
maintenance has not been determined as to time, he should give
food and clothing, or a little more, according to the place of the man,
with something above; if it is determined as to time he should count out
just a much and give a pledge, and without taking away bride-price,
wife's property or supersession gifts; if she has gone to the house
of her father-in-law or if there has been a partition of the property,
the husband should not be sued.
Bharmanyā evidently refers to the same thing as bharma. The meaning "hire, wages" given in our dictionaries is due to a misunderstanding of Hemacandra's Abhidhānacintāmaṇī 363. The meaning of parivāpa is uncertain. Mhbh. V. II. I. Nilakantha glosses sthāna; Gaṇapati gṛhaḥkaraṇiyajanopakaraṇātikramayena.

Pārūṣyaṁ, harshness, when the husband scolds or beats his wife. Further comment is not necessary. Dveṣā, disaffection. After some remarks about what should be done in the case of conjugal infidelity, and about the husband's obligations in the case of physical defects (r. duṣṭaliṅga) and false statements the text deals with divorce: amokṣyā bhartur akāmasya dviṣāti bharyā, bharyāyaṁ ca bhartā, parasparoṣuḥ dveṣaṁ mokṣaḥ, a disaffected wife of a not-loving husband and a (disaffected) husband of (a not-loving) wife cannot obtain a divorce, but there is divorce from mutual disaffection. The last remark is not in agreement with later texts, cf. Nārada XII. 90 anyonyaṁ tyajatār āgaḥ syād anyonyaṁ viruddhayoh.

Śīrviprakāraṇād va puruṣaṁ cenn mokṣaṁ icched yathāgrītaṁ asyai dadyāt; puruṣāviprakāraṇād va strī cenn mokṣaṁ icchen nāsyai yathāgrītaṁ dadyāt; amokṣo dharmavivāhānāṁ iti, if a man wishes a divorce on account of the wife insulting him, he should give her as he has received, or if the wife wishes a divorce on account of the man insulting her, he should not give her as he has received; there is no divorce in the case of the dharmavivāhās (the first four kinds of marriage).

Aṭicāra, misconduct. Punishment of a wife who, after having been warned (pratiśiddha), shows arrogance, drinks, or takes to coquetry; goes to a show-entertainment of women or men in daytime or in the night (cf. Manu III. 84); sleeps intoxicated when the husband has gone away and shuts the door to him; when she turns him out at night; when woman or man make gestures with their body aiming at cohabitation, or talk together in a secret way; when they catch hold of the hairs, the cloth, and make use of teeth or nails; when there is a conversation at a suspicious place: pratiśiddha strī darpamaṇḍyakṛīḍāyaṁ; divā strīpreṣāvihāragamane; puruṣaṇpreṣāvihāragamane . . . rātrau; suptapramalā pravrajane bhartur ādāne ca dvārasya; rātrau niśkāsane; strīpaṇṣayor maithunārthenāṅgavīcesṭāyaṁ rahāḥ-śilasambhāṣāyaṁ vā; keśanividantaranakhāvalambaneṣu; śaṅkritasthāne saṁbhāṣāyaṁ.
Upakārayavaḥara-pratiṣedhāḥ, forbidden favours and association. Pratiṣiddhayah sthirupiṣayor anyonyopakāre, when woman and man in spite of prohibition favour each other; pratiṣiddhapuruśavyahāresu, in associations with forbidden persons, cf. Nārada XII.62, 66—68.

III. iv. vivāhasamnykте niṣpatanaṁ pathy amusaraṇaṁ hrasvatrapivāsāḥ dirghapraṃvāśaḥ ca, in connection with marriage: running away, following on the road, short absence, and long absence.

Niṣpatanaṁ, running away. Punishment of a wife who leaves her husband's house if she has not been insulted (anyatra viprakāṛā); if she goes beyond the neighbour's house (pratīvēṣaṅgrāttigatāyāḥ); if she has obtained admittance, alms, or wares, respectively, from neighbours, mendicants and traders (pratīvēśiṅkhabhisukavadehaṅkānaṁ avakāśabhikṣāpanyādāne); if they have been forbidden her (pratiṣiddhānāṁ); if she has gone beyond the surrounding houses (parigṛhāṅgaṅgaṁ); cf. Parāśara X.28—30.

Parabhāṣyavakāśadāne satyo daundo 'nyatraśabdhyaḥ; vāravājñā- nayor nirdeśāḥ pratīvīprakāṛā, when admittance has been given to another's wife, there is a fine of 100, if there is not a calamity; there is no fault if they forbid or do not know, and against an insult.

Pratiṣātisukhāvasvaghāmikāṅvādhikṣukijñātikulāṇāṁ anyatamam apuruṣāṁ gantum adosāḥ, ity asāryāḥ, it is no fault to go to one of the houses of a relative of the husband, a happily established village, a bail, a relative of a female mendicant, if there is no man, thus the teachers; apuruṣāṁ vā jñātikulam, kuto hi sādhvījanasya chalam, sukhāṁ etad avadoddhum iti Kauṭalyaḥ, or to the house of a relative where there is a man, for how could good womenfolk deceive? that is easy to find out, thus Kauṭalya.

Pretavādītwasvanagarbhanimittam apratiṣiddham eva jñātikulagamanam, it is not forbidden to go to a relative's house on account of death, disease, or pregnancy; nimittanī vārayato dvādaśapāṇo daṇḍat, tatrāpi gūhamānā strīdhanamā jiyeta, jñātayo vā chādayantah śulkaśeṣam, if he (the husband) does not admit the reason, there is a fine of 12 pāṇa, and if she nevertheless hides there, she should lose her wife's property, or the relatives who hide her the remainder of the bride-price.
Pathy anusaraṇam, following on the way. Patikulaṁ niṣpaṭya grāmāntaragamanē dvādaśapāṇo daṇḍaḥ sīhāpyābharaṇaḥlopaś ca, when going to another village after having run away from the husband’s house there is a fine of 12 pāṇa and loss of the ornaments she has to deposit; gamyena va punṣaḥ saha-prasthāne ca tūtyānśatipāṇaḥ sarvadharma-lopaḥ cānyatra bharmadānaitartha-gamanābhivyāṁ punṣaḥ pūrvaḥ sāhasadaṇḍaḥ tulyāśreyasāḥ, pāpiyāso madhyamaḥ, bandhur adāṇḍaḥ, pratīṣedhe ‘ṛdhadāṇḍaḥ, if she sets out together with a man with whom she can have intercourse, the fine is 24 pāṇa, and she loses all her rights with the exception of caring for the maintenance and going in the courses (to the husband); for the man it is the first violence fine (250 pāṇa), if he is of equal standing, the middle (500), if he is inferior (cf. Manu VIII. 138 about sāhasadaṇḍa); a relative is not to be fined, if he is forbidden, the half.

Pathi vyantare gūḍhadeśābhigamane maithunārthena saṅkhitapratiśiḍhitābhivyāṁ va pathy anusāreṇa saṁgrahaṇaṁ vidyāt, when she goes to an intermediate hidden place, or follows on the way people suspected or forbidden with regard to cohabitation, one should know that there is a sexual association (cf. Manu VIII. 356).

Tālaḥpacaśāraṇamatsyabandhakalubdhaṅka-ḥaśaśaṅḍikāṇāṁ anyeśāṁ ca prasṛṣṭasṭrikāṇāṁ pathy anusaraṇam adosaḥ, there is no fault to follow on the way dancers, singers, fishers, hunters, cow-herds, liquor-sellers or others with loose wives.

