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# THE MAHABHARATA

OF

KRISHNA-DWAIPAYANA VYASA

TRANSLATED

INTO

ENGLISH PROSE.

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BY

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thy eternal form (as condest in thy works) !<sup>87</sup> Thou hast filled heaven with thy head, and Earth with thy feet : with thy prowess thou hast filled the three worlds. Thou art Eternal and thou pervadest every thing in the universe !<sup>88</sup> The directions are thy arms, the Sun is thy eye, and prowess is thy vital fluid. Thou art the lord of all creatures. Thou standest, shutting up the seven paths of the Wind whose energy is immeasurable.<sup>89</sup> They are freed from all fears that worship thee, O Govinda of unfading prowess, thee that art attired in yellow robes of the color of the *Atasi* flower.<sup>90\*</sup> Even one bend of the head unto thee, O Krishna, is equal to the completion of ten Horse-sacrifices. The man that has performed ten Horse-sacrifices is not freed from the obligation of rebirth. The man, however, that bows to Krishna escapes rebirth.<sup>91</sup> They that have Krishna for their vow, they that think of Krishna in the night, and upon rising from sleep, may be said to have Krishna for their body. Those people (after death) enter Krishna's self even as libations of clarified butter sanctified with *mantras* enter the blazing fire.<sup>92</sup> Salutations to thee that dispellest the fear of hell, to thee, O Vishnu, that art a boat unto them that are plunged amid the eddies of the ocean represented by worldly life !<sup>93</sup> Salutations to thee, O God, that art the *Brahmana's* self, to thee that art the benefactor of Brāhmanas and kine, to thee that art the benefactor of the universe, to thee that art Krishna and Govinda !<sup>94</sup> The two syllables *Hari* constitute the pecuniary stock of those that sojourn through the wilderness of life and the medicine that effectually cures all worldly predilections, besides being the means that allviate sorrow and grief.<sup>95†</sup> As Truth is full of Vishnu, as the universe is full of Vishnu, as everything is full of Vishnu, so let my soul be full of Vishnu and my sins be des-

\* *Linum usitatissimum*. —T.

† *Samsāra* is the world or worldly life characterised by diverse attachments. Reflection on Hari frees one from those attachments. Or, *Samsāra* may mean the repeated deaths and births to which the unemancipated soul is subject. Contemplation of the divine Being may prevent such repeated births and deaths by leading to emancipation. —T.

stroyed!<sup>96</sup> I seek thy protection and am devoted to thee, desirous of obtaining a happy end. O thou of eyes like lotus petals, O best of gods, do thou think of what will be for my good!<sup>97</sup> Thyself without origin, O Vishnu, thou art the origin of Knowledge and Penances. Thus art thou praised! O Janārdana, thus worshipped by me in the Sacrifice constituted by Speech (alone), be, O god, gratified with me!<sup>98</sup> The Vedas are devoted to Nārāyana. Penances are devoted to Nārāyana. The gods are devoted to Nārāyana. Everything is always Nārāyana!<sup>99</sup>

Vaiçampāyana continued,—“Having uttered these words, Bhishma, with mind concentrated upon Krishna, said,—‘Salutations to Krishna!’ and bowed unto him.<sup>100</sup> Learning by his *Yoga* prowess of the devotion of Bhishma, Mādhava, otherwise called Hari, (entering his body) bestowed upon him heavenly knowledge compassing the Past, the Present, and the Future, and went away.<sup>101</sup> When Bhishma became silent, those utterers of *Brahma* (that sat around him), with voices choked in tears, adored that high-souled chief of the Kurus in excellent words.<sup>102</sup> Those foremost of Brāhmanas uttered the praises of Krishna also, that first of Beings, and then continued in soft voices to commend Bhishma repeatedly.<sup>103</sup> Learning (by his *Yoga* powers) of the devotion of Bhishma towards him, that foremost of Beings, *viz.*, Mādhava, suddenly rose from his seat and ascended on his car,<sup>104</sup> Keçava and Sātyaki proceeded on one car. On another proceeded those two illustrious princes, *viz.*, Yudhishtira and Dhananjaya.<sup>105</sup> Bhimasena and the twins rode on a third; while those bulls among men, *viz.*, Kripa and Yuyutsu, and that scorcher of foes, *viz.*, Sanjaya of the *Suta* caste, proceeded on their respective cars, each of which looked like a town. And all of them proceeded, causing the Earth to tremble with the rattle of their car-wheels.<sup>106-107</sup> That foremost of men, as he proceeded, cheerfully listened to the speeches, fraught with his praise, that were uttered by the Brāhmanas. The slayer of Keçi, with gladdened heart, saluted the people that waited (along the streets) with joined hands and bent heads.”<sup>108</sup>

SECTION XLIX.

Vaiçampāyana said,—“Then Hrishikeça, and king Yudhishtira, and all those persons headed by Kripa, and the four Pāndavas,<sup>1</sup> riding on those cars looking like fortified cities and decked with standards and banners, speedily proceeded to Kurukshetra with the aid of their fleet steeds.<sup>2</sup> They descended on that field which was covered with hair and marrow and bones, and where millions of high-souled Kshatriyas had cast away their bodies.<sup>3</sup> It abounded also with many a hill formed of the bodies and bones of elephants and steeds, and human heads and skulls lay stretched over it like conch-shells.<sup>4</sup> Variegated with thousands of funeral pyres and teeming with heaps of armour and weapons, the vast plain looked like the drinking garden of the Destroyer himself used and abandoned recently.<sup>5</sup> The mighty car-warriors quickly proceeded, viewing the field of battle haunted by crowds of spirits and thronged with Rākshasas.<sup>6</sup> While proceeding, the mighty-armed Keçava, that delighter of all the Yādavas, spoke unto Yudhishtira about the prowess of Jamadagni’s son.<sup>7</sup>—‘Yonder, at a distance, O Pārtha, are seen the five lakes of Rāma! There Rāma offered oblations of Kshatriya blood unto the manes of his ancestors!<sup>8</sup> It was hither that the puissant Rāma, having freed the Earth of Kshatriyas for thrice seven times, gave up his task.’<sup>9</sup>

“Yudhishtira said,—‘I have great doubts in what thou sayest about Rāma’s having thrice seven times exterminated the Kshatriyas in days of old.<sup>10</sup> When the very Kshatriya seed was burnt by Rāma, O bull among the Yadus, how was the Kshatriya order revived, O thou of immeasurable prowess?<sup>11</sup> How, O bull of the Yadus, was the Kshatriya order exterminated by the illustrious and high-souled Rāma, and how did it again grow?<sup>12</sup> In frightful car-encounters millions of Kshatriyas were slain. The Earth, O foremost of eloquent men, was strewn with the corpses of Kshatriyas.<sup>13</sup> For what reason was the Kshatriya order thus exterminated in days of yore by Rāma, the high-souled descendant of Bhrigu, O tiger



among the Yadus! O thou of Vrishni's race, remove this doubt of mine, O bird-bannered hero! O Krishna, O younger brother of Vāsudeva, the highest knowledge is from thee."

Vaiçampāyana said,—“The puissant elder brother of Gada then narrated unto Yudhishtira of incomparable prowess everything that happened, in full detail, as to how the Earth had become filled with Kshatriyas.”<sup>14-16</sup>

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### SECTION L.

“Vāsudeva said,—Listen, O son of Kunti, to the story of Rāma's energy and powers and birth as heard by me from great *Rishis* discoursing upon the subject.<sup>1</sup> Listen to the story of how millions of Kshatriyas were slain by Jamadagni's son and how those that sprung again in the diverse royal races in Bhārata were again slaughtered.<sup>2</sup> Jahnu had a son named Rajas. Rajas had a son named Valākāçwa. King Valākāçwa had a son named Kuçika of righteous behaviour.<sup>3</sup> Resembling the thousand-eyed Indra on Earth, Kuçika underwent the austere of penances from desire of attaining the chief of the three worlds for a son.<sup>4</sup> Beholding him engaged in the austere of penances and competent to beget a son, the thousand-eyed Purandara himself inspired the king (with his force).<sup>5</sup> The great lord of the three worlds, viz., the chastiser of Pāka, O king, then became Kuçika's son known by the name of Gādhi.<sup>6</sup> Gādhi had a daughter, O monarch, of the name of Satyavati. The puissant Gādhi gave her (for wife) unto Richika, a descendant of Bhrigu.<sup>7</sup> Her lord of Bhrigu's race, O delighter of the Kurus, became highly gratified with her for the purity of her behaviour. He cooked the sacrificial food consisting of milk and rice for giving unto Gādhi (her sire) a son.<sup>8</sup> Calling his wife, Richika of Bhrigu's race said,—This portion of the sanctified food should be taken by thee, and this (other) portion by thy mother!<sup>9</sup> A son will be born of her that will blaze with energy and be a bull among Kshatriyas. Invincible by Kshatriyas on Earth, he will be the slayer of the foremost of Kshatriyas.<sup>10</sup> As regards thee, O blessed lady, this portion of the food will give thee a son of

great wisdom, an embodiment of tranquillity, endued with ascetic penances, and the foremost of Brāhmanas.<sup>11</sup>—Having said these words unto his wife, the blessed Richika of Bhrigu's race, setting his heart on penances, proceeded to the woods.<sup>12</sup> About this time, king Gādhi, resolved upon a pilgrimage to the holy waters, arrived with his queen at the retreat of Richika.<sup>13</sup> Satyavati, upon this, O king, taking the two portions of the sanctified food, cheerfully and in great haste, represented the words of her lord unto her mother.<sup>14</sup> The queen-mother, O son of Kunti, gave the portion intended for herself unto her daughter, and herself took from ignorance the portion intended for the latter.<sup>15</sup> Upon this, Satyavati, her body blazing with lustre, conceived a child of terrible form intended to become the exterminator of the Kshatriyas.<sup>16</sup> Beholding the Brāhmana child lying within her womb, that tiger among the Bhrigus said unto his wife of celestial beauty these words:<sup>17</sup>—Thou hast been deceived by thy mother, O blessed lady, in consequence of the substitution of the sanctified morsels. Thy son will become a person of cruel deeds and vindictive heart. Thy brother again (born of thy mother) will be a Brāhmana devoted to ascetic penances.<sup>18</sup> Into the sanctified food intended for thee had been placed the seed of the supreme and universal *Brahma*, while into that intended for thy mother had been placed the sum total of Kshatriya energy.<sup>19</sup> In consequence, however, of the substitution of the two portions, O blessed lady, that which had been intended will not happen. Thy mother will obtain a Brāhmana child while thou wilt obtain a son that will become a Kshatriya.<sup>20</sup>—Thus addressed by her lord, the highly blessed Satyavati prostrated herself and placing her head at his feet tremblingly said,<sup>21</sup>—It behoveth thee not, O holy one, to speak such words unto me, viz.—Thou shalt obtain a wretch among Brāhmanas (or thy son)!<sup>22</sup>—

“Richika said,—This was not intended by me, O blessed lady, in respect of thee! A son of fierce deeds has been conceived by thee simply in consequence of the substitution of the sanctified morsels!<sup>23</sup>—

“Satyavati replied, saying,—If thou wishest, O sage, thou canst create other worlds, what need then be said of a

It behoveth thee, O puissant one, to give me a son that shall be righteous and devoted to peace !<sup>24</sup>—

“Richika said,—Never was falsehood spoken by me before, O blessed lady, even in jest. What need then be said of (such a solemn occasion as) preparing sanctified food with the aid of Vedic formulæ after igniting a fire ?<sup>25</sup> It was ordained of yore by Destiny, O amiable one ! I have ascertained it all by my penances. All the descendants of thy father will be possessed of Brāhmanic virtues.<sup>26</sup>—

“Satyavati said,—O puissant one, let our *grandson* be such, but, O foremost of ascetics, let me have a *son* of tranquil pursuits !<sup>27</sup>—

“Richika said,—O thou of the fairest complexion, there is no distinction, I conceive, between a son and a grandson. It will be, O amiable one, as thou sayest !<sup>28</sup>—’

“Vāsudeva continued,—“Then Satyavati brought forth a son in Bhṛigu’s race who was devoted to penances and characterised by tranquil pursuits, viz., Jamadagni of regulated vows.<sup>29</sup> Kuçika’s son Gādhi begot a son named Viçwāmitra. Possessed of every attribute of a Brāhmana, that son (though born in the Kshatriya order) was equal to a Brāhmana.<sup>30</sup> Richika (thus) begat Jamadagni, that ocean of penances. Jamadagni begot a son of fierce deeds.<sup>31</sup> The foremost of men, that son mastered the sciences, including the science of arms. Like unto a blazing fire, that son was Rāma, the exterminator of the Kshatriyas.<sup>32</sup> Having gratified Mahādeva on the mountains of Gandhamādana, he begged weapons of that great god, especially the axe of fierce energy in his hands.<sup>33</sup> In consequence of that unrivalled axe of fiery splendour and irresistible sharpness, he became unrivalled on Earth.<sup>34</sup> Meanwhile the mighty son of Kritaviryya, viz., Arjuna of the Kshatriya order and ruler of the Haihayās, endued with great energy,<sup>35</sup> highly virtuous in behaviour, and possessed of a thousand arms through the grace of (the great *Rishi*) Dattātreya, having subjugated in battle, by the might of his own arms, the whole Earth with her mountains and seven islands, became a very powerful emperor and (at last) gave away the Earth unto the  
 in a horse-sacrifice.<sup>36-37</sup> On a certain occasion,

solicited by the thirsty god of fire, O son of Kunti, the thousand-armed monarch of great prowess gave alms unto that deity.<sup>38</sup> Springing from the point of his shafts, the god of fire, possessed of great energy, desirous of consuming (what was offered), burnt villages and towns and kingdoms and hamlets of cowherds.<sup>39</sup> Through the prowess of that foremost of men, viz., Kārtaviryya of great energy, the god of fire burnt mountains and great forests.<sup>40</sup> Assisted by the king of the Haihayās, the god of fire, caused by the wind to blaze forth with energy, consumed the uninhabited but delightful retreat of the high-souled Āpava.<sup>41</sup> Possessed of great energy, Āpava, O mighty-armed king, seeing his retreat consumed by the powerful Kshatriya, cursed that monarch in wrath, saying,<sup>42</sup>—Since, O Arjuna, without excepting these my specious woods, thou hast burnt them, therefore, Rāma (of Bhrigu's race) will lop off thy (thousand) arms!<sup>43</sup>—The mighty Arjuna, however, of great prowess, always devoted to peace, ever regardful of Brāhmanas and disposed to grant protection (unto all classes), and charitable and brave, O Bhārata,<sup>44</sup> did not think of that curse denounced on him by that high-souled *Rishi*. His powerful sons, always haughty and cruel, in consequence of that curse, became the indirect cause of his death. The princes, O bull of Bharata's race, seized and brought away the calf of Jamadagni's *homa* cow,<sup>45-46</sup> without the knowledge of Kārtaviryya the ruler of the Haihayās. For this reason a dispute took place between the high-souled Jamadagni (and the Haihayās).<sup>47</sup> The puissant Rāma, the son of Jamadagni, filled with wrath, lopped off the arms of Arjuna and brought back, O monarch, his sire's calf which was wandering within the inner enclosures of the king's palace.<sup>48</sup> Then the foolish sons of Arjuna, repairing together to the retreat of the high-souled Jamadagni,<sup>49</sup> felled with the points of their lances, O king, the head of that *Rishi* from off his trunk while the celebrated Rāma was out for fetching sacred fuel and grass.<sup>50</sup> Inflamed with wrath at the death of his father and inspired with vengeance, Rāma vowed to free the Earth of Kshatriyas and took up arms.<sup>51</sup> Then that tiger among the Bhrigus, possessed of great energy, putting forth his prowess, speedily slaughtered all the sons

and grandsons of Kārtaviryya.<sup>52</sup> Slaughtering thousands of Haihayās in rage, the descendant of Bhrigu, O king, made the Earth miry with blood.<sup>53</sup> Possessed of great energy, he quickly reft the Earth of all Kshatriyas. Filled then with compassion, he retired into the woods.<sup>54</sup> Afterwards, when some thousands of years had passed away, the puissant Rāma, who was wrathful by nature, had imputations cast upon him (of cowardice).<sup>55</sup> The grandson of Viçwāmित्रा and son of Raivya, possessed of great ascetic merit, named Parāvasu, O monarch, began to cast imputations on Rāma in public, saying,<sup>56</sup>—O Rāma, were not those righteous men, viz., Pratardāna and others, who were assembled at a sacrifice at the time of Yayāti's fall, Kshatriyas by birth?<sup>57</sup> Thou art not of true vows, O Rāma! Thine is an empty boast among people! Through fear of Kshatriya heroes thou hast betaken thyself to the mountains!<sup>58</sup>—The descendant of Bhrigu, hearing these words of Parāvasu, once more took up arms and once more strewed the Earth with hundreds of Kshatriya bodies.<sup>59</sup> Those Kshatriyas, however, O king, counting by hundreds, that were spared by Rāma, multiplied (in time) and became mighty monarchs on Earth.<sup>60</sup> Rāma once more slaughtered them quickly, not sparing the very children, O king! Indeed, the Earth became once more strewn with the bodies of Kshatriya children of premature birth.<sup>61</sup> As soon as Kshatriya children were born, Rāma slaughtered them. Some Kshatriya ladies, however, succeeded in protecting their children (from Rāma's wrath).<sup>62</sup> Having made the Earth destitute of Kshatriyas for thrice seven times, the puissant Bhārgava, at the completion of a horse-sacrifice, gave away the Earth as sacrificial present unto Kaçyapa.<sup>63</sup> For preserving the remnant of the Kshatriyas, Kaçyapa, O king, pointing with his hand that still held the sacrificial ladle, said these words,<sup>64</sup>—O great sage, repair to the shores of the southern ocean! It behoveth thee not, O Rāma, to reside within (what is) my dominion!<sup>65</sup>—At these words, Ocean suddenly created for Jamadagni's son, on his other shore, a region called Surpāraka.<sup>66</sup> Kaçyapa also, O monarch, having accepted the Earth in gift, and made a present of it unto the Brāhmanas, entered the great forest.<sup>67</sup>

Then Cudras and Vaiśyas, acting most wilfully, began to unite themselves, O bull of Bharata's race, with the wives of Brāhmanas.<sup>68</sup> When anarchy sets in on Earth, the weak are oppressed by the strong, and no man is master of his own property.<sup>69</sup> Unprotected duly by Kshatriyas observant of virtue, and oppressed by the wicked in consequence of that disorder, the Earth quickly sank to the lowest depths.<sup>70</sup> Beholding the Earth sinking from fear, the high-souled Kaśyapa held her on his lap; and since the great *Rishi* held her on his lap (*uru*) therefore is the Earth known by the name of *Urvi*.<sup>71</sup> The goddess Earth, for protection's sake, gratified Kaśyapa and begged of him a king.<sup>72</sup>

“The Earth said,—There are, O regenerate one, some foremost of Kshatriyas concealed by me among women. They were born in the race of the Haihayās. Let them, O sage, protect me!<sup>73</sup> There is another person of Puru's race, viz., Viduratha's son, O puissant one, who has been brought up among bears in the Rikshavat mountains.<sup>74</sup> Another, viz., the son of Saudāsa, has been protected, through compassion, by Pāraçara of immeasurable energy and ever engaged in sacrifices.<sup>75</sup> Though born in one of the regenerate orders, yet like a Cudra he does everything for that *Rishi* and has, therefore, been named *Sarvakarman* (servant of all work).<sup>76</sup> Civi's son of great energy, viz., Gopati by name, has been brought up in the forest among kine. Let him, O sage, protect me!<sup>77</sup> Pratarddana's son, named Vatsa of great might, has been brought up among calves in a cowpen. Let that one of the royal order protect me.<sup>78</sup> Dadhivāhana's grandson and Diviratha's son was concealed and protected on the banks of Gangā by the sage Gautama.<sup>79</sup> His name is Vrihadratha. Possessed of great energy and adorned with numerous blessed qualities, that blessed prince has been protected by wolves and the mountains of Griddhrakuta.<sup>80</sup> Many Kshatriyas belonging to the race of Marutta have been protected. Equal unto the lord of Maruts in energy, they have been brought up by Ocean.<sup>81</sup> These children of the Kshatriya order have been heard of as existing in different places. They are living among artisans and goldsmiths. If they protect me I shall then stay

unmoved.<sup>82</sup> Their sires and grandsires have been slain for my sake by Rāma of great prowess. It is my duty, O great sage, to see that their funeral rites are duly performed.<sup>83</sup> I do not desire that I should be protected by my present rulers. Do thou, O sage, speedily make such arrangements that I may exist (as before).—”<sup>84</sup>

“Vāsudeva continued,—The sage Kaçyapa then, seeking out those Kshatriyas of great energy whom the goddess had indicated, installed them duly as kings (for protecting her).<sup>85</sup> Those Kshatriya races that are now extant are the progeny of those princes. That which thou hast questioned me, O son of Pāndu, happened in days of yore even thus.”<sup>86</sup>

Vaiçampāyana continued,—“Conversing thus with Yudishthira that foremost of righteous persons, the high-souled Yādava hero proceeded quickly on that car, illumining all the points of the compass like the divine Surya himself.”<sup>87</sup>

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## SECTION LI.

