

39.1.175

# KAMANTAKIYA NITISARA

OR  
THE ELEMENTS OF POLITICS

BY

MANMATHA K. B. BHATTACHARYA, M.A.

RECTOR, KOLLEGE OF ADVANCE

*Author of the English Translations of the Ramayana, Bhagavad-  
gita, Vishnu Purana, Mahabharata, and other works.*

Purana

CALCUTTA  
ELYSIUM PRESS, 55 1/2 BEADON STREET.

1896.

## INTRODUCTION.

—:O:—

**T**HE superiority of the ancient Hindus in metaphysical and theological disquisitions has been established beyond all doubts. Our literature abounds in treatises, which, for philosophical discussions, sound reasonings and subtle inferences regarding many momentous problems of existence, have not been beaten down by the modern age of culture and enlightenment. The world has all along been considered by the ancient Hindu writers as a flood-gate of miseries of existence, and the *summum bonum* of human existence is, in their view, the unification of the humanity with the divinity. The chief aim of all the ancient writers of India has been to solve the mighty problem, namely, the cessation of miseries of existence and the attainment of the God-head. Admitting their exalted superiority in matters of philosophical and theological speculation, some people of the present generation boldly launch the theory that our literature lacks in works which may serve as a guidance of practical life. To disabuse the popular mind of this perilous misconception, we might safely assert that Hindu writers paid no less attention to practical morals and politics. We find a very beautiful account of the Science of Polity in the Raj-dharma section of the great Epic, the Mahabharata.

Formerly for the protection of creatures Brahma wrote the science of Polity in ten million chapters. Siva obtained this from Brahma and epitomised it in ten thousand chapters. His work is called *Vaishalakshya* from his name (*Vishalaksha* or large-eyed). Indra made an abridgement of it in five thousand chapters. Vrihaspati converted it into three thousand chapters, and Sukra into one thousand. Thus it was gradually abridged by various sages having in view the shortened life of the people around them.

It was Chanakya, the Machæval of India who first reformed this Science at the end of the age of Rishis. His work consisting of a hundred verses is a well-known brochure which even the school

boys of India get by rote. The author, of the work which is the subject of our translation, was a disciple of Chanakya who raised the first Maurya king Chandra Gupta on the throne of Pataliputra (B. C. 319.)

Tradition fully corroborates this date. From a report submitted by Dr. Frederick to the Batavian Society of arts and Sciences on the Sanskrita

Date.

literature of Bali, it appears that the most popular work in that Island on Polity is entitled *Kamandakiya Nitisāra*, and all the Sanskrita books there extant are acknowledged to be the counterparts of purely Indian originals. The researches of Sir Stamford Raffles and Crawfurd shew that the predominance of Buddhism in the island of Java obliged the Hindu inhabitants of that place to retire in the fourth century of the Christian era, with their household gods and their sacred scriptures to the island of Bali, where they and their descendants have, ever since, most carefully preserved the authenticity of their literature and their religion. It has also been shewn by the same authorities that since the period of their exile, they have not had any religious intercourse with India; it would therefore follow that the Sanskrita works now available in Bali, including the *Kamandakiya Niti*, are of a date anterior to the 4th century. The contents, however, of the Balenese code of morals, are unknown, and it would be premature, from the similarity of names, to infer its identity with the work now presented to the public; yet the fact that the people of Bali themselves acknowledge all their Sanskrita literature to have been obtained from India, would argue the existence of at least a *Kamandakiya Nitisāra* at the time when that literature was imported from the shores of Bharatavarsha.

An internal evidence of some moment is in favour of the antiquity which tradition has ascribed to this work. It is dedicated to Chandragupta, and the author, a Buddhist, apparently with a view not to offend the feelings of his Hindu patron with the name of a Buddhist deity, has thought fit to forego the usual invocation at the commencement of his work—a circumstance which has been made the theme of much erudite disquisition by the author of the *Shābanta* in Bali.

Although written in verse, its style is peculiarly unpoetical, and in its rude simplicity approaches the older Smritis. The work has not, however, any of the antiquated grammatical forms and obsolete expressions which are so freely met with in Manu and occasionally in the other Smritis, and its versification is unexceptionable. Indeed, had it to be judged by its metres alone they would have justified the inference that its origin is due to a much later age than that of Kalidasa.

It has been observed by some that the use of the word *hord* in this work is fatal to its claim to antiquity, that word having been shown, in a paper published in the Journal of the Asiatic Society (Vol. p. ), to be of Arabic origin, and to have been borrowed by the Brahmanas in the 10th century. Mr. Ravenshaw's speculations, however, have not yet obtained that confirmation which would justify our rejecting the testimony of the dedication, and infer the date of the work from the use of a single word which may after all be the result of an interpolation or a mislection.

The style is condensed and pithy like that of proverbs. The essential characteristics are its gravity and sententiousness. In the early state of society concise rules and flashing proverbs "the condensed conclusions of experience" form better guides of life and are therefore more frequently resorted to than lengthy ratiocinations in search of general truths.\* Wise men of old from Solomon downwards all preferred this method of communicating their ideas.

#### Style.

Apologue or fable was also adopted as a form in which moral counsel could be successfully imparted.

#### Sources.

Probably apologues followed proverbs and essays succeeded them next. Hitapodesha the most celebrated work of moral counsels is in the shape of apologues; some scholars hold that Hitopodesha is the model which Kamandaka followed. They base their arguments on the theory that apologue was the earliest form of literary productions. We however hold that *Kamandakiya Nitisāra* is the earlier work, proverbs in our view, preceding the apologues as the form of literary compositions. Even looking to the *Mahābhārata* which is anterior to both we see maxims in the very words as in this work. Agnipuran has a section in which

Kamandaki has been freely quoted though not by name. Thus we see that these and similar maxims were among the Hindus as the heir-looms of remote antiquity.

Some critics are of opinion that the moral tone of the state-policy is not worthy of a descendant of the ancient Rishis. Its corner stone is cunning and artifice intended to favor arbitrary power and its main object is to put down party opposition. Chanakya, the preceptor of the author, was always on the alert to over-throw his powerful rival Rakshasa. For this he took recourse to one eternal round of strata-gems and artifices from which forgery, perjury and even poisoning were not excluded. His disciple Kamandaka could not shake off the influence of his powerful teacher. But this defect is confined entirely to the sections on diplomacy and does not affect at all his rules regarding the general conduct of kings and their officers. Herein we find an earnest advocacy of truth, justice and honesty which stands a favourable comparison with works of much higher pretensions.

The maxims of Kamandaki are arranged under nineteen different heads, and embrace almost all the subjects that may be fairly included under the term polity, besides some which have only the voucher of Hindu writers to appear in this work. The first chapter is devoted to the inculcation, in princes, of the necessity of study and of controlling their passions. The second has for its subjects the division of learning, the duties of the different castes and the importance of criminal jurisprudence. In the third occurs an exposition of the duty of princes to their subjects, of the necessity of impartial justice, and the impropriety of tyrannising over their people. The fourth affords a description of the essential constituents of a good government. The duties of masters and servants engross the whole of the fifth chapter, and the mode of removing difficulties or rather of punishing the wicked, forms the subject of the sixth. The seventh is devoted to the duty of guarding the persons of kings and crown princes, and includes a variety of expedients against surprises, poisoning, the infidelity of servants, wives and relatives, and the dishonesty of medical attendants. The mode of consolidating a

kingdom by providing it with the necessary officers of state, and including within it a number of dependencies and subordinate chiefs, forms the subject of the next chapter. Then follow a series of rules regarding negotiations and disputes with foreign powers, conferences, embassies and spies, which take up the whole of the 9th, 10th, 11th and the 12th chapter. The 13th opens with an exhortation in favour of constant activity and attention to business, and the evils which attend idleness and vicious propensities. The latter are indicated by the term *vyāsana*, and include a number of vices and frailties—such as over-fondness for hunting and gambling, sleeping in the day, calumny, concupiscence, dancing, singing, playing, idleness, drinking, general depravity, violence, injury, envy, malice, pride, and tyranny. The term is very 'comprehensive, and when applied to other than men, is made to imply "defects" generally, and the subsequent chapter particularises the various defects to which the seven members of a government are frequently liable. It is followed by a dissertation on military expeditions. The 16th chapter has fortification, entrenchment and encamping of armies for its subjects, and, though short, is highly interesting, for the rules it contains on matters in which the modern Hindus are so entirely ignorant. The different expedients for overcoming enemies such as reconciliation, wealth, show of military power, domestic discord, diplomacy, feigning, and stratagem, are detailed in the following chapter, and those failing, a king is recommended to enter into actual warfare, and on the mode of carrying it on, including surprises, guerilla fights, pitched battles, and military stratagies; the uses of the different members of an army, such as the infantry, cavalry and elephants; the arrays of soldiers into columns, lines, squares &c.; the duties of commanders, and the principle of selecting one's ground; the two subsequent chapters contain the most curious details.

We have undertaken to translate into English this great work of

#### Our object.

Kamandaka for it stands pre-eminently high among works dealing with the science of Polity. It is thoroughly representative in its character and the precepts, of the great sage, we are sure, will prove a profitable reading to the general public and more so to many Hindu princes who govern over the destiny of a vast section of the Indian population. Now that it

has pleased the Gracious Providence to link the destinies of India with those of England this work is likely to give some idea to our rulers as to how the ancient Hindu kings ruled their subjects. In India we have glorious traditions of loyalty. In India loyalty is the very back-bone of the Indian races by whom a king is regarded as a god-head. It will not be therefore useless both for the rulers and the ruled to know how the ancient Hindu kings swayed over the vast millions and what was the key-note of the loving fidelity of these latter to their king.

---

# CONTENTS.

---

## INTRODUCTION.

Science of polity : Its origin : Date : Style : Sources : Moral tone : The synopsis of the work.—P. 1.

## SECTION I.

Inovcation, Description of a king. His duties. The constituents of a good government. The acquirements of a king. An account of mind and other organs. The dangers of a king. The danger from a woman. The passions that should be avoided by a king. The accomplishments of a king.—P. 1—15.

## SECTION II.

The four divisions of learning. The customary observances. The duties of the four orders. The duties of a Brahmacharin. The duties of a householder. Those of married people. Those living in the forest. Those of the wandering mendicants. An account of the punishment.—P. 15—25.

## SECTION III.

An account of the pious and wicked persons. How they behave. The virtue of sweet-speech. The characteristics of a high-minded man.—P. 25—30.

## SECTION IV.

An account of the essential constituents of government namely king, ministers, kingdom, castle, treasury, army and allies.—P. 30—44.

## SECTION V.

The duties of master and servant.—P. 44—63.

## SECTION VI.

How the thorns of the government should be weeded out.—P. 63—66.

## SECTION VII.

How a king should protect himself and his son.—P. 67—81.

## SECTION VIII.

The construction and the account of Mandala.—P. 81—104.

## SECTION IX.

The characteristics of peace and how it should be obtained.—P. 105—135.

## SECTION X.

The dissertation on war.—P. 136—149.

## SECTION XI.

How a king should hold counsels with his ministers and their bearing on good government.—P. 149—182.



SECTION XII.

Rules regarding embassies and spies.—P. 132—192.

SECTION XIII.

A description of Vysanas and how to remedy them.—P. 193—206.

SECTION XIV.

A complete account of the seven kinds of Vysanas.—P. 207—216.

SECTION XV.

A description of the military expedition.—P. 216—225.

SECTION XVI.

An account of the system of encamping.—P. 226—236.

SECTION XVII.

The use and employment of various expedients.—P. 231—240.

SECTION XVIII.

The various modes of warfare, the movements of the generals and surprise.—P. 240—249.

SECTION XIX.

The arrangement of troops, the functions of elephants and horses.—P. 246—254.

# KAMANDAKIYA NITISARA.

---

## SECTION I.

---

**S**ALUTATION unto the Glorious Ganesha.

1. \*May that lord of the earth be ever attended with victory over his internal and external enemies, through whose Regal power† this world is stationed in the paths of rectitude ; who is rich in his wealth of learning‡ and is

---

\* It was customary with Sanskrit writers of yore to eulogise, in the first instance, the central character that would figure in their respective treatises. In accordance with this time-honored custom the author here salutes the 'lords of the earth' for whose guidance he is going to lay down maxims of practical politics. The first Sloka also contains an allusion to the Maurya king Chandragupta (B. C. 319) who had been installed on the throne of Pátaliputra by the preceptor of the writer of this brochure. The reader will see, that immediately after the author salutes his renowned and well-known teacher, the celebrated Chánakya the Machiavel of India.

† *Prabháva*.—Is here synonymous with *Sakti* (Regal power), which has three parts or elements, viz (1) *Prabhusakti* which means 'majesty or pre-eminent position of the king himself.' (2) *Mantrasakti* which means 'the power of good counsel.' (3) *Útsáhasakti*, which means, 'the power of energy.' c.f. '*Rájayam náma saktitrayáyattam.*' The essential requisites for a monarchy are the possession of these three *Saktis*.

‡ *Sriman*.—Ordinarily translated would mean 'attended with *Sri* or prosperity'. The commentator takes *Sri* to mean 'knowledge of the *Shástras*, prudence, wisdom &c.'

god-like\* (in prosperity); and (lastly) who (equitably) inflicts punishment† (on those deserving it).

2—6. Salutation unto the highly intelligent Vishnugupta,‡ who sprang from an extensive and illustrious dynasty the descendants of which lived like the Rishis§ accepting alms from nobody; unto him whose renown became world-wide; unto him who was effulgent like the (highly blazing) fire;|| unto that most artful and cunning one, the foremost of those conversant with *Paramārtha*,¶ who mastered the four Vedas as if they were only one. Salutation unto that one whose fire of energy was like the flash of lightning, and through whose magical powers,\*\* that resembled in potency and in fury the thunder-bolt itself, the wide-spread, renowned, powerful and mountain-like dynasty of Nanda†† was

\* *Deva*.—All the qualities indicated by the root are only possible in a celestial, hence the word has ordinarily come to mean a deity. A king is held in as high and sacred an estimation as a deity, and is said to possess all the attributes in common with a god.

† *Dandadhāra*.—May have two meanings, both of which may be accepted here; the first word of this compound means 'a sceptre' as well as 'punishment'; and the second word means 'to hold' as well as 'to deal out.' So the compound may have two significations (1) holding the sceptre as a symbol of authority (2) dealing out punishments.

‡ *Vishnugupta*.—Another name of Chānakya. He had many other designations such as *Droumina*, *Koutilya*, *Amsoola* &c.

§ *Rishi*.—A seer.

|| *Jātaveda*.—Is one of the diverse designations of fire: it is so called as it is supposed to know all beings born on the face of the earth. The reference is here to one of the sacred ceremonies of the Hindus, according to which a fire is to be kindled in the lying-in-room of a new born babe.

¶ *Vedavidām*.—*Veda* here means *Paramārtha*, that is, the highest or most sublime truth, true spiritual knowledge about *Brahman* or the Supreme Spirit.

\*\* *Avichāravajram*.—*Avichāra* signifies 'employment of magical spells for malevolent purposes.'

†† *Suparva*.—The *parva* of a mountain is its peak. *Nandaparvata*.—The dynasty of Nanda was dethroned through the machinations and

eradicated for good.\* Salutation unto him who resembled the god Saktidhara† himself (in prowess) and who, single-handed, by means of his *Mantrasakti* and *Utsâhasakti*,‡ brought the entire earth under the thorough control of Chandragupta, the foremost of sovereigns. Salutation unto that wisest of counselors who collated the nectar-like *Niti-Shâstras* from the mighty main of the *Arthashâstras*.§

7—8. Culling from the Code of that one of pure intelligence who had reached the end of (mastered) the different branches of learning, we shall inculcate, out of our love for the Science of Polity, a series of short and significant lessons to the kings, directing them regarding the acquirement and preservation of territory ; whatever, we shall say, will be in perfect harmony with the views of those well-versed in the science of politics.||

9. The king is the cause of the prosperity and progress of this world, and is held in high estimation even by grown

intrigues of Chânakya. The dynasty is here compared to a mountain owing to its various branches and offshoots.

\* *Mulata*.—The commentator explains it as 'not to rise again ; fallen for good.'. We have accepted this meaning. For *Papâta Mulata*, some read *papâtâmulata* ;

† *Saktidhara*.—Is another name for Kârtikeya, the son of Siva. He is the Mars or the god of war of the Hindu mythology.

‡ *Mantrasakti* and *Utsâhasakti*.—Vide note † to sloka (1).

§ *Nitishâstra* and *Arthashâstra*.—In sanskrit literature *Niti* has a diversity of meaning which is quite puzzling ; for instance it means, ethics, politics, morality, policy, decorum &c. But in this connection it is easy to find out its true signification which is politics. *Shâstra* means science here. In the same manner, *Arthashâstra* may have various meanings, of which we accept the following, viz 'the science of practical life.'

|| *Râjvidyâvânî*.—The author alludes to *Vrihaspati*, the preceptor of the celestials, and to *Usanas*, the preceptor of the Asuras ; both these are known as writers on civil and religious law, and are accepted as authorities on civil polity.

up people; he affords delight to the eyes of men, even as the moon affords delight unto the (mighty) ocean.\*

10. If a ruler of men does not lead his subjects to the paths of rectitude, then are these latter (hopelessly) tossed about in the ocean of existence, even as a (frail) bark, having none to steer her through, is tossed about in a rough sea.

11. A righteous king, protecting his subjects to the best of his resources and having the power of capturing hostile cities, should be held in as high a regard as the Lord *Prajāpati*† himself.

12. The sovereign should protect his subjects (by the equitable distribution of rewards and punishments). The subjects should increase the prosperity of the sovereign (by yielding taxes and tributes in the shape of agricultural products). Preservation of good order is preferable to a seeming increase of prosperity, for when all order is lost,‡ then prosperity, though present, is of no use.

13. A sovereign discharging his duties according to the rules of Polity soon secures *Trivarga*§ for himself and for his subjects; acting otherwise he is sure to ruin himself and his subjects.

14. Following the paths of rectitude king Vaijavana||

The rising and swelling of the waters of the ocean (flood-tide) occasioned by the influence of the moon was to the eye of the Sanskrit poets an indication of the ocean's delight.

† An epithet of the ten lords of created beings first created by *Brahmā*. Some times the word means *Brahmā* himself.

‡ 'Tadabhāvai.'—Another reading is accepted 'Tannāsai'; but this makes no difference in meaning.

§ The three objects of worldly existence, for the attainment of which all beings strive; these are *Dharma* or religious merit, *Artha* or wealth and *Kāma* or objects of desire.

|| The allusion is as follows:—King Indrasena sprang from the dynasty of Sagara. For having held sexual intercourse with his wife during her period of menstruation, he was on the point of being devoured by a *Rākshasa*, who only consented to relent provided the king would

governed this earth for a long period, whilst king Nahusa,\* treading evil ways, was condemned to dwell in the nether regions (hell).

15. For this reason, always keeping equity in view, a king should exert himself for securing prosperity (in the shape of territorial aggrandisement &c). Through equitable dealings, an empire increases in territorial wealth; and the delicious fruit of this increase of territory is all-round prosperity.

16. King, minister, kingdom, castle, treasury, army and allies, are known to form the seven constituents of government; good sense and unebbing energy are its primary stay.

17. Depending upon his unmitigating energy and discerning through his prudence the right path to be adopted, a king should always vigorously endeavour to establish a government having those seven constituents.

18. The acquirement of wealth by equitable means, its preservation and augmentation, and its bestowal on deserving recipients—these are said to be the four duties of a sovereign.

never direct or allow his subjects to be engaged in pious deeds. Indrasena agreed; and his iniquity speedily brought about his destruction. Several of his descendants, following the path of their predecessor, met with ruin. Descended from this doomed line of kings Vaijavana directed the performance of virtuous acts by his subjects, and himself performed them. Thus his virtue saved him, and he continued to rule over his subjects for a long time.

The allusion is this.—Descended from the lunar race of kings, Nahusa was a very wise and powerful king; and when Indra lay concealed under waters to expiate for the sin of having killed Vritra, a Bráhmaṇa, he was asked to occupy Indra's seat. While there, he thought of winning the love of Indrani and caused the seven celestial sages to convey him in a palanquin to her house. On his way, he asked them to be quick using the words *Sarpa, Sarpa* (move on), when one of the sages cursed him to be a *Sarpa* (serpent). He fell down from the sky, and remained in that wretched state till he was relieved by Yudhisthira.

19. Possessing courage, a perfect knowledge of political economy, and full of energy, a king should devise expedients for attaining prosperity. Humility is the means of acquiring knowledge of political economy; and humility again is bred by a knowledge of the *Shāstras*.

20. Humility is synonymous with a thorough control over the senses. Any one possessing it becomes learned in the *Shāstras*. To one practising humility the mysterious meanings of the *Shāstras* reveal themselves.

21—22. Knowledge of polity, wise judgment; contentment, skilfulness, absence of cowardice, (ready) power of comprehension, energy, eloquence, firmness of purpose, patience for putting up with turmoils and troubles, *Prabhāva*,\* purity of intention, friendliness to all beings, bestowal of wealth on worthy recipients, truthfulness, gratefulness, high lineage, good conduct, and restraint of the passions,—these and other such qualities are the sources of all prosperity.

23. In the first instance, a king should himself practise self-restraint, thereafter, he should direct his ministers, and then his dependents, and then his sons and then his subjects, to do the same.

24. A self-controlled king, whose subjects are devoted to him and who is careful in protecting his subjects, earns great prosperity for himself.

25. One should bring under his control, by striking with the goad of knowledge, the rampant elephant identified with the senses, coursing wildly in the vast wilderness of sensual enjoyments.

26. The soul inspires the mind† with activity in order that the latter may earn wealth; volition is engendered by a union of the soul and the mind.†

---

\* That idea of power and superiority which is so indissolubly connected with the conception of a monarch and which we have before rendered as 'Regal power.'

† Sanskrit philosophers draw a very subtle distinction between the

27. The mind, out of a morbid desire for the objects of sensual enjoyments which are compared to most palatable dishes of meat, goads the senses after their search; this (perverse) inclination of the mind should be assiduously suppressed; and when one's mind is conquered (by himself), he is styled self-controlled.

28. *Vijnāna* (means for realising diverse kinds of knowledge), *Hridaya* (the heart), *Chittwa* (the receptacle of consciousness), *Manas* (the mind), and *Buddhi* (the intelligence), —all these are said to convey the same meaning. With the assistance of any one of these, the soul, incased inside this body, discriminates between what ought to be done and what ought not to be done.

29. Pious and impious deeds, sensations pleasurable and otherwise, the presence and absence of desire, so also human effort, the perception of sense-objects and the remembrance of the impressions of an antecedent birth,\* these are said to be the signs that go to prove the existence of the soul.

30. The impossibility of the concomitance of perceptions

soul and the mind, which it is difficult to explain to the uninitiated. The idea seems to be that, the soul is the only living principle that retains the power of invigorating the subsidiary faculties, which latter, but for the former's help, would have been as inert as matter itself. In the Nyāya philosophy mind or *Manas* is regarded as a *Dravya* or substance; it is held to be distinct from the *Atman* or soul. It is defined as the internal organ of perception and cognition, the instrument by which the objects of the senses affect the soul or *Atman*.

\* *Samskāra*.—It means the faculty that retains and reproduces impressions. But the word is more often used to signify the impressions received in a previous life, which the soul is said to bring with it when it is born anew. The absolute truth of this philosophical maxim has gone out of date; and it is against modern philosophical conceptions. As a matter of fact none of us can ever remember what had been his condition in an antecedent life, even if the doctrine of transmigration of souls be accepted as true.



is said to be the sign that proves the existence of the mind.\* The formation of the conceptions of various things and sense-objects is said to be the action of the mind.

31. The auditory, the tactile, the visual, the gustatory and the olfactory organs, these five and the anus, the penis, the arms, the legs, and the organ of speech, constitute what is called a conglomeration of sense-organs.

32. The perception of sound, touch, form, taste, and smell, and the acts of discharging (excretions, urine &c), feeling pleasure, taking up, moving and speaking, are said to be the respective functions of these several organs.

33. The soul and the mind are styled to be the 'internal senses' by those who are conversant with the workings of these two. By a conjoint effort of these two, volition is engendered.

34. The soul, the mind, the sense-organs, and the sense-objects, all these are said to be included under the category of 'external sense.'† Volition and muscular movement are the means of pleasurable sensations of the soul.

35. The (connecting) medium between the 'internal and the external sense' seems to be a conscious effort. Therefore

† *Jñanasyáyugapatbhava*—is a compound formed of *Jñana* or perception and *Ayugapatbhava* or non-concomitance. In Sanskrit philosophy there is a difference of opinion regarding the process of perception. According to some writers simultaneous perceptions are impossible while according to others they are not so. The author sides with the latter class of philosophers. So he defines 'mind' as the link connecting the distinct perceptions received at different times.

‡ An apparent contradiction is involved in Slokas 33rd and 34th where mind and soul have been defined both to be internal and external sense. But the author must be understood as taking two different phases. Mind and Soul are internal organs in respect of internal workings as introspection, thinking &c.,—they are external senses when they deal with outward objects.

suppressing this conscious effort one may try to become the master of his own mind.\*

36. In this way, a king conversant with notions of justice and injustice, having subdued his mind already powerless through the suppression of the senses,† should exert himself for realising his own good.

37. How can one, who is not capable enough of subjugating his own one mind, hope to subjugate this (extensive) earth bounded by the oceans themselves?

\* The Sloka needs illucidation. What the writer means is this; when any action is done, the 'internal senses' supply the desire and the motive only; the 'external senses' then perform what more is needed for the completion of the act. Between the desire and the actual carrying out of the action, there is another step. The writer calls that step to be *Yatna* or *Pravritti*. Modern philosophers also accept an analysis of voluntary action somewhat akin to this one. We shall quote professor Sully:—"The initial stage is the rise of some desire. This desire is accompanied by the representation of some movement (motor representation) which is recognised as subserving the realisation of the object. The recognition of the casual relation of the action to the result involves a germ of belief in the attainability of the object of desire, or in the efficacy of the action. Finally we have the carrying out of the action thus represented." What is known as 'motor representation' seems to be the *yatna* of the present author. The first part of the Sloka being understood the latter does not present any difficulty. When one can suppress this 'motor representation' which again is the result of experience or association, no action becomes possible. In the absence of action, the soul is not brought into contact with the sense-objects and is not plunged headlong into worldliness.

† For *Karansāmarthyāt* we have read *Karanasamrodhāt* which gives a reasonable meaning.

There is a supplement to this Sloka, which in the text from which we are translating is omitted. The Sloka undoubtedly is an interpolation as it does not occur in the original text. We subjoin its translation.

"As in this earth, one is never satiated with enjoying any of the following viz, rice (food), gold (wealth), cattle and women, so one should ever put down an excessive longing for the enjoyment of any one of these."

38. Like unto an elephant falling in a trap, a king falls in danger whenever his heart is ensnared by the (seemingly) beautiful objects of (sensual) enjoyment, the charm of which vanishes as soon as the enjoyment is over.

39. A king, delighting in the perpetration of vile acts and having his eyes (of knowledge and reason) blinded by the objects of (sensual) enjoyment, brings terrible catastrophe upon his own head.

40. Sound, touch, form, taste and smell, every one of these five sense-objects is capable of bringing about the ruin (of a created being).\*

41. Living upon fresh grass and sprouts and capable of bounding over wide chasms, the deer seeks its own destruction from the hunter, being tempted by the latter's charming song.

42. Huge-bodied like the peak of a mountain, capable of up-rooting mighty trees in sport, a male-elephant, stupified with the touch of the female-elephant, submits to be bound by chains.

