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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.,
LIBRARIAN, INDIA OFFICE LIBRARY, LONDON.

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

स्मृतार्थीरायः न्यायस्तु वलयान्तनव्यवहारवः
न्तः वर्ष्णार्थश्चर्चिति स्मिति: ||२१.२१||

The same is said in the Bharishya Purāna as quoted in the Aparārka:

स्मृत्यार्थी विगते तु अर्थ्यार्थायथि वाणिज्य ||

Nārada Smriti also remarks in the same way:

भर्त्यार्थश्चर्चितमयामार्थीरायेन युवतः ||
संपन्नयामनो नियुक्ते व्यवहारार्थि नयेत ||
ब्रव विधिनिर्देशं: स्मार्त्यार्थ्यार्थश्चर्चितमयोः ||
प्रक्ष्यार्थश्चर्चित्मुद्रेक्ष धर्मार्थार्थश्चर्चितमाचरेद ||१३३६|२४||

In his well-known Arthashastra, Kuntilya (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:

प्रथियायः लाभे पालने च यातन्यार्थश्चर्चितः पृर्त्यारङ्गः:
प्रस्थापितानि शायपलानि संह्यकमिद्यार्थश्चर्चः कुर्तप ||

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

\[
\text{तत्र ऋग्वेदस्यार्थशास्त्रपञ्चरेष्टा}.
\]

\[
\text{दशर्यायुर्वेदम्}.
\]

\[
\text{अभिचारकार्यशास्त्रमित्युत्यचते}.
\]

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

\[
\text{वेदानासुपञ्चर्ष्टाध्यत्तारो भवति}.
\]

\[
\text{अर्थवेदस्य 'अर्थशास्त्रम.' (चतुर्थ: खराब)}.
\]

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

II. BRIHASPATI AND HIS ARTHASHASTRA.

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

\[
\text{हृदसं विष्णुस्य मित्राशिब्धार्क्कच्चय च।}
\]

\[
\text{हृदस्पतेविश्वासो नीतिसाधिबलिझा स्थितिः॥२४॥}
\]

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

\[
\text{Compare with this the teaching of Mahabharata:—}
\]

\[
\text{विश्वासीययः विश्वाच न कस्यचित्।}
\]

\[
\text{पुत्रवधापि हि राजन् विश्वासो न प्रशस्यते॥}
\]

\[
\text{अविश्वासो नरप्रशान्तं परमस्यचत्ते॥महारोशः॥३३॥३॥}
\]
Ashvaghoṣha in his *Buddha Carita* (about first century A.D.) has remarked about Brihaspati:

> यद्राजशास्त्रु भृगुराजिर्वा न च क्रतुदश्यकरायेः तौ।
> तयाः मृत्ति च समर्जेतुस्तातं वालिने मुक्त्य ब्रह्सपतिः॥१४॥

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:

> प्रजापतियां प्रजा: खट्टा तासं स्थितिनिवनं न मित्रगुप्तम्
> साधनस्यायानां शतसहस्रेष्ठे प्रोवाच।॥५॥
> तस्येकदेशिकं मनु: स्थायंशुवृ धर्मिकरिकं पुष्पकरार।॥६॥
> ब्रह्सपतिरथितिकरिकम्॥७॥

Bhāsa also refers to a Bṛhaspatya *Arthashastra* in his *Pratimā Nātaka*:

> रावणः—“...काश्यपोमोचिस्विद्याज्ञानेऽविद्मभीये, मानवीयं
> धर्मेश्चास्त्राय, ग्रहेन्द्रियं योगशास्त्राय, वाहिस्परमवशास्त्राय, एथातिथिययायं-
> शास्त्राय, कृष्णितवस्त्र आदित्यं च।” प्रतिमा नाटक p,79.

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

> नीति वृहसपतिचलं भासात्मकश्रायतपुरा। वनो ३२॥६१॥

So we know that the Bṛhṣpatya *Śāstra* 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 *sāstras*
or in the mixed style. No doubt some sūtra literature along with gīthā and other works, was extant even before the time of the compilation of the Brāhmanas because the Shatapatha Brāhmaṇa (सूत्राययुतयात्यायानानि कार्य १४ व्र ६ ब्राह ३ कं १२) alludes to it, but it is not sure whether it had come into vogue at times as early as those of Svāyambhava Manu and Brihaspati, the preceptor of Indra.

IV. MANAVA DHARMA SHAstra.

Scholars like Max Muller and Buhler held that the Dharmāshāstra of Manu was originally a composition in the mixed style of sūtras 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 सूत्रयुत याहि which he found in Vāsishtha Dharmaśāstra. 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 Vās. 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 Arthashastra of Kautilya refers to a certain author of this very school. The views of the Mānavas represented in this Arthashastra 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 Sūtra. The whole of sūtra 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 Nārada, we know that the original work of Manu began with a verse (śloka, as Nārada 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.

Kantiliya 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 83 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 Kautilya 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:

* Vasishtha 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 Kanya. They both give समाचरां in place of सहाचरां, Hardatta at the same time quotes the full verse from Manu also with the words इति मानवम्. There also the first half of the verse has समाचरां and the second half has exactly the same words as in the present day Manu.
The verse 32nd is Manusmriti 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 Manusmriti, 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 Bárhaspatya Shastra referred to in the Mahábhárata. Professor Julius Jolly collected fragments of Brihaspatismriti from different law books and 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 BARHASPATYA SUTRAM AND ITS DATE.

The present sūtras even if they do, possess but a very remote connection with the Bârhaspatya shâstra. 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 Bârhaspatya 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 Kalidás, for the reason that in his Meghaduta Kalidás refers to Kankhal alone, while Hardwar or Gangâdvâra which is a Shaiva tirtha of a recent origin is not at all mentioned by him. This Gangâdvâra is mentioned in Bârhaspatya 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 गजबचुम प्रकरण of लच्छुप्रकाश of वीरमित्राद्य. 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 इवाद्रवमातृक (p. 13 Nirnayasagar 1901) and his commentator Shrutasagar Suri says बृहस्पतिनीतिय इव । यथा बृहस्पतिनीतियन्याधार्यक्षास्त्राधिक देवं सत्यात्मविवेचयं न मन्यन्ते। So, according to the commentator the Nitikāra Brihaspati was the renowned Cārvāka. 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 cārvāka logician, and thirdly the person who wrote the samhitā.
X. PARALLEL PASSAGES.

