ON THE

WEAPONS ARMY ORGANISATION
AND POLITICAL MAXIMS

OF THE

ANCIENT HINDUS,

WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO GUNPOWDER
AND FIREARMS.

BY

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**PREFACE.**

While pursuing my researches into ancient Indian history I lighted upon two ancient Sanskrit manuscripts containing interesting information on many new and important topics.

One of them, the Nitiprakāśikā, has been, I believe, up to now, utterly unknown, and the other, the Sukraniti, though known to exist, has never been properly described and published.

The Nitiprakāśikā is ascribed to Vaiśampāyana and gives among other valuable matter a full account of the Dhanurveda. It contains in fact the only accurate description which we possess of the various arms and war implements of the ancient Hindus. I esteemed it therefore proper to give as many passages as possible in full, though well aware I run the risk of tiring the reader by a long enumeration of weapons.

The chapter taken out of the Sukraniti, on the other hand, abounds with useful and interesting information, all the more worthy of being communicated, as it enters into subjects connected with war and politics from a truly Indian standpoint, which may perhaps command additional attention now that a war is being waged within the north-western boundaries of ancient India.

The organisation of the ancient Indian armies is well and clearly described in its outlines; the division of the army into a veteran reserve and young line-troops is remarkable. The same can be said of the laws according to which war ought to be conducted. The maxims of the Dharmayuddha recall to our memory the laws of chivalry existing during
the Middle-ages, and the former like the latter seem only to-
have been followed when it appeared convenient to do so; for
some of the most renowned Indian heroes, as Rāma and
Kṛṣṇa, are credited with having stooped at times to mean
and treacherous acts, in order to gain victory. In recent
times we have witnessed a revival of this humane feeling,
in the outcry which was raised against explosive bullets and
in the Geneva Convention, which was instituted to mitigate
the horrors of war.

It is of peculiar interest that the statements found in
these two ancient works tally with the few remarks on
Indian army organisation which we glean from the frag-
ments of ancient Greek and Roman writers.

The Nītiprakāśikā and the Śukraniti, while testifying to
a high civilisation prevailing in ancient India, cast also some
light on the recension of such works as the Mahābhārata and
the Mānavadharmaśāstra.

The difficult and intricate question about the ancient home
of gunpowder and firearms, I trust to have finally settled.

I may close with the remark that this book should only be
considered as an occasional offshoot of my studies in Indian
history, and as nothing more.

GUSTAV OPPERT.

MADRAS, 23rd August 1880.
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CHAPTER I.

ON THE WEAPONS AND WAR IMPLEMENTS OF THE ANCIENT
HINDUS.

Our knowledge of the history of the ancient Hindus is very
limited, and there is not much hope of our becoming better
informed, as the most important factor for providing such
knowledge, i.e., a historical literature or a sufficient number
of authentic records is not existing in India, in fact seems
never to have existed. While we possess ample material to
reconstruct to some extent the history of the ancient Egyp-
tians, Assyrians, Hebrews, Persians or Greeks, the Hindus
have left us no sufficiently trustworthy records of the past, to
enable us to do the same with respect to Indian history,
that has been done to the history of other ancient nations.

The combined influences of climate, geographical position,
political circumstances, education, religious belief, and habit
have conspired to destroy any taste for historical researches,
even if such had existed formerly. Internecine wars, all the
more cruelly conducted, as they severed the links of previous
relationship and friendship, either undertaken for the sake of
political or religious supremacy, and continual invasions of foreigners unsettling entirely all domestic affairs and civic arrangements could not excite so great an interest as to be remembered with care and committed to posterity by recording them. Nobody likes to remember saddening occurrences, and a few bright spots excepted, the political history of India reveals one of the most dismal pictures of human existence.

Moreover the exalted position in the social ladder which a Brahman occupies in his own estimation, does not induce him to interest himself in the worldly fate of others. Every Brahman regards himself as a descendant of one of the great divine sages, and obtains, if pious, final beatitude through this descent. To ensure it he has to remember and to revere the memory of his three immediate predecessors—father, grandfather, and great-grandfather; and, as every previous ancestor has observed the same practice, he is in his mind certain of his ultimate prosperity. Why should he, therefore, engage himself in the investigation of a subject in which he is not interested and which can confer on him no benefit?

The subject of Indian history is a very difficult one, not only from the absence of trustworthy ancient records, but also from the necessity—and in this respect it resembles all Asiatic history—that the historian should be an Orientalist. Historical science is strictly allied to, and dependent on, philological science, and without a knowledge of the mother tongue of a nation, or, at all events of the languages in which the original and most important sources of its history are recorded, no person is competent to undertake to write the history of a nation, for, being unable to read the original records himself, first, he is not able to judge them critically; and, secondly, it is beyond his power to detect any mistakes made by translators. Were all reports true and all translations correct, the drudgery and anxiety of a historian would be
considerably reduced, but reports and translations which fulfil these requirements are still a desideratum.¹

The two great epics and the purāṇas are the works which mainly represent the historical branch of Indian literature. But woe betide him who would look up to them as authentic and trustworthy sources. However important and interesting in many other respects, historical accuracy is not a quality they aim at; for they are rather a depository of legendary myths, which are enlarged by an imagination morbidly fond of wonders. Nevertheless they must not be quite thrown away as useless, for they may contain here and there some grains of historical truth, as a rock may contain some dispersed grains of gold, though they can with difficulty only be separated from their less precious surroundings. Besides the epics and purāṇas, the law books make sometimes occasional remarks which throw light on historical subjects; they together with the works on polity allow us merely an insight into the manners and customs of the old Hindus; and in this respect they are of the highest importance. In the following pages we shall discuss the customs of the ancient Indians so far as they bear on the nature of their arms. Two ancient Sanskrit works, the Nitiprakāśikā of Vaiśampāyana and the Śukraniti of Uśanas or Śukrācārya, are in my possession which contain important, and up to the present generally unknown information on this subject, which I hope will be of interest to the reader.

¹ Yet in this time of literary upholstery people desirous of gaining literary success often overlook these facts so evident to all outsiders. A sad example of labor thus thrown away and of much patient research so fruitlessly spent, is the voluminous history of the Mongols, in the preface of the first volume of which the author, Mr. Henry H. Howorth, says that he approaches 'the problem as an ethnologist and historian and not as a linguist,' and that he had 'no access to the authorities in their original language, and only to translations and commentaries.' This confession, however honest, need not have been made, as the work itself throughout suggests by its defects the want of linguistic attainments which for a writer on oriental history is a conditio sine qua non.
The Nitiprakāśikā is an extract from a larger work devoted to the Nitiśāstra, which is ascribed to Vaiśampāyana, the same to whom the Yajurveda is assigned, and who recited the contents of the Mahābhārata to Janamejaya, the great-grandson of Arjuna, the son of Pāṇḍu. Vaiśampāyana is introduced in the Nitiprakāśikā as communicating at Takṣaśilā in the Panjab to the same king Janamejaya the nature of the Dhanurveda, the peculiarity of the weapons and of all the matter connected with war and the administration of the kingdom. The Nitiprakāśikā is divided into eight books, the first five speak about the Dhanurveda and weapons in general, the sixth and seventh contain remarks on the divisions and constitution of an army, and the eighth on different subjects connected with the royal prerogative and the duties of subjects.

Horace Hayman Wilson, the eminent Sanskrit scholar, has devoted a special article to “the art of war as known to the Hindus;” but this excellent essay was written many years ago and does not enter deeply into the question of gunpowder and firearms, which is particularly commented upon in the following lines.

The smallest unit of the Indian army, a patti, is described to consist of 1 chariot, 1 elephant, 3 horses, and 5 men. The Senānukha, Gulma, Gaṇa, Vāhinī, Prātanā, Camū, and Anīkini are respectively three times as big as the corps preceding them, and the 9th formation, which was called Aksauhinī and was considered to represent a complete army, was ten times as numerous as the preceding Anīkini. The Nitiprakāśikā, after describing the original patti, goes on to say that a chariot has a retinue of 10 elephants, 100 horses, and 1,000 men;

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2 I hope soon to obtain a copy of this work, as it is in the library of one of my native friends. It is perhaps the work alluded to in the following words contained in the Āsvalāyana Grhya: “Sumantu-Jaimini-Vaiśampāyana-Paila-sūtrabhāṣya-bhārata-mahābhārata-dharmacāryah.”

an elephant one of 100 horses and 1,000 men; a horse one of 1,000 soldiers, and that a foot soldier had ten followers.4

According to the first mentioned scale the different corps would have the following strength:—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Army Corps</th>
<th>Chariot</th>
<th>Elephant</th>
<th>Horse</th>
<th>Foot</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pattī</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Senāmukha</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gula</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gana</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>135</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vahini</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>243</td>
<td>405</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prītanā</td>
<td>729</td>
<td>729</td>
<td>729</td>
<td>1,215</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ankini</td>
<td>2,187</td>
<td>2,187</td>
<td>6,561</td>
<td>10,935</td>
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<tr>
<td>Akṣauhini</td>
<td>21,870</td>
<td>21,870</td>
<td>65,610</td>
<td>109,350</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

According to the second estimate one chariot alone demands an extraordinary number of supporters. And indeed the Nitiprakāśikā lays down that the various army corps should have the following constitution

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Army Corps</th>
<th>Chariot</th>
<th>Elephant</th>
<th>Horse</th>
<th>Foot</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pattī</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1,000</td>
<td>100,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Senāmukha</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>3,000</td>
<td>300,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gula</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>9,000</td>
<td>900,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gana</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>270</td>
<td>27,000</td>
<td>2,700,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vahini</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>810</td>
<td>81,000</td>
<td>8,100,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prītanā</td>
<td>243</td>
<td>2,430</td>
<td>243,000</td>
<td>24,300,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Camū</td>
<td>729</td>
<td>7,290</td>
<td>729,000</td>
<td>72,900,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ankini</td>
<td>2,187</td>
<td>21,870</td>
<td>2,187,000</td>
<td>218,700,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Akṣauhini</td>
<td>21,870</td>
<td>21,870</td>
<td>21,870,000</td>
<td>2,187,000,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4 Nitiprakāśikā vii, 6–8.
7. Ekasyaikasya nāgasya samam avām prayāyināh padatayaḥ sahasram tu pratyaṅgeśvanuyayaṁ.
8. Ekasyaikasya caśasya sahasram tu padatayaḥ daśa caitām paṭṭām yuṅktā kartanena gaṇāna tviyām.

9. Ėko ratho daśa gajah sahasram catra vajinaṁ lakṣasaṅkhya narāḥ pattāvevam agrepi yojana.
The Hindu delights in large numbers, and to this propensity must be ascribed this exorbitant calculation. The population of the whole earth is generally assumed to amount to 1,075,000,000 souls, and in the Nitiprakāśikā we are told that a complete army requires a number of men, which surpasses by more than a half the number of all the inhabitants of this globe.

The Śukranīti gives a much more sensible distribution. According to that work the aggregate of the military unit would be 5 chariots, 10 elephants, 40 camels, 64 bulls, 320 horses, and 1,280 men.⁶

The formation of an army into different columns is a subject to which great attention was paid. Four different kinds of such columns or vyūhas are enumerated—the Daṇḍa, Bhoga, Asāṁhata, and Maṇḍala; the first had 17 varieties, the second 5, the third 6, and the fourth 2. Besides these, five most important columns were not enrolled in any of these four sets; they were called Varāha, Makara, Garuḍa, Krauṇca, and Padma.⁷

11. Senāmukhe tu guṇitaḥ tryaścaiva rathā gajaḥ trimśat trilakṣapadatāḥ trisahasrām hi vajināḥ; &c., &c.
27. Akṣauhinyām tvekaviṁśatsaharsani janaḥhipa tathā caṣṭaṣatam caiva saptatim rathagāṃ viduḥ.
28. Aṣṭādaśasaharsañi dve lakṣe ca naresvara tathā saṃspatāsam caiva gajām gāpanāṁ tviyām.
29. Dve koṭi caiva lakṣanām aṣṭādaśa mahipate tathā saptatisahasraḥ gandharvāśīghrayayinaḥ.
30. Dve carbude ca koṭisāpyaṣṭaṣaśasamārītaḥ lakṣanām saṃspatīścāiva padātinām iṭiyati.

⁶ See Śukranīti, Chapter V, ślokas 20, 21.
⁷ See Nitiprakāśikā, vi, 3–9.
3. Daṇḍo bhogo’samhataśca mandalavyāha eva ca vyūhasatvāra evaise teṣu bhedan bravimyāhāṃ.
4. Pradaro ḍṛghakassatyāscapabhusvakṣireva ca supratiṣṭho’pratiṣṭhaśca śyeno viṣayaśaṅjayau.
All these troops were commanded by generals, whose rank depended upon the number of troops under their orders. The ministers of the king held mostly also the office of generals.

All the soldiers, from the private to the commander-in-chief, received their pay regularly every month. The crown-prince, who was generally the next in command to the king, received every month 5,000 varvas, or gold coins; the commander-in-chief drew 4,000 varvas; the atiratha, the first charioteer, who was usually a royal prince, received 3,000 varvas; the mahāratha 2,000 varvas; the rathika and the gajayodhi, 1,000 varvas each; the ardharatha 500 varvas; the ekaratha (commander of a chariot), and the leader of an elephant got each 300 nīskas. The general commanding all the cavalry obtained 3,000 nīskas; the general in command of the whole infantry received 2,000 nīskas. An officer commanding 1,000 men of infantry got 500 nīskas; an officer who led the same number of troopers received 1,000 nīskas;

6. Viśalovijayah sañi sthūno karnaścamāmukhaḥ mukhāsyaśovijayaśceti dañjasaaptadasyatmakah.  
6. Gomātrika haṁśika ca sañcari śakaṭastathā evam karapatanīti bhogabhedastu pañca vai.  
7. Ardhaçandrañatatadhāro vajraśakataśatathā ērgīt ca kakapādica godhiketyaparamsṛtah.  
8. Asaṁbataḥ sañvidhassyat ityāhurvyabhakovīdaḥ sarvabhadro durjayaśca manḍalopi dvīdha iti.  
9. Varāhī makuavyūho gāruḍaḥ kruṇaica eva ca padmāyāsaṅgaśvakalyāt etebhy āste pṛthak smṛtah.

The value of the varva, which is an ancient coin, is difficult to determine. In the Nītiprakāśikā, VI, 89–101, the rewards which are to be given to soldiers who kill a king, a crown-prince, a commander-in-chief, a leader of an Akṣauhini, a councillor, and a minister, &c., &c., are also fixed in varvas.

89. Dadyat prahṛṣṭo niyutam varvāṇām rajaghātin  
   tadardhantatasatavadhe senapativadhe tathā.  
90. Akṣauhiniśpativadhe tadardham paricaksate  
   mantryamātyavadhe caiva tadardham tu pradāpayet, &c., &c.

Śloka 89 is also found in the Kamakāya, XIX, 18, having been most probably taken from this work of Vaiśampayana.
an officer who had 100 small pattis under his command and who must ride on a horse drew only 7 varvas, while a private got 5 suvarṇas.

The following fourteen persons got only each 15 varvas a month:—1, an elephant driver; 2, a charioteer; 3, an ensign-bearer; 4, a superintendent of wheels; 5, an officer in command of 300 men of infantry; 6, a camel-express; 7, a messenger; 8, the head gate-keeper; 9, the chief-bard; 10, the chief-singer; 11, the chief panegyrist; 12, the head store-keeper; 13, the army paymaster, and 14, the muster master. The Śukranitī contains another scale of salaries.

If this scale of salaries is correct and if the salaries were really paid, one would feel inclined to think, that an extensive gold currency existed in ancient India.

Armour was worn by the warriors, and even elephants and horses were similarly protected.

The description of the weapons which follows in this chapter is mainly taken from the Nitiprakāśikā.

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9 See Nitiprakāśikā, VII, 33-42.
33. Yuvarājya vaṛvānaṃ pañcasaḥ-srakī bhṛtiḥ sarvasenāpanetre ca ca tusahaṃ srakī ca sa.
34. Bhṛtiśca tirathē dēyā vaṛvānaṃ trisahāskam mahārathēṣya sahasradvayam rājūdhiphamasam.
35. Vetanam rathikayātha sāhasram gajayodhine dadyāt ardharathayātha vetanam śatapaṃcakam.
36. Ekasmai rathikayāthā tādṛśe gajasadine niskānāṃ trisatam dadyāt yatastau tatkuṭumbināu.
37. Sarvāsvādhipati rājāstraḥ sa carhati padatādhipatiścapi dvisahasrasya bhājanam.
38. Padatānam sahasrasya netre pañcaśatam śrītam taḥā ca śvasahāsreśe sahasram vetanam bhavet.
39. Śatapattyadhipe saṃṭa vaṛvānaṃ hayayayine padataye suvarṇanām paṅcakam vetanam bhavet.
40. Gajayantussarathēṣca dhvajine cakrapāya ca padatitrisateṣeṣaḥ pathikroṣṭaracarāya ca.
41. Vartaṭkādhipateścapi vṛtriṃaṃ pataye taḥā sutaṃ sadhahavandināṃ pataye vivadhādhipe.
42. Senāya bhṛtīdhatre ca bhaṭānaṃ gaṇanāpahare māsi māsi tu vaṛvānaṃ daśapaṅc ca vetanam.

10 See Śukranitī, Chapter V, sū. 23-28.
The Hindu is fond of connecting everything, even the most material substance, with some metaphysical cause. We must not be surprised, therefore, if weapons and arms do not make an exception to this rule.

A supernatural origin is ascribed to all armour. The primeval Dakṣa had two daughters—Jayā and Suprabhā—who were given in marriage to Kṛṣṇa, the mind-begotten son of Brahma. Jayā became, according to a promise of Brahma, the mother of all weapons and missiles, while her sister Suprabhā brought forth at first ten sons who were called Samhāras restraining spells; and afterwards through the special favor of Brahma an eleventh son, Sarvamocana (releaser of all), was born.\(^{11}\)

The knowledge of everything connected with weapons and arms is confined to the Dhanurveda, \textit{i.e.}, the knowledge of the bow, and he only, who is well acquainted with this Veda, can hope to conquer his foes. The Dhanurveda is one of the four Upavedas. Even the gods had originally no intimate acquaintance with the precepts of the Dhanurveda, and this deficiency was one of the causes why they were at one time totally defeated by the demons or asuras. Eventually the gods were instructed in the mysteries of the Dhanurveda; and this Veda was communicated to Prithu by Brahma himself.

The Dhanurveda when personified is credited with possessing four feet, eight arms, and three eyes, and Sāṅkhya is mentioned as the head of his Gotra or race. In his four arms on the right he holds a thunderbolt (\textit{vajra}),

\(^{11}\) See \textit{Nītaprakāśikā}, 1, 45–47; II, 38.

45. Kṛṣṇa mānasah putro dve ċaye tasya saṃmattat jayā ca suprabhā caiva dakṣakanye maḥamati.

46. Jayā labdhavara matto \((a)\) sastrāṇyastraṇyasūta vai pāsaṭ daśā para cāpi tāvat putrān ajaṇanat.

47. Samhāraṁ nāmadurḍharṣan durākramān balīyasah mantradaivaśastapīyaḥ sastrāṇyastrātvaṁ āpnan.

38. Sarvamocananāmā tu suprabhātanayo maḥān muktāṃuktākhiśāṃ gāmadvarat \((a)\) prathītāḥ paraḥ.

\((a)\) Brahma speaks here himself.
a sword (*khaḍḍa*), a bow (*dhanu*), and a discus (*cakra*); in his four arms on the left are a hundred-killer (*sataghnī*), a club (*gadā*), a spear (*śāla*), and a battle axe (*paṭṭīśa*). His crest is provided with charms; his body is polity; his armour is a spell; his heart represents withdrawing spells; his two earrings are the weapons and missiles; his ornaments are the various war movements; his eyes are yellow; he is girt with the garland of victory, and he rides on a bull.\(^\text{12}\)

The spell which effects the destruction of one's enemies and which grants victory is as follows: *Om namo bhagavate dham dhanurvedāya mām rakṣa rakṣa mama satrūn bhakṣaya bhakṣaya hum paṭ svā hā*; *i.e.*, "*Om salutation to the dham dhanurveda, protect, protect me, devour, devour my enemies hum paṭ svā hā." If these 32 syllables are 32,000 times repeated the supplication will be successful.\(^\text{13}\)

The arms are divided, according to their nature, into *mukta* or those which are thrown, *amukta* or those which are not thrown, *muktāmukta* or those which are either thrown or not thrown, and into *mantramukta* or those which are thrown by

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\(^\text{12}\) *See* *Niprakāśīka*, II, 1-4.

1. Catuspāca dhanurvedo raktavarṇasacaturmukhaḥ aṣṭabahūstrinetraśca sānkhyāyanasaṅgottavān.
2. Vajram khagdo dhanusacakram daksabahucatuṣṭaye sataghnica gadāsulapattīśa vāmabahusu.
3. Prayogakoṭirayuto nityaṅgo mantrakaṅkoukaḥ upasanāhāraḥdayaśastraḥśrohabhayakundaḥāḥ.
4. Anekkavalitakārabhūṣanah pingalekṣanah jayamāpariytṛo vṛśārūḍassa ucyate.

\(^\text{13}\) *See* *Ibidem*, II, 5-9.

5. Etammantram pravakṣyāmi vairijālanikṛntanam atmasainyasvapakṣānam atmanasabhiraksakam.
6. Ādau prañavam uccārya na ma ētyakṣare tataḥ vateti bhagapūrvar dham dhanurvedāya coccaret.
7. Mām rakṣa rakṣetyuccārya mama satrūn atho vado bhakṣayeti dviruccārya hum paṭ svā ētyathocaret.
8. Aham evam rśiścāya gāyatrī chanda ucyate maheśvaro devatāya vinīyogo'rinigrahe.

The expression *dham dhanurveda* is formed in the same way as *Ram Rāma, Vim Viyāśvara*, &c.
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thumb and between the fingers of the bowhand on the back of the bow.\textsuperscript{18}

The length of the bow, and consequently also of the arrow, varies. Two strings are generally fixed to a bow, and the archer wears on his left arm a leather protection against the bowstring, and a quiver on his back. Those well skilled in archery distinguish fourteen different movements which can be made when using the bow. In the Agnipurāṇa the bow is declared to be the best weapon.

In the law book of Manu we read, that one Bowman placed on a wall can fight a hundred men, and that a hundred archers can fight ten thousand; therefore a fort is recommended. In the Śukraniti occurs the same verse but instead of the word for bow dhanu that for a missile astra is given, which imparts a wider meaning to the sentence, especially if it is taken to allude to firearms, unless dhanu itself stands for missile in general.\textsuperscript{19}

\textsuperscript{18} Ibidem, II, 17; and IV, 11-14.

11. Dhanurvedavidhānena nāmya vāmakarena tat
dakṣiṇena jyāya yojya prṣṭhe madhye pragrhyā tat.

12. Vāmāṅguṣṭham tadudare prṣṭhe tu caturāṅgulih
puṅkhamadhye jyāya yojya svāṅgulivivareṇa tu.

13. Ākarnam tu samākṛṣya dṛṣṭim lakṣyē viveṣyā ca
lakṣyāt anyad āpāṣyanstu kṛtapuṅkhāḥ prayogavit.

14. Yadā muṇcet śaram vidhye kṛtaḥastadācyate
evam bānāḥ prayoktavyah hyātmārakṣyaḥ prayatnataḥ.

\textsuperscript{19} See Nitiprakāṣikā, II, 17, and IV, 18-20.

18. Lakṣyasya pratisandhānam akarṣaṇavikarṣaṇe
paryākarṣānukarṣauca maṇḍalikaraṇam tathā.

19. Pūraṇam sthāranam caiva dhūnanaṃ bhṛmaṇaṃ tathā
asannaduraptāuca prṣṭhamadhyamapātane.

20. Etaṇi valgitānyahus caturdāsadhanurvidah.

Compare Śukraniti, Chapter V, śl. 152; Agnipurāṇa, 148, 6-37; 149, 1-19.

See Manu, VII, 74, (Hitopadeśa, III, 50 Pañcatantra, I, 252).

74. Ekāḥ śatam yodhayati prākāraṣṭho dhanurdharaḥ.
śatam daśa sahasraṇi tasmat durgam viśiṣyate.

and compare these verses with Śukraniti, IV, VI, 10.

10. Ekāḥ śatam yodhayati durgastho stradharaḥ yadi
śatam daśasahasraṇi tasmat durgam samāśrayet.
2. The īṣu (arrow) has a dark large body; is three cubits long, an añjali (i.e., the hollow of the two hands) in circumference and goes very far; two movements are ascribed to the arrow.  

3. The bhīṇḍivāla or bhīṇḍipāla (crooked club) has a crooked body; its head, which is bent and broad, is a cubit long, and it is a hand in circumference. It is first whirled thrice and then thrown against the foot of the enemy. When throwing the bhīṇḍivāla, the left foot should be placed in front.

4. The śakti (spear) is represented as being two cubits long, with a steady sideways movement. It has a sharp tongue, a horrible claw, and makes a sound like a bell. It has an open mouth, is very dark, and is colored with the blood of the enemy. It is covered with garlands of entrails; has the mouth of a lion, and is fearful to look at. It is as broad as a fist and goes very far. It must be taken up and thrown with two hands. Its movements are of six kinds.

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20 See Ibidem, I, 17; and IV, 28, 29.
28. Īṣurnilabṛhaddeho dvihastotsedhasamyutaḥ

29. Bhṛmaṇam kṣepaṇam cetī dvī gattī sthūlasannate.

30. Bhīṇḍivalastu vakrāṅgo namrāśiṅgo bhṛacchirāṁ

31. Treṣaṁanaṁ visargaṅca vamapādapurassāraṇaṁ

32. Śaktirhaṣṭaṇavaṁśaṁ tiryaggratiṁsanakulaṁ

33. Vyāḍitaśativālaṁ satraśonitarāṇītaṁ

34. Bhṛhaśaṇurduṣragamaṁ parvatendråvidarinaṁ bhujadvayapraṣaṅīyaṁ yuddhe jayavidhāyaṁ.

35. Tolanaṁ bhṛmaṇam caiva valganam nāmanam tatha mocanaṁ bhedanaṁ cetī śaṁmargāsaaktisamēritāṁ.
5. The *druṅhana* (hatchet) has an iron body, a crooked neck, and a broad head. It is 50 āṅgulas long and a fist in circumference. Four movements are peculiar to it. 23

6. The *tomara* (tomahawk) has a wooden body and a metal head formed like a bunch of flowers. It is three cubits long, has a red color, and is not crooked. It is moved in three ways. 24

7. The *nalikā* (musket) has a straight body, is thin-limbed, and hollow in the middle. It pierces the vital parts, is dark, and discharges the missiles of the *Dronicāpa*. When it is to be used, it is taken up, ignited, and pierces the mark. These are the three actions connected with the *nalikā*.

It seems to have been a small-sized gun, a sort of carbine, as it is only described as effective against enemies standing near. 25

8. The *laguḍa* (club) is described as having a small foot, a broad shoulder, and a broad head. The foot part is surrounded with metal. It is small and very broad. It has the

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23 Ibidem, II. 17; IV. 36, 37.
24 Ibidem, II. 17; IV. 38, 39.
25 Ibidem, II. 17; IV. 40, 41.
shape of a tooth. It has a hard body and is two cubits high. Its movements are of four kinds.  

9. The pāśa (lasso) is composed of very small scales, made of metal. It has a triangular form, is one span in circumference, and is ornamented with leaden balls. It has three peculiar movements of its own. According to the Agnipurāṇa it is 10 cubits long, round, and the noose is a hand in circumference. It is not regarded as a noble weapon.