Hrasvoparvāsaḥ, a short absence. How long a wife has to wait for her absent husband, and then to whom she should turn, for it is a religious murder to obstruct the courses (ārthoparodho hi dharmavadiḥ).

Dīrgahopravāsaḥ, a long absence. How long a wife has to wait when the husband is long away, has taken the vows, or is dead, and then to whom she should turn.

III.v. Dāyavibhāge dāyakramāḥ, in the partition of inheritance, the succession at inheritance. How the different heirs should inherit is explained in essential agreement with the Dharmasūtras. I follow Gaṇapati in reading rikhaṁ putravatāḥ putrā duḥkharo va dharmāṅgheṣu vivāhaṁ jāthāḥ, the inheritance after a man who has sons, the sons or the daughters born in righteous marriages (the first four kinds of marriage) should take. Difficult is the passage adāyādakaṁ rājā
haret strīvyttiḥpretakadaryavarjām. It seems to mean that the king should confiscate the inheritance if there are no direct heirs, except when the deceased has been miserly with regard to the maintenance of his wife and his duties towards the departed ones. Gaṅapati changes pretakadarya to pretakārya, which looks like a pis-aller. Cf. Manu IX.185, Nārada XIII.50, Viśṇu XVII.4—9, Yājñavalkya II.120.

III.vi aṁśavibhāgaḥ, apportionment of shares (in the inheritance). Ekāstrīputrāṇāṁ jyेथिḥāṃśaḥ: brāhmaṇāṁ ajāḥ, kṣatriyāṇāṁ asvāḥ, vaiśyāṇāṁ gāvāḥ, śūdrāṇām avayaḥ, among sons of one mother the principal share with brāhmaṇas are goats, with kṣatriyas horses, with vaiśyas cows, with śūdras sheep, &c. Nānāstrīputrāṇāṁ . . . pār-
vajanānāṁ jyेथिḥabhāgaḥ, among sons of different mothers the principal share is by primogeniture; cf. Āpastamba II.14.7, Manu IX.126.

III.vii putrāvibhāgaḥ, different sons. Paraparigrahe bijam utsrṣṭan kṣetripaṇa ity ācāryāḥ, a seed thrown into another's property belongs to the owner of the field, thus the teachers; mātā bhastrā, yasya retas, tasyāpaṭyam ity apar, the mother is a leathern bag, he who has the semen, to him belongs the child, thus others; vidyāmānam ubhayan iti Kauṭalya, both is to be found, thus Kauṭalya. This is further explained. Aurasā, legitimate, is a son who is begotten with one's wife; equal to him is the putrikāputra, the son of one's daughter, and a son begotten through levirate is kṣetrajā, born in the field, i. e. legitimate; janayitr asaty anyasmin putre sa eva dvipitṛko dvigotro vā, if the begetter has no other son, this one will have two fathers, eventually two gotras; tatsadharmā bandhūnāṁ grhe gāthajātas tu gāthajāḥ, of equal rights with him is he who is born in the house of relatives, but gāthaja is one who is born clandestinely; bandhu-
notsrṣto 'paṇiddhaḥ sanākṣartuḥ putraḥ, one who is rejected by a relative is an apaviḍḍha, rejected, and is the son of him who initiates him; kanyāgarbhāḥ kāṁcāḥ, the son of an unmarried woman is a kāṁca; saṃgāraḥbhodhāyaḥ saهوdhaḥ, he who is born by a pregnant woman is a saهوdha; pūnarbhodhāyaḥ pūnarbhahaḥ, the son of a remarried woman is a pūnarbhavaḥ; cf. Yājñavalkya II.128 ff.; Manu IX.52, 166 ff.; Nārada XII.55, 58. Several other designations are added: ādāta, upagata, kṛitaka, kṛita, amboṣṭha (son of a brāhmaṇa and a vaiśyāḥ), nīṣāda or pāraśava (of brāhmaṇa and śūdrā), ugra (of
ksatriya and südra), vrītya (born by brähmanaś, ksatriyas or vaisyas with women of the same castes, but without marriage), śudrādyogava, kṣattr, caṇḍāla (by a südra with a vaisya, ksatriya and brähman, respectively), vaisyaṃ māgardhavaidehakau (by a vaisya with a ksatriya and brähman, respectively), kṣatriyāt sūlāḥ (by a ksatriya with a brähman), kuṭaka (by Ugrā and Naiṣādi), puṅkasa (by Naiṣāda and Ugrā), vāiṇa (by Ambaṣṭha and Vaidehikā), kuṣṭilava (by Vaidehaka and Ambaṣṭhā), śvapāka (by Kṣattr and Ugrā); cf. Manu X.6 ff.

III.viii grhavāstukam, about the homestead. Rules about the arrangement of the dwelling-place, its position with regard to neighbours so as to avoid conflicts; cf. Nārada XI.15.

III.ix vāstuvikrayāḥ, sale of the homestead. Rules about the sale of homestead, settling of dissention with regard to boundaries, fields, &c. The reading is sometimes uncertain. For kedāropadhabhogaih Gaṇapati reads kedāropabhogaih, apparently without support in his manuscripts. Cf. Yājñavalkya II.150 ff.; Manu VIII.245, 258, 265; Nārada XI.2, 10, 12, 26.

III.x viṣvākṣetrapathahnāṁ samayasyānāpākarma ca, damage to pasture-grounds, fields, and paths; not fulfilling of engagements. Rules about how to prevent damage to others by obstructing the water-supply, placing dams and objects of worship on foreign ground, appropriating or selling law-barriers; obstructing the paths; about cultivators not doing their duty; about a village-headman who turns a villager out; about improving and protecting the pasture-grounds; about how to deal with cattle grazing them off and how to drive them away; about ploughmen not doing their duty; about admittance to shows; about listening to one who says what is good for all, and about insulting people, &c. Reading and explanation of some passages uncertain. Cf. Yājñavalkya II.159 f., 162, 165, 191—3; Manu VIII.221, 237, 242; Nārada XI.15, 34, 38; Viṣṇu V.73.

III.xi, paṇḍānam, recovering of debt. Detailed remarks about rates of interest, responsibility for debts of deceased persons, and several debts; about people who cannot be made responsible; about witnesses and persons not admitted as witnesses; about the different ways of examining witnesses, according to their caste; about the procedure when witnesses disagree or do not answer the questions put to them properly, &c., in general agreement with the smṛtis.
Cf. Manu VIII. 69 ff., 120 f., 140, 142, 152, 160; Yājñavalkya II. 38 ff.

III. xii, apanidhikam, about deposits. Detailed rules about upanidi, deposits, and the responsibility of the depositary; about his utilizing the deposit or selling it; about his refusing to give it back and various ways of confounding him; about ādesa and anvādhi, instructions and deposits given by one, e.g. a servant, to be handed over to another; about loans granted on request or hired objects; about vaityāvavāyikraya, sale through commissioners; about restitution of deposits that have been lost or deteriorated, &c. Cf. Yājñavalkya II. 58 ff.; Manu VIII. 144, 181 ff.; Nārada II. 3, 7, 8, 18.

III. xiii, dāsakalpaḥ, the slave-law. We have already seen that an ārya cannot be a slave. Even a śūdra cannot be sold as slave. But mlecchas can sell or buy their children. An ārya can pledge himself to work for others, but must be emancipated when his obligations are acquitted. They must not be put to improper work. The children of one who has “sold” himself are āryas. Cf. Yājñavalkya II. 194 f., 291; Manu VIII. 217, 415; Nārada V. 32 ff., VI. 2 f., 18 f.

