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1921.
BRIHASPATI SUTRA

OR

THE SCIENCE OF POLITICS ACCORDING TO THE SCHOOL
OF BRIHASPATI

EDITED WITH

AN INTRODUCTION AND ENGLISH TRANSLATION

BY

DR. F. W. THOMAS, M. A.,

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THE DEVANAGARI TEXT

PREPARED FROM

HIS EDITION (IN ROMAN SCRIPT),

WITH

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS AND INDEXES

BY

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INTRODUCTORY REMARKS.

1. ANTIQUITY OF ARYAN POLITY.

The Arthashastra have been in existence in Aryavarta as a separate literature from very early times. The superiority of Dharmashastra over Arthashastra is referred to in the Smriti ascribed to Yajnavalkya in the following shloka:

\[ \text{Smrta\text{-}Viron\text{-}Nyasa\text{-}Pravachana} \]
\[ \text{Arthashastra\text{-}Varnadharmashastra\text{-}Vishnu} \text{Pravachana} \]
\[ \text{The same is said in the Bharishya Purana as quoted in the Aparakha:} \]
\[ \text{Sruti\text{-}Vrtha\text{-}Nyasa\text{-}Artha\text{-}Varta} \]
\[ \text{Narada Smriti also remarks in the same way:} \]
\[ \text{Arthashastra\text{-}Artha\text{-}Pravachana\text{-}Varta} \]
\[ \text{Sanadhya\text{-}Nyasa\text{-}Vartadharmashastra\text{-}Nyasa} \]
\[ \text{Yajna\text{-}Vartadharmashastra\text{-}Artha\text{-}Pravachana\text{-}Nyasa} \]
\[ \text{Arthashastra\text{-}Varnadharmashastra\text{-}Vishnu}\text{-}Pravachana} \]

In his well-known Arthashastra, Kautilya (not later than 3rd century B.C.) says that a literature bearing this title was extant in his days, and that he compiled his treatise after seeing the works of his predecessors. His words are:

\[ \text{Pravachya\text{-}Varta\text{-}Pravachya\text{-}Pravachya\text{-}Pravachya} \]
\[ \text{Arthashastra\text{-}Artha\text{-}Pravachana\text{-}Varta\text{-}Pravachana} \]

(Second edition, p. 1).
Not only Kautilya, but also works anterior to him refer to this literature. In Caranavyuha the forty-ninth Parishishta of the Atharvaveda we read:

\[\text{तत्र ऋग्वेदस्यार्थशाक्रुपवेदः।} \]

\[\text{रघुवेदस्यायुर्वेदः।} \]

\[\text{आभिचारकार्यशाखामित्युच्यते॥॥} \]

This second view that the Arthashastra is the Upaveda of Rigveda is held in the Caranavyuha ascribed to Shunaka.

\[\text{वेदानायुपवेदाद्यत्वारो भवन्ति।} \]

\[\text{शर्यस्य अर्थशास्त्रम्।} \quad \text{(चतुर्थं खर्द!)} \]

It is clear then that Arthashastra claims a great antiquity in the history of Sanskrit literature.

II. BRIHASPATI AND HIS ARTHASHASTRA.

Pancatantra (textus simplior 12th century A.D. according to Dr. J. Hertel) has a reference to a niti maxim of Brihaspati.

\[\text{हुक्सं विष्णुपञचम मित्राधिभारिग्वस्य च।} \]

\[\text{हुक्सतेरविव्वासोऽण्वितिनन्यथिधिःस्थित:॥॥॥} \]

Bhoja in his Yuktikalpataru (11th century A.D.) while referring to the niti literature says:

\[\text{*Compare with this the teaching of Mahabhara:-} \]

\[\text{विष्णुस्येत्यप्रांश्रेव विष्णुसेच न कस्यचित} \]

\[\text{पुनर्वापि हि राजेन्द्र विष्णवा न प्रस्यते॥} \]

\[\text{अतिविष्णवो नरेन्द्रशाशुं य धर्मस्यते॥॥॥} \]
Ashvaghoṣha in his *Buddha Carita* (about first century A.D.) has remarked about Brihaspati:—

The well-known *Kāmasūtras* of Vatsyāyana not only refer to Brihaspati as the compiler of an *Arthashastra* but state that he lived about the beginning of creation. The whole account runs thus:—

The Mahābhārata has the following to say on this point:—

So we know that the Bārḥspatya Shāstra claims a great antiquity in the history of Aryan literature.

**III. THE ORIGINAL WORK OF BRIHASPATI.**

The question now arises, as to whether the original work of Brihaspati was composed in verse or *sūtras*
or in the mixed style. No doubt some śūtra literature along with gīthā and other works, was extant even before the time of the compilation of the Brāhmanas because the Shatapatha Brāhmaṇa (चूत्रायत्रत्राध्यायानानि का० १४ ज्य ३ ग्राढ ३ को १२) alludes to it, but it is not sure whether it had come into vogue at times as early as those of Śvâyambhava Manu and Brihaspati, the preceptor of Indra.

IV. MANAVA DHARMA SHASTRA.

Scholars like Max Muller and Buhler held that the Dharmashāstra of Manu was originally a composition in the mixed style of śūtras and shlokas. Buhler tried his best to put forward this theory with such proofs as he could gather. One of his strongest proofs was a passage मानव सूत्रस्तुतारहरिति which he found in Vasishtha Dharmashāstra. Now it is sure that the original work of Manu had passed through the hands of several editors, as for example Bhrigu, Nārada etc., when it reached the compiler of Vas. Dh. and that a carna of the Krishna Yajur Veda namely the Mānava had also come into existence. It is, therefore, quite clear that a school of the Mānavas had come into existence even before the 3rd century B.C.

The Arthashāstra of Kautilya refers to a certain author of this very school. The views of the Mānavas represented in this Arthashāstra differ widely from the Smriti of Manu. It is, therefore, evident that the school consisted of authors who differed greatly. It was this great difference which troubled Buhler very much when he could find no reason as to why the teachings of the Smriti differed from the Mānava Grihya Śūtra. The whole of śūtra literature of the Mānava school came into existence after the Mānava carna had been established, and hence
we can safely conclude that the original Smriti of Manu was purely in verse.

As quoted by Buhler on the authority of Nárada, we know that the original work of Manu began with a verse (shloka, as Nárada says). On the other hand all works in sūtra or the mixed style begin almost with a sūtra.

Again Dhammapada (circa 4th century B.C.) has two verses which are only a Pali version with some change of words of the text of Manu Smriti.

Kauṭilya Arthashastra also as referred to on pages 101-03 and 190 of his “Lectures on the Ancient History of India” by Shri D. R. Bhandarkar has two verses of Manu Smriti with slight changes only.

* Read here the note of Max Muller on page 23 of Vol. X Part I of S.B.E
Here, Professor D. R. Bhandarkar following the lead of Buhler arrives at the result that 'the verses (above quoted) were not composed by Kautiliya but were utilised by him from some work which was in existence long before he wrote or the (metrical) Manu Smriti was compiled.' This is nothing but a prejudice in order to bring down the date of Manusmriti. First a theory is started—Manusmriti is accepted to belong to a later date,—and then if any work anterior to that date is found containing the verses of Manusmriti, (although not mentioning this fact but still indicating that the verses are not his own) it is said that the work in question and the Manusmriti both utilised a material of a very old period. Both this assumption and conclusion do not seem to be convincing.

Last of all we may refer to two verses, to be found in the 18th Sarga of Valmiki Ramayana, where the author of that work explicitly says that the following two shlokas were sung by Manu:—

* Vasishttha 1. 22; Baudhayana II. 1. 35 and Vishnu.

† My friend Pandit Nanak Chandra B. A, informs me that Maskri and Hardatta on Gautama Dharma Sutra have got the first half of this verse on the name of Kanva. They both give समाचर्ण in place of सहाचर्ण, Hardatta at the same time quotes the full verse from Manu also with the words इति मानवम्. There aIso the first half of the verse has समाचर्ण and the second half has exactly the same words as in the present day Manu.
The verse 32nd is Manusmruti VIII. 38, and verse 33rd is Manu VIII. 316.

It may, therefore, after this brief discussion be safely concluded that the original Smriti of Manu was like the present one composed in verse.1

V. THE SMRITI OF BRIHASPATI.

Like its original, the Manusmruti, the Smriti of Brihaspati was also in verse. That work is however lost now (if it may not be unearthed by some future researches). The small collection of some shlokas which is generally called the Brihaspati Smriti is but a child's play as compared with the Bahrspatya Shastra referred to in the Mahabharata. Professor Julius Jolly collected fragments of Brihaspatismriti from different law books and their commentaries, for translating them in the S. B. E. Vol. XXXIII. But these fragments are also incomplete. An exhaustive collection of all the sayings of Brihaspati will not be a fruitless task for some future scholar.2

1 I hope to discuss this subject in detail at some later date.
2 After the above lines were written I read in the Vedic Magazine that Pandit Jaideva Vidyalankar of the Gurukul Kangri is busy with this work and will shortly bring out this useful collection.
VI KAUTILYA AND BRIHASPATI.

Just as the views attributed to the school of Manu by Kautilya and his follower Kâmandaka are not to be met with in the present law-book of Manu, so also the views ascribed to the school of Brihaspati by Kautilya are not found in the collected fragments of Brihaspati. Brihaspati is referred to on six different occasions by Kautilya. See pages. 6, 29, 63, 177, 192, and 375. (Text, second edition)

VII. THE BARHASPATHYA SUTRAM AND ITS DATE.

The present sūtras even if they do, possess but a very remote connection with the Bārhaspatya śāstra. Even pruned of their sectarian matter, they do not appear to belong to any of the adherents of the original school of Brihaspati. These sūtras may only here and there contain a view of the old Bārhaspatya school. As regards the date of this work, nothing can be said with certainty. The guess of Dr. F. W. Thomas may turn out to be a true one. This much however, is certain that the work is not anterior to the sixth or seventh century A. D.*

* Pandit Jai Deva in the Vedic Magazine already referred to says that the work is posterior to Kalidas, for the reason that in his Meghaduta Kalidas refers to Kankhal alone, while Hardwar or Gangadvara which is a Shaiva tirtha of a recent origin is not at all mentioned by him. This Gangadvara is mentioned in Bārhaspatya sutra III. 122. Hence the work is posterior to the recognition of Hardwar as a sacred place.
VIII. A BARHASPATYA SAMHITA.