10. The cakra (discus) has the form of a circular disk with a quadrangular hole in its midst. Its color is like that of indigo water and its circumference amounts to two spans or 10 cubits according to the Śukraniti. Five or seven motions are connected with the discus practice. It is most probably identical with the quoit still in use in some Sikh regiments and also among the troops of Native Indian princes.

11. The dantakantaka (tooth-thorn) is a thorn made of metal, is broad at the front, has a thin tail, and its color resembles charcoal. It is an arm high, has a good handle, is straight in

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26 See Ibidem, II. 17 ; IV. 42, 43.
42. Laguḍaśaṅkaṃpatāsyaḥ prthvamāhaḥ sthulāśrṣakaḥ
lohabaddhagrabhaṇgaśca hrasvaḍhassupīvaraḥ.
43. Dantakāyō dṛḍhāṅgaśca tathā hastadvayonataḥ
utthānam patanam caiva peṇānam pothanam tathā.
Compare Agnipurāṇa, 151, 16.
27 See Ibidem, II. 17 ; IV. 45, 46.
45. Paśassuśaṅkaṃvayo lohabhātustrikopaṇaṃ
pradēṣaparidhistīsagulikabharaṃścitaḥ.
46. Prasānaṃ veṇānaṃ ca kartanam ceti te trayāḥ
yogaḥ paśārīta loke paśāḥ kṛṣṇaṃvamārītaḥ.
Compare Agnipurāṇa, 150, 2–6 ; 151, 6, 7.
28 See Ibidem II. 17 ; IV. 47, 48.
47. Cakram tu kundalākāram ante svātrasamavānītaṃ
nilisailīsvārṇam tat pradēṣānavaṇṇamādalam.
48. Granthanam bhramaṇam caiva kṣeṇaṇam parikartanam
dalanāṃ ceti paṇcāvī cāraṣācakrassāṁśrītaḥ.
Compare Śukraniti, Chapter V, śū. 156 ; Agnipurāṇa, 151, 8.
its body, and looks frightful. Two movements are required for using it. 29

12. The *musundi* (octagonheaded club) has broad knots, a broad body, and a good handle for the fist. It is three arms long, and has the fearful color of a cobra. Its two principal movements are the jerking and the whirling. 30

B. The class of the *amukta* weapons includes twenty different species.

1. The *vajra* (thunderbolt) was, according to tradition, made out of the backbone of the sage Dadhīci. It keeps its mythical character throughout. Nothing can withstand its splendour, and it was originally made for the destruction of the demon Vṛtra. It shines brightly with the light of a krore of suns, and it resembles the fire which shone at the dissolution of the world. Its fangs extend to a yojana (10 miles) in length, and its tongue too is most horrible. It resembles the night of destruction at the end of the world, and is covered with 100 knots. Its breadth amounts to five yojanas and its length to 10 yojanas. Its periphery is covered with sharp points; in color it resembles lightning; a broad strong handle is fixed to it. Its movements are four in number. 31

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29 See Ibidem, II. 17 ; IV. 49, 50.
49. Dantakaṇṭakanāmā tu lohakaṇṭakadehaṇān
age prthussūkṣmapucchasaṅgārasaniḥbhaktiḥ.
50. Bāhumnatassutiṣūśa daṇḍakāyō'gralocanāh
pātanam granthanam ceti dve gati dantakaṇṭake.
30 See Ibidem II. 18; IV. 51, 52.
51. Musunḍī tu bhṛhadgranthirbhṛhadhassatsaruh
bhutrayasamutsedhaḥ kṛṣṇasarpogarvanān.
52. Yapanam ghūrnanam ceti dve gati tat śamāśrite.
Another form of the word is braṇḍi.
31 See Ibidem, II. 19 ; V. 1–6.
1. Amuktaprathamam vajram vakṣyāmi tava tacchṛṇu
aprameyabalam vajram kāmarūpadharam ca tat.
2. Dadhīcīprṛṭhāṭhijanyam sarvatejah praśāmakam
vṛtrasuranipātārtham daivatejopavrūṇhitam.
2. The śīśi (hand-sword) is two cubits long, has no hilt for the protection of the hand, and is black colored. The front part of the blade is curved, and it is five fingers broad. Four movements are peculiar to it.

3. The paraśu (axe) is a thin stick with a broad mouth. Its face is in front, curved like a half moon, the body is dirty colored, but the face is shining. At the foot end is the handle, and it has a head. Its height is the length of an arm. Its qualities are felling and splitting.

4. The gośīrśa (cow-horn spear) is two feet long; it is wooden in the lower parts and iron on the upper part. It has a blade, is of dark metal color, is three-cornered and has a good handle. Its height amounts to 16 thumbs; it is sharp in front and broad in the middle. Indra presented the gośīrśa together with a seal to Manu, and the cow-horn spear and the signet-ring became henceforth the emblems of royalty. The gośīrśa is handled with four movements.

5. The asidhenu (stiletto) is one cubit long, has no handguard at the handle, is dark colored, has three edges, is two

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5. Apimandālasaṁvitam paritāh tikṣṇakoṭimat taṭidgauram ca prthunā tāruṇā ca virājītam.
6. Calanam dhūnanam caiva chedanam bhedanam tathā valgītāni ca catvāri sadā vajram āritāni vai.

Compare Agnipurāṇa, 151, 16.

32 Ibidem, II. 19; V. 7, 8.
7. Ílī hastadvayotsedhā karatrarahitatsaruh śyāmā bhūganagrapalakā paṅcaṅgulisuvistṛā.
8. Sampātām samudārṇam ca nigrahapragrahau tathā ilim etāni catvāri valgītāni āritāni vai.

33 Ibidem, II. 19; V. 9, 10.
10. Tsarpadāsasaśikharo bāhumātronnatakṛtiḥ pātānam chedanam ceti gunau paraśum āśritau.

Compare Agnipurāṇa, 151, 13.

34 Ibidem, II. 19; V. 11–14.
thumbs broad, and is applicable for fighting at near quarters. It is fastened with a waistbelt and is called the sister of the sword. It requires three movements. It is worn by kings. 35

6. The lavitra (scythe) has a crooked shape, is broad at the back and sharp in front. It is black colored, five thumbs broad and one cubit and a half high. It is provided with a broad handle and is able to cut buffaloes into pieces. It is lifted with both arms and thrown. 36

7. The āsiara (scatterer, bumerang) has a knot at the foot, a long head and is a hand broad. Its middle part is bent to the extent of a cubit; it is sharp, black colored and two cubits long. Whirling, pulling, and breaking are its three actions, and it is a good weapon for charioteers and foot soldiers. 37

The general belief is that the bumerang is a weapon peculiar to the Australians; but this is by no means the case. It is well known in many parts of India, especially in its Southern Peninsula. The Tamulian Maravar and Kallar employ it when hunting and throw it after deer. In the

12. Nilalohitavarnam tat trirāśica susatsaru sōdaśāṅgulīyunnatam ca tikṣṇāgram prthumadhyakam.
14. Muṣṭigrahah parikṣepaḥ paridhiḥ parikuntanaṃ catvāryetāni gośirṣe valgitāni pracakṣate.
35 See Ibidem, II. 19; V. 15-17.
15. Asidhenusamākhyata hastaunnatyapramanātaḥ atalatratarsuyutā śyāma koṭitrayāṣrita.
16. Āṅgulidvayavistirṇa hyāsannaripughatīni mekalāgranthinī sa tu projyate khadgaputrika.
17. Muṣṭyaagrāhaṇam caiva pāṭanam kuntanam tathā valgitrayasyeṣa sādā dhāryā nrpottamaḥ.
36 See Ibidem, II. 19; V. 18, 19.
18. Lavitrām bhugnakāyam syāt prśthe guru purāśītam śyāmam paścāṅgulīvyāmam sārdhahastasamunnatam.
19. Tsarunā guruṇā naddham mahiśadinkartanam bahudvayodyamakṣepau lavitre valgite mate.
37 See Ibidem, II. 19; V. 20, 21.
20. Āstaro granthipādassyaṭ dirghamaulirbhṛḥatkaraḥ bhugnahastodarasaśitaḥ śyāmavarṇo dvihastakaḥ.
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11. The pīnāka or triśūla (trident) has three heads, is sharp in front, made of brass, has an iron head, and measures four cubits. It has a tuft made of the hair of a bear, and its neck is ornamented with brass armlets. It is shaken and impales the enemy.\footnote{See Ibیدम, II. 20 ; V. 27, 28.}

12. The gadā (club) is made of sharp iron, has 100 spikes at its broad head, and is covered on the sides with spikes. It is a formidable weapon, four cubits long, and its body equals a carriage axle in measure. The head is adorned with a crest; it is covered with a golden belt, and is able to crush elephants and mountains. Twenty different motions are ascribed to the gadā.\footnote{See Ibیدम, II. 20 ; V. 29–34.} By means of gunpowder it is thrown out of projectile weapons of various forms.\footnote{The word Astrayantrâṇi (see v. 31-b) is explained in the old commentary accompanying the Nītiprakāṣikā as “astravatagyunyādinnirmāṇa. yuktapreraṇāni.”}

13. The mudgara (hammer) is small at the foot end, has no face, and is three cubits long. Its color resembles...
honey, its shoulder is broad, and it weighs eight loads.44 It has a good handle, is round, black colored, and is a hand in circumference. It is whirled around and fells things to the ground.45

14. The sīra (ploughshare) is doubly curved, has no head, but an iron-plated front, and crushes the objects with which it comes into contact. It equals a man in height, is of agreeable color, and by means of much dragging it causes persons and things to fall to the ground.46

15. The musala (pestle) has neither eyes nor head, neither hands nor feet. It is well joined together at both ends and fells and crushes enemies.47

16. The paṭṭīsa (battle axe) is of a man's height, has two sharp blades and a sharp top. Its handle has a protection for the hand. The paṭṭīsa is generally called the uterine brother of the sword.48

17. The maustika (fist-sword, dagger) has a good hilt, is a span long and ornamented. Its end is sharp, it has a high neck, is broad in the midst and dark colored. It can make

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44 A load or bhūra is generally estimated to be equal to 20 tulas = 2,000 palas of gold, or between 140—150 pounds.
45 See Ibidem, II. 20; V. 35, 36.
35. Mudgarasukṣmapādasyāt hinaśraṣastrihastavān
madhuvarnaḥ prthuskandhaścaṣṭabhrāgurūśa saḥ.
36. Satsarurvatulō nilo paridhyā karasammitaḥ
bhramanam pātanam ceti dvividham madgараśritam.
Compare Agnipurāṇa, 151, 14.
46 See Ibidem, II. 20; V. 37.
37. Siro dvivakro viśikho lohapattāmurkhaḥ kṛṣaṇ
pumpramanāḥ snigdhaṁvāpañāḥ svākarṣavinipātān.
47 See Ibidem, II. 20; V. 38.
38. Musalastvakṣīrśābhyaṁ karaiḥ pādaivrivarjitaṁ
mule cāntetisambandhaṁ pātanam prothanam dvayam.
48 See Ibidem, II. 20; V. 39.
39. Paṭṭīsāḥ pumpramāṇasyāt dvidharaśraṣnasārganakāḥ
hastatranasamayuktavatiḥ khadgasahodaraḥ.
Compare Sukraniti, Chapter V, śl. 153, and Agnipurāṇa, 151, 16.
all sorts of movements, as it is a small and very handy weapon. Its qualities are enlarged upon by Vaiśampāyana.⁴⁹

18. The parigha (battering ram) is of a round shape, as big as a palmyra-tree, and of good wood. Experts know that a whole troop is required to make it move and strike.⁵⁰

19. The mayūkhi (pole) is a staff, has a hilt, and is of the height of a man. It is covered with bells, exhibits various colors, and is provided with a shield as a friend. It is used for striking, for warding off a blow, for killing, for discharging and for attacking.⁵¹

20. The sataghnī (hundred-killer) is provided with thorns, is of black iron, and hard. It looks like a mudgara, is four cubits long, round and provided with a handle. According to Vaiśampāyana it resembles in all its movements the gadā, it was therefore like the gadā shot out of other projectile weapons. According to others it is itself a projectile weapon, a great cannon. The name states only its destructiveness, and leaves its nature doubtful; but if it was hurled out of

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⁴⁹ See Ibidem, II. 20; V. 40-44.
⁵⁰ See Ibidem, II. 20; V. 46.
⁵¹ See Ibidem, II. 20; V. 46, 47.
enormous tubes by means of gunpowder, it must have been a very formidable projectile.\(^52\)

These twenty weapons, belonging to the amukta division, are deposited in the second foot of the Dhanurveda.

All these thirty-two weapons were, according to tradition, taken from the body of the sage Dadhíci. And this is the way how it happened:—

When the gods had been defeated by the demons in a great battle, which defeat they owed in some part to their insufficient knowledge of the Dhanurveda, they perceived on their flight the great sage Dadhíci, who was sitting near the place they passed. To him they entrusted their arms and continued their flight until they reached the high mountain Mandara, under whose bulky body they sought and obtained an asylum. Here they rested for many years, acknowledging Indra as their immediate superior. The sage meanwhile guarded well these weapons, which through his penance had all been changed into spikes, had entered his body and had become his bones. Thus a long time passed away, until the gods became at last anxious to recover once more their lost position and to try another fight with the demons. In their dejection they appeared before Brahma, the father of all beings, and requested him to help them. Brahma, moved to pity, imparted to them the Dhanurveda, together with the spells and all the necessary implements belonging to it. Supplied with the Dhanurveda, his four feet and his six ángas, the gods went in search of Dadhíci and requested him to surrender to them their weapons. Dadhíci was quite willing to do so, even though this kindness should cost him his life, provided he were allowed to ascend to the divine heaven.

\(^52\) See Ibidem, II. 20; V. 48, 49.

48. Šataghni kaṇṭakayutā kalāyasamayi dṛḍhā muḍgarābha caturhastā vartulā tsarunā yutā.

49. Gāḍā vaṃgitavatyesā mayetī kathitā tava.
His request was granted, and Dadhici advised the gods to let a cow lick his body until the bones which represented their arms were laid free. This was done. Out of the thirty-one bones of Dadhici’s body arose thirty-one weapons, and his backbone, the thirty-second bone, was transformed into the thirty-second weapon, Indra’s thunderbolt.\textsuperscript{53} Provided with these weapons, which had assumed the shape of the bones from which they originated, the gods went to encounter the demons again, who could not withstand this time the assault of the gods.

But the mouth of the cow, as it had been guilty of the great sin of Brahman-murder, became henceforth an object of abhorrence to the pious; and up to this day orthodox Brahmans when meeting a cow, try to avoid looking at its head, and endeavour to let their eyes fall previously on the hinder part of its body.\textsuperscript{54}

One of the most important weapons, the khaḍga or asi, i.e., the sword, is not included in these two lists, because being created separately and specially by Brahma, it was regarded as a superior weapon altogether. The high estimation in which the khaḍga was held by Vaiśampāyana is not apparent in the Agnipurāṇa, where it is classed as a rather inferior weapon. Tradition says that it was given to Indra to be used against the Asuras. According to its nature the khaḍga belongs to the second or amukta class.\textsuperscript{55}

\textsuperscript{53} See Ibidem II. 43–60; Mahābhārata, V, 8695; IX, 2949, &c.
\textsuperscript{54} See Ibidem, II. 54, 55.
\textsuperscript{55} Gomukham brahmahatypi viveśa nrpasattama devasantosapat lokan śāvatān ā śirīsyau.
\textsuperscript{56} Tadāprabhṛti loka vai na paśyantu gomukham pratah purusasārdula taddoṣagatāmanasāh.
\textsuperscript{57} See Agnipurāṇa, 148, v. 5 and 8.
5. Khaḍgadikam amuktam ca niyuddham vigatayudham.
8. Tāni khaḍgaśaghanyāni bahupratyavarami ca.
The story goes, that when the gods were battling against the demons, there appeared through Brahma's agency on the top of the Himalaya mountain the deity of the sword, the Asidēvatā, illuminating by its splendour the whole sky, the earth at the same time was shaking to its very foundation. The khaḍga was thus introduced into the world by Brahma for the sake of freeing the universe from the mighty demons. It was 50 thumbs long and 4 broad, and Brahma entrusted it to Śiva or Rudra. After success had attended the undertaking of Śiva, he delivered the sword to Viṣṇu, who on his side handed it over again to Marici and the other sages. One of the latter, the sage Rṣabha, gave it to Indra. Indra conferred it on the guardians of the quarters of the world, and these latter presented it to Manu, the son of the Sun, to help him in the administration of justice against evil-doers. Since that time it has remained in the family of Manu. The constellation of the khaḍga is the Kṛttikā, its deity Agni, the head of its gotra Rohini, and its supreme deity is Rudra. Besides Nisthrimśa it has the eight following different names: Āsi, Viṣamana, Khadga, Tikṣṇadharma, Durāsada, Śrīgarbhā, Viśaya and Dharmamūla. It is handled in thirty-two different ways, and carried on the left side.

The third species of weapons, the Muktaṁukta, those which may be thrown and not thrown are divided into two classes, into the Sopasamhāra or those which are connected with the withdrawing or restraining Upasamhāra and into the Upasamhāra themselves, which are the restrainers of the previous class.\(^5^6\)

Of the former there are 44 varieties, and of the latter 54.

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Ibidem, 149, 7, 8; 150, 1–5; Compare Śukraniti, Chapter V, \(§\) 154, 155; and Nitiprakāśika III, 1–40. The third book of the Nitiprakāśika is entirely devoted to the khaḍga. Compare ibidem also, II, 12a.

12a. Muktaṁ bāṇādi vijñeyam khadgādikam amuktakam.

\(^5^6\) The Sopasamhāra and Upasamhāra weapons are almost identical with the lists of arms presented by Viśvāmitra to Rama as we read in the Bala-kāṇḍa (in Schlegel's edition, cantos 29 and 30; in the old Calcutta edition,
The 44 Sopasamhāra weapons are the following:

1. The dānḍacakra (discus of punishment).
2. The dharmacakra (the discus of right).
3. The kālacakra (the discus of Yama).
4. The aindrācakra (the discus of Indra).
5. The sūlavara (the spear of Śiva).
6. The brahmāsīrṣa (the head of Brahma).

(canto 26). The latter edition contains more names than Schlegel's. The enumeration contained in Vaiśampāyana's Nītiprakāśikā is independent of that of the Rāmāyana, and for that very reason it is peculiarly interesting. It is therefore here given in the original; Nītiprakāśikā, II. 22–27.

22. Dānḍacakram dharmacakram kālacakram tathaiva ca aindrācakram sūlavaram brahmāsīrṣam ca modakī.
23. Śikharti dharmapāsām ca tathā varunapāsākam painākāstram ca vāyavyam ǔsūkārdre, śikharāstrakam.
24. Krauñcāstram hayaśīrṣam ca divyādivyēstrasāsiññike gāndharvāstram nandanāstram varṣaṃam śoṣaṃam tathā.
25. Prasvāpanāraśamanē santāpanāvilāpane mathanam mānāvāstram ca sāmanam tāmasam tathā.
26. Saṁvartam mausalam satyam sauram māyāstram eva ca tvātṛtam astram ca somāstṛm samāhāram mānasam tathā.
27. Nāgāstram gārudāstram ca saleśikeśstrasāsiññike catuṣṭavāri caitāni sopasamhārakāṇi vai.
28. Vakṣyāmi copasamhārāṃ kramapṛptāṃ nibodhame yān jñātvā vairimuktāni cāstrāṃ śuṃayāṣyasi (Pṛthu).
29. Saṁyāvān satyākṛtiṣca rabhaso dhrūṣa eva ca pratiḥārataraśca śaśvaśvaśvāmukhārpaṃkhum..
30. Dr̥thaṃbhō lakṣyalakṣyāvāvilāsā sunābhakaḥ daśakṣaśatavaktraśca daśaśīrṣasatodarau.
31. Dharmanābhō mahānābhō dundunābhastau nābhakaḥ jyotiśavimalau caiva nairāśyakarāsanavubhan.
32. Yogandharāh sandrasāca daityaḥ pramathanastathā sarciṃalai dhṛtirmāli vyttimān rucirastathā.
33. Pitrīyaṣaumanasaśaiva vidhiṭamakaraṇaḥ tathā karaviro dhanarati dhānyam vai kāmarūpakaḥ.
34. Jṛmbakavaraṇam caiva mohaḥ kāmarucistathā, varuṇaḥ sarvadamanah sandhānaḥ sarpanāthakaḥ.
35. Kauṅkāstraṃ mausalāstraṃ kāpalāstraṃ ca kauṇaṇam paścāstraṃ cetā paścāpyasurasāstranī bhupate.
36. Saṁyāvān sarvadamanah kāmarūpāstathāiva ca yogandharopyalakṣyaścāpyasurasāstravighātakaḥ.
37. Catuṣṭavārimśat ete paścānyonyavimardanaḥ melayitva ca paścaṣat ekonāhyastrāśmakah.
38. Sarvamocanāmā tu suprabhātanayo mahān muktaṃuktākhilaṃ saha madvarāt prathitaḥ paraḥ.
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43. The *śailāstra* (the rocky missile).
44. The *iśikāstra* (the reed missile).

The 55 Upasamhāra weapons are as follows:—

1. The *satyavān* (the true).
2. The *satyakārti* (the truly-famed).
3. The *rabhasa* (the impetuous).
4. The *dhrṣṭa* (the bold).
5. The *pratiḥāra* (the warding off).
6. The *avāṃmukha* (the downfaced).
7. The *parāṃmukha* (the averted face).
8. The *drāhanābha* (the weapon with firm navel).
9. The *alakṣya* (the imperceptible).
10. The *lakṣya* (the perceptible).
11. The *āvīla* (the turbid).
12. The *sunābhaka* (the weapon with good navel).
13. The *dasākṣa* (the ten-eyed).
14. The *satavaktra* (the hundred-mouthed).
15. The *dasasūrśa* (the ten-headed).
16. The *satodāra* (the hundred-bellied).
17. The *dharmanābha* (the weapon with the navel of right).
18. The *mahānābha* (the big-navelled).
19. The *dundunābha* (the drum-navelled).
20. The *nābhaka* (the navelled).
21. The *jyotiṣa* (the luminous).
22. The *vimala* (the stainless).
23. The *nairāśya* (the discourager).
24. The *karśana* (the emaciating).
25. The *yogāndhara* (the united).
26. The *sānida* (the sleeping).
27. The *daitya* (the fiendish).
28. The *pramathana* (the churner).
29. The *sārcīrmālā* (the garland of energy).
30. The *dhrṣti* (the supporting).
31. The *mālī* (the necklaced).
32. The *vr̥ttima* (the abiding).
33. The rucira (the glittering).
34. The pitrya (the paternal).
35. The saumanasa (the good-minded).
36. The viḍhūta (the vibrating).
37. The makara (the monster).
38. The karavīra (the scymitar).
39. The dhanarati (the desire of wealth).
40. The dhānya (the grain).
41. The kāmarūpaka (the shape-assumer).
42. The ṣṛmbaka (the gaper).
43. The āvaraṇa (the protecting).
44. The moha (the fascinating).
45. The kāmaruci (following one’s own wishes).
46. The vāruna (the missile of Varuṇa).
47. The sarvadamanā (the all-subduer).
48. The sandhāna (the aimer).
49. The sarpanāthaka (the missile belonging to the god of serpents).
50. The kaṅkālāstra (the skeleton missile).
51. The mausalāstra (the pestle missile).
52. The kāpālāstra (the skull missile).
53. The kaṅkana (the bracelet weapon).
54. The paśācāstra (the infernal missile).

The Sopasamhāra weapons are contained in the 29th Sarga of Schlegel’s edition of the Bālakāṇḍa, while the Upasamhāra weapons are mentioned mostly in the 30th canto.

The last five weapons are peculiar to the demons, while five other weapons are on the other hand most effective against these demons and cause their destruction; they are found under the numbers 1, 9, 25, 41, and 47.

These 44 Sopasamhāra and 54 Upasamhāra weapons represent the Muktāmukta class, and they are deposited in the third foot of the Dhanurveda. They represent the belief so widely spread in India that the knowledge of certain spells endowed their owner with supernatural power, of which power these mysterious weapons are the outward token. To a person not within the pale of Brahmanism they appear like
mere creations of a fervid imagination. On the other hand
the Indians do not stand alone in this belief in supernatural
weapons, though it has been reserved to them only to define
and to classify them methodically.

The last and most potent division, or the Mantramukta, is
only represented by six weapons, but then they are so power-
ful that nothing can frustrate or subdue them. Their
names are—

1. Viṣṇucakra (the discus of Viṣnu).
2. Vajrāstra (the thunderbolt).
3. Brahmāstra (the missile of Brahma).
4. Kālapāsaka (the noose of death).
5. Nārāyaṇāstra (the missile of Nārāyaṇa).
6. Paśupatāstra (the missile of Paśupati).

These six weapons, which are projected by spells, reside in
his fourth foot.  

When Vaiśampāyana has finished in his second chapter
the enumeration of the weapons, which he assigns to the four
different classes, and has given in the following three chapters
an accurate description of the sword and all the thirty-two
arms belonging to the two first divisions, he remarks that the
efficiency of the weapons varies and is subject to great
changes. In different ages and at different places the
quality of a weapon is not the same, for the mode of con-
struction and the material out of which it is made is of a
different kind. Moreover much depends on the strength and
the ability of the person who uses such arms in increasing,
preserving or diminishing their efficiency.

In addition to these weapons others were in actual use,
but they are said to be specially peculiar to the lowest or

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57 See Nātiprakāśikā, II. 40.
40. Viṣṇucakram vajram astam brahmāstram kālapāsakam
nārāyaṇam paśupatam nāśāmyam itaraśtrakaiḥ.
58 See Nātiprakāśikā, V. 51.
51. Etani vikritim yanti yugaparyayato urpa
dehadāṛdhyanusāreṇa tatha buddhyanusicātaḥ.
fourth age, the Kaliyuga, in which we live. Though these four ages or yugas are nowhere mentioned in the ancient Vedic literature, and though the constitution of the great or Mahāyuga is most probably an invention of a comparatively later period—perhaps after the commencement of the Kaliyuga had been connected with a certain date and the other yugas had been reckoned backwards from that date—it is a most singular phenomenon that many otherwise enlightened Brahmans really believe that they possess records from these previous three yugas.

The assumption of the depravity of the existing Kaliyuga and the superiority of the preceding ages is consoling to the feeling of those who no longer occupy the same exalted position as formerly, and who try to insinuate that the cause of the loss of their prestige is neither due to their own faults nor to the superiority of their rulers, but to the decrees of fate, to which every one is subject. We can here dispense with the presumption that the arms of any particular yuga are good or bad in the same proportion as the yuga itself is good or bad, the more so as a good and really auspicious age, from its intrinsic goodness, does not require any weapons to protect it; as in such a happy era righteousness and prosperity prevail everywhere.

But even in the Kaliyuga humanity is not so debased that no voice is raised against the use of cruel and barbarous weapons. On the other hand wherever and whenever arms are used, the object of their use must have been to apply force, either for offensive or defensive purposes. Remembering this fact one need not wonder that but little humanity is as a rule displayed in restraining the efficiency of weapons, and though, as we shall see, the ancient Hindu law books objected strongly to the use of certain arms, it is doubtful whether this prohibition was in reality ever enforced, for there exists a difference between uttering sentiments creditable to humanity and enforcing them in practice.
On the other hand we meet occasionally precepts which certainly do not exhibit a great amount of human kindness. Thus we read in the Pañcatantra: "By a wise man should an enemy be killed, even if he be his son-in-law; if no other means be possible, he who murders commits no sin. A soldier who goes to the battle does not think about right and wrong; Dhṛṣṭadyumna was in olden times murdered in his sleep by the son of Drona." 59

The war machines which the ancient Indians used, whether they were made of metal or of stone, and out of which they hurled iron and lead balls at their enemies, were doubtless discharged by means of gunpowder. The existence of gunpowder is intimated by Vaiśampāyana in his description of the nalikā and by the application of smoke-balls which, according to the commentator of Vaiśampāyana, were really made of gunpowder. 60 The ancient Hindus were also, as is well known, great adepts in the art of smelting and casting metals.

