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BRIHASPATI SUTRA

OR

THE SCIENCE OF POLITICS ACCORDING TO THE SCHOOL OF BRIHASPATI

EDITED WITH

AN INTRODUCTION AND ENGLISH TRANSLATION

BY

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

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THE DEVANAGARI TEXT

PREPARED FROM

HIS EDITION (IN ROMAN SCRIPT),

WITH

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS AND INDEXES

BY

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INTRODUCTORY REMARKS.

1. ANTIQUITY OF ARYAN POLITY.

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

स्मुत्सारिविभोय न्यायस्तु घर्षणन्यायबहारतः।
पर्यायशास्त्रात्तु घर्षणदर्शनाश्रयिति स्थितिः॥२१६॥

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

स्मुर्तिं विगंधे तु पर्यायशास्त्रयापनम्॥
नारादाः स्मरिती also remarks in the same way:—

पर्यायशास्त्रायायस्वायामारिविभोत्तुष्टः॥
संस्कृता निधीचे व्यवहारगति न्यैते॥
श्रवण विद्यमिति: स्मायाद्यायायाश्चार्योऽः॥
पर्यायशास्त्रायास्तुत्तुष्टः रङ्गायालमारेते॥१३३॥३॥

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

पृथिव्या लाभे पालनेन च यातनायशशास्त्रायिगी प्रृत्तार्थेः।
पृथिव्या लाभेऽपि यायःशास्त्रायै पर्यायोः संहृतमारमिद्यायाश्च कृतम्॥

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

तत्र ऋणवेदस्यार्थार्थाश्रयमुपवेदः।..........................
........................................बहस्वेदस्यायुवेददापवेदः।
आभिवर्तकार्थार्थाश्रयमित्युच्यते॥ ॥

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

वेदानामुपवेदार्थत्वारो भवति।..........................
अर्थवेदस्य ‘अर्थशास्त्रम’। ( चतुर्थः खण्डः )॥

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

II. BRAHMAPATI AND HIS ARTHASHASTRA.

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

हूँकं विष्णुस्य मित्राधिनियोगवस्य च।
हृदस्तेतेरविश्वासों नीतिसन्निहिताः स्थितः॥२५९॥

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

*Compare with this the teaching of Mahābhārata:-

विश्वासयत्परंप्रविश्वसंच न कस्पचिरत।
पुत्रश्वापि हि राजेन्द्र विश्वासो न प्रशस्ते॥
आविश्वासो नरेन्द्रशायं यथा परमसुचित॥ महाशाखऽ॥३२॥

(2)
Ashvaghosha in his *Buddha Carita* (about first century A.D.) has remarked about Brihaspati:—

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

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

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

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

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

The question now arises, as to whether the original work of Brihaspati was composed in verse or *sūtras*
or in the mixed style. No doubt some sūtra literature along with gītā and other works, was extant even before the time of the compilation of the Brāhmaṇas because the Satapathin Brāhmaṇa (सूत्रायणवस्त्रायानानि काः १५ संा ६ वाण २ कं १२) alludes to it, but it is not sure whether it had come into vogue at times as early as those of Swayambhāva Manu and Bṛhaspati, the preceptor of Indra.

IV. MANAVA DHARMA SHAstra.

Scholars like Max Müller and Buhler held that the Dharmaśāstra of Manu was originally a composition in the mixed style of sūtras and shlokas. Buhler tried his best to put forward this theory with such proofs as he could gather. One of his strongest proofs was a passage मनवं सूत्रसुदाहरणिः which he found in Vāsishtha Dharmaśāstra. Now it is sure that the original work of Manu had passed through the hands of several editors, as for example Bṛigu, Nārada etc., when it reached the compiler of Vās. Dh. and that a carna of the Krishna Yajur Veda namely the Mānava had also come into existence. It is, therefore, quite clear that a school of the Mānavas had come into existence even before the 3rd century B.C. The Arthashāstra of Kautilya refers to a certain author of this very school. The views of the Mānavas represented in this Arthashāstra differ widely from the Smriti of Manu. It is, therefore, evident that the school consisted of authors who differed greatly. It was this great difference which troubled Buhler very much when he could find no reason as to why the teachings of the Smriti differed from the Mānava Grihya Sūtra. The whole of sūtra literature of the Mānava carna had come into existence after the Mānava carna had been established, and hence
we can safely conclude that the original Smriti of Manu was purely in verse.

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

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

Kantiliya Arthashastra also as referred to on pages 101-03 and 199 of his “Lectures on the Ancient History of India” by Shri D. R. Bhandarkar has two verses of Manu Smriti with slight changes only.

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* Read here the note of Max Muller on page 83 of Vol. X Part I of S.B.E*
Here, Professor D. R. Bhandarkar following the lead of Buhler arrives at the result that 'the verses (above quoted) were not composed by Kautilya but were utilised by him from some work which was in existence long before he wrote or the (metrical) Manu Smriti was compiled.' This is nothing but a prejudice in order to bring down the date of Manusmriti. First a theory is started—Manusmriti is accepted to belong to a later date,—and then if any work anterior to that date is found containing the verses of Manusmriti, (although not mentioning this fact but still indicating that the verses are not his own) it is said that the work in question and the Manusmriti both utilised a material of a very old period. Both this assumption and conclusion do not seem to be convincing.

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

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

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

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

V. THE SMRITI OF BRIHASPATI.

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

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

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

VII. THE BÂRHAŚPATYA SUTRAM AND ITS DATE.

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

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

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

IX. WAS BRIHASPATI A CARVAKA?

No doubt, there was a great atheistic logician Brihaspati by name; but was he the writer on polity? Somadeva Suri (10th century A.D.) says in his Yashastilaka बृहस्पतिनित्य इवादृवमालका (p. 13 Nītānasāgara 1901) and his commentator Shrutasagar Suri says बृहस्पतिनित्य इव । यथा बृहस्पतिनित्यस्रावर्त्तकशास्त्राविष देवं सत्रादिविवेंश्य व मन्यन्ते । So, according to the commentator the Nītikāra Brihaspati was the renowned Carvāka. However, all the previous quotations go against this view. Brihaspati the politician, being connected with Manu and others of the theistic school, was certainly a theist. Somadeva and his commentator confuse the two Brihaspatis.

