

CHAPTER II.

THE FUNCTIONS OF THE CROWN PRINCE AND OTHER STATE OFFICIALS.

N.B.—References are to lines, not to Slokas.

¹ 1-2. Even if the work be a trifling one it can be done with difficulty by only one individual. What can be performed by an unfriended person for a kingdom that is considerable?

² 3-4. Even the king who is proficient in all the sciences and a pastmaster in statecraft should never by himself study political interests without reference to ministers

³ 5-6. The wise ruler should ever abide by the well-thought-out decisions of councillors, office-bearers, subjects and members attending a meeting—never by his own opinions.

¹ कल्पतरु—too small, i.e., insignificant, of no importance. This word is contrasted with महोदय the epithet applied to राज्य or state.

महोदय—of great splendour or eminence, i.e., of considerable importance in size and interests. A महोदय kingdom would thus entail heavy responsibility on the king.

किन्तु—what is to be said, i.e., it goes without saying that a vast and flourishing kingdom cannot be managed by an individual without the aid of assistants.

These two lines introduce the idea of the importance of Councillors and assistants in public affairs and supply the *rationale* of bureaucratic organisations.

² किन्तु—not alone. The king is a god no doubt, but Hindu Sociology does not make him infallible. The limitations are fully recognised, and moral as well as constitutional restraints are imposed upon him as upon other men. The Theory of the Divine Right of Monarchs has therefore to be understood here with great modifications; and the notions of European savants about the infallibility and divinity of Kings and Popes must not be imported into the study of Hindu Socio-political institutions.

वर्ग—a generic term for interests, motives, ends, i.e., whatever minister to the wants of man and satisfy his cravings; here the interests of Society as a political organisation.

सुखविनाश, etc.—Sukrāchāryya like John S. Mill considers the hypothetical case of an all-knowing ruler, and like the great English philosopher of the 18th century discusses his claims for 'absolute' rule in almost the self-same way. The physical magnitude, if not anything else, is too much for one man, and hence one-man-rule, however well-meaning and beneficent, is positively and unequivocally forbidden.

आचार्य, etc.—Here are mentioned four classes of persons whose opinions should be studied by the ruler before adopting any measure. He is never to pursue his own ideas only. The Hindu monarch can never be arbitrary.

Ancient Hindu statesmen and philosophers placed restraints upon the king not simply by devising rules of morality and social etiquette to be strictly followed by him as by all other men but also by prescribing regular courses of instruction and training as well as by imposing what may be regarded as the positive and direct checks of a constitutional government.

¹ 7-8. The monarch who follows his own will is the cause of miseries, soon gets estranged from his kingdom and alienated with his subjects.

² 9-11. The wealth of intelligence is seen to be different with different men—according to (the various sources of knowledge) revealed wisdom, intuition, knowledge of Śāstras, inferential reasoning, direct observation, analogies, adventurous instincts, craft and force.

³ 12. There are diversities of human conduct as well as grades of excellence according to the *degree* in which they are high or low.

¹ Here are mentioned some of the evil effects of arbitrary government and one-man-rule. Three classes of evils are enumerated:—(1) दुर्नृप, i.e., the miseries and disasters that may befall a people, e.g., poverty, crime, oppression, etc. (2) The ruler may be deprived of his राज्य Cf. 'cashiering' the king for misconduct. (3) The प्रकृति or subjects generally may rise in rebellion, and there may be general misrule and anarchy all over the land.

So in the interests of himself as well as the nation, to prevent all sorts of disorders in the commonwealth as well personal ignominy and loss, the king should think thrice before making himself sole master and realising the condition implied in the passage 'I am the monarch of all I survey—My right none there is to dispute.'

स्वातन्त्र्य—i.e., the situation in which one is one's own master—the condition of unchartered freedom in which there is nobody to control one's actions and dispute one's rights.

² Nine sources of human knowledge are enumerated here—i.e., nine classes of intellectual gifts with which man has been endowed and may be equipped.

पुरुषे पुरुषे, etc.—There are men and men according as the nature and character of the mental outfit are considered, for the ingredients of this intellectual framework are exceedingly varied. And therefore human aptitudes and characteristics are not at all uniform but extremely diverse.

In the first place the sources of knowledge are various and the characteristics of men must vary with the kind of illumination they can provide for themselves—direct experience or artifice, jugglery or intuition. In the second place, it is not likely that every man should have at his command all these sources of intellectual power. And in the third place, the proportion of each possessed by all men is not the same. Nature does not, in fact, repeat itself in the making of man as in its other operations.

बुद्धयः—Intuitions or inward promptings of the heart.

साधव्यः—the words of those who may be trusted as infallible authorities, because of their character and attainments. साध is a technical term in Hindu Philosophy denoting the persons who by their spiritual strength as well as gifts of intellect have attained a position in which they can directly visualise the highest truths of the universe, who are in fact *Rishis* capable of 'seeing' even in spite of spatial or temporal obstructions. Their knowledge may thus be regarded as 'revealed,' it does not come through observation or inference as that of ordinary men.

बुद्धयः, etc.—This list of nine kinds of human knowledge contains also the celebrated four methods of truth-investigation in Hindu logic, e.g., आस, अनुमान (Inference), प्रत्यक्ष (direct perception) and साधु (i.e., उपमान analogy, similitude &c).

शास्त्र—Text-books of Śāstras, Codes, Scriptures.

Having described the varieties of human intelligence and character, Śāstraśāstrīya refers in the next line to the varieties of human affairs and relations.

³ कृत्वा—a technical term, in Hindu Social Sciences, and a most 'chartered' word conveying almost any idea. Here it means affairs, relations, conduct, situations, &c.

*13. It is not possible for a single individual to know all these, i.e., the differences in गुणैः (or varieties of intellectual gifts) as well as varieties of स्वभावैः.

*14-18. Hence for the development of the state the ruler should always appoint assistants who are high by birth, attainments and character, who are valorous, devoted and sweet-tongued, who can advise well, and bear pain, who have virtuous habits, and who by the strength of their wisdom can deliver a king who has gone astray, men who are pure, and who have no envy, passions, anger, cupidity and sloth.

*19. Owing to bad friends the ruler falls off from his duty as well as from his kingdom.

*20-21 The progeny of *Diti* were destroyed through bad associates and evil activities. Valorous and powerful monarchs like *Duryyodhan* also went to the dogs (through bad advisers).

¹ In 1.3 Śukrāchāryya took the provisional case of an all-knowing monarch. Here he demolishes that hypothesis and rejects altogether the theory that a man may be omniscient for the very nature of the case goes against the idea.

So to the argument of physical magnitude, extensivity and vastness of political interests is added that of intellectual weakness and incapability of man. Man cannot be omnipresent, he cannot also be omniscient, and therefore he must never be made omnipotent. Political checks and restraints are to follow immediately upon his natural (physical and intellectual) limitations.

² In selecting his assistants and advisers the king should consider the following classes of qualifications: (1) Hereditary—In all social relations, family references weigh considerably in Hindu world. (2) Moral—It is to be seen whether they are free from the ordinary vices of sloth, avarice, etc., and also if their habits of life are religious धर्मा if they are faithful and devoted to the master's interests and if they are disposed to offering healthy advice. (3) Physical—The assistants must also be painstaking, indefatigable, capable of undergoing strain and pressure of work श्रमेण as well as bold and courageous वीर्य. (4) Intellectual—The councillors of kings must be pre-eminent by their wisdom and experience in that order that they may be able to dissuade their masters from bad ways of life and conduct. (5) Diplomatic—They are to be शिष्टा, i.e., of gentle manners, courteous, affable and graceful in deportment, conversation and relations with kings, etc., i.e., they must be perfect masters of etiquette.

व्यामः devoted. This is both a moral and a political qualification. Devotion and Faithfulness are virtues not simply of private morality—but are very necessary in public life also; for obedience is the bond of rule, and vote of grant of confidence is a serious charge against a minister. निर्विद्वः unenvious.

³ This line supplies the sanction for good selection of ministers. Any body and every body should not be trusted as councillors.

⁴ Instances of failure are here culled from the *Puranas* and the *Mahabharata* to prove the evil effects of bad company and injudicious selection of ministers.

समर्थः—having considerable prowess. Courage and strength count for nothing if counsels are bad.

¹22. Hence the ruler should be without pride and should have good friends about him.

²23. The Crown-Prince and the Body of Councillors are the hands of a monarch. They are also known to be his eyes and ears, in each case right and left respectively.

³25-6. Without these two the ruler would be deprived of his arms, eyes and ears (i.e., without any means of action). Hence he should appoint them on careful considerations. Otherwise there would be great calamity.

⁴26-27. The ruler should select as Crown-Prince the offspring of the legally married wife who can perform the tasks of the state without idleness.

⁵29-31. He may select as Crown-Prince his uncle younger than

¹ अविमान—egotism, over-confidence in one's own self. The king should not have too much faith in his own powers but seek the assistance of well-wishers. He should not think it beneath his dignity to be counselled by his friends. Hence the propriety of the term निरिमान.

² The prince is the right hand, right eye and right ear, whereas the Ministers constitute the left hand, left eye and left ear.

The idea that these assistants are the limbs of a ruler was prevalent in the times of Papal Supremacy in mediæval Europe when the legates, Cardinals, pardoners and other instruments of the Pope were regarded as his hands and eyes, to a certain extent, his representatives and agents in temporal and spiritual affairs of the peoples. The conception is that the rulers project themselves, so to speak, in and through their underlings and associates in order that they may successfully cope with the varied responsibility of big affairs. Like democracy or popular government, monarchy or one-man-rule also has thus to be divided into two classes, e.g., direct and indirect, (i.e., through representatives and agents).

सुख—left. There is no special significance in assigning right or left place to any of these assistants. Unless it be that the Crown-Prince holds a more dignified position than the officials as the right hand is stronger than the left.

³ The natural limitations of an individual may be considerably minimised if there are instruments to add to the sense-organs. The King's advisers are such instruments. Their observations, examinations and scrutinies reveal many facts of the political world which without them would have lain in the dark.

⁴ दुर्गा—Idleness.

वर्णवती—born of वर्णवती. There may be various wives according to the various classes of marriage.

वर्णवती is the wife who is allowed to minister to the celebration of all religious rites.

Two conditions of the Crown-Prince—(1) birth, (2) personal merit; he must be able to discharge the duties.

⁵ दुर्गा—Neither a son nor one who is legally adopted as son; but one who, though not a son, is treated as such.

Eight persons are enumerated from among whom the Crown-prince is to be selected. If there is an uncle (father's brother) who is younger than the reigning king he should be appointed to fill that post. In his absence the next choice is his own younger brother. But if the king happens to have no younger brother, his own elder brother's son is to be Crown-prince. It is only when these three have failed that the claims of his own son come up for consideration. The claims of the adopted child for Crown-princeship are inferior to those of the person who has been treated almost as a son. Then comes the grandson through daughter and lastly the nephew through sister.

himself or younger brother or son of his elder brother, his own son or one treated as son or an adopted child or daughter's son or sister's son, successively according to failure.

¹32-37. The ruler should not even mentally oppress those persons who are eligible to Crown-princeship for his own benefit.

²33-34. The ruler should very carefully protect the virtuous, valourous, faithful and good royal children even though they are young.

³35-37. Unless they are well guarded they are likely to be tempted by the interests and to destroy the ruler. Even when governed if they get a slight opening they forthwith kill the protector as lion-cubs kill the elephant (at the first opportunity).

⁴38-39. Royal children are like infuriated elephants without drivers. They kill even the parent, what to speak of the brother or other persons.

⁵40. Even the dullard and the child desire lordship, does not the youth?

¹ कदा—The king should not think of oppressing and molesting them. Of course the reason is clear. Mild treatment should be dealt out to those who are high by birth and are likely to create factions.

² It is one of the first duties of rulers to study the comforts of those persons who belong to the royal family and have 'blue blood' in their veins and who have interests in the state and its affairs. Persons who are entitled to be Crown-princes demand special care of the reigning king. He should keep constant and careful watch over them, and while himself impartial, should try to uproot any disloyal or jealous feelings out of their minds.

³ Members of the royal family are dangerous like lion-cubs. Great caution and diplomacy are required of the ruler in dealing with them. Woe unto the state and king where they are not watched and governed very carefully; for avarice, love of power and ambition will provoke hostilities and lead to anarchy and disorder.

⁴ Like elephants run riot the mix of royal blood are likely to create havoc in the state. History bears ample testimony to the character of members of royal family described in the last five lines. Quarrel between brother and brother, uncle and nephew, father and sons, are to be eternal facts of domestic life, in fact the natural incidents of family history—so long as man is man. The disadvantages of hereditary monarchy were ever present before the mind's eye of the Hindu political theorists. They did not live in the 'golden age' of peace and harmony but saw the same 'state of nature,' the same strife and discord that has existed through the ages, and that exists to-day. Hence the very elaborate rules about the treatment of and dealings with men belonging to the royal household which the king should make it a point to study punctiliously. The discussion which is rather of a moral and domestic character has therefore an important place in political treatises also, and is certainly relevant in *Sukra-nīti* which is a treatise on morals, social, economic as well as political.

⁵ कदा—Sign of the past tense but quite out of place here.

¹41-42. He should keep the royal children very near to himself and always know their minds by employing craft through good servants.

²43-46. He should make the children of his family well up in the *Nīti Śāstras*, proficient in archery, capable of undergoing strains, and of bearing harsh words and punishments, habituated to the feats of arms, master of all arts and sciences, upright in morals as well as well-disciplined through his ministers and councillors.

³47-49. He should appoint them to Crown-princeship after having brought them up with good dolls, clothed them in good dress, respected them with good seats, nourished them with good food and thus made them worthy of being Crown-princes.

⁴50. The family or dynasty the children of which are undisciplined soon comes to ruin.

¹सन्निकर्ष—Proximity (to himself). This is the pre-condition for good management. Able servants are to be appointed who are adepts in the arts of diplomacy. In fact there should be a regular organisation to study the minds of these members of the royal family.

²Here is a course of instruction for children of the royal household. The education is to be at once physical, intellectual, moral, military as well as political.

चतुर्वेद and शैव्यमुद्र—The two refer perhaps to the theoretical and applied branches of military education. The former indicates proficiency in the science of Archery, i.e., military tactics and implements generally, while the latter refers to actual field work, parades, mock fights, assault-at-arms, etc., practices that call forth martial enthusiasm and develop the warlike aptitudes.

अश्रमः—Straight and upright in morals.

The children must not be allowed to grow uncared for, they are to be brought up through a regular and systematic course of education under the direction of state officials.

³In II. 43-46 Śukrāchāryya has described the system of education. Here he gives an account of the physical environment and surroundings amidst which he is to be brought up, the comforts and decencies of material life that should be offered to him for enjoyment. Good and decent living is not without its advantages in endowing the man with a cheerful disposition, optimistic outlook and hopeful visions, characteristics that are highly required of a man who has to deal with multifarious and complex interests in life. Wealth is a blessing in so far as the high standard of life which it makes possible considerably acts upon the character and tendencies of the man.