The old Hindus displayed a great ingenuity in inventing injurious and irritating compounds and refined expedients for hurling them amongst the enemy during a combat. 61

Boiling oil has been used by many nations in different parts of the globe, and the old Indians believed also in its efficacy, but they used besides explosive oil. The resin of the Śāl tree (Shorea robusta), which resin is also called kalakala, is recommended likewise. The casting of melted sugar is mentioned as well as that of heated sand. Pots filled with venomous snakes mixed together with honey, spikes and big stones, saws, smoke-balls, burning husks of corn, and other injurious preparations were frequently employed in India.

59 *See* Pañcatantra, I. 299, 300.
60 Dhūmagulika is explained by Cūrṇagola, powderball.
61 *See* Nitiprakaśika, V. 52.
52. Yantrāni lohasāsanam guliḥakṣepakāni ca
tatha copalayantrāni krtrimanyaparāpi ca.
The soldiers of Duryodhana, when encamped in Kurukṣetra, had at their disposal similar implements of war.\(^2\)

These weapons and mixtures were probably used more generally during sieges and in street-fights than in open combat.

The weapons just now enumerated and many others of the same objectionable and cruel type are ascribed to the depravity of the Kāliyuga, when war is conducted in an unfair, mean, and deceitful manner. The existence of many uncivilized nations of the lowest origin contributes greatly to the degeneration of the times. Among the despicable peoples thus enumerated are found the Huns, Pulindas, Šabaras, Pahlavas, Šakas, Mālavas, Varvaras, Koṅkaṇas, Āndhras, Colas, Pāṇḍyas, Keralas, Mlecchas, Cāṇḍālas, Śvapacas, Khalas, Mavellakas, Lalitthas,\(^3\) Kirātas, and Kukkuras. To add insult to injury, and to show the low position of these nations, the Hindus said these tribes originated from the vagina of a cow.\(^4\)

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33. Kūṭayuddhasahāyaṇi bhaviṣyanti kalau nṛpa taptatailam sarjarasam gudalalo gravaluka.

54. Madhusāvīṣaghataḥ śilakāni ṣṛhacchilāḥ krakaca dhūmagulikāḥ tuṣāṅgaṛadikam tatha.

\(\text{Compare, Mahābhārata, Udyogaprava, Adhyāya, 155, 5-7.}\)

5. Sakacagrahaviṣṣeṣaḥ sataīla ṣavedavālukāḥ saśīvīṣaghataḥ sarve sasajrājasāṇjīvaḥāḥ.


7. Cakaṇḍađandakāḥ sarve saśīvīṣatamaḥ sasūrpaṭikāḥ sarve sadātraṅkuṣatamaḥ.

\(^3\) See Ibidem, V, 55-57.

55. Hanāḥ pulindah śabarā varvarā pahlavah śakah mālavah koṅkaṇa hyandhrah colah pāṇḍyah sakeralah.

56. Mlecchā goyonayāṣcāṇye cāṇḍalāḥ śvapacah khalah māvellaka lalitthāṣca kiraṇah kukkurah tatha.

57. Papā hyete katham dharmam vētsyanti ca viyonayah saṅkāravyadoshinirāt bhaviṣyantyadhame yuge.

\(^4\) Most of these names appear also in the Mahābhārata and Rāmaṇa. The Hindus call the modern Europeans, Huns, this expression most probably arose from the idea that the ancient Hunnish invaders came also from Europe. The 14th Chapter of the Harivamśa contains an enumeration of many barbarous nations.
CHAPTER II.

ON THE AUTHENTICITY OF THE ŠUKRANĪTI.

The reputed author of the Šukranīti—a chapter from which on the army organisation and the political maxims of the ancient Hindus we shall give further on in these pages—is Usanas or Šukra. He is also called Maghābhava, Kavi, Kāvyya, Bhārgava, Šoḍaśārcis, Daityaguru, and Dhiṣṇya. According to some he is the son or descendant of Bṛgu, and, therefore, he is named Bhārgava; to others he is known as Kavi or the poet, and to others also as Kāvyya, the son of Kavi, a son of Bṛgu. He is regarded as the regent of the planet Venus or Šukra; and the Šukravāra or Friday is named after him; his connection with this planet is also evident in his names Maghābhava, Šoḍaśārcis, and Dhiṣṇya. Moreover he is the preceptor of the Daityas or Demons and is called therefore Daityaguru. Bṛhaspati, the preceptor of the gods and the regent of the planet Jupiter, is like Šukra the author of a famous Daṇḍanīti, or a work on civil and military administration. This work of Šukra is highly praised in the Kāmandakiya, as containing the principles of all sciences, and its ślokas are very often found in the Kāmandakiya.

Throughout Indian literature Šukra is always upheld as one of the greatest sages, his sayings are carefully noted and quotations from his Essence of Polity or Nitisāra are met with in the most ancient and celebrated writings.

65 See “Śukro Maghābhavaḥ Kāvyya Uśana Bhārgavaḥ Kaviḥ Šoḍaśārcir Daityagurur Dhiṣṇyah,” in Hemacandra’s Anekārtharatnamālā, II, 33 and 34; compare Amarakośa, I, 1, 26; and Halayudha’s Abhidhānaratnamālā, I, 48; &c. &c.

66 See Kāmandakiya, II, 4, 5.

4. Varta ca daṇḍanitiśca dve vidye ittyavasthite lokasyārthapradhānatavāt śiśyāḥ surapurodhasah.

5. Ekaiva daṇḍanitistu vidye tyauśanassti śhitiḥ tasyām tu sarvavidyāṇām arambhāḥ samudāhṛtaḥ.

The reason of calling Šukra’s work a Daṇḍanīti is explained in Šukranīti, I, 157, as follows:—

Damo daṇḍa iti khyātastasmāt daṇḍo mahāpatih tasya nītirdaṇḍanītirnayanāt nīturucyate.
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According to the *Nitiprakāśikā* Brahma, Rudra, Subrahmanya, Indra, Manu, Brhaspati, Sukra, Bhāradvāja, Gaurāsiras and Vyāsa were authors of works on polity. Brahma’s Daṇḍanīti contained 100,000 chapters, that of Rudra 50,000, that of Subrahmanya 25,000, that of Indra 12,000, that of Manu 6,000, that of Brhaspati 3,000, that of Sukra 1,000, that of Bhāradvāja 700, that of Gaurāsiras 500, and that of Vedavyāsa 300 chapters.68

In the second Śloka of the Śukranīti we read that Brahma’s work consisted of ten millions of double verses, which would give to each chapter an average length of 100 Ślokas.69

Just as the Mānavadharmaśāstra does not contain as many verses, as are said to have been originally in it, so also is the Śukranīti we actually possess by no means as long as is indicated in the Mahābhārata. In fact at the end of the 4th section the Śukranīti is declared to be only 2,200 Ślokas.

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69 See Śukranīti, I, 2–4.
long, and it speaks well for the preservation of this ancient
work, that though the MSS. differ as to their length in some
way or other, the variations in them are not very great.
One MS. contains indeed exactly 2,200 ślokas, and all MSS.
I possess contain the above verse in question, which thus
defines the proportions of the Śukranīti.  

In the beginning of the 58th Chapter of the Rājadharma
the name of Kāvyā occurs also as one of the authors of a
Dharmaśāstra, and he is likewise mentioned as such in the
second Śloka of the Pañcatantra. The Kāmandakīya and
other similar works allude repeatedly to our author. It is a
peculiar coincidence that the reason for composing the Śukra-
nīti is the same both in the Śukranīti and in the Mahābhārata.
If the former were a later production the cause of this agree-
ment would be evident, but there are many good grounds for
the supposition that this is not the case, and that the quota-
tions from Śukra’s work on Polity found in such ancient
works as the Mahābhārata, Harivaṃśa, Kāmandakīya, Pañ-
catantra are genuine quotations. A few examples taken at
random will be sufficient for our purpose.

The Mahābhārata quotes in the 56th Chapter of the Rāja-
dharmānuśasana the following as the saying of Uśanas :
“A law abiding king should in the exercise of his duties
chastise a Brahman, who has even read the whole Veda, who

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70 See Śukranīti, IV, VII. 346.
Manvādyairādṛto yorthastadartho Bhārgavena vai
dvāvīmśatiśatam ślokā nitisāre prakirtitaḥ.

71 See Rājadharma, LVIII, 1-4.
1. Ete te rāja dharmaṇāṁ navanitam Yudhiṣṭhira
Bṛhaspatirhi bhagavān nānyam dharmaṁ prasāṁsati.
2. Viśālaṅkāsca bhagavān Kāvyāścaiva mahātapah
saḥsarakṣo Mahendraśca tathā Pracetaso Manuḥ.
3. Bhāradvājaśca bhagavān tathā Gaurāśira muniḥ
rājaśastra-praṅcatāro brahmānyā brahmavādinaḥ.
4. Rakṣāṁ eva prasāṁsanti dharmam dharmavṛtam vara.
See also Pañcatantram, I, 2.
Manave Vācaspataye Śukrāya Parāśarāya sasutāya
Cāṇakyaśya ca viduṣe namo’stu nayaśastra-karṭībhyaḥ.
approaches with uplifted weapons and intent to murder. The king knowing the law should certainly protect the law which is being broken. By such an act he is no law-breaker; for fury recoils on fury.” Our Šukraniti expresses this
decision (IV, VII, 259) as follows: “He who has raised a
weapon against an approaching assassin, even if this be a
Vaidika Brahman (Bhrūṇa), and has killed him, should not be
considered as a murderer of a Vaidika Brahman; if he has not
killed him, he should be regarded as such.” 72

As the śloka of the Šukraniti contains a more difficult
reading and the rare term Bhrūṇa in the sense of Vaidiki-
brahman occurs here, which is, as it were, explained in the
Mahābhārata by “Vēdāntapāraga,” there seems to be no
doubt which of the two versions is the earlier.73

The 57th chapter of the Rājadharma begins with another
quotation of Uśanas. He is said to have declared that “the
earth swallows these two, namely, a king who does not oppose
an enemy and a Brahman who does not travel about, like a
snake swallows the animals living in holes.”

72 See Mahābhārata, Rājadharma, LVI, 27-29.
27. Śloka cauśanasā gitau puratāta maharṣiṇa
tau nibodha mahārāja tvam ekāgramanā nṛpa.
28. Udyamya sastram āyatam api vedāntapāragam
migrhṇyāt svadharmena dharmāpekṣā narādhipah.
29. Vinasāyamanām dharmam hi yo’bhirakṣet sa dharmavit
na tena dharmahā sa syāt manyustanmanyum rochaṭi.

Compare this with Šukraniti, IV, VII, v. 259.

Udyamya sastram āyatam bhrūṇam apyātatāyinam
nihatya bhrūṇahā na syāt ahatvā bhrūṇahā bhavet.

Compare further with these ślokas, Manu, VIII, 350, 351.

73 That Bhrūṇahā means a Vaidika-Brahman murderer is clear from
Kullukabhaṭṭa’s Commentary to Manu, VIII, 317 (annade bhrūṇahā māṛṭi
patyau bhāryāpacarini), for he says there: “Brahmahā yaḥ tatsambandhi-
yo’ṇam atti taśmin asan svapāpam saṁkramayati. Bhrūṇahāṁnhabhoktuh
papam bhavatiti. Etad atra vivakṣitam na tu brahmaghnah papam naśyatī
tatha bhāryā vyahīcarinī jārapatim kṣamamāne bhartari papam saṁśeṣa-
yati.”

Compare also Nāndratharatnamālā by Irugapadaṇḍadhinātha, II, 125, under
the word bhrūṇa “Bhrūṇorbhake straiṇagarbhe garbhīṇyaṁ śrotīye
dvije.”
The Śukranīti contains (IV, VII, 242) this very śloka.  

The Harivamśa ascribes to Uśanas the wise prescription, that one should never confide in a person whose trustworthiness one has not proved previously, and even to be cautious in giving confidence to a trustworthy person, as the evils of misplaced confidence are serious. This very sentiment, though not quite in the same words, may be found in Śukranīti III, 47–49.

It is peculiar that the Pañcatantra refers these verses on the acquisition of friends to a passage in the Śukranīti, and here,

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74 See Rajadharmā LVII, 1, 2.
1. Bhagavān Uśana hyāha ślokam atra viśāmpate
tad ihaikamanā rajan gadatastannibodhame.
2. Dvāvimau grasate bhūmih sarpo vilaśayan īva
rajānam cāviyoddhāram brahmaṇam cāpravāsinam;
in its stead we read in the Śukranīti, IV, VII, 242:
Rajānam cāpayoddhāram brahmaṇam cāpravāsinam
nigilāti bhūmiretau sarpo vilaśayan īva.

75 See Harivamśa XVIII, 127–131.
127. Kusauhrdena viśvāsāḥ kudeśena prajivyate
kurājani bhayam nityam kuputre sarvato bhayam.
128. Apakarinī visrambah yaḥ karoti naradhamah
anātho durbalo yadvannacirem sa tu jivati.
129. Na viśvāset avishvāte viśvaste nātiaviśvāset
viśvastat bhayam utpannam mūlanyapi nikrīntati.
130. Rajaseveṣu viśvāsām garbhasaṅkramiteṣu ca
yaḥ karoti naro mūḍho na cīram sa tu jivati.
131. Abhyannatim prāpya nrpah pravāram kītaka yathā
sa vinaśatyasandeham āhaivam Uśana nrpa.
See also Pañcatantram II, 45, and Kāmandaṅkya, V, 88, 89.

The Śukranīti expresses in the following ślokas, III, 75–80, the same idea:

75. Bhṛtyo bhṛtāpi vapaḥ patni kuryat na caiva yat
vīdhāyantī ca mitrāni tat kāryam avīśāṅkitam.
76. Ato yateta tatt prāptyai mitralabdhirvāra nrnām
nātyantam viśvāset kāncit viśvastam api sarvāda.
77. Putram v a duréem bhāryam amatyam adhikārinām
dhānastrī rajyalobho hi sarveṣam adhiko yataḥ.
78. Prāmanikam cānubhūtam āptam sarvatra viśvāset
viśvavatmavadhūhadast kāryam vimsṛt svayam.
79. Tadvanyakam tarkato'nartham viparitām na cintayet,
catuṣaṣṭitamāṁsām tannāṣītam kṣāmayet atha.
80. Svadharmanītibalavān tena maitrim pradharayet
dānairnānaiśca satkāraḥ supūjyān pujayet sada.
III, 76, we find them occurring in connection with this particular subject, the acquisition of friends.  

The following Śloka in the Harivamsa, which is found a little modified in the Pañcatantra, III, 256, is also ascribed to Uśanas:—“The residue of an enemy, of debt, of fire, O prince! (although scattered) when united, may grow again; therefore one should not allow a residue to remain.” The Śukraniti contains nearly the same idea in the same words.  

The Kāmandakiya (XII, 67) says that Manu mentions in his law book, that the number of ministers at the court of a king amounts to 12, that Brhaspati says it amounts to 16, and that Uśanas fixed it at 20.  

In the Śukraniti II, 69 and 70 are as a matter of fact 20 ministers mentioned; e.g., the family priest, vicegerent, chief secretary, war minister, diplomatist, chief justice, learned adviser, finance minister, councillor and ambassador; each of these 10 has a substitute, so that the entire number of ministers amounts to 20.

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76 See Pañcatantram, II, 47.  
Sukṛtyam viṣṇuguptasya mitṛapṭibhārgavasya ca  
ṛṣhaṃśaṃśaśvatiiśatiśaḥ.  
77 See Harivamśa, XVIII, 136, 137.  
136. Na ca śeṣaṃ prakurvanti punarvairabhāyat narah  
ghāṭayanti sāmūlam hi śrutvamām upamāṃ nṛpa.  
137. Śatruśeṣaṃ ṛṇaśeṣam śeṣam agneśca bhūrpa  
punarvairdhaṁ sambhōya tasmat śeṣam na ṛṣeṣayet.  
Compare Śukraniti, III, 101–103.  
101. Sarpo’ngurjano rāja jāmata bhāginisutaḥ  
rogaḥ saturnāvamānanyopyalpa ityupacārataḥ.  
102. Krauraṭat taikiṣyadussvabhāvat svamitvāt putrikabhāyat  
svaprūvajapīṇḍadattatvrddhibhītya upacaret.  
103. Ṛṇaśeṣaṃ rogaśeṣaṃ satruśeṣaṃ na rakṣayet  
yacakadyaiḥ prārthitassānaṃ na tikṣeṣaṃ cottaṃ vadet.  
78 Dvādaśetī Mānuḥ prāha śoḍaśetī Bhṛhaspatis  
Uśanas viṃśatīritī mantriṃam mantramaṇḍalam.  
79 The slokas in question are as follows:—  
69. Purodhāca pratinidhiḥ pradhanaścaccavasthaḥ  
mantraḥ prāṇāvākaśca panditaśca sumantrakaḥ;  
70. Amātyo duṭa ityeta rājñah prakṛtyo daça  
daśāmāṁśadhiṣakaḥ pūram duṭaṁ daśaṁ kramaśaṁ śūtaḥ.
The Kâmandakiya (VIII, 22-23) ascribes to Ušanas the observation that the sphere round a king consists of twelve other kings of whom 4 are enemies, 4 friends and 4 neutrals.

A king X, e.g., is surrounded by three circles A, B, C, and in these circles resides one king in each of the four directions of the compass. Immediate neighbours are always hostile to each other, thus a king of the A line is an enemy to his neighbour in the B line, and the same feeling animates B towards his neighbour in C. As X is an enemy to the kings of the A line and the latter are enemies to the kings living in the B circle, X and the B kings become friends by being bound together by their hostility to the A kings, and X and the C kings are neutrals as, they have no interest in common, being too distant from each other. This very idea is well expressed in the Śukraniti, IV, I, 17-18.  

The whole Śukraniti is divided into four sections with a fifth supplementary section at the end.

The first section treats on the duties of a king; the second on the position of the crown prince; the third mainly on income and expenditure on servants and wages; the fourth is divided into seven chapters, treating respectively 1, on friendship and (enmity), 2, on the treasury, 3, on administration, 4, on revenue, arts and science, 5, on social laws, 6, on fortresses, and 7, on the army.

This last chapter is given afterwards entirely. It begins with a definition of the word army, goes on to state the different character of the troops; the mode of their movements, whether they march on foot, ride on horses and

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80 See Kâmandakiya, VIII, 22, 23.

22. Udâsino madhyamaśca vijigīṣostu maṇḍalam uśanā maṇḍalam idam prāha dvādaśarājakam.

23. Dvādaśānām narendrānām arimitre prthak prthak; and Śukraniti, IV, I, 17, 18.

17. Āsamanatāt caturdikṣu sannikṛṣṭāśca ye nṛpaḥ tatparastatparā ye’nye kramat hīnabalārayah.

18. Šatrūdāsimatirāṇi kramat te syustu prakṛtāḥ arimatrim udāsino’nantarastatparasparam.
elephants, or are driven in carriages. Then follows a description of the various kinds of soldiers, and afterwards a description of the animals and conveyances used for army purposes. This is succeeded by a classification of the arms used in warfare and such arms are described. Among these are mentioned firearms and a full account is given of the manufacture of gunpowder. These two subjects will be discussed at large hereafter. After the description of weapons is finished, the different modes of warring, marching, and treating are gone into, and the political conduct of the king is described at length. No undue preference is given to any peculiar subject in particular, and this, if no other proof had been forthcoming, speaks for the genuineness of the work.

It is hardly imaginalbe that a work, which contains so many important revelations about the ancient state of the civil and military administration of India, and which is, as we have seen, often quoted by works of undisputed antiquity and genuineness—quoted too in a manner which precludes forgery, as the quotations are seldom quite literal should have been written for the sole object of braggadocio, in order to prove to Europeans the mental superiority of the ancient Hindus by ascribing to them the original invention and manufacture both of gunpowder and firearms, and that the very object of the forgery, its raison d'être, should have been frustrated afterwards by keeping the work so zealously secret that except to a few initiated pandits, it was totally unknown to the public!

On the other hand would it not be a subject worthy of investigation for those who doubt the authenticity of the Sukraniti to prove its spuriousness, and to refute the statements brought forward in favor of its genuineness? Mere assertions do not possess any scientific value.

81 Gunpowder and firearms are incidentally mentioned also in other parts of the Sukraniti; but in this chapter both are described fully.
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tants in the manufacture of better gunpowder or of projectile weapons of superior quality.

When missiles despatched from projectile weapons by means of gunpowder easily penetrated the knights clad in their strongest suit of armour, while the persons who used those arms were quite beyond the reach of their physically perhaps stronger foes, no wonder that armour was discarded in course of time, and the mediæval knight, who had hitherto without much difficulty maintained his supremacy single-handed against a multitude, found his former superiority gone, and disappeared gradually from the scene. Fortresses, which, before the invention of gunpowder, had been regarded as impregnable, lost their reputation as safe strongholds, and new schemes and practices had to be devised to obviate the difficulties of the altered situation.

Slight improvements in the construction or manipulation of firearms produced often most important alterations in the political history of the world. Frederick the Great is said to have owed in his earlier campaigns many of his victories to the quicker mode of loading adopted by the Prussian army; and it is not so long ago that we ourselves have witnessed a rearrangement of the map of Europe, partly effected by means of superior weapons being used by one nation against another. It is therefore natural that a general interest should be more or less taken in all important advances made in this subject, which, if well studied and applied, provides a nation with the means of ensuring its freedom, independence, and supremacy, so long as actual strength is regarded as the only recognized claim to independent political existence.

The invention of gunpowder has been ascribed to different individuals belonging to different countries, and as the question as to its authorship and antiquity is still an open one, we shall discuss this mooted point and shall endeavour to prove that the oldest documents mentioning and describ.
ing gunpowder are found in India and written in Sanskrit, and that the use of gunpowder and its application to the discharge of missiles from projectile weapons was a well known fact in ancient India, corroborating so far the opinion of those who always pointed out India as the original seat of its invention. The question whether China received the knowledge of gunpowder from India, or *vice versā*, cannot be touched here, as there do not exist any trustworthy documents bearing on this question. No Chinese work on this question can, with respect to antiquity, be compared with the Sukraniti, so that even if the Chinese should have independently invented gunpowder, the claim as to priority of invention will certainly remain with India.

A Franciscan monk, Berthold Schwarz, whose real name was Constantin Ancklitzen or Anklitz, is generally, especially in Germany, credited with the invention of gunpowder, which, according to tradition, was made at Freiburg in the Breisgau about the year 1330. No doubt Black Barthel, *der schwarze Barthel*, as he was popularly called, dabbled in alchemy and was very fond of chemical experiments, during one of which he was blown up and nearly killed by an explosion of a mortar he was experimenting upon. Eventually he was accused of practising magic and necromancy and sent to prison. A grateful posterity erected in his honour a statue on the spot where the Franciscan Convent of Freiburg had once stood; an honour which he may have richly deserved for many reasons, but surely not for being the original inventor of gunpowder.

Many years previously to Berthold Schwarz, another Franciscan monk, Roger Bacon (1214–94), the Doctor Mirabilis of Oxford, had already pointed out the peculiar qualities of saltpetre, as exemplified in the action of gunpowder. Like every chemical scholar in those times he became an object of clerical suspicion, was incarcerated by his superiors on the plea of practising forbidden magic and
though for a time released by Pope Clement IV, he was again imprisoned under Pope Nicholas III. Bacon suggests that gunpowder should be used in war, as it would supply a powerful means for the destruction of hostile armies. He notices particularly the thunderlike noise and lightninglike flash at the time of its explosion; its application to crackers and fireworks is a subject, he was well acquainted with. He states in his book on the secret works of art and nature two of the principal ingredients which compose gunpowder—saltpetre and sulphur—but not wishing, according to the mysterious inclination of those days, to make the secret known, he uses in his prescription the obscure expression lura nope cum ubre, which has been later ingeniously found out to stand for carbonum pulvere. 83

It is now generally supposed that Roger Bacon learnt the secret of the manufacture of gunpowder while he was travelling in Spain, where it was pretty well known among the Moors, who were not only the most learned nation at that period, but who, through religious and national tradition were intimately connected with their more eastern co-religionists and compatriots. An Arabic treatise on gunpowder written in 1249 is up to this day preserved in the Library of the Royal Escorial.

In the National Library at Paris is preserved a work ascribed to one Marcus Graecus. It was published at Paris in 1806 as Liber ignium ad comburendos hostes, auctore Marco Graeco. About the nationality and the life of this Marcus Graecus nothing is known for certain. According to some he lived in the 9th, according to others in the 13th

83 "Sed tamen salis petrae, lura nope cum ubre et sulphuris, et sic facies tonitrum et coruscationem, si scias artifcium;" in Roger Bacon's work "De secretis operibus Artis et Naturae et de nullitate magiae." At another place he alludes to fireworks: "Ex hoc ludico puerili quod fit in multis mundi partibus scilicet ut instrumento facto ad quantitatem pollicis humani ex hoc violentia salis qui salpetrae vocatur tam horribilis sonus nascitur in ruptura tam modicae pergamenae quod fortis tonitru rugitum et coruscationem maximam sui luminis jubar excedit."
century. The accuracy of the name is even doubtful, as he is also called Marcus Gracchus instead of Graecus. If the latter appellation be the more correct one, it might perhaps be surmised that the work was originally written in Greek. Saltpetre occurs three times in his book, as *sal petrosum*, *lapis qui dicitur petra salis*, and as *sal petrun*. According to Marcus Graecus the composition of gunpowder is two parts of charcoal, one part of sulphur, and six parts of saltpetre.

Towards the end of the seventh century the architect Kallinikos of Heliopolis, when Constantinople was besieged by the Arabs in 668, manufactured big tubes made of iron or of other metals, formed like big beasts with gaping jaws, out of which were thrown iron, stones and combustibles. In consequence of the havoc caused by these projectiles the siege of the city was raised. The Greeks kept, it is said, the secret of the composition for four centuries, when it was betrayed to the Saracens, who availed themselves of it during the crusades at Jerusalem and also at Damietta. If the ingredients are rightly mentioned, *e.g.*., by the Byzantine princess, Anna Komnena, who wrote the history of her father Alexios, they consisted only of resin, oil, and sulphur, and not of saltpetre. As Kallinikos hailed from Heliopolis, the place otherwise known as Baalbec, and as the Greek fire seems to have been a liquid, the most important ingredient of which was naphtha, which was well known to, and was much made use of by the Eastern nations,—as it is found near Baku on the Caspian Sea, (where the gas, as it escapes from fissures in the earth in the neighbourhood of the oilsprings, has been burning uninterruptedly for centuries and is worshipped by Parsees,) in the island of Tchelekin on the other side of the Caspian Sea opposite to Baku, in Mesopotamia, in Kurdistan, in North India, and in China—it is probable that Kallinikos only introduced this powerful com-

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84 See John Beckmann's History of Inventions and Discoveries under the article "Saltpetre, Gunpowder, Aqua fortis."
bustible into Western warfare, and that it was before his time employed in the East. At all events it was a most powerful preparation for the destruction of the enemy, and the terror it spread among the troops of Louis IX before Damietta is graphically described by contemporaries. It seems to have even been used in European wars, for, according to Père Daniel, the king Philip Augustus of France had brought home some of it from Acre, and used it at the siege of Dieppe against the English ships there at anchor. 85 It is said that Napoleon the Great became acquainted with the real composition of the Greek fire, but that he pronounced it inapplicable; one of the chief reasons for his decision being probably the fluid state of the combustible.