There is another treatise connected with the name of Brihaspati. It is the Bārhaspatya Samhitā. We find it often quoted in the गर्गवचन प्रकरण of लक्ष्मणप्रकाश of वीरमित्रद्य. It is in the form of a dialogue between Nahusha and Brihaspati. The work is in the mixed style of prose and verse. This Samhitā also, as is apparent from the numerous quotations in the above mentioned work, bears no connection with the present sūtras.

IX. WAS BRIHASPATI A CARVAKA?

No doubt, there was a great atheistic logician Brihaspati by name; but was he the writer on polity? Somadeva Suri (10th century A. D.) says in his Yashastilaka बृहस्पतिनीतिय द्वादशमात्र क (p. 13 Nīrnayasagar 1901) and his commentator Shrutasagar Suri says बृहस्पतिनीतिय इव | यथा बृहस्पतिनीतियधार्मिकशास्त्राविधी देव स्वर्गाधिकिर्षय न मन्यन्ते | So, according to the commentator the Nitikāra Brihaspati was the renowned Carvāka. However, all the previous quotations go against this view. Brihaspati the politician, being connected with Manu and others of the theistic school, was certainly a theist. Somadeva and his commentator confuse the two Brihaspatis.

There have been thus three eminent persons at least known by the name Brihaspati in the literary history of Bhārata. The first and the most well-known was Brihaspati, the writer on polity; secondly Brihaspati, the carvāka logician, and thirdly the person who wrote the samhitā.
## X. PARALLEL PASSAGES.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Sanskrit</th>
<th>English Translation</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>आत्मवान् राजा १११</td>
<td>On this the commentary says</td>
</tr>
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<td>2</td>
<td>कालिकामिदान पायण्डी २ १३</td>
<td>कालिकामिदान पायण्डी। नीतिवाक्यामृतपृ ५२</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>अर्थमंथन २ ४५</td>
<td>“सेनापतिगणाः का राज्यें चर्याय दश दाहिणो मन्नी महात्मों बल-बंतरशत्वारो दर्शितः तुरंतवतु पुरोहितोम्यायो महामहात्मोग्रे-त्यमादश राज्यां तीथा भवन्ति।”</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>गुरुवचनमवद्वानीम् २ ७३</td>
<td>quoted by अनन्तसागरसूरि on p. 91 of यदासिद्धक Nirnayanasagar edition.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>ग्रंधाद्रान्तीयानि निशुष्येत् ३ २ २</td>
<td>A common saying of the Dharmashastras. Cf. Manu IV. 92.</td>
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<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>गजोगजनेति ६ ६</td>
<td>“धनमाज्याय काकुम्भ धन मूलमिद्र जगन्”</td>
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<td>7</td>
<td>अन्यूमूलं जगन् ६ १०</td>
<td>quoted by Ramchandra Budhendra on नीतिकालक 31 (Nirnayanasagar edition 1917)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
These sūtrās of Brihaspati were originally published in LE MUSEON Troisième Série—Tome 1. No. 2, 16 Mars 1916. The text printed there, was in the Roman script. To this, Dr. F. W. Thomas had attached his valuable introduction and translation. By the kind permission of the publishers—The University Press Cambridge—of that journal, through Professor Balkrishna M. A.; the editor of the Vedic Magazine, was able to publish this material in his journal for the month of October 1920. The deva- nāgari text of the sūtrās printed in the Vedic Magazine was prepared by me. During its preparation I was thinking if the text with the introduction and translation of Dr. F. W. Thomas could be preserved in a book form. Even Professor Balkrishna desired the same. This became soon practicable, when the publishers of the present edition undertook this task.

In the end I should thank my friends Pandits Vishva Bandhu Shāstri M. A. and Nanak Chand B. A. and my pupil Desh Raj for going through the proof-sheets.

Dayananda Anglo Vedic College, Lahore,

December, 1920.

BHAGAVADDAṬTA
A BRIHASPATI SUTRA.

The text here edited with a translation was brought to notice in the course of a search for a celebrated treatise, also ascribed to a Brihaspati, namely the exponent of the Lokâyata or Cârvâka doctrine, the crude corporealism of India. The discovery of this work, to judge from the quotations in the Sarva- darshana-samgraha and elsewhere, would contribute notably to the entertainment of students of Sanskrit literature.

The present treatise is not devoid of interest, but the interest is of a different character. The work is in one respect unique, being an exposition of the Science of Royal Policy in Sūtra style. This Indian science may claim no ordinary place in the history of culture, since two of its successors, the policy in fable and the game of chess, still styled the Royal Game, have made the conquest of the world. In its pure form as a science of monarchical government it does not seem to have passed beyond the Indian sphere, that is the sphere dominated by Indian culture, including Further India, the Malay countries, Central Asia, and Tibet: for, though the Muhammadans have a science of government, which may go back to pre-Islamic Persia, it does not seem to betray an Indian inspiration. And Macchiavelli's Prince, if influenced at all, as is a priori quite conceivable by oriental models, would derive rather from the Muhammadan than the Indian. The propagation of the policy in fable (the Fables of Pilpay) was first adumbrated by Sir William Jones, in a sentence*

* From the Third Annual Discourse: prefixed to his translation of the Hitopadesha.
which has been expanded by Benfey, with remarkable learning, into an important treatise; just as another sentence from the same eminent scholar developed in the hands of Bopp into the science of Comparative Philology.

In its technical form the Indian science of polity first became known by the publication of the Kāmanda-ā'ki-Nitisāra with selections from the commentary (edited by Rājendralāl Mitra and others in Bibliotheca Indica, 1861-1884). The next stage is represented by two valuable publications of Professor Formichi, a translation of the work of Kāmandaki and a treatise entitled Gli Indiani e la loro Scienza politica (Bologna, 1890). In 1908 a notable paper by Professor Hillebrandt drew attention to a number of quotations from a prose work ascribed to Cānakya, also known as Vishnugupta and Kautilya, which was plainly the original authority upon which the later scholastic expositions by Kāmandaki and others were based. Prof. Hillebrandt was unaware at the time that this original treatise had already been discovered in South India, and that the discoverer, Pandit Shama Shastri of Mysore, had published an article dealing with it in the Indian Antiquary (1905, pp. 5 sqq.) and had commenced to issue a translation in the Mysore Review (1906-9, completed in the Indian Antiquary for 1909–10), of which publications notice was taken in Mr. Vincent Smith’s Early History of India (Oxford, 1907, pp. 134 sqq.)

The text was edited by Pandit Shama Shastri (Mysore Government Oriental Library Series: Bibliotheca Sanskrita, No. 37) in 1909, in which year, having
been favoured with a perusal of proof-sheets I was able to draw attention (J. R. A. S. pp. 446-71) to the extreme importance of the work. In 1911-12 Professor Jacobi in two very valuable papers (Kultur-Sprach- und Literaturhistorisches aus dem Kautiliya and Über die Echtheit des Kautiliya in the Berlin Academy Sitzungsberichte, 1911, pp. 954-973, 1912, pp. 832-849) discussed the bearings of the work upon the Indian literary and linguistic history and argued forcibly for its authenticity. We have also to take note of interesting discussions of the work by Prof. Jolly, Lexikalisch aus dem Arthashāstra (Indogermanische Forschungen, xxxi., pp. 204-10), Kollektaneen zum Kautiliya Arthashāstra (Z. D. M. G., 1914, pp. 345-359), Dr Johannes Hertel, Literarisches aus dem Kautiliyashāstra (Vienna Oriental Journal, xxiv, pp. 416-422), and Dr Jarl van Charpentier, En Indisk handbok i statslara från 300 f. kr. (Nordisktidskrift, 1913, pp. 353-369), Narendra Nath Law, Studies in Ancient Hindu Polity (Based on the Arthashāstra of Kautilya) (vol. i., London, etc., 1914) and a partial commentary compiled by Dr I. Sorabji, as a pupil of Prof. Jolly, and published at Allahabad in 1914. A revised translation by Pandit Shama Shastri is now passing through the press. The information contained in the Arthashāstra is still far from exhausted, and the interest in it may be expected continually to increase.

As Prof. Jacobi has mentioned, Čānaka frequently quotes his predecessors, both schools and individuals, the style often assuming almost the form of a discussion; and it is clear that in (say) the fifth and fourth
centuries B.C. the subject of royal policy was a recognized topic. The schools are the Mānavas, Bārhaspatyas, Aushanasas, Ambhiyas (no doubt, of Taxila) and Parāsharas, and the individuals Bhāradyāja, Vishālāksha, Pishuna, Kaumpadanta, Vatavyādhi and Bāhudantī-putra. It is, therefore, of interest to find that in the account of the science occurring in the Mahābhārata (cited by Prof. Jacobi, 1911, p. 973)* some of these names occur. There we are told that the founder of the science was Brahmā himself, whose work was abridged by Shiva in a treatise entitled *Vaishālāksha*, and then further abridged in succession by Indra, who compiled the *Bāhudantaka*, Brihaspati the *Bārhaspatya*, and Kavi (Ushanas), the (Aushanasa) treatise—of which the last-mentioned is named along with those of Manu, Indra, Bhāradyāja, and Gaurashiras in another passage of the same book (c. 58, 2-3), also in 1. 98, 36 and elsewhere in the literature (e.g. *sūna aushanasa* in the *Jānaki harana*, x.26).