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

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<td>&lt;br&gt;गजेन जगवत्नामिच। नी० वा०&lt;br&gt;अभ्युत पूर्ण १२४&lt;br&gt;“नामस्ते सा कान्तिस्य धन&lt;br&gt;मूलमद्रे जगत्।”&lt;br&gt;quoted by Ramchandra Budhendra on नीतिशास्त्रक 31 (Nirmayasagar edition 1917)</td>
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These sūtrās of Brihaspati were originally published in LE MUSEON Troisieme Série—Tome 1, No. 2, 16 Mars 1916. The text printed there, was in the Roman script. To this, Dr. F. W. Thomas had attached his valuable introduction and translation. By the kind permission of the publishers—The University Press Cambrige—of that journal, through Professor Balkrishna M. A.; the editor of the Vedic Magazine, was able to publish this material in his journal for the month of October 1920. The devanāgari text of the sūtrās printed in the Vedic Magazine was prepared by me. During its preparation I was thinking if the text with the introduction and translation of Dr. F. W. Thomas could be preserved in a book form. Even Professor Balkrishna desired the same. This became soon practicable, when the publishers of the present edition undertook this task.

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

Dayananda Anglo Vedic College, Lahore, December, 1920.

Bhagavaddatta
A BRIHASPATI SUTRA.

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

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

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

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

The text was edited by Pandit Shama Shastri (Mysore Government Oriental Library Series : Bibliotheca Sanskrita, No. 37) in 1909, in which year, having
been favoured with a perusal of proof-sheets I was able to draw attention (J. R. A. S. pp. 446-71) to the extreme importance of the work. In 1911-12 Professor Jacobi in two very valuable papers (Kultur-Sprach- und Literaturhistorisches aus dem Kautiliya and Über die Echtheit des Kautiliya in the Berlin Academy Sitzungsberichte, 1911, pp. 954-973, 1912, pp. 832-849) discussed the bearings of the work upon the Indian literary and linguistic history and argued forcibly for its authenticity. We have also to take note of interesting discussions of the work by Prof. Jolly, Lexikalisch aus dem Arthashāstra (Indogermanische Forschungen, xxxi., pp. 204-10), Kollektaneen zum Kautiliya Arthashāstra (Z. D. M. G., 1914, pp. 345-359), Dr Johannes Hertel, Literarisches aus dem Kautiliyashāstra (Vienna Oriental Journal, xxiv, pp. 416-422), and Dr Jarl van Charpentier, En Indisk handbok i statslara från 300 f. kr. (Nordisktidskrift, 1913, pp. 353-369), Narendra Nath Law, Studies in Ancient Hindu Polity (Based on the Arthashāstra of Kautilya) (vol. 1., London, etc., 1914) and a partial commentary compiled by Dr I. Sorabji, as a pupil of Prof. Jolly, and published at Allahabad in 1914. A revised translation by Pandit Shama Shastri is now passing through the press. The information contained in the Arthashāstra is still far from exhausted, and the interest in it may be expected continually to increase.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

A Ms. of the work seems to be recorded as in private possession in South India (see Oppert's 'List,' vol. 1, No. 4642).* This ms. has not been procurable; but by the kindness of Prof. Rangāchārya, late Curator of the Government Oriental mss. Library in Madras, I have been favoured with a Devanāgarī copy of another ms., which is under his charge. Upon this (M) I have based the text, recording the slight variants of the Royal Asiatic Society's Whish ms. (W—noted in Winternitz's catalogue under No. 160 (3), p. 249). Both originals are in Grantha character, and they derive not remotely from a common source. The punctuation follows almost invariably the Madras copy: the numbering of the Sūtras has been added.

As the treatise is definitely a Sūtra, a commentary must have been designed. Does a copy exist, perhaps under Oppert's 1, No. 6961 Bārhaspatya-sūtra-tikā (no longer traceable) ? It might contain something

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

1. Whether this common source was the actual Madras ms.
interesting, more especially as it is not quite clear that the text in its six adhyāyas is complete.

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

or not, I am unable to demonstrate. That it was in the Grantha character is proved by the confusion between e and hi (v. 15); cau and n (read as n: iii. 118, iv. 38, v. 22); m and h (1.5, ii. 8, i8, iii. 76, 81, 92, v. 11); k and t (i. 54, 76, iii. 81, 92, 131, v. 13); k and tt (iii. 122); g and bh (iii. 67); e and v (iii. 26-7); e and p (ii. 39); nc and se (ii. 73, iii. 23, 87, 102); j and bh (ii. 83); nd and ndh (iii. 41); nd and ndh (ii. 43); t and m (v. 26); n and r (i. 7); nu and nri (1.54); p and v (v. 27); la and hi (ii. 9) vra and vri (v. 26).

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

(a) neuter for masc.:
   abhiprayam (v. 9); artham? (vi. 9); ascavani (iii. 57);
   upayani (iv. 43); kulaham (iv. 38); kamam? (ii. 47); devakyani
   (iii. 56); dharmam? (ii. 46); prahtraram (iv. 50); mantrani
   (iii. 8, elsewhere masc.: different sense?); moksham? (ii. 48);
   lobham (i. 22) vadhvan (ii. 49); shabdam (iv. 88, known elsewhere);
   svaram (iv. 17); vishaya (iii. 113?).

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

(c) masc for neuter:
   aushadhah (iii. 139); kshetra (iii. 119-122; also neut.); phal.1
   (iii. 78); see also iii. 9.

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

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

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

* This has now been printed as an appendix to the second edition of Kautilya Arthashastra by Pt. Shama Shastri.
# 1. INDEX OF PROPER NAMES AND OTHER IMPORTANT WORDS

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SHATA PATHA BRAHMANA.
According to the School of Kanvas,
Text in
DEVANAGARI CHARACTERS
EDITED BY
Dr. W. Caland M. A., Ph. D.