43. An insect reaps death by suddenly throwing itself, out of doubt, on the blazing flame of a lamp that attracts its attention.

44. Staying away from human sight, and swimming underneath an unfathomable depth of water, a fish tastes the iron-hook furnished with meat (bait) in order to bring about its own destruction.

45. A bee, tempted with the sweet odour of the ichor, and athirst for drinking it, receives for ail its troubles, lashes from the elephant's ears that are moved with great difficulty.†

46. Each of these five poison-like sense-objects is enough to destroy a man separately. How then can that

\* The author in the next five Slokas proceeds to illustrate his remark by examples.

† For *Sukhasamchārām* of the text the commentary reads *Asukhasamchārām*.

person expect to reap good, who is enslaved simultaneously to these five.\*

47. A self-controlled person should enjoy in proper season the sense-objects being unattached to them. Happiness is the fruit of prosperity ; therefore, in the absence of happiness prosperity is useless.

48. The youth and the prosperity, of kings over-powered by an extreme fondness for gazing at the countenance of their wives, dwindle away, inspite of their shedding profuse useless tears.†

49. From a strict observance of the injunctions and interdictions of the *Shāstras* wealth is acquired ; from wealth proceeds desire ; and the fruition of desires brings about happiness. He, that does not indulge in the reasonable enjoyment of these three objects, (wealth, desire and happiness), destroys these three as also his own self to boot.

50. Even the very name of a woman fills the frame with a joyous thrill, and bewilders the reason ; not to speak of a sight of her with arching eye-brows sparkling with sensuality !

51. What fond person is not intoxicated with lust for women, skilful in amorous tricks in secret, soft and sweet spoken and beautified with coppery eyes.

52. Women can surely kindle desire in the hearts of

\* There is a Sloka in the Mahabharata that may be cited as a parallel to Slokas 40—46. It is this :

*Kuranga-mātanga-patanga-vringas, Meenas hatāsa panchabhirēva pancha  
Ekas pramādi sha katham na hanyatē, Na shévātē panchabhirēva pancha.*

† The construction of the Sloka would also allow another rendering save what we have given. The meaning as explained by a commentator seems to be as follows :—‘A king, who is always fondly attached to his wife, neglects his royal duties to enjoy her company. Then his enemies opportunely attack his kingdom, and for his lethargy he is defeated and dethroned. He retires to the forest, and there with his wife he passes his youth in shedding useless tears.’

sages, even as evening twilight can enhance the beauty of the charming moon shedding silvery beams.

53. Even illustrious persons are pierced by (the charms of) women that enrapture and intoxicate the mind, even as rocks are pierced by drops of water.

54. (Excessive indulgence in) hunting, gambling at dice, and drinking,—these are condemnable when found in a ruler of the earth. Behold the catastrophe that befell the king Pandu, the king of the Nishadhas and the descendants of Vrishni, through indulgence in each of these respectively.\*

55. Lust, anger, avarice, fiendish delight in doing injury, morbid desire for honor, and arrogance, these six passions should be victimized.

56—57. Subjecting themselves to these six inimical passions, the following kings were ruined, namely, king Dandaka

\* *Pandu*.—To the readers of the Mahábhārata the allusion contained in this line is evident. Once during a hunting excursion king Pandu was very much disappointed for not having lighted on any game for a long time. At last to his great joy he found within an arrow-shot a pair of consorting deer and he instantly pierced them with his shaft. To his horror he found that it was a *Rishi* who had been copulating with his spouse in the form of a deer. Provoked by the king's untimely interruption, the *Rishi* cursed the monarch saying that he should never more know sexual pleasure on pain of death. After a period the king died for having passionately embraced his junior wife, in accordance with the curse of the *Rishi*.

*Naishadha*.—The history of Nala is too well-known. He was possessed by *Kali* who induced him to play at dice with his brother Puskara. In the game Nala lost all he had, his kingdom and wealth. He was then driven to forest with his wife, where he forsook her. After a prolonged separation, during which each of them had to undergo various troubles and calamities, they were re-united and Nala was set free from the evil influence of *Kali*. He regained his kingdom and ruled for a long time.

*Vrishnis*.—The descendants of Vrishni indulging over-much in intoxicating drink lost all their senses, and for a trifle quarreling with each other fell to slaying each other and thus ruined their own line of kings. This history is also related in the latter part of the Mahabharata.

met with destruction through lust, Janamejaya through anger, the royal sage Aila through avarice, the Asura Vātāpi through fiendish delight in doing injury, the Rākshasa Poulasta through desire for honor, and king Dambhodbhava through arrogance.\*

58. Renouncing these six inimical passions, Jāmadagnya† became the master of his senses, and Amvarisa‡ of eminent parts enjoyed the sovereignty of the world for a long period.§

\* *Dandaka*.—One day when out hunting, this king affected with lust forcibly ravished the daughter of the sage Vṛigu, through whose anger he was killed with his friends by a shower of dust.

† *Janamejaya*.—When engaged in the celebration of the Horse-sacrifice, he found marks of recent copulation on his wife; this exasperated him, and thinking that the sacrificial priests, had committed adultery with her, he assaulted them. He met his death through the imprecation of these latter.

‡ *Aila*.—This monarch used to persecute and oppress his subjects for money, who unable to brook his tyranny at last pelted him to death.

§ *Vātāpi*.—This demon together with another named Ilvala used to invite innocent sages to dine with them. One of them would then assume the form of an animal and would be sacrificed by the other; his meat would then be eaten by the sages. When inside the stomach, the eaten up demon would be revived by the *Sanjivani Mantra* and would kill the sages by tearing open their abdomen. They thus delighted in killing innocent people. At last the great sage Agasthya ate this *Vātāpi* up and digested him.

¶ *Poulasta*.—Ravana the ten-headed demon of the Ramayana whose history we need not recount here.

‡ *Dambhodbhava*.—This great demon who defeated many of the celestials in battle was very much puffed up with arrogance. Finding none equal to him in single combat, he one day challenged the sage Nara to show him a combatant that would be a match for him; the sage then himself killed him with a blade of grass.

† A son of Jamadagni a pious sage deeply engaged in study and said to have obtained entire possession of the *Vedas*. His mother was *Renukā*.

‡ A king of the solar race celebrated as a worshipper of Vishnu.

§ There is a supplement to this Sloka; it is this :—‘ In order to increase his religious merit and worldly prosperity—which are eagerly

59. Association with a preceptor bestows knowledge of the *Shâstras*; the knowledge of the *Shâstras* increases humility. A king, modest through the effects of culture, never sinks under troubles.

60. A king, serving the elderly people, is held in high respect by the pious; though induced by persons of evil character, he does not commit vile deeds.

61. A king, everyday receiving lessons in the different arts from his preceptor, increases in prosperity, like the moon increasing in her digits during the light half of every month.

62. The prosperity of a monarch, who keeps his passions under his thorough control and who follows the path chalked out in the science of Polity, blazes forth every day; his fame also reaches the heavens.

63. Thus a monarch, well-versed in Polity, practising self-control, very soon attains to that shining pitch of prosperity which had been attained by other divine monarchs and which is as high as the highest peak of *Mahâratnagiri* \*

64. Naturally the ways of exalted sovereignty are different from those of the world. Therefore through sheer force, a preceptor should coach it in self-control. And self-control goes before the successful observance of the maxims of Polity.

65. A self-controlled king receives the highest of homages. Self-control is the ornament of kings. A self-controlled king appears as beautiful as a gentle elephant shedding ichor and moving its trunk slowly.

66. A preceptor is worshipped for the acquisition of learning. Learning, which has been mastered, becomes instrumental in enhancing the prudence of the illustrious. The

---

sought after by the pious—a person controlling his senses should devote himself to the services of his preceptor.'

\* Sumeru or a fabulous mountain round which all the planets are said to revolve; it is also said to consist of gems and gold. Hence its present epithet. *Mahân* great, *Ratná* gem, and *Giri* mountain.

habit of doing acts according to the dictates of prudence is sure to lead to prosperity.

67. A pure-souled person, ever ready to serve others, attains to prosperity by serving his learned and skilful preceptor. Practising self-control, he becomes worthy of the royal throne and capable of securing peace.

68. A powerful monarch, without practising self-control, is subjugated by his enemies without the least difficulty; while a weak monarch, practising self-control and observing the injunctions of the *Shāstras*, never meets with defeat.

*Thus ends the first section, the means of self-control and association with the old, in the Nitisāra of Kāmandaka.*

—:0:—

## SECTION II.

1. **A** KING, after having controlled his senses, should direct his attention to (the cultivation of) the following four branches of learning, namely *Anvikshikee*, *Trayee*, *Vārtā* and *Dāndaniti*, in co-operation with men versed in them and acting according to their precepts.\*

2. *Anvikshikee*, *Trayee*, *Vārtā* and *Dandaniti*,—these and these only are the four eternal divisions of knowledge, that pave the way of corporeal beings to happiness.

3. The descendants of Manu† (men) hold that there are

---

\* As the italicised words have been explained by the author himself in the 11th, 12th, 13th, 14th and 15th Sloka of this section, we need not anticipate him.

† *Manu*.—The name of a celebrated personage regarded as the representative man and the father of the human race, and classed with divine beings. The word is particularly applied to the fourteen successive



only three divisions of learning (namely), *Trayee*, *Vārtā*, and *Dandaniti*; in their opinion, what is known as *Anvikshikee*, is to be regarded as a mere sub-division of *Trayee*.

4. The disciples of the celestial priest (*Vrihaspati*)\* postulate the existence of two divisions only, namely, *Vārtā*, and *Dandaniti*, as these only can help people in the acquisition of *Artha*.†

5. According to the school of *Usanas*‡ there is only one division of learning, namely, *Dandaniti*; and it has been said, that the origin of all other kinds of learning lies in this one.

6. But the theory of our own preceptor is, that there are four kinds of learning, on which this world is settled, for the realisation of different objects.§

7. *Anvikshikee* deals with the knowledge of the self, *Trayee* with piety and impiety, *Vārtā* with gain and loss of wealth, and *Dandaniti* with justice and injustice.

progenitors or sovereigns of the earth mentioned in *Manusmṛiti*. I. 63. The first of these known as *Svāyambhuvamanu* is supposed to be a sort of secondary creator who produced the ten *Prajāpatīs* (vide note to Sloka 11th, Sec. I.) and to whom the code of laws called *Manusmṛiti* is ascribed. The seventh *Manu* called *Vaivasvata* being supposed to be born from the sun (*Vivasvan*) is regarded as the progenitor of the present race of human beings; he is also regarded as the founder of the solar dynasty of kings who ruled at Ayodhyā (modern Oudh). The names of the fourteen *Manus* are (1) *Svāyambhuva* (2) *Svarochis* (3) *Autami* (4) *Tāmasa* (5) *Ratnata* (6) *Chākshusa* (7) *Vaivasvata* (8) *Sāvarni* (9) *Dakṣasāvarni* (10) *Brahmasāvarni* (11) *Dharmasāvarni* (12) *Rudrasāvarni* (13) *Rouchya-deva-sāvarni* (14) *Indrasāvarni*.

\* Vide note to Sloka 8th Sec. I.

† One of the three objects of existence (*Trivarga*) meaning, wealth or property. Vide note to Sloka 13th Sec. I.

‡ The preceptor of the Asuras or demons. Vide note to Sloka 8th Sec. I.

§ That is, these kinds of knowledge supply us with the means for realising the different objects.

8. *Anvikshikee*, *Trayee* and *Vārtā* are considered to be the most excellent\* of all knowledge. But their presence is of no avail where *Dandaniti* is neglected.†

9. When a great leader of men attains proficiency in *Dandaniti*, he becomes the master of the other remaining branches of knowledge.

10. The *Varnas*‡ and the *Asramas*,§ find their primary support in these kinds of knowledge. For this reason, a king, superintending and securing the means for the cultivation of these kinds of knowledge, becomes a sharer|| in the religious merit earned by the different castes in their different modes of existence.

11. *Anvikshikee*¶ is the science of spiritual knowledge, for

\* For, says the commentator, they serve as means for the acquirement of wealth and religious merit.

† The text lit : translated would be 'where a mistake is committed with regard to *Dandaniti*.' What the author means, seems to be this :— 'The transgression of the rules of Political science by a king is so disastrous that it cannot be remedied even by all his learning and ingenuity.'

‡ *Varna*—means a tribe or a caste, specially applied to the four castes, namely :—*Bráhmaṇa* (the spiritual class), *Kshatriya* (governing class), *Vaisya*, (trading and cultivating class), and *Sudra* (serving class). These classes are said to have been born respectively from the mouth (signifying intelligence), the arms (signifying strength), the abdomen (signifying hunger), and the legs (signifying servitude) of the *Purusha* or Supreme Spirit.

§ *Asrama*—or the mode of living in different periods of existence of these castes or classes ; these are four, namely :—(1) *Brahmacharyya*, or religious studentship, the life of celibacy passed by a *Bráhmaṇa* boy in studying the Vedas. This is the first stage of life. (2) *Gārhasthya* or the order of life of a *Grihasthya* or house-holder. This is the second stage. (3) *Vānaprastha* or the religious life of an anchorite. This is the third stage. (4) *Sannyāsa* or the complete renunciation of the world and its possessions and attachments. The first three classes can enter upon these four stages ; but the *Sudras* are disallowed to do so.

|| His share has been specified to be one-sixth only.

¶ Modern *Metaphysics*.

it investigates the nature of weal and woe of mankind; through its assistance the real nature of things being seen persons renounce both joy and grief.\*

12. The three *Vedas*† called *Rik*, *Yajus* and *Sāma* are meant by *Trayee*. A person, living in perfect obedience to the injunctions and interdictions of *Trayee*, prospers in this as well as in the next world.

13. Sometimes, the *Angas*,‡ the four *Vedas*, the *Mimāṃsās*,§ the diverse sections of *Nyāya*,|| the

\* Joy for their gain and grief for their loss.

† *Vedas*—the scriptures of the Hindus; originally there were only three *Vedas*, the *Rik*, the *Yajus* and the *Sāma*, which are collectively called *Trayee* or the sacred triad. To these three the *Artharvan* was subsequently added. The orthodox Hindu theory, regarding the composition of the *Vedas*, is that they are 'not human compositions.' They are supposed to have been directly revealed by the Supreme Being.

‡ These are certain classes of works regarded as auxiliary to the *Vedas*, designed to aid in their correct pronunciation and interpretation and the right employment of the *Mantras* in ceremonials. These are six in number (a) *Siksha* or the Science of proper articulation and pronunciation, (b) *Chandas* or the Science of Prosody, (c) *Vyākaraṇa* or Grammar, (d) *Nirukta*, or Etymological explanation of difficult words occurring in the *Vedas*, (e) *Jyotiḥ* or Astronomy and (f) *Kalpa*, or ritual.

§ *Mimāṃsā*—is the name of one of the six chief systems of Indian philosophy. It was originally divided into two systems, the *Purva-Mimāṃsā* founded by Jaimini and the *Uttara-Mimāṃsā* founded by Vādarāyana. The two systems have very little in common between them; the first concerning itself chiefly with the correct interpretation of the rituals of the *Vedas* and the settlement of dubious points in regard to *Vedic* texts; the latter chiefly dealing with the nature of the Supreme Entity. The *Purva-Mimāṃsā* is therefore rightly styled *Mimāṃsā* or 'investigation and settlement.' Another name for the *Uttara-Mimāṃsā* is *Vedānta*, which being hardly a sequel to Jaimini's compilation is now ranked separately.

|| *Nyāya*.—A system of Hindu philosophy founded by Goutama. It is sometimes synonymous with logical philosophy. The several maxims of the *Nyāya* philosophy are referred to here.

*Dharmashāstras*\* and the *Purānas*† are all included under *Trayee*.

14. The occupation of those who live by rearing cattle, and by cultivation and trade is called *Vārtā*. Well-up in *Vārtā* a man has nothing to be afraid of in a revolution.‡

15. *Danda* is known to signify subjection. A king is also figuratively called *Danda*, for from him all punishments proceed; the system, that deals with the just infliction of punishments, is called *Dandaniti*. It is called a *Niti* as it guides kings in the right administration of justice.§

16. By the right administration of justice, a king should protect himself, and encourage the (cultivation of the) other branches of knowledge. This branch of knowledge (*Dandaniti*) directly benefits mankind, and the king is its preserver.

17. When a clever and generous-minded monarch realises *Chaturvarga*|| by means of these branches of learning, then only is his proficiency, in these to be recognised; the root *vid* is said to mean 'to know.'

18. ¶ The celebration of sacrifices, the study of the *Vedas*\*\* and the act of giving wealth to others according to the rules of the *Shāstras*—these are considered to be

\* *Dharmashāstras*.—The codes of morals and laws compiled by *Manu* (vide *Supra* note to Sloka 3rd), and *Yājñavalkya* and other *Rishis* of yore.

† *Purānas*—these are supposed to have been composed by *Vyāsa*, and contain the whole body of Hindu mythology. They are eighteen in number.

‡ The reading in the text is vicious; so the commentary supplies *Avritté* for *Vritté*.

§ *Niti*—from *Ni* to guide or direct and *kti* suffix.

|| *Chaturvarga*—Is *Trivarga* plus *Moksha* or salvation; for *Trivarga* vide note to Sloka 13th Sec. I.

¶ Having finished his dissertation on the divisions of learning, the author now proceeds to determine the duties of the various sects in the different stages of their life.

\*\* Vide *Supra* note to Sloka 12th.

the common customary observances of the three sects, the *Brāhmanas*, the *Kshatriyas* and the *Vaisyas*.\*

19. The holy acts of teaching, of conducting sacrifices on others' behalf, and of accepting alms from the pious, these have been enumerated by the sages to be the means of livelihood for those belonging to the superior sect (*Brāhmaṇa*).

20. A king† should live by his weapons and by protecting his subjects.‡ The means of subsistence of a *Vaiśya* are cattle-rearing, cultivation and trade.

21. The duty of a *Sudra* is to serve the twice-born sects§ one after the other; his unblamable means of living are the fine arts and the occupation of a minstrel.

22—23. The duties of a *Brahmachārin*|| are to live in the family of his preceptor, to worship the sacred fires,¶ to study the *Vedas* and their auxiliaries,\*\* to observe vows, to perform ablutions during the three periods of the day (in the morning, at noon, and in the evening),†† to beg and to live for life with his spiritual guide. In the absence of a preceptor, he should live with his (preceptor's) son or with one of his

\* Vide *Supra* note to Sloka 16th.

† Is here representative of the whole 'ruling class' or *Kshatriyas*.

‡ The subjects living under the fostering care of a protecting sovereign increase in prosperity and they willingly pay taxes by which the latter maintains himself.

§ The *Brāhmanas*, the *Kshatriyas* and the *Vaisyas* are so called because they are supposed to be born anew at the time of their investiture with the sacred thread.

|| One living in the *Brahmacharyya Asrama* (for which vide *Supra* note to Sloka 10th).

¶ These fires are three in number namely :— (1) *Gārhapatya* or domestic fire. (2) *Ahavaniya* or sacrificial fire, derived from the domestic fire; it is sometimes called the Eastern fire. (3) *Dakshina* or the Southern fire so called because it is placed southwards.

\*\*The *Angas* are referred to, for which vide *Supra* note to Sloka 13th.

†† Technically called *Sandhyā*. These are the three essential and daily ceremonies performed by the *Brahmanas*, at what are known as the *Sandhis* or joinings of the day.

fellow *Brahmachârin*; or he may, if he likes, adopt another mode of existence.

24. During the whole period of his pupilage, he should wear a *Mekhalâ*\* along with his sacred thread, bear matted hair or a shaved-head, carry a *Dānda*† and live with his preceptor. Afterwards, at his own will, he may choose any other mode of life.

25. The duties of a house-holder are to celebrate the *Agnihotra*‡ sacrifice, to live by the profession prescribed (for his sect) and to avoid sexual intercourse during the *Parvas*.§

26. The duties, of those who have married and settled down, are to worship the gods, the ancestral manes and the guests, to show mercy to the poor and the wretched, and to live according to the precepts of the *Srutis*|| and the *Smritis*.¶

27—28. The duties of those who have resorted to the forest§ are, to keep matted hair,\*\* to perform *Agnihotra*††

\* The triple girdle worn by the first three classes; the girdle of the *Brāhmaṇa* should be of the fibres of *Manju* or of *Kuça* grass, that of the *Kshatriya* of a *Murva* or bow-string, and of the *Vaisya* of a thread of the *Sana*.

† The staff given to a twice-born one at the time of the investiture with the sacred thread. It is made ordinarily of the branches of the *Vilva* tree (*Ægle marmelos*) and a species of bamboo.

‡ It is the sacrifice, the principle rite of which is the consecration and maintenance of the Sacred fires by the offering of oblations.

§ *Parva*.—The days of the four changes of the moon *i.e.* the eighth and fourteenth day of each month, and the days of the full-moon and the new moon.

|| Are the same as *Vedas*. From *sru* to hear and *kti*, *i.e.* which are revealed (vide *Supra* note to Sloka 12th).

¶ *Smṛiti*.—From *smṛi* to remember and *kti*, *i.e.* which are remembered. Vide *Supra* note to Sloka 3rd.

§ Technically, who have entered upon the *Vānaprastha* *Āśrama* (vide *Supra* note to Sloka 13th).

\*\* The text reads *Jadaiivam* for which the commentary supplies *Jatitvam*. What can the former mean?

†† Vide *Supra* note to Sloka 25th.

sacrifices, to sleep on the bare earth, to wear black deer skin, to live in solitary places, to sustain themselves on water, esculent roots, *Nivāra*\* crop, and fruits, to refuse to accept alms, to bathe thrice in the day,† to observe vows, and to adore the gods and the guests.

29—31. The duties of the wandering mendicants‡ are, to renounce all actions, to live upon what is obtained by begging, to dwell under the shelter of a tree, to refuse smallest gifts,§ to do no harm to other created beings and to maintain an equality of attitude towards them, to be indifferent|| alike to friends and enemies, to be unmoved by joy or grief, to be purified in mind and in body,¶ to curb the speech,§ to observe vows, to retract the senses from their objects, to keep the mind always collected, to be absorbed in contemplation and to purify their intentions.

32. Harmlessness, the speaking of sweet and salutary words, truthfulness, purification of the mind and the body, and mercy and forbearance, these are said to be the common duties of all the sects in all their different modes of life.

33. These are the duties of all the sects in all their modes of existence, (the observance of) which can secure paradise and salvation for them. The neglect of these

\* *Nivāra* is rice growing wild or without cultivation.

† Supply 'after which they should perform their *Sandhyās*, or morning, noon and evening prayers. Vide *Supra* note to Sloka 22nd.

‡ Or who have entered upon the *Sannyāsa Asrama* (vide *Supra* note to Sloka 10th).

§ 'Even,' goes on the commentator, 'pieces of rags for binding their religious Manuscripts (*Punthi*).'

|| The word in the text gives no signification; and so the commentary reads '*priyāpriyāparisanga*' in its place.

¶ 'The body' says the commentator, 'is purified by rubbing and washing with earth and water, and the mind by cherishing kindness for all creatures.'

§ For *Vākmano-brahmachāritā* of the text the commentary reads *Vāgyamo Vratachāritā*. The latter reading surely yields a better meaning.

duties results in the spread of mixed castes and thus brings about the ruin of this world.

34. The king is the lawful promoter of all these righteous practices ;\* therefore in the absence of a king all righteousness is lost and at the loss of righteousness, this world also meets with destruction.

35. A king, protecting the various *Varnas* and *Asramas*,† and living according to their usages and knowing the duties prescribed for each of them, becomes worthy of a place in the regions of Sakra.‡

36. §As a self-controlled|| king holds the key to the worldly as well as spiritual advancement of his own self as also of his subjects, therefore he should deal out punishments as impartially as does *Dandi*¶ himself.

37. Inflicting extraordinarily heavy punishments a king frightens his subjects, and inflicting extraordinarily light ones he is not feared by them. Therefore that king is praise-worthy who deals out punishments proportionate to the offences.

38. Punishments, dealt out proportionately to the offences, speedily increase the *Trivarga* of a king, while dispro-

\* Another interpretation is possible, namely, 'A king is to encourage these righteous practices, not transgressing the limits of law.'

† Vide *Supra* note to Sloka 10th.

‡ *Sarvalokavag* should be read as *Sakralokavac*, which is the reading given in the commentary. Sakra or Indra is the Jupiter Pluvius of the Indian Aryans. Of all the paradises, his paradise is the most magnificent and is fraught with all sorts of pleasures, he being notorious for his incontinence and lasciviency.

§ The author now proceeds to impress upon the minds of monarchs, the necessity of the right administration of justice.

|| For *Atmata* of the text read *Atmaván* which gives a good sense. Here also we follow the commentary.

¶ *Dandi*—another appellation for the god of death, who is so called for his holding the sceptre of sway (*Danda*). One of the duties of his office is to deal out rewards and punishments to the souls of the departed according to their merits and de-merits accruing from worldly acts.



portionately inflicted, they excite anger even in those who have retired to the forest.

39. Punishments countenanced by society and the *Shāstras* ought only to be inflicted on the offender. Persecution can never bring about prosperity, as it breeds sin through which a monarch meets with his fall.

40. In this world, where beings are related to one another as food and consumer, when proper chastisements are withheld, the exertions, of a king to keep his subjects under control, become as futile as those of an angler trying to catch fish without the help of a rod.\*

41. A king, by the right infliction of punishments, upholds this stayless world, that is being forcibly drowned into the lake of sin by lust and cupidity and other such passions.

42. This world is by nature enslaved to the pleasures of the senses and is ardently longing to enjoy wealth and women. Agitated by the fear of punishments, it only keeps to the eternal ways of rectitude followed by the pious.

43. Upright conduct is scarce in this slavish world of ours; but as it is, men only attend to their prescribed duties through fear of punishments; even as a respectable woman serves her lean or poor or deformed or diseased husband through fear of the sanctions specified in the codes of morality.

44. Thus, like rivers, that flow through right courses, falling into the sea, all prosperity devolves—and never dwindles away—upon a king who knowing the good and evil of

\* Another interpretation is possible, the gist of which is as follows :—  
 'In this world where beings stand in the relation of food and consumer, when just chastisements are withheld, the destructive *Mātsya* is seen to hold good. The difficulty in annotating the sloka lies in the phrase *Mātsya Nyāya*, the exact signification of which no lexicographer has vouchsafed; no doubt it is a maxim of the *Nyāya* philosophy. The reference perhaps is to the fact of fishes devouring one another.

the infliction of punishments and following the path chalked out in the *Vedas*,\* frames rules of conduct for his subjects.

*Thus ends the second Section, the division of learning, the duties of the Varnas and Asramas, and the necessity of punishments, in the Nitisāra of Kāmandaka.*

—:0:—

### SECTION III.

1. **A** RULER of earth, impartially inflicting punishments on his subjects like *Dandī†* himself, should treat them mercifully even as *Prajāpati‡* does.

2. Sweet and truthful speech, kindness, charity, protection of the oppressed seeking refuge, and association with the virtuous,—these are the praiseworthy practices of a pious person.

3. A man should extricate a distressed person out of his difficulties, being actuated by tenderest compassion and moved by the heavy weight of the latter's grief that had touched his heart.

4. There is no one more pious, in respect to the performance of meritorious acts, than those who save the distressed sunk in the mire of grief.

5. Nursing tenderest compassion in his heart, and without deviating from the path of duty, a king should wipe away the tears of the oppressed and the helpless.

---

\* For *Prāptamārga* of the text, the commentary gives *Shāstramārga*, which latter we have adopted.

† Vide note to Sloka 36th Sec. II.