शैव्यमुद्र—They are to be fit for this office not only by birth, intellectual and military training, etc., but also by ideas, manners and sentiments which are to be royal. Their impulses are to be generous, notions about the world and its affairs favourable. And all this is impossible unless the associations in which they are born and bred are really beautiful, opulent and magnificent.

⁴अशिक्षित—untrained. Here is described the effect of not properly educating royal children.

'51-52. The child who is of evil ways of living should not be forsaken (by the father). If oppressed, he destroys his father by having resort to enemies.

'53-54. He should harass the child when taking to evil ways by persons who are of evil habits, as one should bind the elephant that is wicked and wild.

'55-56. In the interest of state's prosperity relatives and kinsfolk who are of very evil dispositions should be carefully extirpated through tigers or enemies or through craft.

'57. If there be any deviation from this course they would lead to destruction of both the people and the ruler.

'58-59. Relatives should ever satisfy the reigning king by their own excellent merits, for otherwise they are likely to be deprived of their own shares and lives.

¹बुद्धिमान् Whose बुद्धि or character or ways of living are very evil.

परिचायन etc.,—It is dangerous to play with fire. So the handling of even bad children requires careful thought.

क्रियमान—troubled, oppressed.

परान्—Others, i.e., enemies. The enemies' ranks are likely to be swelled by the access of the ill-treated child.

² Wicked persons are to be set right through wicked characters.

व्यसन—A generic name for vices and passions.

व्यसनाशयी:—By those who take to vicious ways

उद्बल—Unrestrained, ill-behaved.

³ दायाद्—Those who receive shares of or participate in the estates, i.e., kith and kin of the king.

दाय—that which can be inherited, property, estates, etc.

Wicked relatives are to be crushed by hook or by crook.

These lines continue the idea suggested in ll. 34-40 about the treatment of persons of royal blood.

⁴ अतोऽन्यथा, i.e.—If the wicked relatives are not struck down immediately they begin to rise, the interests of the state will be jeopardised.

⁵ Having described the careful and cautious dealings of kings with their kith and kin Śukrāchāryya takes the other side of the shield and prescribes the proper behaviour of दायाद towards their ruler. Of course unless these people are well behaved they are sure to forfeit their claims.

प्रे:—Excellent.

सोपविष्यु:—Satisfy and please, not necessarily flatter. Their records of work, as well as habits of life must be approved of by the ruler. They should thus deserve the honour and dignity bestowed on them as members of the royal family.

अभिलक्ष्यन्ति—Their lives also may be insecure if they do not care to conform to the standard of faithfulness and devotion expected of them as participants दायाद in the royal estates.

*60-61. Those who have no near relatives, those who are born of other persons and the adopted sons should never even mentally be regarded as one's own children.

*62. They desire to be adopted of a person after knowing him to be rich.

*63-64. Hence the son of girls belonging to the same dynasty is superior to the others (mentioned above). For the daughter, like the son, is descended from the same limbs (and hence has the same feelings).

^१सपिण्ड—सपिण्ड is a Hindu legal term denoting "a kinsman, especially one connected by the offering of the funeral cake to either or all of the manes of the father, grandfather, and great-grandfather, and their wives respectively, as sprung from them in directly collateral lines; the relationship stops with every fourth person, as the fifth cannot perform the offering of a cake to the father even of the deceased."

The following are enumerated as *Sapindas*:—the son, the son's son, and son's grandson; widow, daughter, and daughter's son; the father, the mother the brother, brother's son, and brother's grandson; father's daughter's son; father's brother's son and grandson; paternal grandfather's daughter's son; paternal grandfather; paternal grandmother; paternal grandfather's brother; brother's son and grandson; and lastly, the great grandfather's daughter's son."—*Wilson's Dictionary*.

सपिण्ड—The condition of having सपिण्ड, i.e., one or other of the relatives mentioned above. The idea here is that those persons who cannot refer to one or other of such kinsfolk and indicate their family relations should by no means be regarded as one's own children. Such persons are, practically speaking 'tribeless, clanless' foundlings and can never appreciate the normal filial feelings and paternal sentiments of ordinary human beings.

Three classes of men should not be considered as one's own children—(1) those who belong to no family and cannot refer to any of their own relatives; (2) those who are known to be born of other families; (3) those who have been legally adopted.

स्वपुत्र—i.e., one's own offspring. The advice here given is expressed in the well known phrase 'Blood is thicker than water.' Any body and every body cannot be successfully received as members of one's own family, tied to it by natural affections and thoroughly identified with its interests.

*२ स्वार्थ—It is self-interest that impels men to be adopted children to somebody. They try to get themselves adopted by a man whom they find to be wealthy.

This line supplies the reason why adopted sons are never to be regarded as स्वपुत्र.

*३ सुक्रचर्या has been discussing the question of adoption. Here are described the persons from among whom the selection is to be made. He is of opinion that offsprings of the same dynasty should be preferred to those who are mere vagabonds.

स्त्री—Here are advanced some of the general claims of the daughter which according to *Sukraniti* are not at all inferior to those of the son. The daughter participates as much in the flesh and blood of the parents as the son. Hence the offsprings of girl should not be considered in any way inferior to those of the male issues. Rights of women are thus ably advocated.*

पुत्रपुत्री—Limb by limb, i.e., each portion of the body of the daughter (and the son) is derived from the limbs of the progenitor.

¹65. Hence there is no difference between the son and the daughter's son as regards the offering of cakes to ancestors.

²66. The king is to maintain an adopted son in the interests of his territory as well as subjects.

³67. The ruler should have wealth for the protection of his subjects, not for other purposes.

⁴68-69. He bequeaths everything to another's son by adopting him as his own child. What can be more strange if he does not give charities and offer sacrifices?

⁵70-73. After attaining Crown-princship one should not get demoralised, should not insult or oppress (owing to the vanity of one's own wealth) one's mother, father, preceptor, brother and sister or the favourites and dear ones of the reigning king or the commonalty of the realm.

¹ That the daughter or woman generally is not to be despised is sufficiently indicated, according to Sukrāchāryya, by the regulation that the male issue of the daughter is as much entitled to the funeral rites as the son himself.

निष्क—An oblation to deceased ancestors, as a ball or lump of rice mixed up with milk, curds, flowers, &c., offered to the manes by nearest surviving relations.

² The adoption is not for personal satisfaction but for the proper administration of the interests of the state.

³ The king's wealth is sacred and must not be misspent. Here is a sly hit at the practice of adopting sons and spending money over them. The next two lines make it more clear.

⁴ If it is possible for a man to adopt into one's family men born outside it is to be expected that he should spend some money at any rate on sacrifices and in charities. So that the poorer classes as well as priests may derive some share of royal wealth.

A conflict between national interests and the interests of the adopted child is brought out here. That the right of adoption is to a certain extent prejudicial to the collective weal of the people at large was conceived by philosophers of the Hindu world. Here is a mild protest against the custom.

दान—(Charity, gifts, &c.) and यज्ञ (sacrifices, worship, &c.) are the two items which are interfered with by expenditure over adopted sons. The money which is meant for प्रजापालन (maintenance of subjects, l. 67) e.g., through charities and sacrificial festivals is spent on men who come into the royal family not even by the accident of birth but by a legal fiction, perhaps by his whim.

⁵ Newly installed Crown-princes are likely to be insolent, rude and haughty like upstarts. And persons likely to bear most the brunt of their affront have been divided here into three classes—(1) members of their own family, relatives and kinsfolk; (2) राजपुत्र—friends and favourites of the king, &c., those who also might be similarly installed in case of his absence, and hence who are likely to be jealous rivals; (3) वृद्धजन—the public at large, the subjects generally. It is very desirable that the Crown-prince should be able to establish an empire over the hearts of the people. अज्ञान—Does not mean a great or illustrious man, but a collective people.*

अज्ञान—Look down upon.

अज्ञान—Vanity due to the newly acquired position and wealth as Crown-prince.

¹74-75. But if somebody who is outside the royal clan or family wants admittance into it the good people do not tolerate such presentation of an outsider to the king.

²76-77. Even after attaining great prosperity he should abide by his father's command, for to a child the father's command is his best ornament.

³78-79. The mother was killed by Bhārgava, and Rama went to forest according to their father's commands. And it was through the strength of their fathers' penances that they respectively got back their mother and kingdom.

⁴80. The command of him who has the two-fold right of cursing and blessing is very weighty.

⁵81-82. He should not display his greatness to all his brothers; for Suyodhana was ruined through the insult meted to the brothers who had also right to the wealth.

⁶83-85. Owing to the violation of father's commands royal offsprings even after attaining excellent positions are thrown down like menial servants, *e.g.*, the sons of Yayāti and Viśvāmitra.

¹ The Crown-prince has been advised to behave well with all persons. But here he is asked to make a difference with regard to one point, *viz.*, नमिसद्वन्द्वं *i.e.*, seeing the king (नामि).

नमयस्मिन्—Do not bear or tolerate, *i.e.*, the prince should not allow the outsider to appear before the king. He should be judicious enough to make the choice as to who should be presented and who not.

² वृद्धि—Increase, affluence, prosperity.

³ The common traditional stories about Paraśurāma and Rama are here pressed into service to prove the authority of father and the efficacy of obedience to father. Sons who obey their fathers are successful in life.

⁴ The command of such persons must be respected.

⁵ नास्मिन्—Difference in prosperity. It is always a bad policy to make a display of one's strength before those who have reasons to be jealous. Such an injudicious display is positively mischievous, it is tantamount to ill-treating and insulting them and exciting their worst passions.

भाष्य—Those who deserve a share.

The advice given here is very sound in the administration of domestic and other social affairs. And as hereditary monarchy has more or less the characteristics of a domestic household, being essentially patriarchal in nature, the rules of dealings with kith and kin are not out of place in political treatises.

⁶ Instances of obedient and devoted sons have been recorded in 1177-8. Here are given instances of failure through disobedience.

¹86-87. One should always be in the habit of serving one's father in word, thought and action. One should ever do that by which father is satisfied, one should not do that by which father gets pain even for a single occasion.

89-90. One should oneself do that with pleasure in which there is father's pleasure. And one with whom the father is dissatisfied should be his object of enmity.

91. One should not do anything that is disapproved or opposed by father.

²92-93. If through the faults of flatterers and informers the father is far from what he ought to be, one should study his nature and manage to explain matters to him in a retired place.

³94. Otherwise he should always punish the flatterers very severely.

95. And he should ever know the inward feelings of the subjects through artifices.

96-97. In the morning of every day he should bow down to his father, mother and preceptor. He should then narrate to the king the work done day after day.

⁴98-99. Thus living in the house and maintaining the unity of the family the Crown-Prince should satisfy the subjects well by his learning, actions and character.

⁵100. He should also be self-sacrificing and vigorous and thus bring within his sway all around him.

¹ वनम्—Once.

विषेति—Gets displeased.

² It is not unlikely that the father may be misled by वाच, i. e., informers, spies, etc., and दूषण, i. e., flatterers, detractors, etc. In that case it would be the duty of the son to keep him to the right path. But then he should not do it in an ostentatious and haughty fashion.

He should study his humour मरुति and explain to him in a manner that is adapted to it अनुपपन्नं. So that his attempt may not fall flat. And the advice is to be given in secret places.

मरुत्तनुपपन्नं कृत्वा—In a manner that is acceptable to him.

³ कनुदिनं—Day after day, i. e., every morning he should relate what he did during the day previous.

⁴ His work is to have two-fold effect—(1) the Family or House must not lose its integrity—there must be अविशेष; (2) The people must be happy.

⁵ The supremacy is to be established not only by बल or physical vigour but by स्वामि moral strength of sacrifice also.

¹101. He is to grow slowly like the portion of the moon in the bright fortnight.

102-103. The prince who behaves himself in the manner described above having got the kingdom that is thornless enjoys for ever the earth with his associates and councillors.

104. Thus has been narrated in brief the function of the Crown-prince that is beneficial.

²105. Now are being related in brief the functions and characteristics of the councillors.

✓ 106-109. Just as gold is tested by experts by reference to lightness or heaviness of weight, colour, sound, etc., so also one should examine servants (or office-bearers) by reference to their work, companionship, merits, habits, family relations, etc., and place confidence in one who is found to be trustworthy.

✓ 110. One should not notice only the caste (or race) or only the family (in making the selection).

111-112. Work, character and merit—these three are to be respected—neither caste nor family. Neither by caste nor by family can superiority be asserted.

³113. In marriages and dinner parties considerations of family and caste are compulsory.

⁴114-117. The truthful, the meritorious, the celebrated and the wealthy, as well as men who have been born in good families, whose habits are

¹ सनातनः—Briefly, synoptically.

² सङ्घात—Of course a man is known by the company he keeps.

परीक्षित—Anybody and everybody is not to be appointed to any post. All candidates must pass through the process of examination and selection. The selected candidate must be able to satisfy the master in the particular points enumerated.

³ Considerations of birth and family are important no doubt, but these are not the sole points to be brought out in selecting persons for public offices.

⁴ That is, in purely social functions, race, caste, birth, etc., have to be most seriously considered. But when the question is of appointment to political offices these considerations should weigh very little to the master or officer in charge.

निर्बन्ध—Always, i.e., compulsory.

Sukrāchāryya makes a distinction between spheres of human activity and remarks that caste considerations apply not to all departments of human life but only to certain defined aspects, e.g., marriage, dining, etc. Hence much of the so-called vices of caste system is the idle product of men's imagination. The criticism that it is based on injustice cannot stand.

⁵ Such persons are likely to be conscientious and their discharge of duties strictly rigid.

कर्मिणः—(1) Family; (2) Fame. Here the latter, for otherwise, कर्मिणः would be repetition of कृते: i.e., well connected.

A few more characteristics of good servants are enumerated below.

good, who do good deeds and have no sloth—perform the duties of their master even better than their own work by the four-fold qualities of body, speech, thought and diligence.

118-119. (The good office-bearer) is satisfied with his salary only, is sweet-tongued, expert in actions, pure and firm; skilful in doing good to others and is averse to evil ways.

119-120. He observes even the son or the father who does injury to the master; is not similar to the lord who goes astray, but understands well (the situations).

121. He does not protest against the statements of his master, nor does he give publicity to any of his shortcomings.

123. He is not procrastinating in good measures but procrastinating (and dilatory) in evil ones.

124. He never picks holes in the coats of his master's wife, children and friends.

125. Towards his master's wife, children and friends he bears the same attitude as the master himself.

126. He does not appraise himself, nor does he defy anybody. He does not envy or insult anyone.

127. He does not want the rights belonging to others, but is unambitious and always contented.

¹ The good officer is he who is impartial and does not fear to expose the faults and vices of even near relatives, and who does not pander to the evil tastes and habits of the master but is firm and strong (in dissuading him from them).

दर्शकः—observer, watcher, scrutiniser.

आपस्तम्भिकः—Who commits offence, acts against the interests.

आपस्तम्भः—Fault, crime.

अतद्वत्—Not like him.

ननु—i.e., not a mere echo of the master, not a sycophant but has his own individuality.