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<th>No.</th>
<th>Sanskrit Passage</th>
<th>English Translation</th>
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<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>अरामवान राजा १५१ । कामद्वी की नीतिसार २६३६ । पायवड़ी। नीतिवाक्यामृत पृ. ५२ । On this the commentary says काराकादि पायविड़नम्। अर्धनारीणामनम्। नी० वारा ब्रम्हमू पृ. १५३।</td>
<td>अरामवान नुपः। कामद्वी की नीतिसार २६३६। पायवड़ी। नीतिवाक्यामृत पृ. ५२। On this the commentary says काराकादि पायविड़नम्। अर्धनारीणामनम्। नी० वारा ब्रम्हमू पृ. १५३।</td>
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<td>A common saying of the Dharmashastras. Cf. Manu IV. 92।</td>
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<td>गुरुवचनमनुलजनिम् २६४३।</td>
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<td>5</td>
<td>अप्याद्रातिरीथिति निरुपयेत । ३१२२।</td>
<td>“सेनापतिचाको राजस्थानी द्वदाकारमा मल्ली महत्तरो बल-बलतरास्तारो द्वाराध्य तुर्कबलं पुरोहितोपमत्यो महामाहात्म्यसे-त्यप्रदेश राजः तीर्था साधिता।” quoted by अनसारसूरी on p. 91 of यदासिकलक Nirmayasagar edition।</td>
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<td>8</td>
<td>धनमूलं जगत ६।१०।</td>
<td>“धनमाजेय काकुक्त्य धन मूलमिति जगत्।” quoted by Ramchandra Budhendra on नीतिशास्त्र ३१ (Nirmayasagar edition 1917)।</td>
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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 devanāgari 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.

BHAGAVADATTĀ
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 Lokāyata or Cārvāka doctrine, the crude corporealism of India. The discovery of this work, to judge from the quotations in the Sarvadarshana-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 Śūtra style. This Indian science may claim no ordinary place in the history of culture, since two of its suceedanea, 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 Machiavelli's Prince, if influenced at all, as is à 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 Kāmandakā'ī-Nitīsāra 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 Arthashastra (Indogermanische Forschungen, xxxi., pp. 204-10), Kollektaneen zum Kautiliya Arthashastra (Z. D. M. G., 1914, pp. 345-359), Dr Johannes Hertel, Literarisches aus dem Kautiliyashashastra (Vienna Oriental Journal, xxiv, pp. 416-422), and Dr Jarl van Charpentier, En Indisk handbook i statslara fran 300 f. kr. (Nordisktidsskrift, 1913, pp. 353-369), Narendra Nath Law, Studies in Ancient Hindu Polity (Based on the Arthashastra 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 Arthashastra is still far from exhausted, and the interest in it may be expected continually to increase.

As Prof. Jacobi has mentioned, Cânakya 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, Aushanatas, Ambhiyas (no doubt, of Taxila) and Parāsharas, and the individuals Bhāradyāja, Vishālaksha, Piśhuma, Kaumpadanta, Vātavādhi 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 (Aushanas) treatise of which the last-mentioned is named among 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. sāma aushanasa in the Jānaki harana, x.26).

†Also cited by Dr. G. Oppert in his Weapons, Army Organization 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 Jivananda Vidyasagar 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-purana has also a section devoted to the subject, which is, further, fully represented in the Munava Dharmasashtra, as well as in the Mahabharata. 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 Kāmandaṇa Nitiśāra, 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 Śāktas 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 sūtra style and vice versa), accusative after viśvās (which, however, occurs elsewhere), and even the forms samgrahet (which should perhaps be samgrahayet, as the correct samgrihṇiṣyāt occurs several times) and divyit
(old subjunctive of div; 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 Nitisára of Kámandaki and the Shukranití. Some of the expressions, e.g. atibhédayet (i. 52), alamkhárayet (iv. 10), are in the old Arthashátra style, as are the proverbial expressions (e.g. i. 29, 100, ii. 11, v. 13, iv. 12). The name Tíshya, as applied to the fourth, or Kali, age, recurs in the Mahábháratá and Harivamsa. A connection with the Bárhaspatyas may be seen in the restriction of the royal sciences to one, namely dandaníti (Arthashástra, p. 6), although they add várttá (which again is represented in our text by krishigóarakshabánijyáni, ii. 4; cf. Arthashástra, p. 8, krishipèsupálye báñijyá ca várttá). The importance attached to the Lokáyta and Bauddha doctrines also points to the same direction. The term Kápálika, as applied to adherents of the Kámaschátra, requires explanation; but some Shaiva sects e.g. the Páshupatas 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 Bárhaspatya system. We might compare it with such treatises as the existent Vedângas,
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 mss. Library in Madras, I have been favoured with a Devanāgarī 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

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* 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 adhyāyas is complete.

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); eau and n (read as n: iii. 118, iv. 38, v. 22); m and b (1.5, ii. 8, 18, iii. 76, 81, 92, v. 11); k and t (i. 54, 76, iii. 81, 92, 181, v. 18); k and tt (iii. 122); g and bh (iii. 67); e and v (iii. 26-7); e and p (ii. 39); nc and sc (ii. 73, iii. 23, 87, 102); j and bh (ii. 33); 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 anu 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.:

abhiprayaṁ (v. 9); artham? (vi. 9); asavani (iii. 57); upayani (iv. 43); kalahaṁ (iv. 36); kamam? (ii. 47); devaboyani (iii. 56); dharmaṁ? (ii. 46); prahkarana (iv. 50); maṅkrani (iii. 8, elsewhere mas. : different sense?); mokshaṁ? (ii. 48); lobhaṁ (i. 22) vadhavaṁ (ii. 49); shabdam (iv. 38, 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.

(c) masc for neuter:

aushadhah (iii. 139); kshetraṁ (iii. 119-122; also neut.); phākī (iii. 73); see also iii. 9.

(d) arj—for arj: ii. 7, 9, 13.

(e) suparihritya (v. 15) and divyaṁ (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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Text in

DEVANAGARI CHARACTERS

EDITED BY

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5. W ओऽ
6. W ओऽ
7. Sic; perhaps a verb (वच्च्चेऽ) is understood.