‡ *Prajāpati*.—Another name of Brahmā the creator, who naturally is very kind to beings of his creation.

6. That kindness (harmlessness) is the highest of all virtues, is the unanimous opinion\* of all animate beings. Therefore with feelings of kindness, a king should protect his poor subjects.

7. In order to secure his own happiness, a king should not persecute a poor and helpless person ; a poor man, persecuted by the king, kills the latter by means of his grief.†

8. Born of a high family, what man tempted by an iota of happiness, ever oppresses beings of puny might without even judging what their faults are?

9. What prudent person ever perpetrates unrighteous deeds for the benefit of his body that is liable to suffer from mental and physical ills and that is sure to be destroyed this day or to-morrow?

10. This clayey tenement that is rendered agreeable with difficulty through artificial means,‡ is evanescent like a shadow and vanishes§ even as a bubble of water.||

11. Are ever high-souled persons enslaved by the

\* For *Yata* in the text, the commentary suggests *Mata* which we accept.

† What the writer means is this :—‘When persecuted by a powerful king, a poor man, finding all earthly assistance unavailing, daily sends up fervent prayers to the Almighty, invoking His curse on the head of the oppressor. Heaven responds to his prayers and the king duly meets his end.’

‡ Such as, perfumes, unguents, garments, ornaments, &c.

§ For *Pasyait* read *Nasyait*, which would give a good signification.

|| The homily of the author on the shortness of life reminds us of a passage in Adam’s ‘Secret of Success’ which we can not withstand the temptation of quoting here.

‘Of all the trite themes touched by moralists and poets, the tritest is the shortness of life. Life, we are told, is a bubble, a shifting dream, a thing of nought, evanescent as a morning mist, uncertain as a young maid’s promise, brittle as a reed ; and yet men proceed to deal with it, as if it were as inexhaustible as the widow’s curse of oil, as if it were as sure and stable as the foundations of the everlasting hills.’

pleasures of the senses, which are as shifting as patches of clouds rolled to and fro by a violent storm?

12. The life of corporeal creatures is as unsteady as the reflection of the moon in water;\* knowing it to be so, a man should always do what is good and just.

13. Looking upon this world as a mirage and knowing it to be very transient, a person should act, in co-operation with the pious,† to secure happiness and religious merit.

14. A noble person attended upon by the virtuous is a charming sight like a magnificent and recently white-washed mansion flooded by the silvery beams of the moon.

15. Neither the moon of cooling beams, nor the full-blown lotus, can so gladden our hearts as do the deeds of the virtuous.

16. The company of the wicked should be shunned like a dreary, naked, and arid desert, burning with the scorching rays of the summer sun.‡

17. A wicked man, having secured the confidence of the pious and the good-natured, ruins them without any reason whatever, like fire burning down a withered tree.

18. Rather live with serpents having mouths ashy with the fume of the fire-like venom emitted with every breath, than associate with the wicked.

19. The wicked, like the cat, cut off the very hand with which unsuspecting and guileless persons offer palatable food to them.

20. A wicked person is like a serpent; and like it he bears two tongues in his head, with which he pours out the

Supply 'which is disturbed by the slightest movement of the water.'

† For *Sujana* read *Swajana* and for *sangata* read *sangatam*. This latter change of reading also changes the meaning, which in this case will be, 'associate with the pious.'

‡ The author now proceeds to caution kings against keeping company with the wicked.

virulent poison of his speech, the baneful effects of which cannot be counteracted by the best remedial measures.

21. A person, seeking his own good, should fold his palms to the wicked, with humility even greater than that with which he does so before his worshipful kinsmen.

22. With a view to completely steal the hearts of men, a wicked person, simulating friendship for every one, speaks charming words agreeable to men and manners.\*

23. A man should always please the world with respectful words; for, a man, speaking cruel words, hurts people's feelings, even though he may give them money.

24. Even though he might be sorely oppressed, yet an intelligent person should never utter such words which would afflict men piercing them to their hearts.

25. Like sharp weapons, stinging and torturing language, uttered by ill-mannered persons, cuts people to the very quick.

26. Sweet words should always be spoken equally to friends and foes; for, by whom is not a sweet-spoken man loved like the peacock uttering the sweet *kekā* †?

27. Peacocks are ornamented by their sweet and charming *kekā*; men of culture are ornamented by their mellifluous speech.

28. The utterances of intoxicated swans and cuckoos and peacocks are not so charming as are those of a man of culture.

---

\* In rendering this Sloka we have followed the commentary. But this meaning does not suit the text, whereas the subjoined translation will be appropriate. 'With a view to soften the heart of the wicked a person should show the greatest friendship for them and speak to them words that impart delight to all.'

† It is the cry of the peacock which to the Sanskrit Poets was very musical. It is said to resemble the *Sadja* or the fourth (according to some authorities the first) of the seven primary notes of the Hindu gamut. It is also curious to note, that the 'tuneful cry' the 'animated nail' of the peacock which is so much appreciated in India, is said to be the voice of the Demon in Italy.

29. A person strictly redeeming all his promises and appreciating the good qualities\* of others and cherishing respect and kindly feelings† for them, should spend his wealth in the performance of pious deeds; and he should always speak sweet and pleasing words.

30. Those, who speak sweet words and offer hospitality to all, are surely gods under human form, ever prosperous and stainless in character.

31. Unsullied in mind and in body and with a soul purified by a belief in the contents of the *Shāstras*, a person should always worship the gods and should regard his elders as gods, and his relatives as his own self.

32. For his own welfare, a man should please his venerable elders by bowing down unto them; and he should please the virtuous by his modest behaviour; and he should propitiate the deities by acts of piety.

33. A person should please his friends by his (affable) manners, his kinsmen by his friendliness, and his wife and servants by his love and liberality respectively; and he should please persons other than these by his kind treatment to them.

34—36. To find no fault with the actions of others, to observe their own duties, to show compassion for the distressed, to address sweet words to all, to serve faithful friends at the cost of their own lives, to welcome their enemies coming to their house, to practise charities proportionate to their resources, to bear up against all sufferings, to reconcile estranged friends, to offer good treatment to their kinsmen and to comply with their requests—these are the characteristic features of the high-minded.

37. This is the path of life prescribed for the householders that undeviatingly follow the eternal ways of the

---

\* The commentator adds 'of those worthy of receiving gifts.'

† The commentator explains 'believing that charity is the best of all religious performances.'

illustrious. Treading this path, they attain prosperity in this and in the next world.

38. Even the foes of a king become his friends, if he strictly observes the above mode of life. That king can subjugate the world by his modest qualities, who is free from all feelings of animosity.

39. How vast is the difference between the kings and their myriad subjects\*. How rare is a king who condescends to please his subjects with sweet words. The subjects of the king who captivates them at first with strings of sweet words, and then cherishes them, never deviate one step from the course of rectitude.

*Thus ends the third Section, the determination of duties, in the Nītisāra of Kāmandaka.*

—:0:—

#### SECTION IV.

1-2 **K**ING, minister, kingdom, castle, treasury, army and allies are known to form the seven constituents of a government. They contribute to one another's weal, and the loss of even a single one of them renders the whole imperfect; he who wishes to keep a government perfect should study well† their nature.

3. The first desideratum for a king is to attain royal qualities, and having attained them, he should look for them in others.

4. A flourishing sovereignty cannot well be obtained by the worthless; he only, who has qualified himself, is fit to wield the sceptre.

\* *Samgraha* may also mean 'welfare,' 'advancement.'

† For *Shuparikshanam* the commentary gives *Asuparikshanam*.

5. Royal prosperity so difficult to attain and more so to retain, and which entirely depends on the good will of the multitude, rests steadily only on moral purity like water in a (fixed) vessel.

6—8. Nobility of birth, equanimity, youthfulness,\* good character, benevolence, activity, consistency,† veracity, respectful behaviour towards those older in age and in knowledge, gratefulness, good-fatedness,‡ keen reasoning power, relationship with the great,§ ability to conquer his enemies, unshaken reverence, far-sightedness, energy, purity, ambitious aims, modesty and piety—these are the qualities, the presence of which in a king renders him acceptable as a refuge to the people.

9. A king, possessed of these qualities, is always resorted to by his subjects seeking protection. He should act in such a way as to secure the esteem of his people.

10. A ruler of earth, desiring his own welfare, should keep a retinue consisting of descendants from illustrious families, pure, upright, and obliging in character.

11. People seek protection even from a wicked king if his counselors be good. A king with a wicked counsel is seldom approached (for protection) like a sandal tree begirt with snakes.

12. Prohibiting the access of the good to the king, his wicked counselors exhaust his treasury.|| It is for this

\* The word in the text is *Vayas*, which the commentator explains as 'youthfulness;' but we think it to mean 'old age' which will be more suited to the text. A youthful king is scarcely resorted to as a refuge.

† The commentary reads *Avisamvāditā* for *Asamvivāditā* and explains the former as 'absence of contradiction in speech.'

‡ Or 'on whom fortune ever smile.'

§ For *Akshudraparichārīta* of the text the commentary reads *Akshudraparivāratā*, which reading we accept.

|| The word in the text *lit*; translated will be 'eat up;' but the commentary very properly gives the meaning we have embodied.



reason (if not for any other), that a king should have pious and good counselors.

13. Having obtained a flourishing prosperity, a king should dedicate\* it to the enjoyment of the pious. For prosperity avails nothing, if it is not participated in by the pious.

14. The wealth and prosperity of the wicked are enjoyed only by others of the same nature. Only crows and no other birds taste the fruit of the *Kimpāka* tree.†

15—19. Eloquence, self-confidence, ‡ accuracy of memory, stateliness of stature, superior might, § self-control, ingenuity for inventing various means and instruments of torture, || perfection in all the arts, ability of easily reclaiming men treading evil ways, ¶ the power of sustaining an assault of the enemy, knowledge of all the remedies against danger, promptness in detecting the weak points of an enemy, familiarity with the nature of war and peace, § strict observance of secrecy regarding all consultations and actions, proficiency in turning into account the advantages of place and time, collection of money (from the people) and its proper expenditure, a deep insight into the nature of the dependents, freedom from anger, covetousness, fear, malice, obstinacy and fickleness, avoidance of tyranny, depravity, animosity, jealousy, and

\* For *Vrajet* the commentary reads *Nayait*.

† *Kimpāka*—A cucurbitaceous plant (*Trichosanthes palmata*, also *Cucumis colocynthus*). In the following five Slokas, the author enumerates the necessary qualifications of a monarch.

‡ The commentator explains, 'audacity of refuting even the words of god-like people.'

§ Like that of the hero *Bhima* of the *Mahabharata*.

|| For *Nipuna* of the text the commentary gives *Nipunam*.

¶ For *Suvigraha* read *Svavagraha*; this reading is also suggested by the commentator.

§ By war and peace here, the author means all the six expedients to be used by a king in foreign politics. The expedients are (a) peace or alliance, (b) war, (c) march or expedition, (d) halt, (e) seeking shelter, and (f) duplicity.

falsehood, compliance with the advices of those older in age and in learning, energy, amiable appearance, appreciation of worth in other people, and smiling words,—these are known to be the indispensable qualifications for a sovereign.

20. Under a king unmoved by the passions and possessed of all these qualifications and perfectly acquainted with men and manners, the subjects live as happily as under the roof of their own father; such a sovereign is worthy of the name *Parthiva*.\*

21. A kingdom increases in prosperity, having obtained a *Mahendra*-like† king, who is well-adorned with these royal qualities, and all whose acts are just and impartial.

22. Desire for inbibing knowledge,‡ attentive audition of the lessons taught, their assimilation, retention and the comprehension of their various meanings,§ the discussion of the *pros* and *cons* of a question,|| a close application to the study

\* Lit. A ruler of earth. As we have written in the introduction, the author is indebted to the *Rajdharmānusasana Parva* of the *Mahābhārata* for his treatise; there occur many Slokas in the latter work which may aptly be cited as parallels. For instance here we give the translation of a Sloka from the *Mahabharata* :—"He is the best of kings in whose dominions men live fearlessly like sons in the house of their sire,"

† Mahendra—or the great *Indra* is the Jupiter Pluvius of the Hindu mythology. He is the god of the firmament, the regent of the atmosphere and of the east quarter, and his world is called *Svarga*. In the *Vedas*, he is placed in the first rank among the gods, but in later mythology, he falls in the second rank. He is inferior to the Trinity *Brahmā* *Viṣṇu* and *Maheśa*, but he is the chief of all the other gods. He sends the lightning, wields thunder-bolt and pours down rain.

‡ This thirst for knowledge the commentator ascribes to causes that were existent in a previous birth.

§ The word in the text may have another meaning, viz., 'knowledge of the diverse ways regarding the acquisition of wealth.'

|| *Uha*—means conjecture as 'what can this be' &c. *Apaha*—means rejection of doubtful propositions after full discussion. The two taken together gives the meaning we have embodied in our rendering.

of the real nature of things,\*—these are the characteristic features of the intellect.

23. Skilfulness, activity, living animosity for an enemy, and bravery, these are the characteristic features of energy. Well-accomplished in these attributes (of the intellect and energy), a man deserves to assume the royal functions.

24. Benignity, truthfulness and valour, these are the three noblest† of all royal qualities; possessing these, a king easily attains the rest.

25. The attendants‡ of a monarch should be high-born, pure-natured, heroic, learned, loyal and experts in the practical application of the science of Polity.

26. §All the actions and omissions of a king should be examined by his loyal attendants, whose honesty has been tested by the *Upadhás*|| and who follow up their schemes until they are successful.

27. *Upadhá*¶ is so called because it brings people near the king and can make them enter into his service. *Upadhás* are the means for testing honesty, and by these a king should try his dependents.

28—30. A person, who has got good many friends to deter him from the paths of vice, who is not a foreigner by

\* The commentator suggests another meaning, namely, 'yearning for spiritual knowledge or knowledge of the Supreme Being.'

† 'For,' as the commentator explains 'they are most efficacious as means to an end.'

‡ The word in the text is *Sachiva*, which generally means a minister; but here the commentator takes it to mean, 'those who seek the same interest with the king.'

§ Having enumerated the necessary qualifications for a king, the author now proceeds to describe the qualities of good attendants and ministers.

|| The *Visarga* after *Upadhá* in the text is a palpable mistake.

¶ The *Upadhás* have been explained as above by the author himself. They are four in kind, being (a) the test of loyalty, (b) the test of disinterestedness, (c) the test of courage, and (d) the test of continence.

birth,\* who possesses a noble lineage and character and great physical strength, who is eloquent and audacious in speech† and is far-sighted,‡ energetic and ready-witted, who is free from obstinacy§ and fickleness and is faithful to his friends, who is painstaking and pure and truthful, who is blessed with eqanimity, cheerfulness, patience, gravity and health, who is a master of all the arts, and dexterous and is prudent and retentive, who is unswerving in his devotion and does not revenge the wrongs done to him by his sovereign,—such a person should be elected as a minister.

31. Accuracy of memory, exclusive devotion to the ways and means and the empire, grave consideration of the *pros* and *cons* of a question, unerring judgment, firmness, and observance of secrecy regarding all counsels—these are known to be the necessary qualifications of a minister.

32. ||A person well-versed in *Trayee* and *Dandaniti*¶ should be appointed as the royal priest. He should accom-

\* Literally translated, it would be, 'born in the self-same country with his sovereign ;' the author denounces the appointment of a foreigner as a minister, on the ground that such a man can have no natural sympathy for his master. In this way no good feeling will cement their alliance.

† The commentator gives a different meaning, namely, 'unrivalled.

‡ Lit. translated it would be 'having eyes' ; but in Sanskrit literature *Shāstras* are often identified with the eyes, for they help in clearing many doubts and can enable men to divine what is in store for them. *c. f.*

*'Anéka samsaya chchedi parokshārthasya darsamam*

*Sarvasya lochanam Shāstram yasya nāstyandha eb sa.'*

Hence the word in the text may mean 'learned in the *Shāstras* or having the eye of knowledge.'

§ The word may have another signification, namely, 'rigidity of manners.'

|| The Author now goes on to describe the qualifications of the royal priest and astrologer.

¶ Criminal Jurispendence or the Science of chastisement.

plish *Sántica*, *Poustica*\* and other benedictory rites according to the ordinances of the *Atharva Veda*.

✓33. A person investigating the nature of the science of Astrology and clever in putting questions to other, and proficient in the computation of hours and minutes,† should be appointed as the king's astrologer.

34. An intelligent monarch should seek information about the honesty of his dependents from men of their stamp and position ; he should have their artistic acquirements examined by connoisseurs.‡

35. From their (dependents') kinsmen, he (the king) should gather information regarding their natural temperament, successful career, serviceability, and their skilfulness, capacity for knowledge and power of assimilation.

36. He should assure himself of the measure of their self-confidence and ingenuity ; and he should also examine their fluency and truthfulness by holding conversation with them.

\* *Sántica* literally means, that which brings about *Sánti* or peace ; it is a special designation of the expiatory ceremonies or observances calculated to remove or avert danger. *Poustica* literally means 'promoting growth (*poosti*) ; hence it is a name for those rites that conduce to the welfare of the kingdom.

† The word in the text is '*hora*,' which may mean 'hours' as well as 'zodiacal signs.' If we accept the latter signification, then the text would mean 'proficient in interpreting zodiacal signs.' The use of this word has given rise to a controversy regarding the antiquity of this work, (Vide Introduction).

‡ The author in this and in the following four Slokas goes on to enumerate the sources and measures, from and by which, a king should gather information regarding his dependents and ministers. The syntactical and grammatical structure of this and the one following Sloka is hopelessly defective. The commentary, though needlessly elaborate at other places, is discreetly silent here. So there is no chance of making out what the exact meanings of the Slokas are ; what we embody in our rendering is the product of conjecture and common sense.

37. He should mark if they possess energy, prowess, endurance, memory, devotion, and steadiness.

38. By their behaviour, he should know their devotion, faithfulness and purity of intention. He should enlighten himself regarding their physical strength, their evenmindedness and their healthiness, from those who live with them.

39. He should directly\* ascertain their tractability and resoluteness and their power of keeping their enemies under control and their meanness or gentility.

40. The presence, of secondary qualities beyond direct perception, is inferred by their workings; and the success of their workings again is measured† by the results they achieve.

41. A king inclined to evil deeds should be prevented by his ministers; he should regard their advice in the same light as those of his spiritual guide.‡

42. The monarchy collapses with the collapse of the king, while it revives with his revival, like the lotus reviving at the rising of the sun.§

43. Therefore ministers endued with genius, energy, and equanimity, and devoted to the interests of their master, should instil knowledge|| into him in a suitable manner.¶

\* That is, 'not through secondary sources, but personally.'

† Fer *Bibhāvayét* the commentary gives *Bibhāvayaté*.

‡ The text, if translated as it is, would be 'he should pay heed to their words as well as to the words of his spiritual guides.' But there is another reading and we accept that.

§ Sanskrit poetry abounds in instances in which the lotus is regarded as the mistress of the Sun. This metaphor probably has its origin in the fact that lotuses blossom forth at the early dawn. In this natural phenomenon, the 'poet's eye in fine frenzy rolling' finds the delight the sweet-heart feels at the advent of her lord that was away.

|| We would rather prefer this to be substituted by 'should guide him'; but the text does not allow it; and a translator is fast bound to the oar.

¶ That is, 'by reciting proverbs, apologues and moral tales,' these being considered to be the easiest means of imparting knowledge.

44. Those ministers only are considered to be the true friends and spiritual guides of a king, who deter him from going astray, disregarding repeated warnings not to do so.

45. Those who restrain a king inclined to evil deeds,\* are to him his most worshipful preceptors and not mere friends.

46. Even persons well-grounded in knowledge are ensnared by the irresistible attractions of the sensual enjoyments. What wrongful act can not then a man, whose heart is enslaved to the pleasures of the senses, commit ?

47. A king perpetrating transgressions is said to be blind in spite of his eyes.†. His friends, assuming the functions of physicians, cure him of his blindness by applying the collyrium‡ of modesty.

48. When a king, blinded by passions, pride and arrogance, falls into the snare set forth by his enemies, the exertions of his ministers serve to extricate him, even as the support of the hand aids a fallen man.

49. Like the *Māhuta*§ of infuriated elephants, the ministers of a king are held to blame, when, intoxicated with pride, he goes astray.

50. A kingdom flourishes through the fertility of its soil, and the king prospers through the flourishing condition of the kingdom. Therefore, for his own prosperity, a king should try to make his territory as fertile as possible.

51—52. ||A land adorned with crops, rich in mines,

---

\* The commentary paraphrases 'acts which are prohibited by the *Shāstras*.'

† 'For,' goes on the commentator, 'he can not perceive the sin of his violations.'

‡ Collyrium is described in the Hindu books of medicine to be a well-tried remedy for all disorders of the eye.

§ The *Māhuta* is the technical oriental name for the keepers of elephants ; one of their duties is to guide them when the king rides on them. Buffon in his 'Natural History,' calls these leaders of elephants *Cornca*.

|| Having explained the necessary qualifications for monarchs and ministers, the author now proceeds to describe what kind of land is best

minerals, and commodities for trade, conducive to the breed of cattle, copiously watered, (thickly) inhabited by virtuous people and pious sects, possessed of all the charms of nature, abounding in woods swarming with elephants,\* having inland and navigable communications, and not depending upon showers of rain for agricultural purposes†—such a land is specially favourable to the welfare and prosperity of kings.

53. A land, overspread with gravels and fragments of stones‡ and covered with forests and thorny brush-woods, and molested by depridators, and arid and infested with beasts of prey, such a land is not worthy of the name.

54—56. A country where living is cheap, the soil of which is fertile§ and copiously irrigated,|| which is situated at the foot of a mountain,¶ which contains a large number of

suited to the establishment of a kingdom, and what kind of kingdom brings prosperity on the king.

\* The necessity of such woods may at first seem incomprehensible; but it will be obvious when we say that the ancient Aryans, like the Greeks of yore, utilized elephants in martial purposes; and invariably these monsters of the forest constituted a good portion of their army. They were also used in pageants and royal processions.

† *Adevamātrikā*.—Lit. translated would mean, 'not having the god of rain or clouds as foster-mother;' hence an *Adevamātrikā* land is that which does not entirely depend on rain-water, but has other sources of water-supply, namely, irrigation and floods, for agricultural purposes. Egypt and the countries, through which the Nile flows, can be cited as examples. The opposite of *Adevamātrikā* is *Nadimātrikā* i.e., having a river as foster-mother.

‡ The commentary here suggests another reading namely *Sakkar-osharapāshānā* (or covered over with gravels, saline soil, and fragments of stones), for which we see no occasion.

§ Or, as the commentator remarks, 'which possesses all the above-mentioned qualifications.'

|| The word in the text is *Sārūpa* for which the commentary suggests *Sānūpa*.

¶ So that its inhabitants might have an abundant supply of fire-wood and fuels.



*Sudras*,\* traders and artisans, where the farmers and husbandmen are enterprising and energetic, which is loyal to its ruler and inhospitable to its enemies, which ungrudgingly bears heavy taxation (for replenishing the treasury), which is extensive in area and is crowded with men from various foreign countries, which is rich and pious and abounds in cattle, and where the popular leaders are not foolish and voluptuous†—such a country is the best of all others. A king should, by all means, endeavour to promote the welfare of such a land, for, with its prosperity, the other constituents of government would also prosper.

57. ‡A king should settle in such a fortress, which has an extensive area, and is environed by a wide ditch and secured with gates strengthened with high and massive walls, and which is sheltered by mighty mountains, forests and deserts.§

58. He should have a castle proof against the inclemencies of the weather, well stuffed with provisions and money, and having an abundant supply of water. A king without a castle is unsteady like patches of clouds before a strong wind.

59. A fort, containing copious water and thickly interspersed with hillocks and trees and situated in a desert and

---

\* The serving class. The fact of their being numerous in a country would render labour cheap.

† According to the reading accepted in the note (which is *Murkha* &c.) the translation would be 'foolish and voluptuous.' The commentator goes on to explain his curious interpretation by asserting that such leaders do not brook their heads with politics and are not intriguing and capable of deception. They are contented with their lot and leave the king free to govern according to his own whim and caprice; surely the explanation is very ingenious.

‡ The author now gives directions which will help a king to select a suitable site for his castle. These directions, as the reader will see, do credit even to a military engineer of the highest rank.

§ These mountains and forests and deserts would stand in the way of an enemy coming to assault the fort. For *ghana* the commentary gives *Maru*.

arid soil, has been said to be impregnable, by persons well-read in the *Shāstras* and by men proficient in the art of castle-building.\*

60. The *Achāryyast*† hold that fortress to be the best which is sufficiently stored with provisions, water, weapons, and other implements of war, and is garrisoned by cool-headed soldiers‡ and has numerous defences.

61. A country, having communications both by land and by water§ and furnished with castles affording shelter to the royal family at the time of a siege,—such a country is suitable for the habitation for a king who seeks prosperity.

62—63. ¶A treasury, the collections of which are vast and disbursements limited, which is far-famed, where adoration is offered to the gods,¶ which is full of desirable things, a sight of which is charming, which is superintended over by trustworthy people and is enriched with gold, pearls, and jewels, which redounds to the credit of the forefathers, which

\* What the author means is this:—Inside the fort there should be natural hillocks and a large number of trees, under the cover of which, the garrison at the time of a siege would be able to give battle to the assaulting army. The site of the fort should be in a desert soil, so that the besiegers would be compelled to give up their attempt out of sheer want of food and water. The garrison should have abundant supply of provision and drinking water, so that they would be able to hold out long, while the ranks of the besiegers would be thinned by famine.

† *Achāryya* lit: means a spiritual preceptor, here the preceptors of the gods and demons (Vrihaspati and Sukra) are alluded to.

‡ So that in case of a siege, they will not rashly venture a battle, for, by holding out, they are sure to conquer in the long run.

§ The word in the text is explained in the commentary as follows, 'covered equally with land and water.' We do not find any appropriateness of the interpretation and so reject it.

¶ Here begins the description of the treasury, which is also very sound and statesman-like.

¶ 'Specially' goes on the commentator, 'to Sri and Dhanada. The former is the Goddess of prosperity, and the latter the Lord of wealth, the Plutus of the Grecian mythology.'

has been filled by lawful means, and which can defray any amount of expenditure,—such a treasury wins the approval of men of financial acumen.

64. Persons possessing treasures should preserve them for purposes of piety, for increasing their wealth, for times of danger and for maintaining their dependents.

65—67. An army\* inherited from the forefathers,† throughly obedient and disciplined, firmly united, well-paid, well-known for bravery and manliness, skilful in handling all kinds of weapons, commanded by experts in the science of war, equipped with various implements of war, trained in various modes of warfare, crowded with legions of warriors, swarming with elephants and horses purified by the *Nirājana*‡ ceremony, accustomed to stay abroad and to troubles and distresses, indefatigable in fight, having its ranks filled with never vacillating *Kshatriyas*,§ such an army has been commended by persons proficient in the science of Polity.

68. A king should form alliance with a person, illustrious, well-spoken, benevolent, learned, even-minded, having numerous partisans, and who would remain constant in faithfulness for all future periods.¶

\* The author now proceeds to describe the qualifications that make an army efficient.

† What the author means is 'which has served his forefathers' &c.

‡ A kind of military and religious ceremony performed, by kings and generals of armies, in the month of *Asvina*, (September, October) before they took the field. It was, so to say, a general purification of the king's *Purohita* (priest), the ministers and the various component parts of the army, together with the arms and implements of war, by sacred *mantras*. Some time *Nirājana* means only lustration of arms.

§ *Advaidha*.—Lit. means 'having no sense of distinction,' i.e., who do not distinguish between life and death. But *dvaidha* also means duplicity and a vacillating tendency. *Kshatriyas* are the ruling and fighting caste and stand second in the scale of castes.