There exists an old tradition, according to which the Arabs possessed at an early date a knowledge of the manufacture of gunpowder, and that they obtained it originally from India, with which country they had an active commercial intercourse. They are even said to have improved on the original manufacture. That the Arabs received their earliest gunpowder supplies from India, and that this country was the original seat of its invention was very strongly urged so early as the end of the last century by M. Langlès in a paper read in the French Institute in 1798. This opinion is also upheld by Johann Beckmann (1739–1811), whose well known "History of Inventions and Discoveries" (Beiträge zur Geschichte der Erfindungen) has passed through many English editions. He says there: "In a word, I am more than ever inclined to accede to the opinion of those who believe that gunpowder was invented in India, and brought by the Saracens from Africa to the Europeans; who, however, improved the preparation of it, and found out different ways of employing it in war, as well as small arms and cannons."

Having discussed so far the question as to the invention of gunpowder, we now turn to its application in war by means of projectile weapons. The first country in Europe where such projectile weapons were used was Spain. They are mentioned by Arabian writers as far back as 1312, and were used in 1323 at the siege of Baza. The French seem to have employed them since 1338 at first for dismantling castles and fortifications only, and not in the battle field as Edward III of England is said to have done in 1346 at Crécy. The French writers seem to have been indignant at the employment of such destructive arms against human beings, for one of them says: “On ne faisait point encore usage en France en 1347 de cette arme terrible contre les hommes; les Françoys s’en étoient bien servis en 1338, pour l’attaque de quelques chateaux, mais ils rougissoient de l’employer contre leurs semblables. Les Anglois, moins humains, sans doute, nous devancèrent et s’en servirent à la célèbre bataille de Crécy, qui eut lieu entre les troupes du roi d’Angleterre, Edouard III, qui fut si méchant, si perfide, qui donna tant de fil à retordre à Philippe de Valois, et aux troupes de ce dernier; et ce fut en majeure partie à la frayeur et à la confusion qu’occasionnèrent les canons, dont les Anglois se servoient pour la première fois, qu’ils avoient postés sur une colline proche le village de Crecy, que les Françoys durent leur déroute.”

88 These projectile weapons were formed like tubes and were therefore called cannons from canna, a reed. In German they were known as Rohr, which word has the same meaning. The small firearms were originally without a stock, and as they were very heavy, they used to be placed on a fork when they were discharged. The arquebuse with a wheel was first used by Emperor Charles V and Pope Leo X in the year 1521 at the siege of Parma against Francis I, King of France.

88 See Projectile Weapons of War, p. 117.—In the Library of Christ Church, Oxford, is preserved in a beautifully illuminated Manuscript, which dates from 1336, and which has been in the possession of Edward III, the picture of an armour-clad warrior, who fires a bottle-shaped cannon.
The same Martin Bellay who states this fact, further informs us that the German horse or Reiter were the first, who were armed with pistols, and that those troopers were thence called pistoliers. Muskét is a still later weapon. It has got its name from the French mouchet (Latin muschetus, sparrow hawk). The Duke of Alva is reported to have first used them in the Netherlands.

The gun was originally fired by the simple application of a lighted match. The clumsiness and uncertainty of this procedure especially during storms and rains suggested improvements. At first a cock was added to give security to the hand, afterwards a firestone was inserted into this cock and a small wheel was fastened to the barrel. The wheel lock is said to have been invented in 1517 at Nürnberg in Bavaria. The firestone first used was not the flint which was employed later, but the pyrites or marcasite. The match was nevertheless not altogether discarded, as the stone often missed fire, and it was retained together with the wheel. Flint locks were of a far later origin. They were first used in 1687 by the Brunswickers, and they were introduced into England under William III during the years 1692-93. These continued improvements, to which we may add the modern percussion lock, the needle-gun, and the breech-loader, were mainly necessitated by the perilous and defenceless position a soldier was in as soon as he had discharged his gun against an enemy, who chose this moment as convenient to attack him. The greater the rapidity in loading, the greater is the efficiency of the fireweapon.

If we now turn our attention from the West to the East we find that powder and firearms seem to have been much earlier used in the latter than in the former.

It is recorded that in the battle near Delhi fought between Tamerlane and Sultan Mahmud, the latter opposed his

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97 According to others it was invented at the end of the fifteenth century by one Moketta of Velletri, after whom it is said to have been named.
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was heard at about the distance of 150 paces.”

Deguignes says that the Mogols used in 1275 a similar weapon against the Chinese: “Les Chinois reprirent Tchangtcheou; et Tchang-chi-kiai avec un grand nombre de barques qu’il avait ramassées, s’approcha pour combattre les Mogols. Mais At-chou avec des flèches enflammées, y fit mettre le feu, et les troupes Chinoises, après une vive résistance, se précipitèrent dans le fleuve.”

At another place Deguignes under the year 917 says that the Kitans carried with them a combustible which they had received from the King of Ou, and that this fluid burnt even under water. Arabian reports inform us that the Arabs used in India Āṭiḥ-bāzī, like those employed by the Greeks and Persians. Ferishta tells us that in the battle which Mahmud of Ghazna fought near Peshawar with Anandapāl in 1,008 cannon (top) and muskets (tufang) were used by Mahmud.

Colonel Tod says in his Annals of Rajasthan: “We have, in the poems of the Hindu poet Chand, frequent indistinct notices of fire-arms, especially the nalghola, or tube ball; but whether discharged by percussion or the expansive force of gunpowder is dubious. The poet

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91 See On the early use of Gunpowder in India; in “The History of India” the posthumous papers of the late Sir H. M. Elliot, x.c.b., edited by Professor John Dawson, vol. VI., p. 460. Ibidem in note 2 is a quotation from Père Gaubil’s “Histoire de Gentchiscan,” p. 69. Les Mangous se servirent alors de pao (ou canons) à feu. On avait dans la ville des pao à feu . . . Je n’ai pas osé traduire par canon, les caractères pao, et hō pao, un de ces caractères a à côté le caractère chě, pierre, et c’était une machine à lancer des pierres. L’autre caractère est joint au caractère hō, feu, et je ne sais pas bien si c’était un canon comme les nôtres. De même, je n’oserais assurer que les boulets dont il est parlé sejetaient comme on fait aujourd’hui.

92 See “Histoire générale des Huns, par M. Deguignes, III, 162.


94 See Deguignes, II, p. 61: “Ils (les Khitans) apportoien avec eux une matière inflammable, dont le Roi de Ou leur avait donné la connoissance, c’était une matière grasse qui s’enflammait et qui brûloit au milieu des eaux.”

95 See The History of India, edited from Sir H. M. Elliot’s papers by Prof. John Dowson, VI, 219 and 454.
also repeatedly speaks of "the volcano of the field," giving to understand great guns; but these may be interpolations, though I would not check a full investigation of so curious a subject by raising a doubt." 96 Muhammed Kāsim used such a machine or manjanīk when besieging in A.H. 93 (A.D. 711–12) the port of Daibal. The first thing done with this machine was to shoot down from the top of the high pagoda a long pole surmounted with a red cloth. 97 The prophet Muhammed is also credited with having used the manjanīk when besieging Ta'if in the ninth year of the Hegira, and according to Ibn Kotaibah the projectile weapon in question was already used by Jazynah, the second King of Ḥyrah, whose date is fixed about the year 200 A.D. 98

Passing over the statements of Dio Cassius and Johannes Antiochenus, that the Roman Emperor Caligula had machines from which stones were thrown among thunder and lightning, we come to the statement of Flavius Philostratos, who lived at the court of the Emperors Septimius Severus, and Caracalla. In his history of Apollonios of Tyana, he mentions, that when that extraordinary man was travelling in India, he had among other things learnt the real reason why Alexander the Great desisted from attacking the Oxydracae. "These truly wise men dwell between the rivers Hyphasis and Ganges; their country Alexander never entered, deterred not by fear of the inhabitants, but, as I suppose, by religious motives, for had he passed the Hyphasis, he might, doubtless, have made himself master of all the country round them; but their cities he never could have taken, though he had led a thousand as brave as Achilles, or three thousand such as Ajax, to the assault; for they come not out to the field to fight those who attack them, but these holy men, beloved by the gods, overthrew their enemies with tempests and thunderbolts shot from their walls. It is said that the Egyptian

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96 See Annals of Rajasthan, I, 310.
97 See Elliot's Posthumous Papers, VI, 462. 98 Ibidem, p. 461.
Hercules and Bacchus, when they overran India, invaded this country also, and having prepared warlike engines, attempted to conquer them; they in the meanwhile made no show of resistance, appearing perfectly quiet and secure, but upon the enemy's near approach they were repulsed with storms of lightning and thunderbolts hurled upon them from above." In the apocryphal letter which Alexander is said to have written to Aristotle, he describes the frightful dangers to which his army were exposed in India, when the enemies hurled upon them flaming thunderbolts.99

Firdusi ascribed to Alexander this expedition when opposed by Porus. While Sikander, according to the author of the Shah-Nama, was marching against Porus (Fur) his troops became so frightened when they perceived the numbers of elephants which Porus was sending against them that Alexander consulted his ministers how to counteract this foe. Their advice was to manufacture an iron man and an iron horse, place the former on the latter, fix the horse on wheels, fill them both with naphtha and propel them towards the elephants, where they would explode with great havoc.

Such a stratagem is ascribed by the Franciscan monk Johannes de Plano Carpini to Prester John when he was fighting against the Tatars. In my monograph on Prester John I have pointed out to what special event it may probably refer.100

99 See Philostratos Τὰ εἰς τὸν Ταυρίδα Ἀπολλάνων. The words used by Philostratos are βρονταλ κάτω στρεφόμεναι (II, 14), and ἐμβροντηθέντας αὐτῶς ὧν τῶν σοφῶν (III, 3).—Compare Projectile Weapons of War, pp. 83 and 84.
100 See Der Presbyter Johannes in Sage und Geschichte, pp. 93 and 94. "Johannes Presbyter venit contra eos (Tataros) exercitu congregato, et faciens imaginis hominum cupreas in sellis posuit supra equos, ponens ignem interius, et posuit homines cum follibus post imaginem cupreas supra equos; et cum multis imaginibus et equis taliter praeparatis venerunt contra praeiectos. Tartaros ad pugnam; et cum ad locum proelii pervenissent, istos equos uuum juxta alium praemiserunt, viri autem qui erant retro, posuerunt nescio quid ignem qui erat in praedictis imaginibus et cum folliibus fortiter suflaverunt; unde factum est quod ex igne graeco homines combure, bantur et equi, et ex fumo aer est denigratus."
We read in the extracts remaining from the work of Ktesias on India, that an oil was prepared from a big worm, which lived in the deep bed of the river Indus. This animal had two big tusks (jaws/? branchiae), slept during the day in the muddy sands of the banks of the rivers, which it left at night in search of food, seizing big animals, which it devoured. According to C. Plinius Secundus this worm catches even elephants. When such an animal has been caught—which is generally done by binding a sheep or a goat to a strong pole—it is kept suspended in the sun for thirty days, that the oil may drip from it, and this oil was collected in earthen pots. Each worm supplied a quantity equal to ten measures of oil. This was sent to the king in sealed jars. The oil had the power to ignite every thing and was for this reason used especially at sieges. Jars filled with this material were thrown into besieged towns and whatever they touched ignited as soon as they broke. Nothing but rubbish and sweepings could extinguish the flame, when once ignited. Neither man, nor animal, nor anything could

101 See Photii Myriobiblon, 1653, p. 153-156.

102 See Caii Plinii Secundi Historia Naturalis, Libr. IX, 17: “In eodem (Gange flumine) esse Statius Sebosus haud medico miraculo affert, vermes branchiis binis, sex cubitorum, cœruleos, qui nomen a facie tracerunt. Hīs tantas esse vires, ut elephantos ad potum venientes, mordicus comprehensa manu eorum abstrahant.” Just previously Plinius had spoken of the Delphinus Gangeticus (platanista).
withstand this terrific combustible. Philostratos confirmed these statements. According to him this worm-like insect lives in the Hyphasis, and the flame caused by the fire can only be subdued by being entirely covered with dust. The king is the sole owner of all these animals. Ktesias, Aelianos, and Philostratos, all three agree in the name of this *worm*, which they call Skolex (σκόληξ). Lassen scorns the possibility of such a worm being in existence, and ascribes the whole description to the imaginative tendency so prevailing in the mind of Oriental nations. The late Professor H. H. Wilson takes a more practical view of the case, by identifying the worm in question with the Indian alligator, and remembering that the oil and the skin of the alligator were considered in ancient times to possess most wonderful qualities, and that the greater part of the other description tallies with the outward appearance and natural habits of the alligator. Wilson seems to have fixed on the right animal. 103 Nevertheless so far as the name σκόληξ is concerned nobody so far as I know has tried to explain it. An animal of seven cubits in length, and of a breadth in proportion to its size, could hardly have been called a *worm*, unless the original name of the beast in question resembled the Greek word Skolex. The word represented by the Greek word Skolex is no doubt the Sanskrit term *culukī*, *cullakī* (with the variations *ulupin* or *culumpin*). *Culukin* is derived from *culuka*, mire, it is therefore an animal which likes to lie or to live in mud. The cullakī is described in Sanskrit works as somewhat similar to the *Śiśumāra*, which is identified with the Delphinus Gange-

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ticus, though its name denotes a childkiller. The cullakī is therefore a large aquatic animal, which because it lives principally in water, is called a fish; and as the crocodile prefers as its place of abode the muddy banks of a river, the name cullakī applies most appropriately to it.\footnote{The author of the Śabdaratnāvalī explains it by Śiśumārākṛtimatśya, i.e., a fish which resembles the porpoise; and in Hemacandra’s Anekārtha-saṅgraha we read cullakī kuṇḍikā bhede śiśumāre kalāntare; Viśvaprakāśa and Medinkakara have nearly the same explanation: Cullakī (cullakī) śiśumārepī kuṇḍibhede kalāntare, i.e., culuki is a pot; a porpoise (and) a kind of race.}

It is a peculiar coincidence that in Telugu an iguana is called udumu, and the lizard is generally called udumupille or young iguana; the Tamil name of the same animal is udumbu.

The identity is thus clearly established between the Greek word skolex (as the Greeks had no nearer sound than sk to resemble the palatal c), the Sanskrit words culukī (cullakī, culumpī, and ulupī), and the Dravidian udumbu and udumu.

On the west coast of India oil is even now obtained from big fish by letting their carcasses lie in the sun and allowing the oil thus to ooze out, which process creates all the while an unbearable stench. With respect to the quantity of oil gained out of a fish like a porpoise and of a crocodile, the superiority rests doubtless with the former, though a well-fed and plump gavial possesses no doubt likewise a considerable amount of oily substance.\footnote{The oil of the crocodile is mentioned in Indian Medical Works, and it is in the list of Dr. Forbes Watson included among the commercial products of India.}

The iguana resembles in its shape a crocodile, and both being named in the Dravidian languages and in Sanskrit by the word culumpī alias udumbu, this term applies in the former languages to the smaller and in Sanskrit to the larger animal. The Sanskrit word musalī and the Tamil mudaḷai are also identical in origin, but they differ in so far that musalī
denotes a house lizard and mudalai a crocodile. In fact the Sanskrit musalī and culumpin (culuki) correspond according to their meaning to the Tamil uṟumbo and mudalai. The inference to be drawn from this fact is obvious.

The culūkin is in Sanskrit only a large sized animal; a worm, especially an earth-worm, is called a kiṅculuka or kiṅculaka or kiṅcilaka, i.e., a little culuka.

No doubt the description of Ktesias is in many respects inaccurate, but I hope to have been able to trace the thread of truth which runs through it.

As oil, especially boiling oil, is used in Indian warfare, the subject is of particular interest in this inquiry.

CHAPTER IV.

INDIA THE HOME OF GUNPOWDER AND FIREARMS.

In every inquiry which is conducted with the object of proving that a certain invention has been made in any particular country it is of the utmost importance to show that so far as the necessary constituents of the object invented are concerned, all these could be found in the country credited with such invention.

The ordinary components of gunpowder are saltpetre, sulphur, and charcoal.

1. It is now generally admitted that the nitrum which occurs in the writings of the ancients was not saltpetre, but natron, i.e., sodium carbonate; the latter word is nowhere extant in Greek or Roman literature, though the words nitrum and natron are no doubt in their origin identical.

The word neter occurs twice in the Bible. It is described as an alkali, which was used as soap: "For though thou wash thee with nitre, and take thee much sope, yet thine iniquity is marked before me, saith the Lord God" (Jerem. ii. 22); and "As he that taketh away a garment in cold
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together with all the other artificial modes of producing saltpetre, became a perquisite of the sovereign, and this saltpetre regale grew in time into as obnoxious a burden to the people as the hunting regale. The saltpetre regale is first mentioned, as having been exercised in 1419 by Günther, Archbishop of Magdeburg.¹⁰⁹

The little knowledge possessed by the ancients of chemical science, their utter ignorance of chemical analysis, accounts for their not improving, or rather for their not being able to improve the materials at their disposal and discovering the natural qualities of the different alkalis in their possession.

Throughout India saltpetre is found, and the Hindus are well acquainted with all its properties; it is even commonly prescribed as a medicine. India was famous for the exportation of saltpetre, and is still so. The Dutch, when in India, traded especially in this article.

In Bengal it is gathered in large masses wherever it effloresces on the soil, more particularly after the rainy season. In the Sukraniti saltpetre is called suvarcilavana, well shining salt. The Dhavanantarinighaṇṭu describes saltpetre as a tonic, as a sonchal salt; it is also called tilakam (black), kṛṣṇalavāṇam and kālalavāṇam. It is light, shiny, very hot in digestion and acid. It is good for indigestion, acute stomach ache, and constipation. It is a common medical prescription.¹¹⁰

2. Sulphur, the second ingredient of gunpowder, is also found in India, especially in Scinde; it is, and was, largely

¹⁰⁹ See J. Beckmann, History of Discoveries, under the head Saltpetre, Gunpowder Aquaforis.

¹¹⁰ See Dhavanantarinighaṇṭu, in the Description of Salts.
Suvarcalavanaprotktam rucyakam ṛṛṇyagandhakam
tilakam kṛṣṇalavāṇam tāt kālalavāṇam śmrtaṃ.
Laghu sauvarcalam pāke viryoṣṇam viṣadam katu
gulmaśālavibandhaghanam ṛṛṇyam surabhilocanam.
Amarakośa, IX, 43. Sauvarcamekṣarucake tilakam tatra mecake, and 110 sauvarcalam svat rucakam.
imported into India from the East. It is well known and received its name from its smell, being called *gandha* or *gandhaka*, smell, or in this case as it has not a good smell, rather from its *stench*. Its quality differs with its color, according as it is white, red, yellow, or bluish. Though sulphur is a very important part of gunpowder, gunpowder is in some parts of India even prepared without it. Sulphur was always in great demand in India, and in medicine it is often made use of.111

3. **Charcoal** is the third component part of gunpowder. Its constitution varies necessarily with the plants which in the different countries are used in its manufacture. In Prussia the coal of the alder, limetree, poplar, elder, willow, hemp, and hazel is used for powder. The charcoal of willow trees is especially esteemed on account of its excellent qualities. In the Sukraniti the *arka* (*Calatropis gigantea*), the *snuhi*, *snuhi* or *snuh* (*Euphorbia neriifolia*), and the *Rasona* (*Allium sativum*) are given as the plants whose charcoal is best fitted for gunpowder.

The *arka*, gigantic swallow wort, is a common bush growing in great quantities all over the country. It has a very good fibre, and is regarded by the natives as possessing most powerful and useful qualities. If the arka is used with discretion when iron is being forged, it contributes greatly to the excellence of the Indian steel. It is applied against epilepsy, paralysis, dropsy, &c. Its milky juice is smeared on wounds. It is a common sight in India to see suffering people applying it. The root is also used against syphilis. Its charcoal is very light and much used for pyrotechnical

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111 Śveto raktaśca pitaśca nilaśce ti caturvidhah
    gandhaśko varṇato jñeyo bhinnabhinnagnuśrayah; Rājanighanta.
It is cleaned by being boiled with castor oil or goat's milk.

Gandhakam palamatram ca lohapatrāntare keipet
erandatailam sampūrya pacet śuddhirbhavisyati.
Atha chagadugdhena pacitam śuddhim apruyat.

See Sadvaidyajīvāna.
preparations, and its qualities in this respect are so well
known that every school boy is acquainted with them and
prepares his own powder and mixture with this plant. Its
name in Tamil is erukku, in Malayalam eruka, in Telugu
jillegu, in Bengali akund, and in Hindustani mudar or arka.

b. The snuhi, snuh, (triangular spurge, kalli in Malayalam,
pāśān kalli in Tamil, bontajamnuḍu in Telugu, narashy,
seyard in Hindustani and narsy in Bengali) grows like the
arka in waste places all over the Indian Peninsula. The
qualities of this plant for pyrotechnic displays are as well
known as those of the Calatropis gigantea. Dried sticks of
this plant are scarce. It is also widely used as a medicinal
plant, externally against rheumatism, and internally as a
purgative; it is given to children against worms.\textsuperscript{112}

c. The rasona is a kind of garlic; the Marathi equivalent
is lasuna. Its botanical name is \textit{Allium sativum}.

The prescription for making gunpowder is, according to the
Śukraniti, as follows: mix 5 parts of saltpetre with 1 part of
sulphur and 1 part of charcoal. The charcoal is to be pre-
pared from the arka, snuhi, and other similar plants in such a
manner that during the process the plants are so covered
that the smoke cannot escape. The charcoal thus obtained
must be cleaned, reduced to powder, and the powder of the
different charcoals is then to be mixed. After this has been
done, the juice of the arka, snuhi, and rasona must be
poured over the powder which is to be thoroughly mixed
with this juice. This mixture is to be exposed and dried in
the sun. It is then finally ground like sugar and the
whole mixture thus obtained is gunpowder.\textsuperscript{113}

\textsuperscript{112} With respect to the \textit{snuhi} there exists a Tamil proverb, reflecting on its
leafless state and big growth. It runs as follows: “There is no leaf to con-
tain a mustard seed; but there is shade to shelter an elephant.” (இந்துக்கை
எழிக்கல்லை; பூக்கல் என்பதிலே ஒரு மலர்க்)---Compare also: The Useful
Plants of India, by Major Heber Drury, 1858, p. 100–102.

\textsuperscript{113} See Chapter V, sl. 141, 142.
The proportion of saltpetre varies, as some take 4 or 6 parts instead of 5, but the quantities of sulphur and charcoal remain unaltered.\textsuperscript{114} These two are the usual receipts. Nevertheless the mixture is often changed when the gunpowder is to be of a particular color or if it has to serve a special purpose. The three principal ingredients are mixed in different proportion, and realgar, opiment, graphite, vermilion, the powder of magnetic iron oxide, camphor, lac, indigo, and pine-gum are added to the compound according as they are required.\textsuperscript{115}

It seems peculiar that powder should not have been mentioned in Sanskrit works, but this is not an isolated instance of the silence observed in them on matters of historical importance. It is most probable that the very common occurrence of gunpowder interfered with its being regarded as something extraordinary and worth mentioning. The actual mode of preparing the different sorts of gunpowder may on the other hand have been kept a secret in certain classes, and such a state of affairs coincides with the Indian system of caste. Explosive powder either used for rejoicings as fireworks or for discharging projectiles was known in India from the earliest period, and its preparation was never forgotten; but as India occupied in ancient times such an isolated position, it is not singular that the knowledge of this compound did not earlier extend to other countries. However wonderful the composition and however startling the detonating effect of powder may be to the uninitiated outsider, to those who have been familiar with them from their earliest youth all seems natural and intelligible. India is the land of fireworks; no festival is complete without them, and as the materials for their manufacture are all indigenous, and of easy access, there is no difficulty in gratifying such desires.

\textsuperscript{114} See Chapter V, sl. 143. \textsuperscript{115} See Chapter V, sl. 146–148.
In an extract taken from the *Mujmalut Tawārīkh*—which was translated in 1126 from the Arabic, into which language it had been translated a century previously from a Sanskrit original—we read: “that the Brahmans counselled Hāl to have an elephant made of clay and to place it in the van of his army, and that when the army of the king of Kashmir drew nigh, the elephant exploded, and the flames destroyed a great portion of the invading force. Here we have not only the simple act of explosion, but something very much like a fuze, to enable the explosion to occur at a particular time.”

Vaiśampāyana mentions among the things to be used against enemies *smoke-balls*, which contained most likely gunpowder, and which were according to the explanation proposed by his commentator made of gunpowder.

The following stanza, which is taken from the Rājalakṣmīnārāyaṇaḥṛdaya, a part of the Atharvanarahaḥasya, is no doubt a clear proof of the fact that the Hindus were familiar with gunpowder at a very remote period: “As the fire prepared by the combination of charcoal, sulphur, and other material depends upon the skill of its maker so also may thou, O! representative of knowledge (Lakṣmi), by the application of my faith manifest thyself quickly according to my wish.”

The Sanskrit word for gunpowder is *agnicūrṇa*, fire-powder, which is occasionally shortened into *cūrṇa*. The Dravidian languages have all one and the same word for medicine and gunpowder; in Tamil *marundu*, in Telugu *mandu*, in Kanarese *maddu*, and in Malayālam *maruna*.

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116 *See* the History of India of the late Sir H. M. Elliot, VI, 475; I, 107.
117 *See* note 60.
118 *See* Rājalakṣmīnārāyaṇaḥṛdaya: 
inggaḷaṅgaṇaṁ dhīpaṁ dārthayogāt
katuṁ maṁsaṁ vaṅgo yathāgniḥ
caitanyarūpe maṁsa bhaktiyogāt
kāṅkṣāṁ urūpam bhaja rūpam āsu.
Occasionally the word gun (*tupāki*) is prefixed to remove any doubt as to what powder is meant. In Malayālam, the word *vedī*, which means explosion, is prefixed. The Chinese crackers are called by the Tamulians Śini *vedī*—Chinese crackers—to distinguish them from the Indian crackers. The word *marundū* is most probably derived from the Sanskrit past participle *mardīta*, pounded, in the sense of different ingredients being pounded together, as a medicine powder. The meaning of gunpowder is then in a special sense derived from this general expression. The Dravidian equivalent of *cūrna* is *Sunāmbu* in Tamil, *Sunnamu* in Telugu, chalk.

From the subject of gunpowder we now turn to the weapon, to which it is applied, *i.e.*, to the firearms.

Two kinds of firearms are described in the Śukranīti, one is of small size and the other is of large size. The former is five spans long,¹¹⁹ has at the breech a perpendicular and horizontal hole, and sights at the breech and muzzle end of the tube. Powder is placed in the vent, near which is a stone, which ignites the powder by being struck. Many dispense with this flint. The breech is well wooded and a ramrod compresses the powder and ball before the discharge. This small musket is carried by foot-soldiers.

A big gun has no wood at its breech; moves on a wedge in order to be directed towards the object to be shot at, and it is drawn on cars.