*Also cited by Dr G. Oppert in his *Weapons, Army Organisation And Political Maxims of the Ancient Hindus*, 1880, p 35. B.Datta.

† I have introduced here the original shlokas for the benefit of the reader. B. Datta.
To complete this brief sketch we should mention the Shukraniti, no very early work, which has several times (by Oppert at Madras in 1882, by Jivánanda Vidyáságara at Calcutta, 1892 etc. etc.) been edited in India and is now accessible in translation (by Prof. Benoy Kumar Sarkar in Sacred Books of the Hindus Allahabad, 1914).

The Agni-purāṇa has also a section devoted to the subject, which is, further, fully represented in the Mūnava Dharmasāstra, as well as in the Mahābhārata. We need not mention the later and minor treatises in Sanskrit literature.
The Niti literature of Burma is of a different character. In the Tibetan, however, where we find also quasi-independent works on government, there are translations of Sanskrit texts in verse ascribed (1) to Masuraksha and (2) to Nāgārjuna. The Javanese has, besides a professed translation of the Kāmandaki Nitisāra, also some minor tracts, perhaps representing the late moral anthology which bears the name of Cānakya.

If the short text which is here edited were representative of the ancient Bārhaspatya doctrine, it would have a considerable interest. Unfortunately, this is far from being the case. It professes, indeed, like the Brihaspati Smriti, to be dictated to Indra by his Purohita. But what follows is a brief and strangely disjointed exposition of the subject. Its date, as it stands, seems from an apparent mention of the Yādvas of Devagiri to be brought down at least to the twelfth century A.D. It refers, in passages which, however, may be suspected of interpolation (see notes to II. 8–35, III. 8–16, 33–7, 119–33), to the sects of the Shaivas, Vaishnavas, and Shāktas and names their sacred domains (kshetras), some of which may not be ancient. It does not seem to contain the matter indicated by the citations in the Arthashastra of Kautilya (pp. 6, 29, 63, 177, 192 of the edition). It displays some grammatical peculiarities, e.g. neuters for masculines (which may sometimes be explained as accusatives obscured by the elliptical sitra style and vice versa), accusative after vi-shvas (which, however, occurs elsewhere), and even the forms samgrahet (which should perhaps be samgrahayet, as the correct samgrihniyāt occurs several times) and divyit
(old subjunctive of dir; see Lexx.). Finally, it presents some confusions (e.g. I. 36, II. 34, V. 17), probably due to the mss., and one strange word kusumánta, which, though it can hardly be for Musalmán, might conceivably be a roundabout expression for Pallava (or pallava=vita).

It is not, however, the case that nothing can be said on the other side. Apart from the suspected interpolations, the tone and style, and even the disjointed and miscellaneous character of the work, produce a sense of antiquity: it is hard to conceive of such a treatise being deliberately compiled by persons acquainted with the Nitiśāra of Kamandaki and the Shukraniti. Some of the expressions, e.g. atibhedayet (i. 52), alamkārayat (iv. 10), are in the old Arthashātra style, as are the proverbial expressions (e.g. i. 29, 100, ii. 11, v. 13, iv. 12). The name Tīshya, as applied to the fourth, or Kali, age, recurs in the Mahābhārata and Harivamsha. A connection with the Bārhaspatyas may be seen in the restriction of the royal sciences to one, namely dandanāti (Arthashāstra, p. 6), although they add vārttā (which again is represented in our text by krishigorakshabanijyāni, ii. 4; cf. Arthashāstra, p. 8, krishipāshupalyle bānijyā ca vārttā). The importance attached to the Lokāyta and Baudhā doctrines also points to the same direction. The term Kāpālikā, as applied to adherents of the Kāmashāstra, requires explanation; but some Shaiva sects e.g. the Pāshupatas encourage erotic ideas.

Upon the whole we should perhaps not be mistaken in maintaining that the text does, though rather remotely, derive from the ancient Bārhaspatya system. We might compare it with such treatises as the existent Vedāngas,
or with the *Atharvaveda Parishishtas*, which contain undoubtedly ancient matter along with strange lexicographical and grammatical features (e.g. *homayet* and even *namaskaret*; see the edition by Negelein and Bolling; Leipzig 1909–10, index). They belong to the backwaters of priestly studies preserved in Southern India, when the general interest was transferred to such subjects as Nyāya, Vedānta, law, and grammar.

A Ms. of the work seems to be recorded as in private possession in South India (see Oppert’s *List*, vol. 1, No. 4642).* This ms. has not been procurable; but by the kindness of Prof. Rangāchārya, late Curator of the Government Oriental ms. Library in Madras, I have been favoured with a Devanāgari copy of another ms., which is under his charge. Upon this (M) I have based the text, recording the slight variants of the Royal Asiatic Society’s Whish ms. (W—noted in Winternitz’s catalogue under No. 160 (3), p. 219). Both originals are in Grantha character, and they derive not remotely from a common source.¹ The punctuation follows almost invariably the Madras copy: the numbering of the Sūtras has been added.

As the treatise is definitely a Sūtra, a commentary must have been designed. Does a copy exist, perhaps under Oppert’s i. No. 6061 Bārhaspatya–sūtra-tikā (no longer traceable)? It might contain something

---

* There is another ms. of the work with Shri Pandit T. Ganapati Shastri of Travancore. He writes to me in his letter dated 22nd Dec. 1920 thus—‘As desired in your letter, I shall arrange on receipt of your printed forms of Bārhaspatya to note down the variants.’ These I have not yet received. B. Datta.

¹ Whether this common source was the actual Madras ms.
interesting, more especially as it is not quite clear that the text in its six adhyāyās is complete.\(^2\)

I hope shortly to be in possession of a Niti-sūtra ascribed to Cānakya.*

or not, I am unable to demonstrate. That it was in the Grantha character is proved by the confusion between e and hi (v. 15); cau and n (read as n: iii. 118, iv. 38, v. 22); m and b (i.5, ii.8,18, iii. 76, 81, 92, v. 11); k and t (i. 54, 76. iii. 81, 92, 181, v.13); k and tt (iii. 122); g and bh (iii. 67); c and v (iii. 26-7); c and p (ii. 39); ne and sc (ii. 73, iii. 23, 87, 102); j and bh (ii. 55); nd and ndr (iii. 41); nd and ndh (ii.43); t and m (v.26); n and r (i. 7); nu and uri (1.54); p and v (v. 27); la and li (ii.9) vra and vri (v.26).

2. We may here enumerate the chief grammatical peculiarities above referred to. Some of them may be due to the elliptical Sutra style, while some masculine plurals in ani from nouns in a may be conjectured to be ms. errors, final n (Grantha, etc.) having been read as ni. Also double gender in such nouns is common:

(a) neuter for masc.:
abhiprayam (v. 9); artham? (vi.9); asvarani (iii. 57); upayani (iv. 43); kalaham (iv. 36); kamam? (ii. 47); devabhayani (iii. 56); dharma? (ii. 46); pratikaram (iv. 50); mantrani (iii.8, elsewhere masc. different sense?); moksham? (ii. 48); lobham (i. 22) vadham (ii.49); shabdam(iv.32, known elsewhere); svaram (iv. 17); vishaya (iii. 113?).

(b) compounds with adi in various genders, having no obvious concord : i. 12, 57, 64, 65, 106; ii. 16, 19; iii. 15.

(e) masc for neuter:
aushadha (iii. 139); kshetsak (iii. 119-122; also neut.); phal.k (iii. 73); see also iii. 9.

(d) arj-for arj : ii. 7, 9, 13.

(e) suparihritya (v. 15) and divyat (iii. 46, 47) are archaic.

As regards Sandhi, I have usually normalized, sometimes leaving h in pause, where it is legitimate.

* This has now been printed as an appendix to the second edition of Kautilya Arthashastra by Pt. Shama Shastri.
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2. जेमिनि गुर्जरुत्र—text in Devanāgarī characters; edited with an introduction, notes, extracts from the commentary and list of mantras etc. by Dr. W. Caland, M. A., Ph. D. (In the Press).

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बुधविविधार्यं जगापिलेवेभ्याकुंपेण्वरुतां हर्षः वनकथयम् ॥३४॥

संन्यासं नुपवेभ्यामन्त्रवादोपजीविष चिरं न सेवत ॥३५॥

30. M here inserts नाडिकाः। 31. W संध्या। 32. Sic (not पिता।) 33. W दुर्गा। 34. W ऋष्ण; M ऋष्ण with सोपायनमपि in the next sūtra।
मन्नप्रयो विशेषतः वा स्थानवानासनेन शिरकम्पन ताम्रल-दानेन हास्यकथ्या च ||७१||
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सर्वं झाल्या न कुर्याम् ||८५||

35. W विचे । 36. Text corrupt, reading doubtful.
43. M.W.includes रहरये in the next sūtra. 44. Sic ( for योगिन एलपि ? ) । 45. W नह । 46. W अत्यो । 47. अन्त्य ।
प्रथमोऽवध्यायः ॥

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57. W मातंगग्रहरूरतो। 58. MW ओकते। 59. W इमथानवभमो। 60. Sic (see note to trans.) 61. M राज्यं चू। 62. M श्रीरतिकसामन्तो, W श्रीरति कुसमान्तो. Read श्रीयो हरति कुसमान्तो। 63. M W हृदि:। 64. MW शुभं शीवा। 65. शीव। 66. M omits यह।
[द्वितीयोऽध्यायः]

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[दृष्ट] लोकायतिकपूर्वनाथ त्विं नवयति तत् ॥८॥
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वदनायं पराण स्माति स बौधः ॥ २४॥

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कुले च तत्रकुल तत्तुष्णप्रजान्तरे विनाशयति ॥ ३०॥