अभ्यासस्थलनस्मृति

अभ्यासस्थलनस्मृतिः

पूर्वाधिकारितं अभ्यासस्थलनस्मृतिः यथा

मामदयंिङ्कारणाः सत्यमस्तिस्तुतिः

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व्रतः न वचो व्रतः

ब्राह्मणं यथा

संन्यासं नृपवेद्यान् व्रातदेष्वीपितिः

20. मेधानानि । 21. M W इकाय यो । 22. W शामः


सूत for स्तुति । W नतत्त्वू । 26. M जनु । 27. W

वेद्या । 28. M भरु । 29. M संन्यासः ।
प्रथमोऽध्यायः ।

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आर्यत्वादीन्ति न ॥५७॥

प्रेतोऽध्यात्मानसक्ताः संवेदेत् ॥५८॥

पञ्च नारिका इत्यदेवताज्ञपादि पञ्चनारिकायामतीतायामास्थानम् ॥५९॥

dश नारिका विधिः पञ्च नारिका: स्नानम् ॥६०॥

त्रिनारिका भोजनम् ॥६१॥

पञ्चनारिका हास्यस्त्रीया सिन्मयेः ॥६२॥

d्विनारिका सन्ध्या ॥६३॥

सप्त नारिका नृत्यादयः ॥६४॥

सप्त नारिका मेघुनः [३४] भोजनादयः ॥६५॥

सप्त नारिका मुसिः ॥६६॥

स्नियमं कुर्यादप्रयोद्धर: ॥६७॥

अङ्किनियामक इतः ॥६८॥

गगङ:ऽकधारुस्त्रानेन स्वागतेन चिन्थताम्बूद्रदेन वाक्योऽनन्तं ॥६९॥

दुर्गामायां गगङऽकधारु न सोपायनमपि ॥७०॥

30. M here inserts नारिका। 31. W लघ्य। 32. Sic (not विदो)। 33. W दुमारो। 34. W ओघपन्; M ओघपने with सोपायनमपि in the next sutra।
समानपत्य विनं वाद्वारं वा स्वागतेनासनेन निर्क्षणां कम्पन तास्मृत-दानेन हास्यकथया च ॥३१॥
स्मितेन स्वागतेनः स्या स्वागिकान् ॥३२॥
ईन्द्रास्मितेन स्वागतेन शुद्धाः ॥३३॥
अभीष्ट्रस्मितेन वालतुद्रादीन ॥३४॥
अन्त्यपापरहदादीन वाद्यात्मित्रापि न ॥३५॥
कार्यागुरुः [४४] तथा सुगच्छेत ॥३६॥
अल्पं वेदेष्य योगं दशात ॥३७॥
विशिष्टकारिग्रहं न कुर्यः त्रस्य ॥३८॥
कर्मकारान् तत् योगिनिपि कार्यमतिचारये ॥३९॥
सिद्धे सच समां सर्वनामतिच्छले ॥४०॥
अन्त्यजन्य त्वनन्त्यजातिनम् ॥४१॥
अन्त्यजानां स्वार्थिनविवर्तकत्वामाखाकते ॥ ॥
तवातिलात्मकते ॥४२॥
न विश्वसेच ॥४३॥
सच सङ्क्षेप न कुर्यात् ॥४४॥

35. W भिवे । 36. Text corrupt, reading doubtful.
धर्मयुग: गृहयात्रायुगः कार्ययुगः: गृहयुगः: यशोभृं सत्यमापि
नेति वेदत् ||४६॥
चिकित्सकज्ञोति[४७]पयन्त्रायादिनं संग्रहेत् त्रिशृङ्गसम्प्रदान ||४७॥
सत्यमापि दुह्नानदेवसाधानमापि न वेदत् ||४८॥
पञ्चांशाश्चात्तर्यं यातम कीडाकिष्ठा व्यसनाः कुर्यात् ||४९॥
भ्रत उत्तरमर्थविनम् ||५०॥
आत्माननुजसि कुर्यात् ||५१॥
ऋणवाराह्याते त्रिपं: कामक्रोधोपमः ||५२॥
शरीरं संरक्ष्य रचेष रचेष ||५३॥
नित्यकर्म न त्यजेत् ||५४॥
जनयोगेष सति तु तु तु कुर्यात् ||५५॥
नष्टे न स्थात्वम् ||५६॥
दूरयुक्तरणेष युत्तरमापि तेनक्रायायम् ||५७॥
कुषुमान्तन: दुर्गदनायकराजः सेवेत् ||५८॥

[५६] अत्यहानि: सोहलयः ||५९॥

48. व ोयात्रा । 49. व चिकित्सायो । 50. Sic (for संग्रहीतादि) । 51. Sic (omit आपि?) । 52. व आत्मानमात्मनु । 53. म गों वा जात । 54. म व ोभो । 55. व omits न । 56. व राज्याः ।
यथा मात्रवृच्छिकम् सपथ्याप्रकृतं चिपिने इम्याने वसाति तस्मात्यपरमाणां ज्ञातिवै न कर्त्वम् \| १००\|
एकापितानवतः राज्योपयुक्ते तद्विव्यवहारम् \| १०१\|
नीति: किल नर्तीरतत्तततः \| १०२\|
तत्सनायत्वम् \| १०३\|
भूतद्विविदियाः कुमुदसार्वाद: \| १०४\|
यशोवर्धन्यायस्य श्रीरत्नकसामन्तसत्तेवा \| १०५\|
कामश्रुतेष्यदमासायस्य पैठुन्यादित्र कार्येत \| १०६\|
श्रीरि: युभशीलो प्रियम् \| १०७\|
युहत्तु युभशील: यशु: \| १०८\|
चन्द्रादिशयोगः परवचिन्चार्य [५६] कङ्कुलम् \| १०९\|
यदि वेष स्थितिस्योः \| ११०\|
श्रीतिः यत्र वै तत्कुन्द्रयमामूलं नद्यति \| १११\|
यः श्रान्त दशर्णीति परिरज्जनन्धमः शलभा इव वाहिः
मविश्वश्रजानात, इसाह भगवानाचार्यः सुपरेतंद्रानुरिः \| ११२\|
श्रीति बाहुस्पत्यस्यौ न प्रथमोद्ययः।।

57. W मात्रवृच्छिकम् \| 58. MW ओऽकले \| 59. W इम्याने बोधाः \| 60. Sic (see note to trans.) \| 61. M राज्यं चुः \| 62. M श्रीरत्नकसामन्तो, W श्रीरत्न कुमुदसार्वं। Read द्रियो हरसि
कङ्कुलम् \| 63. M W दृष्टि:। 64. MW शुमभि सीका। 65. श्रीक।
66. M-ômìts म्यः।
[ हिंदीयोख्यायः ]

गुरूवतो राज्यम् ॥१॥
विचारगुरोव्युहगुणः सहायगुणाथ दूसरां ॥२॥
स्मुक्तस्मानं च चारित्रस्यागमम् ॥३॥
कुन्तिगर्तव्याविज्ञानानि ॥४॥
सर्वशा लोकायतिकमेव शास्त्रयथासाधनकाले ॥५॥
कापालिककमेव कामसाधने ॥६॥

श्रावनं श्रोऽिरे ॥७॥

[देख] लोकायतिकमेवस्नाते चितम् नर्वलि तद् ॥८॥
का्पालिकाहृतमोड़ारथ ॥२॥
पदेशु तिथिन: शलभवाहिन्‌ ॥९.०॥
फलानि श्रोतसाधारकप्पि ॥९.१॥
विशेषयुक्त: पुरुषार्थ साधस्यं धर्मस्य यद्यिच्छि तदा
लोकायतिकमेवसामयम्पुष्पस्वतो ॥९.२॥