Vaiçampāyana said,—“King Yudhishtira, hearing of those feats of Rāma, became filled with wonder and said unto Janārdhana,<sup>1</sup>—“O thou of Vrishni’s race, the prowess of the high-souled Rāma, who in wrath had freed the Earth of Kshatriyas, was like that of Cakra himself!<sup>2</sup> The scions of Kshatriyas, troubled with the fear of Rāma, were concealed (and brought up) by kine, Ocean, pards, bears, and apes!<sup>3</sup> Worthy of every praise is this world of men and fortunate are they that reside in it where a feat, that was again so righteous, was accomplished by a Brāhmana!<sup>4</sup> After this discourse was ended, those two illustrious persons, viz., Krishna of unfading glory and Yudhishtira proceeded thither where the puissant son of Gangā lay on his bed of arrows.<sup>5</sup> They then beheld Bhishma stretched on his arrowy bed and resembling in splendour the evening Sun covered with his own rays.<sup>6</sup> The Kuru hero was surrounded by many ascetics like he of a hundred sacrifices by the deities of heaven. The spot on which he lay was highly sacred, being situate on the banks of the river  
 ‘ Beholding him from a distance, Krishna and

Dharma's royal son, and the four Pāṇdavas, and the others headed by Cwaradwat,<sup>8</sup> alighted from their vehicles and collecting their restless minds and concentrating all their senses, approached the great *Rishis*.<sup>9</sup> Saluting those foremost of *Rishis* headed by Vyāsa, Govinda and Sātyaki and the others approached the son of Gangā.<sup>10</sup> Beholding Gangā's son of great ascetic merit, the Yadu and Kuru princes, those foremost of men, took their seats, surrounding him.<sup>11</sup> Seeing Bhishma looking like a fire about to die out, Keçava with a rather cheerless heart addressed him as follows.<sup>12</sup>

"Keçava said,—'Are thy perceptions now as clear as before? I hope thy understanding, O foremost of eloquent men, is not clouded?'<sup>13</sup> I hope thy limbs are not tortured by the pain arising from the wounds inflicted by shafts? From mental grief also the body becomes weak.<sup>14</sup> In consequence of the boon granted to thee by thy sire, the righteous Cāntanu, thy death, O puissant hero, depends on thy own will! I myself have not that merit in consequence of which thou hast obtained this boon!<sup>15</sup> The minutest pin (inserted) within the body produces pain. What need then be said, O king, of hundreds of arrows that have pierced thee?<sup>16</sup> Surely, pain cannot be said to afflict thee! Thou art competent, O Bhārata, to instruct the very gods regarding the origin and dissolution of living creatures!<sup>17</sup> Possessed of great knowledge, everything belonging to the Past, the Future, and the Present, is well known to thee!<sup>18</sup> The dissolution of created beings and the reward of righteousness, are well known to thee, O thou of great wisdom, for thou art an ocean of virtue and duty!<sup>19</sup> While living in the enjoyment of swelling sovereignty, I beheld thee forego female intercourse though sound of limbs and perfectly hale and though surrounded by female companions!<sup>20</sup> Except Cāntanu's son Bhishma of great energy and firmly devoted to righteousness, possessed of heroism and having virtue for the only object of his pursuit, we have never heard of any other person in the three worlds that could, by his ascetic power, though lying on a bed of arrows and on the point of death, still have such complete mastery over death (as to keep it thus a bay).<sup>21-22</sup> We have never heard of anybody else that was so devoted to



truth, to penances, to gifts, to the performance of sacrifices, to the science of arms, to the Vedas, and to the protection of persons soliciting protection, and that was so harmless to all creatures, so pure in behaviour, so self-restrained, and so bent upon the good of all creatures, and that was also so great a car-warrior as thee!<sup>125-24</sup> Without doubt, thou art competent to subjugate, on a single car, the gods, *Gandharvas*, *Asuras*, *Yakshas*, and *Rākshasas*!<sup>126</sup> O mighty-armed Bhishma, thou art always spoken of by the Brāhmanas as the ninth of the Vasus. By thy virtues, however, thou hast surpassed them all and art equal unto Vāsava himself!<sup>126</sup> I know, O best of persons, that thou art celebrated for thy prowess, O foremost of beings, among even the very gods!<sup>127</sup> Among men on Earth, O foremost of men, we have never seen nor heard of any one possessed of such attributes as thee!<sup>128</sup> O thou of the royal order, thou surpassest the gods themselves in respect of every attribute! By thy ascetic power thou canst create a universe of mobile and immobile creatures. What need then be said of thy having acquired many blessed regions by means of thy foremost of virtues?<sup>129</sup> Dispel now the grief of the eldest son of Pāndu who is burning with sorrow on account of the slaughter of his kinsmen.<sup>30</sup> All the duties that have been declared in respect of the four orders about the four modes of life are well known to thee!<sup>131</sup> Everything again that is indicated in the four branches of knowledge, in the four *Hotras*, O Bhārata, as also those eternal duties that are laid down in *Yoga* and *Sāṅkhya* philosophy,<sup>32</sup> the duties too of the four orders and those duties that are not inconsistent with their declared practices,—all these, along with their interpretations, —O son of Gangā, are known to thee!<sup>133</sup> The duties that have been laid down for those sprung from an intermixture of the four orders and those laid down for particular countries and tribes and families, and those declared by the Vedas and by men of wisdom, are all well known to thee!<sup>134</sup> The subjects of histories and the *Purānas* are all known to thee. All the scriptures treating of duty and practice dwell in thy mind.<sup>35</sup> Save thee, O bull among men, there is no other person that can remove the doubts that may arise in respect

of those subjects of knowledge that are studied in the world.<sup>36</sup> With the aid of thy intelligence, do thou, O prince of men, drive the sorrow felt by the son of Pāṇdu ! Persons possessed of so great and such varied knowledge live only for comforting men whose minds have been stupefied.”<sup>37</sup>

## SECTION LI.

Vaiçampāyana said,—“Hearing those words of Vāsudeva of great intelligence, Bhishma, raising his head a little, said these words with joined hands.<sup>1</sup>

“Bhishma said,—‘Salutations to thee, O divine Krishna ! Thou art the origin and thou art the dissolution of all the worlds. Thou art the Creator and thou art the Destroyer. Thou, O Hrishikeṣa, art incapable of being vanquished by any one !<sup>2</sup> The universe is thy handiwork. Thou art the soul of the universe and the universe hath sprung from thee ! Salutations to thee ! Thou art the end of all created things. Thou art above the five elements.<sup>3</sup> Salutations to thee that art the three worlds and that art again above the three worlds. O lord of *Yogins*, salutations to thee that art the refuge of everything !<sup>4</sup> O foremost of beings, those words which thou hast said regarding me have enabled me to behold thy divine attributes as manifest in the three worlds. (In consequence of that kindness,) O Govinda, I also behold thy eternal form.<sup>5-6</sup> Thou standest shutting up the seven paths of the Wind possessed of immeasurable energy. The firmament is occupied by thy head, and the Earth by thy feet.<sup>7</sup> The points of the compass are thy two arms, and the Sun is thy eye, and Cakra constitutes thy prowess ! O thou of unfading glory, thy person, attired in yellow robes that resemble the hue of the *Atasi* flower, seem to us to be like a cloud charged with flashes of lightning. Think of that, O best of gods, which would be good, O thou of lotus eyes, for my humble self, that am devoted to thee, that seek thy protection, and that am desirous of obtaining a blissful end !’<sup>8-9</sup>

“Vāsudeva said,—‘Since, O bull among men, thy devotion to me is very great, for this, O prince, I have displayed my

celestial form to thee!<sup>10</sup> I do not, O foremost of kings, display myself unto one that is not devoted to me, or unto a devotee that is not sincere, or unto one, O Bhārata, that is not of restrained soul.<sup>11</sup> Thou art devoted to me and art always observant of righteousness. Of a pure heart, thou art always self-restrained and ever observant of penances and gifts.<sup>12</sup> Through thy own penances, O Bhishma, thou art competent to behold me. Those regions, O king, are ready for thee whence there is no return!<sup>13</sup> Six and fifty days, O foremost one of Kuru's race, still remain for thee to live! Casting off thy body, thou shalt then, O Bhishma, obtain the blessed reward of thy acts!<sup>14</sup> Behold, those deities and the Vasus, all endued with forms of fiery splendour, riding on their cars, are waiting for thee invisibly till the moment of the sun's entering on his northerly course!<sup>15</sup> Subject to universal time, when the divine Surya turns to his northerly course, thou, O foremost of men, shalt go to those regions whence no man of knowledge ever returns to this Earth!<sup>16</sup> When thou, O Bhishma, wilt leave this world for that, all Knowledge, O hero, will expire with thee! It is for this, that all these persons, assembled together, have approached thee for listening to discourses on duty and morality!<sup>17</sup> Do thou then speak words of truth, fraught with morality and profit and Yoga, unto Yudhishtira who is firm in truth but whose learning has been clouded by grief on account of the slaughter of his kinsmen, and do thou, by this, quickly dispel that grief of his!"<sup>18</sup>

## SECTION LII.

Vaiçampāyana said,—“Hearing these words of Krishna fraught with morality and profit, Cāntanu's son Bhishma answered him in the following words.<sup>1</sup>

“Bhishma said,—“O master of all the worlds, O mighty-armed one, O Civa, O Nārāyana, O thou of unfading glory, hearing the words spoken by thee I have been filled with joy!<sup>2</sup> But what words (of instruction), O master of speech, can I

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\* I, 2. One that goes thither is not subject to rebirth.—T.

say in thy presence, when especially all the subjects of speech have been dealt with in thy speech? \*<sup>3</sup> Whatever in either world should be done or is done, proceeds from thy intelligent self, O god!<sup>4</sup> That person who is competent to discourse on the subject of heaven in the presence of the chief of the gods himself is competent to discourse on the interpretation of morality and pleasure and profit and salvation in thy presence!<sup>5</sup> My mind, O slayer of Madhu, is exceedingly agitated by the pain of arrow-wounds. My limbs are weak. My understanding is not clear.<sup>6</sup> I am so afflicted, O Govinda, by these shafts resembling poison or fire that I have not the power to utter anything!<sup>7</sup> My strength is abandoning me. My life-breaths are hastening to leave me. The very vitals of my body are burning. My understanding is clouded.<sup>8</sup> From weakness my utterance is becoming indistinct. How then can I venture to speak? O enhancer of (the glory of) Daçārha's race, be gratified with me!<sup>9</sup> O mighty-armed one, I will not say anything! Pardon me (for my unwillingness)! The very master of speech (Vrihaspati), in speaking in thy presence, will be overcome by hesitation!<sup>10</sup> I cannot any longer distinguish the points of the compass, nor the sky from the Earth! Through thy energy, O slayer of Madhu, I am only barely alive!<sup>11</sup> Do thou, therefore, thyself speak for the good of king Yudhishthira the just, for thou art the ordainer of all the ordinances!<sup>12</sup> How, O Krishna, when thou, the eternal creator of the universe, art present, can one like me speak (on such subjects) like a disciple in the presence of the preceptor?<sup>13</sup>

“Vāsudeva said,—The words spoken by thee are worthy of thee that art the foremost one of Kuru's race, thee that art endued with great energy, thee that art of great soul, and thee that art possessed of great patience and conversant with every subject!<sup>14</sup> Regarding what thou hast said unto me about the pain of thy arrow wounds, receive, O Bhishma, this boon that I grant thee, O puissant one, from my grace!<sup>15</sup>

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\* The Vedas constitute the speech of the Supreme Being. Everything about morality occurs in them.—T.

Discomfort and stupefaction and burning and pain and hunger and thirst shall not, O son of Gangā, overcome thee, O thou of unfading glory !<sup>16</sup> Thy perceptions and memory, O sinless one, shall be unclouded.\* Thy understanding shall not fail thee !<sup>17</sup> Thy mind, O Bhishma, freed from the qualities of passion and darkness, will always be subject to the quality of goodness, like the moon emerged from the clouds.<sup>18</sup> Thy understanding will penetrate whatever subject connected with duty, morality, or profit, thou wilt think upon !<sup>19</sup> O tiger among kings, obtaining celestial vision, thou wilt, O thou of immeasurable prowess, succeed in beholding the four orders of created things !<sup>20</sup> Endued with the eye of knowledge, thou wilt, O Bhishma, behold, like fishes in a limpid stream, all created things that thou mayst endeavour to recollect !<sup>21</sup>

Vaiçampāyana continued,—“Then those great *Rishis*, with Vyāsa amongst them, adored Krishna with hymns from the *Richs*, the *Yajus*, and the *Sāmans*.<sup>22</sup> A celestial shower of flowers belonging to every season fell on that spot where he of Vrishni's race, with Gangā's son and the son of Pāndu were.<sup>23</sup> Celestial instruments of every kind played in the welkin and the tribes of the *Apsaras* began to sing. Nothing of evil and no portent of any evil kind were seen there.<sup>24</sup> An auspicious, pleasant, and pure breeze, bearing every kind of fragrance, began to blow. All the points of the compass became clear and quiet, and all the animals and birds began to rove in peace.<sup>25</sup> Soon after, like a fire at the extremity of a great forest, the divine Surya of a thousand rays was seen to descend to the west.<sup>26</sup> The great *Rishis* then, rising up, saluted Janārdhana and Bhishma and king Yudhishtira.<sup>27</sup> Upon this, Keçava, and the sons of Pāndu, and Sātyaki, and Sanjaya, and Caradwat's son Kripa, bowed in reverence to those sages.<sup>28</sup> Devoted to the practice of righteousness, those sages, thus worshipped by Keçava and others, speedily proceeded to their respective abodes, saying,—‘We will return tomorrow.’<sup>29</sup> After this, Keçava and the Pāndavas, saluting

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\* Literally, “Everything thou knowest shall appear to thee by inward light.”—T.