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तस्मिनकाल प्र[७ख]व कुलं विनाशयति ॥ ३२॥

चैत्रकः स्वकुलश्रामवासिष्ठिनिन्दितो भवति चिकुलं विनाशयति ॥ ३३॥

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चेयोपया कार्य[व क]ज्ञानयथार्थ इति धर्मवाचिति लोकेष्यथा न ज्ञायते तथा कर्तिव्ययम ॥ ३९॥

24. M खे for इव। 25. W मत्येकः, M गति: मत्येकः।
and so with the accusatives in śūtras 46–8. 29. Text
corrupt; W ओशास्त्रमन्त्रेप्र. Read ओशास्त्र मन्त्रे न।
संरक्षणायुपि दीयन्तं स्कंचार्यनिवयशोरिज्जेः ||५१॥

मन्त्रक्राले न कोष्ठेऽत ||५४॥

धार्मिकां पुरुष[५५]वर्षाः न ||५५॥

धार्मिकां सम्बन्धां सुसम्बिधूतः ||५६॥

स्पष्टित्विनिर्धारय ||५७॥

अध्ययनो मत्तपूर्णिकर हि सत्यतः शास्त्रेण निन्धितः

पुरुषः सागरसपि शोकादेव ||५९॥

कुटो यादि हत्योपयायस्ता भवति ||६०॥

एक एव बहुन दुःखन नाशयेत ||६१॥

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सजनो न भयादृ व्यवित्तते ||६४॥

तत्संप्रदायेऽहितसंवचनवचनाच्ये: सुहृदिपि ||६५॥

उत्तीक्ष्ठवदं धर्मं लिङ्क[५६]वर्गर्थसंज्ञातां शासितुं

नोत्सेवत ||६६॥

दारुणाकर्मेऽभि: आन्तम्यानानिद्रया सुतं धर्मवाच्यानिलेः श्रीने-

बलिः सन्तोषयेत ||६७॥

30. M W चुक्वाद्वितृ । 31. M W स्पष्टित । 32. W वुर्जनाब्धाः । 33. M निन्धिते देवो यस्य, W देवो यस्य. No interpuncuation in either case. 34. W अतने । 35. M शास्त्रम ई
वाहसप्तसूत्रम्।

दुर्जनमध्ये सूर्यभुत प्रकाश्ये सुजनः।।६७।।

अष्टर्मण्यवस्थितान्यायास्त्रेण वार्षयेन।।६८।।

अष्टमे नारजेयत।।६९।।

असकीति नारजेयत।।७०।।

न मार्घेयत।।७१।।

शोला निरार्यतां अष्टर्मण्याद्वेषो गज इति।।७२।।

गुरुवचनम्पलद्वीपनीयं नयानुगतं चेत।।७३।।

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गुरुराहेति।।७५।।

इति वाहसप्तसूत्रेऽद्वितीयं।१०कृत्योऽध्यायः।।

36. W सुधर्मः। 37. M अर्ष्यत्स। 38. M उत्साधरात्।

39. W गतक्षे।
[तृतीयोऽध्यायः १]

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सुगन्धवासान कोशान कुर्यान् ॥५॥
वहुनां मधुरपेतु कुर्यात् ॥६॥
शमबुद्धिन मन्यीन सर्वीन सदाराध्येत ॥७॥
नवानि पन्नान्ति विचारः ॥८॥
त्रिविभाषिनि शाक्ता वैष्णवा श्रेयानि तत्[१००ख]धिष्ठानि ॥९॥
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21. W वृं । (for न्त्य) । 22. W ज्ये च कु ।


31. W तः। 32. W अन्तः।
वायुस्वर देवाय | 37.  
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कुलनक्षित्च | 42.  
अष्टादश विषयाश्च | 43.  
अष्टादश सागरा नृपः | 44.  
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राष्ट्रियुक्तराष्ट्रियुक्त दलियोते ज्ञाते द्वारशिर्म्यम्बरकादश | 46.  
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पश्चशतद्वित्यसुमुचरलां पार्व्याठां  | 49.  
काशीपाठालद्वित्यमन्त्रीतः | 50.  

33. W सर्वः | 34. W ोनाः | 35. W omits कः | 36. W ओऽः | 37. स्या | 38. M omits ल; W has ओऽः
केकप्रसत्तय पाठ्यः \[\text{॥४९॥}\]
मात्स्यमाग्य शतम् \[\text{॥५०॥}\]
मालमत्कुषनमस्तीति: \[\text{॥५१॥}\]
कोसलायनिति: पाठ्यः \[\text{॥५२॥}\]
सेवा वेदमहाद्वितियं शतस्वनिमय \[\text{॥५३॥}\]
वेदेवकौरवं शतम् \[\text{॥५४॥}\]
काम्प्रेक्षार्थशास्त्रमस्तीति: \[\text{॥५५॥}\]
एते महाविषया: \[\text{॥५६॥}\]
एते सुरु चतुर्व्या: \[\text{॥५७॥}\]
आर्थवाहिनीसं दच्चियोधरत्न: शतमाथीः पूर्वमद्यादु ग्रा- 
दशी \[\text{॥५८॥}\]
शाकसौराढ्यो चतुर्व्या चत्वारिणिसः \[\text{॥५९॥}\]
ाज्ञानबलिजः \[१.४४]: शतमाथाशतुराचार्य \[\text{॥६०॥}\]
काम्पीर्घूमण्डस्तिनवयः शतमाथाशतुराचार्य \[\text{॥६१॥}\]
किरातसौवैयार्ध्वराज्या उत्तरे दच्चियो स्थित: शताव 
परं पश्चिमाग्रा: \[\text{॥६२॥}\]

39. \text{W ०यू} | 40. \text{W माच्य०} | 41. \text{W ओत:} | 42. \text{Sic.} | 43. \text{W अब्} | 44. \text{W बहोि} | 45. \text{W ओतर:} | 46. \text{W पंध्या} | 47. \text{W ओह्र्} | 48. \text{W काम्पीर्घूमण्डस्तिनो} | 49. \text{W किरामनो} | 50. \text{W ओणा}
51. W omits श्री | 52. W ओय | 53. W सतो | 54. W च पर्दृश्योऽ | 55. W त्रान्तो | 56. W एका; M एका | 57. W पञ्छ्यो | 58. W ग्रामाछो रेो | 59. Sic (Masc.) here and in the sūtras 122, 125. 60. W नन्तं सिं।
वदरिकासालग्रामपुर्णपोतमद्यारकाचित्रमहाचलानवसिंहश्री-रजा: ||१२०||
अष्टी श्रेणा: ||१२१||
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शाक्ता अः [१२ क]श्री च ||१२३||
|अधिभूमिना| जलज्ञातकामकोल्लश्रीशैलकाचित्रमहेन्द्रः ||१२४||
एते महादेशः ||१२५||
सर्वसिद्धकराथः ||१२६||
वन्याय मकः ||१२७||
विन्ये निसं बसतिः दुर्गी भद्रकाली च ||१२८||
कुमारे कुमारे बसति निसं ||१२९||
सबे गगापातः ||१३०||
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पहेचे गरुडः ||१३२||
पारियाते चेत्त्रपालः ||१३३||
कर्मभूताम् भारते मनुष्यवैद्यभवे देवा: ||१३४||

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निरुद्दा भार्वेयाः ॥ १ ३४॥

सौम्यभेमव्रथ योगिन्यव्रथ नागाध्य ॥ २ ५ ॥ मानवे: सह रूपामा

प्रसंख्यातः संचरित ॥ १ ३५॥

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कुते ज्ञानिन: ॥ १ ४ १॥

दुर्गद्विनीतिकोविदा: ॥ १ ४ २॥

चेतायां कार्यण: नीतिविभाग्य: ॥ १ ४ ३॥

ढूपेन तार्निकातुसारा घनारसाध ॥ १ ४ ४॥

नीतिकोविदाथ ॥ १ ४ ५॥

तिन्चे पादे ज्ञानकर्मी धना दुर्गद्विनीतिकोविदा नराः ॥ १ ४ ६॥

तत्तुतार निरुद्धमयग्रोहिन्या दुर्गद्विनीतिकोविन्याः ॥ १ ४ ७॥

पशुनिता प्रजा अनुभवादत्तपायसाह[ १ ५ २ ] आचार्य: ॥ १ ४ ८॥

इति वाह्यस्यसूत्रे लूतीयोऽध्यायः ॥

68. Sic (masc.) 69. W ओऽद्वापिर । 70. W here inserts नयः। 71. Sic (read on ?) 72. Sic (read on ?) 73. ओऽयः.
[ चतुर्थोऽध्यायः ]

चाहै सुहृत उपासन ||१||
चर्मपर्यत्त चित्तयेत ||२||
कुक्कुटविषयं शुभम ||३||
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पुनः कार्यायुपायानि निरूप्य स्वामिनं प्रसाध कार्यं कल्प- यितव्यम् \(143\)।

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ग्रंमपतं धर्मं जितेन्द्रियं विजिगीपु वहिषु जातकोप दुराध्य शति विक्रमो न कार्यः \(145\)।

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\([1.56]\) पूर्वसुपकारं न कार्यित \(148\)।

उपकारं नियंते कुर्याच्छ \(149\)।

नामाविश्वसनं पूर्वं ज्ञातव्य व्यसनमताकारं कार्यितमि गुरु- राह \(150\)।

इति वाहुस्पत्यसूत्रं चन्द्रयोगविधायः।

[पञ्चमोदयायः १]

चत्वार उपायः ॥ १॥

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साम पूर्व प्रयोक्तयनम ॥ ८॥

[९.४५] मनसोभिषत्यां वाचं मीतिकर्म च ॥ ९॥

ञ्जातिनां ञ्जातं व्यसने हृद्धर्णित ॥ १०॥

ञ्जातं ञ्जातः प्रक्षः जहुद्यः कूरा उपद्रवित ॥ १.१॥

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गोष्प मयं चावधायो कोपथः ॥ १.३॥