यदा चक्रदल नदासुरमुखसातिकमेवमक्तलहाय लोकायतिकमेवमहिन्द्रवमप्पस्थे ॥९.३॥

यदा सन्त्योपासनाय विष्णुस्वरूपके परिवर्तनि यांतःयांत्यांचतुः।
तदा
लघुपाकपाः।
वर्षोऽन्तः च सर्वस्थवर्षिनं विष्णुं विष्णुपरिवर्तनि याः
सर्व गुरुवाचार्यमिति व्याप्तिः।
तदा बौद्धानां
वद्यसंसारानं लोकायतिकः।
पिशाचव्रत्चौर इति।
च।
सहस्मयौः च करोदग्रहिः हतसन्यासाङ्गमार्धीः।
स्वदौ गृहिः कामचं वेदं पठाति।
आपिश्रवार्तानं च।
मुरारपानाथमहिलामेनाथं समापति।
रिववादयः मुरारापानम् इति कापालिका:।
वर्मिः रिववादयः मलापिन्दधारणां च।
विष्णुवादयः इति च।
परापादायः बौद्धाङ्गमार्धीः पठाति।
सर्वारिन्द्रायः।
पेश्वरविष्ण्वार्तानांपि।
सोस्यपनाथ धरोऽवदाति॥

6. M W Ṣस्त्राद्।
7. W शिवा; M W वद्यसन।
8. M W
Sic (read चौर्यम्?)
9. M Sic (read ते; or त्?)
10. M W
अमेनावर्तम्।
11. M सुरामिन।
12. W omits वद्।
13. W. ोर्।
हिंदीयोज्वायः

वदनार्थ परान्त स्तोति स वैद्यः ॥ २६॥

लोकायतिको मृतो भर्तर्थकामभर्तिमोहाविनीतो नारकी च ॥ २६॥

कुले च तत्कुञ्ज्य तत्प्रभुतान्तरे विनन्दयति ॥ २०॥

कापाली स्थ्रामणुहस्तजनः परिपकः सर्वलोकानिन्दिताः

नारकी भवति ॥ २१॥

तस्मिनंकाले पृ[१५३]ः व कुलं विनन्दयति ॥ २२॥

चपणकः स्वकुलश्रामवासिनिन्दितो भवति चिकुलं

विनन्दयति ॥ २३॥

वौद्धमोचित्वं कुलं पुच्छ्योगकाले वा विनन्दयति सुदुरो

नारकी ॥ २४॥

एवंपापोऽखंडःसंपर्के मनसापि न कुर्यात् ॥ २५॥

मुद्धवस्थितप्रतेषु परिचित्रहानिना यामिकेऽगक्ष्य परिपालयितं न श्रवद्यते ॥ २६॥

पूर्वर्भेत्यमद्यमेते सलोभानिना सांचित्वं विनन्दयति ॥ २७॥

कार्य निर्दिष्टय विषयानुभवति यः स उत्तममेऽसाधनायति ॥ २८॥

चेन्नया कार्य[वं क]जान्य्यर्थपर इति पर्यवानिनि लोकेन्द्रां न

ज्ञातेत तथा कर्नेवध ॥ २९॥

१४. M W तं । १५. W स्वग्रहणाम । १६. W जीवित ।

१७. W सतिकुलम । १८. M W वैद्यः । १९. W ोपकः । २०. W

सुध्यस्थितः । २१. M ज्ञातिना । २२. W ऊतं । २३. W ऊरः ।
सर्वबान्यापि दीयतां स्कारार्यतीवित्यसरित्यश् ॥५३॥
मन्त्रकाले न कोषेषु ॥५४॥
धर्ममानः पुरुषसः दक्षः धर्ममानं पुरुषायुधः ॥५५॥
स्त्रियर्विवधं सुचनां भुवयथमः ॥५६॥
अपयथभोजनो मुत्सुभित्तिकर हस सत्यांतः शास्त्रेषु निष्ठितः
पुरुषः सागरमणि शोप्येव ॥५७॥
कः यादि हसपौरहस्तः सत्यांतः ॥५८॥
एक प्रव वहूनु दुर्जनो नाशयतः ॥५९॥
पौर्णे निष्ठितो देवो ॥६०॥
यस्य स्वदाररतः यथायतः सत्यस्थेन सदा न ॥६१॥
रजनो न भयादु व्यवितातः ॥६२॥
तासिन्धालः हितसमिक्ष्यवाचवः सुहद्रि ॥६३॥
उत्तिर्हतद्वन्यं धर्मेच विषेत[दक्ष] तथार्थनितात्मानं शासिनुः
नोत्त्वेत ॥६४॥
दारुणाकर्मभिः अन्तमधानानिद्या सुरं धर्मवाच्यानिनेऽश्रीनवेि
विनिधिन्तं प्रवोधयेत ॥६५॥

30. M W पुक्वार्यां । 31. M W स्त्रियति । 32. W दक्षानाचार । 33. M निष्ठितो देवो यस्य, W देवार्य यस्य. No interpuncuation in either case. 34. W अनले । 35. M शास्त्रम।
दुर्जनमध्ये सूर्यवेत्र प्रकाशते सुजनः।

अध्यमंन्यस्थितान्यायस्थित वार्तवेत्।

अध्यमं नाजर्येत्।

अध्रुवीति नाजर्येत्।

न मार्येत्।

शेला निरार्येतं अध्यमं नाजर्येत गुज्जः।

गुज्जचन्द्रमलवनीयं नयानुगतं वेद्।

गुज्जपि नीतिचीयुक्तं निरार्येत्।

गुज्जराधेति।

इति बाहुस्पत्यसूत्रे द्वितीय[१०क]योपध्यायः।

36. W अध्यमं। 37. M अस्थिता। 38. M अलाक्ष्यस्।

39. W गत्वे।
[ तृतीयोऽध्यायः । ]

जितकेश्वरस्य प्रौढः ॥ १॥
देवान्तरत्र निन्तकेशो भवति ॥ २॥
सर्ववल्कालेष्वरसमस्यारुपितसहायामवयस्मां ज्ञानं कृपये ॥ ३॥
उपवाससादिसहिष्णुत: च ॥ ४॥
सुगन्धावासानः कोशानः कुर्यानः ॥ ५॥
वहुवादः मधुस्कृत कुर्यात् ॥ ६॥
शामबुद्धीनः मणीनः सर्वदनः सदाराज्येत् ॥ ७॥

नवानि पद्धारणे विचारः ॥ ८॥

त्रित्वभानि शाक्ता बैध्यावा शैवानि तत्[१००]भिज्ञानि ॥ ९॥
मोन्नुप्यथः ह्वारं चयम् ॥ १०॥
शाक्ता बैध्यावः शैवः ॥ ११॥
पोतायानमार्गवचा राज्यम् ॥ १२॥
महापथवप्रेणवर्षम् ॥ १३॥
केवलप्रभानिकम्बरथयानवत् ॥ १४॥