The distance which the shot travels depends upon the strength of the material from which the gun is made, upon the circumference of the hole, and the gun’s compactness and size. The ball is either of iron or lead or of any other material. Some big balls have smaller ones inside. The gun itself is generally of iron, occasionally also, as we

¹¹⁹ A span (vitasti) is the distance between the extended thumb and the little finger.
have seen in the Nitiprakāśikā, of stone. The gun is to be kept clean and must be always covered.\textsuperscript{120}

The term used for gun nālika (nalika, nālikā) is derived from the word nāla (nala), a reed, a hollow tube, which is another form for its synonyms nāda, nādi, or nāḍi; in the same way nālika corresponds to nāḍika. Considering that the guns were in ancient times made out of bamboo, and that some bamboo guns are still used in Burmah, the name appears both appropriate and original. That the idea of bamboo being the original material for guns was still in the mind of the author of the Śukraniti seems to be indicated by his calling the outside of the stock of a gun bark (tvak.)\textsuperscript{121}

The gun is very seldom mentioned in Sanskrit writings, and even where it has been mentioned the meaning of those passages has been generally misunderstood. In all European Sanskrit dictionaries the word nālika or nālikā has been rendered as stalk, tube; arrow, dart, &c., but the third signification gun is not given; though it is one which is known to every learned Pandit. At the outset every body can easily see that the meaning of arrow and of gun can be rightly applied to a reed; the arrow is a reed which is discharged as a missile, and a gun is a reed out of which missiles are shot.

In the slokas 21 and 24 of our extract of the Śukraniti we read that a king should keep on a big war chariot two large guns, and in śl. 31 we are further informed that his beautiful iron chariot should be furnished with a couch, a swing, and among other things also with sundry arms and projectile weapons. This tallies with an account concerning the fortifications of Manipura, as described in Mr. J. Talboys Wheeler’s “History of India:” On the outside of the city were a number of wagons bound together with chains, and in them

\textsuperscript{120} See Śukraniti, Chapter V, śl. 135–39 and 149–151.

\textsuperscript{121} See Śukraniti, Chapter V, śl. 139.
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certainly like her (Damayanti's) two brows, which are made for the conquest of the world, the two guns of those two (Rati and Manmatha) who wish to throw balls on you, are like her (Damayanti's) two elevated nostrils.”

To leave no doubt that guns are meant here, the learned commentator Mallinātha explains nālika as the Dronicāpa, the projectile weapon from which the Dronicāpaśara, a dart or a ball is discharged, an expression, we have already noticed in Vaiśampāyana's Nitiprakāsikā.

On the other hand it is doubtful whether the astāni missile, which was given by Indra to Arjuna and which made when discharged a noise like a thunder-cloud, alludes to firearms, as von Bohlen explains it.

In the first book of the Śukraniti we find it stated that the royal watchmen, who are on duty about the palace, carry firearms. The Kāmandaṇīya, acknowledged as one of the earliest works on Nitiśāstra, says that "Confidential agents keeping near the king should rouse him by stratagems, gunfiring and other means, when he is indulging in drinking bouts, among women, or in gambling.” It seems from this statement that the practice of firing guns as signals

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124 See Naiśadha, II, 28.
Dhanuṣi ratipaścābānasayorudite viśvajāya tadbhruvau
nalike na tuducanāsike tvayi nālikavimuktikāmayaḥ.

Mallinātha explains the second line as follows: “Damayantya uccanāsike unnatanāsāpute tvayi nālikanām dronicāpaśarānām vimuktim kāmayate iti tathoktayostayośilakām abhikṣacaribhyo ṇa iti ṇa pratayah. Nalike dronicāpa na kim iti kākūḥ pūrvavat utprekṣā.


126 See Das alte Indien, mit besonderer Rücksicht auf Aegypten. Von Dr. P. von Bohlen, II, p. 66; compare Mahābhārata, Vanaparva, Indralokābhigamanaparva, I, 3, 4.
3. Evam sampūjitā jiśpuruvāsa bhavane pītuḥ
upaśikṣān mahāstrāṇi sa sanhārāṇi pāṇḍavāḥ.
4. Cakrasya hastāt dayitam vajram astram ca dussaham
asānīcā mahānāda meghavartihīpalaśanāḥ.

127 See Kāmandaṇīya, V, 51.
Pānāstridyutagōṣṭhisu rājānam abhiśacarāḥ
bodhayeyuḥ pramādyaṃtam upāyairnālikādibhiḥ.

All the MSS. I have consulted give nālika, and so do also the prints in Telugu and Grantha characters. The Calcutta edition has nāḍika which as
was in vogue among the ancient Hindus, if we can trust the evidence of one of the oldest Sanskrit writings.

In the preface to a Code of Gentoo Laws, or Ordinances of the Pundits, occurs the following passage: "It will no doubt strike the reader with wonder to find a prohibition of firearms in records of such unfathomable antiquity; and he will probably from hence renew the suspicion which has long been deemed absurd, that Alexander the Great did absolutely meet with some weapons of that kind in India as a passage in Quintus Curtius seems to ascertain. Gunpowder has been known in China, as well as in Hindustan, far beyond all periods of investigation. The word firearms is literally Sanskrit Agnee-aster, a weapon of fire; they describe the first species of it to have been a kind of dart or arrow tipt with fire and discharged upon the enemy from a bamboo. Among several extraordinary properties of this weapon, one was, that after it had taken its flight, it divided into several separate darts or streams of flame, each of which took effect, and which, when once kindled, could not be extinguished; but this kind of agnee-aster is now lost. Cannon in the Sanskrit idiom is called Shet-Agnee, or the weapon that kills a hundred men at once, from (Shete) a hundred, and (gheneh) to kill; and the Pooran Shasters, or Histories, ascribe the invention of these destructive engines to Beeshookerma, the artist who is related to have forged all the weapons for the war which was maintained in the Suttee Jogue between Dewtā and Ossoor.

I explained on page 232 as ġ and ĭ are often interchanged, ḍalayorabheda, is another form for nālīka, if not so it must be regarded as an altogether false reading. The word nādika (given in Böthlingk and Roth's Sanskrit Wörterbuch as nādikā) occurs nowhere else, and the only reference to it in the just now mentioned Sanskrit dictionary is this passage from the Kāmandaṇīya, and there even the meaning of the word is not positively stated, but it is merely suggested that it may be a gong (wohl, eine metal- lene Platte, an der die Stunden angeschlagen werden).
(or the good and bad spirits) for the space of one hundred years.”

And again we read in page 53 of the same work: “The Magistrate shall not make war with any deceitful machine, or with poisoned weapons, or with cannon and guns, or any other kind of firearms; nor shall he slay in war a person born an eunuch, or any person who putting his hands together supplicates for quarter, nor any person who has no means of escape, nor any man who is sitting down, nor any person who says, ‘I am become of your party,’ nor any man who is asleep, nor any man who is naked, nor any person who is not employed in war, nor any person who is come to see the battle, nor any person who is fighting with another, nor any person whose weapons are broken, nor any person who is wounded, nor any person who is fearful of the fight, nor any person who runs away from the battle.”

As these passages are so often quoted without their origin being stated, it may at once be remarked that the prescription about the use of arms and the treatment of persons is a free translation from the seventh book of the institutes of Manu, vv. 90-93.

The important question at issue is, does this passage in Manu refer to firearms or not? In our opinion it certainly alludes to them, but still others prefer to apply it strictly to darts blazing with fire. The original words in Manu are:

Na kūṭair āyudhār hanyāḥ yudhyamāno rane ripūn na karnibhir nāpi digdhār nāgnejvalitātejanaiḥ.

“No one should strike in a combat his enemy with concealed weapons, nor with barbed arrows, nor with poisoned arrows, nor with darts kindled by fire.” Kullūkabhaṭṭa, the latest

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128 See A Code of Gentoo Laws, or Ordinances of the Pundits, from a Persian translation, made from the original, written in the Shanscrit Language (by Nathaniel Brassey Halhed), London 1770, pp. LII, LIII, and 53.
commentator of Manu, favors by his explanation the opinion of those who take this passage in the sense “as darts blazing with fire.” But then the questions arise, whether Kullukabhaṭṭa, who lived about four hundred years ago, expresses the whole meaning of the sentence, or whether Manu, though mentioning only ignited arrows, does not rather allude to firearms in general? The translation found in Dr. Monier Williams’ Sanskrit English Dictionary under agniyvalitate-jana ‘having a point hardened in fire’ is quite beyond the mark.

The meaning of arrow (śara, bāna) is much wider than is generally supposed. It was, and became more so in time, the usual term for any missile, whether it had the shape of an arrow or not; in the same way as the word Dhanu signified in course of time every missile or weapon, so that the Dhanurveda, the knowledge of the bow comprised the knowledge of all other arms.

For instance, the shot out of a gun is called a śara, as we have seen when describing the nālika, but it may be a ball and not an arrow. A rocket is generally styled a bāna (compare the Hindi term bān, a rocket); and bānapāṭṭraī in Tamil, or bānapatra in Telugu denotes a gunpowder or firework factory.

A comparison of the context of the Mānavadharmaśāstra with those of the Śukraniti and the Nitiśāsikā makes it clear that Manu alludes to firearms. The Śukraniti runs in our extract as follows:—

277. A king, bearing in mind the six principles of policy and the designs of his enemy and his own, should always kill his enemy by fair and unfair fighting.

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129 See Kullukabhatta to Manu, VII, 90. Kuṭāṇyayudhāni baiḥ kaśṭhādīmayāni antarguptaniśitaśastrāṇi; etaiḥ samare yudhyamānaḥ ēatrum na hanyat; nāpi karyarakaphalakairbāṇaiḥ; nāpi viśaktaiḥ, nāpyagnidiptaphalaiḥ.

130 See note 25, dronidpaṭaveraṇi, discharging the missile of the Droni-cāpa.
278. When the king gladdens his soldiers on the march with a quarter extra pay, protects his body in the battle with a shield and armour;

279. has induced his soldiers to drink up to a state of intoxication, the strengthener of bravery, the soldier kills his enemy with a gun, swords, and other weapons.

280. A charioteer should be assailed by a lance, a person on a carriage or elephant by an arrow, an elephant by an elephant, a horse by a horse.

281. A carriage is to be opposed by a carriage, and a foot soldier also by a foot soldier, one person by another person, a weapon by a weapon, or a missile by a missile.

282. He should not kill a person who is alighted on the ground, nor one who is emasculated, nor one who has joined his hands as a supplicant, nor one who sits with dishevelled hair, nor one who says "I am thine."

Then follow beginning with 282 up to 284 the same exceptions as found in Manu, VII, 91—93, and specified in Halhed's Code.

The Šukraniti goes then on stating expressly:

286. These restrictions exist in fair but not in unfair fighting; to ensure the destruction of a powerful enemy there is no fighting equal to unfair fighting.

287. Unfair fighting was certainly observed by Rāma, Kṛṣṇa, Indra, and other gods; Bālī, Yavana, and Namuci were killed by unfair fighting.

We see thus that the Šukraniti is in direct opposition to the law code bearing Manu's name, and considering the estimation in which the latter was held, it can hardly be assumed that a member of the Brahmanic community—in which term I include all the three higher castes and the Šudras within its pale—could have dared to compose it after the text of the Mānavadharmaśāstra had once been finally settled as it stands to this day.
The Nitiprakāśikā coincides entirely with Manu, VII, 89, and in the first half of the 90th śloka, but differs in the second half of the 90th and the first half of the 91st śloka, and then agrees again, but this difference in two lines is of the greatest importance for our subject.\footnote{See Manu, VII, 90, 91.}

\textit{Manu, VII.}

89. Those rulers of the earth, who desirous of defeating each other, exert their utmost strength in battle without ever averting their faces, ascend after death directly to heaven.

90. No one should strike in a combat his enemy with concealed weapons, nor with barbed arrows, nor with poisoned arrows, nor with darts kindled by fire.

91. Nor should he kill a person who is alighted on the ground, nor one who is emasculated, nor one who has joined his hands as a supplicant, nor one who sits with dishevelled hair, nor one who says "I am thine."

\textit{Nitiprakāśikā, VII.}

44. The same.

45. No one should strike in a combat his enemy with concealed weapons, nor with poisoned arrows, nor with machines kindled by fire (guns), nor also with various stratagems.

46. Nor should he kill a person who has climbed on a tree, nor one who is emasculated, nor one who has joined his hands as a supplicant, nor one who sits with dishevelled hair, nor one who says "I am thine."

\footnote{Nitiprakāśikā, VII. 45, 46.}

45. Na kuṭairayudhairhanyat yudhyamāno raṇe ṛiptun, digdhair-agniṣṭhitāṁ yontraistantaṁ saiva ṛiptu pṛthavigdhaiḥ.

46. Na hanyat vṛksam ārādham na klībam na kṛtaṁjalim, na muktkeśam nāsinam na tavāsmityāvadānām.
The punishment of any one who contravenes these laws was that he should inherit all the sins of him whom he thus kills unlawfully, and his victim would become heir to all the virtues of his murderer.\textsuperscript{132} If what is most probable the Śukranitī and Nītiprakāśikā are of about the same age as our recension of the Mānavadharmaśāstra, the question as to firearms being known at that period can only be answered in the affirmative.

It appears that before the codification of the law in law-books, the rules and precepts regulating certain subjects seem to have been generally known among the people and even assumed already the form of verse. Otherwise it can hardly be explained that the very same ślokas are found in different authors, unless one is prepared to state that one must have copied them from another. But for such a supposition there exists no proof. It is rather more likely that they were common property and then embodied in the respective codes. There is not the slightest doubt that the interdict of the Mānavadharmaśāstra interfered a great deal with the popularity of firearms, and that though they continued to be used, they were less frequently or perhaps less openly employed. The Mahābhārata too contains many precepts by which mean, deceitful, and cruel behaviour is forbidden in war, but in reality those laws were often broken. The behaviour of the Kauravas against the Paṇḍavas, whom they tried to burn

\textsuperscript{132} As the Nītiprakāśikā differs somehow from the Mānavadharmaśāstra and from the Śukranitī we give here the following verses.

\textbf{VII.} 47. Na prasuptam na prañatam na nagnam na nirāyudham na yudhyamānām paśyantam na pareṇa samāgatam.

48. Āyudhavayasanam prāptam nārtam nātiparikṣatam na hīnam na parāvrītām na ca valmikam āśrītām.

49. Na mukhe tṛṇinam hanyat na striyo veśadhārinam etādṛśān bhāṭairvāpi ghatayan kilbiṣā bhavet.

50. Hanyamānasaya yat kīcīt duṣkṛtam pūrvasaṃjītām tat saṅgrhyā svasukṛtam tebhyaḥ dadyat tathāvidhāḥ.

With \textit{na mukha tṛṇinam hanyāt} (sl. 49) compare Mahābhārata, Rājadharmā, XCVIII, 48a : त्र्यपुर्णमुक्षास्त्वा तवास्मिति कै यो वषो.
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wonderful weapons were ascribed also to other gods besides, e.g., to Brahma, to Vāyu, to Varuṇa, &c., &c.\textsuperscript{134}

Considering that Śukra or Uśanas is a member of the Bhārgava family, it seems a striking coincidence that the āgneyāstra is through Āruva also connected with the same family.

It may look strange that while gunpowder and firearms appear to have been known in India since immemorial times, and though we know that fireworks and firearms were always in use—the Portuguese, the first Europeans who came to this country, were struck at their landing with the display of both\textsuperscript{135}—so few actual traces of them should be found in this country. But while admitting to a certain extent the truth of this observation, we must also consider that only very few old buildings have been preserved in India from ancient times, that we have nothing which can vie in age with Grecian antiquities, omitting Egyptian and Assyrian antiquities altogether. Yet still we can prove the existence of firearms by carved images of them being preserved in some ancient stone temples.

1. In the Madura District lies not far north from Rāmnāḍ (Rāmanāṭhapura) on the sea the ancient Tirupāllāṇi. It is

\textsuperscript{134} See Harivaraṇa, XIV, 33.
Āgneyam astram labhivā ca Bhargavāt Sagaro nrpaḥ
jigāya prthivim hatvā Tālajanghān sahaihayān.

\textit{Compare} Mahābhārata, Adiparva, CXXX, 39, 40.
39. Agnivesaṁ mahābhāgam Bharadvājāḥ pratāpavāṇ
pratypādayat āgneyam astraṁ astravidām varaḥ.

40. Agnestu jātassa munistato Bharatassattama
Bharadvājam tad āgneyam mahastram pratypādayat.

\textit{See} Śakuntala, III, 56, and Uttara Rāma Caritra, VI.

\textsuperscript{135} Castanheda says in his description of Vasco da Gama’s entrance into Calicut: “The procession again set out, preceded by many trumpets and sacbuts sounding all the way; and one of the Nayres carried a caliver, which he fired off at intervals.” \textit{See} Elliot’s History of India, VI, 467; \textit{compare} Kerr’s Collection of Voyages, Vol II, 364. According to Sir A. Phayre, the king of Pegu, when advancing in 1404 up the Irawadi against the king Meng Khoung could neither land at nor attack Frome, as it was defended with cannon and muskets; \textit{see} Journal, Asiatic Soc. Bengal, 1869, XXXVIII, p. 40.
celebrated throughout India, on account of its famous temple dedicated to Ādijagannātha, for pilgrims visit it from Benāres and other places in the north. The erection of this shrine goes back to a far distant period. On the outside of an ancient stone maṇḍapa are seen the figures of some soldiers carrying in their hands small firearms. The dress of these sepoys is also peculiar, as the belts round their waists are provided with little bells. The soldiers have slippers on their feet and a peculiar cap on their heads.

2. In Kumbhaghona (Combaconum) is a temple devoted to Śāragapāṇi, i.e., to Viṣṇu bearing in his hands his bow Śārang. It is one of the most ancient, largest, and most celebrated shrines in the Tanjore District. The height of the pagoda amounts to about 180 feet, and the numbers of its stories to eleven. On the left side of the front gate of the fifth story from the top is a king sitting in a chariot drawn by horses surrounded by his troops. In front of the king stand two sepoys with small firearms in their hands which look like pistols. The lower part of the pagoda is of solid stone, the higher ones and also the story just described partly of brick and partly of stone, i.e., the principal figures are all made of stone, but they are every ten years covered with a layer of chalk and bricks. The Śāragapāṇi pagoda is said to be about 500 years old. Its sanctity and beauty is praised by seven Ālvārs, so that as it has not been rebuilt since that time, it must have been in existence when the sages lived. Tirupati is glorified by nine and Śrīraṅgam by ten Ālvārs.

3. In Kāncīpuram (Conjeveram) is a famous maṇḍapa, which, as it rests on a hundred columns, is called Satastambhamañḍapa, or Nūṭikālmaṇḍapa in Tamil. It was erected by Lakṣmikumārataṭācārya also called Kotikanyādānatatācārya, as he was very rich and generous, and was said to have given a wedding present of 50 rupees to a krore (or ten millions) of girls. Being a Tatācārya he belonged to one of the highest
priestly families of the Vaiṣṇavabrāhmans, as the Tātā
cāryas trace their descent to Nādhamuni. He was the author of a work on Vedānta philosophy, and had at his own cost erected gopurams at Kāñcipuram, Tirupati, Śrīraṅgam, and Tirumālirāmānai. His eldest son was Tirumalatātācārya, who administered the Anagūndi kingdom for a while after the death of Vēṅkaṭapatirāya. When the Muhammedans occupied Kāñcipuram Tirumalatātācārya lost all his riches.

The manḍapa is a square; 12 columns face the eastern and western sides, 8 columns face the northern and southern; besides these 96 columns 4 stand apart. On the 4th column of the north side, when coming from the west, is cut in solid stone, as the principal ornament of the column, a combat between soldiers. A trooper sits on horseback and a foot soldier aims with his firearm at his enemy. The manḍapa was erected about 1624 (the year being tallakṣmīdyēsaṅkhābde).

4. In the precincts of the Tanjore temple are carved in stone on stone pillars opposite the "Śvarga ekadāsi-gate sepoy with small carbines in their hands.

5. In Pērūr, a few miles from Coimbatore, is a celebrated Śiva temple and near it is a fine shrine, known as the Sabhāmaṇḍapa. On the base of its broad stone pillars stands a soldier with a gun in his hands. The date of the erection cannot be ascertained with exactness, and even popular belief does not ascribe to this manḍapa more than a few hundred years. As is usual with buildings in the south of the Dekka Tirumala Nayak is occasionally named as its builder.

All these buildings, which, as we have seen, contain representations of firearms, are, according to our notions of antiquity, not very ancient, as, the Tirupallānī temple excepted, none of them is over 500 years old, but in judging the age of the subjects exhibited in the carvings of Indian temples, we should never lose sight of the fact that new subjects are not introduced in the architectural designs of the principal figures
in any Indian ecclesiastical building. No architect, no one who erects a sacred pagoda at his own cost, will dare to represent in the chief carving of a conspicuous part of a building, as a big stone column is no doubt, a subject which is new and with which his countrymen were not familiar in times of yore, or which are not mentioned in the Silpaśāstra, or the works on arts. This is a custom which is well known to every learned Brahman, and which is observed even now. Occasionally one sees in temples and other buildings odd, nay, even very indecent groups; but these quaint figures, which are by the bye never central ones, fulfil a special object, namely, to catch the evil eye, and so to protect the structure from any mischievous consequences. Whenever a new private house is built, such a figure will be displayed somewhere in a conspicuous place, and is generally removed after it had been in its place for some time and thus fulfilled its object. I have been assured on good authority that the Maricipātala, a very ancient work on architecture, contains a description of architectural designs relating to firearms, but though I have written for this work, I am afraid I shall get it too late to verify this statement.\footnote{See Lists of Sanskrit Manuscripts in Private Libraries of Southern India, No. 5,610, lately published by me.}

Under these circumstances I cannot agree with the statement contained in Fergusson's excellent "History of Indian and Eastern Architecture" (p. 370), that "the date of the porch at Peroor is ascertained within narrow limits by the figure of a sepoy loading a musket being carved on the base of one of its pillars, and his costume and the shape of his arm are exactly those we find in contemporary pictures of the wars of Aurungzebe, or the early Mahrattas, in the beginning of the 18th century." I do not deny that the Sabhāmāṇḍapa may be comparatively new, but the figure of the sepoy with a musket in his hand can in no way settle the age of the building. As to the remarks concerning the costume of the soldier, there is
nothing to prove that his dress belongs to any certain period, and considering that the Hindu, if conservative in any thing, is especially so in his food and his dress, there is much probability that the uniform of the sepoy has also not been altered much in subsequent times. Moreover it must not be overlooked that the dress, especially the head-dress or turban varies according to caste and locality.

This remark leads me to refute an assertion made with some authority by Mr. W. F. Sinclair in the Indian Antiquary of September 1878. It is in a critical notice on a few ślokas extracted, not quite correctly though, from the Šukraniti by Mr. Rām Dās Sen. In verse 136 we read: "The breech at the vent carries stone and powder and has a machinery which produces fire when striking." Alluding to this śloka Mr. Sinclair says: "From the evidence above given, it seems to me that if they (those verses) are not such interpolations the whole work must be a forgery of, at best, the 17th century, a period which I am led to select by the mention of the flint." Does Mr. Sinclair want to insinuate by this, that the Hindus did not know flints, nor their peculiar properties? It is hardly credible that a nation, which is so observant, should have overlooked objects of such common occurrence; or, if it knew them, that it should not have applied them to some use. Is it not perhaps judging others too much according to our own proficiencies, to intimate that, if Europeans did not apply flints or flintlocks to guns before the 17th century, no body else could have done so? There is scarcely anything so common, so well known in this country, as the qualities of the flint; in fact the Hindus are adepts in any thing connected with the art of making fire.

In the sixth book of the Nītīprakāśika are enumerated all the articles which a king should take with him when setting out for a military expedition. After mentioning all sorts of provisions and arms mention is also made in the 51st śloka

137 Indian Antiquary, 1878, p. 136.
of the following things: "and also the cotton of the silk-cotton tree and iron joined with flint." This suggests at once the ordinary Indian tinderbox commonly called Rāma-svāmī, from the figure of the idol on its top.

The word for "flint" is in Tamil sakkimukki or sakimuki, and in Telugu cakimuki. If these terms are not onomatopoetic, imitating the sound when the flint is struck, they may be regarded as derivations (taddhavams) from the Sanskrit sikhāmukha, flame-mouth.

I trust thus to have proved that gunpowder and firearms were known in India in the most ancient times, that the statement in the Śukranīti about powder is supported by the Nītīprakāśikā of Vaiśampāyana, and that the quotation from the Rājalakṣmīnārāyaṇāhṛdaya, a part of the ancient Atharva-ṇarahaśya, is an additional proof of it. I contend further that the knowledge of making gunpowder was never forgotten in India; but, that it was not earlier known in Europe is partly due to the isolated position of India, and partly also to the want of saltpetre in Europe, which prevented European nations from discovering the oxidizing properties of saltpetre. Moreover it must not be forgotten, that the preparation of gunpowder, even after it had become known, was kept everywhere a deep secret. The ancient Hindus enjoyed a well-deserved reputation as skilful artificers in iron and steel, the manipulation of which metals requires a considerable amount of ability, and these circumstances go surely far enough to justify the conclusion that the ancient Hindus were as well able to prepare firearms as the modern Hindus are now-a-days. I further believe to have proved through quotations from the Nītīprakāśikā, the Naiṣadha, and even by incidental evidence from Manu that firearms were well known in ancient times, though the

138 See Nītīprakāśikā, VI, 51; Śālmalitulikām caiva vāpyāśmaśārāśmasam-yutām.—The Rumpa hillmen, e.g., dig and smelt the iron-ore and cast it into musket-barrels.
interdict placed on them by Manu may have interfered somehow with their being generally used. On the other hand it must not be forgotten, that, though firearms existed, their construction was still in its infancy and that their application was very limited and did not diminish much the use of other arms. It ought also not to be overlooked that, as now, so also in ancient times, every thing connected with firearms and their improvement was surrounded with great mystery and the few books written on this subject were guarded like treasures and not communicated to the common crowd. The danger in handling firearms may also have deterred people from availing themselves of them so much as they otherwise would have done. Nevertheless the existence of guns and cannons in India in the earliest times seems to me to be satisfactorily proved from evidence supplied by some of the oldest Indian writings.

CHAPTER V.

ON THE ARMY ORGANISATION AND POLITICAL MAXIMS OF THE ANCIENT HINDUS.

THE SEVENTH SECTION OF THE FOURTH BOOK OF THE ŚUKRANĪTI.

1. Senā śastrāstrasamānyuktamanusyādiganātmikā.
2. Svagamānyagamā ceti dvīdhā, saiva prthak trīdhā,
   daivyāsuri mānavī ca, pūrvapūrvābalādhikā;

1. An army is a numerous body consisting especially of men Army
   provided with weapons and missiles.
2. It is of two kinds either self-moving or not self-moving;
   it is besides in a threefold manner an army either of
gods, of demons or of human beings, each preceding
being stronger than the succeeding.
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10. Asikṣitam śikṣitam ca, gulmībhūtam agulmakam,
antāstrādi svāsastrāstram, svāvāhi dattavāhanam.

11. Saujanyat sadhakam maitram, svīyam bhṛtyā prapālītam,
maulam bahvabdānubandhi, sādyaskam yattadanyathā.

12. Suyuddhakāmukam sāram, asāram viparītakam,
śikṣitam vyūhakuśalam, viparītām asikṣitam.

13. Gulmībhūtam sādhikāri, svasvāmikam agulmakam,
dattāstrādi svāminā yat, svāsastrāstram ato'nyathā.

14. Kṛtagulmam svayamgulmam, tadvaça dattavāhanam
āranyakam Kiratādi yat svādhīnām svatejasa.

15. Utsṛṣṭam ripunā vāpi bhṛtyavarge nivesitam
bhedādhīnām kṛtam sātroḥ sainyam sātrubalam smrtam,
ubhayam durbalam proktam, kevalam sadhakam na tat.

reserve and line, and these again are in a twofold
manner divided into efficient and inefficient men.