स्त्रीपुषु चापलं दूरसं ञ्जातिषु सौहुद्रं पत्रजलविन्दुवत् ॥ १.४॥

हिंते गुरुजनवाच्यं शास्त्रचादितिं च ये न गृहवन्ति कालचो-

दितशार्य नाना सुपरिश्रुतयात्रत्र वसेत् ॥ १.५॥

9. W मन्त्रमवि । 10. Text corrupt in this Sūtra ।  
11. ग्रहानिर । 12. W here inserts द्वियो न निरूप्य संग्रहीयावत ।  
13-13. W वीरार्ध । हार्ससहस्राय। Read चीरोपीसार: सहस्र न ।  
For मो and चृ (चणो ) see introduction's end. 14. ०५ ।  
15. W चितल । 16. M तत् ।
पञ्चमोन्द्रायां ।

स्त्रकृति विनाशं ज्ञाता वुद्दिमानं स्त्र श्रद्धापनसापि न युक्त ।
माध्रेयं ॥२७॥

हत्ये यथावच्छुभाषुभं पृवे उद्रि ते दुष्पाचारं सर्वं न कारयेत ॥२८॥

चपला न व्रुहुमान्या ॥२९॥

इत्याहाचार्यं व्रुहस्पति ॥३०॥

इति बाहुस्पत्यसूत्रे पञ्चमोन्द्रायां ।

17. शस्यापि न । 18. Read नययुक्तम् ॥ 19. w उद्रि ति ।
[पद्मोऽद्यायः ।

[२०।२] देशकालयोग्यं कर्म नयासयौ च चेद्येत ॥५॥
चिरीतं न चेद्येत्यद्धेष ॥३॥
हितानि निरुपयेत ॥२॥
नमो पञ्चिनितिर्युप्य कार्यते ॥४॥
बुद्धज्ञेषुनरस्तिः सह कार्यकार्यं च निरुपयेत ॥५॥
आदित्त्विकारं यस्य प्रतिमाति स मन्त्रयोग: ॥६॥
आर्थमार्ज्येत ॥७॥
यस्यार्थरासिरलि तस्य पिन्ध्राणिं धर्मस्य विष्णु च गुणविश्रुतां
च बुद्धिः ॥८॥
अथनेन[२२।५] धर्मार्ज्येतु न नार्येत गजोऽगजेनेव ॥९॥
धनमूलं जगत ॥१०॥
सर्वाणि तत्र सन्ति ॥१।१॥
निर्धनो मृत्थ्कः धालतः ॥१।२॥
एवं धर्ममूलं च विधामार्ज्येत ॥१।३॥
विधामूलं जगत ॥१।४॥
विष्णु पुनः सर्वमिसाह गुरुः ॥१।५॥

हि ति बहुस्पत्यस्वरूपे पद्मोऽद्यायः ।

1. व कार्यकृ । 2. र आदित्त्यमापि कार्यम । 3. म गजं
नो, व ओणम
Now the *Brihaspati Sūtra*.

Now Brihaspati,* the Preceptor, expounds to India the Whole Substance of Policy:

I (PERSONAL CONDUCT)

1. Self-mastery is the quality of a king.
2. As minister he should appoint one master of himself.
3. His sole science is the Administration of Punishment [=Government].
4. Even right he should not practise when disapproved by the world.
5. Should he practise it, it should be after recommending it by persons of intelligence.
6. He is to be served by his like.
7. With women, children or the aged, he should not discuss measures of right and policy.
8. He should not engage in magic shows [indrajāla];
9. In incantations [mantras], however, and festivities;
10. Also in counteracting diseases and poisonings;
11. Not smearing with ashes [like an ascetic].

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*Concerning Brihaspati as founder of the Science of Policy see the Introduction.

3 On the question of the king’s sciences see *Arthashastra*, c. 1.
6 On this question of choice of ministers etc. see *Arthashastra*, cc. 4–5; also 80 infra.
10 On poison in the palace see *Arthashastra*, c. 17.
12 Also not sacrifice [agnihotra], Veda-reading, and so forth.
13 Not processions to sacred places.
14 Also not service of a king.
15 Nor service of women.
16 He should not drink intoxicants.
17 Nor slay a Brâhman.
18 Nor practise theft.
19 Nor much indulge in garlands and unguents.
20 He should not be dejected.
21 Nor over-wrathful.
22 What is called non-giving is greed on a wrong occasion.
23 In a (true) field he should have seed sown.
24 Giving should be practised.
25 Aversion therefrom is greed.
26 Theft is also greed.
27 Pleasure is a cause of expenditure of means.
28 A will to hurt gurus, gods, wise men, kings, and so forth is anger,
29 And it is a smiting of one's own head.
30 An enemy equal in forces and so forth he should slay in war;
31 Other adversaries [or If attacking others, then] by conciliation, gifts, dissension, pretended ignoring, and so on.
32 He should not have sordid dress.

22 Text and translation uncertain. More intelligible would be evishye d. nam... 'giving on a wrong occasion is called non-giving.'
31 I translate anabhiyodhinich.
32 So, he should never be in deshabille.
33 And he should not practise over-indulgence in hunting.

34 From over-attachment to women ill-repute grows;

35 And vitality wastes.

36 In association with those guilty of gaming, provoking others, abusing others, the weaknesses of others (are exposed) along with the words of mantras in learned or frivolous play (?).

37 Taking of medicine, evacuation of urine and faeces, bathing, teeth-cleaning, enjoyment of copulation, worship of divinities—these also are to be done in private.

38 A sham professor of virtue he should not trust;

39 Nor censure either.

40 Nor upon seeing mad or stupid persons, and so forth, should he laugh at them.

41 His sport in private should be with those of like character and age.

42 Elephant and horse sports in public; not with creatures of two (different) kinds.

43 And he should not harm living beings of his own kind.

44 Desire should be felt for superiority to prede-

36 Rendering conjectural. Are the mantras quasi oaths?

40 So also in the Shukra-niti iii. 230 'The miserable, the blind, the dwarf, and the dumb are never to be laughed at.'

42 Contests of dissimilar animals are here, it seems, denounced. Or we might take rahasye from 41 and, reading tadvimurtam, render 'Elephant and horse sports in private; in public those with other species.' This is less likely.
cessors and successors in respect of wealth, popularity, nobility, and magnanimity.

45 Traditional right, goodwill of dependents, and councillors, relatives, friends, kinsmen, he should all alike consider;

46 In respect of dependents, punishment and largesse, within and without;

47 In respect of councillors, conciliation, dissension, and largesse;

48 In respect of relatives, allotments of income for the sake of conciliation, dissension, largesse.

49 To even an unwelcome speech he should listen.

50 In bad weather, when the planets are hostile, at the nakshatra of three birthdays, and when serious business presents itself he should not attend to festivities.

51 He should attach to himself a wife of the same country, of the same form, and of noble birth.

52 He should cause especially dissensions (among the wives); excessive conciliation, excessive largesse are not to be practised, nor punishment to be used towards women, nor pretended inobservance.

53 Among them he should not say much.

54 Among village petitioners, panegyrists, bards, minstrels, actors, dancing-women, instructors, liars, boys, pimps, traders, herdsmen, harlots, mean kings, he is to be addressed in pompous untruths.

46 'Within and without' : sc. the capital.

50 'Three birthdays' : perhaps his own, that of his father, and that of his grandfather.

51 'Of the same form' (ekarupini) : perhaps = 'of the same caste' (ekavarna).
55 Association with kings, harlots, soothsayers, and dependents he should not indulge in long.
56 He should frequent one whose superiority is in himself;
57 Prospects and so forth [he should regard] not overmuch.
58 Those attached to women, gambling, drinking he should not have in his service.
59 During five nādikas prayer to the divinity of his choice; that passed, the audience;
60 During ten nādikas administration of justice; during five nādikas the bath;
61 During three nādikas the repast;
62 During five nādikas amusement and play with dear ones;
63 During two nādikas twilight worship;
64 During seven nādikas nautch and so forth;
65 During seven nādikas sexual intercourse, repast, and so forth;
66 During seven nādikas sleep.
67 He should rule himself without failure of vigilance;
68 Like the driver of a horse.
69 High Brāhmans [he should greet] with a shake of his head, welcome and giving of leavings and betel;

56 Or 'his own lord.'
59-66 On the disposition of a king’s time see Arthashastra, c. 16, and Prof. Formichi, Ghi Indiani &c., pp 66 sqq. A nādika = \frac{1}{2} \text{muhurta} = 24 \text{ minutes}.
68 'Shaking of the head': on this as a sign of approval see the passages quoted by me in Kavindra vesantaramuccha on v. I.
A mean Brāhman not with a shake of the head, even if he brings a present;

A like prince or emperor with welcome, with a seat, with a shake of the head, with gift of betel and with jocular talk;

Men of the three castes with a smile, with welcome, and audience (?);

Shūdras not with a glance or smile nor with welcome;

Men of the three castes with a smile, with welcome, and audience (?);

Shūdras not with a glance or smile nor with welcome;

Children, the aged, and so forth, with giving of something which they like;

Low-caste [Foreign?] people and heretics not even with an utterance.

Owing to importance of business he may have recourse to them;

Let him say little, however, and assign the employment.

Let him not accept fine gold [or receive men of the (3) castes] in private.

With workmen, even in his employ, let him not deliberate upon the task.

With his friends let him choose a like friend as councillor;

But if low-born, he must be one having not low-born caste.

Low-born persons have the characteristic of not mentioning their own objects and of executing orders.

So he should not over-cherish them.

Nor again should he trust them.

70 'Audience': I translate asathanena, but the text is corrupt.