¶ The author here gives rules for forming alliances and for selecting allies. Here also he is very wise and far-seeing. The *Ayatikshana* in

69. A pure-hearted and high-born ally surely displays ingenuity and versatility\* when great difficulties present themselves.

70. A man, who was in friendly relations with his ancestors, who is steady and unwavering, and who has a deep insight into his nature† and who is generous and unostentatious, is to be desired as an ally by a king.

71. To come out to accord a cordial welcome even from a distance, to speak agreeable words conveying distinct sense, and to offer a warm hospitality, these are the three methods of making friends.

72. The realisation of virtue, wealth and desire, is the fruit of friendship; and a prudent person does not form such a friendship which is barren of these three.

73. The friendship of the pious is like a river, shallow in the beginning, deep in the middle, widening at each step, and ever-flowing and never-ceasing.

74. Friends are of four kinds, being separately derived from birth, relationship, ancestral obligation, and protection from danger.

75. Integrity in money matters, freedom from temptation, manliness, participation in weal and woe, fidelity, ingenuity, truthfulness, these are the necessary qualifications for an ally.

76. In short, unswerving devotion to the interests of his friends is the principal characteristic of a friend. He is not a friend in whom this quality is not found; and a man should not throw himself on the mercy of such a one.

77. Thus, government and its seven constituents have been explained by us; its main stay is the treasury and the

the text of this Sloka means, 'the friendship of whom has not the slightest chance of melting away even in the remotest future.'

\* The word in the text lit : translated would be 'squareness'.

† Another interpretation is possible, namely, 'to the liking of his heart.'

army; and administered by a skilful minister, it leads to the eternal consummation of *Trivarga*.

78. Just as the spiritual Principle combined with matter pervades this universe, so a king united with his subjects extends his dominions all over the earth.

79. Thus a king worshipped by his subjects and held in high honor by them, should protect his own kingdom. By promoting the welfare of his own kingdom, he speedily reaches the zenith of prosperity and progress.

80. A king, possessed of loyal subjects and royal qualities, is greatly to be desired.\* In the field of battle he sweeps his enemies before him like chaff before the wind.†

*Thus ends the fourth Section, the description of the essential constituents of government, namely, king, ministers, kingdom, castle, treasury, army and allies, in the Nitīsāra of Kāmandaka.*

---

## SECTION V.

---

I. **P**ERSONS depending on others for their livelihood should enter into the services of a king who is like the celestial tree *Kalpa* itself‡; who is ever devoted to his duties; and

---

\* The commentator gives a different explanation, viz., 'is always resorted to as a refuge.'

† Literally translated the passage would be 'is as formidable an opponent to his enemies as the strong wind is to the clouds.'

‡ A tree fabled to be in Indra's paradise. It is supposed to grant all desires. There is also a creeper of the same name possessing the same qualities. The idea of comparing a generous person with this tree or creeper is a very favorite one with Sanskrit poets.

who possesses an ample treasury\* and qualities that attract his subjects to him.

2. A king, even when deprived of his subjects and substance, should be resorted to, if only, he possesses good qualities.† For, (if not then, but) after a while, an honourable living could be secured from him.

3. A wise man should rather remain inactive like a branchless trunk, and wither away with oppressive hunger, than seek a means of maintenance from the worthless.

4. A worthless and unjust monarch carrying his prosperity to the very zenith,‡ meets with destruction even during his (apparently) sunny days.

5. Having been once admitted into the royal service, a skilful,§ self-possessed and never-veering|| person can secure the permanence of his office, by being decided in his judgments.¶

6. A person should choose such a living which would be relished at present and in future; he should never select one that would be disliked by the world.§

\* Here the commentary differs from the text and substitutes another reading, namely '*Vrittastham Vrittisampannam*' which we have accepted.

† The royal qualities enumerated in Slokas 15 to 19 in Section IV.

‡ There is another reading namely *Arisampada* which means 'the prosperity of his foes.' In this case the first line would mean, 'an unjust and worthless king indirectly helps in enhancing the prosperity of his foes.'

§ For *Nipuna* the commentary reads *Nipunam* which would be an adverb qualifying 'secure.'

|| The commentary explains 'never harbouring the remotest ill-will against his master.'

¶ Lit: translated would be, 'resolving to do everything that human understanding is capable of.'

§ In translating the Sloka we have followed the commentary. But another meaning seems possible to us which we give below. The reader is left free to compare and to judge. "A servant should only execute those behests of his royal master which would be relished by the people

7. Sesamum seeds, when kept together with *Champaca*\* flowers, acquire the latter's fragrance; but then the fluid that is pressed out of them cannot be taken. Thus all qualities (good or bad) are contagious.†

8. A stream of tasteful‡ water, having flown into the sea, becomes saline and thus undrinkable. For this simple reason, a wise man should never associate with one of wicked and impure soul.

9. Even when hard pressed with difficulties, a wise person should betake to none but an honourable living. Through such a living, he earns respectability and is not cast out of this world and the next.§

10. As a man desirous of seeing a mountain should go to the deep-rooted, majestic, sacred and far-famed Vindhya hills, inhabited by numberless pious people, so a person, seeking a successful career should employ himself in the services of a master who is desirable, faithful to the usages, virtuous, illustrious, praiseworthy and served by other pious people.||

11. (By strenuous efforts) a persevering person¶ gets

---

at present and in the future; and he should never do what would be injurious to the interests of the people in general."

\* A kind of yellow fragrant flower, (*Michelia Champaca*).

† In this and in the several following Slokas the author goes on to describe the influence of company. This Sloka and the next are put in by way of preamble.

‡ The text lit : translated would be 'a stream of Ganges water'. But the Ganges being the most sacred river, her water is typically used to signify all tasteful water.

§ There seems to be a pun upon the word '*loka*' which means both regions and persons. If the second signification is accepted, the last portion of the Sloka would mean 'is not forsaken by his friends.'

|| What the author wants to impress, is, that when a man has no other means of livelihood but service, he should select a master who tallies with this description. For, he thinks, such a wise selection will diminish the unpalatableness and rigours of servitude.

¶ The word in the text means 'having an accurate memory'; but this signification will be out-of-place here.

at all those objects that he may desire, even if they be hard to obtain. Therefore, assiduous endeavour should always be put forth (in accomplishing an action).

12. A dependent, willing to promote the real service of his royal master, should qualify himself with learning, humility, and knowledge of all the arts.\*

13—14. That person is only fit to serve a worthy master who possesses a noble lineage, learning, proficiency in the *Srutis*,† liberality, good character, prowess and patience; who is blessed with an amiable appearance, and even-mindedness, physical might, healthiness, firmness of mind, honesty of intentions and kindness of disposition; who is beyond the reach of malevolence, treacherousness, a spirit of sowing dissensions, guilefulness, avidity and falseness, and (lastly) who has cast off obstinacy‡ and fickleness alike.

15. Ingeniousness, gentleness, constancy, forbearance, § capacity for enduring pain, cheerfulness, good character, and fortitude—these are the qualities that are said to ornament a dependent.

16. Endowed with all these attributes and observing a most scrupulous integrity about pecuniary matters, a dependent should, for his own advancement, try to win the confidence of his prosperous royal master.

17. Having obtained an access into the king's court, he

\* Arts must be taken to include fine arts as well as mechanical arts; no less than sixty-four arts have been enumerated in Sanskrit lexicons.

† *Srutis*—*sruti* means what is heard or revealed as distinguished from *Smritis*; *Srutis* or *Vedas* are 'a-paurusheya' works or 'not human compositions.' They are supposed to have been directly revealed by the Supreme Being, Brahman.

‡ The word in the text may also have this meaning namely, 'rigidity or stiffness of manners.'

§ The word in the text is *Kshanti* which is defined as *Satyapi sāmāthyé apakarin doshasahanam* or indulgence towards offenders or enemies in spite of the power of revenging.



should go there in decent garments,\* and occupy the seat allotted to him (by the usher); then in proper time, and with becoming humility, he should pay his homage to his sovereign lord.

18. He should ever shun the seats and places of other courtiers and should avoid crookedness, gaudy garments, and enviousness; he should never discourse with his superiors (in age, rank and knowledge), contradicting them in a disrespectful manner.

19. A dependent should avoid prevarication, trickery, deceitfulness and thievishness. He should do obeisance to the sons and favorite attendants of his royal master.†

20. He should speak nothing unpalatable to the king's jesters;‡ for then, in the very midst of the assembly, they will pierce him to the core with their withering sarcasms.

21. Occupying a seat adjacent to (that of) his master, he should not allow his eyes to wander, but keep them

\* For *Savesavan* the commentary reads *Suvesavan* which reading we have accepted.

† 'Then these latter,' goes on the commentator, 'will' recommend him to the good graces of the king.'

‡ As we have written *Narmasachiva* 'means a jester or more correctly, an associate of amusements of princes and persons of high rank. But the reader must not confound him with English 'fools' and 'buffoons' whose model-type we find in the 'Ivanhoe' of S. W. Scott. The position of western buffoons is inferior to that of the oriental *Vidvaksas*. These latter are recruited from illustrious families and often from amongst the spiritual caste (Brahmanas). They are exceptionally intelligent and sound counselors. They are the humour-companions as well as confidential friends of a monarch, (some times of the hero of a play), who excite mirth by their fantastical motley dresses, their speeches, gestures, appearances, movements &c., and by allowing themselves to be the butt of ridicule by almost everybody. In spite of all these, they are held in high honor by the other courtiers and exercise a considerable amount of influence over the king who regards them as his best and foremost counselors, and who never goes against what they advise.'

riveted on the countenance of his master, to watch what he would do.

22. When the king says 'who is there,' the retainer should respond saying 'here am I at your Majesty's entire command?\*' He should with promptitude give effect to his lord's behests to the best of his abilities.

23. He† should avoid (in the presence of his master) breaking out into roars of laughter, coughing, expectorating, yawning, stretching his limbs and body,‡ and making sounds with his finger tips.§

24. Divining his affectionate master's purposes, in a manner approved of by others proficient in thought-reading, he should speak distinctly, when asked to do so, upholding his master's views.

25. When a dispute or debate arises among the assembly of courtiers,|| the 'dependent, being directed by his royal master, should cite the opinions of the experts¶ regarding the point at issue, and should ascribe such signification to the disputed term, about which there can be doubt whatever.

\* The text lit : translated would be 'I am here, command me fully.'

† No doubt some of our readers will wonder to find the rules of etiquette laid down here to be perfectly at one with those recognised in western society. In nicety and in minuteness of detail they are in no way inferior or wanting. In the *Mahābhārata* also we find a denouncement of these actions (laughing&c.,) as breaches of etiquette. C. f. 'They become so shameless as to indulge in eructations and the like, and expectorate in the very presence of their master.' Sec. LVI., S. 53. *Rājadharmānusāsana Parva*

‡ The original word in the text is *Gātrabhanga*, which is taken to signify that peculiar kind of bodily movement which is calculated to shake off idleness.

§ The word in the text is *Parvāsfota*; *parva* means figure-joints and *āsfota* means sound. In ordinary English it is termed 'filliping.'

|| The compound lit : translated would be 'the assembly of courtiers, which has been enlarged for the king's pleasure.'

¶ Specially used for any expounder of any particular system.

26. Though thoroughly informed on any point, yet, a prudent servant should never speak in such a way as to silence his master. Though eloquent, he should forego self-gratification on this score.\*

27. A dependent should speak of what he knows best as though he knew very little. But with becoming modesty, he should display the superiority of his knowledge by his actions.†

28. A dependent, who is truly anxious for the welfare of his master, should proffer his wholesome advice uncalled-for, only when the latter deviates from the path of rectitude, or when any emergency is imminent,‡ or when a favorable opportunity for any particular action slips away unnoticed.

29. For the interests of justice,§ a retainer should speak sweet, salutary and truthful words, and he should avoid telling what is incredible, indecent,|| uncouth and jarring to the ear.

30. A servant knowing the proper use of time and place, should, when they are favorable, do good to other people; he should also promote his own interests in a skilful manner.

31. He should not (prematurely) divulge those counsels

\* In rendering this portion of the text we have followed the commentary, though another interpretation is apparent, namely, 'Even possessing vast experience, he should not be proud of it.'

† For a similar sentiment compare,

'Pitch thy behaviours low, thy projects high,  
So shalt thou humble and magnanimous be.  
Sink not in spirit; who aimeth at the sky  
Shoots higher much than he that means a tree.'

*George Herbert.*

‡ The nature of the emergency has been defined in the commentary to be 'warlike preparations by an inimical sovereign.'

§ The word in the text may have another import, namely 'to secure religious merit.'

|| For *Asatya* or false, the commentary reads *Asabhya* or indecent.

and measures\* of his master that ought to be kept secret. Even in his mind, he should never harbour the remotest thought of his master's dethronement and death.

32. He should shun the company and close association of women, of those sinful wretches who lustfully gaze at them, of the emissaries of a hostile monarch, of those who had been turned out by his master; he should have no interest to serve with these in common.

33. He should never try to imitate his sovereign lord in his habits and habiliments†; a wise servant should never endeavour to emulate his royal master, even if he might be gifted with royal qualities.

34. A servant, understanding signs and expressions of the face and capable of achieving acts accomplished by experts, should interpret the internal sentiments, sympathy or antipathy (towards himself), of his master, with the assistance of external gestures, appearances and signs.

35. A master, when satisfied with his servant, rejoices at his sight, accepts his advices gladly, offers him a seat near his own and enquires after his health and welfare.‡

36. Then the master does not fear to accompany his servant to sequestered places and to entrust him with secret commissions. Then he attentively listens to conversations relating to his servant or carried on by the latter.

37. The master then feels proud when his servant is praised by others, and congratulates him on his good fortune. The master remembers him (dependent) in the course of any

\* The commentary explains the 'measures' to be *Avichāra* &c, for which vide supra, Sec I. Sloka 4th note.

† The reading in the text is '*Vesabhāsā*' which we have changed in to '*Vesabhūsa*.' The original reading lit: rendered would mean 'the dress and manner of speaking.'

‡ In this and in the following Slokas, the author goes on to describe the behaviour, a servant is to expect, in the hands of his master, first, when he is pleased, and next when he is displeased with him.

conversation\* and begins, out of delight, to expatiate on the latter's good qualities.

38. Then the master tolerates the unpalatable language† uttered by his servant and puts up with the censure passed by him.‡ The former then acts up to the latter's advices and highly prizes his counsel.

39. On the other hand, when a master is dis-satisfied with his servant, he treats him with indifference, even if the latter may have rendered many precious services to him. Acts done by his servant, he ascribes to the agency of others.§

40. Then the master incites the rivals of his servant and neglects him when he is afflicted by his enemies. When there is an act to be done by his servant, the master encourages the latter's hopes, but when it is accomplished, he never fulfils them.||

41. Whatever language, (apparently) sweet, the master might address to his servant, would be very cruel in its import; the former smells abuse even in the encomiums the latter offers to him.

42. The master shows himself to be out of temper even when in reality he is not so.¶ When he is pleased with

\* The commentator explains 'when others speak favourably of his servant.'

† In the text the word *pathya* is evidently a misprint for *Apathya*. Accepting the latter reading the commentary gives this meaning, *vis* 'advocates his servant's views even if they be harmful.' But we do not see any reason for twisting this meaning out of the original line, specially as in the next line the author lays down a similar assertion. *Apathya* of course means 'unwholesome'; but if we are to accept this meaning, we are sure to be involved in a needless tautology, which it is the duty of every annotator to avoid.

‡ Another meaning is possible, 'overlooks the blame that he (dependent) may lay on his shoulders.'

§ Supply 'to deprive him of his due rewards.'

|| Lit: translated 'acts otherwise.'

¶ So that the dependent may not approach and solicit any favour from him.

his servant, he does not grant him any reward.\* Then the master sometimes begins to speak suddenly† and moves towards his servant‡ and casts petrifying glances on him.

43. The master speaks words that cut his servant to the quick,§ and then he breaks out into a derisive laugh.|| He saddles his servant with false accusations¶ and for no reason whatever deprives the latter of his means of subsistence.

44. The master then contradicts the words which have been very rightly remarked by his servant; sometimes, suddenly wearing a disagreeable look, he unseasonably balts in the very midst of his speech.\*\*

45. If entreated for a favor when lying on bed,†† the master simulates sleep; and even if awakened by the servants solicitations,‡‡ he still behaves like one in a dream.

46. These are the characteristics of a pleased and displeased master respectively. A servant should earn his

\* For his satisfaction is not genuine.

† And thus cuts his servant short. The commentary substitutes *Bhavati* for *Vadati*.

‡ So that, before his servant can clear out of his path, he may have a plea for insulting him saying 'why do you obstruct my way, take your detested carcass away.'

§ The annotator here very rightly suggests *Marma* for *Mantra*, but gives a different meaning to the former, namely 'demerit;' the rendering then would be 'speaks hinting at his servant's demerits.'

|| A different reading is suggested *vis* "*Gundn na Vahumanyatē*" or 'does not appreciate his merits'. The annotator further explains himself saying 'the master does not relish the jokes cut by his servant, and in lieu of laughing, he wears a morose face over them.'

¶ Supply 'to hide his own faults.'

\*\* With a view to wound the feelings of his servant.

†† The commentator thus explains; 'even if the servant, for securing a certain favor, attends his master on his bed and there shampoos and chafes and rubs the latter's legs and arms, still the latter will not be propitiated and to baffle his man he will imitate sleep.'

‡‡ *Balaina* means 'by virtue of' 'through the strength of.'

living from a master who is pleased with him, and forego the one from a displeased lord.

47. A servant should never forsake his master in times of danger, even if the latter be very worthless. There is none more praise-worthy than that dependent who stands firm by his master during an emergency.\*

48. Firmness and such other qualities of servants are not brought into relief when their masters enjoy peace and tranquility. But when danger presents itself, the names of these very dutiful dependents are associated with the greatest glory.†

49. The act of doing good to the great is an act which the doer may feel proud of, and which he may very well rejoice at ; even though it may be a very insignificant act, it will in proper time bear splendid blessings for him.

50. The commendable duty of a man's friends, relatives and dependents is to dissuade him from acts contrary to the *Shastras* and to persuade him to those conforming to them.‡

51. Dependents who surround a monarch should try to open his eyes to the evils of inebriety, incontinence and gambling, by means of apologues and moral tales.§ But if

---

\* Apart from other considerations, the advisability of this principle, even from interest's point of view, is quite evident. For surely no master can overlook all the good services rendered by his servant during an emergency ; and for the sake of gratitude, which finds a place even in the sternest heart, he is sure to reward, if not adequately, to some extent, the labours of his faithful dependent.

† What the author means is this :—In times of peace, courage firmness and other similar qualities of a servant have no scope for action ; but when a war breaks out or any other emergency arises, these qualities stand in good stead to their possessor as well as to his master ; they also invest the former with renown and make his name a proverb among his brother-servants.

‡ The author now winds up his discourse relating to the duties of servants, after which he proposes to define the duties of masters.

§ Lit: translated would be, 'the evils of drink, of close association with women, and of dice.'

in spite of their endeavours, the king becomes addicted to any of these vices, (to reclaim him) they should have recourse to *nālikā*\* and other such expedients.

52. Those foolish retainers who neglect a king falling into evil ways, run into ruin even with their royal master.†

53. Out of regard for their royal master, the retainers should address him saying 'Victory unto thee,' 'Command thy servant' 'Long live the emperor,' 'My lord,' and even 'My Divinity.' Awaiting their sovereign's commands, the dependents should dance attendance upon his pleasure.

54. (Unhesitating) compliance with the desires of their masters is the foremost duty of all dependents. Even monsters‡ become graceful§ on those servants of theirs who always gratify their humours.

55. What is difficult of being attained by high-souled person endued with intelligence, even-mindedness, and energy?|| In this earth, what man is ever unfriendly to those people who are sweet-spoken and ever ready to perform the pleasures of others?

\* Neither *Nādikā* or *Nālikā* (the reading of the commentary) has been explained by any lexicographer. But the commentator explains himself by saying that *Nālikā* &c are same with '*Saman* &c.' The latter are means of success against an enemy. There are four of them, namely, (a) *Sāman* conciliation or negotiation, (b) *Dāna* gift or bribery (c) *Bheda* sowing dissensions (d) *Danda* punishments or open attack. Some authorities add three more, namely, (e) *Māyā* or deceit (f) *Upeksha* trick or neglect (g) *Indrajāla* magic and conjuring. We do not know whether the author advises the dependants to employ these remedies against their royal master going astray. It may be that there is something amiss in the reading.

† 'Share his defeat with him' would be more literal.

‡ Are here intended to tipify the cruelest and most heartless and exacting masters.

§ Lit: translated would be 'are won over by.'

|| Lest people take exception, to what he had said in the last portion of the previous Sloka, saying 'how can a man possibly know the desire of his master,' the author puts in 'What is &c.'



61. Lakshmi\* is the highest of connection† and there is none more illustrious than her. Men resort to the king who possesses a solvent exchequer and an efficient army.

62. Only the prosperous and the exalted receive homage from men having ends to serve.‡ Like to his enemies, what man ever pays his homage to one fallen.

63. This world of living beings, ever struggling to obtain a means for maintenance, betakes to him who is in the full blaze of his prosperity.§ Even a calf forsakes its dam, when her lactation becomes scarce and she cannot give it adequate sustenance.

64. After the lapse of short periods,|| a monarch should endow his servants looking up to him for support¶ with remunerations proportionate to the measure of their services.

65. A monarch should never abolish any endowment with respect to any person, place or time; for, by such abolition of endowments, a king brings disgrace upon himself.

66. A monarch should never waste his riches on undeserving persons, as such an act has been denounced by the wise. For, what else comes out of such showering of wealth on the unworthy, but the exhaustion of the exchequer.

\* Lakshmi—is the tutelary goddess of prosperity, good fortune and beauty.

† *Anvaya*—has diverse significations, besides what we have given; for instance it may mean, 'retinue' 'drift or tenor' 'grammatical order,' &c. So, the first line can have another meaning, if we take *Anvaya* to mean 'retinue.' As it is, we shall explain clearly the meaning we have accepted. When a man is blessed with prosperity, and good fortune, no one ever thinks of the family he comes from, but takes it for granted that he is high-born. Such is the magic of wealth!

‡ Another meaning is possible viz., 'seeking employment.'

§ But the commentator gives, 'who is conspicuous for his munificence,'

|| These we take to be the periods of probation.

¶ For '*Anujivindm*' the commenator gives *Anuvartindm*, which means 'those who gratify his humour or perform his pleasures;' this makes slight difference.

61. Lakshmi\* is the highest of connections† and there is none more illustrious than her. Men resort to the king who possesses a solvent exchequer and an efficient army.

62. Only the prosperous and the exalted receive homage from men having ends to serve.‡ Like to his enemies, what man ever pays his homage to one fallen.

63. This world of living beings, ever struggling to obtain a means for maintenance, betakes to him who is in the full blaze of his prosperity.§ Even a calf forsakes its dam, when her lactation becomes scarce and she cannot give it adequate sustenance.

64. After the lapse of short periods,|| a monarch should endow his servants looking up to him for support¶ with remunerations proportionate to the measure of their services.

65. A monarch should never abolish any endowment with respect to any person, place or time; for, by such abolition of endowments, a king brings disgrace upon himself.

66. A monarch should never waste his riches on undeserving persons, as such an act has been denounced by the wise. For, what else comes out of such showering of wealth on the unworthy, but the exhaustion of the exchequer.

\* Lakshmi—is the tutelary goddess of prosperity, good fortune and beauty.

† *Anvaya*—has diverse significations, besides what we have given; for instance it may mean, 'retinue' 'drift or tenor' 'grammatical order,' &c. So, the first line can have another meaning, if we take *Anvaya* to mean 'retinue.' As it is, we shall explain clearly the meaning we have accepted. When a man is blessed with prosperity, and good fortune, no one ever thinks of the family he comes from, but takes it for granted that he is high-born. Such is the magic of wealth!

‡ Another meaning is possible viz., 'seeking employment.'

§ But the commentator gives, 'who is conspicuous for his munificence.'

|| These are taken to be the periods of probation.

¶ For '*Anuvartindam*' the commentator gives *Anuvartindam*, which means 'those who gratify his humour or perform his pleasures; this makes slight difference.'

67. A high-souled monarch should select\* those men to be the recipients of his favour, about whose high-birth, proficiency in the three divisions of learning, knowledge of the *Shāstras*, bravery, good behaviour, antecedents, age† and circumstances, he had thoroughly enlightened himself.

68. A sovereign should never condemn high-born, wise, and right-behaved persons; because, for the sake of their honor, these men forsake or even kill him that slights them.

69. A monarch should promote those dependents of his, who are of mediocre or low origin‡ if only they are endued with sterling qualities. For, attaining greatness, these men, (out of gratitude), try hard to enhance the prosperity of their (beneficent) royal master.

70. A monarch should never promote the high-born equally with the low-born.§ A judicious monarch, though he may be weak, is resorted to as a refuge.

71. In this blind world|| of ours, the wise do not remain there where a precious gem is regarded in the same light with a piece of crystal.

72. That king is praise-worthy and lives a long life and is attended with prosperity, under whose fostering care his pious dependents thrive as under the balmy shade of the

\* For *Adriaita* (appreciate) of the text the commentary gives *Svadriaita*, which latter we have translated.

† The word in text is *Vayas* which may mean any age or period of life. But the annotator takes it to mean youth, which we do not accept; he would have been more consistent had he suggested *Vayas* to mean old age.

‡ Another interpretation is put forth, viz., 'those occupying middle and lower grades in the royal service.' The reader is free to judge for himself.

§ The commentator reads *Samvardhayait* for *Vardhayait* and thus explains himself—'should never bring together, by appointment.'

|| Blind or indiscriminate regarding the recognition of merit and demerit.

Kalpa-tree\* itself. Prosperity is truly fruitful when it is enjoyed by the pious.†

73. What availeth the ever-flourishing prosperity of the monarchs on whom fortune smiles, if it is not enjoyed by their friends and relatives to the full satisfaction of their hearts.

74. A monarch should appoint his kinsmen of tested fidelity to look after all the different sources of his income.‡ Through their assistance he should collect taxes from his subjects, like the lustrous orb drawing moisture up through its rays.

75. A monarch should employ those men to be the general superintendents of all his business, who have both theoretical and practical knowledge of all works, whose honesty has been put to the test, who have under them copyists,§ composers and other useful hands, and who are greatly energetic.

76. Whoever is specially proficient in anything should be entrusted to do that thing only, just as a particular sense is employed to perceive its special objects among other innumerable sense-objects.

77. A monarch should take special care for his store-house,|| for life depends solely on it. He should not extravagantly spend its contents and should personally inspect it.

\* Vide *Supra* note to Sloka I.

† For *Satyam Vogafalā* the commentary reads *Satsamvogafalā*, making a slight difference in import.

‡ The original Sloka, if taken as it is, can give a reasonable meaning, but that does not suit the context. So here we agree with the commentator and accept his emendations. For *Apadvarésu* he reads *Ayadvarésu* and for *Tévyā* he reads *Taistu*. We give below the translation of the original Sloka. 'A king should examine the fidelity of his friends at times of emergency; and he should draw money from them as imperceptibly as the sun draws water up with its rays.'

§ For *Sujnānasammatān* the commentator reads *Sujnāna samgatān*; the translation, we have given, tallies with the emendation.

|| Store-house includes both treasury and granary.