It is the important Brāhmaṇa of the White Yajur Veda. This recension is of high importance for the study of the Vedic period and the editor has adjoined an extensive introduction to it, treating of the position of the Brāhmaṇ in the Vedic Literature and of its linguistic peculiarities as compared with the Brāhmaṇa of the cognate Shākhā. This edition is highly appreciated by the well-known American Sanskritist Professor C.R. Lanman. It is a voluminous text hitherto unpublished anywhere. As this is a big and expensive work, we will undertake to publish it when we get 300 permanent subscribers of this book. So the Colleges, Libraries and scholars, who wish to have a copy of this important Vedic work should get registered their names.

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5. W 6. W 7. Sic; perhaps a verb is understood.
अर्धनारिकन्त्राभिज्ञान्याद्ययस्य कूर्तिःक्रियायिन्ययस्य
मात्यसःकर्तव्या||४४||
पूर्वारंभितःयर्मस्तिनस्यस्यायत्त्वात्यायतित्सहहंसत्वायस्य समं
पार्येत्||४५||
बहिरङ्गर्तःहङ्गस्यस्यात्त्वात्||४६||
सामपेर्वानानि मायित्रिः||४७||
सामपेर्वानानिःमायित्रिःप्रवानि ज्ञातिश्च||४८||
प्रज्ञायापि वचनः श्रुत्यायत्||४९||
दृढःनिष्ठूर्वप्रतिज्ञायनतंत्रे गुरुक्षरयेश्वासैं न च मंडलानि
सेवति||५०||
एकदेशकुपिलोपप्रभवातां स्नियं गमयेत्||५१||
प्रतिमेध्येवातिसांग नातिदानं न च स्त्रियां दंडादो न च
मायोपेत्ता कर्तव्या||५२||
तासू न वहु ब्रह्मेत्||५३||
ग्राम्या[३५]चक्षुस्तरमागवान्तन्तरतंकुष्याययासत्यव्रतः
ब्रह्मविवेचनात्र नकोपालेवायाकुन्तकपवर्तताद्वित्तिर वक्षयः||५४||
सन्यासं नुपूषायमान्त्रवादोपजीविष्यं चिं न सेवते||५५||

30. M here inserts नाडिका। 31. W स्मृत्र। 32. Sic (not बिः।) 33. W व्रुत्त। 34. W एवः; M एवः with सोपायनमणि in the next सूत्र।
समानपर्य विशेषर्भं वा स्वागतेनासनेन शिरः कम्पनं तास्वृल- 
दानेन हायकथया च षष्ठी।
स्मितेन स्वागतेना स्या स्वर्गिशिकान् षष्ठी।
ईत्यादिस्मितेन स्वागतेन शुद्धिः षष्ठी।
अभीष्ट्ववयदानेन वालटदादीन् षष्ठी।
अन्त्यपापरदादीन् वाइपाक्रियापि न। षष्ठी।
कार्यगुरुः मथा नुगच्छेत षष्ठी।
कार्यं वदेचं योगं दयात षष्ठी।
विषयाकारिग्रं न कुर्यात्रहस्य षष्ठी।
कर्मकारान्यति योगीनिपि कार्यमतिचारणेत। षष्ठी।
निर्देशः सहं समानं वर्यन्याचित्वे। षष्ठी।
अन्त्यजं त्वनन्त्यजातिनम्। षष्ठी।
अन्त्यजानां स्वार्थीनविदकल्यामाताकर्वे। षष्ठी।
त्वालक्षकल्येत। षष्ठी।
न विईम्बरं। षष्ठी।
सर्वे ज्यात्रा न कुर्यात। षष्ठी।

35. W विधेयं। 36. Text corrupt, reading doubtful.
37. M नमः। 38. W अःस्वदीन। 39-39: M includes in the 
next sutra. 40. W कार्यं। 41. M चक्ष्। 42. W स्ववलम। 
43. M W includes रहस्ये in the next sutra. 44. Sic (for 
योगिन चापि ?)। 45. W लहं। 46. W अत्यं। 47. अनाः।
धर्मशस्य: ययात्भारतशस्यः कार्यशस्यः वेत्रशस्यः यशोभोऽसत्यपापि नेति बोद्धति॥५९॥
चिन्तकसङ्क्योऽपि [६०] चायुःचार्म्मादिनः संग्रहेत् उत्तरमर्गसम्प- नाना॥५७॥
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[५६] आत्मस्ह्रावः: सोहन्या॥५५॥

यथा मातंक्षरवप्यालयप्यालग्रृहकुलं विपिने इमशाने बसति
तस्मात्यरम्यनागसां ज्ञातिवैरं न कर्त्यवम् ||१००||
एकानिर्मानवद राज्योपजुपने तद्राय्यत्राः ||१०१||
नीति: किल नवीरावतहव नवं ||१०२||
तन्हेनिर्बद्धम् ||१०३||
भूत्रेषुकुमारानानादय: ||१०४||
यशोवीरीयु: श्रीरतिकसामन्तसेवा ||१०५||
कामश्रोधमदमातस्येमुन्यादीव कार्येत ||१०६||
श्राण: द्रुमशिलोऽप्ज्यम ||१०७||
श्रुतिः ध्रुमशिलः श्राण: ||१०८||
चन्द्रादिकयोरेकसचिवाः स ५ च ||१०९||
यदि चेन स्थितिस्थ: ||११०||
श्रातिपु: वशेऽवरं ततकुलद्रयमानां नहवति ||१११||
यः उपास्त्ति द्राक्षनीति परिवजनन्धर्ण: शलभ: इत्व वदिः
पवित्रश्रजानाव, इसाह भगवानाचार्यः सुरेन्द्रगुहः ||११२||
हति बार्ष्टपतस्यवे प्रधमोपस्यायः: ||

[हिंदीयोगध्यायः]

गुणवत्तो राज्यम् ॥१॥
वियाययोगश्रेयसुः सहायगुरुश्च ॥२॥
स्कुलरञ्जनं च चारित्ररजनम् ॥३॥
ऋषिगोरूद्धारिविज्ञाने ॥४॥
सर्वेऽह लोकायतिकेशि शास्त्रयथासाधनकाले ॥५॥
कापालिकेन्द्र कामसाधने ॥६॥