III. xiv, karmakarakalpaḥ, saṁbhāya samutthānām, the law about hired labourers and collective undertakings. How to deal with a labourer who does not do his work; how if this is due to illness; similar rules for servants of a community, cultivators, traders; sacrificing priests, &c. Cf. Yājñavalkya II. 195; Manu VIII. 208, 215, 217; Nārada III. 8 f., VI. 2, 5; Viṣṇu V. 153, 157.

III. xv vikṛtakṛitānusayayah, repenting a sale or purchase; cf. Nārada VIII. 4, IX. 5 f., XII. 3, 33; Viṣṇu V. 129.

III. xvi dattasyānapākarma, avāmivikrayaḥ, svasaṁvisanāṁbandhaḥ, not-delivery of a gift, sale by one who is not the owner, relation of possession and possessor. Sarvasvam puttradāram ātmānāṁ pradāyānusayināṁ prayaccheta, dharmadānam asūdhuṣu karmaṁ ca pañcaḥtiṣeṣu va, arthadānam anupakāriṣu apakāriṣu va, kāmadānam anarheṣu ca, yathā ca āতā pratiṣṭhitā ca nopakāhau syātaṁ tathānusayāṁ kusālāḥ kalpayeyuh; dantabharād ākrośabharād arthaḥbhayād va bhayaḥdānam pratiṣṭhitāḥ steyadantah prayachchatuṣ ca, roṣadānam parahīṁsāyan, rājān upari darpadānam ca, taitattvaṁ dantah, when one repents having given his whole property, child and wife, and himself, one should deliver it to him; (so also) a gift for religious purposes to people who prove to be
bad or (engaged) in harmful deeds, a money gift to people who do not help one or who harm one, a love-gift to unworthy people, and proficient persons should settle about the regret, so that giver and receiver are not prejudiced; he who accepts or gives a gift of fear, from fear of punishment, of censure, about one's property, is punished as a thief; (so also in the case of) a gift of wrath in harming others, and a gift of pride to kings, there is the highest punishment. Cf. Yājñavalkya II.176 f.:

svaṁ kuṭumbāvirodhena ṛdeyaṁ dārasuṭād ṛte
nānvaye satī sarvaṣvaṁ yac cānyasmai pratiśrutiṁ

pratigrahaṁ prakaśaṁ syāt sthāvarasya viśeṣataḥ
deyaṁ pratiśrutiṁ caiva dattvā nāpaharet punah

Manu VIII.212 f.:

bharmārthāṁ yena dattāṁ syāt kṣamaścid yācāte dhanam
paścāc ca na lathā tat syān na deyaṁ tasya tad bhavet

yādī saṁśūdhayet tat tu darpāl lobhena vā punah
rājā dāpyaṁ suvarṇaṁ syāt tasya steyasya niśkṛtiṁ

So far as I can see, there is here a disagreement between Kauṭalya and Manu: The former speaks about gifts given to kings out of pride, i. e. to show off, and the latter about the king who will punish him who retains the gift. Manu has then apparently misunderstood his source, and this would be of interest for the question of date.

Prātiḥāvyanī dandaśulkaśeṣam ākṣikanī saurikānī kāmadānānī
cā nākāmaḥ putro dāyado vā rikthaharo dadyāt, a gift for which there is a bail, or where there is an unacquitted rest of a fine or a bride-price, a debt incurred through playing dice or drinking, and a love-gift, a son or an heir who gets the inheritance should not pay against his wish. The reading is certain; cf. Yājñavalkya II.47:

surākāmadyātakṛtyaṁ dandaśulkāvaśiṣṭakam
vythādānāṁ tathaiveha putro dadyān na paitykam

Manu VIII.159:

prātiḥāvyanī vythādānāṁ ākṣikanī saurikānī ca yat
dandaśulkāvaśeṣanī ca na putro dātum arhati
asvāṁivikrayaḥ, sale by a person who is not the owner. Naṣṭā-
pahṛtam āśādy aśāmi dharmasthaṇa grāhayaḥ, desakālātipattan vā svayaṁ
gṛhitvopaharet, dharmasthaṣ ca svāṁinam amītyuṣṭa kutas te labdham iti;
sa ced ācārakramaṁ darśayeta na vikretāraṁ tasya dravyasyātisargaṇa
mucyeta; vikretā ced drṣyeta mūlaṁ steyadyaṇḍaṁ ca; sa ced apasāraṁ
adhiṣcched adpasareṇa apasāraṁsvaṣaṇād iti, kṣaye mūlaṁ steyadyaṇḍaṁ
daṣṭyaḥ, having come across something which has been lost and
taken away, the owner should cause it to be seized by the judge,
if it is beyond him (the judge) in place and time, he should himself
take it and bring it, and the judge should examine the owner: where
have you taken it from; if he points out the course of proceeding
but not the buyer, he should get free by handing over the object;
if the buyer is pointed out, he should (pay) the value and a fine for
theft; if he should resort to an egress, he would get off until the
resort stops; if it stops he should pay the value and a fine for theft.

Cf. Yaṇḥavalkya II.168 ff.:

svanī labhetaṇyayavikṛitaṁ kretur doṣo 'prakāśīte
hinduḥ raho hindumule velakhiṇā ca taskaraḥ

naṣṭāpahṛtam āśādy ahataraṁ grāhayaḥ naraṁ
.desakālātipattau ca gṛhitvā svayaṁ arpayet

vikretur darśanāc chuddhāṁ svāṁi dravyaṁ nrpo damam
.kretā mūlaṁ avāpnoti tasmād yas tasya vikrayi

āgamenopabhogena naṣṭaṁ bhavyam ato 'nyathā
.pahcabadho damas tasya rājye tenāvibhāvante

hranī pranaśtaṁ yo dravyaṁ parahasta ṣavāṇaṁ
.aniveṣaṇā nrpe ṣaṇḍyaḥ sa tu śaṇnavatīṁ payaṁ

Manu VIII.197 ff.

vikṛṣṭe parasya svaṁ yo 'svāṁi svāṁyanasaṁmataṁ
na taṇi nayeta sākṣyaṁ tu stenam astenaṁaṇinam

avahaṁ bhave caiva sāṁvayaḥ śaṣṭaṁ damam
.niranvayo 'napasaraḥ prāptah syāc caurakilbiṣam

atha mūlaṁ anāḥaṁyam prakāśakrayaṣadhitah
.adāṇḍyo muciye rājñā naṣṭiko labhate dhanam

Nāśṭikan ca svakarṇaṇī kṛtvā naśṭapratyāhṛtam labheta, svakarṇabhāve pañcabanidho daṇḍah, taci ca dravyaṁ rājadharmyaṁ svāt, naśṭāhṛtam anivedyottarṣataḥ svāminaḥ pūrvah sāhasadaṇḍah, having made an attested appropriation with regard to the lost object he may take what was lost and brought back; if there is no appropriation, there is a fine of a fifth of the value, and the object is subjected to the king’s law; for the owner who takes over what has been lost or carried away without giving information about it, there is the first violence-fine.