78—79. Agriculture, communications to facilitate commercial traffic, entrenchment of strong-holds for soldiers in the capital,\* construction of dams and bridges across rivers, erection of enclosures for elephants,† working of mines, and quarries, felling and selling of timber,‡ and the peopling of uninhabited tracts—these eight-fold sources of revenue a sovereign should ever enhance; his officers,§ looking up to him for livelihood, should also do so, for maintaining themselves.

80. A weak monarch|| should never hamper his subjects in the profession which they might choose, but should encourage them therein; and specially he should patronize the trading class.

81. Just as an expert farmer intent on reaping a rich harvest secures his field of crop by paling it with thorny

\* It may at first seem curious as to how fortifications for soldiers can be a probable source of income. But we should bear in mind that when merchants and traders are aware that a country is well-protected, they bring unhesitatingly all their merchandise to sell in the markets, and thus unconsciously add an impetus to the commerce of the land, the improvement of which is no doubt the cardinal source of income.

† The same observations we have made regarding fortifications for soldiers being the source of income, apply here also.

‡ The commentary reads *Vanddānam* for *Dhanddānam* of the text; the latter means the 'collection of money'; but it is superfluous to say that 'collection of money' is a 'source of income,' therefore we accept the emendation. The commentary further explains the reading it gives, in the way in which we have translated; but one thing suggests itself to us; it is this; the commentary paraphrases *Vana* by *Sāradāru* i.e., timber; but if the words of this latter compound be inverted, then it will be *Dārusāra* and will mean sandal-wood, in which the Indian forests abound and which is very precious. The reader may judge for himself.

§ For *Karanddhikai* of the text the commentary supplies *Karandhipais* which is more sense-conveying.

|| The word in the text corresponding to our 'weak' is *Kshetna*; weak in matters of finance: this condition may induce him to levy heavier taxes and thus he may obstruct the progress of his kingdom.

plants, and protects it by freely using the cudgel against thieves and beasts that come to destroy it, so should a monarch by the infliction of meet chastisements protect his own kingdom against thieves, depredators, enemies and Foresters. Thus protected, it truly becomes an object of his enjoyment.\*

82. The royal officers, the thieves, the enemies of the land, the king's favourites, and the covetousness of the monarch himself—these are the five sources of apprehension to the subjects.†

83. Removing these five-fold source of fear, a monarch, with a view to increase his *Trivarga*, should in proper season ingather tributes (in the shape of money and crops) from his subjects.‡

84. Just as cows are at one time to be tended and nourished and at other times to be milked, so are the subjects to be helped at one time with provisions and money and at other times to levied taxes upon. A florist both tends and sprinkles water on his plants and culls flowers from them.§

85. A monarch should bleed freely his subordinates swelling with unlawful wealth, like a surgeon bleeding a swelling abscess. Thus stripped of their unlawful gains, they stand by their sovereign like men standing by fire.||

\* For the sake of lucidity we have been a little free in our rendering of the last portion of the Sloka which is very terse in the original.

† This speaks volumes for the political insight of the author.

‡ This Sloka bristles with errors and obscurities, and but for the commentary it would have been impossible for us to render it. The commentary substitutes (1) *Ityaitad* for *apyaitad*, (2) *Apohya* for *Apohyam* (3) *Nripati* for *Nripate* and (4) *falam* for *dhanam*. We can do without the first and last of these emendations but the rest we can not reject.

§ We are here free for lucidity's sake.

|| The last portion of the Sloka has been thus explained by the annotator. Just as people though afraid of keeping in the vicinity of fire can not help handling it for dressing their dishes, so these men though afraid of living near the king can not help doing so for fear of

86. Those foolish and wicked wretches who injure their sovereign in the least, are burnt like insects on the flame of lamps.

87. A monarch should ever endeavour to increase his treasures superintended over by trustworthy persons of financial abilities.\* He should in proper time spend them for the realisation of *Trivarga*.

88. The waning condition of a monarch who drains his treasury for religious purposes is commendable, like that of the autumnal moon whose digits are drank off by the celestials.†

89. The one essential injunction laid down in *Vrihaspati's* work on Polity is "Be suspicious". ‡ The measure of this suspicion should be such as not to hinder in any way the work of administration.

being punished for desertion. The commentary reads *Asakta* for *Amukta*

87. For the first line of the text the commentary reads :—

*Aptai samvardhayait Kosam, sada tajnairadhistitam.*

88. The last portion of the Sloka is based on the tradition which explains the decrease in the digits of the moon during the dark half of a month, by saying that the gods suck them in. We give below the translation of the Slokas that define which god sucks which digit.

'The first digit is drunk by the god of Fire, the second by the Sun, the third by the *Visvadevas*, the fourth by the sovereign of the waters, and the fifth by the *Vasatkara*. Indra drinks the sixth digit, the celestial sages the seventh, and the Unborn Divinity sucks the eighth digit. The ninth digit of the moon in the dark half of a month is sucked in by Yama or the god of Death, the tenth by the Wind god and the eleventh by Uma; the *Pitris* drink the twelfth in equal portions; the thirteenth is sucked by Kuvera, the celestial Treasurer, the fourteenth by *Pasupati* and the fifteenth by *Prajapati*.'

89. For *Shāstrārthanischaya* (the true signification of his work) the commentary reads *Shāstrasya Nirnaya* (the cheese of this teachings) which latter we accept. What *Vrihaspati* enjoins seems to be that monarchs should never implicitly trust any body about them.

90. A king should create confidence in those who have no trust in him; he should not place unusual confidence on those who are already in his confidence. He on whom the monarch puts his faith becomes the favorite of fortune.\*

91. Because human heart is always susceptible of change with the success achieved in any action, therefore a man should look upon such success as indifferently as a *Yogi* with a sedate understanding does regard the concerns of this earth.

92. The glory of that monarch blazes for a long time, whose dependents are fully obedient and satisfied; to whom the subjects are attached for his mellifluous speech and amiable character, and who prudently entrusts his nearest and dearest kinsmen with the task of governing his kingdom.

*Thus ends the fifth Section, the duties of master and servant, in the Nitisára of Kámandaka.*

—:0:—

## SECTION VI.

I. **P**ERFECTLY familiar with the popular customs and with the contents of the *Vedas*, and assisted by skilful† dependents, a monarch should, with close application, direct his thoughts to the administration of his inner and outer states.‡

\* There is a supplement to this Sloka the translation of which we subjoin—'The Goddess of good luck ever attends him and follows him like his own shadow, who is never tired of striving, who is aided by the wise and who is endued with native intelligence.'

† The commentary explains the word thus, 'who are like the king himself, acquainted with the customs and the contents of the *Vedas*.'

‡ The 'inner and outer states' of a sovereign at first would respectively seem to mean, 'his dominions which have been bequeathed to him by



2. His inner state is said to be his own body, and his outer state is the territory over which he rules. In consequence of the relation of mutual support obtaining between these, they are considered to be identical with each other.

3. The growth of all the other constituents of regal power depends upon the dominions of a sovereign ; therefore with all his endeavours, he should acquire and administrate territories.

4. A monarch, who desires to win the good-will of his subjects,\* should carefully cherish his body ; the highest duty† of a king is to protect‡ his subjects ; and his body becomes (directly) instrumental in fulfilling this duty.

5. Monarchs can inflict tortures for the purposes of justice, just as sages can immolate animals for the purposes of virtue ; therefore kings are not tainted with sin when they put impious wretches to death.§

---

his forefathers, and territories which he has himself acquired. But the author explains himself in a different way in the next Sloka.

\* An other meaning is possible, namely 'seeking to be graceful to wards his subjects, a king should preserve his own body.'

† For *Dhāma* of the text, the commentator substitutes *Dharma* which reading we adopt.

‡ For '*Samsaranam*' of the text the commentary suggests *Sam-rakshanam* which latter yields a good signification.

§ For the sake of lucidity we have been a little free here ; the strictly literal translation of the passage will be, 'the sovereigns of the earth, like the sages, can commit lawful harm.' We have rendered *hinsa* into harm ; the sanskrit word is very comprehensive being derived from the root *hius* (to injure life) ; it has no appropriate equivalent in English, for it includes all kinds and degrees of harm, namely, injuries, torture, persecution, death, slaughter &c. What the author means is this :—*Hinsa* or doing harm is universally considered to be attended with sin ; but there are circumstances when even the doing of harm can be justified, and is not attended with sin, for instance, when a king punishes a thief or a murderer, or when a sage sacrifices an animal. These acts of *kinsa* are said to be done for the furtherance of the ends of virtue and justice. The ethics of this principle, from a worldly point of view, is unimpeachable.

6. Anxious for preserving justice, and increasing his wealth by lawful means, a ruler of earth should visit those of his subjects with chastisement, who would venture to stand in his way (of government).

7. That is said to be justice, the administration of which is upheld by venerable people proficient in the codes of law, and that injustice, the execution of which is denounced by them.

8. Thus knowing what is just and what is unjust, and abiding by the decrees of the pious, a monarch should cherish his subjects and should extirpate his adversaries.\*

9. Those sinful favorites of a monarch, who separately or in a body smite against the regal power, are regarded as culpable.

10. A monarch, after having sufficiently accused† the wicked persons who have incurred public displeasure, should do away with them without the least delay, by underhand measures.‡

\*. Lit : traslated *paripanthin* would be 'standing in the way' hence it has come to mean an antagonist. The commentator gives this meaning, viz, those who persecute the subjects. *Pānini* the great grammarian says that the use of this word is only admissible in the *Vedas*, but as a matter fact the word has been freely introduced in their compositions by sanskrit writers. May not the use of this word go to prove the antiquity of this treatise ?

† The reading given in the text is vicious, for it involves a needless tautology. Therefore we accept the reading given the commentary which is '*Pradusya cha Prakāmam hi.*'

‡ Such as assassination, poisoning &c. What the author advises seems to be this :—A king, when he finds that any one among his officers has incurred public displeasure, should try to do away with him ; but he should not use open violence which may have other pernicious results. He must devise some means to saddle the offender with a serious charge ; then he should have recourse to secret measures in order to remove the offender from his path. In the next two Slokas the author suggests a means by which a king may do away with the offender.

11. The king should invite the offender to meet him in a deserted and secret chamber ; when the person would enter the appointed chamber, several menials who had previously been instructed and gathered together by the king,\* should enter after him, with arms hidden about them.

12. Then the royal door-keepers, would seem to suspect these trusty servants who had now entered the room, and would at once begin to search their persons. There-after those armed men would openly declare that they had been employed (by the offender to slay the king).†

13. Thus imputing criminality to the offenders, a king should, for the amelioration of his subjects and for pleasing them,‡ weed out the thorns of his government.

14. As a delicate seed-shoot, nourished and cared for, in due time, yields ample harvest, so also do the subjects of a king.

15. Inflicting punishments heavier than the offences, a king terrifies his subjects, whilst dealing out lighter ones, he is held in contempt by them. Therefore a monarch should impartially mete out chastisements proportionate to the offences.

*Thus ends the sixth Section, the weeding out of the thorns of government, in the Nitisāra of Kāmandaka.*

\* For *Asajnitās* of the text the commentator gives *Asanjnāta* which latter reading we have accepted.

† As we have said in the introduction, the author was a disciple of the celebrated Chanakya whose whole life was devoted to one eternal round of stratagems ; hence it is not to be wondered at, that the author should retain some tortuosity of policy which he had inherited from his preceptor.

‡ What the author means is this :—The people, when well-cared for and cherished by their sovereign, try with all their heart to bring about the prosperity of the latter.

## SECTION VII.

---

1. **F**OR his own safety and for the safety of his subjects, a king should keep his sons under proper control ; for, when left to themselves, these latter might kill him, yielding to an ardent longing for the enjoyment of wealth.

2. Princes, intoxicated with pride and having none to restrain them, are like elephants maddened with shedding\* ichor and having none to use the goad† on them.‡ Labour-

---

\* Here is what Professor Wilson says regarding the fragrant juice exuding from the temples of elephants:—"It is rather extraordinary that this juice which exudes from the temples of the elephant, especially in the season of rut, should have been unnoticed by writers on Natural History. I have not found any mention of it in the works of Buffon nor in the more recent publications of Shaw ; neither do any other writer on this subject seem to have observed it. The author of the 'Wild Sports of the East' states that on each side of the elephant's temples there is an aperture about the size of a pin's head, whence an ichor exudes ; but he does not appear to have been aware of its nature." In the lexicon of Amara this juice is termed *Mada* and *Dānam*, and the elephant, while it flows, is distinguished by the names '*Pravinna Garjjito Matta*.' When the animal is out of rut or after the juice has ceased to exude he is then called *Udhantta* or *Nirmada*. The exudation and fragrance of this fluid is frequently alluded to in Sanskrit poetry. The scent of the juice is commonly compared to the odor of the sweetest flowers and is supposed to deceive and attract bees. c. f. Sloka. 45 Sec I.

† *Ankusa* as applied to elephants means the iron-hook used by elephant-drivers to keep these animals under control when they become unmanageable ; these hooks are technically called goads.

‡ The adjectives, contained in the first part of the Sloka, are applicable both to princes and elephants, each of them having two meanings.

ing under a strong conceit that they are rightfully entitled to the royalty,\* they can kill their royal sire or their brother.†

3. A kingdom, which, princes inflamed with arrogance aspire after, is defended with great difficulty, like prey‡ scented by a tiger.

4. When held under control, these princes, if they find any the slightest weakness in him that exercises authority over them, are sure to slay this latter, like lion-cubs slaying their keepers at any the slightest inadvertence.

5. A monarch should, through the agency of his faithful servants, coach his sons in lessons of humility.§ A dynasty, of which the princes are immodest, speedily meets with its falls.

6. A son of his loins, graced with good manners, should be crowned by the king as the heir-apparent to the throne ; and a prince, transgressing the limits of decent behaviour, should, like a vicious elephant, be tethered to inferior pleasures.||

7. Princes of the blood do not deserve disownment, even when they are hopelessly corrupt ; for, when in distress, resorting to a monarch hostile to their royal sire, they can assassinate the latter.

8. A king should cause difficulties to a prince inordi-

\* The words in the text is *Avimaninas*, in rendering which we have followed the explanation embodied in the notes.

† The commentary explains 'that brother only who is the heir-apparent to the throne or the crown-prince as he is called.'

‡ Lit : translated the word in the text would be 'flesh.'

§ The commentator here very aptly points out that there are two kinds of modesty, one that is born with the man, and the other the result of culture ; both these kinds are indispensable for a prince.

|| 'For then' says the commentator, 'engrossed in low, carnal enjoyments, he will have no leisure to hatch any conspiracy against his royal father.'

nately addicted to any *vyasana*,\* by encouraging him in that *vyasana* :† he should so torment the prince, so that the latter might be speedily transported to the side of his forefathers.‡

9. A monarch§ should always be very careful regarding his conveyances, beds, seats, drinks, eatables, garments, and ornaments and in every thing else.|| He should shun these, even if the slightest suspicion of their being poisoned is present.

10. Having bathed in waters capable of counteracting the (baneful) effects of poison,¶ and having decorated his person with antidotary gems,§ a king should take thoroughly-

\* The lexicographer Amara gives the following significations of *Vyasana* (1) calamity or disaster, (2) fall or defeat (3) and vicious habits engendered by lust and anger, *c. f.* ' *Vyasanam vipadi Vranse dosé Kāmajakopaje.*' The last-mentioned meaning is applicable here. The vices of lust have been said to be ten and the vices of anger, eight in number. (For a full explanation of the term vide Introduction.)

† Another meaning seems possible, which is, 'through the agency of his boon-companions.' The commentator is silent on the point.

‡ This Sloka, of course, suggests the measure, which is to be resorted to, at the very last, when all others have failed, for the correction of an incorrigible prince. It is better, in the opinion of the author, that a vicious prince should die than live to add to the anxieties of his royal father.

§ Having finished his advices regarding the training up of princes, the author now begins his somewhat tedious discourse about the nature of poisons and their effects on various objects and things, as also about the expedients which are calculated to guard a monarch from being administered poison to.

|| The commentary explains, 'even in his intercourse with respectable ladies.'

¶ At the time when the author wrote it was believed, that water guarded and preserved with the flowers and stems of the white *Puskara* (*Nelumbium speciosum*) could nullify the effects of poison. We do not know whether modern Botany ascribes any such virtue to the above-named plant or not.

§ This gem is said to possess antidotary virtues and is fabled to

examined food, being surrounded by physicians well-read in the science of Toxicology.\*

II. *Vringa-rajat* † *Suka* and *Shariká*, ‡ these birds emit distressful notes, being greatly terrified at the sight of a venomous serpent. §

have been vomitted forth by *Gadura*, the great winged enemy of the serpent species, on whom even the virulent venom of the snakes can produce no injurious effect. Even in these days, snake-charmers are found to apply a kind of black stone on that part of their body where the deadly reptile they dangle may happen to drive its fangs. This stone is popularly known as the *visa pāthara* or the poison-stone; it is believed that the stone has power to extract all poison that the system may absorb. We can not vouch for the identity of the *visa pāthara* with the antidotary gem of the author's days; nor can we assert that really the stone has any property for counteracting the effects of poison. For further enlightening our readers on the point, we quote below an ancient Sloka and subjoin its translation :

‘*Rachito Gadurodgāra maniryasya vibhusanam,*

‘*Sthāvaram jangamam tasya visam nirvisatām vrajêt.*’

For him, who has adorned his person with the gem vomitted forth by *Gadura*, all sorts of poisons, either mobile or immobile, are turned into no poison i.e., lose their baneful power. Probably this poison-stone has some affinity with the bezoar (vide *infra* note to Sloka 14th).

\* *Jāngulā*—means poison, the word is very rarely used; *jāngulāvit* is a dealer in antidotes. The use of this compound goes far to establish the antiquity of this book.

† A sort of bird, apparently a variety of the shrike termed *malabar*—*Lanius Malabaricus*.

‡ *Suka* (Parrot) and *Sharikā* (*gracula religiosa*) are represented in all Hindu tales as the male and the female, both gifted with human speech; they are constantly introduced, the one exposing the defects of the fair sex and the other inveighing against the faults of the male sex. The fancy of maintaining these pets seems to have been equally prevalent in the East and the West. As to the fact of their crying out at the sight of a serpent, to which the author alludes, we are not in a position to enlighten our readers.

§ The text of this part of the Sloka is surely vicious. The one difficulty, one has to face in rendering works of this nature, is to detect

12. At the sight of poison, the eyes of the *chokara*\* lose their natural hue, the *chrouncha*† is visibly intoxicated, and the *kokila*,‡ becoming mad, pays his debt of nature.§

13. Always at the sight of poison, a feeling of languor takes possession of creatures. Examining, through one of these methods, his eatables, a king should put them into his mouth.

14. Snakes cannot exist where the droppings of the peacock|| and the *Prisata*¶ are kept. Therefore a king

---

the errors that have crept into them ; the last portion, if substituted by 'envenomed eatables' will convey a meaning appropriate to the text.

\* *Chakora* (*Perdix rufa*) is a crimson-eyed bird that is fabled to live in the air and never to descend on earth. It is said that the bird sustains itself on moon-beams, and so has virtually to starve during the greater portion of the dark-half of a month. Some authorities identify it with the Greek partridge. But the *chakora* resembles the bird of paradise still more closely which latter are described to be the inhabitants of the air, only living on the dew of heaven and never resting on earth.

† *Crouncha*—This bird belongs to the genus of aquatic fowls with cloven feet. It is said to be the same with the heron or the curlew (*Ardea jaculator*) ; the *Crouncha* is well known among Sanskrit writers for its connubial affections.

‡ *Kokila* (*Cuculus Indicus*) is the Indian cuckoo. As in the West, so also in the East, the rich melody of the note of this bird harbingers the arrival of the Spring.

§ Regarding the changes, which, the author says, all these birds undergo at the sight of poison, we can not enlighten our readers.

|| The idea that the fæces of peacocks can drive away snakes has probably originated out of the belief so much current in the East, that the peacocks devour serpents. Naturalists, at least Buffon, do not make mention of any such phenomenon. Here is what he says regarding the food of the peacocks. 'The peacock lives on corn, but its favorite food is barley. However it does not reject insects and tender plants, and so capricious are its appetites that it is not easily restrained from the most unaccountable depredations on the dwelling, the firm, or the garden.'

¶ *Prisata*—is the porcine deer ; regarding the virtues of the dung of *Prisata* we can not enlighten our readers. But an idea suggests itself to us, which is, that the author may refer to the bezoar stone produced by



should always allow peacocks and *Prisatas* to roam at liberty inside his mansion.\*

15. In order to examine the rice offered to him for his meal, a king should at first throw some of it on fire ; then he should throw some of the same to the birds, and watch the indications.

16. †(If the rice is contaminated with poison) then the fumes and flames of the fire will assume a blue color,‡ and it will produce crackling sounds ; the birds (that have eaten the envenomed rice) will also die from the effects of poison.

17. Rice mixed with poison is characterised by the absence of unctuousity,§ by intoxicating properties, by rapid cooling,|| and by pallidness ; and the vapour it emits is light-blue in hue.

gazelles, antelopes, wild and domestic goat and sheep. Two kinds of this stone were particularly esteemed, the *Bezoar orientale* from India and the *Bezoar occidentale* from Peru. Some authorities have asserted that the true occidental bezoar is the production of monkeys. The oriental bezoar was prodigiously in vogue in Asia and in Europe and it used to be administered in all cases in which our present physicians prescribe cordials and other antidotes. This calculous concretion was formerly regarded as an unfailing antidote to poison. Probably the bezoar is the thing which in a previous Sloka the author has denominated as the gem vomitted forth by Gadura.

\* Over and above the usefulness of peacocks and the *Prisatas*, they were considered as objects of luxury by oriental sovereigns.

† The author now proceeds to describe the indications, for the accuracy of which we cannot pledge ourselves.

‡ We can not say, whether or not, what the author asserts will be corroborated by the conclusions of chemistry. But so far we can say, that arsenic or any preparation of it, acted upon by fire, may emit a blue flame and fume. As there are various sorts and kinds of poison, we cannot specify all the reactions that will be produced when they are thrown on fire. The latter portion of the Sloka is self-evident.

§ The commentator explains, 'is not boiled and softened even in the highest temperature.'

|| For *Salyam* of the text the commentary substitutes *Saityam* which yields a rational meaning'

18. Curry contaminated with poison soon becomes juiceless and vapid ; when decocted it yields blue spume, and then its savoriness, delicacy and sapidness are all destroyed.

19. The shine of liquid substances mixed with poison, is either heightened or lightened ; their surface looks bright\* and fringed with foam.

20. The shine of envenomed fluid† becomes blue, of milk and its preparations becomes coppery, of wine and other intoxicating drinks and of water resembles the hue of the *Kokila*‡ ; their dimples become blue and broken and sometimes a little elevated.

21. All hydrous substances,§ when envenomed, soon become faded, and persons well-read in toxicology assert that though not decocted, the juice of these substances seems to be extracted ; their color turns dark.

22. All anhydrous substances|| when mixed with poison becomes withered, and tarnished in color. All acrid things (when envenomed,) become delicate and all delicate things become acrid. Who can say that poisoning destroys a small number of animals ? ¶

23. When smeared with poison, blankets and carpets

\* For *Rājirurdhā* of the text the commentary gives *Rājatdurdham* which reading we adopt.

† Says the commentator 'such as, the juice pressed out of sugarcane &c.'

‡ Vide supra note to Sloka 12th.

§ The word in the text is *Adra* ; the commentary explains the line saying, 'Raw fruits and paddy, when envenomed, become faded in color near their foot-stalk ; never ripening, they appear to be withered and their color turns dark ; so say those who are versed in toxicology.'

|| The commentary hints at a different signification by asserting that *Suska* things mean *Katakas* (bracelets) and other such ornaments.

¶ The last line of the text is surely vicious, as no appropriate meaning can be made out of it. It is a marring interpolation which has been foistered into the text in lieu of a line in the original M.S.

are covered over with black round spots, and stuffs made of cotton\* down and fur, become totally destroyed.†

24. When envenomed, minerals and gems are tarnished with stains ; and their splendour, glossiness, weight, hue, and agreeableness to the touch, are all destroyed.

25.—26. Pallidness of countenance, faltering speech,‡ constant yawning,§ stumbling steps,|| tremor of the body¶ perspiration,\*\* anxiety without cause, casting of watchful glances on all sides,†† avoidance of necessary occupations‡‡ and of their abode—these signs a clever man should mark, as they betray those who administer poison to others.

27. A king should take his medicines and cordials after having made his medical attendants take a portion of them. He should take his drinks and potions and edibles after they had been tasted by those who offer them to himself.§§

28. The female attendants||| of a monarch should place before him only those articles of toilet which have been thoroughly examined and then (packed and) sealed (by the ministers).

29. Whatever things come from unknown persons and sources should be thoroughly examined (before they reach the

\* For *tantu* the commentary supplies *taru* or the barks of trees, which we cannot accept.

† For *Dhansa* the commentary gives *Vransa* which means 'to fall off'. We see no necessity for this change.

‡ For *tagveda* of the text the commentary gives *Vāgvanga* which reading we have accepted.

§ Like one recently awakened from sleep.

|| Supply 'even in level tracks.'

¶ Supply 'in the absence of cold.'

\*\* Even when a breeze is blowing.

†† As if to descry whether somebody is coming to punish them.

‡‡ Such as, cooking of articles of food.

§§ For lucidity's sake we have deviated a little from the text.

||| For *Parichārikā* the commentary gives *Parichāraka* which makes no material difference.

king). A monarch should always be carefully guarded, against his friends and foes alike, by his body-guards.

30. A king should ride on conveyances and vehicles which have either been thoroughly examined by himself or which have been recommended by his acquaintances. He should never pass unknown\* and narrow roads.†

31. A monarch should keep near him, as his body-guards, those persons, all whose secret designs are known to him,‡ whose family had served his own forefathers, who are trustworthy and on whom endowments have been settled.

32. A king should shun at a distance those who are sinful, those who are crooked, those whose faults have been detected§, those who have been ostracised and those who come from the enemy.

33 || A king should not go on board a vessel which is being tossed by the tempest, the crew of which have not been previously tried, which is fastened to any other vessel¶ and which is frail and rolling.

34. In very sultry days, accompanied by his friends, a monarch should immerse himself into waters, which he himself has examined, which are pure and shorn of shoals of fishes and alligators, and on the banks of which, his own soldiers stand in a circle.

\* Unknown both to himself and to his ministers and followers.

† So that he will have no possibility of falling into an ambush laid by his foes.

‡ The commentary explains the word otherwise, viz.—‘whose evil deeds have been seen and overlooked by the king.’

§ The commentary explains, ‘those who act in open defiance to the ordinances of the *Shastras*.’

|| The author now proceeds to give directions which are calculated to insure the safety of kings during voyages and sports and hunting parties and meetings, visits &c.

¶ Or more correctly ‘which is being towed by any other vessel.’

35. Avoiding dense forests,\* a monarch should resort to parks, the inside and outside of which have been thoroughly cleared by the guards. There he should indulge in pleasant pastimes agreeably to his age, and should not plunge headlong into sensual enjoyments.†

36. Desirous of hunting, a light-handed‡ monarch, in order that his aim might not fail, should enter, being followed by a well-disciplined and well-accounted§ army, a wood, the access to which is easy, the outskirts of which have been reconnoitered and are guarded by soldiers, and which abound in game and is (therefore) a suitable place (to hunt in).

37. Even when a monarch wants to see to his own mother, he should at first have the apartments thoroughly searched; he should then enter (the apartments of his mother) being followed by trustworthy and armed guards. He should never linger in narrow and perilous woods.||

38. When a tempest rages blowing dusts and gravels, when dense clouds swelling with rain overspread the firmament, when the sun-shine is exceedingly severe,¶ and when the darkness is impenetrable—at these times, a king should never, during seasons of peace, stir out.