The son's activities may go against the interests of the master, the father's activities also may point the same way. Even the master himself may adopt suicidal measures. In these cases it is only the good servant who can intervene and by boldly asserting his individuality rescue the state from ruin and calamity.

दुष्पक्षः—One who can well understand situations.

² आदेशः—One who protests.

शिरः—Word.

दोषः—Defects.

³ He follows the principle 'Love me, love my dog.'

⁴ अनुवृत्तिः—i.e., one who thinks in (or whose thought is of) the same manner as the master himself. He is thoroughly identified with his master's interests and looks upon all his concerns as his own.

⁵ अधिकारः—Rights, jurisdiction. The good officer is not interfering, does not unduly hope for other's privileges,

¹128. He bears or puts on the clothes, ornaments, &c., offered by him and ever stands before him.

¹129. He spends according to his salary, is moderate, kind and also courageous.

¹130. Lastly, the excellent servant is he who discusses the evil deeds of his master privately, i.e., does not give publicity to them.

¹131. The servant with attributes contrary to those mentioned above is known to be bad.

132. Those who are underpaid, those who have been coerced by punishment, cheats, the miserable, the greedy, and those who speak well in one's presence.

¹134-138. The passionate, the vicious, the diseased, those who seek bribes, the gamblers, the atheists, the vain and untruthful as well as the envious people; those who have been insulted, and touched to the quick by harsh words, the friends and servants of enemies, and those who keep up old enmities, the ferocious and the daring, as also the irreligious people can never be good officers.

¹139. The marks of good and bad servants have been enumerated concisely.

140. Now are described the characteristics of priests and other officers.

¹वस्त्रम्—He puts on the insignia, badges, &c., indicating his rank and function and is ever ready to serve his master.

²वृत्ति—Salary. One of the characteristics of good officers is frugality and moderation in expenditure.

Persons who are spendthrifts and extravagant in their private capacity are likely to bring disasters upon the state by injudicious administration of public interests. Hence an individual's extravagance is not only a personal foible but has also a serious significance in political and social affairs. The man, therefore, who spends within his means is good not only as a private citizen but is also an acquisition to the state.

³Having described some of the characteristics of the good officers, Śukrāchāryya is going to mention a few marks by which bad servants are to be known. Of course quite the opposite attributes will be predicated of them.

⁴हीनवृत्तिम्—Those whose salaries are low. Low paid officers are never to be trusted with responsible work and are not expected to render faithful service.

Of course, the men described in these lines are good for nothing.

⁵व्यवहृत्यन्तः—Malicious, envious.

व्याधी—Diseased.

व्यसक्तिः—Those who are addicted to vices, e.g., hunting.

वैरिणः—Gamblers—those who play at dice.

व्यवहृतिम्—Those who continue.

व्यवहृतिम्—i.e., censured for neglect of duty.

⁶पुरोहित—Priest.

¹141-143. The priest, the viceroy, the premier, the commander, the councillor, the judge, the scholar, the *Sumantraka*, the *Amātya*, as well the spy—these are the ten departments of a king.

²144. Whose incomes are one-tenth more than those of subsequent men up to the spies.

³145-147. The king is said to have eight departments or requisites of regal administration according to some people.

⁴148. These eight departments of political organisation have equal remuneration.

⁵149. The spy who is well up in (the art of reading) emotions and gestures (expressions) is a servant of these eight.

✓⁶150-155. The priest is superior to all others—the main-stay of the king and kingdom. The Viceroy comes next, next the Premier; then the

¹ वरिष्ठ, नरसी, आशात्व and सुवन्दन are different ministers with different functions.

मन्त्रप—Chief Secretary, superintendent, premier.

वर्षिष—Commander, War Minister.

नरसी—Councillor, diplomatist.

सुवन्दन—Finance Minister.

आशात्व—Ordinary Minister.

मन्त्रपः—Advisers, requisites of regal administration. Departments of Executive Government.

महर्षिवाकः—One who asks (माद्) as well as decides; The Justice.

² That is, the income of प्रोषः is one-tenth greater than that of Pratinidhi. That of Pratinidhi one-tenth greater than that of Pradhāna, and so on.

³ The eight requisites are Sumantra, Scholar, Minister, Pradhāna, Sachiva, Amātya, Justice, and Viceroy.

⁴ प्रतिवर्गः—Those whose incomes are equal. There are two systems of political organisation. According to the first the incomes vary in a certain proportion, there is a gradation of salary. According to the second there is equality of income.

⁵ In the second list सूत्र has no place. But the spy is too important an office-bearer to be ignored. Hence according to the second theory he is retained as the follower or अनुष of the main departments.

वृत्ति—The emotions and feelings of the mind.

वाक्य—Expressions or manifestations of feeling through gesticulations, physical gestures.

ज्ञान—Science, here the art of studying the mind and its external manifestations. It goes without saying that the spy must be an adept in this art.

The 11. 145-149 introduce parenthetically, as it were, the new conception of political departments, and mention it here only as a piece of information. Śukrāchārya does not accept it himself.

⁶ पूर्वोक्तः—The former among whom was superior to the latter.

Having described the salary, precedence and social as well as political status of the 10 classes of administrative authorities, Śukrāchārya goes on to describe the functions and qualifications of each.

पद्मस्तम्भ—Pillar of the State.

Sachiva, then the Minister, next the Justice, then the Scholar; next comes Sumantra, then the Amâtya, lastly the Spy; these officers are successively meritorious in order.

✓ 156-160. One who is versed in *mantras* and rituals, master of the three sciences, skilful at work, conqueror of the senses, subduer of anger, devoid of greed and passions, equipped with a knowledge of six *Angas* (*Vedāngas*) and of the science of Archery with all its branches, one who knows the science of moral as well as religious interests, one fearing whose anger even the king takes to virtuous ways of life, one who is well up in *Niti Śāstra* and master of military implements and tactics is the Priest.

161. The Priest is also the *āchāryya* and he is competent both to curse and bless.

162. Without the advice of the *Prakritis*, i.e., the Executive officers, the state is sure to be destroyed.

*163. If the king fears their control, they are good ministers.

* The enumeration of the attributes of a priest gives some idea of the all-round culture he is to have. Not a mere knowledge of the technique of sacrificial rites and ceremonies, but a sound liberal education is expected of him. That he should have the moral qualities of moderation, abstemiousness and self-control goes without saying. He must also be smart and active कर्त्तव्य. What is of special significance in the list is the mention of the several branches of learning he should master—(1) The Three Vedas technically known as वेद; (2) The six Vedāngas—sciences which introduce learners to the study of the Vedas, without which no one can understand and appreciate the master sciences. These are known as (a) विद्या—The Science of pronunciation and articulation; (b) कर्म—The detail of religious ceremonies; (c) व्याकरण Grammar; (d) छन्दः Prosody; (e) ज्योतिष Astronomy; (f) निबन्ध Explanation of difficult or obscure words and phrases that occur in the Vedas. (3) The military science with all its branches; धनुर्वेद or the Science of archery is a generic name for the science governing all martial exploits; (4) The Science of religious interests of men, (5) Niti Śāstra—Science of social, economic, and political morals. (6) The art of warfare. Practical training is here implied, as theoretical knowledge of warlike feats is suggested by धनुर्वेद.

Thus apart from the moral and physical training the system of education for priests includes within intellectual culture a training in Economics, Theology, Sociology and Military Science.

सैन्य—Arrays of soldiers, their grouping and management on field.*

* नियन्त्रण—Control, discipline, pressure.

A good minister is he whom (whose regulations) the king fears.

The polity described in *Sukraniti* is formally despotic; but it recognises only such ministers as ideal as are not merely 'king's friends' or 'king's men' working like his private secretaries or confidential clerks, but have an individuality and independence of character by which they can control the whims and caprices of the monarch and systematically govern the course of the state's action.

¹164-165. Can there be prosperity of the kingdom if there be ministers whom the ruler does not fear? Such ministers are to be gratified like women with decorations, liveries of honour, etc.

²166-167. If there be no improvement in the state whether in extent, population, efficiency, revenue or administration; if, on the contrary, the state be jeopardised through the ministers' counsels, what is the good of having such men (as king's advisers)?

³168-173. The *Pratinidhi* or vice-regent is he who knows what is to be done, and what is not to be done. The *Pradhāna* is he who has eye on

¹Independence of ministers is the criterion of national well-being. Men who dare not raise their voice against the king have no place in the councils of states but should be retained as ornamental figureheads and 'dignified parts' of the constitution. They do not deserve any effective control over statecraft and should be humoured by grants of titles, honours and distinctions.

They are no better than women who are satisfied with trinkets and dainties.

²सुपर्व—The function of a king, rule, administration, government.

Some other general tests of good ministers are mentioned here. They must be able to display their ability and justify their existence by adding to the state's resources, territory, influence or prestige.

³The several ministers of the king who are heads of several departments are mentioned here. The Hindu technical terms and English equivalents are given below:

पुरोहित—Priest.

प्रतिनिधि—Viceroy.

प्रधान—Superintendent, Chief Secretary.

युधिष्ठिर—War Secretary.

कर्मन्—Diplomatist, Foreign Secretary.

वदित—Learned adviser.

प्रमुख—Chief Justice.

कर्मन्—Land Revenue Officer.

कुम्भ—Finance Minister.

दूत—Ambassador.

The differentiation of the Executive into so many departments each with its own functions and own chief indicates a highly organised political fabric. The statement of qualifications required of each minister is also the product of a deep insight into the functions of the state. The picture thus presented is not one of a simple primitive political life in which the 'man in the street' is fit to be a judge, a warrior and a ruler by turn, but one of a complex organization which requires specialized functionaries for the efficient discharge of its functions and hence demands of each a specialized training as Judge, Commander, Financier, &c.

L. 170. The *Mantri* or Foreign Secretary must be proficient in *Niti*, i.e., the art of life (or the rules for the good management of practical affairs). He must therefore know what to do under what circumstances. This is what is meant in modern times by 'expediency.'

L. 171. The *Prāguvāda* or Chief Justice must be proficient in three Sciences—that which deals with man (Sociology or History), that which treats of the rules laid down by

(supervises) all things. The *Sachiva* is the man who knows all about the army. The *Mantri* is one who is adept in diplomacy. The *Pandit* is the person who is well up in the theory of religion and morals. The *Prādvivāka* is he who has knowledge of men, Śāstras and morals. The *Amātya* is known to be the person who has knowledge of lands and records. The *Sumantra* is he who knows of the incomes and disbursements.

174-175. That man is chosen as ambassador who knows the innermost feelings of other men, who can study their expressions and movements, and who has a good memory, knows the conditions of time and place, can speak well, and is fearless.

176-178. The *Pratinidhi* should always advise kings as to when a thing should be done immediately even though it is evil and when to refrain from doing a thing though it is good (at the proper time); make them act up to his advice; and if they do not abide by him, he should go on explaining.

179-180. The *Pradhana* has to discriminate between truth and untruth and find out the total amount of work among the functions discharged by all.

sages and Rishis in Śāstras (Theology, &c.) and that which treats of manners, customs, and morals handed down from generation to generation (Morality or Ethics). All the Sciences enumerated here are human and social; and the Judge has to qualify himself specially in these for he has always to deal mainly with men and manners.

1. 172. *देश*—Lands, *लेख*—writings or records. Perhaps a knowledge of tenures and rights is implied here. The *Amātya* is thus a Cadastral Settlement or Survey Minister.

चिन्तन—inward feelings. The ambassador must be able to study the mind's thoughts. *वाचन*—facial expressions or outward manifestations of sentiments through the physical organs, e.g., in speech, gesticulations, movements of limbs, &c., *वैद्य* activity, enterprise. The ambassador must also keep news of the movements of the persons he studies.

He must have a retentive memory for he may have to communicate many things orally which it might be inexpedient to transmit in black and white. It is easy to understand why he should be a master of Geography and History (*देश* and *काल* i.e., space and time) and also a good speaker. For unless he is well-grounded in the actual conditions of time and place and the special characteristics of the relations between persons he has to deal with he is likely to misunderstand or misrepresent facts and thus bungle with the state's affairs.

² The Vice-regent is not merely to ditto the king at every step but must be bold enough to forbid bad courses of action, and recommend what appears to be good at the proper time.

³ He is something like a general supervisor over all the affairs of the state and a controller of office systems.

काम—Amount of work.

¹181-190. The *Sachiva* has to study the elephants, horses, chariots, foot-soldiers, camels, oxen, bandsmen, ensiga bearers, men who practice battle-arrays, men who are sent out eastward and westward (on mission), bearers of royal emblems, arms and weapons, attendants of superior, ordinary and inferior grades, and the various classes of ammunitions; he has to find out the groups that are complete in all their parts, how many of these are in active condition, how many are old and how many new, how many are unfit for work, how many troops are well equipped with arms, ordnance and gunpowder, and what is the amount of commissariat and other contingencies. Then he has to communicate the result of his studies to the king.

²191-193. The *Mantri* has to study when, how and to whom the policies of Peace, Purchase, Partition and Penalty have to be adopted and the various effects of each whether great, moderate or small; and having decided on the course of action to communicate that to the king.

³194-199. The Chief Justice should advise the king after examining, with the help of his peers in Council, the men who have brought forward suits for judgment, by witnesses, written documents, artifices, and by occult processes to find out which method or procedure is likely to be most efficacious in which case, and after determining what is the inevitable decision by the application of reasoning, direct observation, inference, analogy as well as the local customs.

¹ संघ—Groups.

नयास्त्र—New.

अग्निद्व—Gunpowder.

वस्तु—Necessaries and contingencies of war.

² शास्त्र, etc.—The four policies mentioned here are the orthodox methods of dealing with international affairs in Hindu treatises on Politics. The *Mantri* is thus the Foreign Secretary.

संश्लिष्य—Considering or studying.

निदिश्य—Determining or deciding.

³ The Judicial procedure is fully described here. (1) The Chief Justice is not to act alone but is to be helped by *सभा*. He is to be *समाहित*. (2) The judgment is to be public, for he is to be *समाहित* (seated in the assembly). (3) The examination is to be conducted in as many ways as possible so that the whole truth may be discovered. Even *दिव्य संश्लेषण* i.e., mystical or occult processes have to be resorted to in order to discover the proper method of attacking a problem. (4) The sentence is to be delivered after careful weighing of evidence. All the methods of truth-investigation known in Hindu Logic have to be used. The *लोकव्यवहार* or manners, morals and customs of the folk that have been handed down from generations must also be investigated. For otherwise the judgment might be correct in theory but wrong in practice, in fact, quite out of place,

¹200-203. The Pandit has to study the rules of moral life obtaining in society in ancient and modern times, which have been mentioned in the codes, which are now opposed, and which militate against the customs of the folk, and to advise the king by those which are efficacious both for his life and hereafter.

²204-206. The *Sumantra* should communicate to the king the amount of commodities laid by, the amount of debts, &c., the amount spent, and the amount of surplus or balance in both moveables and immoveables during the course of the year.

³207-208. How many cities, villages and forests are there, the amount of land cultivated, who is the receiver of the rent, the amount of revenue realised.

209-210. Who receives the remainder after paying off the rent, how much land remains uncultivated, the amount of revenue realised through taxes and fines.