Bhishma and circumambulating him, ascended their handsome cars.<sup>20</sup> Those heroes then proceeded, accompanied by many other cars decked with golden *Kuvaras*, and infuriate elephants looking like mountains, and steeds fleet as Garudas, and foot-soldiers armed with bows and weapons.<sup>21</sup> That army, moving with great speed, proceeded in two divisions, one in the van and the other in the rear of those princes. The scene resembled the two currents of the great river (Narmadā at the point where it is divided by the Rikshavat mountains standing across it.<sup>22</sup> Gladdening that great host, the divine Chandramas rose before it in the firmament, once more inspiring with moisture, by his own force, the terrestrial herbs and plants whose juice had been sucked up by the Sun.<sup>23</sup> Then that bull of Yadu's race and the sons of Pāndu, entering the (Kuru) city whose splendour resembled that of the city of Indra itself, proceeded to their respective mansions like tired lions seeking their caves."<sup>24</sup>

### SECTION LIII.

Vaiçampāyana said,—“The slayer of Madhu, retiring to his bed, slept happily.<sup>1</sup> Awaking when half a *Yāma* was wanting to usher in the day, he addressed himself for contemplation. Fixing all his senses, he meditated on the eternal *Brahma*.<sup>2</sup> Then a batch of well-trained and sweet-voiced persons, conversant with hymns and the *Purānas*, began to utter the praises of Vāsudeva, that lord of all creatures and creator of the universe.<sup>3</sup> Others, keeping time by clapping of hands, began to recite sweet hymns, and vocalists began to sing. Conch-shells and drums were blown and beat by thousands.<sup>4</sup> The delightful sound also of *Vinās*, *Panavas*, and bamboo flutes, was heard. The spacious mansion of Krishna, in consequence thereof, seemed to laugh with music.<sup>5</sup> In the palace of king Yudhishtira also sweet voices were heard, uttering auspicious wishes, and the sound of songs too and musical instruments.<sup>6</sup> Then he of Daçārha's race performed his ablutions. Joining his hands, the mighty-armed hero of unfading glory silently recited his secret *mantras*, and kindling a fire

poured libations of clarified butter upon it.<sup>7</sup> Giving away a thousand kine unto a thousand Brāhmanas all of whom were fully conversant with the four Vedas, he caused them to utter benedictions upon him.<sup>8</sup> Touching next diverse kinds of auspicious articles and beholding himself in a clear mirror, Krishna addressed Sātyaki, saying,<sup>9</sup>—‘Go, O descendant of Cini, and repairing to Yudhishtira’s abode, ascertain whether that king of great energy is dressed for visiting Bhishma.’<sup>10</sup> At these words of Krishna, Sātyaki, proceeding quickly to the royal son of Pāndu, said unto him,<sup>11</sup>—‘The foremost of cars, belonging to Vāsudeva of great intelligence, stands ready, O king, for Janārdhana will go to see Gangā’s son!’<sup>12</sup> O righteous king of great splendour, he is waiting for thee! It behoveth thee now to do what should be done next!’—Thus addressed, Dharma’s son Yudhishtira answered as follows.<sup>13</sup>

‘Yudhishtira said,—‘O Phālguna of unrivalled splendour, let my foremost of cars be made ready. We should not be accompanied (today) by the soldiers, but we shall proceed ourselves.’<sup>14</sup> That foremost of righteous persons, viz., Bhishma, should not be vexed. Let the guards, therefore, O Dhananjaya, stop today.’<sup>15</sup> From this day Gangā’s son will speak of things that are great mysteries. I do not, therefore, O son of Kunti, wish that there should be a miscellaneous gathering (in Bhishma’s presence).’ ”<sup>16</sup>

Vaiçampāyana continued,—“Hearing these words of the king, Kunti’s son Dhananjaya, that foremost of men (went out and coming back) represented unto him that his best of cars stood harnessed for him.<sup>17</sup> King Yudhishtira, and the twins, and Bhima and Arjuna, the five resembling the five elements, then proceeded towards Krishna’s abode.<sup>18</sup> While the high-souled Pāndavas were coming, Krishna of great intelligence, accompanied by the grandson of Cini, mounted on his car.<sup>19</sup> Saluting one another from their cars and each enquiring of the other whether the night had been passed happily by him, those bulls among men proceeded, without stopping, on those foremost of cars whose rattle resembled the roar of the clouds.<sup>20</sup> Krishna’s steeds, viz., Valāhaka and Meghapushkpa and Caivya and Sugriva were urged by Dāruka.<sup>21</sup>

The animals, urged by him, O king, proceeded, indenting the Earth with their hoofs.<sup>22</sup> Endued with great strength and great speed, they flew onwards, devouring the very skies. Traversing the sacred field of Kuru,<sup>23</sup> the princes proceeded to that spot where the puissant Bhishma on his bed of arrows was lying, surrounded by those great *Rishis*, like Brahman himself in the midst of the gods.<sup>24</sup> Then Govinda and Yudhishtira and Bhima and the wielder of Gāndiva and the twins and Sātyaki, alighting from their vehicles, saluted the *Rishis* by raising their right hands.<sup>25</sup> Surrounded by them, king Yudhishtira, like the moon in the midst of the stars, approached Gangā's son like Vāsava proceeding towards Brahman.<sup>26</sup> Overcome with fear, the king timidly cast his eyes on the mighty-armed hero lying on his bed of arrows like the Sun himself dropped from the firmament.<sup>27</sup>

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#### SECTION LIV.

Janamejaya said,—“When that tiger among men, of righteous soul and great energy, firmly adhering to truth and with passions under complete control, viz., the son of Cāntanu and Gangā, named Devavrata or Bhishma of unfading glory, lay on a hero's bed with the sons of Pāndu sitting around him, tell me, O great sage, what converse ensued in that meeting of heroes after the slaughter of all the troops!”<sup>1-3</sup>

Vaiçampāyana said,—“When Bhishma, that chief of the Kurus, lay on his bed of arrows, many *Rishis* and *Siddhas*, O king, headed by Nārada, came to that spot.<sup>4</sup> The unslain remnant of the (assembled) kings with Yudhishtira at their head, and Dhritarāshtra and Krishna and Bhima and Arjuna and the twins also came there.<sup>5</sup> Those high-souled persons, approaching the grandsire of the Bharatas who looked like the Sun himself dropped from the firmament, indulged in lamentations for him.<sup>6</sup> Then Nārada of godlike features, reflecting for a short while, addressed all the Pāndavas and the unslain remnant of the kings, saying,<sup>7</sup>—‘The time, I think, has come for you to question Bhishma (on subjects of morality and religion), for Gangā's son is about to expire like the Sun that



is on the point of setting !<sup>9</sup> He is about to cast off his life-breaths. Do you all, therefore, solicit him to discourse to you. He is acquainted with the varied duties of all the four orders.<sup>9</sup> Old in years, after abandoning his body he will obtain high regions of bliss. Solicit him, therefore, without delay, to clear the doubts that exist in your minds !<sup>10</sup> Thus addressed by Nārada, those princes approached Bhishma, but unable to ask him anything looked at one another.<sup>11</sup> Then Yudhishthira the son of Pāndu, addressing Hrishikeṣa, said,—“There is no one else than Devaki’s son that can question the grand-sire !<sup>12</sup> O foremost one of Yadu’s race, do thou, therefore, O slayer of Madhu, speak first ! Thou, O sire, art the foremost of us all and thou art conversant with every duty and practice !<sup>13</sup> Thus addressed by the son of Pāndu, the illustrious Keṣava of unfading glory, approaching the unconquerable Bhishma, spoke unto him as follows.<sup>14</sup>

“Vāsudeva said,—‘Hast thou, O best of kings, passed the night happily ? Has thy understanding become unclouded ?<sup>15</sup> Does thy knowledge, O sinless one, shine in thee by inward light ?<sup>16</sup> I hope thy heart no longer feels pain and thy mind is no longer agitated ?’<sup>17</sup>

“Bhishma said,—‘Burning, stupefaction, fatigue, exhaustion, illness, and pain, through thy grace, O thou of Vrishni’s race, have all left me in a single day !<sup>18</sup> O thou of incomparable splendour, all that is past, all that is future, and all that is present, I behold as clearly as a fruit placed in my hands !<sup>19</sup> All the duties declared in the Vedas, all those laid down in the *Vedāntas*, I behold clearly, O thou of unfading glory, in consequence of the boon thou hast granted to me !<sup>20</sup> The duties that have been declared by persons of learning and righteous behaviour, dwell in my remembrance. I am conversant also, O Janārdhana, with the duties and practices prevailing in particular countries and among particular tribes and families.<sup>21</sup> Everything relating again to the four modes of life has come back to my recollection. I am acquainted also, O Keṣava, with the duties that relate to king-craft !<sup>22</sup> Whatever should at whatever time be said, I would say, O Janārdhana ! Through thy grace, I have acquired an auspicious understanding !<sup>23</sup>

Strengthened by meditation on thee, I feel as if I have become a young man again. Through thy favor, O Janārdana, I have become competent to discourse on what is beneficial (for the world) !<sup>24</sup> Why, however, O holy one, dost thou not thyself discourse to Pāndu's son upon all that is good ? What explanation hast thou to give in respect of this ? Tell me quickly, O Mādhava !<sup>25</sup>

"Vāsudeva said,—“Know, O thou of Kuru's race, that I am the root of fame and of everything that leads to good. All things, good or bad, proceed from me.”<sup>26</sup> Who on Earth will wonder if the Moon be said to be of cool rays ? Similarly, who will wonder if I were described as one possessed of the full measure of fame ?<sup>27\*</sup> I have, however, resolved to enhance thy fame, O thou of great splendour ! It is for this, O Bhishma, that I have just inspired thee with great intelligence !<sup>28</sup> As long, O lord of Earth, as the Earth will last, so long will thy fame travel with undiminished lustre through all the worlds !<sup>29</sup> Whatever, O Bhishma, thou wilt say unto the inquiring son of Pāndu, will be regarded on Earth to be as authoritative as the declarations of the Vedas !<sup>30</sup> That person who will conduct himself here according to the authority of thy declarations, will obtain hereafter the reward of every meritorious act !<sup>31</sup> For this reason, O Bhishma, I have imparted to thee celestial understanding so that thy fame may be enhanced on Earth !<sup>32</sup> As long as a man's fame lasts in the world, so long are his achievements said to live.<sup>33</sup> The unslain remnant of the (assembled) kings are sitting around thee, desirous of listening to thy discourses on mortality and duty. Do thou speak unto them, O Bhārata !<sup>34</sup> Thou art old in years and thy behaviour is consistent with the ordinances of the *Çrutis*. Thou art well conversant with the duties of kings and with every other science of duty.<sup>35</sup> No one has ever noticed the slightest transgression in thee from thy every birth. All the kings know thee to be conversant with all the sciences of morality and duty.<sup>36</sup> Like a sire unto his sons do

\* The sense is, I who have already the full measure of fame can scarcely add to my fame by doing or saying anything.—T.

thou, therefore, O king, discourse unto them of high morality. Thou hast always worshipped the *Rishis* and the gods.<sup>37</sup> It is obligatory on thee to discourse on these subjects in detail unto persons desirous of listening to discourses on morality and duty. A learned person, especially when solicited by the righteous, should discourse on the same. The sages have declared this to be a duty.<sup>38</sup> O pussiant one, if thou dost not speak on such subjects, thou wilt incur sin ! Therefore, questioned by thy sons and grandsons, O learned one, about the eternal duties (of men), do thou, O bull among the Bharatas, discourse unto them on the subject ! ”<sup>39</sup>

#### SECTION LV.

Vaiçampāyana said,—“Endued with great energy, the de-  
lighter of the Kurus, (viz, Bhishma,) said,—‘I shall discourse  
on the subject of duty ! My speech and mind have become  
steady, through thy grace, O Govinda, since thou art the  
eternal soul of every being !’<sup>1</sup> Let the righteous-souled Yu-  
dhishthira question me about morality and duty. I shall then  
be much gratified and shall speak of all duties.<sup>2</sup> Let the  
son of Pāndu, that royal sage of virtuous and great soul, upon  
whose birth all the Vrishnis were filled with joy, question  
me !<sup>3</sup> Let the son of Pāndu, who has no equal among all the  
Kurus, among all persons of righteous behaviour, and among  
men of great celebrity, put questions to me !<sup>4</sup> Let the son of  
Pāndu, in whom are intelligence, self-restraint, *Brahma-  
charya*, forgiveness, righteousness, mental vigor and energy,  
put questions to me.<sup>5</sup> Let the son of Pāndu, who always by  
his good offices honors his relatives and guests and servants  
and others that are dependent on him, put questions to  
me.<sup>6</sup> Let the son of Pāndu, in whom are truth and charity  
and penances, heroism, peacefulness, cleverness, and fearless-  
ness, put questions to me.<sup>7</sup> Let the righteous-souled son of  
Pāndu, who would never commit a sin influenced by desire of  
pleasure or profit or from fear, put questions to me.<sup>8</sup> Let the  
son of Pāndu, who is ever devoted to truth, to forgiveness, to  
knowledge, and to guests, and who always makes gifts unto

the righteous, put questions to me.\* Let the son of Pāndu, who is ever engaged in sacrifices and study of the Vedas and the practice of morality and duty, who is ever peaceful and who has heard all mysteries, put questions to me."<sup>10</sup>

"Vāsudeva said,—'King Yudhishtira the just, overcome with great shame and fearful of (thy) curse, does not venture to approach thee.<sup>11</sup> That lord of Earth, O monarch, having caused a great slaughter, ventures not to approach thee from fear of (thy) curse.<sup>12</sup> Having pierced with shafts those that deserved his worship, those that were devoted to him, those that were his preceptors, those that were his relatives and kinsmen, and those that were worthy of his highest regard, he ventures not to approach thee !'<sup>13</sup>

"Bhishma said,—'As the duty of the Brāhmanas consists of the practice of charity, study, and penances, so the duty of Kshatriyas is to cast away their bodies, O Krishna, in battle !'<sup>14</sup> A Kshatriya should slay sires and grandsires and brothers and preceptors and relatives and kinsmen that may engage with him in unjust battle. This is their declared duty.<sup>15</sup> That Kshatriya, O Keçava, is said to be acquainted with his duty who slays in battle his very preceptors if they happen to be sinful and covetous and disregardful of restraints and vows.<sup>16</sup> That Kshatriya is said to be acquainted with his duty who slays in battle the person that from covetousness disregards the eternal barriers of virtue.\*<sup>17</sup> That Kshatriya is said to be acquainted with his duty who in battle makes the Earth a lake of blood, having the hair of slain warriors for the grass and straw floating on it, and having elephants for its rocks, and standards for the trees on its banks.<sup>18</sup> A Kshatriya, when challenged, should always fight in battle, since Manu has said that a righteous battle (in the case of a Kshatriya) leads to both heaven and fame on Earth.'<sup>19</sup>

Vaiçampāyana continued,—'After Bhishma had spoken thus, Dharma's son Yudhishtira, with great humility, approached the Kuru hero and stood in his sight.<sup>20</sup> He seized the feet of Bhishma who in return gladdened him with affectionate

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\* Literally,—'the eternal bridge of virtue.'—T.

words. Smelling his head, Bhishma asked Yudhishtira to take his seat.<sup>21</sup> Then Gangā's son, that foremost of bowmen, addressed Yudhishtira, saying,—‘Do not fear, O best of the Kurus ! Ask me, O child, without any anxiety.’”<sup>22</sup>

### SECTION LVI.

Vaiçampāyana said,—“Having bowed unto Hrishikeça, and saluted Bhishma, and taken the permission of all the seniors assembled there, Yudhishtira began to put questions unto Bhishma.<sup>1</sup>

“Yudhishtira said,—“Persons conversant with duty and morality say that kingly duties constitute the highest science of duty. I also think that the burden of those duties is exceedingly onerous. Do thou, therefore, O king, discourse on those duties !<sup>2</sup> O grandsire, do thou speak in detail on the duties of kings ! The science of kingly duties is the refuge of the whole world of life.<sup>3</sup> O thou of Kuru's race, Morality, Profit, and Pleasure are dependent on kingly duties. It is also clear that the practices that lead to emancipation are equally dependent on them.<sup>4</sup> As the reins are in respect of the steed or the iron hook in respect of the elephant, even so the science of kingly duties constitutes the reins for checking the world.<sup>5</sup> If one becomes stupefied in respect of the duties observed by royal sages, disorder would set in on Earth and everything will become confused.<sup>6</sup> As the Sun, rising, dispels inauspicious darkness, so this science destroys every kind of evil consequence in respect of the world.<sup>7</sup> Therefore, O grandsire, do thou, for my sake, discourse on kingly duties in the first instance, for thou, O chief of the Bharatas, art the foremost of all persons conversant with duties !<sup>8</sup> O scorcher of foes, Vāsudeva regards thee as the first of all intelligent persons ! Therefore, all of us expect the highest knowledge from thee !”<sup>9</sup>

“Bhishma said,—“Bowling unto Dharma who is Supreme, unto Krishna who is *Brahma* in full, and unto the Brāhmanas, I shall discourse on the eternal duties (of men) !”<sup>10</sup> Hear from me, O Yudhishtira, with concentrated attention, the whole range of kingly duties described with accurate details, and

other duties that thou mayst desire to know.<sup>11</sup> In the first place, O foremost one of Kuru's race, the king should, from desire of pleasing (his subjects), wait with humility upon the gods and the Brāhmanas, always bearing himself agreeably to the ordinance.<sup>12</sup> By worshipping the deities and the Brāhmanas, O perpetuator of Kuru's race, the king pays off his debt to duty and morality, and receives the respect of his subjects.<sup>13</sup> O son, thou shouldst always exert with promptitude, O Yudhishtira, for without promptitude of exertion mere destiny never accomplishes the objects cherished by kings.<sup>14</sup> These two, viz., exertion and destiny, are equal (in their operation). Of them, I regard exertion to be superior, for destiny is ascertained from the results of what is begun with exertion.<sup>15</sup> Do not indulge in grief if what is commenced ends disastrously, for thou shouldst then exert thyself in the same act with redoubled attention. This is the high duty of kings.<sup>16</sup> There is nothing which contributes so much to the success of kings as Truth. The king who is devoted to Truth finds happiness both here and hereafter.<sup>17</sup> As regards *Rishis* also, O king, Truth is their great wealth. Similarly, as regards kings, there is nothing that so much inspires confidence in them as Truth.<sup>18</sup> The king that is possessed of every accomplishment and good behaviour, that is self-restrained, humble, and righteous, that has his passions under control, that is of handsome features and not too enquiring,\* never loses prosperity.<sup>19</sup> By administering justice, by attending to these three, viz., concealment of his own weaknesses, ascertainment of the weaknesses of foes, and keeping his own counsels, as also by the observance of conduct that is straightforward, the king, O delighter of the Kurus, obtains prosperity.<sup>20</sup> If the king becomes mild, everybody disregards him. On the other hand, if he becomes fierce, his subjects then become troubled. Therefore, do thou observe both kinds of behaviour.<sup>21</sup> O foremost of liberal men, the Brāhmanas should never be punished by thee, for the Brāhmana, O son of Pāndu, is the foremost of beings on the Earth.<sup>22</sup> The high-souled

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\* In the sense of being liberal. A king should not too minutely enquire into what is done with the things belonging to him.—T.