39. At the time of going out and coming in, a king, with a view to display the elegance of his proportions, should pass by high-ways, clearing the crowd that obstruct him on all sides.

\* The commentator explains, 'rendered impassable by copses, creepers and underwoods.'

† According to the commentator, the rendering would be, 'should not run in pursuit of objects of sensual enjoyment.'

‡ That is, 'swift in discharging missiles.'

§ For *Suvega*, the commentary reads *Suvesha* which reading we have adopted.

|| This line is misplaced or there is something vicious in the text; it would be more appropriate to place this line in the beginning of this stanza, in which case it would be taken with the previous stanza.

¶ Supply 'generating great heat and sultriness.'

40. A king should never join a fair or a festive train ;\* he should not go to a place where there is a great conflux of men.† He should never go anywhere, when the appointed hour for such going is past.

41. (During the night)‡ a king should roam inside his own seraglio, being attended upon by hunch-backs, dwarfs, *Kirátas*§ and eunuchs clad in mail and graced with turbans.

42. Honest|| attendants of the harem, knowing the king's pleasure, should, with becoming humility, entertain him with pastimes which have nothing to do with weapons, fire and poison.¶

43. When the king remains inside the seraglio, the guards of the women's apartments, whose honesty has been

\* More lit : 'Entertainments given by native theatrical parties at a fair or festive scene.'

† The text is vicious and for *Falasambādha* we substitute *Fana-sambādha*.

‡ It was a custom with oriental monarchs to wander at night inside their own seraglios and sometimes in their town, in order to inform themselves about the real state of their dominions and whether the subjects are all in peace and satisfied with themselves, or they bear any malice towards them. The author now goes on to give directions which will protect monarchs from being surprised during such rounds.

§ They are a degraded mountain tribe, living by hunting, fowling &c. At first it would seem curious that a king should be advised to take the help of the hunch-backs and dwarfs, incapable as they are, of rendering it, at the time of a surprise. But we should remember that the king is also guarded by a most formidable band of Mountaineers and eunuchs who naturally form the most faithful and vigilant guards. The usefulness of the dwarfs and the hunch-backs lies in their very great intellectual powers. The last portion of our remark is illustrated by *Kurjā* of the Ramayana, the maid of Kaikeyi. The custom of employing eunuchs in protecting the harems was prevalent from time immemorial in Hindustan, whence perhaps the Mahomedans transplanted it to their country.

|| Whose honesty has been tested by the 'test of continence.'

¶ As these naturally breed danger.

commended by the virtuous and who are skilful in the act of protection\* should protect him, with weapons ready for use.

44. Men of the venerable age of eighty and women of the age of fifty,† and orderlies belonging to the harem should be entrusted to look after the purity and cleanliness of the inner apartments.

45. Courtezans, having bathed and changed their garments and being decked with pure ornaments and garlands of flowers, should dance attendance upon the king.‡

46. An attendant of the inner apartments should hold no intercourse with magicians, *Jatilas*§, and *Mundas*|| and harlots. (For, being employed by hostile monarchs, these might induce the attendant to do injuries to his royal master).

47. The attendants of the seraglio should be allowed to go out and come in, only when the things they carry would be known to the guards and when, if questioned, they would be in a position to furnish sufficient reasons for their egress and ingress.¶

\* For *Ayuktakusala*, the commentary gives *Ayudhakusala*.

† The warmth of passions having subsided, they will not indulge in any amorous caprices and intrigues.

‡ The readers may take exception to this Sloka; but admitted or not, it is a fact, that with royalty this vice (of maintaining harlots in their keeping) is more or less prevalent. Perfectly aware of this fact, the author wisely provides courtezans in the harem rather than allow kings to frequent places of evil repute where danger is possible at each step.

§ Lit: those who bear matted locks on their head; here the *Saivites* are referred to.

|| Lit: those who bear a hairless head; the mendicants and *vaishnavites* are referred to.

¶ The last line, the commentary explains thus "to say that they are going on the king's errands."

48. A king should not see any one of his dependents suffering from any disease.\* But when his principal attendant is attacked with any virulent malady, the king should see him (having taken proper precautions for his own safety); for, one afflicted with disease is worthy of everybody's regard.

49. Having bathed and having smeared his person with unguents and perfumes and being decked with garlands of flowers and magnificent ornaments, a king should hold intercourse with his spouse who had also bathed and decked herself with pure garments and excellent ornaments.†

50. From his own apartments, a king should never go to see his royal spouse to the suit of chambers belonging to her. He should not place too much confidence on his wives, even if he might be greatly beloved of them.

51. His brother‡ slew king Bhadrasena, when he was staying in the apartment of his queen.§ The son of his own loins, hiding himself underneath the bed of his mother, slew the king of the Karusa.||

52. The king of the Kasis, when indulging in dalliances in secret, was assassinated by his queen who gave him some fried

\* In order to prevent contagion as well as infection.

† The commentator remarks, 'such nice attention in matters of dress and toilet goes to enhance the affection of the couple, which is very desirable.'

‡ The pertinency of his remark contained in the last line of the previous sloka, the author now goes on to illustrate.

§ The allusions are obscure and in explaining them we entirely depend on the commentary which in some places again is silent. King Bhaddrasena, suspecting some illicit alliance between his spouse and his younger brother Virasena, prohibited all access of the latter to his queen. This exasperated the couple, and Virasena being urged and assisted by his royal mistress assassinated his brother.

|| The ruler of the Karusas incurred the displeasure of one of his wives, for having bequeathed his kingdom to a son of his, by another wife. The displeased lady, with her disappointed son, hatched a conspiracy to assassinate the king and actually carried it into action.



grain mixed with poison to eat, assuring him, at the same time, that they were mixed with honey.\*

53. King Souvira's consort slew him by the poisoned jewel of her waist-band. King Vairanta was slain by the *nupura*† and king Jarusa by the mirror (which both were poisoned) of their queens.

54. King Viduratha fell by the dagger of his spouse which she kept concealed in her hair-knot.‡ A king should avoid all serpentine dealings with his friends, but have recourse to them against his foes.

55. A monarch, whose wives are properly protected (from evil influences) by his well-wishing dependents, holds in his possession this world and the next abounding in all sorts of enjoyments.

56. A king, desirous of securing virtue, should, in due order, hold sexual intercourse with his wives, night after night, having increased his potency by the ceremony of *Vājikarana*.§

57. At the end of the day, ascertaining his routine of business (for the next day), and taking leave of his dependents, and having all necessary acts performed by maid-servants and women, a king should moderately indulge in sleep, grasping his weapons in his hands,|| and being well-guarded by his trusty relatives.

\* The commentary is silent on the point so we can not enlighten our readers.

† A girdle of small bells, a favourite Hindu ornament, worn round the ankles and the wrists, which emits a ringing noise as the wearer moves. Professor Wilson renders it into 'tinkling zone.'

‡ The word in the text is *Veni*, which Professor Wilson explains thus: 'The *Veni* is a braid in which the long hair of the Hindustanee women is collected.'

§ The act of stimulating or exciting desire by aphrodisiacs.

|| For *dshastra* the commentary gives *ashastra* which reading we reject.

58. When a ruler of men in perfect accordance to the rules of Polity, keeps his eyes open to all affairs of the state, then do his subjects enjoy a peaceful sleep being relieved of the burden of anxiety. But when their sire-like\* sovereign is demented (by the objects of plasurę) their sleep is disturbed by apprehensions of the wicked† (thieves, assassins, &c). When the king keeps awake all his myriad subjects cannot sleep.

59. The sages of the past have said these to be the characteristics of a perfect monarch and monarchy. In this way, preserving justice, a ruler of men steps into the status of the foster-father of his subjects.

*Thus ends the seventh Section, the guarding of his sons and his self by a king, in the Nitisāra of Kāmandaka.*

---

## SECTION VIII.

---

—00—

I. **S**UPPORTED by a solvent treasury and an efficient army, assisted by his ministers and officers of state, and secure in his own castle, a central monarch should direct his his attention to the consolidation of his kingdom.‡

---

\* For *Swapiti* of the text, the commentary gives *Swapitari* which yields a better meaning.

† For *Sambhayāt* the commentary gives *Asatbhayāt* which reading we have adopted.

‡ As the word *Mandala* occurs too often in this Section, we should, at the very outset, give our readers an idea of the meaning of this word, so that they might be, hereinafter, able to comprehend clearly what the author would say. *Mandala*, ordinarily, means a circle; derived from this meaning, a secondary signification is ascribed to the word where

2. An warlike sovereign, environed by a number of friendly dependencies and subordinate chiefs, reaches the zenith of prosperity,\* while encompassed by a circle of inimical (royal) neighbours, he wears away like the wheels of a chariot.

3. Like the moon with all her digits full, a sovereign with the constituents of his government perfect,† appears agreeable to all beings. For this reason, a sovereign, desirous of victory,‡ should keep the limbs of his government in tact.

4. Minister, castle, kingdom, treasury and army,—these five have been said, by persons well-versed in Polity to be the principal constituents of a central sovereign.

5. These five and the allied sovereigns and, in the seventh place, the central monarch himself,—these together, have been said by *Vrihaspati* to compose what is known as 'government with seven constituents.'

it is used in political diction. According to our author, *Mandala*, in politics, signifies 'the circle of a king's near and distant royal neighbours.' The number of foes and allies included inside this circle varies according to the opinions of diverse authorities on the subject. As the reader will see, our author has furnished an exhaustive list embodying the opinions of the experts on this point. Generally twelve kings form a *Mandala*, namely, the *Vijigishu* or the central sovereign (lit : one who wants to consolidate his kingdom by obtaining victory over his royal neighbours), the five kings whose dominions are in the front, and the four kings whose dominions are in the rear of his kingdom, the *Madhyama* or the intermediate monarch and the *Udāsina* or the indifferent king. The designations, duties and natures of the kings, in front and in the rear, have been specified by the author himself, and so we need not anticipate him. When the description of the *Mandala* will begin, we shall furnish our readers with a diagram, which we think, will help them in understanding the true signification of the word.

\* The word in the text lit : translated would be, 'appears beautiful.'

† Though the word in the text is *Mandala*, yet on the authority of the commentary, we render it into 'government with its constituents.' This also is another signification of the word in politics.

‡ For the true signification of word vide *supra* note to Sloka 1. also Sloka 6th.

6. A monarch, who is equipped with these constituents (in a thriving state), and is endued with irrepressible energy,\* and is pains-taking and who, ever ardently, longs to obtain victory over others,—such a monarch is worthy of the designation of *Vijigisu*.

7. †Nobility of extraction, serving of the elders (in age and in knowledge), energeticalness, ambitiousness in aims,‡ power of penetrating into the hearts of others, keenness of intelligence, boldness,§ truthfulness,

8. Expeditionousness,|| generosity,¶ humility,§ self-reliance, conversance with the propriety of place and time (for the successful execution of an act), resoluteness,\*\* patience for the endurance of all kinds of sufferings††,

9. Knowledge of all things‡‡ skilfulness, physical strength,§§ secrecy of counsels,||| consistency,¶¶ couragiousness, appreciation of the devotion displayed by servants, gratefulness,

\* The reference is to the *Utsāhasakti*, for which vide note to Sloka I. Sec. I.

† The author now proceeds to enumerate the qualities that are indispensable for the *Vijigisu*.

‡ The commentary explains, 'who disdains to give away things of very small value' i.e., 'who is very liberal.'

§ The commentary explains 'absence of the fear of his councilors.'

|| Lit: translated the word would be 'absence of procrastination.'

¶ Lit: translated, 'absence of meanness (i.e., enviousness).'

§ Also 'absence of covetousness.'

\*\* The commentary explains 'determination of not to abandon one seeking protection.'

†† The commentary explains, 'capability for suffering the pangs of hunger and thirst.'

‡‡ The commentary says 'proficiency in all the arts.'

§§ For *Sadā* of the text the commentary gives *Urjas* which reading we have accepted.

||| 'Owing to his countenance and designs being inscrutable' goes on the commentator.

¶¶ The commentator explains 'avoidance of sophistical reasoning.'

10. Affection for those seeking protection, forgiveness, avoidance of fickleness, knowledge of his own duty\* and of the *Shāstras*,† sagacity, far-sightedness,

11. Indefatigability, righteousness, shunning of crooked councilors, and a natural swell of soul,‡ these are said to be the necessary qualifications of a *Vijigishu*§.

12. Though devoid of all these qualities, yet a king is worthy of the name *Rājan*,|| if only he possesses Regal prowess.¶ A king, endued with Regal prowess, inspires terror into the hearts of his enemies, like a lion striking terror into the hearts of the inferior beasts.§

13. By the substantiation of his prowess,\*\* a king attains to the highest pitch of prosperity; for this reason, always putting forth his endeavours,†† he should establish his prowess.

14. The mark, that distinguishes the enemy of a monarch (from his friends), is the pursuance of one and the same object by the former in common with the monarch him-

\* The commentator specifies the duty saying it to be 'the act of cherishing his subjects.'

† *Shāstras* here mean Military sciences.

‡ The word may yield another meaning namely 'geneality of temperament.'

§ Instead of every time repeating a long-winded phrase we propose to use the original word, which we have explained in a previous note.

|| Lit. 'one who cherishes his subjects.' c. f. *Rājā prakṛitī ranjanāt*.

¶ Vide note to Sloka I. Section I.

§ The last line of the Sloka is hopelessly vicious, which, without the help of the commentary, cannot be at all understood. The commentary reads "*Pratāpayuktāt trasyanti pare sīnghāt mrigā iba.*"

\*\* The commentary, not accepting the ordinary meaning of the word, suggests, 'the fame that a monarch earns by subjugating all monarchs hostile to him.'

†† The commentary adds, 'by way of making war-like preparations, and waging wars.'

self.\* And that enemy is to be regarded formidable who is endued with the characteristic qualities of the *Vijigisu*.

15. A covetuous,† and inexorable‡, and inactive,§ and untruthful,|| and inadvertent and cowardly and delinquent, and injudicious monarch, who dispises skilful warriors, is said to constitute an enemy who may be eradicated with ease.

16. ¶The *Ari*, the *Mitram*, the *Arimitram*, the *Mitra-*

---

\* What the author means seems to be this. 'A monarch should regard those among his royal contemporaries to be his enemies, who endeavour to appropriate to themselves the dominions and wealth, on which he himself has set his eyes. The pursuance of one and the same purpose (regarding a certain territory &c.) by two rival sovereigns, goes to engender ill-feeling and enmity between them. The truth of this proposition needs no illucidation; c. f. 'Two of a trade can never agree.' The reading in this part of the Sloka is vicious and *Avilakshanam* should be *Arilakshanam*.

† The commentator adds, 'hence illiberal; and illiberality estranges his subjects from him, which again renders him materially weak.'

‡ Says the commentator, 'who by his sternness inspires his people with terror.'

§ The king being inactive, the subjects also, becoming lethargic and idle, render themselves susceptible of an easy victory.

|| The subjects also catch the same habit from their sovereign, which materially diminishes their moral courage.

¶ Now the author proceeds to describe what is called a *Mandala*, and he quotes the different opinions of the different authorities regarding the definition of the term. The diagram interleaved represents a *Mandala* containing the three hundred and twenty-four monarchies (each marked by a circle), the highest number, as the reader will see, that is included in a *Mandala*. Of these, the circles marked, 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. are of importance, explanations whereof are subjoined.

The circle marked 1. represents the dominions of the *Vijigisu* or the central sovereign, who wants to consolidate his empire by conquering and befriending the other sovereigns whose domains are represented by circles marked 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. and 12. The circles marked 2. 3. 4. 5. and 6. represent the monarchies which lie in front of the domain of the central sovereign.

*mitram*, and the *Arimitramitram*, these are the five sovereigns

The circle marked 2. represents the dominions of the *Ari* or the enemy (of the *Vijigisu*). The contiguity of these two dominions often gives rise to disputes regarding the boundaries thereof, and so ferment an implacable enmity between the sovereigns ruling over them. It is also generally observed that the adjacency of two monarchies naturally causes disputes between their sovereigns.

The circle marked 3. represents the dominions of the *Mitram* or the ally (of the *Vijigisu*). This alliance results in this way. The dominions of the sovereign of the 3rd circle are adjacent to those of the sovereign of the 2nd circle, and consequently, as before, they become hostile to each other. The sovereign of the 1st circle or the *Vijigisu*, taking advantage of this hostility, befriends the sovereign of the circle marked 3.

The circle marked 4. represents the dominions of the *Arimitram* or the enemy's ally. His kingdom being contiguous to that of the *Vijigisu's* ally, he turns hostile to the latter, and consequently becomes the opponent of the *Vijigisu*, and the ally of his (*Vijigisu's*) enemy.

The circle marked 5. represents the dominions of the *Mitramitram* or the ally of the *Vijigisu's* ally, whose attitude, as may easily be supposed, is friendly to the *Vijigisu* and his allies, and hostile to the *Vijigisu's* enemies and their allies. Here also the rule of contiguity determines the attitude.

The circle marked 6. represents the kingdom of the *Arimitramitram* or the ally of the enemy's ally. His dominions being contiguous to those of the ally of the *Vijigisu's* ally, he naturally stands in unfriendly relations with the *Vijigisu* and his allies. This hostility with the *Vijigisu* prompts him to side with the former's enemies.

The circle marked 7. represents the dominions of the *Madhyama* or the intermediate king, whose dominions are contiguous both to the dominions of the *Vijigisu* and his enemy. So this king may become either an ally or an enemy to either of them. His power and his attitude have been described by the author himself and we need not anticipate him.

The circles marked 8. 9. 10. and 11. signify the monarchies situated in the rear of the *Vijigisu*.

The circle marked 8. represents the domain of the *Pārshnigrāha*, or one who is situated in the rear. The attitude of this monarch has not been defined, which may both be hostile and friendly; but more often it is hostile.

The circle marked 9. represents the dominions of the *Akranda* or the king whose kingdom lies, in the rear, next but one, to that of the

whose domains lie consecutively in front of the dominions of the *Vijigisu*.

17. The king just in the rear of the *Vijigisu* is designated *Pārshnigrāha*; after him comes the *Akranda*; then comes the *Asārās* of these two. This is the *Mandala* of ten kings in respect of the *Vijigisu*.\*

18. The sovereign, whose domain lies intervening† the dominions of the *Ari* and the *Vijigisu*, is denominated

---

*Vijigisu*. *Akranda* has been defined to be a king who prevents an ally from aiding another. If the *Pārshnigrāha* be inimical to the *Vijigisu*, *Akranda* prevents the ally of the *Pārshnigrāha* to join him, and this he can do easily, as his kingdom lies intervening those of the *Pārshnigrāha* and his ally. *Akranda* is therefore naturally friendly to the *Vijigisu*.

The circles marked 10. and 11. represent the domains of the two *Asārās*, or the two monarchs who respectively support the *Pārshnigrāha* and the *Akranda*; they are respectively called *Pārshnigrāhāsāra* and *Akrandāsāra*. Their attitude may be easily divined.

The circle marked 12. represents the dominions of the *Udāsina* or the neutral sovereign; his dominions lie beyond those of the enemies and allies of the *Vijigisu*. The power, nature and attitude of this king have been described by the author himself hereinafter, and so we refrain from entering into details regarding him.

These twelve kings ordinarily constitute what is called a *Mandala*. Of the rest of the three hundred and twenty-four monarchies, no special explanation is necessary, as their respective relation may be considered in the same light as before. The description of a *Mandala* has also been given by *Kullukabhatta* and *Mallinātha* in their respective commentaries on *Manu* and *Sisupālabadha*; *Manu*'s description of a *Mandala* completely tallies with what is given by our author. We need not quote *Manu* here, as the number of Sections and Slokas has been given by the commentator in course of his explanation of every Sloka. The reader may compare *Manu* at his leisure.

\* The commentator in annotating this Sloka says that the *Prāshnigrāha*'s attitude towards the central sovereign is hostile, in spite of which, he is called a *Prāshnigrāha* or a supporting sovereign.

† Strictly speaking, the dominions of the *Madhyama* do not intervene those of the *Ari* and the *Vijigisu*, but verge on them. Refer to our diagram.



the *Madhyama*. His attitude becomes friendly\* when the *Ari* and the *Vijigisu* are united together, and it is hostile to them both when they are disunited from each other.†

19. Beyond the *Mandala* composed of these sovereigns,‡ lies the domain of the *Udàsina*, who is by far the most powerful of them all. He is capable of showing grace to them all, when they are united, and of crushing them when they are separated.§

20. These four, namely, the *Vijigisu*, the *Ari*, the *Madhyama* and the *Udàsina*, have been said to be the principal components of a *Mandala*.|| This is the *Mandala* of four sovereigns described by Maya conversant with the Political science.¶

21. According to Puloma§ and Indra, the *Vijigisu* the *Ari*, the *Mitram*, the *Pārshnigrāha*, the *Madhyama* and the *Udàsina*, constitute what is known as a *Mandala* of six monarchs.

\* This friendliness he shows by helping them with men and money.

† In rendering the last portion of the Sloka, we have been a little free. Lit : translated, it would be, 'this *Madhyama* is capable of showing grace to the *Ari* and the *Vijigisu* when they are united, and he is capable of slaying them when they are disunited.

‡ The reading in the text is vicious, which ought to be *Mandalāt Vahis chaiteshām*.

§ For *Dhyastànàm* read *Vyastànàm* which will yield the proper meaning.

|| The commentary explains *Mula Prakritayas* in a different manner, saying that 'these four constitute the primary source of all the other constituents of government.'

¶ For *Mantrakusala* of the text the commentary reads *Trantrakusala*. *Mantra* means counsel and *Tantra* means here the science of Polity. Maya is one of the many *Acharyyas* or teachers of the people. We can not say whether this Maya built the great court-hall for the son of Pandu.

§ Is the name of a demon, the father-in-law of Indra. For Indra, Vide note to Sec. II. Sloka 35, also Sec. IV. Sloka 21.

22. The *Udāsina*, the *Madhyama*, and the *Mandala* of the *Vijigisu*\*, taken together, constitute the *Mandala* of twelve kings, mentioned by Usanas.†

23. The above-mentioned twelve kings, together with an ally and an enemy of each,‡ constitute the *Mandala* of thirty-six kings§ to which Maya again has referred.

24. The disciples of Manu|| (men) enumerate five *Prakritis*,¶ namely, minister, &c., for each of these twelve kings of a *Mandala*.

25. These twelve cardinal sovereigns, together with their respective five *Prakritis*, constitute the *Prakriti Mandala* consisting of seventy-two elements.§

26. A common enemy of the *Vijigisu* and the *Ari*, and a common ally of them both, these two, each of them again

\* Vide the last portion of Sloka 17th *supra*.

† Another name for the preceptor of the Demons. Vide note, Sloka 8th Section I.

‡ Twelve kings of the *Mandala* and their twelve allies and their twelve enemies raise the number to thirty-six.

§ The text before us has here *sadvingsatkam* or twenty-six, which, no doubt, is a mistake of printing.

|| Vide note to Sloka 3rd Section II.

¶ Hitherto we have rendered *prakritis* into 'the constituents of a government.' Here, according to the commentator, the same meaning applies. But to enlighten our readers on the point, we must remark that *prakriti* also has another meaning in politics, which is 'the circle of various sovereigns near a king, to be taken into consideration in case of a war.' The number of the *prakritis* is, as the reader is aware, seven in all; the five, here referred to, are, according to the commentator, minister, castle, kingdom, treasury, and army. The reader should mark that the allies and the king are left out in this enumeration. Each of these seven *prakritis* is to be considered equal to a sovereign. *Prakritis* rendered into a single phrase would be 'the stamina of a state.'

§ Twelve kings of the *Mandala*, together with the five *prakritis* of each, raise the number to seventy-two. The last part of the text contains a misprint; for *saptatischādika* read *dywadhikāsaptati*. This *prakriti mandala* has also been spoken of by Manu.

with an ally and an enemy of his own, together with the twelve cardinal kings, constitute the *Mandala* of eighteen monarchs mentioned by Guru.\*

27. The six *Prakritis*, namely, minister, kingdom, castle treasury, army and ally, of each of these eighteen monarchs, taken together, form the *Mandala* of hundred and eight elements, which has been recognised by the wise.

28. These eighteen monarchs, each with an ally and an enemy, constitute the *Mandala* of fifty-four kings, spoken of by Vishālāksha.†

29. The six *Prakritis*, namely, minister, kingdom, castle, treasury, army and ally, of each of these fifty-four kings, taken together, again form the *Mandala*‡ of three hundred and twenty-four elements.

30. The seven constituents of the government of the *Vijigisu*, together with the seven constituents of the *Ari*, constitute what is known as the *Mandala* of fourteen components.

31. The *Vijigisu*, the *Ari*, and the *Madhyama* form the *Mandala* of three kings. These three§ monarchs, with an ally

\* Another name for Vrihaspati, for which vide note to Sloka 8th Sec. I.

† Literally means 'of expanded eyes,' but it is an especial epithet of Siva, one of the Hindu Trinity, whose function is to annihilate the world at the end of a *Yuga*. By a reference to the Introduction, the reader will see, that Siva was one among the many who abridged the voluminous work of Brahma on Polity. In explaining this Sloka, the commentary does not follow the text, at least the one before us. It says that 'the *Mandala* of fifty-four elements is composed of the three *prakritis*, viz., minister, kingdom and castle, of each of these eighteen sovereigns taken together.'

‡ Over and above the meaning of the *Mandala* elaborately explained by us, it seems, that it may sometimes mean 'the conglomeration of constituents.'

§ For *Atais* read *Até*.

of each of them, together constitute what others call the *Mandala* of six kings.

32. The six *Prakritis*, namely, minister &c., of each these six kings, taken together, compose what persons conversant with the formation of *Mandalas* designate as the *Mandala* of thirty-six parts.

33. The seven constituents of the *Vijigisu*, those of the *Ari*, and those of the *Madhyama*, taken together, constitute what other politicians call the *Mandala* of twenty-one elements.

34. The four cardinal monarchs of a *Mandala* (viz., the *Vijigisu*, the *Ari*, the *Madhyama*, and the *Udāsina*), each with an ally of his own, become eight in number. These eight kings with their respective *Prakritis*, minister &c., form the *Mandala*, the number of whose components is as many as that of the syllables contained in a stanza composed in the *Jagati*\* metre.

35. Those monarchs who are in the front of the *Vijigisu* and those who are in his rear, together with himself, constitute the *Mandala* of ten monarchs, spoken of by those who are acquainted with the nature of *Mandalas*.

36. The six *Prakritis*, namely, minister, kingdom, castle, treasury, army and ally, of each of these ten sovereigns, taken together, compose what is designated as the *Mandala* of sixty elements by those who are conversant with the nature of *Mandalas*.

37. An ally and an enemy in front of the *Vijigisu*, also an ally and an enemy in his rear, together with himself,

---

\* A kind of metre with twelve syllables in a quarter ; so that the number of the total syllables in a stanza is 12 by 4 or 48. This metre again is divided into fifteen subdivisions, namely, (1) *Indravansa* (2) *Chandravartma*, (3) *Jaladharamāla*, (4) *Jaloddhatagati*, (5) *Tāmarasa* (6) *Totaka* (7) *Drutavilamvitam* (8) *Pravā* (9) *Pramīlāksharā* (10) *Bhujangaprayāta* (11) *Manimāla* (12) *Mālati* (13) *Vaṅgasthāvila*, (14) *Vaiswadevee* and (15) *Sragvini*.

form five in number. The six *Prakritis*, namely minister &c., of each of these five sovereigns, taken together, constitute what is recognised as the *Mandala* of thirty elements.