211-212. The amount realised without cultivation (*i.e.*, as Nature's gifts), how much accrues from forests, the amount realised through mines and jewels.

¹ Various classes of rules and regulations of life are here enumerated. There cannot be a uniform standard of moral conduct—it is implied. It must vary according to place, time, and circumstances.

लेख्यमविषय—The possibility of a Pandit being opposed to the manners and customs of the people is thus indicated.

It is the function of the Pandit to study the manners and customs and always to be in touch with the latest thoughts and opinions of the people, *i.e.*, to grow with the world.

Sukrāchāryya is not an advocate of fixed codes of morality and religion that must be absolutely respected at all times and places and under any circumstances whatever, but recognises the relativity of religious and moral sentiments and practices to the social and other conditions of the world.

² The वृत्तमान or Finance Minister has to study the Budget and Revenues and prepare the schedule of Credits and Debits, Assets and Liabilities of the State. He has, in fact, to frame what is called the Balance-sheet.

³ The Financial affairs are distributed between the वृत्तमान who is in charge of the Budget and the जमीनदारी who is in charge of Land settlement and records.

The following sources of revenue are mentioned :—

- (1) भूदान—Rent from land.
- (2) वृत्त—Duties or taxes.
- (3) दण्ड—Fines.
- (4) वनदान—*i.e.*, what is received without cultivation or care. Nature's contribution.
- (5) वनवृत्त—Income from forests.
- (6) खनिज—Mineral wealth.
- (7) बैंक—Deposits as in a bank.
- (8) अज्ञात—Unowned. All unclaimed property belongs to the state.
- (9) लूट—Got back from thieves.

213-214. How much is collected as unowned or unclaimed by anybody, got back from the thief, and the amount stored up,—knowing these things the *Amātya* should inform the king.

215-216. The characteristics and functions of the ten chief advisers have been mentioned in brief. One should know them by the records of work given by each.

217. The king should appoint them to each post by rotation.

218-219. The king should not make his officers more powerful than himself, and the ten *Prakritis* should be entrusted with equal power.

220-224. He should always appoint three men for each department—the wisest of them all at the head and the two others as overseers, for three, five, seven or ten years, and having noticed each officer's qualifications for the work entrusted he should make the necessary changes.

225. The king should never give office for ever to any body and everybody.

226-227. He should appoint men to offices after examining the fitness of the persons for them. For who does not get intoxicated by drinking of the vanity of offices?

228-230. So he should appoint others after seeing that they are fit to discharge the functions, or the apprentices who are qualified for that task as paid officers, or outsiders in their absence.

¹ Each officer is thus to be made competent for all functions of the state through taking part in each for certain periods.

² **परिचर्या**—The system of training up officers by rotation. But it is difficult to see how the priestly function can be discharged by the others.

³ **समस्त**—Of equal authority. Is the theory of checks and balances implied here?

⁴ Here are rules for the management of each **विभाग** or jurisdiction, i.e., department.

⁵ **दूरदर्शन**—Inspectors, overseers.

⁶ **वर्ष**—Year. The term of office or tenure of appointment is for 3, 5, 7, or 10 years according to **कर्मयोग्यता** i.e., qualifications.

⁷ *Sukrachāryya* warns the king against bestowal of permanent offices. Appointments to posts should be, according to him, during good behaviour. If the pride of position bewilders the officer and he proves unworthy of the responsibility he should be dismissed. Work is the sole test and recommendation for office.

⁸ When somebody is found to be unworthy of the work entrusted to him others are to be appointed. In such a case the claims of **सत्पुरुषाणां**, i.e., those who follow in his heels (e.g., subordinates and apprentices) should be considered. And these should be appointed on salary **पद**.

231. He should appoint men who have his qualifications or his sons to his post.

232-233. As the officer becomes qualified for the higher and higher functions he should be appointed to the higher and higher post. At the end he should be a *Prakṛiti* (one of the 10 advisers).

234-235. He should appoint many overseers or appoint only one officer without any overseer at all according to the importance of the jurisdiction to be managed.

236. He should appoint for other-works those who are fit.

237-238. He should appoint separately the heads of elephants, horses, chariots, infantry, cattle, camels, deer, birds, gold, jewels, silver, clothes.

239. The chief of treasure, the chief of grains, and the superintendent of cooking.

240-241. The superintendent of parks, and the head of buildings and palaces separately, as also always the superintendent of the necessities and contingencies, the officer in charge of the religious establishments and the supervisor of charities.

¹ These lines describe a regular system of translation and promotion through qualification and aptitude for successively higher posts leading ultimately to the immediate advisers and councillors of the king. The officer is to begin at the lowest rung of the administrative ladder, but by displaying his ability in the lower grades, may be lifted up to the post of highest responsibility.

All these rules about the training of officers, tenure of service, organisation of the office, the filling up of vacancies, rotation and gradual promotion are the outcome of a highly developed political machinery that would be required in a vast country-state or an empire. *Sukraniti* is adapted to the requirements not of village-commonwealths or city-states but extensive national organisations.

² *कर्मक्षेत्र*—In succession. The amount of work to be done and the number and variety of interests to be administered must be very large in order to allow for the scientific division of labour and the methods of scientific specialisation and transfer prescribed in these lines.

³ *अधीन* Office, jurisdiction. The proportion of inspectors to actual workers is to be determined scientifically according to the nature of the interests to be administered.

⁴ *वस्तु*—Each of these things is to be in charge of a separate officer. But it is difficult to see how and why some of these responsibilities can be parted from each other, e.g., What is the good of having separate officers for gold, jewels and silver? This is specialisation carried too far. Or perhaps all these things are to go together, as implied in II. 303-4.

⁵ The treasurer, the head of the granary and kitchen-superintendent are separate officers as they should be.

The granary is a very important feature of Hindu economic and social life.

⁶ *देवदेवता*—A separate officer is required for administering the institutions for the satisfaction of gods, e.g., temples, *Dharmasālas*, &c., which are likely to be too many in Hindu society.

242-245. The lord of **ग्राम**, the headman of the village, the collector of land revenues, the clerk, the collector of taxes (tolls and duties), as also the news-bearer—these six are to be appointed in each village and town.

¹246-50. Those who practise penances, those who are charitable, those who are proficient in revealed literature (the Vedas) and *Smṛitis*, those who are well versed in *Purāṇas*, those who know the *Śāstras*, (other than the *Śrutis*, *Smṛitis* and *Purāṇas*) the astrologers, the sorcerers, those who are masters of *Ayurveda* (medical science), those who are versed in the religious rites and ceremonies, those who practise the virtues laid down in *Tantras* and those others who are meritorious, intelligent and masters of their passions—these classes of men the king should worship and maintain by stipends, gifts and honours.

²251. Otherwise the king is disparaged and earns an ill name.

³252-253. There are many functions which involve a multiplicity of effects. The king should appoint officers for the discharge of such functions also after considering their fitness for these.

¹ Some special charges on the state are those men who are morally or intellectually deserving of help.

They are to be respected by grants of scholarship (**प्रज्ञा**), gifts of land or other things (**दान**) and titles of honour or distinction (**मान**).

In enumerating the intellectual qualifications entitling a man to such honours and aids *Sukrādhāryya* mentions perhaps all the varieties of **विद्या** prevalent in his time—(1) **वृत्ति**—The Vedas; (2) **स्मृति**; (3) **पुराण**—*Purāṇas*; (4) **शास्त्र**; (5) **द्वैव**—Divination (astrology). (6) **मन्त्र**—Hymns and incantations, e.g., those of the *Atharva-Veda* which are efficacious in many social troubles; (7) **आयुर्वेद**—The science and art of medicine; (8) **कर्मकाण्ड**—The religious rites and usages—sacrifices and offerings to gods; (9) **तन्त्र**—*Tantras*.

The enumeration of these branches of learning in this connexion indicates a comparatively modern stage of socio-political life in two ways. In the first place, the fact that even **कर्मकाण्ड**, **मन्त्र** and **तन्त्र** entitle the persons to distinctions and aids of the state equally as the *Śrutis* is an index to the great liberalisation of intellect that must have been prevalent at the time. In the second place the branches of learning must have been many and diversified for long in order that there might be specialists in each. It is doubtful if *Tantras* and men adept in the rites prescribed therein could be noticed in Pre-Buddhist age, say the age of *Śrutis*.

² This is the sanction for stipends and honorariums to scholars and learned men.

The above lines suggest a sort of literary pensions granted to qualified men to enable them to devote their whole time and energy to the pursuit of their special investigations. Here is a plea for the adoption of the policy of Protection for fostering the national literature, arts and sciences. A state without men of letters is insignificant and unimportant. Hence one of the functions of the state is the direct promotion and encouragement of culture among the people.

³ **राजकार्य**—Which have many ends, hence highly complicated state functions, perhaps of great diplomatic importance.

*254-255. There is no letter (of alphabet) which bears no charm; there is no root (of plants) that possesses no medicinal properties. So also there is no man who is (utterly) unfit. But the rarity is the person who can connect.

256-258. The man who knows of the various species of elephants, e.g., *Prabhadrā*, *Airāvata*, *Pundarika*, etc., their treatment, the methods of training them, their diseases, the art of nourishing them; who can discover and distinguish their qualities by studying the roof of the mouth, the tongue, and the nails, who knows how to climb them and guide their movements, should be appointed to take care of elephants.

259. The guide with such qualifications is sure to captivate the heart of the elephant (is sure to master its passions).

*260-263. The man who knows of the feelings of horses, and can discover and distinguish their qualities by studying their species, colour and movements, who knows how to guide, train and treat them, and is aware of their mettle, spirit and diseases, who knows what is good and what is bad nourishment for them, who knows of their weight, their capacity for bearing weights, their teeth and their age, who besides is valorous, adept in military parades and is wise, should be appointed to the superintendentship of horses.

*264-267. The man who has all these qualifications and besides knows of the yoke and the burden, who knows of the strength of chariots,

¹ Śukrāchāryya has been dilating on the skill and discrimination required of the master for the selection of proper men for tasks for which they are fit. These two lines contain the general truth that there is nothing in the world that is absolutely useless. Everything has its own use.—The greatest difficulty is to find out the man who can make proper use of these things in the universe, create mantras by connecting the letters of the alphabet, discover medicines by finding out the relation of plants with human bodies.

The kernel of truth that Śukrañiti establishes, for the success of organisations, and what all responsible men should regard as the first principle is the maxim, 'Give each man his proper work.' ^२—the combiner, connector, the man who can discover the relations existing between bodies, and hence the effects of various sets of juxtapositions.

³ Śukrāchāryya's statement of qualifications for the Superintendents of horses and elephants contains, as it should, a knowledge of practical zoology and veterinary science. And as the two animals differ in many respects both as regards physique, movements and habits, it is easy to see why the two offices should be kept separate. A good groom is not likely to be a good tender of elephants.

⁴ The master of chariots must have not only all the qualifications of keepers of horses, but the additional merits of discriminating the qualities of wood and other materials used in the building of chariot, so that he might be confident of the strength of his vehicle; and he must also be skilled in the mechanical movements required for manipulating it.

^५ Destroyer of the mark fixed for the attacking missile.

and is skilled in moving, rotating and turning them about, who by movements of chariots can frustrate the aims (of enemies marked by missiles and weapons, and who knows how to fasten and protect the horses should be appointed as master of chariots.

268-269. Those are to be made grooms of horses who are brave, versed in military parades and battle arrays and know of the movements of horses, who are intelligent and know the art of warfare with arms and weapons.

270-273. The trainer of horses is he who knows of the eleven kinds of horses' movements such as : (1) circular, (2) galloping, (3) prancing, (4) trotting, (5) jumping, (6) speedy, (7) slow, (8) tortuous, (9) serpentine, (10) rolling, revolving, and (11) galloping at full speed ; and who can 'break' them according to their strength and according to the uses to which they would be put.

274-275. The man who can serve the horses well, who knows how to place the saddles, etc., and who is able-bodied and brave should be made a groom.

276-280. Those who are well up in *Nitiśāstras*, the use of arms and ammunitions, manipulations of battle arrays, and the art of management and discipline, who are not too young but of middle age, who are brave, self-controlled, able-bodied, always mindful of their own duties, devoted to their masters and haters of enemies should be made commanders and soldiers whether they are Śūdras or Kṣatriyas, Vaidyas or descended from Mlechchhas.

281-285. There should be appointed a head over five or six foot-soldiers. Such an officer is called *Pattipāla*. The *Gaulmika* is the head of thirty foot-soldiers. The *Śatānika* is the head of one hundred foot-soldiers. The *Anusānika* is the head of one hundred foot-soldiers. There should be an officer over one thousand and an officer over ten thousand troops.

सव्य—Saddle.

निति—Discipline, rules of etiquette. The Military Department must follow these rules and ceremonials very punctiliously. Hence only well disciplined men can be taken into the army.

L. 279—There is no caste in and for military organisations. The army may be recruited from any caste.

Rank of the army :—

पञ्चस्र—head of 5 or 6 infantry.

शतस्र—Head of 30

सहस्र—Head of 100

सहस्रस्र—Head of 100 infantry.

सहस्रस्र—Head of 1,000

सहस्रस्र—Head of 10,000

286-287. The man who trains the soldiers in the morning and in the evening in military parades, and who knows the art of warfare as well as the characteristics of battle-fields is the *Śatānīka*.

288. The *Anuśatīka* who has these qualifications is a help to the *Śatānīka*.

289-290. The *Senānt* is he who knows of the military necessities, contingencies, and the battle-worthy soldiers and appoints functions to the guards and sentinels.

291-292. The *pattipa* is he who conducts the rotation of watchmen on duty at night. And *gulmapa* knows carefully those on night duty.

293-294. The *Lekhaka* (clerk) is he who knows how many soldiers are there, how much salary has been received by them, where the old soldiers have gone.

295. The master of twenty elephants or of twenty horses is known as the *Nāyaka*.

296. The king should mark the above-mentioned officers with appropriate uniforms.

297-298. Those men are to be masters of goat, sheep, cows, buffaloes, deer, etc., who are skilful in tending and nourishing them and who have love for these animals.

299. Of like qualifications there should be appointed men to serve elephants, camels, &c.

300-302. They are also of warlike dispositions, domesticators of *titira* birds, and good teachers of parrots, and know when *syena* birds fall victims to arrows as well as the inward feelings of these animals.

303-304. That man is to be in charge of gold, jewels, silver and coins who can distinguish their values by their weight, shape, lustre, colour, and resemblances.

305-306. The man who is self-controlled, possesses wealth, knows the arts of politics, considers riches as valuable as life and is very miserly is to be the Treasurer.

307-308. That man is to be in charge of clothing who can distinguish the values of woollen and silken clothes by studying the places of

¹ Parades were held twice every day under the supervision of the head of 100 soldiers.

² The *Senānt* is thus like *Anuśatīka* an assistant to *Śatānīka*. He is in charge of the commissariat, general health and comfort of the troops under the *Śatānīka*, something like a civil attendant of the troops.