Śulkaśṭhāne naśṭāpahṛtoppannaṁ (thus Gaṇapatī, other editions -pannas) tiṣṭhet, triplakṣāṁ śūrdhvaṁ anabhīṣaṁ rājā hareti, svāmī vā svakarṇena, pañcapanikāṁ dvipadarūpasya niśkrayaṁ dadyat, catuspaṇiṁkaṁ ekakhrasya, dvipaṇiṁkaṁ gomahiṣasya, pādiṁkā kṣudra-paśūnāṁ, ratnasāraptalghukupānāṁ pañcakaṁ sataṁ dadyat, what has been lost or taken away and recovered in the tax-office should remain there, if there is no egress after three fortights, the king should take it away, or the owner through appropriation; he should give as redemption five paṇa for each two-footed, four paṇas for each solid-footed creature, two paṇas for cows and buffaloes, a quarter-paṇa for small cattle, and 5% for gems, valuable and base metals.

Cf. Yājñavalkya II.173 f.:

śaulkikaiḥ śānāpālaiḥ vā naśṭāpahṛtam āhṛtam
arvāk samvāsaṅrāt svāmī hareta parato nṛpoḥ

paṇāṁ ekaśaphe dadyād caturāḥ paṇca māmuse
mahīṣoṣṭragavanī dvau dvau pādam pādam ajāviṅe

There is a slight difference in the last stanza, where we have mahīṣoṣṭragavanī instead of gomahiṣasya. The insertion of uṣṭra, camel, is suspicious, because dvau dvau leads us to think of two and not three species, just as pādam pādam has reference to two, goats and sheep. Elsewhere there is a close agreement between Kauṭalya and the two śṛṅgis, and where we have been able to point to disagreement, Kauṭalya’s text seems to be the better one.

The words apasara and apasāra have been explained in different ways, but the meaning seems to be perfectly clear. Apasr means to run away, to withdraw from an obligation, and it is used by
Kullūka to gloss *apadāv*, Manu VIII.54, and *apasāra* is an egress, a means to transfer one’s responsibility to another person.

Another interesting term occurring in this passage is *svakarana*, making one’s own, which we know from Pāṇini I.iii.56, where it is used about marrying. The form is certainly old, but has been discarded by later authors.

The passages discussed above furnished us with an exceptionally rich material for ascertaining Kauṭalya’s relationship with the smṛtis, and I have therefore thought it advisable to go into details, but it would lead us too far to proceed in the same way with what follows.

There are remarks about objects brought from another realm or from the forests, carried away by thieves, &c., about the relationship between property and owner, about things others have used to their profit, &c. Cf. Gautama X.46 f.; Viṣṇu III.66 f.; Manu VIII.147, 149; Yājñavalkya II.24 f. 134.

III.xvii, sāhasam, violence: *anvayavatprasadhabakarna*, violent seizing of what is common property; *niranvaye steyam apavyayane ca*, if it is not common property, and if one denies, it is theft; cf. Yājñavalkya II.230 ff., 248, 275 f.; Manu VIII.322 f.; 332, 344.

III.xviii, vākpārusyas, violence in words: *upavādaḥ, kutsanam abhidhāntanām iti*, censure, abuse, threatening; cf. Yājñavalkya II.204 ff.; Manu VIII 274, &c.

III.xix, daṇḍapārusyam, stick-violence, actual violence: *sparśanam, avaγārṇaṃ, praḥatam iti*, touching, shaking, beating (injuring with hand, foot, weapons, through ashes, &c.); cf. Yājñavalkya II.212 ff. (the commentary quotes Nārada XV.4:)

\[ \text{paragāṭreśu abhidroho hastapādāyudhādhibhiḥ} \]
\[ \text{bhasmādhibhiḥ copaghūto daṇḍapārusyam ucyate} \]

Manu VIII.278 ff., &c.

III.xx, dyūtasamākhyayaṃ *prakīrṇakāṇi*, challenging to gambling, cf. Yājñavalkya II.199 ff., Manu IX.221 ff.; miscellanea (punishment for various kinds of misconduct); cf. Yājñavalkya II.232 ff., 243, 257, 290, 295 ff. The correspondance is only slight.

The remaining chapters of the Kautilya are of considerable interest for our understanding of his political theory and practice, but they do not help us with regard to the question about the
author's date. In his important papers in the ZDMG 67, pp. 49 ff., 68, pp. 345 ff. Jolly has given us a comparative study on Kauṭalya's relationship to the Dharmaśāstra. He tried to show that we find the greatest agreement in later smṛtis. But he himself draws attention to the fact that the correspondence is most marked in the case of Yājñavalkya.

IX. KAUṬALYA'S VOCABULARY.

Many words mentioned above are rare or ἄπαξ λεγόμενα, or only known from lexicographers. Some of the latter ones can very well have been taken from the Arthaśāstra; we have gradually learnt that Indian lexicographers to a great extent drew on good sources. It would not serve any purpose to discuss all such terms, but it will be desirable to examine some of them, which might be of interest for the questions about date and about Kauṭalya's authorship.

āsuri sṛṣṭi, IX.vii mūṣikādināṁ prabhūtoptattī iī Mādhavaḥ; kāṭabhaṅga, gleaning, V.ii (Hem. an., Med.); cuscundari, XII.iv, XIV.i, musk-rat = chuchundari (Manu, Yājñī, Mahābh.), Rājanighanṭu; dhruva, XIV.i, Ficus Indica (Trik., Hem. an., Med.), &c. It is hardly possible to draw any inference from such examples.

The same is the case with the numerous military terms. There are several kinds of fastnesses, durga: audaka (water-fastnesses) between two isles (antardvāpani), or on shore amidst low places, lakes, &c. (sthalaṁ nimmāvaruddham); pārvata (mountain-fastnesses) on rocks (pṛastaram) or in caves (guhāṁ); desert-fastnesses (dhānvanam) in places without water and grass (nirudakastanbham) or barren salty ground (ṭirīnām); forest-fastnesses (vanadurga), where there is muddy water (khananodakam) or thickets of reeds (stambagahanam) making it difficult to walk, II. III.

Detailed rules are given about these fastnesses. They should be surrounded with moats (parikāḥ), ditches (vapra), ramparts (prākāra); there should be watchtowers (aṭṭalaka), gangways (pratoli), platforms (indrakoṣa), secret exits (devapatha), places of refuge (pradhāvitikā), &c.; outside were jānumbhaṅjanis, "knee-breakers"; triśūlaprakāras, trident-spokes; kūṭas, iron-spokes; avapātas, pit-falls, &c.
Durganivesah II.iv deals with the streets, the places occupied by the king, the harem, &c., and with in-and out-going provisions. The term used is vivadh, which is well known from Vedic sources. Pāṇini IV.iv.17 has vivadh, but Patañjali vivadhīc ceti vaktavyam, and elsewhere, II.i.36, II.iii.12 only vivadhā. The Siddhāntakaumudi says vivadhāvivadhāsamādhū ubhayato-buddhasikye skandhavāhye kṣēthe vartete, the words vivadhā and vivadhā are used about a stick, with slings attached at both ends, to be carried on the shoulders. A vaivadhīki (IV.iv.17), then, is a person carrying such a shoulder-yoke. And what he carries can be seen from the Mahābhāṣya I.390udakārtho vivadhāḥ, a shoulder-yoke for (fetching) water. The word also occurs in the Mahābhāṣya on II.iii.12 gatvārthakarmanā dvītyācaturthyau cestīyaṃ anadhvani, about the object of (verbs) meaning to go the accusative and the dative are used to denote the motion, but not in the case of a way. Thus we can only say paṇṭhānam gacchati, vivadhāṃ gacchati. The Kāśikā here replaces vivadhāṃ by mārgaṇ, and later lexicographers such as Am., H. an., Med., Vaijayanti give “way” as one of the meanings of vivadhā. Amara has paryāhāraḥ ca mārgaś ca vivadhau vivadhau cetau, but Mahesvara adds: bhāre py etc.; H. an. vivadho āvadhō bhāre paryāhārādhanovanor api, and the Vaijayanti vivadho vivadhaḥ ca dvau paryāhāre 'dhvabharayoh (was the original reading paryāhārādhanvabharayoh?)