Manu, O king of kings, hath sung two *Ālokas*. In respect of thy duties, O thou of Kuru's race, thou shouldst always bear them in mind.<sup>23</sup>—Fire hath sprung from water, the Kshatriya from the Brāhmana, and iron from stone. The three (viz., fire, Kshatriya, and iron,) can exert their force on every other thing, but coming into contact with their respective progenitors, their force becomes neutralised.<sup>24</sup> When iron strikes stone, or fire battles with water, or Kshatriya cherishes enmity towards Brāhmana, these three soon become weak.<sup>25</sup>—When this is so, O monarch, (you will see that) the Brāhmanas are worthy of worship. They that are foremost among the Brāhmanas are gods on Earth. Duly worshipped, they uphold the Vedas and the Sacrifices.<sup>26</sup> But they, O tiger among kings, that desire to have such honor however much they may be impediments to the three worlds, should ever be repressed by the might of thy arms.<sup>27</sup> The great *Rishi* Uçanas, O son, sang two *Ālokas* in days of old. Listen to them, O king, with concentrated attention.<sup>28</sup>—The righteous Kshatriya, mindful of his duties, should chastise a Brāhmana that may be a very master of the Vedas if he rushes to battle with an uplifted weapon.<sup>29</sup> The Kshatriya, conversant with duties, that upholds righteousness when it is tresspassed against, does not, by that act, become a sinner, for the wrath of the assilant justifies the wrath of the chastiser.<sup>30</sup>—Subject to these restrictions, O tiger among kings, the Brāhmanas should be protected. If they become offenders, they should then be exiled beyond thy dominions.<sup>31</sup> Even when deserving of punishment, thou shouldst, O king, show them compassion. If a Brāhmana becomes guilty of Brāhmanicide, or of violating the bed of his preceptor or other revered senior, or of causing miscarriage,<sup>32</sup> or of treason against the king, his punishment should be banishment from thy dominions. No corporal chastisement is laid down for them.<sup>33</sup> Those persons that show respect towards the Brāhmanas should be favored by thee (with offices in the state). There is no treasure more valuable to kings than that which consists in the selection and assemblage of servants.<sup>34</sup> Among the six kinds of citadels indicated in the scriptures, indeed, among every kind of citadel, that which consists of (the ready

service and the love of the) subjects is the most impregnable.<sup>35</sup> Therefore, the king who is possessed of wisdom should always show compassion towards the four orders of his subjects. The king who is of righteous soul and truthful speech succeeds in gratifying his subjects.<sup>36</sup> Thou must not, however, O son, always behave with forgiveness towards everybody, for the king that is mild is regarded as the worst of his kind like an elephant that is reft of fierceness.<sup>37</sup> In the scriptures composed by Vrihaspati, a *çloka* was sung in days of old applicable to the present matter. Hear it, O king, as I recite it!<sup>38</sup>—If the king happens to be always forgiving, the lowest of persons prevails over him, even as the driver who sits on the head of the elephant he guides.<sup>39</sup>—The king, therefore, should not always be mild. Nor should he always be fierce. He should be like the vernal sun, neither cold nor so hot as to produce perspiration.<sup>40</sup> By the direct evidence of the senses, by conjecture, by comparisons, and by the canons of the scriptures, O monarch, the king should study friends and foes.<sup>41</sup> O thou of great liberality, thou shouldst avoid all those evil practices that are called *Vyasanas*. It is not necessary that thou shouldst never indulge in them. What, however, is needed is that thou shouldst not be attached to them.<sup>42</sup> He that is attached to those practices is prevailed over by every one. The king who cherishes no love for his people inspires the latter with anxiety.<sup>43</sup> The king should always bear himself towards his subjects as a mother towards the child of her womb. Hear, O monarch, the reason why this becomes desirable.<sup>44</sup> As the mother, disregarding those objects that are most cherished by her, seeks the good of her child alone, even so, without doubt, should kings conduct themselves (towards their subjects).<sup>45</sup> The king that is righteous, O foremost one of Kuru's race, should always behave in such a manner as to avoid what is dear to him, for the sake of doing that which would benefit his people.<sup>46</sup> Thou shouldst not ever, O son of Pāndu, abandon fortitude. The king that is possessed of fortitude and who is known to inflict chastisement on wrong-doers, has no cause of fear.<sup>47</sup> O foremost of speakers, thou shouldst not indulge in jests with thy servants! O tiger among



kings, listen to the faults of such conduct.<sup>43</sup> If the master mingles too freely with them, dependents begin to disregard him. They forget their own position and most truly transcend that of the master.<sup>49</sup> Ordered to do a thing, they hesitate, and divulge the master's secrets. They ask for things that should not be asked for, and take the food that is intended for the master.<sup>50</sup> They go to the length of displaying their wrath and seek to outshine the master. They even seek to predominate over the king, and accepting bribes and practising deceit, obstruct the business of the state.<sup>51</sup> They cause the state to rot with abuses by falsifications and forgeries. They make love with the female guards of the palace and dress in the same style as their master.<sup>52</sup> They become so shameless as to indulge in eructations and the like, and expectorate in the very presence of their master, O tiger among kings, and they do not fear to even speak of him with levity before others.<sup>53</sup> If the king becomes mild and disposed to jest, his servants, disregarding him, ride on steeds and elephants and cars as good as the king's.\*<sup>54</sup> His counsellors, assembled in court, openly indulge in such speeches as—This is beyond thy power! This is a wicked attempt.<sup>55</sup>—If the king becomes angry, they laugh; nor are they gladdened if favors be bestowed upon them, though they may express joy for other reasons.<sup>56</sup> They disclose the secret counsels of their master and bruit his evil acts. Without the least anxiety they set at naught the king's commands.<sup>57</sup> If the king's jewels, or food, or the necessities of his bath, or unguents, be not forthcoming, the servants, in his very presence, do not show the least anxiety.<sup>58</sup> They do not take what rightfully belongs to them. On the other hand, without being content with what has been assigned to them, they appropriate what belongs to the king.<sup>59</sup> They wish to sport with the king as with a bird tied in a string, and always give the people to understand that the king is very intimate with them and loves them dearly.<sup>60</sup> If the king becomes mild and disposed to jest, O Yudhishtira, these and many other evils spring from it.' "<sup>61</sup>

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\* Literally, 'worthy of being used by the king.'—T.

SECTION LVII.

“Bhishma said,—‘The king, O Yudhishtira, should always be ready for action. That king is not worthy of praise who, like a woman, is destitute of exertion.<sup>1</sup> In this connection, the holy Uçanas has sung a *Çloka*, O monarch. Listen to it with attention, O king, as I recite it to thee <sup>12</sup>—Like a snake swallowing up mice, the Earth swallows up these two, viz., the king that is averse to battle and the Brāhmana that is exceedingly attached to wives and children.<sup>13</sup>—It behoveth thee, O tiger among kings, to bear this always in thy heart! Make peace with those foes with whom (according to the ordinance) peace should be made, and wage war with them with whom war should be waged.<sup>4</sup> Be he thy preceptor or be he thy friend, he that acts inimically towards thy kingdom consisting of seven limbs, should be slain.<sup>5</sup> There is an ancient *Çloka* sung by king Marutta, agreeably to Vrihaspati’s opinion, O monarch, about the duty of kings.<sup>6</sup> According to the eternal provision, there is punishment for even the preceptor if he becomes haughty and disregarding of what should be done and what should not, and if he transgresses all restraints.<sup>7</sup>—Vāhu’s son, king Sagara, of great intelligence, from desire of doing good to the citizens, exiled his own eldest son Asamanjas.<sup>8</sup> Asamanjas, O king, used to drown the children of the citizens in the Sarayu. His sire, therefore, rebuked him and sent him to exile.<sup>9</sup> The *Rishi* Uddālaka cast off his favorite son Cwētaketu (afterwards) of rigid penances, because the latter used to invite Brāhmanas with deceptive promises of entertainment.<sup>10</sup> The happiness of their subjects, observance of truth, and sincerity of behaviour are the eternal duty of kings.<sup>11</sup> The king should not covet the wealth of others. He should in time give what should be given. If the king becomes possessed of prowess, truthful in speech, and forgiving in temper, he would never fall away from prosperity.<sup>13</sup> With

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\* Literally, ‘the Brāhmana that would not leave his home.’ This verse has been quoted in this very *Parva* previously.—T.

† The seven limbs are the king, counsellors, friends, treasury, territory, and forts.—T.

soul cleansed of vices, the king should be able to govern his wrath, and all his conclusions should be conformable to the scriptures. He should also always pursue morality and profit and pleasure and salvation (judiciously).<sup>13</sup> The king should always conceal his counsels in respect of these three, (viz., morality, profit, and pleasure). No greater evil can befall the king than the disclosure of his counsels.<sup>14</sup> Kings should protect the four orders in the discharge of their duties. It is the eternal duty of kings to prevent a confusion of duties in respect of the different orders.<sup>15</sup> The king should not repose confidence (on others than his own servants), nor should he repose full confidence (on even his servants). He should, by his own intelligence, look after the merits and defects of the six essential requisites of sovereignty.<sup>16\*</sup> The king who is observant of the *laches* of his foes, and judicious in the pursuit of morality, profit, and pleasure, who sets clever spies for ascertaining secrets and seeks to wean away the officers of his enemies by presents of wealth, deserves applause.<sup>17</sup> The king should administer justice like Yama and amass wealth like Kuvera. He should also be observant of the merits and defects of his own acquisitions and losses and of his own dominions.<sup>18</sup> He should feed those that have not been fed, and enquire after those that have been fed. Possessed of sweet speech, he should speak with a smiling (and not with a sour) countenance.<sup>19</sup> He should always wait upon those that are old in years, and repress procrastination. He should never covet what belongs to others.<sup>20</sup> He should firmly follow the behaviour of the righteous and, therefore, observe that behaviour carefully. He should never take wealth from those that are righteous. Taking the wealth of those that are not righteous he should give it unto them that are righteous.<sup>21</sup> The king should himself be skilful in smiting. He should practise liberality. He should have his soul under control.

\* These six are peace (with a foe that is stronger), war (with one of equal strength), (marching to invade the dominions of one who is weaker), halting, seeking protection (if weak, in one's own fort), and sowing dissensions (among the chief officers of the enemy).—T.

He should dress himself with splendour. He should make gifts in season and be regular in his meals. He should also be of good behaviour.<sup>22</sup> The king desirous of obtaining prosperity should always bind to his service men that are brave, devoted, incapable of being deceived by foes,\* well-born, healthy, well-behaved, and connected with families that are well-behaved, respectable, never inclined to insult others, conversant with all the sciences, possessing a knowledge of the world and its affairs, never unmindful of the future state of existence, always observant of their duties, honest, and steadfast like mountains. There should be no difference between him and them as regards objects of enjoyment. The only distinction should consist in his umbrella and his power of passing orders.<sup>23-25</sup> His conduct towards them, before or behind, should be the same. The king who behaves in this way never comes to grief.<sup>26</sup> That crooked and covetous king who suspects every body and who taxes his subjects heavily, is soon deprived of life by his own servants and relatives.<sup>27</sup> That king, however, who is of righteous behaviour and who is ever engaged in attracting the hearts of his people, never sinks when attacked by foes. If overcome, he soon regains his position.<sup>28</sup> If the king is not wrathful, if he is not addicted to evil practices and not severe in his punishments, if he succeeds in keeping his passions under control, he then becomes an object of confidence unto all like the Himavat mountains (unto all creatures).<sup>29</sup> He is the best of kings who hath wisdom, who is possessed of liberality, who is ready to take advantage of the *laches* of foes, who has agreeable features, who is conversant with what is good and what is bad for each of the four orders of his subjects, who is prompt in action, who has his wrath under control, who is not vindictive, who is high-minded, who is not wrathful by disposition, who is engaged in sacrifices and other religious acts, who is not given to boasting, and who vigourously prosecutes to completion all works commenced by him.<sup>30-32</sup> He is the best of kings in

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\* *Asambhāryān* is explained by Nilkantha as 'incapable of being overreached by foes.'—T.

whose dominions men live fearlessly like sons in the house of their sire.<sup>33</sup> He is the best of kings whose subjects have not to hide their wealth and are conversant with what is good and what is bad for them.<sup>34</sup> He, indeed, is a king whose subjects are engaged in their respective duties and do not fear to cast off their bodies when duty calls for it ; whose people, protected duly, are all of peaceful behaviour, obedient, docile, tractable, unwilling to engage in disputes, and inclined to liberality. That king earns eternal merit in whose dominions there is no wickedness and dissimulation and deception and envy.<sup>35-36</sup> That king truly deserves to rule who honors knowledge, who is devoted to the scriptures and the good of his people, who treads in the path of the righteous, and who is liberal.<sup>37</sup> That king deserves to rule whose spies, and counsels, and acts accomplished and unaccomplished, remain unknown to his enemies.<sup>38</sup> The following verse was sung in days of old by Uçanas of Bhṛigu's race, in the narrative called Rāmacharita, on the subject, O Bhārata, of kingly duties.<sup>39</sup>—One should first select a king (in whose dominions to live). Then should he select a wife, and then earn wealth. If there be no king, what would become of his wife and acquisitions?<sup>40</sup>—Regarding those that are desirous of kingdom, there is no other eternal duty mere obligatory than the protection (of subjects). The protection the king grants to his subjects upholds the world.<sup>41\*</sup> Manu the son of Prachetas sang these two verses respecting the duties of kings. Listen to them with attention.<sup>42</sup>—These six persons should be avoided like a leaky boat on the sea, viz., a preceptor that does not speak, a priest that has not studied the scriptures,<sup>43</sup> a king that does not grant protection, a wife that utters what is disagreeable, a cowherd that likes to rove within the village, and a barber that is desirous of going to the woods.†—' "<sup>44</sup>

\* In the sense that without royal protection, the world would soon come to grief.—T.

† The duties of the cowherd should lead him to the fields. If without manifesting any inclination for going to the fields he likes to loiter

# SECTION LVIII.

"Bhishma said,—Protection of the subject, O Yudhishtira, is the very cheese of kingly duties. The divine Vrihaspati does not applaud any other duty (so much as this one).<sup>1</sup> The divine Kavi (Uçanas) of large eyes and austere penances, the thousand-eyed Indra, and Manu the son of Prachetas,<sup>2</sup> the divine Bharadwāja, and the sage Gaurāçiras, all devoted to *Brahma* and utterers of *Brahma*, have composed treatises on the duties of kings.<sup>3</sup> All of them praise the duty of protection, O foremost of virtuous persons, in respect of kings! O thou of eyes like lotus leaves and of the hue of copper, listen to the means by which protection may be secured!<sup>4</sup> Those means consist of the employment of spies and servants, giving them their just dues without haughtiness, the realisation of taxes with considerateness, never taking anything (from the subject) capriciously and without cause, O Yudhishtira,<sup>5</sup> the selection of honest men (for the discharge of administrative functions), heroism, skill, and cleverness (in the transaction of business), truth, seeking the good of the people, producing discord and disunion among the enemy by fair or unfair means,<sup>6</sup> the repair of buildings that are old or on the point of falling away, the infliction of corporal punishments and fines regulated by observance of the occasion,<sup>7</sup> never abandoning the honest, granting employment and protection to persons of respectable birth, the storing of what should be stored, companionship with persons of intelligence,<sup>8</sup> always gratifying the soldiery, supervision over the subjects, steadiness in the transaction of business, filling the treasury,<sup>9</sup> absence of blind confidence on the guards of the city, producing disloyalty among the citizens of a hostile town, carefully looking after the friends and allies

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within the village, he should not be employed. Similarly the barber's duties require his presence within the village. If without being present there he likes to wander in the woods, he should never be employed, for it may then be pre-umed that he is wanting in that skill which experience and habit bring. These two verses are often quoted in conversation by both learned and unlearned equally.—T.

living in the midst of the enemy's country,<sup>10</sup> strictly watching the servants and officers of the state, personal observation of the city, distrust of servants, comforting the enemy with assurances,<sup>11</sup> steadily observing the dictates of policy, readiness for action, never disregarding an enemy, and casting off those that are wicked.<sup>12</sup> A readiness for exertion in kings is the root of kingly duties. This has been said by Vrihaspati. Listen to the verses sung by him.<sup>13</sup>—By exertion the *amrita* was obtained; by exertion the *Asuras* were slain; by exertion Indra himself obtained sovereignty in heaven and on Earth.<sup>14</sup> The hero of exertion is superior to the heroes of speech. The heroes of speech gratify and worship the heroes of exertion.\*<sup>15</sup> The king that is destitute of exertion, even if possessed of intelligence, is always overcome by foes like a snake that is bereft of poison.<sup>16</sup> The king, even if possessed of strength, should not disregard a foe however weak. A spark of fire can produce a conflagration and a particle of poison can kill.<sup>17</sup> With only one kind of force, an enemy from within a fort, can afflict the whole country of even a powerful and prosperous king.<sup>18</sup> The secret speeches of a king, the amassing of troops for obtaining victory, the crooked purposes in his heart, similar intents for accomplishing particular objects,<sup>19</sup> and the wrong acts he does or intends to do, should be concealed by putting on an appearance of candour. He should act righteously for keeping his people under subjection.<sup>20</sup> Persons of crooked minds cannot bear the burden of extensive empire. A king who is mild cannot obtain superior rank the acquisition of which depends upon labor.<sup>21</sup> A kingdom, coveted by all like meat, can never be protected by candour and simplicity. A king, O Yudhishtira, should, therefore, always conduct himself with both candour and crookedness.<sup>22</sup> If in protecting his subjects a king falls into danger, he earns great merit. Even such should be the conduct of kings.<sup>23</sup> I have now told thee a portion only of the duties of kings. Tell me, O best of the Kurus, what more you wish to know!"<sup>24</sup>

\* Elloquent Brāhmanas learned in the scriptures are heroes of speech. Great Kshatriya kings are heroes of exertion.—P.

Vaiçampāyana continued,—“The illustrious Vyāsa and Devasthāna and Aṇṇa, and Vāsudeva and Kripa and Sātyaki and Sanjaya,<sup>26</sup> filled with joy, and with faces resembling full-blown flowers, said,—‘Excellent! Excellent!’ and hymned the praises of that tiger among men, viz., Bhishma, that foremost of virtuous persons.<sup>26</sup> Then Yudhishtira, that chief of Kuru’s race, with a cheerless heart and eyes bathed in tears, gently touched Bhishma’s feet and said,<sup>27</sup>—‘O grandsire, I shall tomorrow enquire after those points about which I have my doubts, for today, the sun, having sucked the moisture of all terrestrial objects, is about to set!’<sup>28</sup> Then Keçava and Kripa and Yudhishtira and others, saluting the Brāhmanas (assembled there) and circumambulating the son of the great river, cheerfully ascended their cars.<sup>29</sup> All of them observant of excellent vows then bathed in the current of the Drishadvati. Having offered oblations of water unto their ancestors and silently recited the sacred *mantras* and done other auspicious acts, and having adored the evening twilight with due rites, those scorchers of foes entered the city called after the elephant.”<sup>30</sup>

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#### SECTION LIX.