³ ~~One~~—The officer in charge of all facts and figures. He can supply statistics and news about the Military Department.

origin, the nature of men who have woven them, the fineness and roughness of texture, as well as the durability or otherwise of the fabrics.

309-312. That man is to be Superintendent of tents and furniture, etc., who knows the methods of dyeing, laying out beds, fitting camps, and arrangements of clothes.

313-314. That man is to be the Superintendent of the granary who knows of the species, measurements, values, essential characteristics of the grains, as well as the methods of consuming, collecting and cleaning them.

315-316. The Kitchen Superintendent is he who can distinguish the washed from non-washed food substances, and can distinguish the mixtures and varieties of tastes, who is skilled in the culinary arts and who knows of the attributes of substances.

317-319. The Superintendent of parks and forests is he who knows of the causes of growth and development of flowers and fruits, who knows how to plant and cure the trees by administering proper soil and water at the suitable time, and who knows of their medicinal properties.

320-324. That man is to be the Supervisor of buildings and palaces who can construct palaces, ditches, forts, ramparts, images, machines, and bridges, who can dig wells, lakes, tanks, and can build artificial fountains and pumps for discharging water upwards,—all this very finely according to canons of fine Arts.

325-326. That man is said to be in charge of the household who knows fully of the requisites of the king and collects the things at the proper time.

327-328. That man should be appointed to the post of superintending the religious establishments and institutions who is mindful of his own duty in life, always devoted to religious practices and has no greed and hankering.

329-332. The Superintendent of charities is to be that person who does not disappoint the beggar, does not amass wealth, who is charitable, has no greed, can detect the merits of others, is not slothful, who is kind, gentle in words, knows the proper objects of charity and is very humble.

¹ वास्तुशास्त्रिणि—Corresponds to Superintendents of Botanical Gardens of modern times.

² The qualifications described here are those of the Civil Engineer. In modern times also the officer in charge of Public Works must be a Civil Engineer.

³ वस्तु—Commodities.

This officer is something like a butler who ministers to the daily wants of the household and keeps things in order.

333-336. Those who are versed in the arts of politics, have intelligence and are men of good deeds, habits and attributes, who are impartial to friends and foes alike, religious-minded and truthful, who are not slothful, who have conquered the passions of anger, lust and cupidity, who are gentle in speech and old in age should be made members of Council irrespective of caste.

337-338. That man is to be appointed head of hostels and inns for strangers who looks upon all beings as self, who has no hankering and has respect for guests, and who is always charitable.

339-340. The examiner should be he who is devoted to the good of others, who does not divulge other's secrets, who bears no hatred and who appreciates merits of others.

341-342. The chief is he who inflicts punishments in such a way as not to annihilate the subjects and who is neither too cruel nor too lenient.

343-344. The head of the village, like the father and the mother, protects the people from aggressors, thieves and also from officers.

345-346. The gardener collects flowers and fruits after having duly nourished the trees with care. The collector of taxes is to be like him.

347-348. The clerk is to be he who has skill in accounts, who knows of the differences between countries and languages, and who can write without hesitation and without vagueness.

349-350. The sentinel or news-bearer is to be well up in the use of arms and weapons, able-bodied, active in habits, and humble in responding appropriately (to orders).

351-352. That man is a good collector of taxes and duties who realises these from shop-keepers in such a way as not to destroy their capital.

353-354. That man is said to be practising penances who takes regular fasts, systematically observes the rules, regulations and rites of religious life, is bent on meditation, self-controlled, merciful and un-covetous.

¹ The principle of Taxation is suggested by the art of the gardener who deprives the trees of their products but not of their life. Taxation is a painful necessity but must not be heavy enough to kill the people.

² The ~~man~~ must be proficient in Mathematics, History, Geography and Language.

³ Both as regards ~~the~~ (i.e., duties or taxes on goods) and ~~the~~ (revenue from land) the principle of collection is the same—viz., not to destroy the productive capacity altogether.

355-356. That man is charitable who gives away wealth, wife and sons to those who beg for those and who takes nothing (in return).

357-358. They are known to be *Srutajna* or learned men who can read and teach (the Śrutis, Smṛitis, and the Purāṇas), who have studious habits.

359-360. That man is *Paurāṇika* who is master of literature, knows music, has a good voice and is well up in the five aspects of Purāṇas.

361-362. That man is said to be versed in Śāstras who is master of *Mīmāṃsā*, *Tarka*, *Vedānta*, and authority as evidence, who knows where to place which word and who can ably explain matters to others.

363-364. That man is an astrologer who knows the *Saṃhita*, Science of Time, Mathematics, and who is aware of the past, present and future conditions of men.

365-366. That man is a *Mātrika* (magician or charmer) who can discover merits and demerits by reciting hymns or incantations according to a certain order, who is devoted to hymns and incantations and who has influence with the spirits.

367-368. That man is known to be a physician who can discover the real nature of diseases by studying their causes, symptoms and remedies, and who attempts prescriptions after knowing them to be curable or incurable.

369-370. That man is a *Tāntrika* or an observer of the *Tantras* who tries to propitiate the gods by hymns and mantras other than those of *Srutis* and *Smṛitis* on the conviction that the procedure would do good to him.

371-372. Those who are sexless, who are truthful, sweet-tongued, come of respectable families and are of beautiful forms, should be appointed in the inner apartments.

373-376. The maid-servants are to be those who are faithful to their husbands, practise religious rites and who are able-bodied, not young but middle-aged, skilled in serving, and who are ever ready to do all works however humble.

377-378. They are to be appointed as secret spies who are adepts in understanding the activities of enemies, subjects and servants and who can faithfully reproduce what they hear.

¹ कुरीति—The 5 aspects or characteristics of Purāṇas. (1) कर्म (Creation). (2) कुरीति (Destruction). (3) वंश Dynasties. (4) कल्पवृक्ष (Epochs), (5) वंशवृक्ष (Deeds of dynasties). The Purāṇas treat of these 5 topics.

² कल्पवृक्ष—Skilled in the proper use of words,

¹379-380. The *Vetradharas* are to be those men with arms who can teach people coming to the presence of the king the methods of salutation, etc., as well as the seats they should take.

(?) 381-384. He is the head of the musicians who knows and can produce the seven notes, who knows how to sing in union with music or dance or beat.

385-387. These lines describe the concubines.

388-389. Other servants who can please their master's heart by their work should also be appointed by the king for his own welfare (and satisfaction).

²390-392. (Among such attendants are) the songsters who awaken the king in the morning by their music, poets, guards of honour, artisans and artists, fools, ventriloquists, dancers and harlequins, who are always useful.

393-394. Those who construct parks, artificial forests and pleasure-gardens, builders of forts, (gunners) who can pierce the objects they aim at by the balls thrown out of big cannons.

³395-396. Those who make lighter machines, gunpowder, arrows, cannon-balls, and swords, and construct various tools and implements, arms and weapons, bows and quivers, &c.

⁴397-398. Those who prepare ornaments of gold, jewels, &c., builders of chariots, stone cutters, blacksmiths and those who enamel metals.

⁵399-400. Potters, coppersmiths, carpenters, roadmakers, barbers, washers, and those who carry nightsoil.

⁶401. Messengers, tailors and bearers of royal emblems and ensigns.

402-403. Those who by the sound of trumpets, drums, conches, pipes, &c., can construct battle arrays, and

404-405. Sailors, miners, fowlers, menials and coolies, repairers of implements, and those who

¹ These men are masters of high class etiquette.

² Here follows an enumeration of the various crafts and industries that, according to *Sukrāchāryya*, should be rightly encouraged. Here is, in short, a picture of the socio-economic life of the age of *Sukraniti*.

³ The military industry is described in these 3 lines.

⁴ Industries connected with wood, stones, metals and minerals are enumerated here.

⁵ The humbler industries are enumerated here.

⁶ *सुवर्ण-कार*—Coppersmith.

कर्म-कार—Carpenter.

सूत्र-कार—Tailor.

406-407. Shop-keepers, prostitutes, those who live upon the musical instruments and their wives, weavers, bird-catchers, artists and leather-merchants.

408-409. Those who repair and cleanse houses, utensils and clothes and winnow grains, those who know how to spread beds and fit out tents, as well as governors(?).

410-411. Those who prepare fragrant resins, and who are skilled in the preparation of betels—all these humble and low workers have to be appointed to their proper works.

412-413. Truth and philanthropy are the two most sacred of all virtues. The king should always have servants having these qualities.

414-415. Envy is the greatest of all sins, mendacity is greater than envy. The king should not have servants having these vices.

416-417. The good servant is he who knows when what is to be said or done and does or says that at the proper time.

418-419. The servant should get up during the last three hours of the night, consider the duties to be performed during the day, ease himself of excreta, remember Vishnu and then have his bath.

420-421. Then he should finish his morning prayers within half a *muhūrta*, go to his place of work and study what should be done and what not.

422-423. Standing at the gate he should obstruct anybody who enters without permission, but let him in when after informing the king he has been ordered to do so.

424-425. The mace-bearer having seen that people have come into the council-room, should communicate to the king their salutations and then point out their seats.

426-427. Then he should go into the palace, and, if ordered, come before the king bowing down to him as to the second self of Vishnu.

428-429. He should fix his eyes on half of the master's seat and not cast them anywhere else.

430-431. He should approach the king as a burning fire; the master who is lord of life and wealth is, as it were, a snake infuriated.

432-434. He should ever serve him with care and never consider himself to be anything. He should take up his side and speak sweet words or speak clearly and distinctly when asked by him.

435-436. In disputes or discussions which involve easy problems even if he knows of the opinions of the parties, he should not say anything.

¹ श्रेणी—Clubs, associations, here discussions, &c.

437-439. He should always be moderate in dress, and when called by the king, with folded hands and bent head, hear what he says. Then having obeyed his command he should inform his own actions.

440. Having bowed down to the king one should take his seat either on the side or in the front according to instruction.

441-442. He should not indulge in loud laughter or coughing, should desist from spitting, abusing, yawning, stretching the limbs as well as relieving the joints of the body.

443-444. He should sit with pleasure at the place where he has been ordered by the king, and give up vanity though he be old and wise.

445-446. The well-wisher should say good words even when unasked if there be some danger, or if there be something wrong in the affairs or if the time appointed for some action is seen to be expiring.

* 447-448. He should say what is pleasant, true, useful and virtuous, and always explain to him what is his good on terms of equality.

449. He should describe the fame of other kings and narrate the effects of virtuous life.

✓ 450-451. "O king, thou art charitable, virtuous, and valorous and livest a moral life. There exists no immoral feeling in your mind."

452-453. He should always mention before him the persons who have been ruined through immorality.

* 454. 'Thou art superior to kings'—This should be said but superiority to all must not be mentioned.

* 455-456. The man who is aware of the conditions of time and place always serves the interests of others according to the circumstances (presented before him). He should always say therefore to kings in a manner that does not do harm to others.

✓ 457. He should never destroy the interests of the subjects.

✓ 458-459. Starved by hunger the Pandit should rather rest even as a dry pillar but he should never resort to means of livelihood that are attended with disrepute.

460. One should be mindful of those activities with which he has been entrusted. One should not desire the rights of another, nor should he envy anybody.

¹ This is to be the burden of remarks made to the king by visitors.

² This is a warning against exaggeration. The king should hear what might encourage him but not what is downright flattery.

³ Thus the praise that this king is better than many kings is vague and cannot detract from the proper reputation of any specified ruler.

461-462. One should not mark the defects of others but try to remove them as far as possible. There is nothing more efficacious for creating friends than philanthropy.

463-464. One should not put off an action in the wish that 'I shall do your work afterwards,' but should proceed with it at once if possible without keeping it over for long on hope.

465-466. One should not divulge the secret actions or policies of the master—and should never even reflect in mind on envy and ruin about him.

467. One should not glibly consider the king to be one's intimate friend.

468-469. One should give up companionship, intercourse and association with women, hangers-on, vicious men, enemies and those who have been forsaken

470. One should not imitate the dress and language of the king.

471. Even if one is well-to-do and intelligent, one should not pride in these.

472-473. The skilful man should note the pleasure and displeasure of the king, by studying his inward feelings, outward expressions and movements.

474. He should leave the king when displeased, but should humour him when satisfied.

475-476. During displeasure the king causes one's destruction and the prosperity of the enemy, and by giving rise to hopes, frustrates the fruits.

477-478. Even without anger he looks as if he were angry; and even though looking satisfied, he does no good for he speaks words feelingly but cuts off the grants.

479-480. He faces contrariwise if his virtues are narrated, and he looks to other sides if some work is being done.

481. These are the signs of displeasure. Now I mention the signs of pleasure.

482-483. He is pleased at the sight, hears what one has to say with eagerness, inquires about health and provides seats.

484-485. He does not fear interviewing him in secret, and is known to be well pleased with hearing words of or about him.

486-487. He appreciates even unpleasant remarks coming from him, and accepts his presents though small in amount.

488-489. He remembers him during conversation. These are the marks of royal pleasure. Service should be rendered to him.

490-491. One should always put on the clothes, uniforms and emblems granted by the king, and ever communicate to him, the excess or deficit in one's jurisdiction.

492. He should hear of or narrate the stories relating to him.

493-494. If through the fault of spies and secret officers the king says anything wrong, one should hear that in silence but not accept it as a truth.

495. One should never desert a good master who has fallen into distress.

496-497. One should daily wish for the good of him whose food he has taken even once in life. Should not that of the Protector be wished for always?

498-499. The subordinate may become the chief in time through constant service. The chief may also become subordinate through idleness in service.

500-501. The man who is ever serviceable soon becomes the king's favourite. He performs gladly the work that belongs to his jurisdiction.

502. One should not do mean works, and the king should not also order for such.

503-504. But in the absence of one who is to do that work, the king's order should be obeyed. For even superior men have to do inferior works which become duties in time.

505-506. One should not desire harm for one with whom the king is pleased, nor should display the greatness of one's own functions.

507-508. The officers should not envy one another, nor should they ever get into conflicts. For the officers have been appointed by the king each to his own post.

509-510. Where the officers and the king both are in good order there wealth is permanent, extensive and available.

511-512. The King should not express the deeds of another officer though he has heard of them nor should he hear of them through some other source.

513-514. Those officers who do not explain what is good and what is harmful to the king are really his secret enemies in the form of servants.

515-516. The king who does not listen to the counsels of ministers about things good and bad to him is a thief in the form of a ruler, an exploiter of the people's wealth.

517-518. Those ministers who in concert with princes militate against the king (?) are secret thieves.

519-520. Princes, even if young, should not be disregarded by ministers, but should always be carefully addressed in respectful terms.

521-522. One should never point out the defects of their character to the king. For love of wife and children is very great, their slander is not likely to do good.

523-526. 'I am sure to accomplish first what is absolutely necessary for the king even though at the risk of life. Please command me'—Thus saying one should at once proceed with the work according to one's ability. And one should sacrifice his life even for great deeds and for kings.

527-528. The servant is for maintaining his kith and kin, never for other purposes. All servants exploit wealth, while the king takes life.

529-530. The king takes the life of servants in warfare and other great deeds. And the servant takes away the wealth of the king in the form of wages.