38. Those best conversant with the *Shastras*\* also recognise these *Mandalas* in respect of the *Ari*. The intelligent ascribe the *Mandala* of five kings and the *Mandala* of thirty elements also to the *Ari*.

39. Parāsarata† says that two *Prakritis*‡ are only to be recognised in polity; of them, the important is he that assails, and the other is he that is assailed.

40. In consequence of the *Vijigisu* and the *Ari* assailing each other, their relation of *Vijigisu* and *Ari* becomes interchangeable. And thus there appears to be one *Prakriti* only.§

41. Thus various other kinds of *Mandalas* have been mentioned (by the Achāryyas of yore). But the *Mandala* consisting of twelve kings is universally known and accepted.

42. He is a real politician who knows a tree||, having

\* For this interpretation of *Dristimatam*, we refer our readers to an earlier note; vide note to Sloka 29. Sec. IV.

† A celebrated sage, the father of Vyasa the famous compiler of the Puranas and the author of the Mahābhārata. Parasara has a *Smṛiti* ascribed to his authorship.

‡ Vide *supra*, note to Sloka 24th; the second meaning is applicable here.

§ What the author means is this. According to Parasara the number of *prakritis* is two. But others again say that, virtually these two *prakritis*, the assailant *Vijigisu* and the assailed *Ari*, are one and the same. The contention of these latter is that, as the *Vijigisu* assails the *Ari*, so also does the *Ari* attack the *Vijigisu*. In this way, the *Ari* also becomes the assailant *Vijigisu*. So, of the *Vijigisu* and the *Ari*, each may be called both the assailant and the assailed. Thus it comes to be only one *prakriti* and this is the *Mandala* of one *Prakriti*, viz., the *Vijigisu*.

|| The author now compares a *Mandala* to a tree.

four roots,\* eight branches,† sixty leaves,‡ two props,§ six flowers,|| and three fruits.¶

43. The *Pārshnigrāha* and his *Asāra* (or the *Pārshnigrāhāsāra*) are said to be allies of the *Vijigisu*'s enemy.§ The *Akranda* and his *Asāra*\*\* (or the *Akrandāsāra*) maintain a friendly attitude towards the *Vijigisu*.

47. Through his own agency and through that of the *Mitram*, the *Vijigisu* should exterminate his enemy (the *Ari*); and through the agency of the *Mitram* assisted by his *Mitram* (*Mitramitram*), he should crush the ally of his enemy (the *Arimitram*).

48. Through the agency of the common ally (the *Udāsina*) and of the *Mitramitram*, a ruler of earth should crush the ally of the enemy's ally (the *Arimitramitram*).

49. Thus, in gradual order, the *Vijigisu* endued with unceasing activity, should crush his ever-molesting enemy

\* The *Vijigisu*, the *Ari*, the *Madhyama* and the *Udāsina*, these constitute the four roots, Vide *supra* Sloka 20th.

† An enemy and an ally of each of these four cardinal kings, taken together, constitute the eight branches of the tree.

‡ The five *Prakritis* of each of the twelve kings of a *Maudala*, taken together, constitute the sixty leaves of the tree. Vide *supra* Sloka 25th.

§ The two primary stays are Destiny and human endeavour.

|| The six expedients to be used by a sovereign in foreign politics constitute the six flowers. For an explanation of these expedients, Vide note to Sloka 16th, Sec. IV.

¶ The results of the application of these expedients, namely, the diminution, preservation and the aggrandisement of the territorial wealth of a kingdom, are the fruits.

§ Consequently the *Pārshnigrāha*'s and his *Asāra*'s attitude towards the *Vijigisu* becomes one of hostility, whereas the attitude of the *Akranda* and his *Asāra* becomes one of friendliness.

\*\* The commentator defines *Akranda* to be 'one who is called upon by the *Vijigisu* to make war upon his *Pārshnigrāha*; from the root *Kranda*, to call. He defines *Asāra* to be 'one that comes to save (the *Vijigisu*) in times of danger.' From the root *Sri* to move, or come.

(the *Ari*), and also him whose dominions lie intervening the dominions of his allies in the front (*i. e.* the *Arimitram*).

44. Having at first caused his enemies in the rear (the *Pārshnigrāha* and his *Asāra*) to be engaged in a war with his friends (the *Arkanda* and his *Asāra*) therein, and, like his enemies in the rear, compelling his enemies in the front (the *Ari* and the *Arimitram*) to be engaged with his friends therein (the *Mitram* and the *Mitramitram*), a king should march out for conquest.\*

45. A ruler of earth should march out for conquest, after having paralysed the ally of the enemy's ally through the instrumentality of a powerful common ally (the *Udāsina*) who had been won over by various good services.†

46. The *Vijigisu* united with the *Akranda* should crush the *Pārshnigrāha*.‡ Through the instrumentality of the *Akranda* assisted by his *Asāra*, the *Vijigisu* should crush the *Asāra* of the *Pārshnigrāha*.

50. Thus hemmed in and opposed on both sides by ever-active and intelligent monarchs,§ the enemy either soon becomes exterminated or resigns himself to the rule of the *Vijigisu*.||

51. By all means, the *Vijigisu* should try to win over to his side an ally common to him and to his enemy. Enemies, alienated from their allies, become easily extirpable.

52. It is causes that create enemies and allies¶ ; there-

\* Thus the enemies in the front and in the rear of the *Vijigisu*, being engaged, they will not be able to watch his movements. So that at any time he will be able to crush them by surprise.

† The explanation, given in the commentary, being a little awkward, we have rejected it.

‡ Which act would be very easy, as the dominions of the *Pārshnigrāha* intervene those of the *Vijigisu* and the *Akranda*.

§ The *Vijigisu* and his ally.

|| For *Cha* read *Vā*.

¶ What the author means seems to be, that men are not born either mutual friends or mutual enemies. There must be some cause or cause

fore, always, should the *Vijigisa* shun such causes that might create enemies.

53. In every part of his dominions, by far, a king should cherish every one of his subjects.\* By cherishing his people, a king enjoys a prosperity developing into the flourishing condition of all the constituents of his government.†

54. The *Vijigisa* should cultivate the alliance of monarchs stationed far off, of those who constitute his *Mandala*, of local governors‡ and also of the Foresters.§ It is those monarchs well-supported by their allies that can consolidate their empire.

55. When out of a desire for conquest, the *Madhyama*, swelling with the *Saktis*,|| marches forth, the *Vijigisa* united to his enemy, should withstand the former; if he is unable to do so, he should submit to make peace with the *Madhyama*.¶

to establish a relation either of friendship or enmity. By causes the commentator understands *Upakāra* or good service and *Apākāra* or injury. It is superfluous to say that the former creates allies, and the latter enemies.

\* What the author means is, that a king should not only cherish his influential subjects, but also those who are poor and helpless. The means of cherishing are *Sāma* &c., for which vide an earlier note.

† The commentator explains the passage differently saying 'enjoys all-round prosperity.'

‡ *Sthāna* has a diversity of meaning in politics. Kallukabhata takes it to signify the essential requisites for a monarchy, namely, army, treasure, town and territory; but this meaning does not apply here.

§ *Durga* ordinarily means a castle, but its derivative meaning is 'that to which the access is very difficult.' The commentator takes it to mean 'forest.' So we have rendered *Durganivāsina* into Foresters. But it may also mean, 'those who hold forts and castles to themselves.'

|| Vide note to Sloka 1st Section I.

¶ The text in the last part of the Sloka is vicious; for *Sandhinānamet* read *Sandhinānamet*.



56. Enemies are of two kinds, namely, the natural and those created by acts. A natural enemy is he who is born in the self-same dynasty with the king,\* and an enemy other than the natural, falls under the second head.

57. Ceding of his own territory†, weaning away of the officers of his enemy‡, and *Karsana* and *Pidana*§ of the enemy in opportune moments,—these four have been asserted, by men proficient in the science of chastisement, to be the duties of the *Vijigishu* in respect to his enemy.

58. Disablement of the treasury and of the machinery for awarding punishments, and the assassination of the prime-minister, these have been defined by *Acharyyas* to be *Karsana*. Acts, still more oppressive than these, have been called *Pidana*.

59. Destitute of all shelter,§ or seeking shelter with

There are two Slokas supplementary to this one, which have been omitted in the text. We subjoin their translations :—

(a). When the *Uddasina* marches forth for conquest, all the other monarchs of the *Mandala*, firmly united together and with a sense of common duty, should await the assault of the former. If they are unable to withstand the former, they should bow down before him.

(b). When a calamity threatens, what ought to be done to avert it, by monarchs united together, for the fulfilment of their objects, is said to be the common duty of them all.

\* Under the category of 'natural enemies' come the congenates and agnates, who have any claim on the inheritance. The second class is the ordinary class of enemies men have, and who are made such, by dealings and behaviours.

† The word in the text is *Uchcheda* which means extirpation. This meaning we should like to accept.

‡ Another meaning is possible, which is, 'undermining the strength of the enemy.'

§ These words have been explained by the author himself in the next Sloka. The nearest approach in English to these words would be 'tormenting and crushing.'

¶ The 'shelters' are specified by the commentator to be, cattle, treasury, and army.

the weak, the *Ari* of the adjacent domain, inspite of his prosperity, can be easily extirpated.\*

60. Of a monarch confident of his shelter, *Karsana* and *Pidana* should be done in opportune season. Either a castle, or an ally of honesty commended by the pious, has been defined to be a shelter.

61. An intestine enemy deserves extirpation, in consequence of his having the power to rob the monarch of all his authority.† Witness, the case of Vibhisana‡ and the son of Suryya,§ whose natural enemies were their uterine brothers (Rāvana and Vāli respectively).

62. An intestine enemy knows very well the laches, actions, and resources|| of a monarch. Thus knowing the

\* As a supplement to this Sloka, Sloka 15th of this Section has been repeated here.

† The word in the text is *Tantra*, which the commentator explains to be 'ministers and kingdom &c.' But *Tantra* also means 'authority,' or more properly, 'the royal prerogative.'

‡ The brother of Ravana the well-known ten-headed demon of the great epic Ramayana. He was extremely sorry for the abduction of Sita by Ravana, and several times advised the latter to restore her to her husband Rama. But the proud Ravana turned deaf ears to all his remonstrances and entreaties. At last Vibhisana, forsaking his brother, repaired to Rama, and became instrumental in destroying his brother Ravana. After the death of Ravana, he was installed on the throne of *Lanka* (Ravana's kingdom) by Rama.

§ The son of Suryya (Sun) is Sugriva the brother of Vali the great monkey chief of *Kishkindhā*. During Vali's absence from the kingdom, Sugriva usurped the throne, considering the former to be dead. But when Vali returned, he had to run away to the *Rishyamukha* hills. His wife was seized by Vali. When latterly, he met Rama, he told the latter how he had been treated by his brother and besought his assistance for recovering his wife, promising at the same time that he would assist Rama in recovering his wife Sita. Rama killed Vali and installed Sugriva on the throne of *Kishkindhā*.

|| For *Karma* and *vittam* the commentary reads *Marma* and *Viryyam*, which respectively mean, 'vitals of the state, or intention' and 'prowess.'

secrets,\* he consumes the latter, like fire consuming a withered tree.

63. †The *Vijigisu* should, with all speed, eradicate a common ally who behaves with open partiality towards the *Ami*, like the wielder of the thunder-bolt‡ slaying Trisiras.§

64. Apprehending his own extirpation, the *Vijigisu* should render assistance to his enemy, when the latter is in danger, being afflicted by a very powerful assailant.||

65. The *Vijigisu* should not seek to extirpate that enemy, by whose extirpation there is the slightest chance of making an enemy of another; but he should turn the latter's domain into a dependency.

66. If a family-born¶ enemy of great implacability is

\* *Antargatas* literally means 'remaining inside or penetrating.' This Sloka, with the alterations in reading noted above, has been quoted in the Section on war of the *Hitopadesha*, Sloka No. 62. We subjoin Sir W. Jones's translation of it. "Our natural enemy knows our former crimes, our heart, and our strength; so that he penetrates and destroys, as fire burns a dry tree."

† The commentator goes on to say that, not only enemies but sometimes allies also deserve eradication.

‡ Or Indra, for which vide note to Sloka. 21 Sec. IV.

§ Trisiras was one of the gods; he was inimical to the interests of Indra; seeing him delight in the supremacy of the Asuras, Indra killed him. There was another Trisiras, a demon by birth, who was killed by Rama.

|| What the author means is that, there are occasions when help ought to be given even to an enemy. When the enemy is in danger of being extirpated, the *Vijigisu* has also reason to fear. For if the enemy's powerful assailant succeeds in driving out the former, he will occupy the domain adjacent to that of the *Vijigisu*. Then the *Vijigisu* will have the sword of Democlese hanging over his head. There are several vicious readings in the text of this Sloka. For *Dwisata* and *Apachaya* read *Dwisatā* and *Upachaya*.

¶ Instead of tiring our readers every time with a long-winded phrase, we take the liberty of coining this compound, which is equivalent to 'natural enemy' defined in Sloka 56th.

seen to deviate from his natural course of conduct,\* then for his subjugation, the *Vijigisu* should incite an enemy born in the self-same dynasty with him (family-born enemy).

67. Poison is counteracted by poison, a piece of adamant is penetrated into by another piece of the same, and a wild elephant is crushed by a rival of known prowess.†

68. A fish devours another fish,‡ so also does a blood-relation, without doubt, destroy another blood-relation. Rāma honoured Vibhisana for the extirpation of Rāvana.§

69. The intelligent *Vijigisu* should never do such an act, the performance of which would agitate|| the whole *Mandala*. He should ever cherish the *Prakritis*¶ and their ministers &c.

70. A king should please his own *Prakritis* by conciliation, gift (or bribery) and bestowal of honour; and he should crush the *Prakritis* of his enemies by sowing dissensions among them and by openly attacking them.

71. The whole extent of the dominions comprised in a *Mandala* is overspread with hostile and friendly sovereigns. Every one of these sovereigns is exceedingly selfish.§ How then is neutrality of attitude possible in any one of them?

72. The *Vijigisu* should afflict even an ally having the

\* Which would be 'to persecute constantly the *Vijigisu*.'

† Hence 'domestic,' so says the commentator. What the author seems to suggest in this Sloka appears to be that, 'to slay a family-born enemy, a monarch should skilfully employ another of the same nature.'

‡ The reference seems to be to the maxim of *Nyāya* philosophy known as *Mātsya nyāya*, vide note to Sloka 40 Sec. II.

§ It was Vibhisana who apprised Rama of the mortal dart being lodged with *Mandodari*, the wife of Ravana.

|| The commentator explains, 'give reason, to the other sovereigns of the *Mandala*, for the persecution of himself.'

¶ The second meaning, given in an earlier note to this word, applies here.

§ I.e. every one is anxious to aggrandise his own interests at the expense of others. So there can be no true alliance among them.

means for enjoyment,\* if the latter goes astray. But when the latter is hopelessly corrupt, then the *Vijigisu* should crush him, for, then he is to be regarded as a very sinful enemy.†

73. The *Vijigisu* should make friends even with his foes, if they become instrumental in his own aggrandisement. He should forsake even his allies, if they are intent on doing evil to him.

74. Either he that seeks to promote real service, or he that is anxious for the welfare of a monarch, is to be regarded as a friend.‡ He is an ally who renders effectual service, no matter whether he is satisfied or not.

75. After grave considerations, a monarch should abjure allegiance to an ally whose offences have been repeatedly brought to notice. But by abandoning an unoffending ally, a monarch destroys his religious merit as well as his worldly prosperity.§

76. A monarch should, at every time and in every instance, enquire into the guilt and innocence of others personally. When he has thus personally found out the guilty, the infliction of punishment becomes praiseworthy.||

\* The commentator says, 'the means is treasure.'

† The commentary paraphrases the word in text by 'still worse.'

‡ The commentary gives a different reading, for which we see no occasion; still we subjoin it. '*Bandhurapyahité yuktas Satrustam Parivarjayet.*' 'A friend intent on doing evil is to be regarded as a foe, and he should be shunned.'

§ For *hi* the commentary reads *Sa*. The last portion is explained by the commentator thus:—'By forsaking an ally, a monarch loses the chance of reaping that worldly profit which otherwise he may have realised.'

|| Compare Sloka 142, in *Suhridveda* (Breach of friendship) in the *Hitopadesha*. We subjoin Sir W. Jone's translation of it.

'Without distinguishing virtues or vices, let neither favor be granted nor severity used; as a hand placed with pride in the nest of a serpent occasions destruction.'

77. The *Vijigisu* should never work himself up with ire, without having obtained sufficient information regarding the real state of affairs. Men regard him as a snake who becomes angry on the innocent.

78. A monarch should be cognisant of the degrees of difference among excellent, mediocre, and ordinary allies. The services, done by these three classes of allies, are accordingly excellent, mediocre, and ordinary.\*

79. A monarch should never accuse others falsely, nor should he listen to false accusations.† He should ever shun them who try to cause disunion among allies.

80. A monarch should be able to comprehend utterances known as *Prāyogika*,‡ *Mātsarika*,§

---

\* Compare Sloka 69 Hitopadesha, Section *Suhridveda*. 'Three sorts of men, O king, the highest, the middle and the lowest; let their master exercise them alike in three sorts of employment.'

† For the first portion of the Sloka, compare Hitopadesha Sloka 141 Sec. *Suhridveda*. We subjoin Sir W. Jones's translation.

'Let not a prince punish men from the words of others; let him examine the facts, himself, and then imprison, or dismiss with respect.'

‡ *Prāyogika*—Lit: relating to *Prāyoga* or the expedients of foreign policy (Vide note to Sloka 51. Sec., V.); hence *prāyogika* utterances are those that are calculated to promote the interests of foreign policy. For instance, we quote below, from the Drama *Mudrārākshasa*, the words, the *Vaitālīka* (ministrel) deputed by Rakshasa uttered, with a view to estrange the alliance between Chanakya and Chandragupta, when these latter merely feigned a quarrel.

*Bhusānadyupabhogēna prabhurbhavati na prabhus,*

*Parairaparibhutojnairmanyatē twamiba prabhus.*

'Lord are not lords for their enjoyment of ornaments &c., but they are regarded to be so by the wise, for, their authority can not be thwarted by others.' The *Vaitālīka* knew perfectly well that Chandragupta virtually had no authority independent of the power of Chanakya, and to bring home into the former's mind the subserviency of his position, he uttered the above words, expecting thereby to sow dissensions between them.

§ *Mātsarika*—These are utterances indicative of *Matsara* or indignation or spite; when such expressions, the speaker wants to thwart the measures of pol. adopted by an enemy or his emissary, by apprising

*Mādhyastham,\* Pākshapātikam,† Sopanyāra,‡ and Sanusaya.§*

the latter that he is perfectly cognisant of his machinations and intrigues. For instance, we quote from the above-named Drama, the words of Chanakya in reply to the words of the *Nata* (actor).

*A ! Ka ēsa mayisthitē Chandraguptam Abhivābitumichchati.*

(Chanakya in the tiring room)—What, who is he that wants to crush Chandragupta, so long as I am here.

\* *Mādhyastham*—These are utterances expressive of outward indifference towards a certain matter while there may be real concern about it in the mind ; or as the commentator adds, words that do not betray any malice, but on the other hand express friendliness and a conciliatory spirit. For instance, we quote and translate from the same Drama, the words Chanakya uttered, when he was apprised of the movements of Rakshasa's family.

*Nanu Suhrittomas na hyanātmasadrisesu Rākshasa Kalatram nyāsee Karisyati.*

'Surely our best friend Rakshasa will not entrust the protection of his family to one unworthy of his friendship.'

† *Pākshapātika*—These are utterances signifying an excessive partiality for one's own party. For instance, we quote from the said Drama, the words Chanakya uttered (aside), when he put in his finger the signet ring of Rakshasa presented to him by his spy.

*Nanu Rākshasa eba Ashmākam Angulipranayee Samvrittas* 'surely even Rakshasa himself will now like our finger.'

‡ *Sopanyāsam*—These are words uttered, with an under-current of irony, to invite one to take his seat near his superior, with a view to throw the former off his guard. (From *upa* near and *nyāsa* to sit). For instance, we translate, from the same Drama, the dialogue between the Banker Chandanadasa, and Chanakya.

Chanakya—All hail, O Banker, sit thyself on this seat.

Chandanadasa (doing obeisance)—Dost thou not know, O sire, that undeserved welcome causes greater pain to the sincere than even the most biting sarcasm ? So permit me to sit on this bare earth which is fit for me.

Chanakya—Not so, not so, O Banker ; you deserve to sit with us, so occupy this seat.

Chandanadasa (aside)—I know not what to do, he is so at.

§ *Sanusaya*—These are utterances that indicate repentance for

81. He should not openly take the side of any one of his allies, but should encourage a feeling of rivalry among them in securing his grace.\*

82. As the responsibilities of royalty are very onerous, a monarch therefore, adapting himself to circumstances, should, overlooking the prominent failings of even his mean allies, attribute to them qualities which they do not possess.†

an act or omission resulting in an irreparable loss. We quote and translate from the same Drama.

*Rākshasa—Mayi sthitē kas Kusumapuram abarotsasi. Praviraka Praviraka, kshipramidāning,*

*Prākārān paritas sarāsanadharais kshipram parikshipyatām,*

*Dwāresu dwiradais paradwipaghatāvedakshamais stheeyatām.*

*Muktā mritubhayam prahartu manasas satrorvalē durvalē*

*Tēs niryāntu mayā sahaika manasas yesāmabhistam yasas.*

*Virādha—Amātya, Alamādvégēna, Vrittamidam varnyatē.*

*Rākshasa—Katham vrittamidam, mayā punarjndtam sa eba kālā varittate.*

Rakshasa (drawing his sword)—Who dares invade the city of Kusumapura whilst I am here. Ho, Pravirarka, Praviraka, 'Let men with bows and arrows speedily mount guard on the ramparts; station in the city-gates, elephants capable of rending the temples of those of the enemy. Let those, who want to crush the weak host of the enemy and who desire to acquire fame, follow me with a singleness of purpose, disregarding of the fear of death.

Viradhas—Minister, this excitement avails nothing. I was only recounting what had already happened.

Rakshasa (shyly)—What, mere description! I thought that, that hour has come back again.

For *Samsaya* in the text, the commentary gives *Sānusaya*.

\* What the author means is this. 'If a king shows any marked partiality for any individual ally, then the others are estranged from him.'

† What the author means seems to be this.—To aggrandise his own interests, a monarch may even have recourse to sycophancy; and he should neither hesitate to attribute good qualities to persons who do not really possess them, nor should he take notice of any vice in any one of his allies.



83. A ruler of earth should secure to himself a large number of allies of various descriptions. For, a monarch, supported by a large number of allies, is capable of keeping his enemies under his sway.

84. The danger, which the true ally of a sovereign runs to remedy the evil that has befallen the latter, that danger is such, that even his brother, father, or other people cannot face it (for his sake).\*

85. A king should not assail an enemy, who is being supported by his allies of firm vows. This is the one duty to be observed in a *Mandala*, and this has been mentioned to be so, by those who know how to consolidate an empire.

86. A *Mandala* virtually consists of allies and enemies and the *Udāsina*; and the purification of the *Mandala* means the purification of these three.†

87. Thus a monarch, treading the path of justice, and bringing about the purification of the *Mandala* with all endeavours, shines resplendent like the autumnal moon of pure beams, affording delight to the hearts of the people.

Thus ends the eighth Section, the construction and characteristics of a *Mandala*, in the *Nitisāra* of *Kāmandaka*.

—00—

---

\* The author wants to insinuate the superiority of an ally to one's father, brother &c.

† Consolidation means the subjugation of these kings, and the alliance with,

## SECTION IX.

1. **W**HEN assaulted by a monarch,\* more powerful than himself, and (thus) involved in a great jeopardy, a ruler of men, having no other remedy,† should seek peace, delaying as much as possible.‡

2. §*Kapāla, Upahāras, Santānas, and Sangatas; Upānyāsas, Pratikāras, Samyogas, Purushāntaras,*

---

\* In lieu of *Valiyasābhīyuktastu*, the commentator suggests a different reading *viz. Valavatvigrihitastu*; this does not materially change the signification. 'Power' must be taken here, as before, to be synonymous with *Prabhāva* or the *Saktis*, for which vide note to sloka I Sec I.

† The commentary explains, 'deprived of the support of his allies, and the security of his castles, wherewith to withstand the invador; thus highly distrssed.'

‡ The meaning of the author is more clearly explained by the commentator thus:—"The assailed king should not, with unceremonious haste, ratify a treaty or peace; he should occupy as much time as possible in settling the preliminary negotiations, thus leaving room for himself to fall upon the assailant, if through chance, some calamity in the meanwhile, overtake the latter; but this would be impossible if the treaty be ratified before the advent of the calamity."

In his translation of the *Hitopadesha* in which these *Slokas* have been embodied, S. W. Jones curiously renders this sloka thus:—"When a prince is engaged in war with a stronger prince, there is no other remedy. When he is in danger, let him seek peace, and reserve his exertions for another occasion."

§ The author now proceeds to enumerate the different kinds of peace, the number of which, as the reader will presently see, is so many as sixteen. These *Slokas* have been incorporated *verbatim* in the *Hitopadesha* (Salutary counsel) of Vishnu Sarman, which undoubtedly is a later work (see Introduction). In the several following *Slokas*, the author himself explains these kinds of peace, and the provisions for each of them.

3. *Adrishtanaras, Adishtas, Atmàmisha,\* Upagrahas, Parikrayas and Uchchinnas and Paribushanas,†*

4. And *Skandhopaneyas* ; these sixteen kinds of peace<sup>n</sup> are celebrated. Thus have they, who are learned in peace-making, named sixteen sorts of peace.‡

5. Only that kind of peace is said to be *Kapàla-sandhi,§* that is concluded between two parties of equal resources. The peace that is concluded through the offer of presents is called *Upahàra.||*

\* In the enumeration contained in the Hitopadesha, referred to above, we find *Atmàdishtà* for *Atmàmisha*.

† In the Hitopadesha we have *Parabhusana* for this designation.

‡ The slokas marked 2. 3. 4. should be read all together.

§ As to the interpretation of the first line, opinions vary considerably. The word in dispute seems to be *Samasandhitas*, which is a compound formed of the two words "*Sama*" or equal and *Sandhitas* or peace. Some explain this to mean (1) "Peace" in which the considerations for the parties are equal ; no one deriving advantage over the other ; or "peace on equal terms." (2) Others explain it to mean, 'Peace between two contending parties whose resources (*Saktis*) are equal, and where no surrender of troops or treasure is made by any of the parties. (3) Others again, who number S. W. Jones among them, explain it thus, their explanation being more etymological. "*Kapàla*" means a potsherd or a piece of broken jar. Just as an earthen jar broken in some portion when repaired by the placing of another sherd on the broken part, appears to be intact, but as in reality it is not so, so the peace that is concluded by mere words of mouth and where there is no pledge or promise indicating a permanent alliance, is said to be *Kapàla-sandhi*. This kind of peace can be violated at any time, as the parties to it are not bound by any formal pledge or promise. Hence it comes to what S. W. Jones has termed it, *vis.*, a simple cessation of hostilities. The commentator accepts this last interpretation.

|| *Upahàra* means presents or gifts in general. Sometimes the use of the word is limited to 'complimentary gifts or gifts to a superior alone.' The latter meaning seems to be more appropriate here, inasmuch as the commentator explains *Upahàra-sandhi* thus:—'Peace that a vanquished monarch concludes with his conqueror by surrendering to the latter his army and treasury, is called *Upahàra*.' The nearest approach

6. *Santāna-sandhi*\* is that which is concluded by a king by giving a daughter in marriage to his royal adversary. That peace is named *Sangata*† which is founded on friendship between good men.

