







KAMANDAKIYA NITISARA

OR

THE ELEMENTS OF POLITY

(IN ENGLISH.)

EDITED AND PUBLISHED BY

MANMATHA NATH DUTT, M.A., M.R.A.S.

RECTOR, KESHUB ACADEMY;

Author of the English Translations of the Ramayana, Srimadbhagavatam, Vishnupuranam, Mahabharata, Bhagavat-Gita and other works.

CALCUTTA:

PRINTED BY H. C. DASS,

ELYSIUM PRESS, 65/2 BEADON STREET.

1896.

CARPENTIER

TO MRU
AIRBORNE

INTRODUCTION.

JC50
K2513
1896
MA10

—:O:—

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

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

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

M94472

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

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

Date.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

We have undertaken to translate into English this great work of

Kamandaka for it stands pre-eminently

Our object.

high among works dealing with the science

of Polity. It is thoroughly representative in its character and the precepts, of the great sage, we are sure, will prove a profitable reading to the general public and more so to many Hindu princes who govern over the destiny of a vast section of the Indian population. Now that it

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

CONTENTS.

INTRODUCTION.

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

SECTION I.

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

SECTION II.

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

SECTION III.

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

SECTION IV.

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

SECTION V.

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

SECTION VI.

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

SECTION VII.

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

SECTION VIII.

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

SECTION IX.

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

SECTION X.

The dissertation on war.—P. 136—149.

SECTION XI.

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

SECTION XII.

Rules regarding embassies and spies.—P. 182—192.

SECTION XIII.

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

SECTION XIV.

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

SECTION XV.

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

SECTION XVI.

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

SECTION XVII.

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

SECTION XVIII.

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

SECTION XIX.

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

KAMANDAKIYA NITISARA.

SECTION I.

SALUTATION unto the Glorious Ganesha.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

§ *Rishi*.—A seer.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

14. Following the paths of rectitude king *Vaijavana*||

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

† Sanskrit philosophers draw a very subtle distinction between the

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

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

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

30. The impossibility of the concomitance of perceptions

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

52. Women can surely kindle desire in the hearts of

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

Kuranga-mātanga-patanga-vringas, Meenas hatūsa panchabhiréva pancha Ekas pramādi sha katham na hanyaté, Ya shévaté panchbhiréva pancha.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Thus ends the first section, the means of self-control and association with the old, in the Nitisâra of Kâmandaka.

—:0:—

SECTION II.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

* Vide note to Sloka 8th Sec. I.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

¶ Modern *Metaphysics*.

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

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

13. Sometimes, the *Angas*,‡ the four *Vedas*, the *Mimánsás*,§ the diverse sections of *Nyáya*,|| the

* Joy for their gain and grief for their loss.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

* Vide *Supra* note to Sloka 16th.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

** The text reads *Ḥadatvam* for which the commentary supplies *Ḥatitvam*. What can the former mean?

†† Vide *Supra* note to Sloka 25th.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

† Vide *Supra* note to Sloka 10th.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Thus ends the second Section, the division of learning, the duties of the Varnas and Asramas, and the necessity of punishments, in the Nitísára of Kámandaka.

—:0:—

SECTION III.

—

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

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

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

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

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

* For *Práptamárگا* of the text, the commentary gives *Shástra-márگا*, which latter we have adopted.

† Vide note to Sloka 36th Sec. II.

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

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

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

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

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

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

11. Are ever high-souled persons enslaved by the

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Thus ends the third Section, the determination of duties, in the Nitissára of Kámandaka.

—:0:—

SECTION IV.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

‡ Or 'on whom fortune ever smile.'

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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