Vaiçampāyana said,—“Rising from their beds the next day and performing the morning rites laid down in the scriptures, the Pāṇḍavas and the Yādavas set out (for the spot where Bhishma lay) on their cars resembling fortified towns.<sup>1</sup> Proceeding to the field of Kuru and approaching the sinless Bhishma, they enquired of that foremost of car-warriors if he had passed the night happily.<sup>2</sup> Saluting all the *Rishis*, and blessed by them in return, the princes took their seats around Bhishma.<sup>3</sup> Then king Yudhishtira the just possessed of great energy, having worshipped Bhishma duly, said these words with joined hands.<sup>4</sup>

“Yudhishtira said,—‘Whence arose the word *Rājan*, O king, that is used, O Bhārata, on Earth? Tell me this, O scorcher of foes!<sup>5</sup> Possessed of hands and arms and neck like others, having an understanding and senses like those of



others, subject like others to the same kinds of joy and grief, endued with back, mouth, and stomach similar to those of the rest of the world,<sup>6</sup> having vital fluids and bones and marrow and flesh and blood similar to those of the rest of the world, inhaling and exhaling breaths like others, possessed of life-breaths and bodies like other men,<sup>7</sup> resembling others in birth and death, in fact, similar to others in respect of all the attributes of humanity, for what reason does one man, *viz.*, the king, govern the rest of the world numbering many men possessed of great intelligence and bravery?<sup>8</sup> Whence is it that one man rules the wide world teeming with brave and energetic and high born men of good behaviour? Why do all men seek to obtain his favour?<sup>9</sup> Why is it that if one man becomes delighted, the whole world becomes delighted, and if that one man is troubled the whole world becomes troubled?<sup>10</sup> I desire to hear this in detail, O bull of Bharata's race! O foremost of speakers, discourse to me on this fully!<sup>11</sup> O king, there cannot but be a grave reason for all this since it is seen that the whole world bows down to one man as to a god!<sup>12</sup>

"Bhishma said,—'With concentrated attention, O tiger among kings, listen to it in detail as to how in the Krita age sovereignty first began.<sup>13</sup> At first there was no sovereignty, no king, no chastisement, and no chastiser. All men used to protect one another righteously.<sup>14</sup> As they thus lived, O Bhārata, righteously protecting one another, they found the task (after sometime), to be painful. Error then began to assail their hearts.<sup>15</sup> Having become subject to error, the perceptions of men, O prince, came to be clouded, and thence their virtue began to decline.<sup>16</sup> When their perceptions were dimmed and when men became subject to error, all of them became covetous, O chief of the Bharatas!<sup>17</sup> And because men sought to obtain objects which they did not possess, another passion called lust (of acquisition) got hold of them.<sup>18</sup> When they became subject to lust, another passion, named wrath, soon spoiled them. Once subject to wrath, they lost all consideration of what should be done and what should not.<sup>19</sup> Unrestrained sexual indulgence set in. Men began to utter what they chose, All distinctions between food that is

clean and unclean and between virtue and vice disappeared.<sup>20</sup> When this confusion set in amongst men, the Vedas disappeared. Upon the disappearance of the Vedas, righteousness was lost.<sup>21</sup> When both the Vedas and righteousness were lost, the gods were possessed by fear. Overcome with fear, O tiger among men, they sought the protection of Brahman.<sup>22</sup> Having gratified the divine Grandsire of the universe, the gods, afflicted with grief, said unto him, with joined hands;<sup>23</sup>—O god, the eternal Vedas have been afflicted in the world of men by covetousness and error! For this, we have been struck with fear.<sup>24</sup> Through loss of the Vedas, O Supreme Lord, righteousness also has been lost! For this, O Lord of the three worlds, we are about to descend to the level of human beings!<sup>25</sup> Men used to pour upwards while we used to pour downwards. In consequence, however, of the cessation of all pious rites among men, great distress will be our lot.\*<sup>26</sup> Do thou then, O Grandsire, think of that which would benefit us, so that the universe, created by thy power, may not meet with destruction!<sup>27</sup>—Thus addressed, the Self-born and divine Lord said unto them,—I shall think of what will do good to all! Ye foremost of gods, let your fears be dispelled!<sup>28</sup>—The Grandsire then composed by his own intelligence a treatise consisting of a hundred thousand lessons. In it were treated the subjects of Virtue, Profit, and Pleasure.<sup>29</sup> The Self-born designated them as the triple aggregate. He treated of a fourth subject called emancipation whose meaning and attributes are different.<sup>30</sup> The triple aggregate in respect of emancipation also, according to the attributes of Goodness, Passion, and Darkness, and another, (a fourth *viz.*, the practice of duty without hope of bliss or reward in this or the other world), were treated in it.† Another triple aggregate connected with Chastisement,

\* Men, by pouring libations of clarified butter on sacrificial fires, feed the gods. The latter, fed by those libations, pour rain on the Earth whence men derive their sustenance. Men, therefore, are said to pour upwards and the gods pour downwards.—T.

† I adopt the Bombay reading and Nilakantha's explanation.—T.

*viz.*, Conservation, Growth, and Destruction, was treated in it.\*<sup>31</sup> Another aggregate of six consisting of the hearts of men, place, time, means, overtacts, and alliances, and causes, were treated in it.<sup>32</sup> The religious rites laid down in the three Vedas, knowledge, and the acts necessary for the support of life, (*viz.*, agriculture, trade, &c), O bull of Bharata's race, and the very extensive branch of learning called punitive legislation, were laid down in it.<sup>33</sup> The subjects also of behaviour towards counsellors, of spies, the indications of princes, of secret agents possessed of diverse means, of envoys and agents of other kinds,<sup>34</sup> conciliation, fomenting discord, gifts, and chastisement, O king, with toleration as the fifth, were fully treated of there.<sup>35</sup> Deliberations of all kinds, counsels for producing disunion, the errors of deliberation, the results of the success or failure of counsels,<sup>36</sup> treaties of three kinds, *viz.*, bad, middling, and good, made through fear, good offices, and gifts of wealth, were described in detail.<sup>37</sup> The four kinds of time for making journeys, the details of the aggregate of three, the three kinds of victory, *viz.*, that secured righteously, that won by wealth,<sup>38</sup> and that obtained by deceitful ways, were described in detail. The three kinds of attributes, *viz.*, bad, middling, and good, of the aggregate of five (*viz.*, counsellors, kingdom, fort, army, and treasury,) were also treated in it.<sup>39</sup> Chastisements of two kinds, *viz.*, open and secret, were indicated. The eight kinds of open chastisement, as also the eight kinds of secret chastisement, were dealt with in detail.<sup>40</sup> Cars, elephants, horse, and foot-soldiers, O son of Pāndu, impressed labourers, crew, and paid attendants (of armies), and guides taken from the country which is the seat of war, these are the eight<sup>41</sup> instruments, O Kauravya, of open chastisement or forces acting openly. The use and administration of movable and immovable poison were also mentioned in respect of the three kinds of things, *viz.*, wearing apparel, food, and incantations. Enemies, allies, and neutrals,—these also were describ-

\* Conservation in respect of the wealth of traders and merchants; Growth in respect of the penances of ascetics; and Destruction in respect of thieves and wicked men; All these depend up

ed.<sup>42-43</sup> The diverse characteristics of roads (to be taken, as dependent on stars and planets, &c.), the attributes of the soil (on which to encamp), protection of self, superintendence of the construction of cars and other utensils of war and use,<sup>44</sup> the diverse means for protecting and improving men, elephants, cars, and steeds, the diverse kinds of battle array, strategies, and manœuvres in war,<sup>45</sup> planetary conjunctions foreboding evil, calamitous visitations (such as earthquakes), skillful methods of warfare and retreat, knowledge of weapons and their proper keep,<sup>46</sup> the disorders of troops and how to get rid of them, the means of inspiring the army with joy and confidence, diseases, times of distress and danger, knowledge of guiding foot-soldiers in battle,<sup>47</sup> the methods of sounding alarms and notifying orders, inspiring the enemy with fear by display of standards, the diverse methods of afflicting the enemy's kingdom by means of robbers and fierce wild-tribes,<sup>48</sup> and fire-raisers and poisoners and forgers, by producing disunion among the chief officers of hostile armies, by cutting down crops and plants,<sup>49</sup> by destroying the efficiency of the enemy's elephants, by producing alarms, by honoring those among the enemy's subjects that are well disposed towards the invader, and by inspiring the enemy with confidence,<sup>50</sup> the waste, growth, and harmony of the seven essential requisites of sovereignty, capacity for (projected) works, the means for accomplishing them, the methods of extending the kingdom,<sup>51</sup> the means of winning over persons residing in the enemy's territory, the chastisement and destruction of those that are strong,<sup>52</sup> the exact administration of justice, the extermination of the wicked, wrestling, shooting and throwing and hurling of weapons, the methods of making presents and of storing requisite things,<sup>53</sup> feeding the unfed and supervision over those that have been fed, gifts of wealth in season, freedom from the vices called *Vyasanas*,<sup>54</sup> the attributes of kings, the qualifications of military officers, the sources of the aggregate of three and its merits and faults,<sup>55</sup> the diverse kinds of evil intents, the behaviour of dependents, suspicion against every one, the avoidance of heedlessness,<sup>56</sup> the acquisition of objects unattained, the improving of objects already

acquired, gifts to deserving persons of what has thus been improved,<sup>57</sup> expenditure of wealth for pious purposes, for acquiring objects of desire, and for dispelling danger and distress, were all treated in that work.<sup>58</sup> The fierce vices, O chief of the Kurus, born of wrath, and those born of lust, in all of ten kinds, were mentioned in that treatise.<sup>59</sup> The four kinds of vices which the learned say are born of lust, *viz.*, hunting, gambling, drinking, and sexual indulgence, were mentioned by the Self-born in that work.<sup>60</sup> Rudeness of speech, fierceness, severity of chastisement, infliction of pain on the body, suicide, and frustrating one's own objects, these are the six kinds of faults born of wrath, that have also been mentioned.<sup>61</sup> Diverse kinds of machines and their actions have been described there. Devastation of the enemy's territories, attacks upon foes, the destruction and removal of landmarks and other indications,<sup>62</sup> the cutting down of large trees (for depriving the enemy and the enemy's subjects of their refreshing shade), siege of forts, supervision of agriculture and other useful operations, the storage of necessities, robes and attire (of troops), and the best means of manufacturing them, were all described.<sup>63</sup> The characteristics and uses of *Panavas*, *Ānakas*, conchs, and drums. O Yudhishtira, the six kinds of articles (*viz.*, gems, animals, lands, robes, female slaves, and gold) and the means of acquiring them (for one's own self) and of destroying them (for injuring the foe),<sup>64</sup> pacification of newly acquired territories, honoring the good, cultivating friendship with the learned, knowledge of the rules in respect of gifts and religious rites such as *homa*,<sup>65</sup> the touch of auspicious articles, attention to and adornment of the body, the manner of preparing and using food, piety of behaviour,<sup>66</sup> the attainment of prosperity by following in one path, truthfulness of speech, sweetness of speech, observance of acts done on occasions of festivity and social gatherings and those done within the household,<sup>67</sup> the open and secret acts of persons in all places of meeting, the constant supervision of the behaviour of men, the immunity of Brāhmanas from punishment, the reasonable infliction of punishment, honors paid to dependents in consideration of kinship and merit,<sup>68-70</sup> the protection of subjects

and the means of extending the kingdom, the counsels that a king, who lives in the midst of a dozen kings, should pursue in respect of the four kinds of foes, the four kinds of allies, and the four kinds of neutrals,<sup>70</sup> the two and seventy acts laid down in medical works about the protection, exercise, and improvement of the body, and the practices of particular countries, tribes, and families, were all duly treated in that work.<sup>71</sup> Virtue, Profit, and Pleasure, and Emancipation, were also described in it. The diverse means of acquisition, the desire for diverse kinds of wealth, O giver of profuse presents,<sup>72</sup> the methods of agriculture and other operations that form the chief source of the revenue, and the various means for producing and applying illusions, the methods by which stagnant water is rendered foul, were laid down in it.<sup>73</sup> All those means, O tiger among kings, by which men might be prevented from deviating from the path of righteousness and honesty, were all described in it.<sup>74</sup> Having composed that highly beneficial treatise, the divine Lord cheerfully said unto the deities having Indra for their head, these words:<sup>75</sup>—For the good of the world and for establishing the triple aggregate (viz., Virtue, Profit, and Pleasure), I have composed this science representing the very cheese of speech!<sup>76</sup> Assisted by chastisement, this science will protect the world. Dealing rewards and punishments, this science will operate among men.<sup>77</sup> And because men are led (to the acquisition of the objects of their existence) by chastisement, or, in other words, chastisement leads or governs every thing, therefore will this science be known in the three worlds as *Dandaniti* (science of chastisement).<sup>\*73</sup> Containing the essence of all the attributes of the aggregate of six, this science will always be much regarded

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\* The Burdwan Pundits have generally been very careless in translating the *Cānti Parvam*. Their version is replete with errors in almost every page. They have rendered verse 78 in a most ridiculous way. The first line of the verse merely explains the etymology of the word *Dandaniti*, the verb *ni* being used first in the passive and then in the active voice. The *idam* refers to the world, i. e., men in general. K. P. Singha's version of the *Cānti* is better, and, of course, gives the correct sense of this verse.—T.

by all high-souled persons. Virtue, Profit, Pleasure, and Salvation have all been treated in it.<sup>79</sup>—After this, the lord of Umā,—the divine and multiform Civa of large eyes, the source of all blessings,—first studied and mastered it.<sup>80</sup> In view, however, of the gradual decrease of the period of life of human beings, the divine Civa abridged that science of grave import compiled by Brahman.<sup>81</sup> The abridgment, called *Vaiṣālāksha*, consisting of ten thousand lessons, was then received by Indra devoted to Brahman and endued with great ascetic merit.<sup>82</sup> The divine Indra also abridged it into a treatise consisting of five thousand lessons and called it *Vāhūdantaka*.<sup>83</sup> Afterwards the puissant Vrihaspati, by his intelligence, further abridged the work into a treatise consisting of three thousand lessons and called it *Vārhaspatya*.<sup>84</sup> Next, that preceptor of *Yoga*, of great celebrity, viz., Kavi of immeasurable wisdom, reduced it further into a work of a thousand lessons.<sup>85</sup> In view of the period of men's lives and the general decrease (of every thing), great *Rishis* did thus, for benefiting the world, abridge that science.<sup>86</sup> The gods then, approaching that lord of creatures, viz., Vishnu, said unto him,—Indicate, O god, that one among mortals who deserves to have superiority over the rest!<sup>87</sup>—The divine and puissant Nārāyana, reflecting a little, created by a fiat of his will a son born of his energy, named Virajas.<sup>88</sup> The highly blessed Virajas, however, did not desire sovereignty on Earth. His mind, O son of Pāndu, inclined to a life of renunciation.<sup>89</sup> Virajas had a son named Krittimat. He too renounced pleasure and enjoyment.\* Krittimat had a son named Karddama. Karddama also practised severe austerities.<sup>90</sup> The lord of creatures, Karddama, begot a son named Ananga. Ananga became a protector of creatures, pious in behaviour, and fully conversant with the science of chastisement.<sup>91</sup> Ananga begot a son named Ativala, well versed in policy. Obtaining extensive empire after the demise of his sire, he became a slave of his passions.<sup>92</sup> Mrityu, O king, had a daughter born of her mind. Named Sunitā

\* Literally, 'rose above the five,' in the sense of having renounced the world. The Barhwan Pandits erroneously render it "died."—T.

and celebrated over the three worlds, she (was married to Ativala and) gave birth to a son named Vena.<sup>93</sup> Vena, a slave of wrath and malice, became unrighteous in his conduct towards all creatures. The *Rishis*, those utterers of *Brahma*, slew him with *Kuça* blades (as their weapon) inspired with *mantras*.<sup>94</sup> Uttering *mantras* the while, those *Rishis* pierced the right thigh of Vena. Thereupon, from that thigh, came out a short-limbed person on Earth,<sup>95</sup> resembling a charred brand, with blood-red eyes and black hair. Those utterers of *Brahma* said unto him,—*Nishida* (sit) here!<sup>96</sup>—From him have sprung the *Nishādas*, viz., those wicked tribes that have the hills and the forests for their abode, as also those hundreds and thousands of others, called *Mlecchas*, residing on the *Vindhya* mountains.<sup>97</sup> The great *Rishis* then pierced the right arm of Vena. Thence sprang a person who was a second *Indra* in form.<sup>98</sup> Clad in mail, armed with scimitars, bows, and arrows, and well-versed in the science of weapons, he was fully acquainted with the *Vedas* and their branches.<sup>99</sup> All the ordinances of the science of chastisement, O king, (in their embodied forms) came to that best of men. The son of Vena then, with joined hands, said unto those great *Rishis*,<sup>100</sup> —I have attained an understanding that is very keen and that is observant of righteousness. Tell me in detail what I shall do with it!<sup>101</sup> That useful task which you will be pleased to indicate, I shall accomplish without hesitation!<sup>102</sup>—Thus addressed, the gods that were present there, as also the *Rishis*, said unto him,—Do thou fearlessly accomplish all those tasks in which righteousness ever resides!<sup>103</sup> Disregarding what is dear and what not so, look upon all creatures with an equal eye. Cast off at a distance lust and wrath and covetousness and honor,<sup>104</sup> and, always observing the dictates of righteousness, do thou punish with thy own hands the man, whoever he may be, that deviates from the path of duty!<sup>105</sup> Do thou also swear that thou wouldst, in thought, word, and deed, always maintain the religion inculcated on Earth by the *Vedas*!<sup>106</sup> Do thou further swear that thou wouldst fearlessly maintain the duties laid down in the *Vedas* with the aid of the science of chastisement, and that thou wouldst never



act with caprice!<sup>107</sup> O puissant one, know that Brāhmanas are exempt from chastisement, and pledge further that thou wouldst protect the world from an intermixture of castes!<sup>108</sup>—Thus addressed, Vena's son replied unto the deities headed by the *Rishis*, saying,—Those bulls among men, viz., the highly blessed Brāhmanas, shall ever be worshipped by me.<sup>109</sup>—Those utterers of *Brahma* then said unto him,—Let it be so!—Then Cakra, that vast receptacle of *Brahma*, became his priest.<sup>110</sup> The Vālakhillyas became his counsellors, and the Sāraswatās his companions. The great and illustrious *Rishi* Garga became his astrologer.<sup>111</sup> This high declaration of the *Crutis* is current among men that Prithu is the eighth from Vishnu. A little before, two persons named Suta and Magadha had come into existence. They became his bards and panegyrists.<sup>112</sup> Gratified, Prithu, the royal son of Vena, possessed of great prowess, gave unto Suta the land lying on the sea-coast, and unto Magadha the country since known as Māgadha.<sup>113</sup> We have heard that the surface of the Earth had before been very uneven. It was Prithu who made the terrestrial surface level.<sup>114</sup> In every *Manwantara*, the Earth becomes uneven.\* Vena's son removed the rocks and rocky masses lying all around,<sup>115</sup> O monarch, with the horn of his bow. By this means the hills and mountains became enlarged. Then Vishnu, and the deities with Indra,<sup>116</sup> and the *Rishis*, and the Regents of the world, and the Brāhmanas, assembled together for crowning Prithu (as the king of the world). The Earth herself, O son of Pāndu, in her embodied form, came to him, with a tribute of gems and jewels.<sup>117</sup> Ocean, that lord of rivers, and Himavat, the king of mountains, and Cakra, O Yudhishtira, bestowed upon him inexhaustible wealth.<sup>118</sup> The great Meru, that mountain of gold, gave unto him heaps of that precious metal. The divine Kuvera, borne on the shoulders of human beings, that lord of *Yakshas* and *Rākshasas*,<sup>119</sup> gave him wealth enough for gratifying the needs of religion, profit, and pleasure. Steeds, cars, elephants, and men, by millions,<sup>120</sup> O son

\* *Manwantara* is a very long period of time, not unequal to  
—T.

of Pāṇḍu, started into life as soon as Vena's son thought of them. At that time there was neither decrepitude, nor famine, nor calamity, nor disease (on Earth).<sup>121</sup> In consequence of the protection afforded by that king, nobody had any fear from reptiles and thieves or from any other source.<sup>122</sup> When he proceeded to the sea, the waters used to be solidified. The mountains gave him way, and his standard was never obstructed anywhere.<sup>123</sup> He drew from the Earth, as a milcher from a cow, seven and ten kinds of crops for the food of *Yakshas*, and *Rikshas*, and *Nagas*, and other creatures.<sup>124</sup> That high-souled king caused all creatures to regard righteousness as the foremost of all things; and because he gratified all the people, therefore, was he called *Rājan* (king).<sup>125</sup> And because he also healed the wounds of Brāhmanas, therefore, he earned the name of *Kshatriya*. And because the Earth (during his reign) became celebrated for the practice of virtue, therefore, she came to be called by many as *Prithivi*.<sup>\*126</sup> The eternal Vishnu himself, O Bāratā, confirmed his power, telling him,—No one, O king, shall transcend thee!<sup>†127</sup>—The divine Vishnu entered the body of that monarch in consequence of his penances. For this reason, the entire universe offered divine worship unto Prithu numbered among human gods.<sup>‡128</sup> O king, thy kingdom should always be protected by the aid of the science of chastisement! Thou shouldst also, by careful observation made through the movements of thy spies, protect it in such a way that no one may be able to injure it.<sup>§129</sup> All good acts, O king, lead to the good (of the monarch). The conduct of a king should be regulated by his own intelligence as also by the opportunities and means that may offer themselves.<sup>§130</sup>

\* Verse 126 has been wrongly rendered in K. P. Singha's version.—T.