10. It is either trained or not trained, formed or not formed
into corps, provided or providing itself with arms,
provided or providing itself with vehicles.

11. An allied army is useful when kindly treated, one’s own
is maintained by pay; the reserve is of many years’
standing, the line differs in this respect.

12. The efficient is eager for a good fight, the inefficient is the
reverse; the trained is clever in tactics, the untrained
is the reverse.

13. The army formed in corps has a commander, that which
is its own master is not well arranged in corps; the one
has received arms from the king, the other which carries
its own arms differs in this respect.

14. The forester corps, i.e., the Kirātas and similar tribes, which
is subdued by the power of the king, is formed into
corps or has formed itself into corps, after having been
supplied with vehicles.

15. The army of the enemy which was given up by the foe,
or which having entered his service is won over by
dissension, is still regarded as hostile; both are
regarded as weak, and especially as not trustworthy.
16. Samairniyuddhakusalairvyayamaiprabhismabhath
vardhayet bahuyuddartham bhovyaih sarirakam bala.
17. Mrgayabhishu vyaghranam sastrabhyasatuh sadah
vardhayet saurasamyogat samyak sauryabalam nrpa.
18. Senabalam subhertya tu tapobhyasaiastathastrikam
vardhayet sastracaturasamyogat dhibalam sadah.
19. Satkriyabhicirastra thiyi nityam rajyam bhavet yatha,
svagotre tu tatha kuryat tat ayurbalam ucyate;
yavat gotre rajyam asti tat eva sa jivati.
20. Caturguam hi padatam avato dharyate sadah,
apacamamsanstu vrasbhan astamsaasica kramelakan;
21. Caturthamsan gajan ustrat, gajardhansca rathastath
rathat tu dvigunam rajaiyhanallikam eva ca.

16. One should increase the physical strength for pugilistic
combats by diet and by athletic exercises and wrestling
with equals and with those who are experts in close
fighting.

17. A king should always well encourage bravery by tiger-hunts,
by practice with weapons and arms and through
association with brave men.

18. He should keep up his military strength by good pay, but
the strength of his weapons by penance and practice;
and his intellectual power by having always intercourse
with wise persons.

19. That his kingdom may always be long lasting in his family,
he should effect by good deeds, this is called vital
power; as long as the kingdom remains in his family,
he lives indeed.

20. A king should always maintain four times as many foot-
soldiers as horses, for every five horses one bull, for
every eight horses one camel;
21. for every four camels one elephant, for every two elephants
one chariot, for every chariot two big guns.\footnote{See pp. 4–6. The proportion of the different parts to each other is represented by 5 chariots, 10 elephants, 40 camels, 64 bulls, 320 horses, and 1,280 men.}
22. He should keep an army with many foot-soldiers, with a moderate number of horses, but with few elephants; likewise with a small number of bulls and camels, but not with many elephants.

23. A prince, who gets a lac of kārṣas a year, should maintain well with weapons and missiles respectively one hundred men, 300 foot-soldiers with small firearms, who are (all) equal in age, strength and dress;

24. eighty horses and one chariot; likewise two big guns; ten camels, two elephants, two waggons and sixteen bulls;

25. likewise also six clerks and certainly three ministers.

140 See Lilavati, sl. 2-4.

2. Varāṭakānām daśakadavyam yat sa kākini taśca panāscatasraḥ
   te sōdaśa dramma ihāvagamyo drammaistathā sōdaśabhīṣca niškaḥ.
3. Tulyā yavābhyaṃ kathitātra guṇjā vallaiṣtryiguṇjo dharaṇam ca
   teṭståu
gadyānākastaddvyam indratulyairvallaistathaiko dhātakah
draṣṭāh.
4. Dasērdhagunjām pravadanti māsam māśahvayaiśsōdaśabhīṣca kārṣaḥ
   kārṣaiścaturbhīṣca palam tulā tacchatam suvarṇasya suvarṇaṣaṁ-
   jām.

That is 20 Varāṭakas are 1 Kākini, 4 Kākiṣṭh 1 Paṇa, 16 Paṇas 1 Dramma,
16 Drammas 1 Niśka. 2 Yavas are 1 Guṇja, 3 Guṇjas 1 Valla,
8 Vallas 1 Dharana, 2 Dharaṇas 1 Gadyānaka and 14 Vallas
1 Dhataka. Further 10½ Guṇjas are 1 Mūṣa, 16 Māsas 1 Karṣa,
4 Karṣas 1 Pala, 100 Palas 1 Tulā and a Tulā is equal to a Suvarṇa.
26. Sambhāradānabhogārtham dhanam sārdhasahasramakam, lekhakārthe satam māsi mantryarthe tu satatrayam;  
27. Trisatam dārāputrārthe vidvadarthe sātaddvāyam sādyāśvapadagārtham hi rājā catussahasramakam;  
28. Gajosteṣṭravāsanālāṛtham vyayikuryāt catuṣṣatam sēsam kośe dhanam stḥāpyam rājā sārddhasahasramakam.  
29. Prativarṣam svavesārtham saṁikebhya dhanam haret.

26. The king should spend on provisions, largesse and pleasure Expend. fifteen hundred karṣas, on clerks one hundred a month, but on ministers three hundred;  
27. on his wife and son three hundred, on learned men two hundred, on elephant-drivers, horses (cavalry) and foot-soldiers four thousand;  
28. on the straw for elephants, camels and bulls four hundred. The remaining money fifteen hundred karṣas should be deposited by the king in the treasury.141  
29. The king should deduct every year a sum of money from the soldiers for their dress.

141 The 100,000 Karṣas will be expended as follows:—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Amount (Karṣas)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Provisions, largesse and pleasure</td>
<td>1,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerks (one clerk at 18½ K.)</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ministers (one minister at 100 K.)</td>
<td>300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wife and family</td>
<td>300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Learned men</td>
<td>200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elephant drivers, cavalry and infantry</td>
<td>4,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Straw</td>
<td>400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reserve funds</td>
<td>1,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>8,300</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

or 99,600 Karṣas, i.e., about a lac of Karṣas a year.

The title of a sovereign depends on the yearly income his country yields to him. A Sāmanda is called a prince who receives up to 3 lac, a Māṇḍalika gets up to 10 lac, a Rāja up to 20 lac, a Mahārāja up to 50 lac, a Svarāj up to a krore or ten millions, a Samrāj up to 10 krores, and a Virāj up to 25 krores. To a Sārvabhauma is subjected the whole earth with its seven islands.
30. Lohasāramayaḥ cakrasugamo, mañcakāsanaḥ, svāṇdolāyitarūḍhastu, madhyamāsanasārathiḥ,
31. Śastrāstrasandhāryudara, iṣṭacchāyo, manoramah, evamvidho ratho rājñā rakṣyo nityam sadaśvakaḥ.
32. Nilatalurnilajihvo vakradanto hyadantakah dirghadveṣi krūramadah tathā prsthavidehhūnakaḥ.
33. Daśaśtonanakho mando bhūvisodhanapucchakaḥ evamvidho’ niṣṭagajo, viparītaḥ śubhāvahah.
34. Bhadro, mandro, mṛgo, mśro gajo jātyā caturviddhah.

30. An iron-made carriage, well going on wheels, provided with a Carriage, couch as a seat; on which is fixed a swing, with a charioteer on the middle seat;
31. with an interior carrying weapons and missiles, giving agreeable shade, and (altogether) beautiful—such a carriage provided with good horses, should always be kept by the king.
32. An elephant with a dark blue palate, a dark blue tongue, Elephant, a crooked tooth, toothless, which bears malice a long time, has fierce rut, waddles likewise with his hinder part;
33. with ten or seven claws, is slow, which rubs the ground with his tail—such an elephant is undesirable, the opposite confers benefits.
34. The elephant is of four kinds according to its race; either a Bhadra (propitious), Mandra (pleasing), Mṛga (deer), or a Mśra (mixed).

See Śukraniti, I, 184–187.
184. Sāmantah sa nrpah prokto yavat lakṣatravyavadhi tadūrdhwam daśalakṣānto nṛpo māndalikah smṛtaḥ.
185. Tadūrdhwam tu bhavat rājā yavat viṁśatilaksakaḥ. pañcaśat laksaparyanto mahārājaḥ prakṛtītaḥ
186. Tatastu koṭiparyantah svarat, saṁrāt tataḥ param daśakoṭimito yavat, virat tu tadānātaram
187. Pañcaśat koṭiparyantah, sarvabhaumastataḥ param saptadvipa ca prthivī yasya vaśyā bhavet sada.
35. The elephant which has honey-coloured teeth, is strong, well proportioned, has a globular shape, good head and excellent limbs, is always known as a Bhadra.

36. The elephant which has a huge belly, and a lion's eye, a thick skin, throat and trunk, middle-sized limbs, a long body, is styled Mandra.

37. The elephant which has a small neck, teeth, ears and trunk, a peculiarly big eye, but a very small underlip and membrum, and is dwarfish, is called Mrga.

38. The elephant which is mixed with the marks of these three, is called Miśra. It is also mentioned, that these three elephants differ respectively in size.

39. An aṅgula (the breadth of a thumb), when applied for the measurement of an elephant, should consist exactly of eight corns, 24 such aṅgulas are declared by wise men to be an elephantine hand.

40. The height of a Bhadra is 7 cubits, its length 8 cubits, the circumference of its belly should always be 10 cubits.
41. Pramānam mandramrgayorhastahīnam kramāt atah kathitam dairghyasāmyam tu munibhirbhadrāman-
drayoḥ.

42. Brhadbhrūgandaphālastu dhṛtasīrṣagatiḥ sadā gajah śreṣṭhastu sarvesām subhalakṣaṇasamyutah.

43. Paścayavāṅgulenaiva vājimānam prthak smrtam, catvārimśāṅgulamukho vāji yaścottamottamah.

44. Śattrimśadaṅgulamukho hyuttamaḥ parikīrtitaḥ dvātrimśadaṅgulamukho madhyamaḥ sa udāhṛtaḥ.

45. Aṣṭāvimśatyaṅgulo yo mukhe nicaḥ prakīrtitaḥ; vājinām mukhamanēna sarvāvayavakalpanā.

46. Uaccam tu mukhamānena trigunam parikīrtitam.

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41. The size of a Mandra and Mrga is respectively one cubit less; though the length of a Mandra and Mrga is by sages declared to be the same.

42. The best of all elephants is surely that, which has large brows, cheek and forehead, bears always its head firmly, and is endowed with auspicious marks.

43. By an aṅgula of only five barley grains is the equine measure separately recorded. A horse whose head is 40 aṅgulas (long) is regarded as the very best.

44. A horse whose head is 36 aṅgulas long is surely considered a very fair one; a horse whose head is 32 aṅgulas long is declared to be a middling one.

45. A horse whose head is 28 aṅgulas long is regarded as an inferior one. The proportion of all the limbs of a horse is measured by the length of the head.

46. The height is declared to be three times the length of the head.
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52. There will be a difference in efficiency according as its mouth is low, high or oblique. If the feather is like a shell, wheel, club, lotus, altar, portico;
53. like an upper story, arch, bow, well-filled pitcher, like a triangle, chaplet, fish, sword, a mole on the breast, it is a lucky feather.
54. The horses on whose tip of the nose, forehead, temple, throat or skull exists a feather, are the best.
55. Those horses are regarded as middling, which have it on the heart, shoulder, neck, likewise on the hips, on the navel, belly and foreribs.
56. That horse is the best Pūrnaharṣa (fulljoy) on whose temple rises a double feather, and on whose skull rises a third.
57. That horse on whose backbone rises one feather, is called Śūrya (sun) and procures to his master masses of horses.
58. That horse on whose forehead stand three oblique feathers, is called Trikūṭa (threepeaked) and it gives always prosperity to its master.
59. Evam eva prakāreṇa trayo grīvam samāśritaḥ
samāvartāḥ sa vājīśo jāyate nṛpamandire.

60. Kapolasthau yadavartau drṣyetē yasya vājinaṁ
yaśovṛddhikarau proktau rājyavṛddhikarau mātau. 120

61. Eko vāthā kapolastho yasyāvartāḥ pradrṣyate
sarvanāmā sa vikhyāṭaḥ sa icchet svāmināśanam.

62. Gāndhasamstho yadavarto vājino dakṣīnāśritaḥ
sa karoti mahāsaukhyam svāminam śivasaṁjñiṣkaḥ. 125

63. Sahridvāmāśritaḥ krūrāḥ prakaroti dhanakṣayam
indrākṣau tāvubhau sāstau nṛparājyavivrddhidau.

64. Karṇamūle yadavartau stanamadhye tathā parau
vijayākhyau ubhau tau tu yuddhakāle yaśahpradau.

65. Skandhapārśve yadavartau sa bhavet padmalakṣaṇaḥ
karoti vividhān padmān svāmināḥ santatam sukham. 130

59. That is the best horse in the King’s palace, on whose neck
are also placed three feathers in such a manner.

60. The two feathers which on a horse’s cheeks are seen standing,
are called augmentors of fame and are esteemed as augmentors of kingship.

61. A horse, on whose left cheek is observed a feather standing,
is called Sarvanāmā, and it may wish for the destruction of its master.

62. The horse on whose right cheek stands a feather renders
his master very happy, it is called Śiva (prosperous).

63. That bad (feather) on the left side of the heart produces
loss of wealth, the two excellent Indrākṣa (Indra’s eyes)
increase the kingdom of the king.

64. A horse which has two feathers on the root of the ear, or
which has also two on the middle of the breast; these both are called Vijaya (victory) and give glory in time of war.

65. A horse, which has two feathers on the shoulderblade,
should be called Padma (wealth), it gives many virtues and continual happiness to its master.
66. Nāsamadhye yadāvarta eko vā yadi vā trayam
cakravarti sa vijñeyo vājī bhūpālasaśijñīkāh.

67. Kaṇṭhe yasya mahāvarta ekāḥ śreṣṭhāḥ prajāyate
cintāmāniḥ sa vijñeyāḥ cintitārhasukhapradaḥ.

68. Śuklākhyau phalakanṭhasthau āvartau vṛddikirtīdau. 135

69. Yasyāvartau vakragatau kuksyante vājino yadi,
sa nānam mṛtyum āpnoti kuryāt vā svāmināsanaṃ.

70. Jānusamsthā yadāvartaḥ pravāsaklesakārakāḥ,
vājimeḍhre yadāvarto vijayaśirvināśanaḥ.

71. Trikasamsthō yadāvartaḥ trivargasya praṇāsanaḥ
puĉchamūle yadāvarto dhūmaketuranarthakṛt,
guhyapucchartrikāvartī sa kṛtāntabhaya-pradaḥ.

66. According as there is one feather or there are three feathers
on the midst of the nose, the horse is called Cakravarti
or Bhūpāla.

67. The horse on whose throat is one very good large feather,
is called Cintāmaṇi, bestowing every imaginary happi-
ness and wealth.

68. Two feathers, which stand on the forehead and throat (and
are) called Śukla (bright), give fame and prosperity.

69. If at the extremity of the belly of a horse are two curved
feathers, that will surely incur death or cause the
destruction of its master.

70. If there are feathers on the knees, they cause troubles and
sojournings; if a feather is on the penis of a horse, it
ruins victory and prosperity.

71. If a feather stands on the lower spine it is the destroyer of
three things,142 if the feather Dhūmaketu (comet) is on the
root of the tail, it produces trouble; a horse which
has a feather on the anus, tail and lower spine causes
fear of death.

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142 Dharma, artha, kāma.
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77. Three triangular feathers on the forehead are unlucky; but one lucky feather on the middle of the neck, suspends all bad ones.

with its face downwards, and one on its face upwards, is lucky, but the Satapadi is not regarded as very lucky, if it is turned towards the back.

79. If the feather is a Stanī (having a nipple) behind the penis, the horse is also unlucky, but if the feather is a Śṛṅgī (horned) near the ear, it is blamed.

80. The feather Ekaraśmi (having one string) on one side on the upper part of the neck, (and) the feather Kiśotpātī (destroying bolts) on the foot with its face upwards is despised.

81. The horse in which are lucky and unlucky feathers is a Madhyama (middling), that which is white on the head and feet is always esteemed as a Paṅcakalyāṇa (excellent for five things).
82. Sa eva hṛdaye skandhe pucche śveto'śtamaṅgalah,
karne śyāmāḥ śyāmakarṇaḥ sarvataḥ tvekavarnaḥbhak.

83. Tatrāpi sarvataḥ śveto medhyaḥ pūjyaḥ sadaiva hi,
vaiḍūryasannibhe netre yasya sto Jayamaṅgalah.

84. Miśravarnaḥ tvekavarnaḥ pūjyaḥ syāt sundaro yadi.

85. Kṛṣnapādo hayo nindyaḥ tathā śvetaikapādapi
rūkṣo dhūsaravarnaṣca gardhabhābhō'pi ninditaḥ.

86. Kṛṣnatāluḥ kṛṣṇajihvah kṛṣṇoṣṭhaṣca vininditaḥ
sarvataḥ kṛṣnavarnaḥ yah pucche śvetaḥ sa ninditaḥ.

87. Suśvetaphalatilako viddho varṇāntareṇa ca
sa vājī dalabhaṇji tu yasya so'pyatininditaḥ.

82. The horse which is white on the heart, shoulder and tail is
an Aṣṭamaṅgala (excellent for eight things), that, which
has a black ear and only one other color (besides) is a
Śyāmakarṇa (black ear).

83. That which except there (the black ear) is totally white, is
always to be worshipped as a Medhya (sacrificial), that
whose eyes are like a turquoise is a Jayamaṅgala (excellent
for victory).

84. Whether a horse has different colours or has one colour
it should always be esteemed, if it is beautiful.

85. A horse with a black foot is despicable, likewise if it has
only one white foot, one which is rough and is grey-
coloured is always blamed as looking like a donkey.

86. A horse with a black palate, black tongue and black lip is
despised; a horse which is everywhere black but is
white at the tail is blamed.

87. That horse which has on its forehead a very white mark,
which is perforated by another colour is a Dalabhaṇji
(Piece breaking) and its owner is also much blamed.
88. If however the colour is agreeable it suspends all faults arising from colour; and a horse which is very strong, goes well, is large, beautiful in all its limbs, not very fierce is always to be honoured, even if spoiled by feathers.

89. The circumference of the belly is four times the size of a bull's head, three times its size is the height and three and a half times its length.

90. A bull which is seven spans high, if provided with good qualities, is to be respected. A bull which does neither stop, nor is slow, carries well, is moreover beautiful in limbs, is not very fierce, has a good back; is called the best bull.

91. A camel, which goes daily thirty yojanas while carrying loads, is ten spans high, very strong and has a fine head, is praised.

92. A hundred years is recorded as the longest life of men and elephants, the youth of men and elephants is reckoned up to twenty years.

143 "navatālaśca" is a different reading in one MS.
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99. Madhyapārśvāntagau dvau dvau kramāt krṣṇau saḍ- 
abdataḥ; 
navamābdāt kramāt pītāu tau sitau dvādaśābdataḥ.
100. Daśapāńcābdataḥ tau tu kācābhau kramataḥ smṛtau 
aśṭādaśābdataḥ tau hi madhvābhau bhavataḥ kramāt,
101. Saṁkhābhau caikaviṁśābdataḥ caturvimiśābdataḥ sadā 
chidram sañačalanam pāto dantānām ca trike trike.
102. Prothe suvalayastisraḥ pūrṇāyuryasya vājinah, 
yathā yathā tu hīnāstā hīnām āyustathā tathā.
103. Jānūtpāto tvōṣṭhavādyo dhūtaprṛtho jalāsanah 
gatimadhyāsanah prṛthapāti paścādgamehāvapāt.
104. Sarpajihvo rūkṣakāntirbhīruraśvo’tininditah, 
sacchidrāphālatilako nindya āśrayakṛt tathā.

99. from the sixth year the two middle, side and end teeth 
become gradually black, each pair becomes in its turn 
yellow from the ninth year; and white from the 
twelfth year.
100. From the fifteenth year each pair is said to become in 
its turn glass-coloured, from the eighteenth each pair 
becomes by degrees honey-coloured;
101. from the twenty-first year each pair becomes shell-coloured, 
from the twenty-fourth each pair becomes in each third 
year hollow (24th–26th year), shaky (27th–29th), and 
falls out (30th–32nd).
102. The horse which has three deep wrinkles in the nostrils has 
a long life; in proportion as the wrinkles are deficient 
the life is also limited.
103. A horse which jumps up on its knees, makes a noise with its 
lips; sits down in water, stands still in the midst of the 
road, falls on its back, jumps upwards while going 
backwards,
104. which has a tongue like a serpent, is of disagreeable colour, 
and timid is much despised; despised is also a horse 
whose mark on the forehead has flaws and which stands 
often still.
105. Vṛṣasyāṣṭau sitā dantāḥ caturthe’bde’khilāh smṛtāḥ, dvāvantyau patitotpannau pañcama’bde hi tasya vai.

106. Śaṣṭhe tūpāntyau bhavataḥ saptame tatsamīpagau, aṣṭame patitotpannau madhyamanu daśanau khalu.  

107. Kṛṣṇapitāsitaraktaśaṅkhacchāyau dvike dvike kramāḥ hi dve ca bhavataḥ caḥanām pataṃtataḥ.  

108. Uṣṭrasyoktaprakārēṇa vayojñānam tu vā bhavet.  

109. Prerakākarṣacakamukho’ṅkuṣo gajavinigrahe hastipakairgajastena vineyassugamāya hi.  

110. Khalinasyordhvakhandaḥau dvau pārśvagau dvādaśāṅgulaḥ  

   tatpārśvantargatābhyām tu sudṛḥāḥbhyaḥm tathaiva ca.

105. Eight complete white teeth are mentioned as existing in the fourth year of the bull, in its fifth year two molars fall out and rise again; in the sixth year the two next to the molars, in the seventh the two next ones, in the eighth year the two middle biters fall and come again.

107. Every second year they get by degrees black, yellow, white, red and shell-coloured. Each pair becomes gradually loose and falls out.  

108. The knowledge of the age of a camel may be likewise reckoned according to the above-mentioned rule.

109. For training an elephant a hook is used by the elephant-drivers, which has one point for driving on and another for drawing back; by this hook the elephant is guided to go well.

110. The two upwards and sideways pointing parts of a bridle-bit are respectively on the whole twelve angulas long, with two inside but very strong pieces,

144 Black in the 9th and 10th year, yellow in the 11th and 12th, white in the 13th and 14th, red in the 15th and 16th, shell-coloured in the 17th and 18th, in the 19th the end teeth get loose, in the 20th the end teeth fall out and the last but one become loose, &c. &c.
111. Vārakākasakhandabhīyām rajvarthavalyayair yutau evamvidhakalīnena vaśikuryāt tu vājinam.

112. Nasīkākarṣaraṃ jū tu vṛṣoṣṭram vinayet bhrāṃ tikṣṇāgro yah saptaphālaḥ sāṃ eśāṃ malaśodhane.

113. Sutādanairvinēyā hi manusyāḥ paśavah sādā, sainikāstu višeṣeṇa na te vai dhanadaṇḍataḥ.

114. Anūpe tu vṛṣāśvānām gajōstrāṇām tu jāngale sādhārane padātinām nivesāt raksanam bhavet.

115. Śatam śatam yojanānte sainyam rāṣtre niyojeyet.

116. Gajōstravṛṣabhāsvāḥ prāk śresthāḥ sambhāravāhane; sarvebhyaḥ śakataḥ śreṣṭhā varṣākālam vinā smṛtāḥ.

117. Na cālpasādhano gacchet api jetum ripum laghum mahatātyantasādyaskabalenāiva subuddhiyuk.

111. and are joined with rings for reins both for stopping and pulling back; with such a bridlebit one may manage a horse.

112. One may guide firmly a bull with a rein pulling through Bullrein. its nose, in cleaning them of dirt should be (used) an instrument with seven sharp-pointed combs.

113. Men and beasts should certainly be managed by severe beating; but soldiers specially; they should not be subjected to fines.

114. By keeping horses and bulls in a marshy country, elephants in a jungle (and) foot-soldiers in a plain, their safety will be ensured.

115. At the end of each yojana, a king should keep in his Distribution of troops. inhabited kingdom a troop of one hundred soldiers.

116. Elephants, camels, bulls and horses are in the order of precedence excellent for carrying provisions, better than all these are stated to be cars, except in the rainy season.

117. A wise general should not march even against a weak enemy Precepts on fighting and ruling. insufficiently prepared, but only with a very numerous army consisting of troops of the line.

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145 A yojana is a measure of different length, its shortest extent amounts to 2½ and its longest to about 18 English miles; it is generally fixed at 4 krosas or 9 English miles.
124. How can be victory to him, whose army is even a little discontented? He should therefore always investigate the discontent which exists in his army and in that of his enemy.

125. That discontent should necessarily prevail among the hostile army, a king should always speedily endeavour by deceitful means and bribes.

126. One should propitiate an overpowerful enemy by submission, a powerful one by demonstration of respect and by presents, and a weak one (one should subdue) by fighting.

127. He should win over an equal in strength by friendship; by divisions he should subdue all. There is no other means of subduing an enemy than by (spreading) discontent among his strong army.

128. As long as an enemy is powerful he is able to govern, and so long he is a friend; as the wind is (a friend) of the strong fire.

129. The hostile army which has deserted to the king must be protected, but not kept near his own army; he should place it separately or arrange it in front for fighting.
180. Maitryam ārāt prṛṣṭhabhāge pārvayorvā balam nyaset.

181. Asyate kṣipyate yat tu mantrayanātrāgnibhiṣca tat
astram tadanyataḥ śastram asikuntādikam ca yat.

182. Astram tu dvividham jñeyam nālikam māntrikam
tathā.

183. Yadā tu māntrikam nāsti nālikam tatra dhārayet
saha śastreṇa nrpatirvijayārtham tu sarvadā.

184. Laghūdīrghākāradhārabhedaiḥ śastrāstranāmākam
prathayanti navam bhinnam vyavahārāya tad vidāh.

185. Nālikam dvividham jñeyam brhatksudravidbhedataḥ.

186. Tiryagūrdhvacchidramūlam nālam pāncavitastikam;
mūlāgrayorlakṣyabhedīlabinduyutam sādā.

130. He should place the friendly army near in the rear or on
both sides.

131. Whatever is thrown or cast by incantation, machine or fire
is a projectile, what is different is a weapon like the
sword, the spear, &c.

132. The projectile weapon must be known to be of two kinds,
that consisting of tubes and that thrown by incantation.

133. If here there are no incantation-arms a king should always
keep for the sake of victory the tubular arms together
with other weapons.

134. According as a new weapon and missile varies in its size,
whether it is small or large, in its shape or blade,
experts name it differently.

135. The tubular weapon should be known as being of two
kinds, divided into large and small.

136. The tube is five spans long, its breech has a perpendicular Gun.
and horizontal hole, at the breech and muzzle is always
fixed a sesame bead for aligning the sights.
137. The breech has at the vent a mechanism which, carrying stone and powder, makes fire by striking. Its breech is well wooded at the side, in the middle is a hole an aṅgula broad;

138. after the gunpowder is placed inside, it is firmly pressed down with a ramrod. This is the small gun which ought to be carried by foot-soldiers.

139. In proportion as its outside (bark) is hard, its hole is broad, its ball is long and broad; the ball reaches far.

140. A big tube is called (that gun) which obtains the direction of the aim by moving the breech with a wedge; its end is without wood; but it is to be drawn on cars, &c.; if well welded it gives victory.