531. If they take otherwise they become destroyers of themselves.

532-533. The king with the princes is always to be respected by *Amātyas* and other ministers. Below them in respectability comes the order of nine ministers, next the army of officers.

534. The commander of ten thousand infantry is to be respected like the ministers. The commander of one thousand is slightly lower.

535. One should not play like the king, and should encourage him while at play.

536. The queen as well as daughters are not to be disrespected by the ministers.

537. The relatives of the king as well as their friends have to be duly respected.

538. When called by the king one should come immediately to him leaving thousand important actions.

539. One should not express even to a friend the well-considered deeds of kings.

540-541. One should not desire anything more than the salary that is not given and should not want salary in the course of the work.

¹ Both king and servant are thieves in their own ways, by their very functions. So that taking of life and of wealth is legitimate in the two cases. *अपराध* etc. Deviation from these would lead to tyranny and robbery.

—Thus if the king kills men in ordinary times he becomes an arbitrary ruler who is soon likely to be overthrown. And if the servants break open the coffers of the state they will be treated as robbers and will have to rot in the jail.

542. One should not destroy the interests of others through greed.

543. One should protect the king by one's own wife, children and wealth at the proper time.

544. One should not receive bribes nor should explain things to the king wrongly.

545-546. One should advise the king for his benefit in some secret place when he is found to be an oppressor and punisher without rhyme or reason.

547. One should not do anything that is good to the king but is harmful to the people.

548. Thus new taxes and duties are vexatious to the people.

549-550. If the king be an enemy of virtue, morality and strength, people should desert him as the ruiner of the state.

551-552. In his place for the maintenance of the state the priest with the consent of the *Prakṛiti*, i.e., ministers should install one who belongs to his family¹ and is qualified.

553-554. The man who carries on *astra*, i.e., missile, should sit at a place beyond the range of the weapon, the man who carries a *sastra*, i.e., an arm, at a distance of ten cubits, and king's friends where instructed.

555. Ministers and clerks should always sit at a distance of five cubits.

556. The king should not enter the assembly without commanders and without full armour.

557-561. The commander is of a high grade, but the priest is of a superior order; friends and relatives are of the same order. Ministers have a very high status. The officers have a middle position. The audience and clerks are of a low status. The servants and attendants are of the lowest rank. But even lower than these are the menials.

562-564. In receiving the priest and ministers the king should cheerfully get up from his seat, come before them, offer them seats and inquire about their health, &c.

565. In the case of the officers he should sit gracefully.

566-567. The king should have three characters—that of the autumn moon to the learned people, that of the summer sun to the enemies, and that of the spring sun to the subjects.

¹ Expulsion of the king recommended when he is an enemy of the state.

568-569. If to people below the rank of Brahmins the king should behave with leniency, these lower orders would overpower him just as the elephant-catchers master elephants.

570-571. The king should not indulge in jokes or sports with the servants. These cause insult to kings and are dangerous to them.

572-573. These lower orders approach the king separately for their self-interest after finishing their work well, for all are selfish.

574-575. They frustrate, disregard and contradict the king's instructions, eat the royal food, do not stay at their own functions.

576-577. They divulge his secrets and make public his bad actions, put on the dress of the king and always deceive him.

578-579. They decorate their wives and laugh when the king is angry, behave shamelessly and disregard the king in a moment.

580. They disobey his orders and do not fear to do misdeeds.

581. These are the defects due to jokes and sports indulged in by the king with men of lower orders.

✓ 582-583. The officer or servant is not to do anything without the king's written order. Nor should the king command anything great or small without written order.

✓ 584. A written document is the best guide, for to err is human.

585-586. Both the king who commands without writing and the officer who does anything without written orders are thieves.

✓ 587. The written document with the king's seal is the real king. The king is not a king.

588-590. The best is the document which bears the king's seal and handwriting. The document written by the king is of a good validity, while that prepared by ministers is tolerable. That written by the citizens is inferior. But all are valid.

591-594. *Amātyas*, princes and officers who have been entrusted by the king with responsibilities should submit written reports of their work once a day, once a month, once a year or once during many years.

595-596. The officers should keep a memorandum or precis of written orders passed by the king, for with time men forget or mistake past things.

597-598. In ancient times writing was created by *Brahmā* to remind what happened as the symbol or representative of vocal sounds and tones.

¹ Here is an abstract conception worthy of the most recent times. The royal seal is the real king, not the person.*

² Each department to furnish daily, monthly, yearly, quinquennial reports, &c.

599-600. Documents are of two kinds—for describing works or deeds and for keeping accounts of income and expenditure. Each, however, has been greatly diversified through varieties of usage and practice.

✓601-602. A *jaya patra* or a document of judgment is one that contains an account of the case or suit brought forward, arguments for and against, and also the decision.

✓603-604. An *djñā patra* or document of order is one by which functions are entrusted to tributary chiefs, officers or governors of districts.

605-606. A *prajñā patra* or document of notification is that by which priests, sacrificers, worshippers and other venerable men are informed of the rites they have to perform.

✓607-608. A *śāsana patra* or a document of public notice and regulations for the people is that which contains the king's own signature and date and begins in the following way: "Hear ye all, or Notice is hereby given that, etc., such and such things must be done by you, etc."

✓609-610. A *prasād patra* or document of pleasure is that by which the king confers lands, etc., on persons satisfied with their services, valour, etc.

✓611-612. *Bhoga patra* or the documents giving right to enjoyment, the document giving right to the tribute, and the document giving right to presents or privileges may be, for generations or for certain stated periods.

✓613-614. The brothers and relatives who have voluntarily separated themselves from one another frame a document describing the partition. That is called *bhāgalekhyā* or partition deed.

✓615-616. One should frame a document after giving away or bequeathing houses, lands, etc. That is called *dāna patra* or deed of gift which is indestructible and cannot be received back.

✓617-618. That document is called a deed of sale or purchase which contains an account of the measurements, values and witnesses of the dealings in houses and lands.

¹ *समस्य*—Matters in dispute, the suit.

समस्य—Decision, judgment.

² *भोग*—Gifts.

समस्य—Grants of tribute.

समस्य—Charters of privileges.

समस्य—Present.

³ *अमर्याद*—Which cannot be destroyed.

अमर्याद—Which cannot be brought back.

619-620. A *sādi patra* is that document which contains an account of the things pledged, values received and witnesses in the matter of a transaction which involves the pawn or pledge of movables or immovables.

621-622. A *satya lekhyā* is that agreement which two townships make between themselves while the *samvit patra* is the treaty between two kings to observe dharma without fighting with one another.

623-624. A *ṛina lekhyā* or document of loan is known to be that which contains an account of the witnesses and is framed on the receipt of some money at interest.

625-626. A *suddhi patra* or document of purgation is that which contains an account of witnesses and is framed after some curse has been worked out or a penance has been duly performed.

627-628. A *samayika patra* or business deed is one which individuals frame after combining their shares of capital for some business concern.

629-630. A document which has not been executed by an assessor or an official or a member of the Court and which is admitted by the opposite party is said to be a deed of compromise.

631-632. The letters that are written to know of each other's works and circumstances should begin with words of blessing and grace and contain reference or reply to previous affairs.

633-634. They should not be vague, and mysterious, but be distinct in letters and words, and should contain the names of themselves and their parents.

¹ सादिलेख—Receipt for a pawn in lieu of certain things placed under certain conditions as to time, use, etc.

² मेलनपत्र—Joint-stock companies formed by the combinations of shares स्वयंसाय for certain व्यवसाय—(commercial transactions).

साधकाः—Individual shareholders who want to co-operate and form a company.

The various kinds of business and legal documents enumerated in these lines :—

- (1) अक्षपत्र—Sentence or judgment.
- (2) आज्ञापत्र—Order.
- (3) प्रज्ञापनपत्र—Instructions to priests, etc.
- (4) साधनपत्र—Public Notification.
- (5) मन्त्रापत्र—Gifts.
- (6) भोगपत्र—Enjoyment, usufruct.
- (7) भागपत्र—Partition.
- (8) दानपत्र—Gifts.
- (9) प्रत्यपत्र—Sale or Purchase.
- (10) सादिलेख—Security or paw.
- (11) रक्षितलेख—As explained above.
- (12) उचितपत्र—Treaty.
- (13) ऋणपत्र—Loan.
- (14) शुद्धिपत्र—Purification.
- (15) समयिकपत्र—Combined action for commercial purposes.

635-636. These should be duly attended with the words of respect in singular, dual or plural number and marked with the year, month, fortnight, day, name and caste of the writers.

637-638. A *keshema patra* is that which begins with obeisance or blessing, which fully explains the affairs and is systematic and is meant for master, servant or those who are to be served.

639-640. That which contains all these characteristics and describes an attack upon oneself or refers to some pain suffered is called *bhāshāpatra*.

641-642. Thus have been mentioned in brief the various documents describing deeds or actions together with the characteristic features of each. Now is being described the other class of writings by which account of receipts and disbursements are kept.

643-644. The documents for keeping accounts are of various kinds and designated under different names according to the differences in amount great or small, values and measurements.

645-646. An income denotes the bringing under possession gold, cattle, grains, etc., annually, monthly or daily.

647. An expenditure denotes the giving away of possession of wealth to others.

648. Income may be new as well as old.

649. Expenditure is of two kinds—for enjoyment or for exchange.

650-651. Accumulated wealth is of three kinds, that whose proprietary rights are known to belong to others, that whose owners are not known, and that which is surely one's own.

652. That wealth, the proprietary rights of which belong to others, i.e., the first class of accumulated wealth is, again, of three kinds, that which has been kept as pawn or security by others, that which has been realised by begging, and that which has been collected through loan.

¹ Besides the 15 classes of *वस्तु* mentioned above some others have been enumerated in ll. 681-41. The first may be described as official, business or legal. The others which are of a private nature are :—

(1) *वैयर्थ्य*

(2) *व्ययर्थ्य*

² *व्यय*—Small.

व्यय—Many.

³ Three characteristics of *वस्तु*—

(1) Commodities.

(2) Possession.

(3) Period of realisation.

⁴ 'Consumption,' as the modern economic category is, may be direct as well as indirect. It may be for future production and involve only an exchange of goods.

⁵ In modern Public Finance also Debts are shown on the Assets side.

'653-655. *Aupanidhika* wealth is that which has been placed with one by good people through confidence. *Yāchita* wealth is that which has been collected without any consideration of interest, e.g., ornaments, &c., while *Auttamarnika* wealth is that which is borrowed at some interest.

✓'656-657. That wealth whose owners are unknown (i.e., the second class of accumulated wealth) is illustrated by gems and jewels picked up in streets.

'658. That wealth which surely belongs to oneself (i.e., the third class of accumulated wealth) is again, of two kinds, normal and artificial.

659-661. That income is said to be normal which grows regularly by days, months or years.

'662-664. Profits of sale, interest, wealth realised by services rendered, rewards, remuneration, wealth conquered, &c., all these constitute *adhika* (increase) class of one's own wealth. All else is normal.

665. Accumulated wealth is of two classes, last year's surplus or balance and the current year's receipts.

'666-667. Each of *adhika* and *śhajika* or normal, i.e., each of both the classes of one's own wealth is again of two kinds, *pārthiva* (territorial) and *non-pārthiva*.

668-670. *Pārthiva* income is that which comes of land of the earth. That again is various owing to various sources, e.g., natural waters, artificial waters, villages and cities.

Income from the land is again divided into various classes owing to the divisions of land and great, small or medium amounts.

'671-672. The duties, fines, royalties on mines, presents and

¹ Both the last two species of receipts have to be paid back. But there is an interest in one case while the other is gratuitous or friendly help.

² *वृद्धि*—Naturally accruing, normal.

वृद्धि—Increase (profits) from business, &c.

³ The *वृद्धि* class would be what is known as quasi-economic receipts of states in modern times, i.e., revenues accruing not from the normal functions of the state as a political organisation, but from those of the state as a business concern, owner of property, capitalist, &c.

⁴ *पार्थिव*—Pertaining to the earth, land, soils, &c.

⁵ *भात*—Wages, price paid for the use of any thing.

The schedule of income as described in the above lines is given below :—

I. *निरिक्तास्वत्वादि*—Belonging to others.

(1) *पौनिक*—Pawn placed by others as deposit.

(2) *वसित*—Begged, e.g., ornaments, &c.

(3) *कैरलिक*—Loan.

II. *अज्ञातस्वत्वादि*—Whose owners are unknown, e.g., things picked up in streets, which escheat to the state.

contributions, &c., are known to constitute non-territorial income according to writers and specialists.

673. Expenditure is named after the purpose for which wealth has been realised.

674. Expenditure also can be both great and small.

675. Expenditure falls into two heads—that which will come back, and that which destroys the right for ever.

676-677. That disbursement is said to be *ābritta*, i.e., to have the attribute of being able to come back which is hoarded, deposited with others, exchanged, or lent to debtors with or without interest.

678-681. *Nidhi* is that which is hidden underground, *upanidhi* is that which is placed with others as deposit. That is said to *vinimayī-kṛita* or exchanged which is received on payment of some price. That is said to be *ādhamarṇika* which is given to others with or without an increase. Of these that with interest is called a loan or *ṛiṇa*, that without interest is called *yāchita* or got by begging.

682. That which does away with proprietary right is of two kinds, worldly and other-worldly.

683-684. *Aihika* or worldly disbursement is divided into four classes—price or return of value, reward, salary and food (and other necessities). *Pārālaukika* or other-worldly disbursement (is innumerable and) admits of infinite divisions.

686-688. *Pratidāna* is known to be that which is paid by way of price. *Pārītoṣika* is that which is paid as reward for service, valour, etc. *Vetana* is that which is paid as salary or wages.

689-691. *Upabhogya* is said to be that which is paid for grains, clothing, houses, parks, cattle, elephants, chariots, etc., acquisition of learning, kingdoms, wealth as well as for protection.

III. स्वसम्पत्—One's own property :—

(1) साम्प्रतिक—Normal, accruing to the state as a political organisation :

(a) पृथिवी—Terrestrial—coming from the rights of sovereignty over lands, rivers, seas, lakes, tanks, wells, &c.

(b) अस्मत्—Non-terrestrial—taxes, duties, fines, presents, royalties, prices.

(2) अतिरिक्त—Increase—quasi-economic or semi-private receipts—(i) Profits, (ii) Interest, (iii) Fees, (iv) Rewards, (v) Salary, (vi) Booty.

(a) पृथिवी—Accruing from dealings in lands, waters, &c.

(b) अस्मत्—Income from dealings in taxes, fines, &c.

692-696. Houses are meant for gold, jewels, silver, coins, etc., musical instruments, arms and weapons, clothes, grains and other necessities, ministers, arts, play, physician, cattle, cooking and birds. Expenditure on these items is called *bhogyā*.

697. *Pāralaukika* expenditure is of four classes—that for penances, sacrifices, worship and charity.

699-701. Both income and expenditure are of two classes, *āpātaka* and *nivartī*.

702-703. The accountant or scribe who keeps accounts of income and expenditure should part with goods after writing and receive goods after writing in such a way as not to cause diminution or increase in amount.