बाष्पत्यसूत्रम्

नौकायतिकन्तयपक्रबोद्धादि बहुशारदुपलुपमकारकिषुप्याकष्टीयासामाः
कोनेरामागसमः ||१५||
एतत् निरुप्क्रयङ्गेऽयत् ||१६||
स्थोतिन्तिथिस्तत् सदा निरुपेत ||१७||
शामत्वयृिधरेऽि ||१८||
भृषिथानि सेयथेन ||१९-२०||
ञलवर्गेिने जोित्रदुस्तिः शादिव्याधिनानि दोप्पििुः ||२१||
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षद्ध प्रक्षळपस्ति ! जतुनिरोिदकार्यः[२५]ः ||२५-२६||
कल नृित्तिर्योििन्तितः नतसदसीन िति पद्मपुन्नासविवि
मुल्लद्वच् ||२७||
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ञन्येवदि देवालयुक्तममुप्यम्रिन्द्यानांमि चतुष्टप्पमापण- २००
दायापानालित्तिविहायाभासुरसुपीिनिििनेिित्रशालीििन्द्रशीयात्रहिे- २१६
म्यायुहसमुद्दर्तिध्यमातिधिओिाििनिर्मािाििनिििनििष्क्रमस्थापन- २१५
न्मिन्वासाथ ||२६५, २७\||

6. W c्राष्षथेत् । 7. M W ोस्मालि । 8. W ोयस्ते तीथाः


21. W तु (for न्त्र) । 22. W अयिप स कु ।
31. W कैः। 32. W भति।
वायस्क सौंदर्यें देवायस्क \(॥७७॥\)
जन्तवरश \(॥७८॥\)
सहस्रयोजने वदरिकसेवङ्गता \(॥७९॥\)
व्यायामदिपुरुषोऽच्छम \(॥८०॥\)
तत्रापि इश्वरत्व विन्यसहरकुमारास्मिनीश्वरविपरिपारियाच्या समणः तुलाचलः \(॥८१॥\)
गछासरस्तीकालिन्दीगोदारीकोवरीताच्छस्त्रिविभूषामाला[१]
कुलनचायच \(॥८२॥\)
अश्वदश विषयाच्च \(॥८३॥\)
अश्वदश सागरा नृपः \(॥८४॥\)
अश्वदश पार्वतीया \(॥८५॥\)
रायसुश्रुत्वचलारिशश्चत दश्तिगोले अशाब्द द्रादव विन्ध्य-मित्रसुश्रुतरकादश \(॥८६॥\)
नेपाले चतुःशतम \(॥८७॥\)
पूर्वसद्वितीये वरुणां समुद्रान्तमयोज \(॥८८॥\)
वश्तद्वितियमुचरलां पूर्वाटां \(॥८९॥\)
काशीपाश्चालवित्यमशीति \(॥९०॥\)

33. W सर्वं 34. W तनं 35. W omission क 36. W तनं 37. सत्ता 38. M omission त; W has तलश्च
केवलस्यस्य पाठः ॥ ४९॥
मात्स्यमाग्यं शतम् ॥ ५०॥
मालवशकु नतस्वतीति: ॥ ५१॥
कोसलावनित्वपाठः ॥ ५२॥
सेव वेदमाधित्यं शतद्रुतियम् ॥ ५३॥
वेदेकारयं शतम् ॥ ५४॥
काम्बोज्जद्वार्यमशतीति: ॥ ५५॥
एते महाविषयः ॥ ५६॥
एते खलु चतुरश्च: ॥ ५७॥
ब्राह्मणावहीलौ दशिणोचरतः शतमात्राः पूर्वपश्चाद द्वार-द्वार ॥ ५८॥
शाक्सौराश्री मान्यत्वम् चत्वारिष्टः ॥ ५९॥
चाक्रवृक्सकलिङ्कः [६०॥]:शतमात्राशुरश्चावशः ॥ ६१॥
काश्मीरहृद्ग्राम्यपुस्तिनिश्चवः शतमात्राशुरश्चावशः ॥ ६२॥
किरतसबीरचोलपार्वत्य उत्तरे दशिणेऽस्थितः शताद् परं परित्वमात्रः ॥ ६३॥

43. W ०च। 44. W ०हि। 45. W ०तर। 46. W ०पश्चा। 47. W ०चन। 48. W काश्मीरहृद्ग्राम्यपुस्तिन। 49. W किरतसबीर। 50. W ०शा।
याद्वेकः आविष्कारं चतुरिष्टतमात्रम् ॥ १२॥
एते उपविषयः ॥ १२६॥
समकोकुणाश्रद्धतमात्रा द्रादश ॥ १२७॥
एते नृत्यम् ॥ १२७॥
सहाय्यों चतारो गिरिविषयम् ॥ १२८॥
श्रीपवते द्रयम् ॥ १२९॥
रूपतकः एकः ॥ १२८॥
गुल्लकः पञ्चं ॥ १२९॥
कुमारः एकः ॥ १२३॥
[१४ ख] महवन्त्र चतम् ॥ १२४॥
पारियाक्त्र चतम् ॥ १२५॥
सर्वं दशिणोत्तरतं पञ्चाश्रमात्रा: पुरुर्वं पञ्चातं फलं
योजना: समाः ॥ १२६॥
मेच्छे यवनविषयः पार्वतीयः ॥ १२७॥
त्रामणग्रंथा नादिमिरलंकताः पुरुषमृता दिव्यविधम् ॥ १२८॥
अष्ट्र वैप्पाच्चतुरा: ॥ १२९॥

51. W omits श्री । 52. W ॐ । 53. W सो । 54. W च
पद्ध्ति । 55. W आतुः । 56. W एकः, M एकः । 57. W
pद्ध्ति । 58. W ग्रामः रो । 59. Sic (Masc.) here and in
the sutras 122, 125. 60. W ।
वदुरिकासालश्रामपुश्योतमदरकाचिलयचलनवसिहः श्री- 
रक्षाः ||१२०||
अष्टो शेवाः ||१२१||
\[अनिमुख [क] ग्नाधारशिब्चेचारामायमुनाशिवसरस्तिमन्य-\]
शादूलगजदेत्राः ||१२२||
शाक्का च [१२ क]श्री च ||१२३||
\[श्रीद्वीणा जालपूर्णकामकोज्ज्वरीशेलकाच्चोपेन्द्रः||१२४||
एते महादेवाः ||१२५||
सर्वसिद्धिकराथ ||१२६||
बन्ध्यायचः ||१२७||
विन्ध्ये निसं वसति दुर्गो मदकाली च ||१२८||
कुपोरे कुपोरे वसति निसं ||१२९||
सब्जे गणपति: ||१३०||
रैवतके शास्ता ||१३१||
भेल्ने ग्रहदः ||१३२||
पारियाचे चेत्रपालः ||१३३||
कर्मभूमि भारते मनुष्यबहवहे देवा: ||१३४||

61. व अनिमुक्तग्राह । 62. व ओ (मस्त. as in 119). 63. व दृश्य । 64. सी (मस्त.) 65. सी (for बन्ध्यायचं ?) 66. म वसति । 67. व रैवते ।
68. *Sic* (masc.) 69. W oḍāparī 70. W here inserts नयः 71. *Sic* (read on ?) 72. *Sic* (read om ?) 73. ओष्ठः
[ चतुर्थोषध्यायः ]