141. Five weights (pala) of saltpetre, one weight of sulphur, Gunone weight of charcoal, which consists of Calatropis gigantea, of Euphorbia neriifolia, and other (plants) and is prepared in such a manner that the smoke does not escape;
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148. Samanyūnadhikairamśairagnīcūrṇānyanekaśāḥ kalpayanti ca vettārah candrikabhādimiti ca.

149. Kṣipanti cāgnisāmyogāt golam lakṣe sunālagam.

150. Nalāstram śodhayet ādau dadyāt tatragīcūrṇakam; nivesayet tat daṇḍena nālamule yathā drṇham.

151. Tataḥ sugolakam dadyāt tataḥ karṇe’gīcūrṇakam, karṇacūrṇāgnidānena golam lakṣye nipātayet.

152. Lakṣyabhedi yathā bāno dhanurjaśīvīniyojitaḥ bhavet tathānusandhāya dvihastaṣaṃ śilimukhaḥ.

153. Aṣṭaśrā prthubudhṇā tu gāda hrdayasamhitā; pattiśah svasamo hastabudhṇaścobbhayatomukhaḥ.

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148. experts make gunpowder in many ways and of white and other colours.

149. By the application of fire they throw the ball coming from Gun-ball, the tube at the mark.

150. One should clean the tube first and then put gunpowder, carry it down with the ramrod to the bottom of the tube and cleaning a gun.

151. then put a good ball, and place gunpowder on the vent, and by setting fire to the powder at the vent discharge the ball towards its mark.

152. In order that the arrow despatched by the string of the Bow, the bow should penetrate the object aimed at, the arrow which is put on should be two cubits long.

153. A club is octagonal, but broad at the end, rising (from the Club ground) up to the heart; a battle axe is of the same Battle axe height (as the bearer), is in the middle one cubit broad and is double-headed.
54. Īśadvaktraśaikadhāro viṣṭāre caturaṅgulah
ksuraprānto nābhisamo drāhamuṣṭissuccandraṇaṃ
khadgaḥ, prāsaṭcaturhastadandabudhnaḥ kṣurāṇanaḥ.
55. Daśahastamitaḥ kundah phālāγrāh śaṅkubudhnaḥ.
56. Cakram śaḍhastaparidhi kṣuraprāntam sunābhīyuk,
trihastadandah triśikha, loharajjuḥ supāsakaḥ.
57. Godhūmasamhitasthilapatiṃram lohamayam drāham,
kavacam saśirastrānam ārdhvākāyaviśobhanam.
58. Tikṣṇāgram karajam āreśṭham lohasāramayam drāham.
59. Yo vai supuṣṭasambhāraḥ tathā saḍgūnamantravit
bahvastrasamyuto rājā yoddham iccheta eva hi,
anyathā duḥkham āpnoti svarājyāt bhraśyate’ pi ca.

54. The sword is a little curved, has one blade, is four aṅgulas Sword.
broad, at the point sharp as a razor, reaches up to the
navel, has a strong hilt and is as brilliant as the
beautiful moon. The broad sword is four cubits long, Broad
broad (at the hilt), and at the end-point sharp like a sword.

55. The lance is ten cubits long, ending in a (metal) point, Lance.
and broad as a shaft.

56. The disk is six cubits in circumference, is at the edge Disk.
like a razor and is to be handled in the very midst; Trident.
the trident is three cubits long; a good lasso has iron Lasso.
strings.

57. Armour consists of scales of the breadth of a grain of Armour.
wheat, is of metal and firm, has a protection for the
head, and is ornamented on the upper part of the body.

58. The fingertip of a gauntlet which is sharp at its end, is Gauntlet.
of metal and is strong, is surely the best.

59. That king who has well supplied provisions, knows the Rules
secret of the six principles of policy (see śl. 174), and about
fighting, has many weapons, wishes certainly to fight; if he is
not in such position (and fights), he experiences
distress, and is even expelled from his kingdom.
160. Ábibhratoḥ śatrubhāvam ubhayoḥ samyataṁmanoḥ astrādyaiḥ svārthasiddhyartham vyāpāro yuddham ucyate.

161. Mantrāstraɪraɪdaɪvikam yuddham, nālādyaiśca tathā 'suraṃ sastrabhāhusamuttham tu mānavam yuddham īritam.

162. Ekasya bahubhīḥ sārdham bahūnām bahubhiśca vā ekasyaikena vā, dvābhyaṁ dvayor vā, tat bhavet khalu.

163. Kālam desaṃ śatrubalam drstvā svīyabalam tataḥ upāyān saḍgūnam mantraṃ sambhūyat yuddhakāmu-kah.

164. Śaraddhemantaśiśirakālo yuddhesu cottamah vasanto madhyamo jñeyo’dhamo grīṣmaḥ smṛtaḥ sadā.

165. Varṣāsu na praśāṁsanti yuddham sāma smṛtam tadā.

160. The exertion of two self-controlled (parties) who harbour Definition enmity against each other with projectile weapons of war and other arms for the accomplishment of their own benefit, is called war.

161. The fighting with incantations and projectile weapons Different is called divine, that with tubes and other instruments mode of fighting. demoniac, that with weapons and the arms (of the body) is human.

162. If one fights with many, or many fight against many, or one fights against one, or two against two, that is surely a contest.

163. Having considered the time, place, the hostile army and also his own, the (four) expediens (i.e., negotiation, bribery, dissension and attack), the secret of the six principles of policy, he should think of war.

164. Autumn, winter and the chilly season are the best for Seasons of the year to be fighting, spring time should be regarded as middling, considered. and the hot season always as the worst.

165. In the rainy season they do not recommend war; for that time negotiation is advised.
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171. If the ground is favorable for the manoeuvres of the army of the enemy, his position being quite the reverse, that position is mentioned as the worst.

172. If the hostile army is a third part less than his own, if its line is undisciplined and inefficient, (such circumstances) ensure his own victory.

173. If his own army is guarded like a son, is gratified by presents and honours, is provided with the materials for war, it is conferring victory.

174. He should understand the six principles of policy; alliance Six prin- and quarrel, marching, halting, refuge and separation. ciples of policy.

175. By what practices a strong enemy is won over to friendship, Alliance. that practice is called alliance; he should consider it anxiously.

176. A king should deliberate with his ministers about the war, War. by means of which his enemy may be injured and rendered dependent.

148 See Kámand., XVI, 21.
177. The going for the destruction of the enemy for the fulfillment of his own desires is marching; if through staying his own safety and his enemy's destruction is halting, that is halting.

178. The protection which makes a weak man become strong, is refuge called refuge; the placing of his own armies in separation.

179. If a king is attacked by a strong enemy and is not able to resist, he should (thus) afflicted make peace, obtaining delay of time.

180. Alliance alone is regarded as a pleasant tribute; but all the other kinds of tributes are destitute of friendship.

181. As an enemy who has not received any benefit from his superior strength does not return (to his country); therefore no peace is known without a tribute.

149 See Kāmand., IX, 21, and Hitopadesa, IV, 126.
150 See Kāmand., IX, 22.

Abhiyokta bali yasmāt alabhvā na nivartate
upahārāt ēte yasmat sandhiranyo na vidyate.
182. Śatrorbalañusārena upahāram prakalpayet
    sevām vāpi ca svikuryāt dadyāt kanyām bhuvaṁ dhanam.

183. Svasāmantāṁśca sandhiyāt maitrenānyajayāya vai
    sandhih kāryo’pyanāryena samprāpyotsādayet hi saḥ.

184. Saṁghatavān yathā venurnividiāh kañṭakaivṛtāh
    na śakyate samuccettum venuḥ saṁghatavānstatāḥ.\(^{151}\)

185. Balinā saha sandhāya bhaye sādhārane yadi,
    ātmānām gopayet kāle bahvamitṛsu buddhimān.

186. Balinā saha yoddhavya iti nāsti nidarśanam
    prativātam hi na ghanāḥ kadācit api sarpati.\(^{152}\)

182. He should settle a tribute according to the strength of his
    enemy, or he should agree to do homage, or should
    give his daughter, land or money.

183. For the sake of conquering his enemy he should make an
    alliance with his neighbours; an alliance is even to be
    made with an unworthy ruler; having gained his object
    he may destroy him.

184. As a clump of bamboos surrounded by thick thorns cannot
    be torn out, thus also could not be annihilated Venu (?)
    who had a multitude of followers.

185. A wise king who has many enemies should guard himself in
    calamity by making an alliance with a strong king, who
    is exposed to the same danger.

186. There exists no example (to show), that one should fight
    with a strong enemy; a cloud surely does not move
    against the wind.

\(^{151}\) See Hitop., IV, 26.
    Samhatatvat yatathā Venurnividiāh kañṭakairvṛtāh
    na śakyate samuccettum bhratrasaṁghatavānstatāḥ.
    Pañc., III, 50. Saṁghatavān yathā venurnivido venubhirvṛtāh
    na śakyate samuccettum durbalopi tathā nrpaḥ.

Kāmandaṭiya, IX, 46.
    Saṁghatavān yathā venurnividiāh kañṭakair vṛtāh
    na śakyate samuccettum bhratrasaṁghatavānstatāḥ.

All MSS. of the Šukraniti read Venuḥ saṁghatavānstatāḥ.

\(^{152}\) See Hitop., IV, 27; Pañcatantra, III, 22; Kāmandaṭiya, III, 46.
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193. Ekārthābhinivesitvam kāranam kalahasyā vā
upāyāntaranāse tato vigraham ācaret.

194. Vigrhyā sandhāya tathā sambhūyātha prasaṅgataḥ
upekṣāya ca nipuṇaṁyānam paṅcavidham smṛtam.154

195. Vigrhyā yāti hi yadā sarvān śatrugaṇān balat
vigrhyā yānām yānajīnaiḥ tadācāryaiḥ pracaṅkṣaye.155

196. Arimitraṇi sarvāṇi svamitraḥ sarvato balat
vigrhyā cāribhirgantum vigrhyagamanan tu vā.156

197. Sandhāyānyatra yātrāyām pāṛśnigrāhena satrūṇā
sandhāyagamanan proktam tajjīgisoḥ phalārthīnāḥ.157

193. If the cause of the quarrel is the desire to have one and the
same object, one may proceed to war, if no other means
exists (to settle the matter).

194. Five different modes of marching are mentioned by experts, Marching:
a successful war march, an alliance march, a junction
march, likewise an incidental march, and a con-
temptuous march.

195. If by his strength all hostile troops are conquered, it is
called by the masters who know the marching rules, a
successful war march.

196. If, when marching against one’s own enemies, all the
friends of the enemy are everywhere conquered through
the ability of one’s own friends, this is also called a
successful war expedition.

197. When, while marching against one enemy, an alliance is
made with another enemy, who is coming in his rear,
this is called the alliance march of the king desirous
success.

154 See Kāmand., XI, 2, instead of upekṣāya ca upekṣā ceti.
155 See Kāmand., XI, 3.
156 See Kāmand., XI, 4, instead of ari arer, and instead of cāribhirgantum
“cābhigamanam.”
157 See Kāmand., XI, 5.
198. Eko bhūpo yadaikatra sāmantaiḥ sāmparāyikaiḥ
dīkṣaūryayutairyaṁ sambhūyagamanam hi tat.  

199. Anyatra prasthitāṁ saṅgāṁ anyatraiva ca gacchati
prasāṅgayānam tat proktam yānavidbhīśacakānmanīḥ.

200. Ripum yātasya balinaḥ samprāpya vikṛtam phalam
upeksya tasmin tadyānam upeksāyānam ucyate.

201. Durvrtte' pyakulīne tu balam dātari rajyatē
hrṣam krtvā sviyabalam paritoṣyapradānataḥ.

198. If a king marches against an enemy together with his
warlike, powerful and valiant neighbours, that is called
going together.

199. If, after having set out against one enemy, he marches by
circumstances (compelled) against another enemy, this
is called by those who understand marching and by
ministers, an incidental march.

200. If, when a strong king marches against an (insignificant)
enemy, an advantage not worth having has been
obtained and this has been given up, this is called a
march conducted with contempt.

201. An army is even attached to a bad and low born king if Liberality
he is only liberal, having pleased his own army by

gifts of presents.

158 Compare Kāmānḍakīya, XI, 6.
Ekibhūya yadaikatra sāmantaiḥ sāmparāyikaiḥ
dīkṣaūryayutairyaṁ sambhūyagamanam hi tat.

159 Compare Kāmānḍakīya, XI, 9.
Anyatra prasthitāṁ saṅgāṁ anyatraiva ca gacchati
prasāṅgayānam tat proktam atra śalyo nidadrānam.

160 Compare Kāmānḍakīya, XI, 10.
Ripum yātasya balinaḥ samprāpyāvikṛtam phalam
upeksya tanmitrayānam upeksāyānam ucyate.
202. Nayakah purato yāyat pravirapuruṣāvṛtah
madhye kalatram kośaśca svāmi phalgucā yaddhanam,\textsuperscript{161}
dhvañinim ca sadodyuktah sa gopayet divāniśam.\textsuperscript{162}

203. Nadyadrivanadurgesu yatra yatra bhayam bhavet
senāpatih tatra tatra gacchet vyūhikṛtairbalaḥ.\textsuperscript{163}

204. Yāyāt vyuhena mahata makareṇa purobhaye;
śyeneno bhayapakṣena sūcīyā va dhiravaktraye.\textsuperscript{164}

205. Paścādbhaye tu śakātam pārvavoyavajrasājñīkam
sarvatah sarvatobhadram cakram vyālām athāpi vā;\textsuperscript{165}
yathādeśam kalpayet va śatrusenāvibhedakam.

206. Vyūharacanasūkṣetan vādyabhāṣāsāmiritān

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202. The commander-in-chief should go in front, surrounded
by valiant men, in the midst should be the queen, the
treasury, the king, and whatever ready money there
is; and he should always zealously guard his army day
and night.

203. Wherever, whether in a river, mountain, forest or fortress
an alarm of the enemy (coming) arises, there should the
general go with combined forces.

204. If the alarm arises in front, he should march in an array
resembling a crocodile, a double-winged hawk or a
needle with a strong point.

205. A king should form if the alarm rises in the rear what is
called a cart, if on the flanks a thunderbolt, if on all
sides, an everywhere impregnable figure, a wheel and an
elephant for the destruction of the hostile army accord-
ing to the fitness of the place.

206. No body except his own soldiers should know the intima-
Signals.

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\textsuperscript{161} See Hit., III, 70 ; Kamand., XVIII, 45.
\textsuperscript{162} See Kamandakiya, XVIII, 43.
\textsuperscript{163} See Kamand., XVIII, 44 ; Hitop., III, 69 ; and compare Manu, VII, 188.
\textsuperscript{164} See Kamand., XVIII, 48.
\textsuperscript{165} See Kamand., XVIII, 49.
Paścādbhaye tu śakātam pārvavoyavajrasājñītām
sarvatah sarvatobhadram bhayavyūham prakalpayet.
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213. Drák sandhánam punah pátō graho mokśāh punah punah; svagūhanam pratīghātah śastrāstrapadavikramah.  425
214. Dvābhyaṃ tribhisacaturbhirvā paṅktiśo gamanam tataḥ; tathā prāgbhavanam cāpasaranam tūparjanam apasṛtyāstrasiddhyartham upasṛtya vimokṣaṇam.  430
215. Prāgbhūtvā mocayet astram vyūhasthāḥ sainikāḥ sadā āsīnāḥ syāt vimuktāstrāḥ prāgvā cāpasaret punah.  435
216. Prāgāsinam tūparto dṛṣṭvā svāstram vimocayet ekaikaśo dvīso vāpi saṅghaśo bodhito yathā.  440
217. Krauṇcānām khe gatiryādrk paṅktitāḥ samprajāyate tādrk samraksayet krauṇcavyūham desabalam yathā,  445
218. Sūkṣmagrīvam madhyapuccham sthūlapakṣam tu paṅktitāḥ brhapakṣam madhyagalapuccham śyenam mukhe tanum.

213. then quickly aim again, and throw, take up and discharge the arms repeatedly, cover themselves, and beat with arms, weapons and feet;
214. further go in rows of two, three or four; likewise, front, retire and change places; retire for adjusting the arms and advance for the discharge.
215. A soldier when standing in his corps should always discharge his arms from the front, if he has discharged the arms he should sit down, or should leave the front.
216. But (the next soldier) advancing should discharge his weapon keeping his eye on him who sits in front, either one by one, or in twos or in numbers, according to the order.
217. As the moving of the herons proceeds in the sky, he should Formation of troops. arrange the herons’ array, according as it is adapted to the country;
218. with a thin neck, a middling tail, a bulky wing, arranged
in rows, (and) a hawk-array with a broad wing, a middling throat and tail and thin at the face.

219. The crocodile has four feet, a long and broad snout and two lips. A needle has a thin face, a long and even stick-like body, and a hole at its end.

220. The wheel array has one way, but eight coils. A figure with eight rings and with four faces is called a Sarvato-bhadra (a strong one on every direction).

221. A ball has no entrance, eight circles and everywhere a face; a cart is like a cart and an elephant has always the shape of an elephant.

222. Having seen the army, the road, the battlefield, whether small or big, he should arrange his army in many corps, or in one or two, or in one mass.

223. Where a gap may be made in the hostile army through Post. missiles and machines, in these places the king should stand with his army; this is called post.

224. Having with great exertion effectually removed from his post all round and for a long time to come grass, food, water and other provisions, which maintain the enemy;
225. Vicchinnavividhāsāram prakṣīṇayavasaidhanam, 
vigṛhyamāṇaprabṛtīm kālenaiva vaśam nayet.166
226. Areśca vijigīśośca vigrahe hiyamānayoh 
sandhāya yadavasthānam sandhāyāsanam ucyate.167
227. Ucchidyamāno balinā nirupāyapratikriyāh, 
kulodbhavam satyam āryam āśrayeta balotkaṭam. 455
228. Vijigīśostu sāhyārthāḥ suhṛtsambandhibandhavāḥ 
pradattabhṛṭikā hyanye bhūpā amśaprakalpitāḥ.
229. Saivāśrayastu kathito durgāṇi ca mahātmabhiḥ.
230. Anisćitopāyakāryah samayānucaro nṛpaḥ 
dvaidhibhāvena varteta kākāṣivat alakṣitam,168 
pradarśayet anyakāryam anyam ālambayet ca vā.

225. he should subdue in time the enemy, whose various pro-
visions are scattered, whose corn and fuel is destroyed 
and whose subjects are incensed.
226. If the enemy and the king who wishes to conquer are 
reduced in the war, the place where they stand, when 
they make peace, is called the place produced by peace.
227. If a king who has no means of redress is much oppressed Refuge. 
by a strong king he should take refuge with a king, 
who is well-born, righteous, venerable and of superior 
strength.
228. A king (who wishes to conquer) has friends, connections 
and relations who assist for the sake of friendship, 
others who have received pay, and kings on whom is 
settled a part (of the enemy’s country).
229. By great-minded men this is surely called refuge and a 
fortress is also called a refuge.
230. A king, whose arrangements are not certain, looking out Duplicity. 
for the opportune time, should practise duplicity 
like the concealed eye of a crow, he should pretend one 
thing and seize another.

166 See Kāmand., XI, 16.  167 See Kāmand., XI, 17.
168 See Kāmand., XI, 24b.
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237. Parasparam prātikūlyam ripusenāpamantrinām, bhavet yathā tathā kuryāt tat prajāyāsca tat striyah.

238. Upāyān śadguṇān vikṣya śatroḥ svasyāpi sarvadā, yuddham prānātyaye kuryāt sarvasvaharane sati.

239. Striviprabhyupapattau ca govināsepi brāhmaṇaiḥ, prāpte yuddhe kvacinnaiva bhavet api parānāmukhāḥ.

240. Yuddham utsṛjya yo yāti sa devairhanyate bhrśam.

241. Samottamādhahai rājā tvāhūtaḥ pālayan prajāḥ, na nivarteta saṅgrāmāt kṣatradharmam anusmaran.⁷³

242. Rājanām cāpayoddhāram brāhmanam cāpravāsinam, nirgilati bhūmiretau sarpo vilaśayān iva.⁷⁴

237. He should contrive so that there is mutual enmity among the ministers and generals of the enemy and also among the subjects and women.

238. In case his life is in danger, or all his property is to be taken, he should fight having always considered the six-fold expedients of his enemy and of himself.

239. If he has undertaken the war for the defence of women and Brahmans and on account of the destruction of cows even if done by Brahmans, he should never turn away.

240. Who goes away having left the fight is quickly destroyed by the gods.

241. A king who protects his subjects if he is summoned to fight by equal, superior, or inferior enemies should not turn from the contest remembering the duty of a Kṣatriya.

242. A king who does not fight and a Brahman who does not travel about; these two swallows the earth, like a snake does the animals living in holes.

⁷³ See Manu, VII, 87.
⁷⁴ See Mahābhārata, Rajadharm, LVII, 1, and the observations on this sloka on pp. 38 and 39.
243. Brāhmaṇasyāpi cāpattau kṣatrādharmena vartataḥ,
praśastam jīvitam loke kṣtram hi brahmasambhavam. 485
244. Adharmaḥ kṣatriyaśayaisa yacchayyāmaranam bhavet,
visṛjan śleṣmapittāni kṛpaṇam paridevayan.175
245. Avikṣatena dehena pralayam yo’ dhigacchati
kṣatriyo nāya tat karma praśaṁsanti purāvidah.176
246. Na gṛhe maranam śastam kṣatriyaṇām vinā raṇat,
śauṇḍirāṇām āsaunḍiram adharmam kṛpaṇam hi yat.177
247. Raṇeṣu kadanam kṛtvā jñātibhiḥ parivāritah
śastrastraigh suvinirbhinnah kṣatriyo vadham arhati.178

243. Even for a Brahman who lives during misfortune according Prescrip-
tions for the Kṣatriya rule, it is in the world a laudable living, for a Kṣatriya is sprung from Brahma.
244. There would be a demerit to a Kṣatriya whose death would be on a couch, emitting phlegm and bile and wailing piteously.
245. Those persons who are acquainted with the past do not praise the death of that Kṣatriya who meets his dissolution with unwounded body.
246. The death of Kṣatriyas in a house without a combat is not praised; it would be despicable, unrighteous, and miserable.
247. A Kṣatriya has earned (a noble) death, when, surrounded by his relations, he has made a slaughter (of enemies) on the battle fields, and is well pierced with arms and missiles.

175 See Mahābhārata, Śāntiparva, Rajadarma, XCVII, 23.
176 See Mahābhārata, Śāntiparva, Rajadarma, XCVII, 24.
177 See ibidem, 25; instead of śastam tāta, and instead of vinā raṇāt praśas-
yate.
178 See ibidem, 28; but the second half of the sloka differs, for instead of it we read tīkṣpayāḥ sāstrairabhikṣiṣṭaḥ kṣatriyo mṛtyum arhati. The change in the reading tīkṣpayāḥ sāstraiḥ for sāstrāstraigh is significant.
248. Āhavesu mitho’nyonyam jighāmsanto mahiksitah
yudhyamānāḥ param śaktyā svargam yāntyaparāṁ-
mukhāḥ.  
249. Bharturartheca yah śūro vikramet vāhinimukhe
bhayāt na nivarteta tasya svargo hyanantakah.
250. Āhave nihatam śūram na soceta kadācana
nirmuktah sarvapāpebhyaḥ pūto yāti salokatām.
251. Varāpsarasahasrāni śūram āydhane hatam
tvaramānāḥ pradhāvantī hyayam mama bhavet iti.
252. Munibhirdirghatapasa prāpyate yat padam mahat
yuddhābhimukhāhaitah śūraiḥ tat drak avāpyate.
253. Ėtat tapaśca puńyam ca dhāmaścaiva sanātanaḥ
catvāra āśramāstasya yo yuddhe na palāyate.

248. The rulers of the earth, who, wishing to kill each other
in battles, are fighting with utmost strength, go to
heaven with not averted heads.
249. That hero who fights for the sake of his king in front of the
army, nor turns away from fear, is sure of the ever-
lasting heaven.
250. One should never bewail a hero who is killed in battle,
freed from all sins he goes purified to the world specially
assigned to him.
251. Towards a hero who is killed in battle run thousands of the
best Apsaras, saying: "this one should be mine."
252. That grand step which after long penance is obtained by
sages, is quickly won by heroes, who are killed with
their faces turned towards the contest.
253. He who does not run away in the battle, earns this penance,
this merit, this primeval virtue and the four stages.

179 See Manu, VII, 89; and Niti-prakāśika, VII, 44.
180 Compare Mahābhārata, Rajadharma, XCVIII, 43b.
181 See Parāśarasmṛti, IV, 37; and Mahābhārata, ibidem, XCVIII, 45b
and 46a; the latter half sloka runs there thus: tvaramāṇabhidhavanti
mama bharta bhavet iti.
182 See Mahābhārata, ibidem XCVIII, 46b and 47a.
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259. Udyamya sastram āyāntam bhrūnam apyātatayinam nihatya bhrūnahā na syāt ahatvā bhrūnahā bhavet.  
260. Apasarati yo yuddhāt jivitārthī narādhamah jīvan eva mṛtaḥ sopi bhuṅkte rāṣtrakṛtam tvagham.  
261. Mitram vā svāminam tyaktvā nirgacchati raṅāt ca yāḥ so’nte narakam āpnoti sa jīvan nindyate’khilaḥ.  
262. Mitram āpadgatam dṛṣṭvā sahāyam na karoti yāḥ akirtim labhate so’tra mṛto narakam rēchati.  
263. Visrambhāt śaranam prāptam sāktah tyajati durmatih sa yāti narakē ghore yāvat indrāscaturdaśā.

259. He who has raised a weapon against an approaching assassin, though this be a Vaidika Brahman, (and) killed him, should not be considered as a Vaidikabrahman-murderer; if he has not killed him, he should be regarded as such.

260. He who desirous of his life goes away from the battle is a very bad man, though alive he is surely dead; he has to bear the sin done in the realm.

261. He who, having left his friend or his king, goes from the battle field, goes at his death to hell, and is blamed by all during his life.

262. He who, having seen his enemy going into danger, does not help him, acquires infamy here and goes, when dead, to hell.

263. The wicked, who though strong, deserts him who confidingly comes to him for protection, stays in a fearful hell, as long as there are fourteen Indras.

Gurum vā balavrddhau vā brahmaṇām vā bahuśrutam ātatayinam āyāntam hanyat eva vicārayan;
and about bhrūnahā Manu, VIII, 317.
188 Compare with this and the preceding Ślokas the Mahābhārata as above, 20-21.
264. Sudurvṛttam yadā kṣatram nāsayeyustu brāhmaṇāḥ yuddham kṛtvāpi śastraśtrairna tadā pāpabhāginaḥ.
265. Hīnam yadā kṣātrakulam nicairlokaḥ prapidyate tadāpi brāhmaṇā yuddhe nāsayeyuh tu tān dhruvam.
266. Uttamam māntrikāstreṇa nālikāstreṇa madhyamam śastraṁ kaniṣṭham yuddham tu bāhuyuddham tato’dham-
      mam.
267. Mantreritamahāsaktibāṇādyaiḥ satrunāśanam māntrikāstreṇatat yuddham sarvayuddhottamamsṛtam
268. Nālāgnicūrṇasamyogat lakṣe golanipātanan nālikāstreṇa tat yuddham mahāhrāsakaram ripoh.
269. Kuntādiśastraśaṅghātairnāśanam ripūnām ca yat śastryuddham tu tat jñeyam nālastrābhāvatah sadā.
270. Karṣaṇaiḥ sandhimarmāṇāṁ pratilomāṇulomataḥ bandhanaṅgarghātanam śatroryuktyā tat bāhuyuddhakam.