704-706. Incomes and expenditures are of various kinds owing to the varieties of source, amount, relation, as well as measurement, number, and weight.

707-708. For business purposes experts desire sometimes the number, sometimes the weight as methods of measurement.

709-710. A *Māna* is known to be the standard of the *āṅgula*, *Unmāna* is known to be the standard of the balance, *Parimāna* is the standard of vessels. *Samkhyā* is the standard of numerical notation one, two, &c.

711. One should use these standards according to the needs of each case.

712-713. *Dravya* or goods is silver, gold, copper, coined for commercial purposes, *vouries* and gems for use.

714. *Dhana* or wealth is cattle, grains, clothes and grass.

715-716. Gold which belongs to oneself acquires a value in commercial transactions and an object comes into existence on this earth through the concurrence of several causes.

717. The *mūlya* of a commodity is the price paid for acquiring it.

718-719. Prices of commodities are high or low according as they are attainable with or without ease and according as they do or do not possess attributes.

720-721. One should not fix a low price for gems and minerals. Their depreciation is due to wickedness of kings.

¹ In determining the value or price of a commodity two points are to be noticed—(1) *vyavasthā*—Ease or difficulty of attainment—referring to the cost of production determining the supply. (2) *vyavasthā*—Its utility or power of satisfying wants, etc., because of its properties—referring to the demand for it determined by its uses.

729-730. The king after seeing and studying the document should place his handwriting wherever he likes.

731-738. The *Mantri*, Chief Justice, learned adviser as well as the ambassador should write "This document has been written with my consent." The *Amātya* should write 'Well written is this,' the *Sumantra* then should write 'Well considered.' The *Pradhāna* should write 'True.' The *Pratinidhi* is to write 'It can now be approved.' The Crown-Prince should write 'It should be accepted.' And the Priest is to write 'approved.'

739-740. They should put down their seals over it at the end of the writing. And the king is to write and sign 'accepted.'

741-744. As it is not possible for the king to see fully all details owing to the pressure of work (multiplicity of duties), the documents are generally to be examined by the Crown-Prince and other advisers who are to write upon it with their seals. And the king should at once write 'Seen.'

745-746. Incomes should be written first, then the disbursements; or incomes towards the left and disbursements towards the right of the page.

747-773. These lines describe the technique of keeping accounts and will not prove interesting to the general readers.

774. Writing has been described in brief which is an aid to men's memory.

775-776. *Gunja*, *Māsha*, *Karsha*, *Padārḍha*, and *Prāsthā*, each is equivalent to ten times the item preceding it. An *ādhaka* is equivalent to five *prasthas*.

777-778. Eight *ādhakas* constitute one *arṇava*, twenty *arṇavas* make one *khārikā*. These measures differ with countries.

779-780. A vessel five *angulas* deep and four *angulas* wide is known to be the measure of a quarter of *prastha* by specialists.

¹ Each document is thus to contain the signatures and seals of all the ten *Prakṛitī*-or advisers of the king as well as of the king himself and the Crown-Prince. So that everybody is accountable for the deed.

| | | | | | |
|---------|-----|-----|-----|-----|--------|
| १० गुण | ... | ... | ... | ... | १ पाप |
| १० पाप | ... | ... | ... | ... | १ कर्म |
| १० कर्म | ... | ... | ... | ... | १ पाप |
| १० पाप | ... | ... | ... | ... | १ कर्म |
| १० कर्म | ... | ... | ... | ... | १ पाप |
| १० पाप | ... | ... | ... | ... | १ कर्म |
| १० कर्म | ... | ... | ... | ... | १ पाप |
| १० पाप | ... | ... | ... | ... | १ कर्म |

781-782. Numbers, either in ascending or descending order are written from left to right and these being successively multiplied by ten reach up to the numeration called "Parardha" (10¹¹).

783-787. It is not possible to define number owing to the immensity of time. The lifetime of Brahmā is said to be two *parardhas* by the learned—unit, tens, hundreds, thousands, tens of thousands, hundreds of thousands, millions, &c.

788-789. Time is divided according to three systems—Solar movement, Lunar movement and according to *Sāvana*.

789-790. In making payments of wages one should always take the solar time, in augmenting interest one should take the lunar time. And the *Sāvana* system should be followed in [giving] daily wages.

791-792. Remuneration can be paid according to time, work or according to both. It is to be paid therefore as arranged, i.e., according to contract.

793-794. 'This weight is to be carried by you thither, and I shall give you so much for your work.' Remuneration calculated on this system is according to work.

795-796. "Every year, month or day I shall pay you so much." Remuneration calculated on this idea is according to time.

797-798. 'So much work has been done by you in so much time I shall pay you therefore so much.' Remuneration thus calculated is according to both time and work.

799-802. One should neither stop nor postpone payment of salary. Moderate remuneration is said to be that which supplies the indispensable food and clothing. Good wages is that by which food and clothing are adequately supplied. Low wages is that by which only one can be maintained.

803-804. According to the qualifications of the workers there should be the rates of wages fixed by the king carefully for his own welfare.

*805-806. Wages is to be so fixed that the worker may maintain those who are his compulsory charges.

*807-808. Those servants who get low wages are enemies by nature.

¹ The equitable rate of wages is that which considers not simply the absolute necessities of life but recognises the 'standard of life and comfort' as implied in the care for family and dependants.

² *अर्थशास्त्र*—Political and social effects of low wages. In considering the Labour Question and the rate of wages Sukrachāryya takes the essentially modern view that low wages is the cause of sundry social and moral evils. And his equitable standard anticipates by centuries the socialistic cries for 'higher life' to be 'lived by the working classes.'

They are auxiliaries to others and seekers of opportunities and plunderers of treasure and people.

809. Wages of Śūdras is to be just enough for food and raiment.

810. The man who maintains meat-eaters is visited with their sin.

811-812. The wealth that is stolen by the Brahman leads to good life hereafter, and the wealth that is given to the Śūdra leads only to hell.

813-814. Servants are of three kinds—inactive, ordinary and quick. Their wages therefore have to be low, ordinary, and high respectively.

815-816. For the discharge of their domestic duties servants should be granted leave for one *yāma* during day time and three *yāmas* by night. And the servant who has been appointed for a day should be allowed for half a *yāma*.

817-818. The king should make them work except on occasions of festivities, but in festivities also if the work be indispensable excepting in any case the days of *Śrāddha*.

819-821. He should pay a quarter less than the usual remuneration to the diseased servant; pay three months' wages to the servant who has served for five years; six months' wages to the servant who has been long ill; but not more to anybody.

822-824. Even a slight portion should not be deducted from the full remuneration of a servant who has been ill for half a fortnight. And a substitute should be taken of one who has lived for even one year. And if the diseased be highly qualified he should have half the wages.

825. The king should give the servant fifteen days a year respite from work.

826-827. The king should grant half the wages without work to the man who has passed forty years in his service.

828-829. For life, and to the son if minor and incapable, half the wages, or to the wife and well behaved daughters.

830-831. He should give the servant one-eighth of the salary by way of reward every year, and if the work has been done with exceptional ability one-eighth of the services rendered.

Do these economic theories and conceptions of Śukranīti point to the actual economic condition of the age depicted in it? There are other features in the treatise, economic, political and social, which suggest a highly complicated and comparatively modern organisation. It is very likely the Problem of Labour also was acute and Śukrachāryya had to face those problems which have tried the financial skill and statesmanlike ability of the greatest ministers of states in the ancient city-republics as well as modern empire-states.

832-833. He should give the same salary to the son of the man who died for his work, so long as he is a minor, otherwise should pay the remuneration according to the offspring's qualifications.

834-835. He should keep with him (as deposit) one-sixth or one-fourth of the servant's wages, should pay half of that amount or the whole in two or three years.

836-837. The master by harsh words, low wages, severe punishments and insult brings out in the servant the attributes of the enemy.

838-839. Those who are satisfied with wages and honoured by distinctions and pacified by soft words never desert their master.

840-841. The worst servants desire wealth, the medium want both wealth and fame, the best want fame. Reputation is the wealth of the great.

842-843. The king should satisfy both his servants and subjects according to their qualifications, some by spreading out branches, others by giving fruits.

844-845. He should gratify the others by gentle looks and smiles, soft words, good feast and clothes, and betels and wealth;

846-848. Somebody by inquiries about health, etc., and the grant of privileges, bearers, ornaments and uniforms, umbrellas, *châmar*, &c.

849-852. By mercy, obeisance, respect, attendance, services, knowledge, love, affection, association, offer of half one's seat or the full seat, praise or recital of the deeds done for the good of others.

853-855. He should mark those who have been his employees by the proper insignia of office placed on steel, copper, bronze, silver, gold and jewels.

856-857. For distinguishing from distance he should separate the officers by clothing, crowns, and musical instruments, &c.

858. The king should not give to anybody the uniform that is peculiarly his own.

*859,861. Ten advisers have been mentioned beginning with Priest. All of them are of the Brahman caste. In their absence Kshatriyas are to be appointed, Vaisyas in their absence again but never Sûdras are to be appointed even if they be qualified.

¹ The idea of establishing a Provident Fund is unmistakably suggested here.

² Here is a solution of the difficulty as to how each adviser could be made to take the responsibility of all departments.

✓862-863. The village head should be appointed a Brahman, the clerk is to be a *Kāyastha*. The tax-collector is a Kshatriya. The lord of *sahasa* is also a Kshatriya.

864. The Collector of duties is a Vaisya, and the sentinel is of Śūdra caste.

865-866. The Commander is to be a Kshatriya, and in his absence a Brahman. Neither Vaisya nor Śūdra nor a coward.

867. The Commander is to be valourous and (so) may be selected from all castes.

868. This [fighting] is the duty of the four pure as well as of the mixed castes, although it is not a holy [duty].

✓ 869. The king augments the happiness of the caste to which he himself belongs.

✓ 870-874. The servant should desert such a king as does not remember good done for him, is not satisfied with good service, does not remember the connexion between remarks, is suspicious, and gives pain to feelings when aggrieved.

875. Here have been narrated the marks as well as functions of princes and others.

CHAPTER III.

GENERAL RULES OF MORALITY.

1. Now are being explained to all the ordinary rules of social polity.

2-3. The activities of all creatures are known to have happiness for their end. There can be no happiness without morality. So one should be devoted to morality [dharma].

4-5. Let not one try to get mokṣa without trying to acquire the other three [viz, dharma, artha and kâma], and let him constantly follow [the path of] mokṣa without discarding the other three. This is the [golden] mean in all religions.

6-7. One should have low hair, nails and beards and clean feet and glands, should have daily baths, use scents and decent clothing, but should not be excessively gaudy.

8-9. One should always bear medicinal substances in jewels etc. consecrated by *mantras*, have umbrellas and shoes and walk in the streets with eyes fixed on the straight path only.

10. And at night on occasions connected with death one should be a stick-bearer and have a head-dress.

11. One should not mind other business while under a call of nature nor should use force to stop that call.

12. One should follow with respect friends who do good but keep others at distance.*

13-15. One should give up by mind, body and speech the following ten sins: - Envy, stealing, illegitimate passions, depravity, harshness, untruthfulness, divulgence of secrets, evil design, atheism and perverseness.

16-17. Man by practising virtues as far as possible does earn merits.* There is no doubt about it.

18-19. One should not do in deed the sin that one has thought of in mind. According to religious men one has to enjoy the effects (of sinful work). (?)

✓20-22. One should serve as far as possible people who are out of employment, who are diseased and who are aggrieved, should always look

* *Bhikṣuṇī*, as has been explained above, is not a treatise on political organisation only but is the comprehensive art of life. So one may find economic maxims and precepts in it as well as social and hygienic rules.

In the last few lines we have an account of what* the householder's physical and material life is to be. The use of shoes, sticks, head-dress, scents, umbrellas and charmed amulets is recommended.

upon even ants and worms as oneself, and even if the enemy be harmful, should be doing good to him.

23. He should have the same attitude towards prosperity and adversity, and envy not their results but their causes.

24. - He should speak good, moderate, consistent, and sweet words at the proper time.

25. He should be cheerful, well-behaved, kind and gentle.

26. He should not be happy alone, should not trust every body, and should not be suspicious (or timid).

27-28. He should not declare anybody to be his enemy nor himself to be anybody's enemy, and should not publish the insults or cruelties of the master.

29-30. He should be wise in humouring others by attending to their likes and dislikes and ministering to them in the manner satisfactory to them.

31-32. He should neither repress the senses nor indulge them excessively. The senses run riot easily destroy the mind.

33-34. The antelope, the elephant, the fly, the bee and the fish—these five are ruined through sound, touch, form, smell and taste.

35. Of these the touch of females captivates the heart of even the muni.

36. So one should duly enjoy these things with restraint.

37. One should not sit very near mother, sister and daughter.

38. One should call a female according to the relationship, and address her whether related or unrelated as good sister.

39-43. Living with other persons, speaking with them even publicly, independence even for a moment, and residence in their houses should not be granted to females by the husband, father, king, son, father-in-law and relatives; nor leisure for any thing besides domestic duties.

44-47. The woman gets disgusted with the husband who is cruel, barbarous, severe, always abroad, very poor and sickly, and attached to other women, and takes to some other man. Hence men should carefully avoid these defects to keep their wives.

¹ ~~अपमान~~—Tendancies.

² ~~गन्ध~~—Glands which secrete refuse matter from the body, e.g., eyeglands, armpits,

~~अपमान~~—Excessive.

48-49. One should keep his wife and children by giving them as far as possible clothing, food, love and affectionate words, as well as living always very near them.

50-51. One should not visit places sacred because of *chaityas*, holy flags, shades, ashes, or regions covered with dusts, stones, or places for sacrifices and baths.

52-53. One should not cross the river by arms, nor approach a fallen fire, nor should climb a boat or a tree that is likely to give way, nor (also get into) a bad vehicle.

54-55. One should not turn up the nose nor scratch the ground, should not press the head by folded hands, attempt useless things by the limbs or remain intoxicated for long.

56. One should desist from activities of body, mind and speech before fatigue.

57-59. One should not keep the thighs up for long, and at night should not go under trees, or to court-yards, *chaitayas*, squares (crossings of streets) and liquor houses.

60. One should not go to solitary forests, unoccupied houses and cremation-grounds even by day.

61. One should not always look to the sun and should not carry weight by the head.

62. One should not constantly see minute things or burning,¹ (bright) impure and unpleasant substances.

63-64. One should not take food, or dream, study and think about women, sell liquor, practise aiming and receive or give any thing in the evening.

65-66. Ordinary people are the guides and instructors of the wise men for all ordinary activities. Hence the men versed in *Sāstras* should follow these people for social functions.

67-68. One should not abuse the king, the country, the race, the family and the religion, and should not even mentally break the custom of the folk though that were possible.

69. One should remedy what has been said or done improperly—not however by force but by reason.

70-71. Men are very rare who can openly declare their vices. Hence the wise man should forsake the undesirable by finding them out from public opinion as well as the rules of *Sāstras*.

¹ *Fire*—Useless.

उपमा—Intoxicated.