† "Numbered among human gods", i. e., among kings.—T.

‡ The correct reading is *chāranishpanda* as given in the Bombay edition. —T.

§ In both the vernacular versions the second line of 130 has been rendered wrongly. The two lines are quite unconnected with each other. Nilakantha rightly supposes that *Kāryyam* is understood after *Mahikshitah*. *Kāraṇa*, however, is not *krigd* as explained by but opportunities and means.—T.

What other cause is there in consequence of which the multitude live in obedience to one, save the divinity of the monarch? At that time a golden lotus was born from Vishnu's brow.<sup>131</sup> The goddess Cree was born of that lotus. She became the spouse of Dharma of great intelligence. Upon Cree, O son of Pāndu, Dharma begot *Artha*.<sup>132</sup> All the three, viz., *Dharma* and *Artha* and *Cree*, were established in sovereignty.\* A person, upon the exhaustion of his merit, comes down from heaven to Earth,<sup>133</sup> and takes birth as a king conversant with the science of chastisement. Such a person becomes endued with greatness and is really a portion of Vishnu on Earth. He becomes possessed of great intelligence and obtains superiority over others.<sup>134</sup> Established by the gods, no one transcends him. It is for this reason that everybody acts in obedience to one, and it is for this that the world cannot command him.<sup>135</sup> Good acts, O king, lead to good. It is for this that the multitude obey his words of command, though he belongs to the same world and is possessed of similar limbs.<sup>136</sup> He who once beheld Prithu's amiable face became obedient to him. Thenceforth he began to regard him as handsome, wealthy, and highly blessed.\*<sup>137</sup> In consequence of the might of his sceptre, the practice of morality and just behaviour became so visible on Earth. It is through that reason that the Earth became overspread with virtue.<sup>138</sup>

"Thus, O Yudhishtira, the histories of all past events, the origin of the great *Rishis*, the holy waters, the planets and stars and asterisms, the duties in respect of the four modes of life, the four kinds of *Homa*, the characteristics of the four orders of men, and the four branches of learning, were all treated of in that work (of the Grandsire).<sup>139-140</sup>

\* Nilakantha explains this verse erroneously. He thinks that the meaning is—"The king becomes obedient to that person who beholds his face to be amiable, &c., &c." It should be borne in mind that Bhishma is answering Yudhishtira's query as to why the whole world adores one man. One of the reasons is a mysterious influence which induces every man who beholds the amiable face of the king to render him homage.—T.

Whatever objects or things, O son of Pāṇdu, there are on Earth, were all included in that treatise of the Grandsire. Histories and the Vedas and the science of *Nyāya* were all treated in it, as also penances, Knowledge, abstention from injury in respect of all creatures, truth, falsehood, and high morality.<sup>141-143</sup> Worship of persons old in years, gifts, purity of behaviour, readiness for exertion, and compassion towards all creatures, were very fully described in it.<sup>143</sup> There is no doubt in this! Since that time, O monarch, the learned have begun to say that there is no difference between a god and a king.<sup>144</sup> I have now told thee everything about the greatness of kings. What other subject is there, O chief of the Bharatas, upon which I shall next have to discourse?"<sup>145</sup>

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#### SECTION LX.

Vaiṣampāyana said,—“After this, Yudhishtira, saluted his grandsire, viz., the son of Gangā, and with joined hands and concentrated attention, once more asked him, saying,—‘What are the general duties of the four orders of men, and what the especial duties of each order? What mode of life should be adopted by which order? What duties are especially called the duties of kings?’ By what means does a kingdom grow, and what are those means by which the king himself grows? How also, O bull of Bharata’s race do the citizens and the servants of the king grow? What sorts of treasures, punishments, forts, allies, counsellors, priests, and preceptors, should a king avoid? Whom should the king trust in what kinds of distress and danger? From what evils should the king guard himself firmly? Tell me all this, O grandsire!”<sup>6</sup>

“Bhishma said,—‘I bow down to Dharma who is great, and to Krishna who is *Brahma*! Having bowed down also unto the Brāhmanas (assembled here), I shall discourse on duties that are eternal.’ The suppression of wrath, truthfulness of speech,

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\* The difference between a *Ritwija* and a *Purohita* is that the former is engaged on especial occasions, while the services of the latter are permanent and constant.—T.

justice, forgiveness, begetting children upon one's own wedded wives, purity of conduct, avoidance of quarrel, simplicity, and maintenance of dependents,—these nine duties belong to all the four orders (equally).<sup>7</sup> Those duties, however, which belong exclusively to Brāhmanas, I shall now tell thee! Self-restraint. O king, has been declared to be the first duty of Brāhmanas. Study of the Vedas, and patience in undergoing austerities, (are also their other duties). By practising these two, all their acts are accomplished.<sup>8</sup> If while engaged in the observance of his own duties, without doing any improper act, wealth comes to a peaceful Brāhmana possessed of knowledge,<sup>9</sup> he should then marry and seek to beget children and should also practise charity and perform sacrifices. It has been declared by the wise that wealth thus obtained should be enjoyed by distributing it (among deserving persons and relatives).<sup>10</sup> By his study of the Vedas all the pious acts (laid down for the Brāhmana) are accomplished. Whether he does or does not achieve anything else, if he devotes himself to the study of the Vedas he becomes (by that) known as a Brāhmana or the friend of all creatures.<sup>11</sup> I shall also tell thee, O Bhārata, what the duties are of a Kshatriya. A Kshatriya, O king, should give but not beg, should himself perform sacrifices but not officiate as a priest in the sacrifices of other's.<sup>12</sup> He should never teach (the Vedas) but study (them with a Brāhmana preceptor). He should protect the people. Always exerting himself for the destruction of robbers and wicked people, he should put forth his prowess in battle.<sup>13</sup> Those among Kshatriya rulers who perform great sacrifices, who are possessed of a knowledge of the Vedas, and who gain victories in battle, become foremost of those that acquire many blessed regions hereafter by their merit.<sup>14</sup> Persons conversant with the old scriptures do not applaud that Kshatriya who returns unwounded from battle.<sup>15</sup> This has been declared to be the conduct of a wretched Kshatriya.\* There is no higher duty for him than the suppression of robbers.<sup>16</sup> Gifts, study, and sacrifices, bring prosperity to kings. Therefore, a king who desires to acquire religious merit

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\* Viz., returning unwounded from battle.—T.

should engage in battle.<sup>17\*</sup> Establishing all his subjects in the observance of their respective duties, a king should cause all of them to do everything according to the dictates of righteousness.<sup>18</sup> Whether he does or does not do any other act, if only he protects his subjects, he is regarded to accomplish all religious acts and is called a Kshatriya and the foremost of men.<sup>19</sup> I shall now tell thee, O Yudhishtira, what the eternal duties of the Vaiçya are. A Vaiçya should make gifts, study the Vedas, perform sacrifices, and acquire wealth by fair means.<sup>20</sup> With proper attention he should also protect and rear all (domestic) animals as a sire protecting his sons. Anything else that he will do will be regarded as improper for him.<sup>21</sup> By protecting the (domestic) animals he would obtain great happiness. The Creator, having created the (domestic) animals, bestowed their care upon the Vaiçya.<sup>22</sup> Upon the Brāhmana and the Kshatriya he conferred (the care of) all creatures. I shall tell thee what the Vaiçya's profession is and how he is to earn the means of his sustenance.<sup>23</sup> If he keeps (for others) six kine, he may take the milk of one cow as his remuneration ; and if he keeps (for others) a hundred kine, he may take a single pair as such fee. If he trades with other's wealth, he may take a seventh part of the profits (as his share). A seventh also is his share in the profits arising from the trade in horns, but he should take a sixteenth if the trade be in hoofs. If he engages in cultivation with seeds supplied by others, he may take a seventh part of the yield. This should be his annual remuneration.<sup>24</sup> A Vaiçya should never desire that he should not tend cattle. If a Vaiçya desires to tend cattle, no one else should be employed in that task.<sup>25</sup> I should tell thee, O Bhārata, what the duties of a Cudra are. The Creator intended the Cudra to become the servant of the other three orders.<sup>26</sup> For this, the service of the three other classes is the duty of the Cudra. By such service of the other three, a Cudra may obtain great happiness.<sup>27</sup> He should wait upon the three other classes according to their order of seniority.

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\* For, without battle, he cannot extend his kingdom and acquire wealth to give away and meet the expenses of sacrifices.—T.

A Cudra should never amass wealth,<sup>28</sup> last, by his wealth, he makes the numbers of the three superior classes obedient to him. By this he would incur sin. With the king's permission, however, a Cudra, for performing religious acts, may earn wealth.<sup>29</sup> I shall now tell thee the profession he should follow and the means by which he may earn his livelihood.<sup>30</sup> It is said that Cudras should certainly be maintained by the (three) other orders.<sup>31</sup> Worn out umbrellas, turbans, beds and seats, shoes, and fans, should be given to the Cudra servants.<sup>32</sup> Torn clothes, which are no longer fit for wear, should be given away by the regenerate classes unto the Cudra. These are the latter's lawful acquisitions.<sup>33</sup> Men conversant with morality say that if the Cudra approaches any one belonging to the three regenerate orders from desire of doing menial service, the latter should assign him proper work.<sup>34</sup> Unto the sonless Cudra his master should offer the funeral cake. The weak and the old amongst them should be maintained.† The Cudra should never abandon his master whatever the nature or degree of the distress into which the latter may fall.<sup>35</sup> If the master loses his wealth, he should with excessive zeal be supported by the Cudra servant. A Cudra cannot have any wealth that is his own. Whatever he possesses belongs lawfully to his master.‡<sup>36</sup> Sacrifice has been laid down as a duty of the three other orders. It has been ordained for the Cudra also, O Bhārata! A Cudra, however, is not competent to utter *swāhā* and *sadhā* or any other Vedic *mantra*.<sup>37</sup> For this reason, the Cudra, without observing the vows laid down in the

\* A *Beshtana* is literally a cloth tied round (the head); hence, a turban or *pāgrī*. The word *Oucira* is applied to both beds and seats. The Hindu *Upānaha* had wooden soles.—T.

† The Burdwan Pundits understand this verse to mean that the Cudra should offer the funeral cake unto his sonless master and support masters if old and weak. There can be little doubt that they are wrong.—T.

‡ *Atirekena* evidently means 'with excessive zeal.' Nilakantha explains it as 'with greater zeal than that which is shown in supporting his own relations.' It cannot mean, as K. P. Sinha puts it, 'with the surplus left after supporting his own relations.'—T.

Vedas, should worship the gods in minor sacrifices called *Pāka-yajnas*. The gift called *Purna-pātra* is declared to be the *Dakshinā* of such sacrifices.\*<sup>38</sup> It has been heard by us that in days of old a Cudra of the name of Pajjavana gave a *Dakshinā* (in one of his sacrifices) consisting of a hundred thousand *Purnapātras*, according to the ordinance called *Aindrāgni*.†<sup>39</sup> Sacrifice (as has been already said), O Bhārata, is as much laid down for the Cudra as for the three other classes. Of all sacrifices, devotion has been laid down to be the foremost.‡<sup>40</sup> Devotion is a high deity. It cleanses all sacrificers. Then again Brāhmanas are foremost of gods unto their respective Cudra attendants.<sup>41</sup> They worship the gods in sacrifices, for obtaining the fruition of various wishes. The members of the three other classes have all sprung from the Brāhmanas.§<sup>42</sup> The Brāhmanas are the gods of the very gods. Whatever they would say would be for thy great good. Therefore, all kinds of sacrifices naturally appertain to all the four orders. The obligation is not one whose discharge is optional.<sup>43</sup> The Brāhmana, who is conversant with *Richs*, *Yajus*, and *Sāmans*, should always be worshipped as a god. The Cudra, who is without *Richs* and *Yajus* and *Sāmans*, has *Prajāpati* for his god.¶<sup>44</sup> Mental sacrifice, O sire, is laid down for

\* A *Pāka-yajna* is a minor sacrifice, such as the propitiation of a planet foreboding evil, or worship offered to the inferior deities called Vicwedevas. A *Purnapātra* is literally a large dish or basket full of rice. It should consist of 256 handfuls. Beyond a *Purnapātra*, the Cudra should not give any other *Dakshinā* in any sacrifice of his.—T.

† This ordinance lays down that the *Dakshinā* should be a hundred thousand animals such as kine or horses. In the case of this particular Cudra, that ordinance (without its *mantras*) was followed, and a hundred thousand *Purnapātras* were substituted for kine or horses of that number.—T.

‡ Hence the Cudra, by devotion to the members of the three other classes, may earn the merit of sacrifices though he is not competent to utter *mantras*.—T.

§ For this reason Cudras earn the merit of the sacrifices performed by their Brāhmana masters and progenitors.—T.

¶ The Brāhmana conversant with the Vedas is himself a god. The Cudra, though incompetent to read the Vedas and utter V



all the orders, O Bhārata! It is not true that the gods and other (superior) persons do not manifest a desire to share the offerings in such sacrifices of even the Cudra.\* For, this reason, the sacrifice that consists in devotion is laid down for all the classes.†<sup>45</sup> The Brāhmana is the foremost of gods. It is not true that they that belong to that order do not perform the sacrifices of the other orders. The fire called *Vitāna*, though procured from Vaiçyas and inspired with *mantras*, is still inferior.‡ The Brāhmana is the performer of the sacrifices of the three other orders.<sup>46</sup> For this reason all the four orders are holy. All the orders bear towards one another the relation of consanguinity, through the intermediate classes. They have all sprung from Brāhmanas. In ascertaining (the priority or subsequence of men in respect of their creation) it will appear that amongst all the orders the Brāhmana was created first. Originally Sāman was one; Yajus was one, and Rich was one.§<sup>47</sup> In this connection, persons conversant with ancient histories cite a verse, O king, sung in praise of sacrifice by the Vaikhānasa *Munis* on the occasion of performing a sacrifice of theirs.<sup>48</sup>—Before or after sun rise, a person of subdued senses, with heart filled with devotion, poureth

has *Prajāpati* for his god whom he can worship with rites other than those laid down in the Vedas. The Brāhmanas have *Agni* for their god, and the Kshatriyas, *Indra*. *Upadravah* means a servant or attendant, hence, a Cudra.—T.

\* Sacrifices are performed by the body, by words, and by the mind. The Brāhmana can perform sacrifices by all the three. The Kshatriya and the Vaicya cannot perform sacrifices by means of their bodies. They must employ Brāhmanas in their sacrifices. These two orders, however, can utter *mantras* and perform mental sacrifices. The Cudra alone cannot employ his body or utter *mantras* in sacrifices. The only sacrifice in his case is the mental sacrifice. A mental sacrifice is a resolve to give away in honor of the gods or unto the gods without the aid of the Vedic ritual. The resolve must be followed by actual gifts.—T.

† I. e., for the Cudras also.—T.

‡ All sacrificial fires, as a rule, are procured from the houses of Vaiçyas. The sacrificial fire of the Cudra is called *Vitāna*.—T.