1. ब्राह्मण सुहृत्य उखानम् ||
2. वर्मस्थिन चिन्तयत् ||
3. कुकुटया शुभम् ||
4. गंजादिदशनांचि ||
5. गजशत्रमजलस्तुतिमल्लपातनन्दनच् ||
6. देवतापुरायक्या च ||
7. राजन्यस्मरगांचि ||
8. नेत्राअनन्यचि ||
9. आदिदशेनन्यचि ||
10. यल्लुरिषयत् ||
11. तास्मुलचवांचि ||
12. कुर्पचन्दनागस्यापञ्चचि ||
13. शक्तकाहलविपायाण्डिञ्चवेणवीणातन्त्री मृदुक्षणायां ||
14. तूर्यघोपांचि ||
15. दिव्यभद्रादशनं च ||

[१६ ख]पाण्याभिमुच्छप्रज्ञं च ||१६॥

1. W कुकुटेऽशाश्वम् (Sic neut.) 2. M नियायः
3. M W नियायः 4. W योधः
जातिस्वरं च ||१७||

सर्पीपि सितपुष्पाशि ||१८||

मन्त्रमेतो बन्धु: शताचिरिधपुष्पिक्षेथुपुष्को भवति ||१६

तद्व्रुमं गवां संदर्शनम ||२०||

गुढसन्दर्शनः च ||२१||

सन्त्याज्वलनं च ||२२||

विरुद्धशाखारं च ||२३||

कन्याद्रूपागाणं शब्दो ग्रामपुरस्त्रारे वा भूयते ||२४||

देवतात्मितमस्वदृढृष्टं यास्मिन्द्वारे तत्र ग्रामक्षितमन्यतः

यानेमो ग्रामारुक्ते नासि ||२५||

अवस्यनिरूपणीयात्मानि कर्माचि ||२६||

मन्त्रमृ[१७ क]लो विजयः ||२७||

ग्रामक्षितमाद्यम: ||२८||

मन्त्रेचिपि ||२४||

वन्धुविन्यपन्यचाहितेतर्रुपुष्कारे: सह यत् कर्मादभं तद्व

चममः ||२०||

थर्मेद्विजे युरों भक्किच्छ ||२६||

अध्ययने: सह मन्त्रविल्पा य ग्रामारं स उच्चमः ||२२||

गुणद्रापांगम सिद्धि य मौखय्यवाहुल्यादृ य वारभते सोभमः ॥ ३३ ॥
एकमत्येन द्रगदनीतिनिरेण श्रीरस्मन्त्रिभिर्मूलमन्तः स
उत्तमः ॥ ३४ ॥
पूर्व वहुवादयः पश्चादेकत्वयो भवति यत्र स मध्यमः ॥ ३५ ॥
[१३व]यत्र कल्पनस्मर्तं च एक्षयम् पर्म एक्षयार्थम् स्त्रोतालम्
वदेन् सति एक्षयम् ज्ञातंकेक्षयकोऽयमिन सोऽभमः ॥ ३६ ॥
पूर्व स्वामिना कार्यनिवेदनम् ॥ ३७ ॥
पुनःवचसा कर्भवः मनसाज्जलिनः द्रगदनणामेन यथागुरुः
स्वामिनमध्यमोण्टम् ॥ ३८ ॥
ष्ठी वेत्तावणो वाचस्पतियो यस्याः नामसृजः ते वन्देतः ॥ ३९ ॥
यत्पुनयथाकपयोक्तस्य मात स्त्रोतत्वम् ॥ ४० ॥
स्वामिनं प्रसाधः कार्यं कल्पयित्वम् ॥ ४५ ॥
पूर्व स्वामिन[१३व]गुणं संकीर्तये स्वामिद्राप परस्तोऽप च
मध्यस्त्रोऽप च मन्त्रायितवा पुनः स्वामिगुणसंस्थापनं
कर्यात् ॥ ४२ ॥

पुनः कार्याद्युपायाने निक्खप्य स्वामित्व प्रसाध कार्यं कल्प-यितव्यम् ॥४३॥

प्रमेत्यप्रभणाय देवोपहर्षेण न सिद्ध्यन्ति विक्रमः ॥४४॥

ग्रण्थर धर्मं जितेन्द्रियं विजितेन शालिपु जातकां दुरार्थर्ष प्रति विक्रमः न कार्यः ॥४५॥

शास्त्रविद्व मथं कार्यं न प्रजानातीति न वनेत् ॥४६॥

बलिधान शत्रुति कामादिनेये नायन्ति ते सर्वानांर्जन्यन्ति ॥४७॥

[१.५५] पूर्वकुपकारं न कार्यं ॥४८॥

उपकारं नियते कुर्याच्च ॥४९॥

नाभाविव्यसनं पूर्वं झाल्या व्यसनपतिकारं कार्यमिति गुरु-गाह ॥५०॥

इति बाहुस्पत्यसूत्रं चतुर्योज्यायः ॥

[पश्चमोद्यायः ।]

चत्वारू उपायः ॥१॥

traya ॥२॥

dharmasya ॥३॥

मूर्तिः साम ॥४॥

शब्दानेन सामवेदः ॥५॥

वाचस्पदानेन सामवेदः ॥६॥

कल्पनेन सामवेदवाचस्पदानेन ॥७॥

साम पूर्वसन्तरकुम्यम ॥८॥

[२.५५] मनसोभिष्टायथ वाचः मूलिकम् च ॥९॥

ज्ञातीनं ज्ञातयो व्यसने हृदयनिः ॥१०॥

ज्ञातं ज्ञातयं प्रच्छणत्तुरा: कूरा उपवनिः ॥१.१॥

सर्ववेदाय ज्ञातिभयं घोरम् ॥१.२॥

गोपयः विषयं कोषः ॥१.३॥

स्त्रीयो च दृश्यं ज्ञाति सौहद्रं पत्रजलविन्दुत् ॥१.४॥

हितं गृहजनवाचार्यं शास्त्रचोड़ितं च ये न गृहजनिकालचौधिता: तस्मात् तान: मुपरिहृद्यान्याय वसेत् ॥१.५॥

9. W मन्त्रमवित। 10. Text corrupt in this Sūtra?
11. ग्रहालिनिः। 12. W here inserts दृष्टोवो न निरूप्य संग्रहीयात।
13-13. W वीराङ्गः। हारेसहस्सम। मा। Read वीरोद्यारां। सहस्सा न।
For गा and ध्रु (ध्रो) see introduction's end. 14. ऐक्।
15. W चित्त। 16. M तत्।
पञ्चमोषध्यायः ।