72. One should not ever in mind reflect on the immorality that looks very like morality.

73-74. 'I am guilty of thousand offences, what if I commit one more?' One should not practise vice by thinking in this way, for a vessel is filled by drops.

75-76. 'How should my days and nights pass in the future?' One should not thus be a pessimist but should always remember (past things).

77-78. One should first get rid of arrays of compound argumentative discourses, and rules got-up or made according to one's desires, reject the hymns, praises and adulations and then carefully collect the spirit or essence (of Śāstras).

79-80. The theory of religion and moral is very complicated hence people should practise the rules of Śruti, Smṛiti and Purāṇas which have been followed by the good men.

81-82. The king should neither protect nor allow residence to the friend, son, preceptor, thief and enemy who are addicted to vicious practices.

83-84. One should know the following six classes of enemies—those who set fire, poisoners, armed ruffians, robbers of wealth, plunderers of fields and seducers of wives.

85-86. The wise man should never for a moment disregard the wife, the child, the disease, the slave, the cattle, wealth, studies and attendance to the good.

¹ Here is Śukrāchāryya's advice as to the interpretation and acceptance of Śāstras. He refers to the difficulties arising out of the peculiar characteristics of the Sanskrit language and of the Hindu written documents as well as out of the tendencies of people to interpolate, add, or take away texts according to the needs of the time. It, therefore, requires great skill on the part of guardians of society to remove the extraneous matter and find out the real spirit of some injunction.

वचनसङ्घट्ट—The peculiar arrangement of compounds. This grammatical difficulty is of no mean order. For **सङ्घट्ट** and **सङ्घट्ट** compounds of the same words give thoroughly different interpretation. These, therefore, have to be first considered.

कृत Got up—Interpretations or texts may be concocted or interpolated.

होमसि—Long chains of argumentative reasoning and interpretation, when found in text-books, are real hindrances, not helps to those who seek truth and want guidance.

सुवचनसङ्घट्ट—Exaggerations and overstatements of which Hindu treatises are full should be carefully weighed before the injunctions of the Śāstras can be accepted for practical life.

² The moral and religious guide is not the book but the man.

87-88. One should not live for a day at a place where the king, the rich people, the priest, the physician, the custom and the country are antagonistic to him.

89-90. One should not live for a day at a place where the officers are impotent, and females and children barbarous, foolish and adventurous.

91-94. One should not wish for wealth, fame, life and residence at a place where the king is indiscreet, councillors are partial, the learned men are deserters of good paths, witnesses are liars and where there is predominance of the female and the lower folks.

95-96. What is the good of crying at a place where the mother does not nourish in infancy, the father does not educate well and the king is the robber of wealth?

97-98. What is the good of crying at a place where the friends, relatives and the kings are angry even though they are well served, and the house is liable to be destroyed by fire or thunder?

99-100. What is the good of crying at a place where through neglecting the advice of authorities and conducting oneself through pride evil consequences ensue?

101-102. One should always carefully respect the king, the god, the preceptor, the fire, the ascetic and the man who is old in age and virtue.

103-104. One should never even mentally go against or do harm to the mother, the father, the preceptor, the husband, the brother, the son and the friend.

105-106. One should not fight with relatives or challenge the powerful or quarrel with the women, children and the elderly and the foolish people.

107-108. One should not eat good things alone, study problems and interests alone, travel in the streets alone, or keep up alone among sleeping men.

109-110. One should neither follow nor obstruct the duties of another man; and should never sit on the same seat with people who are of inferior grades in character and work and with females.

111-113. The following six vices have to be got rid of by men who want prosperity in this world—sleep, sluggishness, fear, anger, laziness, and procrastination. There is no doubt that these are great hindrances to work.

114-115. The man who is resourceful, practises Yoga, is learned in theories and is brilliant in intellect, is always mindful of his own duty and abstains from the pursuit of others' wives.

116-117. One should be a good speaker, know the significance of words and their position, be a word-painter and always cheerful in expressions, should always hear for long and understand very quickly.

118. One should enjoy one's goods after knowing them.

119. One should not disclose his excessive zeal for sale or purchase and his own misery.

120-121. One should not enter another man's house without business and without permission and unasked should not say to anybody things happening in one's house.

122-123. One should make his talk with few words but of much significance for the accomplishment of his object, and should not give out his own opinions without [fully] understanding [the subject-matter].

124. After having fully known other's opinions

125. One should not make father or son witnesses to the quarrel between husband and wife.

126-127. One should mature policies in careful secrecy and should not forsake the man who takes shelter with him, should wish to work to the best of his ability, and should not get dispirited under danger while working.

128-129. One should not touch any man to the quick and should not say false things about anybody. One should not abuse anybody nor make anybody indulge in madness.

130. An action which is religious but disapproved by the people does not lead to heaven.

131. Whose words do not frustrate themselves by their own logic?

132. One should make reply after careful consideration and not speak abruptly.

133. The merits of even enemies have to be recognised while the demerits of even preceptors have to be got rid of.

134-135. Neither prosperity nor adversity is likely to be permanent. It is only the work of past lives that is the cause of permanent wealth or misery.

136. Hence one should not diminish love in all creatures.

137-138. The king should ever be far-sighted and have presence of mind; should never be adventurous, slothful or procrastinating.

* ~~word~~ — The possibility of a conflict between formal morality (and religious codes) and people's conscience is here suggested. The advice of Śaṅkhaśrīya is to follow the *Vaśopamā*.

139-140. The man who proceeds with a work after knowing it to be highly difficult, and who has long views at the commencement enjoys happiness for ever.

141. The man who has presence of mind can proceed with the work as he gets it.

142. Success is doubtful either through fickleness or through difficulty of the work.

143-144. The man who does not attempt the work even at the proper time is lazy. He can never have success and is ruined with his family.

145-146. The adventurous man is he who commences a work without knowing the effects—is sure to be unhappy either through the action or its effects.

147-148. The procrastinating man is he who does little work in much time. He suffers from insignificance of results. One should therefore be far-sighted.

149-151. Work done adventurously may sometimes bear good fruits. Sometimes even well-considered actions are futile. Yet one should never do anything abruptly, such actions are harmful.

152-153. Sometimes good comes out of evil actions. And the evil which comes out of a good action is not the source of evils.

154-155. That work is not to be suspected which is avoided by the servant, the brother, the son, and the wife but done by the friends.

156-157. The foolish man who without knowing fully [the capacity of] a friend, employs him in some act of friendship, gets his object frustrated.

158-159. The mental attribute of any man cannot be easily discovered. So one should try to acquire friends. Acquisition of friends is happiness to men.

160-161. One should not confide too much in any trustworthy person, *e.g.*, the son, the brother, the wife, the ministers or the officers.

162. Since the desire for wealth, women, and kingdom is great in all men

163-164. One should trust only those actions which have been tried and proved. Having placed confidence in some body as oneself one should weigh his action personally.

165. He should not consider his words useless or antagonistic simply by reasoning.

166-167. One should forgive the trustworthy person if his action leads to loss of only sixty-fourth part of its fruit. The man who is religious, moral and powerful should keep up friendship with him.

168-169. One should honour the respectable persons with gifts, distinctions, &c., and should never be severe in punishment or harsh in words.

170-171. Even the wife and the son get terrified by punishment and harsh words. Even beasts get tamed through gifts and sweet words.

172-173. One should never be mad or vain with learning, valour, wealth, birth or strength.

174-175. The man who is proud of his learning does not care for the advice of the authorities and considers even harmful things as desirable as useful things.

176-178. The man who, proud of his valour, abandons the path followed by the people loses his life by rashly undertaking warfare, and though armed, by giving up the recognised military tactics.

179-180. The man who is proud of his wealth does not know of his own infamy just as the goat uses his urine to wash his own urine-scented mouth.

181-182. So also the man who is proud of his birth disregards all persons, good as well as other men, and directs his attention to bad actions.

183-184. The man who is proud of his strength applies his mind rashly to warfare; obstructs everybody by his strength or even the animals.

185-186. The man who is proud of his distinction, looks upon the whole world as a piece of straw. The worthless man also desires the most precious of all seats.

187. These are known as *mada* or passions of the vain and the following are the *dama* or virtues of the good.

188-189. The result of learning is wisdom and humility, that of wealth is sacrifice and charity, that of strength is known to be the protection of the good.

190. The result of valour is that enemies are subdued and made tributaries.

191. The simple result of good birth is contentment and moderation.

192. The result of fame is that all are like oneself.

193-194. One should give up vanity and carefully receive knowledge, *mantra*, medicine, wife and gems even from low families.

195. One should give away that when received, which one does not care for when lost.

196-197. One should neither caress or repress too much the wife or the child, but should appoint them to domestic duties and to studies respectively.

198-199. One should not take anything however small belonging to others which is not given, should not publish the vice of any man and should not abuse the wife.

200-201. One should not give false evidence and stop the evidence that has been produced, but should speak untruth when life or great affairs are at stake.

202-203. One should not point out, even where known, the poor man to the man who wants to give away his daughter in marriage, the moneyed man to the thief and the man who has hidden himself to the murderer.

204-205. One should not create dissensions between the husband and wife, mother and father, brother and brother, master and servant, sister and sister, friend and friend, or between preceptor and disciple.

206. When two persons are talking, though even seated, do not go between them.

207. One should attend to friend, brother and relative as to one's own self.

208-209. One should honour by questions of health, gifts of water, etc., the man who though humble, has come to his house.

210-211. One with sons should not ask his daughter who has children to live in his house or the sister with her husband; but should maintain them when they are widowed.

212-213. The snake, the fire, the wicked man, the king, the son-in-law, the nephew, the disease and the enemy—these are not to be disregarded as being too small.

214-215. One should deal with these from the standpoint of cruelty, sharpness, wickedness, sovereignty, daughter's prestige, one sharing in the privilege of offering manes to the ancestors, increase and fear.

216. One should not preserve anything of debt, illness and enemy as remainder.

217-218. Asked for something by suppliants one should not make harsh reply, but do what they want or ask somebody to do that.

219-220. One should eagerly listen to the praises of the charitable, the religious minded and the valorous, but should never care for their blemishes.

221-222. A man should take good and moderate food and walk at the proper time, eat after giving to the gods, live in pleasure, always have sweet thoughts and be pure.

223 He should always enjoy, eat and commit nuisance in private places.

224. He should be always active and take part in physical exercises with pleasure.

225. One should not abuse food, and if quite well should accept friendly feasts.

226. The best menu of food is that which contains all the six tastes beginning with sweet.

227. This is about enjoyment (carnal).

228. The best exercise is fight and wrestling with the expert athletes.

229. Sleep is best during night excluding the first and last Yāma.

230. The miserable, the blind, the dwarf and the dumb are never to be laughed at.

231. One should not apply one's mind to wrong deeds but carry out one's own duties without delay.

232-233. The man should give up vanity (and do his duty) by perseverance, strength, intelligence, patience, rashness or prowess.

234. If the task is accomplished by quarrel, quarrel is good.

235. Otherwise life, wealth, friend, fame—all these are destroyers of happiness.

236. One should not say undesirable things to, and should not look to the defects of, anybody.

237. Commands of the great and of the king are not to be violated.

238. One should advise even the preceptor who appoints one to an evil action.

239. But one should not disregard an inferior person even when he prompts him to good action.

240-241. One should not leave his place by making the young wife dependent on herself. Women are the roots of evils. Can young females be left with others?

242. One should not get intoxicated with spirituous liquors and should not indulge in evil company.

243-248. The chaste wife, step-mother, mother, daughter, father, wife, widowed daughter, or sister who has no offspring, aunt, brother's wife, sister of father or mother, grandfather, preceptor, who has no son,

¹ The work is to be done by hook or by crook.

father-in-law, uncles, grandson who is young and orphan, brother, sister's son,—these must be maintained carefully to the best of one's ability even under adverse circumstances.

249-250. In times of prosperity one should maintain the families of both parents, friends, wife's family, and the attendants, servants, and maid-servants.

251. One should maintain also the deformed, the stranger, the poor and the helpless.

252-253. Woe to the man who does not take care to maintain his kith and kin. All his virtues go for nothing. In fact, though living he is dead.

254-255. What is the value of his life who does not maintain relatives, who does not subdue enemies and who does not protect things acquired?

256-257. The man who is mastered by his wife, the debtor, the valetudinary, the beggar, the worthless, and the man who is dependent on enemies—all these are dead though possessing life.

258-259. One should hide the number of years lived, wealth, domestic follies, *mantra*, carnal enjoyments, medicines, charity, honour and insult.

260-261. One should without loth undertake travels, attend royal courts, study *Śāstras*, see prostitutes and make friends with the learned.

262-263. Through travel the numerous religions (customs), materials, animals, races of men, hills, etc., come within the cognisance of man.

264-267. The man who habitually attends courts and assemblies, acquires knowledge as to the character of kings and royal officers, the nature of justice and injustice, the men who falsely quarrel and the men who have real grounds of conflict, and the procedure of cases and suits both customary and legal.

268. One who studies the truths of *Śāstras* cannot be vain and bigoted.

¹ No more powerful account of the joint-family system can be devised than that given in these lines.

² The sanction for co-operative domestic life as opposed to competitive individualism is also very strong.

³ Education in politics through taking part in administrative institutions even as audience is highly recommended in modern times.

'269. But one who studies only one Śāstra cannot decide upon any course of action.

*270-271. The intelligent man, therefore, should inspect many sciences and always study carefully many Śāstras.

272-274. The prostitute takes others' money but does not become their slave, on the other hand is competent enough to overpower them, so one should come under nobody's authority but have the world under oneself.

275-276. Through associates with learned men meanings of Śruti, Smṛiti, Purāṇas are known and intelligence gets quickened.

277-278. One should never eat food without giving it to the gods, ancestors and guests. The man who cooks for himself only through foolishness lives only to go to hell.

279-280. One should give the road to superiors, the strong, the diseased, the corpse, the king, the respectable people, the man who is observing a vow and also to the man who goes in a conveyance.

281-282. One should keep five cubits from the carriage, ten cubits from the horse, one hundred cubits from the snake, and ten cubits from the ox.

283-284. One should not trust the abodes of the horned, nailed and toothed animals, the wicked people, rivers and women.

285-286. One should not, while eating, go along a street or speak with laughter, should not sue for what is lost or talk of one's own deeds.

287-288. One should leave the company of those who fear himself, give up the service of the lower orders and should never hear stealthily the conversation of others.

289-290. One should not desire work with the superiors unless requested by them. The head of Rāhu was cut down through drinking with the gods.

291-292. Evil actions of the great become their ornaments, as it were. The drinking of poison by Śiva would cause death to others.

293. The powerful man can destroy everything just like pure fire.

294. One should not stand in the presence of the preceptor, the king and the superiors.

¹ Practical life is so organised that one aspect is dependent on another. So for the guidance of man all the sciences have to be requisitioned. Otherwise the injunctions will be too narrow, one-sided and conflicting.

² An art is based on many sciences. The art of human life is thus built up on many Social Sciences. Hence the necessity of having a multiplicity of subjects in a course of studies whether for pupils or for guardians of states.