§ Though originally one, the Vedas have become diverse. Similarly the Brāhmana, who was created first, all the rest have sprung.—T.

libations on the (sacrificial) fire according to the ordinance. Devotion is a mighty agent.<sup>59</sup>—With regard to *homus* again, that variety which is called *skanna* is the initial one, while that which is called *askanna* is the last (but foremost in point of merit). Sacrifices are multifarious. Their rites and fruits again are multifarious.<sup>60</sup> That Brāhmana possessed of devotion who, endued with scriptural learning, is acquainted with them all, is competent to perform sacrifices.<sup>61</sup> That person who desires to perform a sacrifice is regarded as righteous even if he happens to be a thief, a sinner, or the worst of sinners.<sup>62</sup> The *Rishis* applaud such a man. Without doubt they are right. This then is the conclusion that all the orders should always and by every means in their power perform sacrifices.<sup>63</sup> There is nothing in the three worlds equal to sacrifice. Therefore, it has been said that every one, with heart free from malice, should perform sacrifices, aided by devotion which is sacred, to the best of his power and according as he pleases.<sup>64</sup>

### SECTION LXI.

“Bhishma said,—‘O mighty-armed one, listen now to me, O thou of prowess incapable of being baffled, as I mention the names of the four modes of life and the duties in respect of each !<sup>1</sup> The four modes are Vānprastha, Bhaikshya, Gār-hastya of great merit, and Brahmacharyya which is adopted by Brāhmanas.<sup>2</sup> Undergoing the purificatory rite in respect of bearing matted locks, after having gone through the rite of regeneration and performed for sometime the rites in respect of the sacred fire and studied the Vedas,<sup>3</sup> one should, with cleansed soul and senses under restraint, having first carefully performed all the duties of the mode called Gār-hastya, proceed, with or without his wife, to the woods for adoption of the mode called Vānprastha.<sup>4</sup> Having studied the scriptures called Āranyakas, having drawn up his vital fluid and having retired from all worldly affairs, the virtuous recluse may then attain to an absorption with the eternal Soul knowing no decay.<sup>5</sup> These are the indications of *Munis* that have drawn up their vital fluid. A learned Brāhmana, O king,

first practise and perform them.<sup>6</sup> The Brāhmana, O king, that is desirous of emancipation, it is well known, is competent to adopt the Bhaikshya mode after having gone through the mode called Brahmacharyya.<sup>7</sup> Sleeping at that place (in the course of his wanderings) where evening overtakes him, without desire of bettering his situation, without a home, subsisting on whatever food is obtained (in charity), given to contemplation, practising self-restraint, with the senses under control,<sup>8</sup> without desire, regarding all creatures equally, without enjoyments, without dislike to anything, the Brāhmana possessed of learning, by adopting this mode of life, attains to absorption with the eternal Soul that knows no decay.<sup>9</sup> The person leading the Gārhistya mode of life should, after studying the Vedas, accomplish all the religious acts laid down for him. He should beget children and enjoy pleasures and comforts. With careful attention he should accomplish all the duties of this mode of life that is applauded by ascetics and that is extremely difficult to go through (without transgressions).<sup>10</sup> He should be satisfied with his own wedded wife and should never approach her except in her season. He should observe the ordinances of the scriptures, should not be cunning and deceitful. He should be abstemious in diet, devoted to the gods, grateful, mild, destitute of cruelty, and forgiving.<sup>11</sup> He should be of a tranquil heart, tractable, and attentive in making offerings to the gods and the *Pitris*. He should always be hospitable to the Brāhmanas. He should be without pride, and his charity should not be confined to any one sect. He should also be always devoted to the performance of the Vedic rites.<sup>12</sup> In this connection, the illustrious and great *Rishis* cite a verse sung by Nārāyana himself, of grave import and endued with high ascetic merit. Listen to me as I repeat it.<sup>13</sup>—By truth, simplicity, worship of guests, acquisition of morality and profit, and enjoyment of one's own wedded wives, one should enjoy diverse kinds of happiness both here and hereafter.<sup>14</sup>—The great *Rishis* have said that support of sons and wives, and study of the Vedas, form the duties of those that lead this high mode of life.<sup>15</sup> That Brāhmana who, always engaged in the performance of sacrifices, duly goes

through this mode of life and properly discharges all its duties, obtains blessed rewards in heaven.<sup>16</sup> Upon his death, the rewards desired by him become deathless. Indeed, these wait upon him for eternity like menials ever on the alert to execute the commands of their master.\*<sup>17</sup> Always attending to the Vedas, silently reciting the *mantras* obtained from his preceptor, worshipping all the deities, O Yudhishtira, dutifully waiting upon and serving his preceptor with his own body smeared with clay and filth,<sup>18</sup> the person leading the *Brahmacharyya* mode of life should always observe rigid vows and, with senses under control, should always pay attention to the instructions he has received. Reflecting on the Vedas and discharging all the duties (in respect of contemplation and overt acts), he should live, dutifully waiting upon his preceptor and always bowing unto him. Unengaged in the six kinds of work (such as officiating in the sacrifices of others,) and never engaged with attachment to any kind of acts,<sup>19-20</sup> never showing favor or disfavour to any one, and doing good even unto his enemies,—these, O sire, are the duties laid down for a *Brahmachārin* !”<sup>21</sup>

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## SECTION LXII.

“Yudhishtira said,—‘Tell us those duties in respect of persons like ourselves which are auspicious, productive of happiness in the future, benevolent, approved by all, pleasant, and agreeable !’<sup>1</sup>

“Bhishma said,—‘The four modes of life, O puissant one, have been laid down for the Brāhmana. The other three orders do not adopt them, O best of the Bharatas !<sup>2</sup> Many acts, O king, leading to heaven and especially fit for the kingly order, have already been declared. Those, however, cannot be referred to in reply to thy present query, for all of them have been duly laid down for such Kshatriyas as are not disinclined to pitilessness.<sup>3</sup> That Brāhmana who is addicted to the practices of Kshatriyas and Vaiçyas and Cudras, incurs cen-

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\* Literally, ‘with eyes, head, and face on all sides.’—T. •

sure in this world as a person of wicked soul and goes to hell in the next world.<sup>4</sup> Those names which are applied among men to slaves and dogs and wolves and (other) beasts, are applied, O son of Pāndu, to the Brāhmana who is engaged in pursuits that are improper for him.<sup>5</sup> That Brāhmana who, in all the four modes of life, is duly engaged in the sixfold acts (of regulating the breath, contemplation, &c.), who performs all his duties, who is not restless, who has his passions under control,<sup>6</sup> whose heart is pure and who is ever engaged in penances, who has no desire of bettering his prospects, and who is charitable, has inexhaustible regions of bliss in the other world.<sup>7</sup> Every one derives his own nature from the nature of his acts in respect of their circumstances, place, and means and motives.<sup>8</sup> Thou shouldst, therefore, O king, regard the study of the Vedas, which is fraught with such high merit, to be equal with the exertion of kingly power, or the pursuits of agriculture, trade, and hunting.<sup>9</sup> The world is set agoing by Time. Its operations are settled by the course of Time. Man does all his acts, good, bad, and indifferent, entirely influenced by Time.'"<sup>10</sup> Those amongst the good acts of a man's past life that exert the greatest influence on the next, are liable to be exhausted. Men, however, are always engaged in those acts to which their propensities lead. Those propensities again, lead a living being to every direction.'"<sup>11</sup>

### SECTION LXIII:

"Bhishma said,—Drawing the bowstring, destruction of foes, agriculture, trade, tending cattle, and serving others for wealth, these are improper for a Brāhmana.<sup>1</sup> An intelligent Brāhmana, leading a domestic mode of life, should duly perform the six Vedic acts. The retirement of a Brāhmana into

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\* The sense seems to be that influenced by past acts every one acts in subsequent lives. If he is a hunter in this life, it is because the influence of many cruel acts of a past life pursues him even in this.—T.

† Men, therefore, have not always balances of good acts to their credit. They are, however, free agents; the new acts they do determine the character of their next lives.—T.

the woods, after having duly discharged all the duties of the domestic mode of life, is applauded.<sup>3</sup> A Brāhmana should avoid service of the king, wealth obtained by agriculture, sustenance derived from trade, all kinds of crooked behaviour, companionship with any but his wedded wives, and usury.<sup>4</sup> That wretched Brāhmana who falls away from his duties and whose behaviour becomes wicked, becomes, O king, a Cudra. The Brāhmana who weds a Cudra woman, who becomes vile in conduct or a dancer or a village servant or does other improper acts, becomes a Cudra.<sup>4</sup> Whether he recites the Vedas or not, O king, if he does such improper acts, he becomes equal to a Cudra and on occasions of feeding he should be assigned a place amongst Cudras.<sup>5</sup> Such Brāhmanas become equal to Cudras, O king, and should be discarded on occasions of worshipping the gods.\*<sup>6</sup> Whatever presents of food dedicated to the gods and the *Pitris* are made unto Brāhmanas that have transgressed all restraints or become impure in behaviour or addicted to wicked pursuits and cruel acts or fallen away from their legitimated duties, confer no merit (on the giver). For this reason, O king, self-restraint and purity and simplicity have been laid down as the duties of a Brāhmana. Besides these, O monarch, all the four modes of life were laid down by Brahman for him.<sup>7</sup> He that is self-restrained, has drunk the *Soma* in sacrifices, is of good behaviour, has compassion for all creatures and patience to bear everything, has no desire of bettering his position by acquisition of wealth, is frank and simple, mild, free from cruelty, and forgiving, is truly a Brāhmana, and not he that is sinful in acts.<sup>8</sup> Men desirous of acquiring virtue, seek the assistance, O king, of Cudras and Vaiçyas and Kshatriyas. If, therefore, the members of these (three) orders do not adopt peaceful duties (so as to be able to assist others in the acquisition of virtue), Vishnu, O son of Pāndu, never extends his grace to them.<sup>9</sup> If Vishnu be not pleased, the happiness of all men in heaven, the merit arising from the duties laid down for the four orders, the declarations of the Vedas, all kinds

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\* I. e., their services as priests should not be taken.—T.

of sacrifices, and all other religious acts of men, and all the duties in respect of the several modes of life, become lost.<sup>10</sup>

“Listen now, O son of Pāndu, to those duties that should be observed in the four modes of life. These should be known by the Kshatriya who desires the members of the three (other) orders (in his kingdom) to strictly adhere to the respective duties of those modes.<sup>11</sup> For a Cudra who is desirous of hearing (such scriptures as are not forbidden in his case),\* who has accomplished his duties, who has begotten a son, between whom and the superior orders there is not much difference in consequence of the purity of his conduct, all the modes of life have been laid down excepting the observance of universal peacefulness and self-restraint (which are not necessary for him).<sup>12-13</sup> For a Cudra practising all these duties, as also for a Vaiçya, O king, and a Kshatriya, the Bhikshu mode of life has been laid down.<sup>14</sup> Having discharged the duties of his order, and having also served the king, a Vaiçya of venerable years, with the king’s permission, may betake himself to another mode of life.<sup>15</sup> Having studied the Vedas duly and the treatises on the duties of kings, O sinless one, having begotten children and performed other acts of a like nature, having quaffed the *Soma*<sup>16</sup> and ruled over and protected all his subjects righteously, O foremost of speakers, having performed the Rājasuya, the horse sacrifice, and other great sacrifices,<sup>17</sup> having invited learned Brāhmanas for reciting the scriptures and made presents unto them according to their deserts, having obtained victories small or great in battle,<sup>18</sup> having placed on his throne the son of his loins or some Kshatriya of good birth for the protection of his subjects,<sup>19</sup> having worshipped the *Pitris* by performing with due rites the sacrifices laid down for honoring them, having attentively worshipped the gods by performing sacrifices and the *Rishis* by studying the Vedas,<sup>20</sup> the Kshatriya, who in old age desires another mode of life, may, O king, adopt it by leaving that

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\* Although I adopt Nilakantha’s explanation of *śucruṣhu* here, yet I think that word may be taken here, as elsewhere, to have been used in the sense of one doing (menial) service.—T.

one which immediately precedes it, and by that means he is sure to obtain (ascetic) success.<sup>21</sup> A Kshatriya, for leading the life of a *Rishi*, O king, may adopt the Bhikshu mode of life; but he should never do so for the sake of enjoying the pleasures of the world. Having left the domestic mode of life, he may adopt the life of mendicancy by begging what would barely support his life.<sup>22</sup> A life of mendicancy is not obligatory upon the three orders (viz., Kshatriyas, Vaiçyas, and Cudras), O giver of profuse presents! Inasmuch, however, as they can adopt it if they choose, this mode of life, therefore, is open to all the four orders.<sup>23</sup> Amongst men, the highest duties are those which are practised by Kshatriyas. The whole world is subject to the might of their arms. All the duties, principal and subordinate, of the three other orders, are dependent (for their observance) upon the duties of the Kshatriya. The Vedas have declared this.<sup>24</sup> Know that as the foot-prints of all other animals are engulfed in those of the elephant, even so all the duties of the other orders, under every circumstance, are engulfed, in those of the Kshatriya.<sup>25</sup> Men conversant with the scriptures say that the duties of the other three orders afford small relief or protection, and produce small rewards. The learned have said that the duties of the Kshatriya afford great relief and produce great rewards.<sup>26</sup> All duties have kingly duties for their foremost. All the orders are protected by them. Every kind of Renunciation occurs in kingly duties, O monarch, and Renunciation has been said to be an eternal virtue and the foremost of all.<sup>27</sup> If the science of chastisement disappears, the Vedas will disappear. All those scriptures also that inculcate the duties of men become lost. Indeed, if these ancient duties belonging to the Kshatriyas be abandoned, all the duties in respect of all the modes of life, become lost.<sup>28</sup> All kinds of renunciation are seen in kingly duties; all kinds of initiation

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\* The king is entitled to a sixth of the merits acquired by his subjects. The total merit, therefore, of the king, arising from Renunciation, is very great. Besides, the merit of every kind of renunciation belongs to him in that way.—T.



occur in them ; all kinds of learning are connected with them ; and all kinds of worldly behaviour enter into them.<sup>2</sup> As animals, if slaughtered by the vulgar, become the means of destroying the virtue and the religious acts of the slaughterers, even so all other duties, if deprived of the protection given by kingly duties, become liable to attack and destruction, and men, full of anxiety, disregard the practices laid down for them.' ”<sup>30</sup>

#### SECTION LXIV.

“Bhishma said,—‘The duties in respect of all the four modes of life, those of *yatis*, O son of Pāndu, and the customs relating to the conduct of men in general, are all included in kingly duties.<sup>1</sup> All these acts, O chief of the Bharatas, occur in Kshatriya duties. If the functions of royalty are disturbed, all creatures are overtaken by evil.<sup>2</sup> The duties of men are not obvious. They have, again, many outlets.\* Led by many (false) systems, their eternal nature is sometimes offended against.<sup>3</sup> Others who pin their faith to the conclusions arrived at by men, without really knowing anything about the truths of duties (as declared in the scriptures), find themselves at last landed and confounded on faiths whose ultimate ends are unknown.<sup>4</sup> The duties imposed upon Kshatriyas are plain, productive of great happiness, evident in respect of their results, free from deceit, and beneficial to the whole world.<sup>5</sup> As the duties of the three orders, as also of Brāhmanas and of those that have retired from the world, O Yūdhishthira, have before this been said to be all included within those of that sacred mode of life (called Gārhastya), even so, the whole world, with all good actions, are subject to kingly duties.<sup>6</sup> I have told thee, O monarch, how many brave kings had, in days of old, repaired to that lord of all creatures, *viz.*, the divine and puissant Vishnu of great prowess, for resolving their doubts

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\* Probably, in the sense of there being exceptions and limitations in respect to them.—T.

about the science of chastisement.\*<sup>7</sup> Those kings, mindful of the declarations of the scriptures enforced by examples, waited in days of old upon Nārāyana, after having weighed each of their acts against the duties of each of the modes of life.†<sup>8</sup> Those deities, viz., the Sāddhyas, the Vasus, the Aṇwins, the Rudras, the Viṇwas, the Maruts, and the Siddhas, created in days of old by the first of gods, are all observant of Kshatriya duties.<sup>9</sup> I shall now recite to thee a history fraught with the conclusions of both morality and profit. In days of old when the *Dānavas* had multiplied and swept away all barriers and distinctions,‡<sup>10</sup> the powerful Māndhātri, O monarch, became king. That ruler of the Earth, viz., king Māndhātri, performed a great sacrifice from desire of beholding<sup>11</sup> the puissant Nārāyana, that god of gods, without beginning, middle, and end.<sup>12</sup> In that sacrifice he worshipped with humility the great Vishnu. The supreme Lord, assuming the form of Indra, showed himself unto him.<sup>13</sup> Accompanied by many good kings he offered his adorations to that puissant deity.<sup>14</sup> This high discourse took place between that lion among kings and that illustrious god in the form of Indra, touching Vishnu of great effulgence.<sup>15</sup>

“Indra said,—What is your object, O foremost of virtuous persons, in thus seeking to behold that Ancient and First of gods, viz., Nārāyana, of inconceivable energy, and infinite illusions?<sup>16</sup> Neither myself, nor Brahman himself, can obtain a sight of that god of universal form! I shall grant thee what other objects may be in thy heart, for thou art the foremost of mortals!<sup>17</sup> Thy soul abides on peace; thou art devoted to righteousness; thou hast thy senses under control; and thou art possessed of heroism! Thou seekest unflinchingly to do what is agreeable to the gods. For the sake also of thy in-

\* I. e., for ascertaining whether kingly duties are superior to laid down for the several modes of life.—T.

† The sense seems to be that having failed, after such comparison, to resolve their doubts, they waited upon Vishnu.—T.

‡ I. e., ‘spread confusion on Earth.’—T.

telligence, devotion, and high faith, I shall grant thee whatsoever boons may be desired by thee !<sup>18</sup>—

“ ‘Māndhātṛi said,—I bend my head for gratifying thee. Without doubt, however, I desire to see the first of gods, O divine lord ! Casting off all (earthly) desires, I wish to earn religious merit, and to lead the foremost mode of life, that path of the good, highly regarded by all !<sup>19</sup> By exercising the high duties of a Kshatriya, I have earned many regions of inexhaustible merit in the other world, and I have also, through those duties, spread my fame. I do not, however, know how to discharge those duties, the foremost in the world, that have flowed from the first of gods !<sup>20</sup>—

“ ‘Indra said,—They that are not kings, however observant they may be of their duties, cannot easily attain the highest rewards of duty. Kingly duties first flowed from the original god. Other duties flowed afterwards from his body.<sup>21</sup> Infinite were the other duties, with those of the Vānaprastha mode of life, that were created afterwards. The fruits of all those are exhaustible. Kingly duties, however, are distinguished above them. In them are included all other duties. For this reason Kshatriya duties are said to be the foremost of all.<sup>22</sup> In days of old, Vishnu, by acting according to Kshatriya duties, forcibly suppressed and destroyed his foes and thereby afforded relief to the gods and the *Rishis* of immeasurable energy.<sup>23</sup> If the divine Vishnu of inconceivable energy had not slain all his foes among the *Asuras*, then the Brāhmanas, and (Brahman) the Creator of the worlds, and Kshatriya duties, and the duties that first flowed from the Supreme deity, would all have been destroyed.<sup>24</sup> If that first and foremost of gods had not, by putting forth his prowess, subjugated the Earth with all her *Asuras*, then all the duties of the four orders and all the duties in respect of the four modes of life would all have been destroyed in consequence of the destruction of Brāhmanas.<sup>25</sup> The eternal duties (of men) had all suffered destruction. It was by the exercise of Kshatriya duties that they were revived.\*

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\* The Bengal reading *sātvatāh* seems to be an error. The Bombay text has *cācāvātāh*.—T.