शाहान्तः धर्मं ॥७॥

[छक] लोकायतिकपननाथ चित्रं नवयति ततः ॥८॥
कापालिकाहृत्रश्रुद्धाथ ॥९॥
एतेऽव विच्छू शतमवस्विवता ॥१०॥
फलानि श्रोतराहितकल्पानि ॥११॥
अविधायुक्तः पुश्पार्थिः साधवितुं धर्मयुक्ते यदिच्छति तदा
लोकायतिसामाजिकवाच्चक ॥१२॥
यदा चवहाल उदात्तार्थाकारिकमेच्छतैह कापालिका-
मित्राजपायति ॥१३॥

यदा सन्योपासनाकार प्रियोहिताधिबिनयोऽयमच्छुः तदा
लघुकारपा[५६] परदी ॥१४॥
यदा बेदात्मकस्म ज्ञानं च सर्वम्वरं शिवं शिष्यं श्रीययमपि परिस्थित्य
सर्व सन्तुन्मिति वदति तदा बोधामिथानापरदी ॥१५॥
तथा धर्मं वदवर्त्साधनं लोकायतिक: पितादियाथः चोर इति
च ||१६॥
सर्वसम्पूर्णं करोदकाईहतसन्यासारामानी ||१.७॥
स्वमें गृहितं कामाचः वेदं पठति ||१.८॥
अधिहोक्तादीनं करोति ||१.९॥
मुरारपानाथमहिलामहेनाथं करोति ||२.०॥
विष्णवाद्यः मुरारपानिन्ह इति कामालिकः ||२.१॥
यमी[७३] च मलापिद्धारावः द्रव्यं वदति चूपकः ||२.२॥
शिवाद्य इति वदति चूपकः ||२.३॥
परापवादाथः वेदात्मकां भागानदीनं पठति ||२.४॥
सर्वभन्नद्वित ||२.५॥
मेहेन्द्रभियावधानानि ||२.६॥
सोस्यानाथाय धर्मं वदति ||२.७॥

*Sic* (read चोयम)? 9. M *Sic* (read सोः or सोः? 10. M W
हिंदीयास्त्यायः

वदनाय्य पराण स्तौति स बोधः। ॥ १२॥
लीकायतिको मृता भग्नार्थकामसबंधोत्तादिहीनो नारकी च। ॥ २५॥
कुले च तन्तुलं तत्पुञ्जप्राचान्ते विनवयति। ॥ २०॥
कामाली स्वश्रामण्डक्षजने: परिषकः सब्बलोकानिन्दिताः
नारकी भवति। ॥ ३१॥
तस्मिन्स्त्रल ए[७३]व कुलं विनवयति। ॥ २२॥
चूँकः स्वकुलश्रामवासिनिन्दिताः भवते चिकलं
विनवयति। ॥ ३२॥
बोधसंचितं कुलं पुजङ्गाचकारे या विनवयति मुदुभो
नारकी। ॥ ३४॥
प्रेमपापायिदसंपक मनसाधि न कुर्याद। ॥ ३४॥
मुद्ध्यवस्थितपञ्चेशाः परित्तिर्नालिना लामिकेऽग राज्यं परि-
पालितं न श्रवयेन। ॥ ३५॥
प्रेममुट्टमलेन सलोभालिना संचितं विनवयति। ॥ ३७॥
कार्य निर्मित्य विपयाननुभवति यः स उच्चमयं साध-
यति। ॥ ३८॥
चेष्या कार्य[० क]ज्ञान्यर्थप्र इति ज्ञानवानिन्ति लोकेयथा न
ज्ञायते तथा कर्त्तिवृष्ट। ॥ ३८॥

and so with the accusatives in stanzas 46-8, 29. Text corrupt. W asterisk. Read "as quoted."

सर्वात्मान्यमि दीयतां संकार्यजनन्यायशोर्च्चगे ॥ ५ ॥

मनःक्रामे न कोषोददृ ॥ ६ ॥

धर्मस्थाने पुरुषः[ःफः]थे न ॥ ७ ॥

धर्ममीण कुज्ञानां पुरुषमहान सुलभ्यते ॥ ८ ॥

स्मर्तिर्विध्यनम ॥ ९ ॥

अपि धर्मोजनो सुखद्वीपिकर इव सत्त्वसः शास्वेयु निष्ठवः
पुरुसः सागरमणि शोकदेव ॥ १ ॥

कुद्रा याके हसपौरवास्तवा महर्नित ॥ २ ॥

एक पव बहुव्रू हुज्जनो नाशयित ॥ ३ ॥

पौर्णे निष्ठवो देवो ॥ ४ ॥

यस्य स्माररह्दो । यस्यालक्षने साक्षिणेन सदास्येन ॥ ५ ॥

रज्जनो न भयंदू व्याविनित्ते ॥ ६ ॥

तस्यन्क्लेशे हितमक्कल्यमर्वार्य: शुद्धिः ॥ ७ ॥

उत्तिस्तकह्यं थ्रें चलि[ःफः]वजः चार्यमन्तजनात्मान शासितुः
नोत्स्थहेतु ॥ ८ ॥

दाह्रशक्तिस्मि: अभूतप्रानिनिद्राया सुसंधर्मवायानिले: श्रीते-
बलिस्मि प्रविष्धयेत ॥९॥

- दुःखनागः || 33. M निष्ठवो देवो यस्य, W देवो यस्य. No
- interpucation in either case. 34. W अनले || 35. M
- शान्तमः ||
दुर्जनमध्ये सुरूचित प्रकाशते जुनः ||६७॥
अयमेतिन्तान्यायावस्थान्यायाश्चैन वारेनः ||६८॥
अयम् नारेनः ||६९॥
अकौलि नारेनः ||७०॥
न मारेनः ||७१॥
शेषम् विनात्तं धर्मपादात्मको गज इति ||७२॥
गुरुवचनमध्यवर्ति नयानुगतं चेत ||७३॥
गुरुपि नीर्विचित्युक्तं निरास्थेनः ||७४॥
गुरुराहेति ||७५॥
इति वार्षिकस्त्रूते द्वितीयोः॥