72 Varṇika-parigraha: Read varṇika-parigraha?

73 'Even in his employ': so translate yoginah?
85 Knowing all, he need not act.
86 Secrecy in regard to right, secrecy in regard to home and going abroad, secrecy in regard to measures, secrecy in regard to enmities; in failure of prestige he should deny even the truth.
87 Physicians, astrologers, soothsayers he should entertain, if possessed of conduct and character.
88 Even the truth, if causing grief or misfortune, he should not speak.
89 Up to twenty-five years he should passionately practise the study of sport.
90 Thenceforward acquisition of wealth.
91 He should keep himself free from indebtedness.
92 Indebted he becomes by three means, pleasure, anger, and greed.
93 And he should continually guard his person.
94 He should not neglect the regular rites.
95 If there is a popular clamour, he may omit a minor rite.
96 Upon a lost cause let him not stand;
97 Far to be avoided then is even a serious matter of sovereignty.
98 He should not favour new commanders who are Kusumántas.
99 A slight loss is to be borne.
100 As with families of elephants, bandits, noxious serpents, and tigers living in forest or cemetery among

98 Kusumántas: this word, which recurs in Sutra 105, is quite mysterious (? = Pālava, or p-alava, i.e. vita?). 99 The meaning seems to be that a commander should not be dismissed for a slight failure.
100 The idea seems to be that of the nursery rhyme
those who in comparison therewith are inoffensive feuds of kinsmen are not to be engaged in.

101 Like dogs with one piece of flesh is that estate of sovereignty, when the sovereignty is in trouble.

102 Policy truly is like a tree on a river's bank.

103 So he is not to desire [it].

104 Kusumántas and so forth are inimical to all creatures.

105 Prestige, vigour, vitality, greatness—these are destroyed by excessive cultivation of Kusumántas.

106 Desire, anger, conceit, jealousy, hypocrisy, and so forth he should not encourage.

107 An enemy of good character is a friend.

108 Among friends one of good character is an enemy.

109 Between moon and sun there is hostility by reason of their common brightness (tastes):

110 Were it not so, they would both stand fast.

111 Where there is feud among relatives, those two families perish to the root.

112 Whoso abandons the science of awarding punishment, helpless he like a moth enters the flame all unwittingly.

So speaks the holy Preceptor, guru of the chief of the Gods.

So in the Brihaspati Sūtra the First Chapter.

'Let dogs delight &c.' With the reading *kule* we should render 'he dwells as it were in a family...'

101 *Shava* 'dog' probably means more exactly 'pack of dogs' : cf. a *shava* and Panini iv. 2. 48.

103, 110 We might translate 'If between sun and moon there were hostility ..., they would not continue'.

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(8)
11 (DUTIES AND PRINCIPLES)

1 Sovereignty belongs to one possessing advantages.
2 There is advantage of knowledge, advantage of wealth, and advantage of comrades:
3 Gratification of his own family also and protection of usage;
4 Agriculture, cattle-rearing, trade.
5 Universally the Lokāyata system of doctrine is alone to be followed at the time of acquiring gain;
6 Only the Kāpālikas as regards attainment of pleasure;
7 The Ārhat in regard to right.
8 The Lokāyata is not really profitable (?); the advantage quickly perishes.
9 So the Kāpālikas, the Ārhatas, and the Baudhās.
10 On these relying, he is like the moth and the fire.
11 The fruits are like ear-water [or water in the ear ?].

1 Guna is here used in an untechnical sense (‘strong point’).
4 The Arthashastra mentions (c. 1) the same three matters (kṛishi, pashupalya, and bāniyja) as the components of vartī, or business, one of the studies of a king.
5 The Lokāyata doctrine, along with Sāṇkhya and Yoga, makes up the triad of philosophy in the Arthashastra (c. 1).
6 Elsewhere the Kapālikas are a Shaiva sect: see the St Petersburg lexicon and reff.
8–35 These Sutras, which seem at variance with the preceding, and which betray a strong sectarian bias, may be suspected of being an interpolation. No. 36 joins on well to No. 7.
11 ‘Ear-water’: is this a synonym of ‘sky-flower, &c. = ‘nonentity’? or ‘water in the ear’ (sc. not in the mouth or only heard of) ?
12 When one characterized by ignorance desires in a matter connected with right to effect a human object, then he is a heretic entitled Laukáyatika.

13 When a Candála is desirous of enjoying fine drink, flesh, and so forth, then he is a heretic entitled Kápálika.

14 When abandoning twilight worship and so forth, sacrifice and so forth, he desires the duty of non-killing, then he is a Kshapanaka heretic.

15 When, abandoning the rites described in the Veda, and knowledge of them, also Shiva, the Lord of All, Vishnu, and Shri, a man declares that all is void, then he is a heretic entitled Baudha.

16 When he declares right to be vain, a means to gain, he is a Laukáyatika; and he declares that the pinda and so on are theft.

17 He does all for profit, sacrifice, twilight prayer, and so forth.

18 To conceal his failing, one afflicted with desire studies the Veda;

19 He performs sacrifices and so forth:

20 He does it with a view to drinking wine, with a view to intercourse with women.

21 He says Vishnu and the others are wine-drinkers so the Kápálika.

14 Kshapanaka: = Jaina.

15 ‘Knowledge’: read karmajatam ‘mass of rites’.

16 Pinda: the reference seems to be to the food offered to the dead: the custom was ridiculed by the followers of Brihaspati, as appears from the Carvaka, or Lokayata, chapter in the Sarva-darshana-samgraha.
22 The Kshapanaka, aiming at right, speaks of right as depending on the bearing of rags and broom:

23 He speaks of Shiva and so on,—so the Kshapanaka.

24 With a view to abuse of others he studies Veda, Shāstra, right and so forth:

25 He reproaches all;

26 Even Maheshvara, Vishnu and so forth;

27 He also speaks of right with a view to eating;

28 For the sake of discussion he praises others—this is the Baudha.

29 The Laukāyatika, when dead, is a denizen of hell, extern to profit, pleasure, right, and liberation.

30 And the same applies to his family; that family perishes within the period of sons and grandsons.

31 The Kāpāli, abandoned by his village, household, and relatives, becomes a denizen of hell, denounced by all people:

32 And at that very time his family perishes.

33 The Kshapanaka is denounced by his family, and those who live in the village, and three families perish.

34 The Baudha becomes a very detested denizen of hell; and his existing family perishes, or in the time of sons and grandsons.

35 Connection with heretics of this sort he should not have, even in thought.

36 Even by one whose counsels are well ordered,

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22 The "broom" is the brush of twigs which the Jain ascetics carry in order to brush away insects.

34 The Sanskrit sentence is here confused; but the meaning is clear.

36 [Not]: we may, if we prefer, read adharmikas. This Sutra connects well with No. 7.
who discerns the weak points of others, and who is not a man of virtue, sovereignty cannot be preserved.

37 One infatuated with the conceit of power, filled with greed and pride, loses what has been acquired.

38 Whoso, after reflecting upon his measures, enjoys himself, he achieves the highest success.

39 He must so do that by his action he is not known by the world as 'knowing what to do, bent upon profit,' or as 'a man of righteousness':

40 Like Ishvara, like Moon and Sun.

41 Counsel is the action of effecting unity of opinion on the part of persons conforming to a master's mind.

42 A councillor must speak of measures, regardless of his master's preference.

43 The fruit of policy is attainment of right, advantage, and pleasure.

44 Pleasure and advantage are to be tested by right;

45 Right by right;

46 Advantage by advantage;

47 Pleasure by pleasure;

48 Liberation of the soul by liberation.

49 Injunction of a guru is to be executed, even when at variance with right, as the marriage of the Pândavas, Arjuna's asceticism, Vyāsa's intercourse with a widow, the begetting of Karna, Râma's punishment of a mother and so on.

40 'Like Ishvara': his motives must be inscrutable.

49 The references are to well-known stories in the Mahabharata.
50 Even a son, at variance with policy, is an enemy.

51 The young, the vicious, reckless, unacquainted with shāstras, he should not admit to counsel.

52 Dull-witted, immoral, violent, thoughtless, irascible, foolish young men are not to be employed in counsel.

53 Let all jewels even be given to preserve one's own purpose, life, and prestige.

54 During counsel he should not not evoke anger.

55 Right is the main factor; not personal objects, 

56 Happiness unrighteously enjoyed is no friend.

57 Maintenance of position is [or and] enhancement.

58 Like one who eats what is not wholesome but is on good terms with [or as taking a precaution against, Pratikāra] death,

A man true to his word, relying upon the Shāstras, might even dry the ocean.

59 If he is angry [his dependents] become discouraged and timid.

60 One bad man ruins many.

61 Fate depends upon manhood.

51 We translate mantre na praveshayet.

53 The 'jewels' are the various 'treasures' of a king, his wife, minister, general and so forth.

57 I translate dhitir vardhanam: reading sthstivardhanam, we might render '[he should aim at] enhancement of his actual position' or '...conservation and enhancement.'

58 The idea may be that of fortifying oneself against poison.

61 A common sentiment: cf. Shukra-niti, 1.95-6
62 Whoso loves his own wife and in taming himself has capacity, is without equal.
63 A good man turns not aside through fear.
64 What at that time is proper is not to be spoken by friends not conversant with matters of speech.
65 One of arrogant heart, lost to respect for right, not self-controlled, he could not admonish.
66 when exhausted with frightful acts, sunk in the sleep of ignorance, he should enlighten the fool with the cool airs of righteous speeches.
67 Among bad men a good man shines forth like the sun.
68 Those committed to unrighteousness he should check by proper conduct.
69 In unrighteousness he should not involve himself.
70 In ill-repute he should not involve himself.
71 He should not slay.
72 Let a fool be restrained, like an elephant, with the hook of righteous reading.
73 A guru’s word is not to be transgressed, if in accordance with reason.
74 Even a guru, if not equipped with policy, he should disregard.
75 A guru says it.
So in the Brihaspati Sutra the Second Chapter.
III (VIDYÁ).