Kautalya gives the following information: vanajīvaḥ prasāraḥ, svadeśad anvāyair vivadhāḥ | mitrabalam āsāraḥ, prasāra = provisions from forests; vivadhā = bringing in from one's own country; āsāra = a friend's force; vivadhāśārapaghāto rakṣā vā ... ity aṣvakarmāṇi; destruction or guarding of vivadhā ... are the business of the cavalry; (X.iv); ekāyane vivadhāśārāprasārān vā (abhīhanuḥ), or (they should destroy) vivadhā, the friend's force, and the forest-provisions on an one-man's path (XII.iv); visamasthasya muśtīṃ sasyaṃ vā hanyād vivadhaprasārau vā, for one who is in difficulty he should destroy the seed or the grass, or the vivadhā and provisions (XIII.iv).

It is, I think, clear that when vivadhā is said to mean bhāra, load, a shoulder-yoke load is meant, and vivadhāṃ gacchati means “he goes the shoulder-yoke way”, he is employed as a shoulder-yoke carrier, the accusative being adverbial. We here have an example of how lexicographers sometimes misunderstood good sources.
The form *vivadha* for Pāṇini’s *vivadhā* is of chronological interest, being evidently later than Pāṇini, but established in Patañjali’s time. His addition *vivadhāc ceti vāktanyam* is according to Kielhorn not a *vārītika*, but can very well be older than Patañjali.

Many curious terms are used about the various kinds of battle-array. An army is *caturaṅgin*, consisting of four parts, elephants, chariots, cavalry, and infantry, but this term has not been found earlier than in the Mahābhārata and the Rāmāyana. In the battle-arrays Kauṭalya, after quoting the opinions of Usanas and Bṛhaspati, who distinguish between *daṇḍa*, staff; *bhoga*, curve; *maṇḍala*, ring, and *asaṁhata*, not beaten together, open, and after mentioning the wings (pakṣau), the flanks (kakṣau), and the centre (urasya), describes the various kinds (X.vi): *pakṣakakṣorasyaiḥ samaṇaḥ vartamāno daṇḍaḥ*, staff, when going evenly with wings, flanks, and centre (also AK., H., Han., &c.), with 15 varieties such as *kakṣātikrāntaḥ pradaraḥ*, tearing when marching with the wings beyond (the enemy); *sa evapa-kṣakakṣabheiḥ pratikrānto dyāhakaḥ*, strong when attacking with wings and flanks, &c.

*pakṣakakṣorasyaṁ viṣamaṇaḥ vartamāno bhogaḥ*, curve when going unevenly with wings, flanks, and centre; *sa sarpaśāri gomūtrikā vā*, it is moving like a snake or like cow-urine, &c.

*pakṣakakṣorasyañām ekibhāve maṇḍalaḥ*, ring when wings, flanks and centre become one; *sa sarvatomukhaḥ, sarvatobhadraḥ, aṣṭānko durjaya iti maṇḍalavīhāḥ*, it is facing all directions, good in all directions, eight-faced, difficult to conquer, thus the ring-arrays.

*pakṣakakṣorasyāṁ asaṁhatād asaṁhataḥ*, not beaten together when wings, flanks and centre are not beaten together, *i. e. open; sa paṅcānākāṇām ākṛtisthāpanād vajro godhā vā*, it is called thunderbolt or alligator according to the arrangement of the five faces, &c.

Numerous curious terms are found in this passage. Since Kauṭalya mentions two predecessors, it is possible that most of them are inherited. The same may be the case with the indications about the proper choice of battle-array.

Then we learn to know the titles of the leading officers: *aṅgadaśakaśyaiḥ pāṭaṁ padikaḥ|padikaṁ daśakaśyaiḥ senāpatiḥ|taddaśakaśyaiḥ nāyaka iti, padika* (colonel), the only leader of ten *aṅgas* (battalions), *senāpati* army-leader (general) that of ten *padikas*, *nāyaka* (leader,
commander-in-chief) that of ten army-leaders; X.vi. Also these terms are probably inherited, but their exact meaning is, so far as I know, not known from older sources than the Kauṭalya.

There are rules about the disposition of the four aṅgas in the different arrays and each of them have different kinds of employment, aśvayuddhāni, hastiyuddhāni, rathayuddhāni, and pattiyuddhāni (X.v). The grooming of elephants and horses is attended to. In the chapter about the aśvādhyakṣa (II.xxx) there are notes about the different ways a horse moves: valgana, gallop; nicaīr gata, ambling; laṅghana, prancing; dhoranā, trotting; nāroṣtra, obeying the rider’s pressure, with many variations. The explanation of these terms, which are partly ἀπὸς λεγόμενα, is not found elsewhere. They are, however, of considerable interest because the Indian numerals āika, 1, tērā 3; pānṣa 5, ṣatta 7, &c., are used in the Hettite manual of horse-training found by Hrozny¹, so that horse-training must have been well known in their country long before Kauṭalya.

The case is similar with regard to the many designations of weapons, mentioned in the chapter about the arsenal-overseer, āyudhāgāraudhyakṣaḥ, II.xviii. I am unable to make any use of them for chronological purposes.

Consideration of the attitude of neighbouring rulers play a great rôle in military tactics, as mentioned VII.xv under Śādgunya. The pārśuigrāha, “heel-catcher” is the prospective ally of a ruler who wants to triumph (vijīghṣu) over his neighbour; the āsāra, “sucourer”, beyond the neighbour, is also to be reckoned as a probable ally. A madhyama, “intermediate” keeps the middle between friend and friend’s friend on one, and enemy, enemy’s friend, and enemy’s friend’s friend on the other side. Finally we have the udāsīna, outsider, neutral. Cf. Manu VII.207, where pārśuigrāha and ākranda occur.

apasāraḥ, II.xiv, III.xvi, egress, way out.
ādhīvedanikam, III.ii, what is to be paid to the first wife when marrying a second.
āyah, income, II.vi: varṭamāṇah (running), paryuṣito (last year’s),
anyajātās (gone astray) cāyāḥ; vyayapratyayah (expense-tax),
remains of what has been spent on vikṣepa (alarm?), diseases,

¹ See e. g. his paper in Archiv Orientalní, Vol. III, p. 290.
and undertakings; *upajā* (increase of the value of articles of trade), *vyājī* (gain realized through difference in measure), or increase when there is a throng of buyers (*krayasamghare vā vyrdhir ity āyah*). The *āyāśārim, income-*body*, is derived from mining (*khani*), banks and dams (*setu*), forests (*vana*) herds (*vraja*), and trade-routes (*vaṇikpatha*); the *āyamukham, income-*head*, comprises price (*miḷam*), (the king’s) share (*bhāgaḥ, 1/6*), *vyājī* (tax on increase in value, 1/6), *parighāḥ* (gate-money), *kīptam* (fixed dues from villages, &c.), *rūpikam* (8% for controlling), *atyayaś* (fines) *cāyamukham*.