खक्कुलत्स्य विनाशं ज्ञाता बुद्धिमात्र शाकुपञ्चमापि न युक्त-मात्रेयेत ||२७||

हृदये यथावचनचुमान्यं पूर्वं उद्धरति न दुष्पािचारं सर्वं त्वं कारयेत ||२८||

चपला न व्रहुमान्याः ||२९||

इत्याहाचारयो बुद्धस्यातः ||३०||

इति बाहस्त्यसूत्रेऽ पञ्चमोषध्यायः ।

17. ४लस्व्यापि न । 18. Read नययुक्तम् । 19. w उद्धरति ।
[पञ्चोद्वयः ।]
[२०२५]देशकालयोग्य कर्म नवान्याय च वेद्येत।॥५॥
विपरीतं न वेदवियोग्येन।॥२॥
हितानि निरूपयेत्।॥३॥
नमो पनित्रिममिनिरूप्य कायिते।॥४॥
बुद्धिजीवनरसत्येः सह कार्यमकार्य च निरूपयेत्।॥५॥
आहितं विकारं यस्य प्रातिभावं स मन्त्रयोग्यः।॥६॥
अर्थमाख्येत्।॥७॥
यस्यार्थराशिरसति तस्य मित्राणिष धर्मं विद्या च युगः निरूपः
च बुद्धिः।॥८॥
अभ्यर्थनेन[२२५]प्राकृतज्ञयितुं न शक्यं गजः।॥९॥
वनमूलं जगत्।॥१।॥
सर्वोऽणं तत्र सति।॥१।॥
निर्यन्तौ मृत्युधर्मः दलः।॥२॥
एवं सर्वधः च विद्यामानवेत।॥३॥
विद्यामूलं जगत्।॥४॥
विद्या पुनः सर्वमिसाह गुरुः।॥५॥

हेति बाह्यस्वत्त्वसूक्ते पद्मोद्वयः।।

1. W कार्यकृ । 2. Read अर्थितमायि कार्यम् । 3. M गजं

ग०, W लेख
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 [indrajāta];
9 In incantations [mantras], however, and festivities;
10 Also in counteracting diseases and poisonings.
11 Not smearing with ashes [like an ascetic].

*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 Brāhman.
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 avishaye d.anam... 'giving on a wrong occasion is called non-giving.'
31 I translate anyabhiyodkinch.
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 i. 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 tadvimūrtam, 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, dissenison, and largesse;

48 In respect of relatives, allotments of income for the sake of conciliation, dissenison, 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 nà dikás prayer to the divinity of his choice; that passed, the audience;

60 During ten nà dikás administration of justice;

during five nà dikás the bath;

61 During three nà dikás the repast;

62 During five nà dikás amusement and play with dear ones;

63 During two nà dikás twilight worship;

64 During seven nà dikás nautch and so forth;

65 During seven nà dikás sexual intercourse, repast, and so forth;

66 During seven nà dikás 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, Gli Indiani &c., pp 68 sqq. A nà dikà = \( \frac{1}{2} \) muhurta = 24 minutes.

68 ‘Shaking of the head’: on this as a sign of approval see the passages quoted by me in Kovindravacancesamuccaya ad v. I.
70 A mean Brähman not with a shake of the head, even if he brings a present;
71 A like prince or emperor with welcome, with a seat, with a shake of the head, with gift of betel and with jocular talk;
72 Men of the three castes with a smile, with welcome, and audience (?);
73 Shúdras not with a glance or smile nor with welcome;
74 Children, the aged, and so forth, with giving of something which they like;
75 Low-caste [ Foreign?] people and heretics not even with an utterance.
76 Owing to importance of business he may have recourse to them;
77 Let him say little, however, and assign the employment.
78 Let him not accept fine gold [ or receive men of the (3) castes] in private.
79 With workmen, even in his employ, let him not deliberate upon the task.
80 With his friends let him choose a like friend as councillor;
81 But if low-born, he must be one having not low-born caste.
82 Low-born persons have the characteristic of not mentioning their own objects and of executing orders.
83 So he should not over-cherish them.
84 Nor again should he trust them.

72 'Audience': I translate asthanená, but the text is corrupt.
78 Varnika-parigraha: Read varnika-parigraha?
79 'Even in his employ': so translate yoginah?
Knowing all, he need not act.

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.

Physicians, astrologers, soothsayers he should entertain, if possessed of conduct and character.

Even the truth, if causing grief or misfortune, he should not speak.

Up to twenty-five years he should passionately practise the study of sport.

Thenceforward acquisition of wealth.

He should keep himself free from indebtedness.

Indebted he becomes by three means, pleasure, anger, and greed.

And he should continually guard his person.

He should not neglect the regular rites.

If there is a popular clamour, he may omit a minor rite.

Upon a lost cause let him not stand;

Far to be avoided, then is even a serious matter of sovereignty.

He should not favour new commanders who are Kusumantas.

A slight loss is to be borne.

As with families of elephants, bandits, noxious serpents, and tigers living in forest or cemetery among

Kusumantas: this word, which occurs in *sutra* 105, is quite mysterious (? = *Palkova*, or *palkava*, i.e. *vita?*).

The meaning seems to be that a commander should not be dismissed for a slight failure.

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 Kusumântas and so forth are inimical to all creatures.
105 Prestige, vigour, vitality, greatness—these are destroyed by excessive cultivation of Kusumântas.
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 Sûtra the First Chapter.

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

101 Śvava 'dog' probably means more exactly 'pack of dogs': cf. a śvava and Panini iv. 2. 48.
103, 110. We might translate 'If between sun and moon there were hostility..., they would not continue'.
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 Lokáyata system of doctrine is alone to be followed at the time of acquiring gain;
6 Only the Kápálika as regards attainment of pleasure;
7 The Árhat in regard to right.
8 The Lokáyata is not really profitable (?); the advantage quickly perishes.
9 So the Kápálika, the Árhat, and the Baudhá.
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 (krishi, pashupalaya, and baniyaya) as the components of vartta, or business, one of the studies of a king.
5 The Lokáyata doctrine, along with Sánkhya and Yoga, makes up the triad of philosophy in the Arthashastra (c. 1).
6 Elsewhere the Kapálikas 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 Laukāyatika.

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

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 Laukāyatika; 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 Kāpālika.

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14 Kshapanaka: = Jaina.

15 'Knowledge': read karma-jata-m '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, Shástra, right and so forth:
25 He reproaches all;
26 Even Maheshvāra, 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 Baudhā.
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 Baudhā 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,

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 adharmikātva. 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, Vyása'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 Mahâbhârata.
50 Even a son, at variance with policy, is an enemy.

51 The young, the vicious, reckless, unacquainted with shástrás, 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 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, Pratikára] death,

A man true to his word, relying upon the Shástrás, 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 sthitir 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 Sarvadarshana 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, sera's 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 Vaikhānasa scriptures;
And the Sāṅkhya;
And the Shaiva.
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 pāka would seem to be a synonym for pākti in janapakti, loka-pakti '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).
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 Baudhā 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,
Siddha and Kaivalya are the designations of the continents.