36. W सुरधः || 37. M ोष्णला || 38. M ोतास्सधः ||
39. W गत्तेक्षे ||
[तृतीयोश्चिद्यायः ।

जितकेशस्य पौरुषः ॥१॥
देशानतवसेन जितकेशो भवति ॥२॥
सर्वेऽवलकालेऽशस्मक्रमसंप्रस्थधायामवंसां ज्ञानं कार्यम् ॥३॥
उपवासादिसहिष्णुं च ॥४॥
सुगन्धवासान कोशान कुर्यान ॥५॥
वहुवादं मधुरप्रेयः कुर्यात् ॥६॥
श्रमवुद्रान मणीन स्वर्णान सदाराध्येत् ॥७॥

ववानि मन्त्राणि विचारः ॥८॥

ग्रंथिभानि शाक्ता वैध्यावः शेवानि तत्[१३०ख]प्रभुवानि ॥९॥
मोन्नपश्च द्वारं जयम् ॥१०॥
शाक्ता वैध्यावः शेयः ॥११॥
पोतयानमार्गवल्घ्रायम् ॥१२॥
महापाथवद्रेष्ठायम् ॥१३॥
केवलस्मान्यादनमार्गायानन्त ॥१४॥

बाह्यपत्यसुत्रम्।

नौकायतित्रयफळकवौद्वादि वहुशाल्लुलुप्रस्मारकीर्षशृण्य-भीयुशाल्लार्ग्रावद ||१५||
पदात्र निरूप्यक्षाथर्येत ||१६||
स्योतिजीयाठर्यं स्रद्धा निरूप्येत ||१७||
स्थात्त्रयं रत्नय ||१८||
श्रीष्ठानि सेवेत च ||१९-२०||
शांतप्रति जोद्दुद्धुविद्याधर्यावधनात द्रपधातुशालानि ||२०||
दानमानात्रहुररविचारिभि सिद्धि लभेत ||२१||
ब्रतात्मा तीर्थनि निरूप्येत ||२२||
पद प्रत्यथस्तीयं चतुरमिष्टोदसान्त ||२३-२४||
प्रति: श्राद्धमत्तिर्यां सत्तकारसीन इति तेष्यनुजीविजिबिमुद्रयण ||२५-२६||
भार्यान्तीर्यवानिवासिः ||२७||

अनेकम् देवालयज्ञदागमुमिसल्यावाप्रीचतुष्पपापग- ||२८-२९||
हलीयालयज्ञवालयरेकपाठदेशार्थीशालीचन्द्रदशनायुर्यवे-
क्षाग्रहमुद्रवीरयितिकाराणवार्तसन्निषुराविक्र्यस्थानपा-
न्यनिवासार्थ ||२९-३०||

6. W यःवाचयेत् ||
7. M W यस्मात् ||
8. W योस्ते तीथाः ||
9. M भिक्षुयाज्ञवालांच् ||
10. W तहः ||
11. W here inserts च ||
12. W चौध्याय ||
13. W पांडुर्गय ||
14. W omits लू ||
15. M W चयः ||
16. W च ||
17. W पञ्चय ||
मुड़ायतेष्यं कुर्यान् ॥ २८॥
पुरुद्दरायश्च सर्वनिरोधश्च कार्येन ॥ २९॥
सर्वाः सर्वमिहत्व[१७४]प्रेतवच ॥ ३०॥
इतिहासपुराणानि मानयेत ॥ ३१॥
तत् पारंत्य ॥ ३२॥
शास्त्रामाध्य ॥ ३३॥
" "
वेषानसागरां ॥ ३४॥
सांख्यां ॥ ३५॥
मेलां ॥ ३६॥
सर्वात्मिश्च वाक्यायं कुर्यान् कार्येन ॥ ३७॥
माणुणे न हनुमानंहुदुष्टापि ॥ ३८॥
विद्ययून्हा द्रव्य कर्तव्या ॥ ३९॥
ग्रामणीत् समाब्वथ ॥ ४०॥
नगरन्नर्गच ॥ ४१॥
हुरलप्रि लात कुर्यान् ॥ ४२॥
देवेन च्वहु ॥ ४३॥
न स्वल्प: ॥ ४४॥
नोभ्येषु गुणकल्याणकल्याणेन ॥ ४५॥

21. W लु। (for न्द्रा) । 22. W अष्टे स्तु।
23. \(W \) 24. Sic \(M\) 25. \(W\) nanakha 26. \(M\)  
interpunctuates here and not after \(\text{नादिमि}\). 27. \(W\)  
sarvapartha 28. Sic \(W\) \(M\) (for \(\text{वान,}\) ?)

31. W ओळक्या। 32. W ओळके।
वार्ता सवे देवाथ [७७]

जन्तवाथ [७८]

सहस्योजना विदर्शकासलना [७९]

द्वारकादिपरम्परा [१२] सालरागमन्त्रा सदस्यतयोजना [८०]

तत्त्रापि रैवत्क विन्यसब्रुपयार्थार्थशीर्षर्तपरियात्रा: सस-

कुलाचला: [८१]

गद्यासरसतीकालिधीगोदावरीकावरीताणिगितःःकृतमाला [९]

कुलनयालय [८२]

अध्यादेश वियालय [८३]

अध्यादेश सागरा नूया: [८४]

अध्यादेश पार्तिया: [८५]

रामसुट्रिक्ता द्वारकार्णं दशिनायतं अरासारं द्वादशा विष्णु-

मित्रसुट्रिक्तकाला: [८६]

नेपाल चतुर्धातम [८७]

पूर्वसमुद्रतीरो वरुणतं समुद्रान्तममहोज[१.५] ना [८८]

पश्चात्तद्वितीयमुजरलाचं पूर्वाटसं [८९]

काशीपािालद्वितियमशीति: [९०]