*kāmajaś caturvargah*, the four-group arising from love, explained in VIII.iii, *puruṣavyasanavargah*, the group of man’s vices: *mṛgaya* (hunting), *dyūlam* (gambling), *striyā* (women), and *pānam* (drink).

*kopajas trivargah*, the three-group arising from anger VIII.iii: *vāk-pārṣyaṃ* (harshness of speech, insulting language), *arthaḍāśayam* (spoiling of property) is defined as *adānam* (not-giving), *adānam* (taking away), *vināśaḥ* (destruction), and *parityāgaḥ* (leaving, neglecting, of property), *daṇḍapārṣyaṃ* (harsness in punishments).


*gopah*, II.xxi, superintendent of a group of villages (A.K., H., Han., Med.).

*dāṭraraśmigrāhakaḥ* II.xxviii, seizer of the mooring-rope (*dātra* else-where = sieve).

*devapathaḥ* II.iii, god’s path, secret passage.

*devasaras* II.xxvii, pool of the gods, a permanent pool.

*nīṣkukadvāram* II.iii, tree-hollow door, for emergency or observation.

*paṣṭauhi*, see above p. 22.

*puruṣavyasanah*, see *kāmajaś caturvargah*.

*bhinnakūṭa*, VIII.v, “split-head”, a country that has lost its leader.

*yogavṛttam*, V.i, tricky behaviour, various deceitful ways of corrupting possible enemies, frustrating their endeavours, and getting rid of them.

*raśmiḥ*, XIII.iv, provisions, food; cf. V.S. XV.16, Śat. Br. VIII.5.33.
raṣṭram, II.xv, realm, the receipts of the state: pinḍakaraḥ (village tax), saḍbhāgāḥ (the 6th part of grain, &c.), senābhaktaṇu (food for the army), baliḥ (an additional tax exacted), karaḥ (tax, on fruits, trees, &c.), utsaṅgaḥ (haunch-tax, to be paid after the birth of a son, &c.), pārśvaṇu (“side”, additional tax exacted by officials), pārihīnīkam (fines when one’s cattle has done damage), anpāyanaṇiḥ (what is given as a present), kaṇṣhteyakam (taxes to be paid when using the king’s tanks, parks, &c.? ca rāṣṭram.

vanam II.vi: a paśu-(cattle-) mṛga-(deer-) drava-(wood-) hasti-elephant-) vanaparigraho (forest-enclosure) vanam (is called forest).

vāsitakam, II.xiv, gilding.

viṣṭih, II.xv (fored labour): mārjaka- (sweeper), ārakṣaka- (watchmen)
dhāraka- (weight-inspector) māyaka-(measurer)māpaka (measure-surveyor) dāyaka-(payer) dāpaka-(payment-surveyor) śalākāprati-grāhaka-(receiver of sticks &c.) dāsakarmaṇavargaś (the host of slave-workers) ca viṣṭih.

visarasi, II.xxviii, a pool that can dry up.

vetanopagrāhikam, II.xxix, serving (as herdsmen) for fixed wages (and not payment in milk or butter).

vyāya, expenses (of the state), II.vi: devapitrājānārthah (for the sake of worship of gods and ancestors and of alms), svastivācanam (complimentary offerings to the priest), antahpurah (the harem), mahānasāṁ (the kitchen), dālaprāvartimaṇ (sending of messengers), kośṭhagāran (the treasury), āyudhāgāran (the arsenal), panyagrham (the ware-house), kupyaγṛham (building for forest-produce, cf. II.xvii), karmānta (works), viṣṭih (forced labour), pattyasvarathadvipaparigraha (maintenance of infantry, cavalry, chariots, and elephants), gosanḍalāṁ (cow-herd), pasup̣ragapakṣi-vyālavaṭāḥ (enclosures for cattle, deer, birds, and wild animals), kāṣṭhatrvavāṭas (enclosures for wood and grass) ceti vyāyaśāriram (are the expense-body);

vyayapratiyāyah (return of outlay), II.vi ff. xv: vikṣepavyādhitantarārampāsesham ca (rest of expenditure on alarms, medical treatment, and undertakings) vyayapratiyāyah (constitutes the outlay-return).

vyāti (trade-tax), II.xii: paṇcakāṁ satam (5%), II.xvi: śoḍaśabhāgo māṇavyāti (1/6 the tax on measurement).
vrajaḥ (herd) II.vi: gomahiṣam (cows and buffaloes), ajāvikāṃ (goats and sheep, kharoṣṭram (asses and camels), aśvāśvarāś ca (and horses and mules) vrajaḥ.

sitā (furrow), II.xv: sitādhyakṣopānitaḥ sasyavarṇakāḥ sitā (sītā is the grass-species brought in by the furrow-overseer).

setuḥ (dam, dyke), II.vi puspaphalavāṣaṇaḥ ṛṣiḥulavāpāḥ setuḥ (setu for sowing flowers, and fruit in enclosures, thickets, irrigated fields, and over roots).

"Αποξ λεγόμενα.

atyarālaḥ, II.xxxi: aśṭārainir (hasti) atyarālaḥ, an a., an (elephant) of 8 aratni.

aditiḥ, XI.i, a woman living by showing pictures of gods (Gaṇapati: nānādevālekhyapradarśanavṛttayāḥ striyāḥ).

anulīsāḥ, II.iv, acc. to Gaṇapati = avakāśa, space, opening.

anvādhīḥ, repentance, III.iii, acc. to Gaṇapati of having entrusted others with loans.

abhyābha III.xii, to compensate, make good (?).

aranā III.xx, acc. to Gaṇapati a flat piece of leather for playing dice on.


avaneyāman, II.xiii, taking away valuable jewels and substituting valueless ones (Gaṇ.; he reads apaneyāman).

avamarśabhiṭṭi III.viii, structure above a verandah to protect against rain.

avastāra II.viii: siddham kālam aprāptam karoti aprāptam prāptam vety avastāraḥ, a. is when one enters what has been received and realized as not received and what has not been received as received.

aṣṭaka. II.xiv, lac, solder.

āyi II.iii, acc. to Gaṇapati a small door.

āśvāhika II.vii, XIII.iii, transport guard.

ābaliyāsam XII.i, the weaker's attitude towards the stronger.

āvesani II.xiv, a craftsman.

āvesṭana III.xix, twisting.
uttaravaryaka II.xiv: tämratārārāpanīcottaravaryakaḥ, and a piece of copper and silver with a double layer of gold is called “best coloured”.

utraṅga II.xv, acc. to Gaṇapati gifts to the king on the birth of a son, &c.

udaṅjara III.viii, acc. to Gaṇapati a great jar, for water as a safeguard against fire.

upaśīrnikā, XIII.ii a kind of ant, Rv. VIII.102.21.

upaśīsa, III.x a cultivator in the service of the village.

upaśāla, III.x, a tract of common land round a village or town; cf. parīhāra, Manu VIII.237.

upasthānam II.xv: tulāmānāntaraṇi (different measure and weight, sc. in buying and selling). hastapūrayaṇam (filling the hand) utkaro (rubbish added) vyāji (raised measure-tax) paryuṣitaṇi (of last year) prājītani (exacted) copaṭsthānam.

audanika II.xxxvi, a seller of boiled rice, cf. Pāṇ. IV.iv.17.

aupaniṣadikām XIV the use of poisonous herbs, &c., against others.

auṇḍīyika III.xv consisting in having been slept with.

auṇḍīyanikam II.xv, what is given as a present, see rāṣṭram, above p. 57.

kaṇḍakakarmāṇa II.xxii, acc. to Gaṇapati = sūtrasaṃśhakarman.

kaṇḍakakarana II.xxxvi, “hair-seizer”, implement for removing thatching in order to prevent fire.

kaṭumāṇa II.xiii: arpayet kacakarmayaḥ paṇcabhāgaṃ kaṇcanaṃ dasabhāgaṃ kaṭumāṇam, for the setting of glass one should hand over 5 parts of gold, and 10 parts as “pungent” measure, i.e. as a covering over the setting in order to make it stronger.