63 The midmost 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 Bhārta 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 Bhārata, 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

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70 'On the north': This cannot mean on the north of Meru or of Jambudvīpa, 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
Shālagrāma is a distance of seven hundred yojanas.

81 In this area also are the seven Great Mountains, Rāivatāka, Vindhyā, Sahya, Kūmāra, Malaya, Shriparvata, Pāriyātra.

82 And the Great Rivers, Ganga, Sarasvati, Kālindī, Godāvari, Kāverī, Tamraparnī, 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-kṣh. is supposed to be on the river Gandak: see Wilson's Vishnu-P. (index).

82 'Great Rivers': The word lula-nadi 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 Rāma' and 'the Creation of Vishvāmitra': The Epic story of Vishvāmitra's attempt at a rival creation is well known; but the phrase Vishvāmitra-srishti does not seem to occur in the literature. In the tradition of the pandits the idea is quite familiar, Vishvāmitra 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 Lāta, And eastern Lāta.

90 Kāshi and the Pāncāla country are together eighty;

91 Kekaya and Srinjaya are sixty;

92 The Matsya and Magadha country one hundred;

93 Mālava and Shakantya eighty;

94 Kosala and Avanti sixty;

95 Saivya and Vidarbha together two hundred;

96 Videha and the Kuru country one hundred;

97 Kāmboja and Dāshārna eighty.

98 These are the great countries.

99 These indeed are four-cornered.

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

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

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

103 Kāshmir, the Huna and Ambashtha countries, and Sindh are of one hundred and four-cornered.

104 The Kirāta, Sauvīra, Cola, and Pāndya countries, situated on north and south are of one hundred increased by sixty.

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

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

103 The Hunas are, doubtless, those of Hundesh.
The Yādava country and Kānci are of one hundred and forty.

These are minor countries.

The seven Konkans are of one hundred and four, and the...

These are on the water.

On mount Sahayā are four hill countries;

On Shriparvata two;

On Raivatāka one;

On the Vindhyā five;

On Kumāra one;

On Mahendrā three;

On Pāriyātra three.

All are equal, from south to north of fifty, from east to west of five yojanas.

In the Mleccha region are Yavana countries, mountainous.

The countries are adorned with villages, cities, gardens, and so forth, and with holy domains and so forth.

Eight are the Vaishnava domains;

Badarikā, Shālgrāma, Purushottama, Dvāraka, Bilvācala, Ananta, Simha, Shrīranga.

Eight the Shaiva;

Avimuktaka, Gangā-dvāra, Shiva-kshetra.

Yadavas: Perhaps those of Devagiri.

For the 'seven' Konkans, see Wilson's Vishnu purāna (ed. Hall ii. p. 178, n. 14).

Again an insertion?

Bilvacala......Simha: Perhaps the Bilvadri and Simhacala of which mahatmyas exist.
Rama-Yamuná (?), Shiva-sarasvati, Mavya, Shárdúla, and Gaja kshetras.

123 The Shákta are also eight;
124 Oghghína Jála, Púrna, Káma, Kolla, Shrishaila, Káncí, Mahendra.
125 These are the great domains;
126 And effective of all attainment;
127 Also ineffective [ or to be worshipped ].
128 On the Vindhyá dwells perpetually Durgá, and Bhadrakáli;
129 On Kumára Kumára dwells perpetually;
130 On Sahya Ganapati;
131 On Raivatáka the Teacher;
132 On Mahendra Garuda;
133 On Páriyátra Kshetrapála.
134 In the Land of Action, which is Bhárata, the gods are many times as numerous as the men.
135 Gods, Demons, Yakshas, Rákshasas, Bhútas, Pretas, Vináyakas, Kúshmándas, those with distorted features:
136 What they carry and their dress are determinate:
137 Friendly or Terrifying, Yoginis and Nágas; they, assuming forms at will, consort in countless numbers with mankind.
138 And by men they may be protected.
139 In that [Bhárata country] are ambrosial herbs.

122 Avimuktaka : Benares.
124 Oghghína : Ujjain ?
131 The Teacher : Brihaspati.
133 Kshetrapála : Shiva.
At this point the number of the ages, the Krita, Treta, Dvapara, and Tishya.

In the Krita [the creatures are] possessed of knowledge;

And versed in the administration of punishment;

In the Treta they are active and skilled in policy:

In the Dvapara they are followers of Tantrikas and of strong tastes;

And versed in policy:

In the Tishya quarter men are strong in knowledge and action, and versed in the administration of punishment:

After that they are of diverse rightfulness, colour, and dress, and void of the administration of punishment.

And the peoples behold, intent upon false speaking. Thus says the Preceptor.

So in the Brihaspati Sutra the third chapter.

The Mahabharata 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].
11 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'.

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].
11 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:
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12 Or 'incense of camphor, sandal, and agallochum'.
Also the spectacle of vultures
Also a twilight blaze:
Also the cry of quarrelling jackals.
Or the sound of carnivorous beasts is heard at the gate of village or city.
Where also sweating of images of gods is perceived, there departure to another place is the only appeasement: there is no remedy.
Unavoidably to be observed are these acts.
Victory is rooted in counsel.
Men are of three kinds, best, worst and middle.
In counsel also [ is the same triplicity ].
That action is best which is undertaken in company with connections, kinsmen, friends, the learned, the thoughtful.
And, when right is doubtful, devotion to a guru.
He is best who sets to after taking counsel with men intent on advantage.
If, after thinking out good and bad results, he sets to through being overcome by folly, he is the worst.
That counsel is best which is taken unanimously, under the guidance of policy, by wise councillors.
Where, at first of divers opinions, they are afterwards unanimous, that is the middle.
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 Vācaspati 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 danda-pranama 'prostration with the body straight as a stick' occurs in the Dashakumara-avrita: see the St. Petersburg lexicon.

39 Vaishravana and Vācaspati are apparently named as types of king and Brahman. Note the negative verb abhimajate.

42 Guna and dosha are here untotechnical: 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 Shāstras, 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 (U\textit{p\textit{ā}y\textit{a}s})

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 Brāhman 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 \textit{S\textit{a}str\textit{as}}, 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.

\textit{I} The four \textit{u\textit{p\textit{ā}y\textit{a}s}} are, of course, \textit{war}, dissension, conciliation, and bribery.
17 Kinsmen, crocodiles among the lotuses of secrets of mantras and sciences; not to act without good omens; and disasters (?)

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

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

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

21 Let him test by their sentiments.

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

23 He may be known by his gestures.

24 A composed person not.

25 One whose mind is without apprehension is calm.

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

27 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.

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

29 The fickle are not to be highly honoured.

30 So says the Preceptor Brihaspati.

So in the Brihaspati Sūtra the Fifth Chapter.
VI (Nāya)

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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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.
# Return to the Circulation Department

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