33. W सर्व | 34. W ओनां | 35. W omits क | 36. W

ोनां | 37. ओम | 38. M omits ओ; W has ओलं
केरुवसुब्जय पत्रिम् ॥ ४१॥
मास्त्यमाण्यं शतम् ॥ ४२॥
मालवशकुन्तलस्मिन्ति ॥ ४३॥
कोसलावनि पत्रिम् ॥ ४४॥
सेव वेदब्रम्बितयं शतत्रितयश् ॥ ४५॥
वेंदेहकारं शतम् ॥ ४६॥
काम्बोजदशार्यमश्चति ॥ ४७॥
पुनो महाविषयः ॥ ४८॥
पुनो खलु चतुर्भशः ॥ ४९॥
आरद्वाहिको द्विशोभनं शतमावो पूर्वपशाद्व द्रांद्रो ॥ ५०॥
शाकसीराण्यो चतुर्भशो चत्वारिस्त ॥ ५१॥
क्रियश्रोवशक्तिस्वयम् शतमावशतुरश्चश ॥ ५२॥
काम्बीसङ्गोम्बक्षुपतिनः शतमावशतुरश्चश ॥ ५३॥
किरातशोभोर्चौलपार्यः उत्ते द्विशोभो स्थिता: शतमेका पञ्च
परं पश्चिमाभः ॥ ५४॥

43. W १० । 44. W १० । 45. W १० । 46. W १० ।
47. W १० । 48. W काम्बीसङ्गोम्बक्षुपतिनः । 49. W किरातशोभाः ।
50. W १० ।
याद्वकाश्रीविपरेन चरारितां ज्ययमात्र ॥ १२२॥

पुष्पे उपप्रियाय ॥ १२४॥

समकोकुर्णाशचन्तमात्रा द्रादश । पद्राह्यो । । १२६॥

पुष्पे मनुषीय ॥ १२४॥

सहानुभूति स्तरारो गिरिरिपिय ॥ १२७॥

श्रीपवते द्रायम ॥ १२८॥

विन्द्ये पञ्च ॥ १२९॥

कुमारे एकम ॥ १३०॥

[१४ ख] महेन्द्रे चरायम ॥ १३२॥

पारियाने चरायम ॥ १३३॥

सत्ते दलियोत्तरत । पञ्चशान्मा । पूर्वपङ्क्तात पञ्चयोजना । समा ॥ १३४॥

म्लेच्छे यवनप्रिया । पार्वतीया ॥ १३५॥

ग्रामनगरोचनादिभिकलंकुला । पुरायचेतारिदिभिध ॥ १३६॥

ऋष वैधन्वेने ॥ १३७॥

वदरिकालश्रामपुस्पोतमधरकालिन्यचलान्तसिंहे श्री-रज्ञा: ||१२०||
अष्टी श्रेयः: ||१२१||
अविमुक्ते कृजाद्वरशिवचतरामेयमुनाशिवसरस्वतीमण्य-शालूलगजचेरा: ||१२२||
शाका उ[१५ क]श्रे च ||१२३||
आधिधीका जालपुर्णकामकोषश्रीशिलकामहेन्द्रा: ||१२४||
एते महाचेरा: ||१२५||
सर्वसिद्धिकराथ ||१२६||
बन्ध्याध्यय ||१२७||
विन्ध्ये निस्न्वसति दुर्गा मध्यकाली च ||१२८||
कुमारे कुमारे वसति निस्न्व ||१२९||
सन्धे गणापति: ||१३०||
रूपते शान्ता ||१३१||
महेन्द्रे गरुडः ||१३२||
पारियते चर्चपालं ||१३३||
कर्मभूमृती भरते मनुष्यार्थो देवा: ||१३४||

चुरास्मण चालकसम्बूतपेतविनायकक्षुमास्करविचक्तिनामः

निरुद्दा भारवेणि: ||२१३॥
सौम्यभेदवा योगिन्यस्म नागाधरः[६५६] मानवेः सदि रूपमा
प्रसर्ग्याति: संचरित्य ||२१३॥
मानवेः कृतपालनाम् ||२१३॥
तस्मिन्युपयोगः ब्रह्मचार्यः सन्ति ||२१३॥
चतुर्युगसंययः क्षत्रियात्रारतिप्रमादा ||२१४॥
कृते ज्ञानिन ||२१४॥
दुर्दन्तीतिकोविदा: ||२१४॥
चेतायां काम्यः नीतिविवाहः ||२१४॥
द्वये तान्त्रिकानुसारतत्वारसाथ ||२१४॥
नीतिविवाहाधे ||२१४॥
सन्ते पादे ज्ञानवमथना दुर्दन्तितिविवाहः नरा: ||२१४॥
तदुच्छर्व नित्यद्वैतमेयत्राप्रेषः दुर्दन्तितिविवाहिताः: ||२१४॥
पश्यनि प्रजा अनूतवादतत्परान्तेशाह[६५६] आचार्यः

||२१४॥

इति वाहुस्पत्यसूचे लृतीयोऽध्यायः ||

68. *Sic* (masc.) 69. W ०ढापरिः । 70. W here inserts नयः । 71. *Sic* (read ०न ?) 72. *Sic* (read ०म ?) 73. ०यः ।
[ चतुर्थोषध्यायः १ ]

व्राह्मण सुभूते उत्थानम् ||१.१ ||
चर्ममर्घ्ये चिन्तयते ||२.१ ||
कुकुकुटशब्दे शुभम् ||३.१ ||
गनादिदेशनवच ||४.१ ||
गणश्रेणमजलस्तुतिनिद्रपाटनवच ||५.१ ||
देवतापुराणायथा च ||६.१ ||
राजन्यस्पर्शगच्छ ||७.१ ||
नेत्रायनवच ||८.१ ||
आद्धेदेशनवच ||९.१ ||
अर्द्धनार्येव ||१०.१ ||
ताम्भुलचर्बेव ||११.१ ||
कपूरचन्दनागस्यस्रूपवच ||१२.१ ||
शार्काहलविपायाणिष्कवेयवर्त्तृत्रं मृदुप्रवववः ||१३.१ ||
तृष्णौपालवच ||१४.२ ||
दिन्यप्रसदार्द्धनं च ||१५.२ ||
[१६.ख]पागयमिभिन्नपवलं च ||१६.३ ||