(The reading taken from the Vyākhyā).

kaṇḍālasaṃśrāya VII.ii, “skull-joining”, treaty on equal terms.

karaprakāra II.xxix, tax-requital: ghṛtasāṭau vārakan (8 vāraka clarified butter) paṇikāṇi pucchaṃ (1 paṇa each tail) aṅkaḥcārma (stamped hide) ca vārsikāṃ dadyād (he should give each year) iti karaprakāraḥ (this is the tax-requital).

karmābhīṛgāraḥ IV.vi, taking hold of the deed, disclosing a theft and its kind.

kākaṇika II.xiii, weighing a kākaṇi; cf. kākiṇikaḥ Mahābhāṣya V.i.33.
kāca II.xiv, acc. to Gaṇapati and Jolly, fraud.
kīvābandha II.xxv: māsakalanāndrojam āmanī siddhaṇī vā (a droṇa bean-paste (?), raw or cooked) tribhāgādhikataṇḍulaṇ (with three parts more of rice) moraṭādīnām kārṣikabhāgavuktām (together with a karṣa portion of moraṭa, &c.) kīvābandhāḥ (is the way of using ferments).
kupya II.xvii. kupya-dhyakṣaḥ, the kupya-overseer. Sāka-(teak) tinīṣa-
(Dalbergia Ujjainensis) dhanvana- (Alhagi Maurorum) arjuna-
(Terminalia Arjuna) madhūka- (Bassia Latifolia) tilaka- (Clero-
dendrum phlomoides) sāla- (Vatica robusta) śīṃśupā- (Dalbergia
Sissoo) arimeda- (Vachellia Farnesiana) rājādana- (Buchanania
Latifolia) sīrīṣa- (Acacia Sirissa) khadira- (Acacia Catechu) sarala-
(Pinus Longifolia) tāla- (fan-palm) sarja- (Terminalia Tomentosa) aśva-
karuṣa- (Vatica Robusta) somavarka-(Acacia Arabic) kośa- (a kind
of Acacia?) āṇra- (mango) priyaka- (Nuclea Cadamba) dhavādiḥ
(Grislea Tomentosa, &c.) kupyavargaḥ (is the kupya-group).
kumāra II.xxxi, acc. to Gaṇapati a beam above the post to which an
elephant is tied to make the binding stronger.
kṛtyākṛtyapaksaraksaya I.xiii, watching over the parties that can,
or cannot, be managed, i.e. scheming at bringing them to desert
an enemy.
kośasaṅga VIII.iv: sakto mukhyesu (sticking to the chiefs) parihāro-
pahataḥ (damaged through exemption) prakīryo (scattered) mi-
thyāsambhrataḥ (wrongly* collected) sāmatālavibhṛta (taken away
by neighbours or foresters) iti kośasaṅgāḥ (such the stickings for
the treasury).
krayima II.xv: dhānyamālyan (the corn-price) kośanirkāraḥ (treasure-
hoarding) prayogaprātyādānam ca (returning of what has been
utilized) krayinam (are the purchase-group).
kṣepaṇa II.xiii: kṣepaṇaḥ kācārpānādīni (kṣepaṇa = setting glass, &c.,
sc. in gold).
khajaphulla III.viii, acc. to Gaṇapati sphaṭitasāmskāra, repairing of
breakages.
khāraṇika II.i centre of 200 villages; cf. above p. 38.
gaurika, II.xiii, xiv: anvil (? Jolly).
gopa II.xxxv, head of five or ten villages.
goliṅga II.xxviii, a cow-cart.
chandikā XI.i predilection.
jaughāgra II.xxxv, shank-multitude, the number of legs of individuals.
iharaka IV.i, water-carrier.
tādātvika II.ix: yo yad yad utpadyate tat tat bhakṣayatī, one who devours all he can get hold of.
tikṣuva I.xiii ye janapade śūrās tyaktātmāno hastinaṁ vṛālaṁ va dravyahetok pratiyoḍhayeyus te tikṣuḥ, those who as heroes, risking their life, fight against an elephant or a tiger before people for money’s sake are the sharpers.
triputaka II.xiv: two portions silver, one sulphur. When this is used to remove gold coming from the pit, that is called triputakā- pasārīta, removal through three-folding.
nāroṣṭra, see above p. 55.
nāṣṭika III.xvi, concerning what is naṣṭa, lost.
nindu III.iii, a woman bearing a dead child, H. 531.
nispāka, III.xiv, ripening, completion.
naiyesanika III.v, what is required for setting up a separate household: saṁnivīṣṭasamam asaṁnivīṣṭebhyo naiyesanikaṁ dadyuḥ, they should give those who have not settled down (i. e. married) an equal settling-sum as the settled ones.
naiṣecanika XI.i, XII.iv: naiṣecanikam iti madanarasayuktān madya-kumbhān śataśaṁ prayacccheyuḥ, they should present hundreds of liquor-pitchers with intoxicating poison as a “libation”.
pāncakusṭha XIV.i, the five parts of kusṭha (Costus speciosus) viz. rind, leaves, flowers, fruits, roots.
parikūṭana II.xiv: petaκāpaḍēsena pṛṣitaṁ guṇam piṭakāṁ vā yat pariṣālayaṁ tat parikūṭanam, cutting-away is when they cut off a pṛṣita, a thread, or a pitcher under the pretence of petaṅga.
parībhāṇḍa, II.xiii: pṛṣitakācakarmayah, trayo ki bhāgāḥ parībhāṇḍam dvau vāstukāṁ, catvāro vā vāstukāṁ trayāḥ parībhāṇḍam, of a pṛṣitā-glass-work. In pṛṣitā-glass-work are three parts the frame, two the base, or four the base three the frame.
parivartana II.viii rājadravyādāṁ anyadravyevadānām, seizing the king’s property by (substituting) other property; cf. II.xv saṣayavayānāṁ arghāntareṇa vinīmayah parivartakah, parivartaka = exchanging grasses with such of different value.
paristhāna II.xxvi, slaughtered outside the slaughterhouse.
parisṛpta. VIII.v: parisṛptam āpasṛtam, p. = gone away.

parihāpaṇa II.viii: klītam āyaṇāḥ pariḥāpayati vyayaṇāḥ vā vardhayatīti pariḥāpayam, he makes the settled income too low or increases the expenses, this is pariḥāpaṇa.

parohtaka III.i outruled.

pāṃṣudhāvaka IV.i sweeper.

pāraśama II.xxx, a mule; cf. pāraśava, a man of mixed caste, son of a brāhmaṇa and a śūdra, III.vii.

pāriḥṣika II.xv, fines for damage done by cattle.

pāriṣkā II.xii: pāriṣkām aṣṭabhāgikāni śatam the inspection duty 8%.

pārśva II.vi, xv, additional tax exacted.