7. This kind of peace lasts as long as the parties to it live; under it, the parties identify their acts and their resources; ‡ it is not broken by any cause whatever, either in seasons of prosperity or adversity.

8. This kind of peace namely *Sangata-sandhi* is excellent, § like gold among other metals. People versed in peace making also call this *Sandhi*, *Kānchana* or golden.

in English to *Upahāra* in this connection would be, "indemnity, or presents given as the price of peace."

\* *Santāna* means a child; therefore *Santāna-sandhi* has been taken to mean 'peace made through the giving up of one the female children of the family.' The compound *Darikādāna* means, 'to give a daughter (*Dārikā*) in marriage.' S. W. Jones is not very clear in his translation of this passage; he renders it thus:—"Santāna is known by having first given up one of the family."

† In the body we have given the rendering of S. W. Jones. A strictly literal translation of the passage would however be this; 'That is called *Sangata-sandhi* by the pious, of which the foundation is laid in friendship. *Sangatas* means 'union,' hence *Sangata-sandhi* has come to denote 'association and intimacy resulting from friendship.' In the next two Slokas, the author puts forth the other distinguishing marks of this kind of peace, and tries to prove its superiority over the rest.

‡ The word in the text is *Samānārtthaprayojanas* which is a compound formed of three words, viz., *Samānā* (identical), *Artha* (treasure) *Prayojana* or (necessities). The commentator takes *Prayojana* to mean, 'acts done for the furtherance of righteousness, worldly profit, or the attainment of desires. What the author means seems to be this:—"Those that are bound by the ties of this particular kind of peace do not observe any difference with regard to their respective treasures and acts. They consider one another's wealth and interest as good as their own, and act accordingly."

§ For *Prahrista* of the text, the commentary reads *Prakrista*, which undoubtedly is an emendation.

9. Peace that is concluded with a view to bring into a remarkably successful termination all the controversies of the occasion, has been named *Upanyāsa*\* by those acquainted with its nature.

10. 'I did him good, he will also do so to me'—when peace is concluded under such considerations, it is called *Pratikāra-sandhi*.†

11. 'I shall do him good, he will also do so to me,'—when peace is concluded under such considerations, it is called *Pratikāra-sandhi*;‡ and it was such an alliance that was formed between Rāma and Sugriva.§

12. When two parties join one another for accomplishing an act that is equally interesting to both of them, and if they

\* Opinions also vary regarding the definition of this kind of peace. For *Ekārtha* of the text we have substituted *Sarvārtha*. The commentator however does not change the reading, but explains the word *Ekārthasamsidhi* thus, viz., the fulfilment of one of the objects of desire. According to the commentator then the definition is something like this;—*Upanyāsa-sandhi* is that in which the parties come to conclude it with a previously-formed resolution that, by such conclusion of peace some of their objects will be fulfilled, such as, the acquirement of a certain territory, &c. The translation given by S. W. Jones of this passage is incomprehensible to ourselves. We therefore quote it below for our readers to judge. 'Upanyasa—prosperity through wealth being given, and thence peace concluded by those empowered to make it.'

† To make our meaning explicit, we subjoin S. W. Jones's definition of this kind of peace.

"*Pratikāra* is peace concluded through benefits conferred and received." The reader should mark the past tense in 'I did &c.,' for in the next Sloka, the author gives another definition of *Pratikāra* in which a slight and insignificant change in tense only occurs.

‡ The definitions of *Pratikāra* embodied in Slokas 10 and 11 are both covered by the one given by S. W. Jones. The distinction between these two definitions, is immaterial.

§ For the allusion contained in this part of the Sloka, refer to an earlier note (vide note to Sloka 61, Section VIII). Though it is not explained in full there, it will be enough to serve our present purpose.

enjoy one another's confidence, the peace that is then concluded between them, is called *Samyoga*.\*

13. 'The best of your troops should join those of mine to aggrandise my interests'—when under such a condition dictated by the conqueror upon the conquered, peace is concluded, it is called *Purushântara*.†

14. 'You shall have to accomplish this act for me, without getting any help whatever from me'—when under some such condition specified by the (conquering) enemy, peace is concluded, it is designated *Adrīstapurusha-sandhi*.‡

15. When peace is made with a powerful adversary through the cession of a portion of the territories, it is called *Adīsta-sandhi* by those who are versed in the principles of peace-making.§

\* *Samyoga* literally means a 'firm union,' and what can bring about a firm alliance but a common by interest? Here also the definition given by S. W. Jones is very curious. We give it below.

*Samyoga*—Where the advantages are equal.' If this definition is accepted, *Samyoga* virtually becomes identical with *Kapāla*.

† For *Madārtha*, the commentary gives *Sadārtha*, and explains it to mean 'acquirement of territory,' &c. The definition of this kind of peace would be something like this—"Purushântara sandhi is that, to secure which the weaker party surrenders his troops to the use of the stronger." S. W. Jones's definition is entirely different, and we know not what the cause of it may be; it is this:—

*Purushântara*—When two monarchs meet face to face in battle, the wealth of one procures peace.

‡ *Adrīsta-purusha* is a compound formed of *Adrīsta* (not seen) and *Purusha* man. Hence *Adrīsta-purusha Sandhi* is that, in which some of the conqueror's men are bound to help those of the conquered, when the latter called upon by the former, goes to perform some act for the former's benefit. The definition given by S. W. Jones is incomprehensible. It is this:—"Adrīsta-purusha—when after peace, thus bought, the foe joins in a treaty."

§ The commentary gives a different reading for *Ripuvarjita* viz, *Ripururjita*. This makes the meaning of the Sloka more explicit and therefore we have accepted it. The original if translated literally will stand thus, though the difference between the two translations (one in

16. The compact that is formed between a sovereign and his own troops, is called *Atmàmisha-sandhi*. Peace that is concluded for the preservation of self by the surrender of everything else, is called *Upagraha-sandhi*.\*

17. Where, for the preservation of the rest of the *Prakritis*,† peace is concluded through the surrender of a part or the whole of the treasure,‡ or by giving metals other than gold and silver,§ it is called *Parikraya*.||

18. *Uchchinna Sandhi* (destructive peace) is so called inasmuch as it is concluded by the cession of the most excellent lands to the foe. *Paribhusana-sandhi*¶ is that which is concluded by giving up the products of the whole territory.

19. That kind of peace, in which the indemnity (in money or territorial produces) agreed upon by the parties

the body and the subjoined one) will be very immaterial. "When an enemy is shunned by the stipulation that a portion of the territory should be ceded to him, and when peace is concluded accordingly, it is called *Adista* by those versed in the principles of peace-making." S. W. Jone's definition is as follows. "*Adista*—Where land is given in one part."

\* The definitions, given by S. W. Jones, of these two kinds of peace are as follows :—

*Atmàmisha*,—that concluded with a king's own forces.

*Upagraha*,—that concluded for the preservation of life.

† For *Prakritis* vide note to Sloka 24 Section VIII.

‡ This is also a *Prakriti* (vide note referred to above).

§ The original word is *Kupyam* which means a base metal, hence, any metal, except gold and silver.

|| The following is the definition given by S. W. Jones, in which he has omitted one element. '*Parikraya*—that concluded by a part or the whole of the treasure.'

¶ In different texts this word *Paribhusana* is substituted by one of the two words *Parabhusana* and *Paradusana*, the latter being the reading of the commentary. S. W. Jones, definitions are :—“(1) *Uchchana*,—concluded by giving the most excellent lands, (2) *Parabhusana*—concluded by giving up the fruits arising from the whole territory.”

is given by instalments, is called *Skandhopaneya sandhi*,\* by those who are conversant with the natures of peace.

20. Of these sixteen sorts of peace, the following four—viz—(1) that concluded through benefits conferred and received (*Pratikāra*), (2) that through friendship (*Sangata*) (3) that through (marital) relation-ship (*Santāna*) and (4) that through the presentation of gifts (*Upahāra*)—are mostly recognised.

21. In our opinion, the *Upahāra* is the only sort of peace that deserves the name. Except that concluded through friendship, all the other kinds of peace are only varieties of the *Upahāra*†.

22. Inasmuch as a powerful assailant never returns without obtaining (considerable) presents, therefore is it said that there is no other kind of peace more excellent than the *Upahāra*.‡

\* Different interpretations of this sloka have been suggested. We however have followed the commentary, which has introduced one emendation into the text viz., *Skandhaskandhena* for *Skandhas Skandhena*. Another explanation is this :—*Skandhopaneya-sandhi* is that in which the vanquished party is required to carry what the conquer may demand of money &c., on his shoulder to the place of the latter. The framer of this definition has evidently erred by trying to be too much true to the etymology of word which is *Skandha* (or shoulder) and *Upaneya* (to be carried). What S. W. Jones gives is this :—“Where only a part of the produce of the land is given.”

† If the reader examines the definitions of these fifteen kinds of peace, save that of the *Sangata* (which is formed through friendship), he will find that every one of them contains the elements that are essential to the *Upahāra-sandhi*,

‡ What the author means seems to be this :—A powerful monarch invading another's territory does so with a view to obtain handsome booty and unless he is offered valuable presents he will not give up his attempt. And it is the *Upahāra-sandhi* that enjoins the weaker party to offer those presents. Thus the *Upahāra* is the kind of peace that is ordinarily concluded ; hence its superiority.



23. \*A young prince†, an old one, one long sick,‡ one discarded by his cognates,§ a cowardly sovereign,|| one having cowards for his followers,¶ one covetous,\*\* one whose officers and followers are greedy and covetous,††

24. One whose *Prakritis* are disaffected,‡‡ one excessively addicted to sensual pleasures, one who is fickle-hearted about his counsels,§§ one who desecrates the gods||| and the Brahmanas,

\* The author now proceeds to specify the parties with whom peace should not be concluded. These parties, as the reader will see, are twenty in number. Immediately after, the author, furnishes reasons why peace should not be made with them.

† The Sanskrit word is *Vāla* and S. W. Jones renders it into "A boy"; of course what the author means is not an ordinary boy, but a boy-king.

‡ This is S. W. Jones's translation, the original word is a compound, meaning literally "one suffering long from an illness."

§ S. W. Jones's rendering is 'an outcast.' Ours is strictly literal.

|| Who flinches from a fight.

¶ S. W. Jones's translation of the original word is curious; it is, 'a cause of terror.' It is incomprehensible, inasmuch as 'a cause of terror' is rather the party with whom a hasty conclusion of peace would be politic. Our rendering is appropriate and strictly literal.

\*\* A covetous prince naturally appropriates all booties to himself, and deprives his soldiers of their rightful dues. Thus he cultivates their ill-will, which goes to weaken him materially.

†† If the followers of a king be covetous, they do not hesitate to sacrifice their sovereign's interests for a paltry consideration. Such a prince therefore, is always in danger.

‡‡ For *Prakriti* refer to an earlier note. The *Prakriti*'s when dissatisfied undermine the king's power and bring about his speedy fall. S. W. Jones renders the original word into 'ill-natured.'

§§ The prince who divulges prematurely his counsels, renders himself susceptible of an easy victory. S. W. Jones's translation is wide of the mark here also. This is it :—"He who has many schemes and different counsels."

||| S. W. Jones's rendering is this, a contemner of the gods and priests. It is believed that when the gods and the Brahmanas are

25. One who is under the influence of adverse fate,\* one who relies too much on chance (or fate),† one who is famine-stricken,‡ one whose armies are in disorder,§.

26—27. One in an unfamiliar land,|| one whose foes number many, one who takes not time by the fore lock,¶ one devoid of truth and justice,\*\*—let not a wise king conclude peace with these twenty sorts of persons, but let him ever harass them in war; for, these, when assaulted, speedily fall under the sway of their enemy.

offended they can bring about the ruin of a king. For 'gods' some substitute 'his family-deities,' these latter are special images that receive homage from the family as long as it continues.

\* S. W. Jones's translation is "one who denies Providence." Probably the translator has been misled by the word *Upahatas*, which when compounded with *Daiva* has a different meaning altogether.

† A king depending too much on Providence, is consigned to a singular inactivity which goes to ruin him.

‡ What the author means is this:—"When the king's territory is visited with a famine, his subjects being starved, he naturally becomes incapable of fighting.

S. W. Jones's translation is this:—"One who gains a little by beggary,"

§ Supply 'through the prevalence of maladies, discontent and disobedience, &c.'

|| The original word is *Adesastha* which means 'dislodged from his natural site,' and hence, deprived of the security of his castles and advantages of the soil and trenches and ditches and fortifications in it. S. W. Jones gives:—"One who is in any foreign country.'

¶ S. W. Jones's translation is this:—"He who takes not the right time for action.' Some interpret the word in a different way thus:—"When the king comes upon evil times and hard days," this latter meaning is strained. So we do not accept it. Another which is possible and meaning seems to be a little is more correct, is 'one who fights not in season.'

\*\* A prince void of truth and justice, is alienated from his subjects by his mal-treatment of them.

With these parties a king should not make peace, inasmuch as if war is waged against them, the chances of defeat will be very little. So it would be impolitic to allow these kings their liberties through peace.

28. \*People wish not to fight for the cause of a boy-king on account of his want of *Prabhāva*.† For, what man would fight for the interests of him who himself is unable to defend them, and who again is not in any way bound to him (by the ties of kinship).

29. An old king and one long sick, should not be concluded peace with, inasmuch as they are devoid of that element of regal prowess known as *Utsāha Sakti*,‡

\* Having specified above the parties with whom it would be impolitic to conclude peace, the author now proceeds to show where the weakness of those parties lie, by a knowledge of which an assaulting monarch is sure to obtain advantage over them. The gist of what the author has said above and what he is going to say, seems to be this that, "Fight with those who would fall an easy prey to you, and do not conclude peace with them." The strength of the twenty different sorts of persons enumerated above, is undermined some way or other, and they therefore, are very susceptible of being defeated and dethroned. A wise king therefore, should not give these parties the benefit of the peace with him, but should add to his own territorial wealth by incurring the least trouble and danger.

† A young prince is naturally weak and is unacquainted with the tortuous courses and consequence of political measures, such as war and peace. His ministers, army, followers, &c., do not entertain that amount of regard for him which would deter them from violating his authority. He himself again is physically incompetent to face the hardships of a war and to lead legions to fight. For these and many other such reasons, his subjects hesitate to risk a battle for his sake and under his leadership. In this way, he is materially weakened, and is left to the mercy of the assailant, who if prudent, should not conclude peace with him, but would crush him. (For *Prabhāva* vide note to Sloka 1, Section I.)

In rendering the first portion of the sloka, S. W. Jones commits what seems to be a mistake. His translation is this :—"Men seek not to war with a boy on account of his weakness, nor with an old man or an invalid, through want of power in them to transact business." But the author has been specifying the parties against whom war is to be waged and who should not be concluded peace with.

‡ For *Utsāhasakti*, vide note to Sloka 1, Section I.

and are sure to be crushed by their own kinsmen (or subjects).\*

30. A king forsaken by his kinsmen, becomes easily extirpable,† moreover they of his own family would destroy him, if they could be won over by some personal good service.‡

31. A coward, by abandoning battle, flies to his own end.§ And even a brave monarch is deserted on the field of battle by his men, if these latter be cowards.||

\* In rendering this Sloka we have been a little free in the use of words, with a view to make the sense all the more clear.

† So peace should not be made with him; but his dominions should be confiscated, as he would not be able to offer the least resistance, being deprived of the assistance of those who alone would have fought hard for him.

‡ The last word in the text is a compound formed of *Swartha* (self-interest) and *Satkrita* (gratified). Hence it means,—“Gratified (with the assailant) for his having helped in the furtherance of his selfish interests.” What the author wants to impress seems to be this, that the assailant, when he proceeds against an out-cast-king, should win over the latter's alienated relations by helping them in advancing their personal interests; then through their agency, he should pull down the out-cast.

S. W. Jones's translation is as follows:—“An out-cast is deprived of happiness; even they of his own family seek to destroy him for their own credit.”

*Swartha Satkrita* may mean also, “for subserving their own selfish interests”, but it can never have the meaning ascribed to it by S. W. Jones, neither can *Sukhochedya* have the meaning given to it by the same scholar.

§ A cowardly king, through a natural aversion for war, ever shuns it; and that being the case, when attacked, he is sure to surrender himself unconditionally to the assailant, which means his destruction. So, it would be impolitic to make peace with him whose kingdom could be appropriated by a mere contraction of the brow. S. W. Jones's translation is given below. “A coward, through aversion for wars, naturally flies away.”

|| A king whose men and ministers are so many cowards, cannot

32. The troops of a covetous monarch,\* will not fight, inasmuch as he pays them poorly,† And the king, whose officers are greedy and covetous, is destroyed by them when they are bribed by the enemy.‡

33. The king, whose *Prakritis* are disaffected, is deserted by them at the prospect of a war,§ and he who is excessively addicted to sensual pleasures, becomes so weak as to be easily crushed.||

---

stand before an assailant, in spite of all his bravery ; for they would surely abandon him to his fate, at the slightest prospect of a war breaking out. Not even the valorous achievements and feats of heroism of that king, would be enough to inspire noble sentiments in their hearts. For the last line of the text the commentary gives this line, *viz.*

“*Beeropi Bhirupurushais Sangrāme, hi Pramuchyaté.*”

S. W. Jones gives—“ In battle, even a hero is mixed in flight with cowards.”

\* The word in the text is *Auujivinas*, which literally means ‘dependents.’

† The meaning given by us in the body, is based on the commentary. But another meaning is possible and that is this ; “ A covetous monarch shares not the booties obtained, with his troops, who therefore naturally grudge to fight for him.” The word in the text etymologically means, ‘one who does not equitably distribute ;’ hence the latter meaning seems to be more correct.

‡ A monarch who is imprudent enough to entertain covetous followers, is sure to be destroyed through their agency ; for these unprincipled fellows would not hesitate the least to betray their king to the enemy for a paltry bribe. Hence, if the assailant is wise enough, he makes use of these potent tools, and does not want to conclude peace with such a sovereign.

*Dānabhinnais*, literally means “ Weaned over by means of bribery and gifts, &c.” S. W. Jones’s translation is as follows.

“ The subjects of a miser will not fight, because they share not his riches ; and those of him who is not covetous, fight only through gift.” We offer no comments.

§ Thus forsaken, he becomes virtually powerless, and is easily worsted by his enemy.

|| Such a king occupied with the task of gratifying his senses, neglects his royal functions and thus cultivates the ill-will of his people,

34. The king who is undecided in his judgments (counsels),\* becomes odious to his counsellors; and owing to his infirmity of purpose, they neglect him when the time for (joint) action comes.

35. A contemner of the gods and the Brahmanas, and an ill-fated monarch, these two are reduced of their own accord, through the consequences of their arrant impiety.†

36. "Providence is certainly the cause of prosperity and adversity." The fatalist arguing in the above manner, gives up all personal exertions.‡

who, at the first opportunity join with, any other king that may come with a hostile intention; thus virtually the king becomes helpless, and is easily disposed of by his foe. The following is the rendering of S. W. Jones.

"An ill-natured man is deserted in the battle by better natures, and the sensualist who abounds in pleasure is overcome by it."

\* The original word is *Anekachitta-mantras* which is a compound meaning "many-minded regarding his counsels." We translate it a little freely in order to be consistent. The following is S. W. Jones's rendering. "He who has many projects of his own is a foe to good counsellors."

† The first few words of the Sloka may have another meaning. In that case the rendering would undergo this change in the last part *vis.*, for "through the consequences, &c., we shall read "for virtue is ever powerful." The double meaning seems to hinge on the euphonic combination that may or may not be supposed to exist in *Sadadharmā*, &c. What the author means is this that, such kings are subjugated by their enemies without the least difficulty, for, by their impious deeds they alienate both God and man from themselves. Thus they form an easy prey for the conqueror. S. W. Jones's translation is this:—"A contemner of the Gods and priests, as well as the opposer of Providence, is continually tormented with grief by force of his own impiety."

‡ What the author means is this:—A monarch depending too much on Providence ascribes all that many come to pass, to its agency. And he consoles himself, in the case of an unfortunate occurrence, saying, 'what could my exertions have done when Fate was so much against me? Surely Destiny is superior to human endeavours.' This

37. The monarch whose territory is visited by a famine, gives his liberty up of his own accord.\* He also whose troops are discontented has not the power to risk a battle†

38. A king in an unfamiliar‡ land is crushed even by a puny adversary; witness, the case of the king of elephants who when in water, is overpowered even by the smallest shark.

servile reliance on Providence prompts him not to put forth his exertions for the defence of his kingdom. Thus he remains unprepared when assaulted by an inimical sovereign, and so falls an easy prey to him. S. W. Jones's rendering of this sloka is —Providence is certainly the giver of wealth and poverty; let a man therefore meditate first of all on Providence; but not so as to prevent his own exertions.

\* We have been a little free here, for the sake of lucidity. The meaning of the author is this.—When famine rages in his country and when there is no food to live upon, its king surrenders himself of his own accord without offering the least resistance, merely for this two-fold consideration, (1) That none of his subjects would then fight for him; that even if they do so, they will be reduced through their want of food; (2) And that by surrendering himself he would at least then be able to maintain himself and his people on the food that the conqueror would naturally import for preserving his newly acquired domain. S. W. Jones's translation of this part is this:—"A miserable beggar is self-tormented." It is needless to say that it is wide of the mark.

† The king, in whose army discontent and disorder, prevail cannot confidently encounter a foe, for it is almost certain that his troops will desert him on the field of battle. The commentary paraphrases the word *Valanyasanaksaktasya* thus:—"The army whose ranks number many warriors who have not been duly honored for their services, and who, in consequence thereof, are very much disaffected." S. W. Jones's rendering is as follows:—"He who has a bad army has no power to fight."

‡ For *Adeshastha* refer to an earlier note. The commentary paraphrases it thus. "In a country which is other than the one suited for his site." For *Hanyate* the commentary substitutes *Avijiyate* which virtually conveys the same idea. S. W. Jones's translation is this. "A foreign invader is soon overpowered even by a weak foe. As the shark monster of the lake, though small, seizes the king of elephants." *Apakarsati* in the text literally means "drags in" from *krisa* to draw.

39. The king whose enemies number many, always trembles in fear of them, like a pigeon, surrounded by hawks; and in whatsoever path he treads, he is speedily destroyed by them.\*

40. One who unseasonably launchest† upon war, is speedily crushed by one who fights in season. Witness the example of the crow overpowered by the owl, when 'at night the former is deprived of its vision ‡

41. Under no circumstance whatever should peace be concluded with one devoid of truth and justice, in as much as owing to his vicious propensities, he will soon act in direct contravention of the treaty, howsoever sacred it may be.§

\* A king having many foes is sure to be crushed, for it is impossible that one would stand against many. S. W. Jones's rendering is as follows.—“He who trembles among a multitude of foes (like a pigeon among eagles), in whatsoever path he treads, is assuredly destroyed even by him with whom he travels on the road.” The last portion is superfluous.

† For *Akályuktasainyastu* the commentary gives *Akályuktastwachirāt*, which latter reading we have accepted.

‡ The enmity between the owl and the crow is well known in India, so much so, that it has past into a proverb. In the day-light the crow attacks the owl, that can not bear the sun's rays, while by night when the crows are deprived of their vision the owls attack them. Here is S. W. Jones's translation of the Sloka :—“He who engages unseasonably, is overcome by him who fights at a proper time; as the crow was reduced to weakness by the owl who attacked him by night.”

§ S. W. Jones's translation of the Sloka is as follows :—“Never make peace with a man void of truth and justice who, let his treaty be ever so sacred, will soon be led by his improbity to a violation of it.”



42. \* A king true to his promises,† an *Aryya*,‡ a virtuous prince, an *Anáryya*,§ one having many|| brothers, a very powerful sovereign, and one who has come off victorious in many wars,¶ these seven are said to be the parties with whom peace should be concluded.

43. He\*\* that keeps his troth inviolate never acts in contravention of the treaty he concludes. And it is

\* The author now proceeds to enumerate the parties with whom it would be politic and wise to conclude peace. The principle that underlies his advice seems to be this that, it is better to be in peace with those who are difficult of being overcome and with whom, if war is waged, the chances of success will be limited. The one consideration that should always be like a sacred duty to a sovereign; is the prosperity of the territory over which he rules; and for its sake the monarch should prudently launch upon war or conclude peace. Where there is the least chance of securing any advantage by peace, it should not be discarded. But it would not be politic to risk a war merely in the hope of getting some advantage in case of victory, which in war is very doubtful. The keynote of the author's political creed seems to be:—"Move in the line of least resistance; so crush them who are weaker than yourself, and pay homage to them and cultivate their good-will who are stronger."

† The word in the text is *Satya* which means "true." Hence he who keeps his promises or troth inviolate even at the loss of his very life.

‡ *Aryya* lit means the Hindu and Aryan people as distinguished from the *Anáryyas* or the aboriginals. Hence it has come to signify one faithful to the religion and laws of his country and of noble birth and character.

§ The *Anáryyas* are the people that inhabit a land before it is conquered by an advanced race; and as such, they generally are far below in the scale of civilization than their conquerors. Hence the word has come to signify base fellows of low moral standard whose mode of life is considerably vile.

|| His power lying in the wisdom of his counsels and in the efficiency of his men and munitions.

¶ He that has obtained victory in many wars is sure to conquer; so it is unwise to proceed hostilely against him.

\*\* The author now proceeds to furnish reasons why peace should be concluded with these parties; he also emphasises the fact that if war be waged against these, defeat will be the inevitable result.

certain that an *Aryya* will never become an *Anāryya* even if he loses his life.\*

44. All his subjects take up arms for a virtuous prince when he is assailed.† A virtuous sovereign is invincible owing to his love of his subjects, and to his piety of nature.‡

45. Peace should be made with an *Anāryya*,§ for, even he, meeting an enemy,|| eradicates him like the son of *Renukā*,¶

\* That is, even if an honorable and high-born, person has to lose his life he will not change his nature and be vile like an *Anāryya* or dishonest fellow. S. W. Jones's translation is this :—

“ He who keeps troth inviolate will not alter his nature after a peace, even if he loses his life. A good man most assuredly will not become bad.”

† And when he is thus supported by his subjects, the assailant has no chance of vanquishing him ; on the other hand, it is not unlikely that the latter's troops will rebel against him for his trying to annoy a virtuous and beloved monarch.

‡ A virtuous prince naturally cherishes his subjects like his own children. So, they become very loyal to him and look upon him as their father, and do not hesitate to sacrifice their life and property for his sake ; such a prince, so dearly loved by his people, is incapable of suffering defeat. *Dukhochchedyas* lit means ' he who is extirpated with difficulty.' *Prajānurāgāt* may have another meaning, viz., through the loyalty of his subjects. S. W. Jones's translation is as follows. “ For a just man, all the world fight. A just prince prevents calamity by love of his subjects, and of virtue.”

§ Vide *Supra*, note to Sloka 43. It may mean here a bad man.

|| The commentary introduces a change in reading by substituting *Sa dwisa prāpya* for *Samprāpya*. The change we have accepted.

¶ *Renukā* is the wife of the sage Jamadagni the mother of Parasurāma, a celebrated Brāhmaṇa-warrior regarded to be the sixth incarnation of Vishnu. The allusion referred to here, is this. King Kārtavīryya went to the hermitage of his father and carried off his cow. But Parasurāma when he returned home, fought with the king and killed the latter. When the king's sons heard of the fate that had overtaken their sire, they became very angry and repairing to the hermitage and finding Jāmadagni alone, they shot him dead. When Parasurāma, who was not then at home, returned, he became very much exasperated and