In every *Yuga*, the duties of Brāhmanas in respect of attaining to *Brahma* first set in. These, however, are all protected by kingly duties. The latter, on this account, are regarded as the foremost.<sup>26</sup> Casting away life in battle, compassion for all creatures, knowledge of the affairs of the world, protection of men, rescuing them from danger, relieving the distressed and the oppressed,—all these occur among Kshatriya duties practised by kings.<sup>27</sup> Persons that do not regard wholesome restraints and that are governed by lust and wrath, do not commit overt acts of sin from fear of kings. Others that are docile and of righteous behaviour succeed, in consequence of the same influence, in performing all their duties. For this reason Kshatriya duties are regarded to be righteous.<sup>28</sup> Without doubt, all creatures live happily in the world, protected by kings exercising Kshatriya duties like children protected by their parents.<sup>29</sup> Kshatriya duties are the foremost of all duties. Those eternal duties, regarded as the first in the world, embrace the protection of every creature. Themselves eternal, they lead to eternal emancipation.’”<sup>30</sup>

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#### SECTION LXV.

“‘Indra said,—Kshatriya duties, O king, which are possessed of such energy, which include in their exercise all other duties, and which are the foremost of all duties, should be observed by persons that are, like thee, so high-souled and so employed in seeking the good of the world. If those duties are not properly discharged, all creatures would be overtaken by ruin.<sup>1</sup> The king, possessed of compassion for all creatures should regard these to be the foremost of his duties, *viz.*, reclaiming the land for cultivation and fertilizing it, performance of great sacrifices for cleansing himself, a disregard for begging, and protection of subjects.<sup>2</sup> Abandonment (gift) is said by the sages to be the foremost of virtues. Of all kinds of abandonment, again, that of the body in battle, is the foremost. Thou hast seen with thy own eyes how the rulers of the Earth, ever observant of Kshatriya duties,<sup>3</sup> having duly waited upon their preceptors and acquired great learning, at

last cast off their bodies, engaged in battle with one another. The Kshatriya, desirous of acquiring religious merit, should, after having gone through the Brahmacharyya mode, should lead a life of domesticity which is always meritorious.<sup>4</sup> In adjudicating upon ordinary questions of right (between his subjects), he should be thoroughly impartial. For causing all the orders to be observant of their respective duties, for the protection they afford to all, for the diverse contrivances and means and the prowess<sup>5</sup> and exertion (with which they seek the accomplishment of their objects), Kshatriya duties, which include all other duties within their scope, are said to be the foremost. The other orders are able to observe their respective duties in consequence of kingly duties. For this reason the former are said to be dependent upon the latter in respect of the merit they produce.\*<sup>6</sup> Those men who disregard all wholesome restraints and who are too much attached to the pursuit of worldly objects are said to be of the nature of brutes. They are compelled to act with justice by the exercise of kingly duties. Those duties, therefore, are said to be the foremost of all.<sup>7</sup> That course of conduct which has been prescribed for Brāhmanas who follow the three Vedas, and those modes of life that have been laid down for Brāhmanas, should, before everything else, be observed by every Brāhmana. If a Brāhmana acts otherwise, he should be punished like a Cudra.<sup>8</sup> The duties of the four modes of life and the ritual prescribed in the Vedas, O king, should ever be followed by a Brāhmana. Know that he has no other duties.<sup>9</sup> For a Brāhmana acting otherwise, a Kshatriya should not make any arrangement for sustenance. His religious merit grows in consequence of his acts. A Brāhmana, indeed, is like *Dharma's* self.<sup>10</sup> That Brāhmana who is employed in acts that are not laid down for him, deserves no respect. If not engaged in his proper acts, he should not be trusted.<sup>11</sup> These are the duties that appertain to the several orders. Kshatriyas should take care of them so that their observance may be improved. Even these are the duties of Kshatriyas. For these reasons also, kingly

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\* *Yenc* is explained by Nilakantha to mean *Kshatriya-dharmena*.—T.

and no others, are the foremost of all. They are, as I believe, the duties of heroes, and they that are heroes are foremost in practising them !<sup>12</sup>—

“Māndhātṛi said,—What duties should be performed by the Yavanas, the Kirātas, the Gāndhāras, the Chinas, the Cavaras, the Barbaras, the Cakas, the Tushāras, the Kankas, the Palhavas, the Andhāras, the Madrakas, the Paundras, the Pulindas, the Ramathas, the Kāmvojas, the several castes that have sprung up from Brāhmanas and Kshatriyas, the Vaiçyas, and the Cudras, that reside in the dominions of (Arya) kings? What are those duties again to the observance of which kings like ourselves should force those tribes that subsist by robbery?<sup>13</sup> I desire to hear all this! O illustrious god, instruct me! O chief of all the deities, thou art the friend of us Kshatriyas !<sup>14</sup>—

“Indra said,—All the robber tribes should serve their mothers and fathers, their preceptors and other seniors, and recluses living in the woods.<sup>15</sup> All the robber tribes should also serve their kings. The duties and rites inculcated in the Vedas should also be followed by them.<sup>16</sup> They should perform sacrifices in honor of the *Pitris*, dig wells, (and dedicate them to universal service), give water to thirsty travellers, give away beds and make other seasonable presents unto Brāhmanas.<sup>17</sup> Abstention from injury, truth, suppression of wrath, supporting Brāhmanas and kinsmen by giving them their dues, maintenance of wives and children, purity, peacefulness,<sup>18</sup> making presents to Brāhmanas at sacrifices of every kind, are duties that should be practised by every person of this class who desires his own prosperity. Such a person should also perform all kinds of *Pāka-yajnas* with costly presents of food and wealth.<sup>19</sup> These and similar duties, O sinless one, were laid down in olden days for persons of this class. All these acts which have been laid down for all others should be done by persons of also the robber class, O king !<sup>20</sup>—

“Māndhātṛi said,—In the world of men, such wicked men may be seen living in disguise among all the four orders and in all the four modes of life.<sup>21</sup>—

said,—Upon the disappearance of kingly duties

and of the science of chastisement, all creatures became exceedingly afflicted, O sinless one, in consequence of the tyranny of kings.<sup>24</sup> After the expiry of this the *Krita* age, a confusion will set in, regarding the different modes of life, and innumerable Bhikshus will appear with sectarial marks of different kinds.<sup>25</sup> Disregarding the *Purānas* and the high truths of religion, men, urged by lust and wrath, will deviate into wrong paths.<sup>26</sup> When sinful men are restrained (from wicked acts) by high-souled persons with the aid of the science of chastisement, then religion, which is superior to everything and eternal, and which is the source of everything good, becomes firmly established.<sup>27</sup> The gifts, and libations, and offerings to the *Pitris*, of the man that disregards the king who is superior to every one, become fruitless.<sup>28</sup> The very gods do not disregard a virtuous king who is truly an eternal god.<sup>29</sup> The divine Lord of all creatures, having created the universe, intended the Kshatriya to rule men regarding their inclinations and disinclinations in respect of duties.<sup>30</sup> I respect and worship that person who, aided by his understanding, watches the course of the duties performed by men. Upon such supervision rest Kshatriya duties!—"<sup>31</sup>

"Bhishma continued,—'Having said these words, the divine and puissant Nārāyana in the form of Indra, accompanied by the Maruts, repaired to his eternal abode of inexhaustible felicity.<sup>32</sup> When, O sinless one, duties as practised by the good had such a course way in days of old, what man of cleansed soul and learning is there that would disregard the Kshatriya?<sup>33</sup> Like blind men lost on the way, creatures acting and abstaining unrighteously meet with destruction."<sup>34</sup> O tiger among men, do thou adhere to that circle (of duties) that was first set agoing and to which the ancients had recourse! I know, O sinless one, that thou art quite competent to do this!'"<sup>35</sup>

SECTION LXVI.

"Yudhishtira said,—'Thou hast spoken to me about the four modes of human life. I desire to know more of them. Do thou discourse on them in detail!'"

"Bhishma said,—'O Yudhishtira of mighty-arms, all the duties that are practised in this world by the righteous are known to thee as well as they are known to me.\* O foremost of virtuous persons, listen now to me about what thou askest, viz., the merit (that a king acquires) in consequence of the duties practised by others leading other modes of life.† All the merits, O son of Kunti, that belong to persons practising the duties of the four modes of life, attach, O foremost of men, to righteous kings.‡ A king who is not governed by lust and hate, who rules with the aid of the science of chastisement, and who looks equally on all creatures, O Yudhishtira, attains to the object of the Bhaikshya mode of life.‡§ That king who is possessed of knowledge, who makes gifts to deserving persons on proper occasions, who knows how to favour and punish, who conducts himself in all things according to the injunctions of the scriptures, and who has tranquillity of soul, attains to the object of the Gārhistya mode of life.¶ That king who always worships those that are deserving of worship by giving them their due, completely attains, O son of Kunti, to the object of the Bhaikshya mode of life.‡ That king, O Yudhishtira, who rescues from distress, to the best of his power, his kinsmen and relatives and friends, attains to the object of the Vānaprastha mode of life.‡ That king who on every occasion honors those that are foremost among men and those that are foremost among *Yatis*, attains, O son of Kunti,

\* Nilakantha thinks that *Lingāntargatam* means omniscient. He is for taking this verse to mean—'Listen now to those duties about which thou askest my omniscient self.' Bhishma having acquired omniscience through Krishna's boon, refers to it here. The interpretation seems to be very far-fetched.—T.

† That object is .



to the object of the Vānaprastha mode of life.<sup>9</sup> That king, O Pārtha, who daily makes offerings unto the *Pitris*, and large offerings unto all living creatures including men, attains to the object of the same mode of life.<sup>10-11</sup> That king, O tiger among men, who grinds the kingdoms of others for protecting the righteous, attains to the object of the same mode of life.<sup>12</sup> In consequence of the protection of all creatures, as also of the proper protection of his own kingdom, a king earns the merit of as many sacrifices as the number of creatures protected, and accordingly attains to the object of the Sannyāsa mode of life.<sup>13</sup> Study of the Vedas every day, forgiveness, and worship of preceptors, and services rendered to one's own teacher, lead to the attainment of the object of Brahmacharyya.<sup>14</sup> That king who silently recites his *mantras* every day and who always worships the gods according to the ordinance, attains, O tiger among men, to the object of the Gārhistya mode of life.<sup>15</sup> That king who engages in battle with the resolve of protecting his kingdom or meeting with death, attains to the object of the Vānaprastha mode of life.<sup>16</sup> That king, O Bhārata, who always behaves towards all creatures with righteousness and sincerity, attains to the object of the Vānaprastha mode of life.<sup>17</sup> That king who gives unto persons leading a Vānaprastha mode of life and unto Brāhmanas versed in the three Vedas, attains to the object of the Vānaprastha mode of life.<sup>18</sup> That king who displays compassion towards all creatures and abstains entirely from cruelty, O Bhārata, attains to the objects of all the modes of life.<sup>19</sup> That king, O Yudhishtira, who shows compassion to the young and the old, O son of Kunti, under every circumstance, attains to the objects of every mode of life.<sup>20</sup> That king, O of Kuru's race, who affords relief to all oppressed people seek his protection, attains to the object of the Gārhistya mode of life.<sup>21</sup> That king who protects all creatures mobile and immobile, and honors them as they deserve, attains to the object of the Gārhistya mode of life.<sup>22</sup> Bestowing favors and inflicting punishments upon the wives of brothers elder and younger and upon their sons and grandsons, are the domestic duties of a king and these constitute his best

By honoring those that are righteous and deserving of worship and protecting those that have (by their penances) acquired a knowledge of self, a king, O tiger among men, attains to the object of the Gārhashtya mode of life.\* That inviting to his home, O Bhārata, persons that have betaken themselves to that Vānaprastha and other modes of life, and treating them with food, constitute the domestic duties of a king.† That king who duly adheres to the duties laid down by the Creator, obtains the blessed merits of all the modes of life.‡ That king, O son of Kuntī, in whom no virtue is wanting, that foremost of men, O Yudhishtira, is said by the learned to be a person in the observance of the Vānaprastha and all the other modes of life.‡ That king who duly honors the office or rank which deserves honor, the race or family which deserves honor, and those old men that deserve honor, is said, O Yudhishtira, to live in all the modes of life.‡ A king, O son of Kuntī, by observing the duties of his country and those of his family, acquires, O tiger among men, the merits of all the modes of life.‡ That king who at proper seasons bestows upon righteous persons affluence or gifts of value, earns the merits, O king, of all the modes of life.‡ That king, O son of Kuntī, who while overcome with danger and fear still keeps his eye on the duties of all men,† earns the merits of all the modes of life.‡ The king obtains a share of the merits earned under his protection by righteous people in his dominions.‡ On the other hand, if kings, O tiger among men, do not protect the righteous people within their dominions, they then take the sins of the latter (of omission and commission).‡ Those men also, O Yudhishtira, who assist kings (in protecting their subjects), become equally entitled, O sinless one, to a share of the merits earned by others (in consequence of that protection).‡ The learned say that the Gārhashtya, which we have adopted, is superior to all the other

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\* I. e., such a man acquires the merits of all the modes of life.—T.

† *Daca bharmagatam* is explained by Nilakantha as 'overcome with

modes of life. The conclusions in respect of it are very clear. It is certainly sacred, O tiger among men.<sup>35</sup> That man who regards all creatures to be like his own self, who never does any harm and has his wrath under control, obtains great happiness both here and hereafter.<sup>36</sup> A king can easily cross the ocean of the world, with kingly duties as his boat possessed of great speed, urged on by the breeze of gifts, having the scriptures for its tackle and intelligence for the strength of its helmsman, and kept afloat by the power of righteousness.<sup>37</sup> When the principle of desire in his heart is withdrawn from every earthly object, he is then regarded as one resting on his understanding alone. In this state he soon attains to *Brahma*.<sup>†</sup> Becoming cheerful by meditation and by restraining desire and other passions of the heart, O tiger among men, a king, engaged in discharging the duty of protection, succeeds in obtaining great merit.<sup>39</sup> Do thou, therefore, O Yudhishtira, exert thyself carefully in protecting Brāhmanas of pious deeds and devoted to the study of the Vedas, as also all other men.<sup>40</sup> By exercising the duty of protection only, O Bhārata, the king earns merit that is a hundred times greater than what is earned by recluses in their asylums within the wood.<sup>41</sup>

“‘I have now described, O eldest son of Pāndu, the diverse duties of men. Do thou adhere to kingly duties that are eternal and that have been practised by great men since days of old.<sup>42</sup> If thou employest thyself with concentrated attention to the duty of protecting (thy subjects), O tiger among men, thou mayst then, O son of Pāndu, obtain the merits of all the four modes of life and of all the four orders of men!’<sup>43</sup>

\* If this verse has a reference to kings, *nyastadandah* would mean one who punishes without wrath.—T.

† In this and the preceding verse, *Sattva*, without being taken as used for intelligence, may be taken to mean ‘the quality of goodness’ as

SECTION LXVII.

"Yudhishtira said,—'Thou hast said what the duties are of the four modes of life and of the four orders. Tell me now, O grandsire, what are the principal duties of a kingdom.'<sup>1</sup>

"Bhishma said,—'The (election and) coronation of a king is the first duty of a kingdom. A kingdom in which anarchy prevails becomes weak and is soon afflicted by robbers.<sup>2</sup> In kingdoms torn by anarchy, righteousness cannot dwell. The inhabitants devour one another. An anarchy is the worst possible of states.<sup>3</sup> The *Ṛṣis* declare that in crowning a king, it is Indra that is crowned (in the person of the king). A person who is desirous of prosperity should worship the king as he should worship Indra himself.<sup>4</sup> No one should dwell in kingdoms torn by anarchy. Agni does not convey (to the gods) the libations that are poured upon him in kingdoms where anarchy prevails.<sup>5</sup> If a powerful king approaches kingdoms weakened by anarchy, from desire of annexing them to his dominions,<sup>6</sup> the people should go forward and receive the invader with respect. Such conduct would be consistent with wise counsels. There is no evil greater than anarchy.<sup>7</sup> If the powerful invader be inclined to equity, everything will be right. If on the other hand, he be enraged, he may exterminate all.<sup>8</sup> That cow which cannot be easily milked has to suffer much torture. On the other hand, that cow which is capable of being easily milked, has not to suffer any torture whatever.<sup>9</sup> The wood that bends easily does not require to be heated. The tree that bends easily, has not to suffer any torture (at the hands of the gardener).<sup>10</sup> Guided by these instances, O hero, men should bend before those that are powerful. The man that bends his head to a powerful person really bends his head to Indra.<sup>11</sup> For these reasons, men desirous of prosperity should (elect and) crown some person

\* *Anidram* is explained by Nīlakantha as a kingdom sleeplessness being its certain indication. —T.

as their king. They who live in countries where anarchy  
 vails cannot enjoy their wealth and wives.<sup>12</sup> During times of  
 anarchy, the sinful man derives great pleasure by robbing the  
 wealth of other people. When, however, his (ill-got) wealth  
 is snatched by others, he wishes for a king.<sup>13</sup> It is evident,  
 therefore, that in times of anarchy the very wicked even can-  
 not be happy. The wealth of one is snatched away by two.  
 That of those two is snatched away by many acting together.<sup>14</sup>  
 He who is not a slave is made a slave. Women, again, are  
 forcibly abducted. For these reasons the gods created kings for  
 protecting the people.<sup>15</sup> If there were no king on Earth for  
 wielding the rod of chastisement, the strong would then have  
 preyed on the weak after the manner of fishes in the water.<sup>16</sup>  
 It hath been heard by us that men, in days of old, in conse-  
 quence of anarchy, met with destruction, devouring one an-  
 other like stronger fishes devouring the weaker ones in the  
 water. It hath been heard by us that a few amongst them  
 then, assembling together, made certain compacts, saying,<sup>17</sup>—  
 He who becomes harsh in speech, or violent in temper, he  
 who seduces or abducts other people's wives or robs the wealth  
 that belongs to others, should be cast off by us.<sup>18</sup> For inspir-  
 ing confidence among all classes of the people, they made such  
 a compact and lived for some time.<sup>19</sup> Assembling after some  
 time they proceeded in affliction to the Grandsire, saying,—  
 Without a king, O divine lord, we are going to destruction.  
 Appoint some one as our king!<sup>20</sup> All of us shall worship him  
 and he shall protect us!—Thus solicited, the Grandsire asked  
 Manu. Manu, however, did not assent to the proposal.<sup>21</sup>

“Manu said,—I fear all sinful acts. To govern a kingdom  
 is exceedingly difficult, especially among men who are always  
 false and deceitful in their behaviour.”<sup>22</sup>

“Bhishma continued,—The inhabitants of the Earth then  
 said unto him,—Do not fear! The sins that men commit will  
 touch those only that commit them (without staining thee  
 in the least)! For the increase of thy treasury, we will  
 give thee a fiftieth part of our animals and precious metals  
 and a tenth part of our grain! When our maidens also  
 will become desirous of wedding, we shall, when the question



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