pāli II.xxiv, dyke, dam; cf. Rājatar. V. 106.

pālīkya II.xxiv, a kind a pumpkin (thus Gaṇapati, who reads vālīkya).

piṅka II.xiv, fraudulent substitution of less valuable matter, e.g. glass for jewels, silver for gold, &c.

piṅcha II.xiv, feather used by goldsmith for blowing up fire.

piśiti II.xiv, rust.

prasita II.xiii, xiv, "sprinkled", mounted, set; prasitakācakarma, setting glass or pearls, &c., in gold (Jolly: hollow).

petaka II.xiv, one of the goldsmith’s ways of deceiving. It is gāḍha, firm, or abhyuddhārya, removable. A gāḍhapetaka is a piece of lead "smeared" with a gold-leaf and fastened inside with lac (sāsārāpani swarūpaapatreṇāvaliptam abhyantaramaṣṭakena baddham). When there is only folded layers, it is removable (sa eva paṭalasani-puṭesav abhyuddhāryah).

pratikroṣṭḥ, III.ix an overbidder.

pratigraha X.vi, the rear of a battle-array.

pratimaṇca II.iii a platform (maṇḍca) facing another.

pratolī II.iii: dvayor attālakayor madhye saharmyadvitalaṁ dvyardhā- yūmāṁ pratolī kārayet | attālakapratolimadhye tridhānuskādhī- sthānam sāpīdhānačchidrāphalaksanahatam itindrakoṣaṁ kārayet, between two watchtowers he should let make a pratolī with two mansion-surfaces (covering the roofs of the two towers?), 1½ time more broad (than high); between tower and pratolī he should let make a platform, as place for three archers, beaten together of planks with holes that can be covered: an indrakoṣa (platform). Pratolī usually means head-street, but in medical
texts a bandage; here apparently a structure above the watchtowers.

pradhāvītiṁ II.iii, place of refuge.

prasannāyoga II.xxv: dvādasāḥdhamanī pīṭhasya pāṇca prasthāḥ kīrvasya putrakatvākhalayukto vai jātiṣanbhārāḥ prasannāyogāḥ, 12 ādhakā flour, 5 prasthā ferment, or a collection of species combined with the rind and fruit of the putrakatree is prasannāyoga.

prasāra X.ii: vanājīvāḥ prasāraḥ, forest nourishment (rice, grasses, &c.) is prasāra.

prahavaya II.xxv, III.x, VII.xvi, XII.v, XIII.ii, festival gathering.

prātiṣṭedhānīka II.xix controlling.

prāmityaka II.xv: sasayācanam anyataḥ prāmityakam, asking for grasses from others is prāmityaka; tad eva prātistāṇathim āpamityakam, when it is to be restored is āpamityaka.

prāvartima II.xxiv, activity, instrumentality.

phēḷā VII.xvii, box, cf. Divyāv. 503. 24.

bhagnotsṛṣṭaka II.xxix: vyādhiṁīnayānīghānanyadoḥdurdhāputraghniṁī ca samavibhāganī rūpaṣatanaḥ pālayantas tajjātikani bhāganī dadyur iti bhagnotsṛṣṭakam, those who tend hundred (cows), that are sick, crippled, not to be milked by others, difficult to milk, slipping the calf, equally distributed, should pay the corresponding due (viz. 1ša): that is bhagnotsṛṣṭaka.

bhāṇḍikāṭhikaraṇī II.xiv, support of implements.

bhāgānapraviṣṭaka II.xxix: paracakraṁāvibhāyad anupraviṣṭānāṁ pāsānāṁ pālanadharmanāva dasabhāganī dadyur iti bhāgānapraviṣṭakam, for the keeping of cattle brought in from fear of other rulers or of foresters they should pay 1ša: that is bhāgānapraviṣṭaka.

bhresā III.xii loss (of entrusted property which one has been unable to prevent); cf. Yājj. II. 66.

mānasrāva II.xix: pāṇćasādḥāgo mānasrāvo dravāyāṁ, 1ša is the measure tax for fluids.

mudāharmya, mudākadvāra II.iii, perhaps a structure, a door made of lopped trunks.

musṛṇī a kind of weapon used in defence of fortresses; II.iii; cf. bhuśunḍī?

mūlahara II.ix: yāḥ pīṭpaitāmamaham artham anyāyena bhakṣayati, one
who improperly consumes the wealth inherited from father and
grandfather.
yoniṣākha II.ii, iii, breeder of animals, such as chicken, pigs, sheep
and goats, cows and buffaloes, horses and mules.
vānalaṭī III.viii, acc. to Gāṇapati a verandah.
viṣayānikam II.xxxvi, the first and last nālikas of the night, when
the nightwatch drum was struck.
vellaka II.xiv, an alloy, half iron half silver.
vaidharaya II.xii, xvi, xxv, making good losses on government wares.
vyanṭara III.iv, remote.
vṛāṭi II.vi, xii tax on measuring, paid with 5%.
śama X.v = 14 āṅgula.
śārpa II.xxxvi, a wicker basket, used as a fan for keeping off smoke.
sattrī VII.v, X.iii: dhāvanasaṅkaṭaṅkaśaṅkāśaṅkalimnāviṣaṁaṁ gāvah
śakṣaṭānyaḥ nikāro rātrir iti sattrāyī, a desert, narrow, muddy,
stony, low, uneven (places), ships, cows, a chariot-array, fog, night
are the sattras. Sattrī, “session”, means a great soma-sacrifice,
and hence a difficult work. About the sattrīṇah, se above p. 27.
sāmedhika XIII.ii, a fortune-teller.
sīṃhanikā II.xv: kuṭṭakarocakasaktuṣaktapīṭakarma tajjīvanesu tāla-
pīḍanam auroabharcākrikeṣu ikṣūnāṇi ca kṣārakarma sīṃhanikā,
sīṃhanikā is what comes in from work on crushing, adding
stimulants, pounding, adding acids, grinding, among those who
have this living, oil-pressing, with sheep- and goat-butchers, and
producing treacle, &c., from sugar-canues.
sātīkākāpa III.viii, well (for cleaning) a lying-in woman.
svacakarāya III.xvi, making one’s own, testification of ownership; as to
the form cf. Pāṇini I.iii. 56.

Many of the words mentioned above have already been dealt
with by Jolly in his paper Lexikalische aus dem Arthaśāstra, Indo-
germanische Forschungen, XXXI, pp. 204—10, which I only know
from his important paper Arthaśāstra und Dharmaśāstra, ZDMG
67, pp. 49 ff. His results are mainly the same as in the Kollek-
taneen: The Kauṭalya in numerous details agrees with the smṛṭis,
and especially with comparatively late works such as Yājñavalkya and
Nārada. It cannot, therefore, well be so old as the 4th century
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B.C. But he himself draws attention to several details which show how careful we must be in drawing any such conclusions.

The Dharmaśāstra has had a long development, and many of the smṛtis are admittedly comparatively late works, but still it is possible to speak of an old kernel, which goes back to a considerably earlier period than the 4th century B.C. The later changes and neologisms can have been taken over from the Arthashastra, which can also, as already remarked, be the source from which lexicographers have taken some of the words we know from them and from Kauṭalya. And the cases of divergence can be due to the different view-points in the Arthashastra and the Dharmaśāstra. It seems to me that no conclusive evidence has been brought forwards against Jacobi’s view that our Kauṭaliya is, essentially, genuine and that its author was the minister of the Maurya emperor Candragupta.
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