राहस्यसूत्रम्

जातिस्वरं च।

सर्वस्य सिंहमन्द्रकाः।

मन्त्रमूल्यम् वाहः। शतांश्रिपीर्विपुलिक्ष्मुक्तो भवति।

तदयुगं गवां संदर्शनम।

गुद्ध संदर्शनं च।

सन् द्याज्वलनं च।

विरुद्धशिवास्तं च।

कन्यायाद्युगाः शब्दो ग्रामपुरस्त्रारे वा भूते।

देवतामाप्तिस्वेदुः यामिन्दक्यते तत्र प्रायाधितमन्यत्रा

यानेव प्रतिकारो नास्ति।

अवश्यनिरुपणीयान्येतानि कर्माणि।

मन्त्रमूल्य। को रिज्जय।

चित्रिता। पुरुषा। उत्तमाध्यममध्यमा।

मन्त्रपिण।

नन्दुमित्वन्यन्य्येहितेतहुश्रुतेतिः। सह यत्स कर्मारम्भे तदु-चम्प।

सर्वद्विविष्य गुरी भक्तिश।

अधपरे। सह मन्त्रविलयवाय। आरम्भे स उत्मं।
गुणादोषागमं निदृश्यत सौर्यवाहुल्यातृ य आरभं सोऽथमः ॥१२॥
एकमत्येन द्रुढनीतिनेत्रेण श्रीरंमन्त्रित्विभिन्नमनः स स उत्थमः ॥१३॥
पुरुषोत्तमेऽः पश्चादेकत्तमयो भवनि यत्र स मध्यमः ॥१४॥
[१५६] (१५६) तत्र कलहम्पत्तिः संघ एकस्य धन्य एकल्याधरं स्त्रियालाल्र व्रजे संह एकस्य सदिष्टक्षणकोषो यथमिन सोऽथमः ॥१६॥
पूर्व वाक्यविन ह्यक्षेठनम् ॥१७॥
पुनर्वचसा कर्मेऽत्र मनसावालिनां द्रुढप्रशामिन यथागुरुवः वाक्यविनमाधिक्षेत ॥१८॥
व्रजो वैश्वव्यो वाचस्पतिवर्ययथायां नामुक्तते व चन्द्रेऽव ॥१९॥
यतपुरुषेऽवक्षेत्रयक्रमस्य महं श्रीत्वम् ॥२०॥
स्वामिन प्रसाध कायं कार्यविच्छेदेऽव ॥२१॥
पूर्व स्वामि[१५७] गुणं संकीर्त्य स्वामिद्रेष्ट स्त्रियायं च मध्यस्वभेदं च मन्त्राविलया पुनः स्वामिगुणसंस्थापनं कर्याद ॥२२॥

पुनः कार्यायुपायाने निन्द्यम स्वामिन्य प्रसाध कार्य कल्प-यितव्यम ||४३||
परमेशवर्मियुक्तस्य देवोपहतस्य च न सिद्धान्तित विक्रमः ||४४||
ग्राममचं धर्मं जितेन्द्रियं विजिगीपु वस्त्रिज जातकोपं दुरार्थर्ष प्रति विक्रमो न कार्यः ||४५||
शास्त्रविनित कथं कार्यं न प्रजानातीति न वदेत ||४६||
बलिग्राहन श्रवन्त कामादीने येजयाति ते सर्वाननार्तिंयानि ||४७||
[[४८[ पूर्वपुपकारं न कार्यंत ||४८||
उपकारं निर्यं कुर्यच्च ||४९||
नाभाविव्यसनं पूर्वं ज्ञातं व्यस्ननमतीकारं कार्यमितर गुरु-गाह ||५०||

इति बाहुस्पत्यसूचे चन्द्रकोऽध्यायः।

[ਪ੍ਰੇਮੋਸਚਾਰੇਯ: ੧]

ਚਤਵਾਰੀ ਉਪਾਯ: ॥੧॥

ਵਚਤਾ ॥੨॥

ਮਾਤਾਪ੍ਰੇਮੀ ਵਚਤਾ ॥੩॥

ਧਰਤੀ ਸਾਮ ॥੪॥

ਸਰੇਕਾਲੇ ਸਾਮੇਤਾਂ ॥੫॥

ਲਖਨੇ ਸਾਮਨੇਦਾਰਾ ॥੬॥

ਕਲਚੇ ਸਾਮੇਤਦਾਰ ਮਾਤਾਪ੍ਰੇਮੀਤਾਵਾਹਾ ॥੭॥

ਸਾਮ ਪੂਰੀ ਪਾਣੇਸ਼ਵਰ ॥੮॥

[੯.੫੫] ਮਨੋਰੋਸਮੀਤਾਵੇ ਜਾਨ ਸੀਨਿਕ ਤਚ ਚ ॥੯॥

ਜਾਤੀਆਂ ਜਾਤਮੋ ਵਜਸੀ ਹਾਣਾਨਿਤ ॥੧੦॥

ਜਾਤਮੀ ਜਾਤਮੀ: ਪ੍ਰਭਵ ਹਾਣਦਾ ਕੁਰਾ ਉਪਨਾਨਿਤ ॥੨.॥

ਸਰੇਕਾਲੇ ਜਾਤਸਮੀ ਧਰਮ ॥੨.॥

ਗੋਪੁ ਪਤਾ ਸਾਹਿਨੇ ਕੋਅਢਾ ॥੨.॥

ਸ੍ਰੀਮੁ ਚਾਪੰਤੁ ਦੂਰਤੀ ਜਾਤਸਮੀ ਸੌਹਿਦ ਪਤਰਜਲਜਨਤਯਾਵਤ ॥੨.॥

ਹਿਨਤਗ ਗੁਰਜਨਬਾਹਰੇ ਪ੍ਰਭਸਾਹੰਦੀਤ ਚ ਤੇ ਨ ਗੁਰਜਨਬਾਹ ਕਾਲਚੋਢਾਇਤਾ: ਤਸਮਾਂਤ ਤਨ ਸੁਤਰ ਹਿਤਸਚਾਹਨਤ ਵਸੇਤ ॥੨.॥

9. W मन्त्रमंविः
10. Text corrupt in this Sutra?
11. ग्रहायति
12. W here inserts द्रष्याय न निद्रित्य संग्रहायति।
13-13. W वीराण्यां। चारौसहस्राः मा Read वीरोः सहस्राः सहस्राः न।
For मा and यथा (यथा) see introduction’s end. 14. नेत।
15. W चित्। 16. M नन्त्।
पञ्चमोऽध्यायः ।