1 Manliness is the quality of one superior to weakness.

2 One becomes superior to weakness by residence in other countries.

3 Of all powers, times, countries, conciliations, natures, strengths, exercises, ages knowledge is to be acquired:

4 Also endurance of fasting and so forth.

5 He should make treasures with fragrances and robes.

6 A long conversation he should hold only if a gracious one.

7 All his like-minded ‘jewels’ he should ever seek to please.

8 He should know new mantras:

9 These are threefold: Shākta, Vaishnava, Shaiva and their further divisions.

10 Entrance to the city of Liberation is by three:

11 Shākta, Vaishnava, Shaiva.

12 The Shākta is like a journey in a vessel;

13 The Vaishnava like a high road;

14 That which believes in Kerala and Pradhāna is like a horse chariot;

15 The Laukāyatika, Kshapanaka, Bauddha and so forth are like a cavernous route through a desolate forest swarming with many tigers and malignant beasts.

9—16 Again apparently a sectarian inserton:
cf. ad II. 8, III. 33.

14 This is the Shaiva system: see Sautadarshana samgraha, c. VI.
16 Having marked this, let him have recourse to one.

17 Let him ever mark the aspect of the lord of lights (the moon?).

18 And let him defend the order of four castes.

19 And let him make use of medicines;

20 These which fortify strength, complexion, energy, self-esteem, intelligence, courage, compassion, and reduce the faulty humours.

21 Let him procure success by gifts, honours, ornaments, and sciences.

22 Let him watch the eighteen Tirthas.

23 Tirthas are the six constituents of royalty, also enemy, friend, and neutral:

24 Also intestine enemy, intestine friend, intestine neutral; and these are dependents, companions, and friends.

25 Also wives, sons, and kinsmen.

26 Others also [to be watched] are temples, places for dances and...

27 sacrifices, twilight, pools, cross-roads, heretic abodes, shops, schools for the young, parade-grounds, fields, new-moon etc. festivals, harlots' houses, the seashore, presence of ascetics, frontiers, places for sale of liquor, serais for travellers.

22 Tirtha: a technical term in the Science of Policy for the important personalities in the kingdom. The use is somewhat peculiar in 23.

23 The constituents (prakriti), as usually enumerated, are king, minister, country, fortress, treasury, army, and friend: see Arthashastra, c. 93, and Formichi, op. cit., p. 92.

27 'Twilight-pools' would be places for performing twilight worship.
Let him have festive attire.

At the city gate let there be a general stoppage.

However, let him not exclude all.

Let him honour Itihāsas and Purānas;

And expositions thereof:

And the Shākta scriptures:

And the Vaikhānasā scriptures;

And the Sāṅkhya;

And the Śaiva.

As regards all these, let him perform and require the due study.

A Brāhman let him not slay, even if infected with faults.

To the unmerciful [no] mercy should be shown.

Let him show respect to village headmen;

Also to city magnates.

Let him conciliate even the weak.

By largesse much:

Not also with little.

In the case of excellent persons not in the order of the plenitude of their merits.

Let him play with dice:

Also [Or] let him not play at all.

Serpents and so forth let him slay.

---

32 'Expositions': The word पक्ता would seem to be a synonym for पक्ती in जनापक्ती, लोकपक्ती 'teaching the people': see Shatapatha-Brahmana XI. 5. 7. 1.

33—7 These sutras are perhaps again an insertion: see Introduction and ad II. 8, III. 9.

39 Or 'no mercy (adaya)'.

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49. High Brāhmans, perfected by various mantras and rich in knowledge, let him honour.

50. Brāhmans of other countries, Kṣatriyas, princes, feudatories, and so forth let him welcome as if they were himself with viands, clothing, and so forth.

51. A refugee, though qualified by all crimes, let him protect.

52. Let him check the bad;

53. And protect the learned.

54. Let him not oppress a village:

55. Or a city:

56. Or temples.

57. Let him make use of fermented liquors;

58. Not in excess, however.

59. Also flesh food.

60. Compassion to life must be shown:

61. The Buddhist way and so forth not.

62. Nor as regards imperceptible creatures.

63. Gay ladies are to be used.

64. The earth has a measure of fifty krores of yojanas.

65. And it has seven continents.

66. And is girt with seven seas.

67. Karma, Bhoga, Atibhoga, Divya, Shringāra,

61. The Buddhists and Jains especially denounce killing in sacrifice.

62. ‘Imperceptible’ apparently a reference to the Jains precautions against killing small creatures.

67. These names, as applied to the seven dvipas, do not seem to occur elsewhere; but Bharata Vṛsha is karma-bhumi in the Vishnu-purāṇa, II. 3. 2.
Siddha and Kaivalya are the designations of the continents.

63 The midst is the Land of Action (Karma).

69 What is in the middle thereof, as far as the Jambu tree, belongs to Meru.

70 Therein to the north is Himvat.

71 On the south of that is land of nine thousand (yojanas).

72 Therein to the south is Bharata Khanda.

73 There the fruits of righteousness and unrighteousness have their visible effect.

74 In relation thereto is the administration of punishment.

75 It is to be studied by the people of Bharata, past, future, and present and by men of the four castes.

76 By administration of punishment the holy Sun is king:

77 And Wind and all the gods:

78 And mortal creatures.

79 From Badarikā to [Rāma's] Bridge is a distance of one thousand yojanas.

80 From Dvārakā as far as Purushottama and the

70 'On the north': This cannot mean on the north of Meru or of Jambudvipa, which would be contrary to the ordinary view: it must, therefore, mean 'starting with the north' of India.

71 'Nine thousand': The usual estimate, as in the Vishnu-Purana II. 3. 2.

79 'One thousand': The same estimate is given by the Vāyu-Purana: see Wilson's note in Vishnu-P. (ed Hall, II. p. 127).

80 The Purushottama-keśetra is in Orissa, and the
Shalagrāma is a distance of seven hundred yojanas.

81 In this area also are the seven Great Mountains, Raivataka, Vindhya, Sahya, Kumāra, Malaya, Shrīparvata, Pāriyātra.

82 And the Great Rivers, Gāṅgā, Sarasvatī, Kālindī, Godāvari, Kāverī, Tāmraparnī, Ghritamalā.

83 And eighteen countries.

84 Eighteen are the maritime kings:

85 And eighteen the hill kings.

86 The creation of Rāma consists of one hundred and forty (yojanas?) on the south and north, as far as the Sahya twelve; that of Vishvāmitra eleven.

87 Nepal one hundred and four.

88 On the shore of the eastern sea:

From Varuna to the sea is a space of eight yojanas.

shalagrama-ksh. is supposed to be on the river Gandak: see Wilson's Vishnu-P, (index).

82 'Great Rivers': The word hula-nadī does not seem to occur elsewhere. On the various lists of the chief rivers see Wilson's note, Vishnu-P, II pp. 131-2. The Ghritamalā is, doubtless, Wilson's Kritamalā.

86 'The Creation of Rama' and 'the Creation of Vishvamitra': The Epic story of Vishvamitra's attempt at a rival creation is well known; but the phrase Vishvamitra-srishti does not seem to occur in the literature. In the tradition of the pandits the idea is quite familiar, Vishvamitra being credited (like Ahriman among the Iranians) with the authorship of all faulty or misshapen and misbegotten things, such as the mirage.

The application of the numbers in this sutra is obscure. Is 'as far as the Sahya' = 'in breadth'?

88 The site of the Varuna-tirtha does not appear to be known.
89 Each one hundred and five are northern Lâta, And eastern Lâta.

90 Kâshi and the Pâncâla country are together eighty;

91 Kekaya and Srinjaya are sixty;

92 The Matsya and Magadha country one hundred;

93 Mâlava and Shakunta eighty;

94 Kosala and Avanti sixty;

95 Sâhiya and Vidarbha together two hundred;

96 Videha and the Kuru country one hundred;

97 Kâmboja and D ash âr na eighty.

98 These are the great countries.

99 These indeed are four-cornered.

100 The Âratta and Bâhlika country are from south to north one hundred, from east to west twelve.

101 The Shaka and Surâshtra country are four-cornered and of forty.

102 Anga, Vanga, and Kalinga are of one hundred and four-cornered.

103 Kâshmir, the Huna and Ambashtha countries, and Sîndh are of one hundred and four-cornered.

104 The Kirâta, Sauvîra, Cola, and Pândya countries, situated on north and south are of one hundred increased by sixty.

89 sqq. For other lists of countries and peoples see Mahabharata, Bhishma-parvan, IV.317-378. Vishnu-Purâna, II.3, Varaha's Brihat-samhita, XIV, Garga-samhita (Janapada-uyaha).

93 Shakuntâ is not elsewhere known as name of a country or people.

103 The Hunas are, doubtless, those of Hundesh.
105  The Yālava country and Kānci are of one hundred and forty.
106  These are minor countries.
107  The seven Konkans are of one hundred and four, and the...
108  These are on the water.
109  On mount Sahaya are four hill countries ;
110  On Shriparvata two ;
111  On Raivataka one ;
112  On the Vindhya five ;
113  On Kumāra one ;
114  On Mahendra three ;
115  On Pāriyātra three.
116  All are equal, from south to north of fifty, from east to west of five yojanas.
117  In the Mleccha region are Yavana countries, mountainous.
118  The countries are adorned with villages, cities, gardens, and so forth, and with holy domains and so forth.
119  Eight are the Vaishnava domains ;
120  Badarikā, Shālgrāma, Purushottama, Dvāraka, Bilvācalā, Ananta, Simha, Shrīranga.
121  Eight the Shaiva ;
122  Avimuktaka, Gangā-dvāra, Shiva-kṣhetra,

105  Yadavas: Perhaps those of Devagiri.
107  For the 'seven' Konkans, see Wilson's Vishnu purāna (ed. Hall n. p. 178, n. 14).
119—127  Again an insertion ?
120  Bilvācalā......Simha : Perhaps the Bilvadri and Simhacala of which mahatmyas exist.
Rame-Yamuná (?), Shiva-sarasvatī, Mavya, Skárđūla, and Gaja kshetras.