264. If the Brahmins should even with arms and missiles destroy in a war bad behaving Kṣatriyas, they do then commit no sin.
265. If, when the Kṣatriya caste is weak, the world is oppressed by mean persons, then also should the Brahmins surely destroy those in war.
266. The best fight is with enchanted missiles, the middling is Modes of Fighting with tubular projectile weapons, the lowest with weapons, the worst is fighting with the arms.
267. The destruction of enemies by arrows and other weapons of great force and despatched by spells, and by enchanted missiles, is recorded as the best fighting of all.
268. The throwing of a ball by a tubular instrument through the application of gunpowder and a tube is very destruct ive to the enemy.
269. The destruction of the enemy which takes place by means of lances and other weapons, is always to be known as the combat with weapons in the absence of tubular projectile weapons.
270. The killing of the enemy by injuring his joints and vital
271. Nalāstrāṇī puraskṛtya laghūni ca mahānti ca
tat prasthagānśca padātān gajāśvān pārśvayoh sthitān
kṛtvā yuddham prārabheta bhinnāmātyabalārinā
272. Śāmmukhyena prapatena pārśvābhyaṁ apayānataḥ
yuddhānukūlabhūmestu yāvallābhastathāvidham.
273. Sainyārdhaṁśena prathamam senapairyuddham īritam
amātyagopitaṁ paścāt amātyaiḥ saha tat bhavet,
nrpaśaṅgopitaṁ paścāt svataḥ prāṇātyaye ca tat.
274. Dirghadhvanipariśrāntam kṣutpipāsāhitaśramam
vyādhidurbhikṣamaranaiḥ pīditam dasyuvirudtum ;

parts, by tossing him backwards and forwards, and by
grasping him, is properly regarded as the fighting with
the arms of the body.

271. Having placed the small and big guns in front; and behind
them the infantry, and on the two flanks the elephants
and horses, he should begin the battle, when the
hostile army and ministers are disunited,

272. by attacking the enemy in front, by falling on him with
the two wings, by retreating, in such a manner so far
as the advantage of the ground favours the combat.

273. The battle should be first opened by generals with half the
army, it should then be continued by the ministers with
the troops under their command, and at last by the king
himself with the troops under his special orders, when
life at large is at stake.

274. If his own army is exhausted by a long march, experiences
distress through hunger and thirst, is destroyed by
disease, famine and death, is alarmed by marauders;

Dirghavartmapariśrāntam nadyadrivanasāṅkulam.
190 See Kamand., XVIII, 50.
Dirghedhvani pariśrāntam kṣutpipāsahimaklamam
vyādhidurbhikṣamaranaiḥ pīdanam dasyuvirudtum.
Hitop., III, 109a. Pramattam bhojanavyagram vyādhidurbhikṣāpīdi-
tam
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279. Páyayitvā madam samyak sainikān śauryavarddhanaṁ nālāstrenā ca khadgādyaiḥ sainiko ghatayet arim. 560
280. Kunena sadī banena rathago gajago'pi ca gajo gajena yātavyaḥ turageṇa turāṅgamah.
281. Rathena ca ratho yojuḥ pattinā pattir eva ca ekenaikaśca saṣṭrena sastrām astrenā vāstrakam.
282. Na ca hanyāt sthalāruḍham na klībam na kṛtāṅjālim na muktaṃ saśinām na tavāṃti vādinām. 565
283. Na suptam na visannaḥam na nagnam na nirāyudham na yudhyamānām paśyantam, yudhyamānām pareṇa ca. 195

279. has made his soldiers drink up to a state of intoxication—the strengthener of bravery—; the soldier kills his enemy with a tubular instrument (gun), swords and other weapons.
280. A charioteer should be assailed by a lance, a person on a carriage or elephant by an arrow, an elephant by an elephant, a horse by a horse.
281. A carriage is to be opposed by a carriage, and a foot-soldier certainly by a foot-soldier, one person by another person, a weapon by a weapon, or a missile by a missile.
282. He should not kill a person, who is alighted on the ground, nor one who is emasculated, nor one who has joined his hands as a supplicant, nor one who sits with dishevelled hair, nor one, who says, "I am thine;"
283. nor one who is asleep, nor one without a coat of mail, nor a naked, nor an unarmed person, nor a combatant who is looking on, nor one who is fighting with another;

194 See Manu, VII, 91; Nītīprakāśikā, VII, 46; and Mahābhārata, Rājadharma, XCVI, 3, and XCVII, 48a.
195 See Manu, VII, 92.
na yudhyamānām paśyantam na pareṇa samāgatam; and Nītīprakāśikā, VII, 47.
284. Pibantam na ca bhūjānam anyakāryākulaṁ na ca
na bhītam na parāvṛttam satāṁ dharmam anusmaran.

285. Vṛddho bālo na hantavyo naiva stri kevalo nṛpaḥ,
yathāyogyam tu samyojya nighnan dharmo na hiyate.

286. Dharmayuddhe tu kūte vai na santi niyamā amī
da yuddham kūtasadṛśam nāsānam balavadripoh.

287. Rāmakṛṣṇendraśidīpavaih kūtam evādṛtam purā ;
kūtena nihato Bālik Yavano Namuciḥ tathā.

288. Praphullavadanenaiva tathā komalaya girā
ksurāḍhāreṇa manasa ripoh chidram sulaksayet.

289. Pañcāsītiśatā-nilakā senakāryam vicintayan
sadaiva vyūhasaṅketavādyasabdāntavartinah
saṅcareyuḥ sainikāśca rājarāṣṭrahitaisināḥ.

284. nor one who is drinking or eating, nor one engaged in
another matter, nor one who is frightened, nor one who
is running away; remembering the custom of the good.

285. Neither is an old man or a child to be killed, surely not a
woman and especially not a king. If one kills, having
fought in a suitable manner, no virtue is violated.

286. These restrictions exist in fair but not in unfair fighting,
for the destruction of a powerful enemy there is no fight-
ing like unfair fighting.

287. Unfair fighting was certainly observed by Rāma, Kṛṣṇa,
Indra and other gods; Bāli, Yavana and also Namuci
were killed by unfair fighting.

288. With a cheerful face certainly and with a pleasing voice,
but with a mind sharp as a razor he should always
keep in view the vulnerable point of the enemy.

289. A king with 8,500 soldiers should study the working of an
army, and the soldiers should always march, being well
acquainted with the words (of command), the bugle-
calls, sounds, signs, and military arrays, wishing for
the welfare of the king and kingdom.

196 See Manu, VII, 93b.
290. Bheditam satruna drstva svasenam ghatayet ca tam.
291. Pratyagre karmani krte yodhairdadyat dhanam ca tan
paritoisyam vadhiraram kramato rham nrpa sad.
292. Jalannatrunasamanrodhaih satrum sampidya yatnatah
purasat viisme dese pascat hanyat tu vegavan.
293. Kutusvarnamahadansirbhedayitva dvishadbalam
nityavisrambhasansuptam prajagarakrtasramam,
vilobbyapi paranikam apramatto vinasayet.
294. Ksanam yuddhya sajjeta ksanam capasaret punah
akasmat nipatet durat dasyuvat parita sad.
295. Rupyam hemaca kupyam ca yo yat jayati tasya tat
adyat karyanurupam ca hrsto yodhan praharayan.

290. A king having observed that his army has been won over
by the enemy, he should destroy it.
291. A king should always, after a fresh victory has been won Rewards
by his soldiers, give them a gratifying reward, and for soldiers.
deserving promotion in due order.
292. Having at first harassed the enemy in a hilly country by Harassing
cutting off water, food and grass, he should afterwards the enemy
vanquish him.
293. Having sown dissensions in the hostile army by great gifts
of counterfeit gold, and having deceived the (remaining)
inimical host, which is sleeping in complete security
and tired out by watches, a vigilant king should destroy it.
294. At one moment he should endeavour to fight, at another
moment he should retreat again, he should suddenly
fall upon him from far, being always on every side,
like a robber.
295. The silver, gold and copper, which a soldier wins, belong to
Concerning plunder.

Concerning plunder.

197 See Manu, VII, 96.
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302. Grāmat bahīḥ samīpe tu sainikān dhārayet sadā
grāmyasainikayorṇa syāt uttamarnādharmarnatā.

303. Sainikārtham tu panyāṇi sainye sandhārayet prthak
naikatra vāsayet sainyam vatsaram tu kadācana.

304. Senāsahasram sajjam syāt kṣaṇāṭ samśāsayet tathā
samśāsayet svaniyamān sainikān aṣṭame dine.

305. Candatvam ātātāyitvam rājakārye vilambanam
aniṣṭopeksaṇam rājñāh svadharmaparivarjanam,

306. Tyajantu sainikā nityam saṃlāpam apicāparaīḥ,
nrpājñayā vinā grāmam na viśeyuḥ kadācana.

307. Svādhikārīgaṇasyāpi hyaparādham diśantu nah,
mitrabhāvena vartadhvam svāmikārye sadākhalaiḥ.

302. The king should always place the soldiers outside the village but near; between villagers and soldiers there should be no relation of creditor and debtor.

303. He should open separately bazars in the camp for the sake of the soldiers, and he should never let an army remain at one place a year.

304. A king should order that a troop of a thousand men be ready at a moment's notice, he should teach the soldiers his orders in eight days.

305. "Let the soldiers always avoid committing a rash act, a General murderous assault, delay in the service of the king, overlooking what is disagreeable to the king, and neglect in the performance of their duties;"

306. "Let them avoid having conversations with strangers; nor should they enter a village without the permission of the king.

307. "Let them communicate to us any mistake made by an officer or a man belonging to the rank and file; and may you always be while in the service of the king in a state of friendship with all.
308. Sujjvalanica raksantu sastrastravasanani ca
annam jalam prasthamatram patram bahvannasadahakam.

309. Sasanat anyathaa caran vinesyami yamalayam
bhedayita ripudhanam ghritya darshayantu mam.

310. Sainikairabhya set nityam vyuhadyanukrtim nrpa ha
tathayane yan leksyam astrapatairbibhedayet.

311. Sayam pratah sainikanam kuryat saangananam nrpa ha
jatyakrtivadeasagravasana vimsya ca.

312. Kalam bhrtyavadhim deyam dattam bhrtyasya lekhayet
kati dattam hi bhrtyebhyo vetane paritosikam,
tat praptipatram grhnityat dadyat vetanapatramak.

313. Sainikaha siksitaa ye ye te su purnaa bhrthi smrta
vyuhabhyase niyuktaa ye tesvardham bhrtim avahet.

308. “Let them keep very clean the arms, projectile weapons
and dress, the food, water, the vessel which holds a
prastha-measure and in which much food can be
prepared.

309. “I shall remove the soldiers who disobey these orders to the
abode of Death. The soldiers disbanded for plunder
should show me what booty they have taken from the
enemy.”

310. A king should always practise with his soldiers the
manner of formations, and other military drills, and
should likewise try every half year to pierce the target
by discharging projectile weapons.

311. A king should every evening and morning muster his muster.
soldiers, having enquired into their caste, physique,
age, country, village and station.

312. He should write down the time, the amount of pay, what pay.
pay has been given and is to be given, what present
has been given to the soldier in his pay. He should
take a receipt for it, and should give a pay-bill.

313. For the soldiers, who are disciplined, is mentioned full-pay;
to those, who are undergoing instruction in military
formations he should give half-pay.
ON THE ARMY ORGANISATION

314. Asatkartrāśritam sainyam nāsayet śatruyogatah.

315. Nrpaśyāsadgūnaratāḥ ke gunadveśino naraḥ asadgūnodāsināḥ ke hanyāt tān vimrśan nrpaḥ, sukhāsaktān tyajet bhṛtyān guṇinopi nrpaḥ sādā.

316. Susvāntalokaviśvastā yojyāḥ tvantahpurādīṣu dhāryāḥ susvāntaviśvastā dhanādivyayakarmanī.

317. Tathā hi lokaviśvasto bāhyakṛtye niyujyate anyathā yojitāḥ te tu parivādaya kevalam.

318. Śatrusambandhino ye ye bhinnā mantrīganaḍādayah nrpadurgunato nityam hrtamānagunāḍākāḥ, svakāryasādhakā ye tu subhṛtyā posayet ca tān.

314. A king should destroy an army which is attached to an untrustworthy general, who is in collusion with the enemy.

315. A king, remembering those persons, who rejoice in his faults and hate his virtues, or who are indifferent to his faults, should kill them; servants who are devoted to pleasure he should dismiss, even if they are otherwise good.

316. Well disposed and popular persons should be placed in his harem and elsewhere; well disposed and reliable persons should be employed in the distribution of money, &c.

317. A person who has gained the confidence of the people should be likewise appointed to posts outside the palace, otherwise if incompetent persons were appointed, they would only bring on discredit.

318. He should support with good pay the group of ministers and other officers, who will serve his interests, and who while actually in the service of the enemy are disaffected, and who have lost their pride, virtue, and other good qualities through the badness of their king.
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325. Aṣṭadhā dasadhā vā kuryāt dvādasadhāpi và yāmikārtham ahorātram yāmikān vikṣya nānyathā.

326. Ādau prakalpītān amśān bhajeyuryāmikāstathā ādyah punastvantimāṁsām svapūrvāṁśām tato’pare.

327. Punarvā yojayet tadvat ādye’ntyam cāntime tataḥ svapūrvāṁśām dvitiye’hni dvitiyādih kramāgatam.

328. Caturbhya stvadhi kān nityam yāmikān yojayet dine yugapad yojayet dṛṣṭvā bahūn và kāryagauravam.

329. Caturānān yāmikānstan kādā naiva niyo jayet.

330. Yadraksya upadeśya yat ādeśya yāmikāya tat tatsamakṣam hi sarvam syāt yāmiko’pica tat tathā.

325. For the sake of the watchmen he should divide night and Watch-
day into eight, ten or twelve watches, having previ-
ously looked at the (the number of the) watchmen, not otherwise.

326. The watchmen will also share (amongst them all) the origi-
nally fixed watches; the first watchman will again take the last watch, and each of the others will take the watch of his predecessor.

327. Or he may also appoint as before the last watchman to the first and last watch; the second watchman and the others should in due order obtain on the second day, &c. the watch of the first watchman.

328. He should always appoint every day more than four watch-
men, or on some occasions having seen that the work is heavy, he should appoint many.

329. He should never appoint less than four watchmen.

330. The watchman should be told what is to be guarded, and what is to be communicated; all should be before his eyes, and the watchman should do it accordingly.
331. Kilakoṣṭe tu svarṇādi rakṣet niyamatāvaḍhi
svāṁśaṇe darśayet anyayāmikam tu yathārthakam.

332. Kṣaṇe kṣaṇe yāmikānāṁ kāryam dūrāt subodhanam.

333. Satkṛtān niyamān sarvān yadā sampādayet nṛpah
tadaiva nṛpatiḥ pūjyo bhavet sarvesu nānyathā.

334. Yasyāsti niyatam karma niyataḥ sadgraho yadi
niyato’sadgrahatyāgo nṛpatvam so’snute cīram.

335. Yasyāniyamitam karma sādhutvam vacanam tvapi
sadaiva kuṭīlāḥ syāt tu svapadāt drāk vinaśyati.

336. Nāpi vyāghragajāḥ saktā mṛgendram śāsitum yathā
na tathā mantrināḥ sarve nṛpam svacchandagāminam.

331. He should up to the appointed time guard the gold and
other things in the bolted treasury, (and) at the end of
his watch he should show the amount of the treasure
to another watchman.

332. There should be kept continually from a distance a good
lookout on the watchmen.

333. If a king should succeed in having all his orders well enjoyed
executed, he will surely be honoured among all men, by a king. but not otherwise.

334. The king, who is steady at his work, shows kindness to
good people and discountenances bad persons, enjoys his kingdom for a long time.

335. The king, who is unsteady in his work, good behaviour
and speech, and who is always deceitful, disappears soon
from his throne.

336. As tigers and elephants even are not able to govern the
lion, thus also all ministers are not able to govern a
king, who goes on as he likes.
337. Nibhra dhikrastena nissarvatam hi tevatah
gajo nibadhyate naiva tulabharsahasrakah.

338. Uddhartum drak gajah sahtah paikalagnagajam bali,
nitibhrasantrapam tvanyanrpa uddharaanaksama.

339. Balavannrpbhrye’ lpe’ pi shri tejha yath bhavet
na tatha hinanrpatau tanmanstrivapi no tatha.

340. Bahunam aikamatyam hi nrpaterbalavattaram
bahustraakra rajjuh simhadyakyarsanaksama.

341. Hinaraajyo ripubhryo na sainyam dharyet bahu,
kosavrddhim sadakuryat svaputradyabhivrddhaye.

342. Kudhayah nitraya sarvam asanam sayanam subham
bhavet yath tath kuryat anyathasu daridrakrt.

———

337. By the king are humbled and censured the ministers,
among them is therefore surely weakness; an elephant
is not bound even by 1,000 loads of cotton.

338. A strong elephant is able to draw out quickly another
elephant who sticks in the mud; a king is only able to
reform an iniquitous king.

339. Even if the servants of a mighty king are insignificant
there may be power and splendour; but it will not be
the same with a weak king, even if his ministers are
not so.

340. The unanimity of many makes a king very strong; a
rope made of many strings is able to drag a lion and
other beasts.

341. A king whose kingdom is reduced and who has become a
dependent of his enemy should not maintain a large
army, he should always increase his treasure, for the
recovery of power by his son and descendants.

342. He should so work that through hunger and sleepiness
every kind of food and couch becomes agreeable,
otherwise he will soon become poor.
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350. Naśrayanti ca ye nītim mandabhāgyastu te nṛpāḥ,
kātaryāt dhanalobhāt vā syurvai narakabhājanāh.

350. Those unfortunate princes, who out of cowardice or
cupidity do not have recourse to this polity, will surely
have their share in Hell.

---

**SCHEME OF TRANSLITERATION.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Consonants</th>
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<th>Diphthongs</th>
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<td>a ā e ai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palatals</td>
<td>c ch j jh ū y ś</td>
<td>i ī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Linguals</td>
<td>t th dh n r s</td>
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<td>Dentals</td>
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<td>l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labials</td>
<td>p ph b bh m v ī ṭ u ū</td>
<td>o au</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Anusvāra .. | .. m (real), m (unreal); Avagraha '.
APPENDIX.

IDENTIFICATION OF THE MANIPURA OF THE MAHĀBHĀRATA WITH MANIPURA OR MANA-
LŪRU OR MADURA IN SOUTH INDIA.

On a previous occasion (pp. 66 and 67) we mentioned the city of Manipura as a place to which the Mahābhārata accord-
ing to Mr. Talboys Wheeler ascribes fortifications provided with firearms.

This Manipura is declared by Mr. Wheeler to be the modern "Munnipur in the extreme east beyond the Bengal frontier... a secluded valley lying between Eastern Bengal and Burmah; and the people appear to be a genuine relic of the ancient Nāgas."

The late Professor Christian Lassen, by far the greatest authority on matters connected with Indian Archaeology, inclines to place it on the Eastern Coast of India south of Chicaole at the mouth of the Lāngulya river, identifying it with a locality he calls Manphur-Bunder.

In order to fix the locality of Manipura it is necessary to follow Arjuna on his journey as described in the first book of the Mahābhārata. Arjuna goes first to the North, reaches the Ganges, bathes in the holy river, and meets here the fair Ulūpi, with whom he stays for some time. He visits all the holy places in Anā, Vaṅga, and Kaliṅga. Pursuing his road to the South along the Mahendra mountains, he crosses Kaliṅga, goes along the coast and reaches Manipura. Here

199 See History of India, I, 144, 149, 421 and elsewhere.

200 See Indische Alterthumskunde, I, 676, 677, (563). 2nd Note "der Name scheint im Manphur-Bunder, erhalten zu sein, welches bei Cikakul nahe bei Koringapatam liegt."

reigned the king Citravahana, who had an only daughter Citrāṅgadā. Arjuna demanded her in marriage, after having made himself known. The king did not object to this request, but demanded that, as Citrāṅgadā was his only child,—for no Rāja of Manipura had ever had or would have more than one child,—the son born to Arjuna by his daughter should become king of Manipura. To this Arjuna consented and a son, Babhruvahana, was born to Citrāṅgadā, and after Arjuna had stayed for three years in Manipura, he left it, turned towards the Western Coast, wandered along it to Gokarna, and finally met Kṛṣṇa at Dvārakā. In the horse sacrifice Arjuna came once more to Manipura, fought with, and was killed by, his son Babhruvahana, but was revived through the life-restoring jewel.

Deciding on the evidence before us as taken from the Mahābhārata, Mr. Wheeler's identification of the ancient Manipura with the modern Munnipur falls to the ground, and with it all his explanations of the significance of this myth. That the stories concerning Arjuna's journey to Manipura should be known among the Munnipurees of our days, and that they should claim to be the descendants of the inhabitants of ancient Manipura need not astonish anybody. By this time the contents of the Mahābhārata are pretty well known all over India and its bordering states, and the Munnipurees do not stand alone in arrogating to themselves historical fame by taking advantage of the resemblance of names. There exist in India many places called Manipura.

Equally wrong, though less objectionable, is the conjecture of Lassen. There does not exist near Chicacole a place called Manphur-Bunder. The name of the town he thought of is not Manphur-Bunder, but Mafūs-Bandar. It lies on the left bank of the Lāṅgulya river near the sea, and is a comparatively modern place, as its name, which is a mixture

202 See History of India, I. p. 149.
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the Mahendra mountain to Ceylon (Laṅkā). This exploit would have been somewhat more difficult if Hanumān had to jump from Māfūsbandar to that island; as he would have been obliged to leap into the dark, for he could hardly see Ceylon from a place near Chicacole.

The mountain from which Hanumān is said to have jumped to Ceylon, bears to this day the name Mahendragiri. It is the same hill, near which the fierce warrior sage Parāṣu-rāma lived. This Mahendragiri is the highest and most prominent peak north of Cape Comorin. It is 5,430 feet high and serves the sailors as a landmark; on its southern side lies the town Pannagudi.

On the east of the southern part of the Eastern Ghāts, which is called there by the inhabitants also Mahendra, lies Madura, and a few miles still further east lies Maṇālūru. It may be here remarked, that Manālūru or Manipura lay formerly much nearer to the sea, as India has increased considerably on this side of the coast. In old legends we read, that the sea encroached on some occasions to the walls of Madura.

The Sanskrit name of this Manālūru is Manipura, and as such it was the capital of the ancient Pāṇḍya kingdom. Kulaśekhara Pāṇḍya is mentioned both in Tamil and Telugu records as the founder of Manipura, which was otherwise known by the name of Manālūru. The local traditions all coincide on this point. Manipura or Maṇālūru was the original site of the capital of the Pāṇḍya kings, which was afterwards transferred to Madura in its immediate neigh-

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204 See Rāmāyaṇa Kiśkindhakanda, LXVII, 40—43.
40. Ārūroha nagaśreṣṭhaḥ mahendraṃ arīmardanaḥ.
43. Vicācara hariśreṣṭha bhavanti mahendrasamavikramaḥ.

Rāmāyaṇasaṅgraha, Sundarakanda, I, 1.
1. Tato Mahendraśīkharāt utplutya Hanumān bali surasāsinhihe bhittva Laṅkābahiravatārat.
Mahānāṭaka, Sundarakanda, I, 14, 15, 126, 127.
bourhood. In some chronicles Manipura is also called Kalyāṇapura; the proposed identification of Kalyāṇapura with Kurkhi is quite without foundation.

Occasional excavations round Maṇalūru have brought to light substantial evidences of ancient structures, especially in the fields of Maṇalūru Cintāmaṇi, midway between the present Maṇalūru and Madura; old coins and ancient gold ornaments have also been found there in quantities. The neighbouring country round Maṇalūru stands among the natives in the reputation of containing many hidden treasures, and people often try to find them by means of the wand.

It is a most important coincidence that in some old MSS. of the Mahābhārata, instead of the name Maṇipura, the chapters of the Aśvamedha, which should contain it, give actually the name Maṇalūru.

In the “Oriental Historical Manuscripts” of the Rev. Mr. Taylor occurs, instead of Maṇalūru the name Manavūru, but from further evidence given by Mr. Taylor himself, both names apply to one and the same place. In some chronicles Madura is substituted for Maṇipura, and Arjuna is said to have married the daughter of the Pāṇḍya king of Madura.

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206 See Aśvamedha, LXI, 1—3; LXVII, 1; LXVIII, 1; LXIX, 1.


2. Śrutva tu nrpatīrvarām pitaraṃ Bābhruvahanaḥ niryayaṃ vinayenāryo brāhmaṇārghyapurassaraḥ.

3. Maṇalūreśvarāṃ caivaṃ upayāntam dhanañjayaḥ.

LXVII. 1. Putrastaya mahābhāgo Maṇalūreśvaro yuvā.

LXVIII. 1. Prāyopaviṣṭe nrpatava Maṇalūreśvaraḥ tathā.

LXIX. 1. Kim āgamanakṛtyam te Kauravyakulanandant Maṇalūruperastasya tathaiwa caranājire.

207 See Oriental Historical Manuscripts, by William Taylor, Missionary, I, 13, 57, 120.

208 See Ibidem, p 122.
The adventures of Arjuna during his exile have always been a subject of great interest among the Indians, and many of his exploits have gained for him a favorite place among the Pāṇḍava heroes.

Especially his journey to Manipura has been largely commented upon, as through his stay at that place and his marriage with the crown-princess Citrāṅgadā, the family of the Pāṇḍyas became united with that of the Pāṇḍavas.

Citravāhana and his grandson Babhruvāhana are frequently mentioned as Pāṇḍyas as well in old as in more modern records, and on this point they are unanimous. Mr. Nelson, the able compiler of the Manual of the Madura District, is by far too positive, when he says that in the Mahābhārata no mention is made of Arjuna having married a Pāṇḍya princess; for there exist copies which contain such an account.²⁰⁹

The fame and power of the Pāṇḍavas must have spread all over India and beyond it, for the conqueror of Ceylon, Vijaya, belongs also to this family.

Whether the connection of the Pāṇḍyas with the Pāṇḍavas was a real one, or whether it was only assumed by the former to invest themselves with greater authority and to raise their position in the eyes of the people is now difficult to find out, but the belief in such connection is a matter of fact.

According to a chronicle quoted by Mr. Taylor the Pāṇḍya kings were descended from Yayāti, the son of Nahuṣa. Yayāti had two sons by Devayānī, the daughter of Uśanas, Yadu and Turvaśa (Turvasu). "The younger brother of Yadu (i.e., Turvaśa,) was the first Pandian. The place of his reigning was Manalūr. Among those of this race, one, named Kulaśeghara Pandian, by the favor of Śiva, cut down a forest of Kadambu trees, and built a town called Madura, where he lived."²¹⁰

²¹⁰ See Oriental Historical Manuscripts, I, 120.
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I believe that these and other such carvings originated with the Pāṇḍya princes, who, by honoring their ancestors, conferred still greater distinction on themselves. A reigning dynasty alone could have undertaken the construction of such works. The assumption that these carvings originated with the Pāṇḍyas, under whose sway for some time the whole Eastern Coast remained, does not contradict any historical statement especially as the reign of the Pāṇḍya kings extended over a long period.

The execution of these sculptures is generally ascribed to the architectural energy of Buddhists and Jains, but there is nothing against the assumption that the Pāṇḍyas may have once also followed the religious tenets of the Buddhists and Jains and supported their co-religionists in the same manner in the South as the Maurya Kings of Pātaliputra did in the North.

If this hypothesis can be proved to rest on historical evidence, we shall perhaps be able to settle before long the date of the construction of these rock carvings in a more satisfactory manner than has been done up to this day.
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