123 The Shākta are also eight;
124 Oghghīna Jāla, Pūrṇa, Kāma, Kolla, Shri-shaila, Kāncī, Mahendra.
125 These are the great domains;
126 And effective of all attainment;
127 Also ineffective [or to be worshipped].
128 On the Vindhya dwells perpetually Durgā, and Bhadrakālī;
129 On Kumāra Kumāra dwells perpetually;
130 On Sahya Ganapati;
131 On Raivataka the Teacher;
132 On Mahendra Garuda;
133 On Pāriyātra Kshetrapāla.
134 In the Land of Action, which is Bhārata, the gods are many times as numerous as the men.
135 Gods, Demons, Yakshas, Rākshasas, Bhūtas, Pretas, Vināyakas, Kūshmándas, those with distorted features:
136 What they carry and their dress are determinate:
137 Friendly or Terrifying, Yoginis and Nāgas; they, assuming forms at will, consort in countless numbers with mankind.
138 And by men they may be protected.
139 In that [Bhārata country] are ambrosial herbs.

122 Avimuktaka: Benares.
124 Oghghīna: Ujjain?
131 The Teacher: Brihasp.ti.
133 Kshetrapāla: Shiva.
140 At this point the number of the ages, the Krita, Treta, Dvapara, and Tishya.
141 In the Krita [the creatures are] possessed of knowledge;
142 And versed in the administration of punishment;
143 In the Treta they are active and skilled in policy:
144 In the Dvapara they are followers of Tántrikas and of strong tastes;
145 And versed in policy:
146 In the Tishya quarter men are strong in knowledge and action, and versed in the administration of punishment:
147 After that they are of diverse rightfulness, colour, and dress, and void of the administration of punishment.
148 And the peoples behold, intent upon false speaking. Thus says the Preceptor.

So in the Brihaspati Sūtra the third chapter.

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140 The Mahābhārata also names the Tishya as the fourth age
IV (Omens and Counsel)

1 At the Brahma hour the rising from sleep.
2 Let him consider right and interest.
3 The cry of the cock is auspicious:
4 Also the sight of an elephant and so forth;
5 Also the sound of elephants, the chanting of auspicious praises, and Veda-recitation;
6 Also holy talk of divinities;
7 Also recollection of nobles;
8 Also eye-collyrium:
9 Also looking in a mirror.
10 Let him adorn himself.

II Also chewing of betel:
12 Also camphor, sandal, incense of agallochum:
13 Conchs, Kāhalas, horns, cut reeds, guitars, harps, drums, kettle-drums:
14 And noises of trumpets:
15 Also seeing of divine women:
16 Also the interrupted first note of the minstrel (?):
17 Also the sound of the jāti melody (or 'the cry of birth'):
18 White flowers in liquid butter.
19 Fire satisfied with mantras becomes of one hundred flames, and attended with smoke having the song of Vishnu.
20 Then the spectacle of oxen is inauspicious:

1 The Brahma muhurta is the early morning: see Weber Indische Studien, x. p. 296, and Aitareya Brahmana II. 15.
4 The Greek writers mention the early morning salutation of an Indian king by an elephant (Aelian, XIII. c. 22).
12 Or 'incense of camphor, sandal, and agallochum'.

21 Also the spectacle of vultures
22 Also a twilight blaze:
23 Also the cry of quarreling jackals.
24 Or the sound of carnivorous beasts is heard at the gate of village or city.
25 Where also sweating of images of gods is perceived, there departure to another place is the only appeasement: there is no remedy.
26 Unavoidably to be observed are these acts.
27 Victory is rooted in counsel.
28 Men are of three kinds, best, worst and middle.
29 In counsel also [ is the same triplicity ].
30 That action is best which is undertaken in company with connections, kinsmen, friends, the learned, the thoughtful.
31 And, when right is doubtful, devotion to a guru.
32 He is best who sets to after taking counsel with men intent on advantage.
33 If, after thinking out good and bad results, he sets to through being overcome by folly, he is the worst.
34 That counsel is best which is taken unanimously, under the guidance of policy, by wise councillors.
35 Where, at first of divers opinions, they are afterwards unanimous, that is the middle.

25 'Sweating of images': Cf. Harsha-carita, trans., p. 147, also Vergil's et maestum illorimat templis ebur aerisque sudant (Georg. 1. 480), and Milton's

'And the chill marble seems to sweat
While each peculiar power foiges his wonted seat.'
36 Where there is broiling and reproach, one being for right, one for interest, along with women, children, and the aged, tears on the one part, anger on the other, that is the worst.

37 First the measure is introduced by the master.

38 Then with voice, action, mind, salutation, and rigid prostration let them in order of dignity be made to salute the master.

39 Let him salute him whose food Vaishravana or Vacaspati when old refuses not to eat.

40 For the rest the opinion of each in order is to be heard.

41 The measure is to be considered after placating the master.

42 Having first extolled the master’s strong points, and then weighed his master’s weak points, the weak points of the adversary, and the weak points of the natural, let him again lay stress upon the master’s strong points.

43 Having again described the measures and the means, and having placated the master, he is to consider the measure.

44 With careless, assailed, unfortunate persons warlike enterprises do not succeed.

38 ‘Rigid prostration’: The word _dandapranama_ ‘prostration with the body straight as a stick’ occurs in the Dasahakumara-cvita: see the St. Petersburg lexicon.

39 Vaishravana and Vacaspati are apparently named as types of king and Brahman. Note the negative verb _abhavanjate._

42 _Guna_ and _dosha_ are here untechnical: cf. 11. 1.
45 Against a not careless, right-knowing person, a master of his senses, a conqueror, one angry against the powerful, and hard to assail warlike enterprise is not to be undertaken.

46 "One knowing the Shástras, how does he not understand measures?" so let him not say.

47 Those who conquer the strongest enemies, pleasure and so forth, they conquer all foes.

48 Let him not make the first advance in rendering services:

49 Also let him certainly render service.

50 As regards an unavoidable disaster, having discerned it in advance, let him provide remedy for the disaster.

51 So says the Guru.

So in the Brihaspati Sūtra the Fourth Chapter.

46 i.e. let him not claim practical infallibility on the ground of learning.
V (Upāyas)

1 Four means.
2 Also three:
3 Also pretended oversight and slaying.
4 In dealing with the bold conciliation;
5 With the timid conciliation and division;
6 With the greedy conciliation, largesse, and division;
7 With the vexatious conciliation, division, largesse, pretended oversight, and slaying.
8 Conciliation is to be set to work first:
9 The purpose of the mind and also the friendly action of the voice.
10 Relatives are pleased at the misfortune of relatives.
11 Relatives, in their secret hearts malignant, take advantage of a relative.
12 Among all dangers the danger of relatives is to be dreaded.
13 In cows milk and in a Brāhmaṇ anger [are certain];
14 In women fickleness, in kinsmen remoteness; friendship is like a drop of water upon a leaf.
15 The friendly speech of elders, also inspired by Śāstras, whoso heed not, are inspired by destiny: them, therefore, let him carefully avoiding dwell afar.
16 What is at variance with convention let him not practise.

The four upayās are, of course, war, dissension, conciliation, and bribery.
Kinsmen, crocodiles among the lotuses of secrets of mantras and sciences; not to act without good omens; and disasters (?).

It must be told with avoidance of the bad: though possessed of knowledge, he is like a snake in the house.

An adherent from the enemy’s side one should not trust.

According to merit let him entertain (people) in his service.

Let him test by their sentiments.

A hero is not quickly known by the weak: intelligence let him promptly test in an unknown matter.

He may be known by his gestures.

A composed person not.

One whose mind is without apprehension is calm.

And without anger: for even children and so forth conceal that.

Upon learning the fall of his family a wise man under these circumstances would have recourse even to an enemy’s side, if possessed of wisdom.

Unfailingly in the heart the effects of former good and evil arise; so the bad man would not on all occasions act as such.

The fickle are not to be highly honoured.

So says the Preceptor Brihaspati.

So in the Brihaspati Sūtra the Fifth Chapter.

The text is here corrupt, some proverbial expression apparently being involved. The import seems to be that counsel, study, and secrets, also misfortunes, should not be incautiously spoken of.

Accusative after vi-sheas, as in I. 38.

Reading viro’ sharāh sahāsa na jnayate.

‘Conceal’: vi-vri may, it appears, sometimes have this sense.

Reading nayayukte. The meaning is, however, not clear.
VI (Nana)

1. He should get to know the action suitable to place and time, also policy and impolicy:

2. Not what is contrary to Veda, manliness, and pride.

3. Let him observe friendly acts.

4. Policy is carried out after examination by councillors.

5. Let him examine what is to be done or not to be done in conjunction with councillors living by their intellect.

6. Whoso can design even an unwelcome measure, he is to be employed in counsel.

7. Let him acquire wealth.

8. Whoso has store of wealth, has friends and righteousness and knowledge and merit and prowess and intelligence.

9. By one without riches riches cannot be acquired, as an elephant by one without elephant.

10. In riches is rooted the world.

11. And therein are all things.

12. A man without riches is a dead man and a Candāla.

13. Likewise let him acquire knowledge, the root of righteousness.

14. In knowledge is rooted the world.

15. Knowledge again is all.

16. So says the Guru.

So in the Brihaspati Sūtra the Sixth Chapter.

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6 Reading cpi karyam in place of vikaram. The sense would seem to be that one who would employ his intelligence in measures which he personally disliked would be a trustworthy councillor.

F. W. Thomas.
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