स्त्रकुलस्य विनाशं ज्ञाता बुद्धिमात्र सहुपत्रमापि न युक्तमात्रेयं।

हृदये यथावच्चुः भास्मेः पूर्वं उदये न दुष्पाचारं सर्वं कार्ये।

चपला न ब्रह्माण्यः।

इत्याहामायो ब्रह्मण्यनि।

इति बाह्स्पत्यसूत्रे पञ्चमोऽध्यायः ।

———

17. ०लस्यापि न । 18. Read नययुक्तम् । 19. य उदयेि।
[पद्धोत्रस्याः ।

[२०ख] देशकालयोगम् कर्म नयानयो च बेदेवत् ॥५॥
निष्परितं न बेदेवीन्द्रपरम् ॥६॥
हितानि निरुपेत ॥७॥
नमो मन्नित्रिमनिरुप्य कार्येः ॥८॥
बुद्धिजीवनरस्तायेः सह कार्यमकार्ये च निरुपेत ॥९॥
अखितं विकारं यथं प्रतिमाति स मन्त्रयोगम् ॥१०॥
अध्यात्मार्ज्येत् ॥११॥
यस्यार्थराशिरासलि तस्य निर्माणेऽद्र मथ विधा च युगाविरक्रमा
च बुद्धिश्रव्य ॥१२॥
अध्येनाः[२१.क] ध्यात्मार्ज्येतुं न शर्यते गजोऽगजेनव ॥१३॥
वनमूलं जगत् ॥१४॥
सर्वाओः तत्र सार्वित् ॥१५॥
निर्मो गुरुम्यागालाश्र् ॥१६॥
एवं ध्यात्मार्ज्येत् ॥१७॥
विधात्मार्ज्येत् ॥१८॥
विधात्मार्ज्येत् ॥१९॥
विद्या पुनः सर्वाविरक्रमा गुरुः ॥२०॥

तत् वाहस्पत्यत्वस्तुः पद्धोत्रस्याः ।

1. W कार्यकृ। 2. Read अखितिमयि कार्यम। 3. M गजं
गौ, W २५४८ग।
BRIHASPATI SūTRA

Now the Brihaspati Sūtra.

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

I (PERSONAL CONDUCT)

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

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

22 Text and translation uncertain. More intelligible would be evishye d... 'giving on a wrong occasion is called non-giving.'
31 I translate anyabhiyodhin[.]h.
32 Sc. he should never be in deshabille.
33 And he should not practise over-indulgence in hunting.
34 From over attachment to women ill-repute grows;
35 And vitality wastes.
36 In association with those guilty of gaming, provoking others, abusing others, the weaknesses of others (are exposed) along with the words of *mantras* in learned or frivolous play (?).
37 Taking of medicine, evacuation of urine and faeces, bathing, teeth-cleaning, enjoyment of copulation, worship of divinities—these also are to be done in private.
38 A sham professor of virtue he should not trust;
39 Nor censure either.
40 Nor upon seeing mad or stupid persons, and so forth, should he laugh at them.
41 His sport in private should be with those of like character and age.
42 Elephant and horse sports in public; not with creatures of two (different) kinds.
43 And he should not harm living beings of his own kind.
44 Desire should be felt for superiority to prede-

---

36 Rendering conjectural. Are the *mantras* quasi oaths?
40 So also in the *Shukra-niti* iii. 230 'The miserable, the blind, the dwarf, and the dumb are never to be laughed at.'
42 Contests of dissimilar animals are here, it seems, denounced. Or we might take *rahasye* from 41 and, reading *tadvimārtam*, render 'Elephant and horse sports in private; in public those with other species.' This is less likely.
cessors and successors in respect of wealth, popularity, nobility, and magnanimity.

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

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

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

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

49 To even an unwelcome speech he should listen.

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

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

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

53 Among them he should not say much.

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

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

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

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

56 Or 'his own lord.'
59-66 On the disposition of a king's time see Aṭihashāstra, c. 16, and Prof. Formichi, Ghi Indiani &c., pp 66 sqq. A nādika = ½ mūhūrta = 24 minutes.
68 'Shaking of the head': on this as a sign of approval see the passages quoted by me in Kavindravacorasamuccaya and v. I.
70 A mean Brähman not with a shake of the head, even if he brings a present;
71 A like prince or emperor with welcome, with a seat, with a shake of the head, with gift of betel and with jocular talk;
72 Men of the three castes with a smile, with welcome, and audience (?);
73 Shûdras not with a glance or smile nor with welcome;
74 Children, the aged, and so forth, with giving of something which they like;
75 Low-caste [ Foreign ? ] people and heretics not even with an utterance.
76 Owing to importance of business he may have recourse to them;
77 Let him say little, however, and assign the employment.
78 Let him not accept fine gold [ or receive men of the (3) castes] in private.
79 With workmen, even in his employ, let him not deliberate upon the task.
80 With his friends let him choose a like friend as councillor;
81 But if low-born, he must be one having not low-born caste.
82 Low-born persons have the characteristic of not mentioning their own objects and of executing orders.
83 So he should not over-cherish them.
84 Nor again should he trust them.

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

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

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

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

103 So he is not to desire [ it ].

104 Kusumántas and so forth are inimical to all creatures.

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

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

107 An enemy of good character is a friend.

108 Among friends one of good character is an enemy.

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

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

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

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

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

So in the Brihaspati Sūtra the First Chapter.

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

101 Shiwa 'dog' probably means more exactly 'pack of dogs' : cf. a shwa and Panini iv. 2. 48,

103, 110 We might translate 'If between sun and moon there were hostility ..., they would not continue'. 
11 (DUTIES AND PRINCIPLES)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

19 He performs sacrifices and so forth:

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

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

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14 *Kshapanaka:* = Jaina.

15 ‘Knowledge’: read karmṇjatam ‘mass of rites’?

16 *Pinda:* the reference seems to be to the food offered to the dead: the custom was ridiculed by the followers of Brihaspati, as appears from the Carvaka, or Lokayata, chapter in the Sarva-darshana-samgraha.
22 The Kshapanaka, aiming at right, speaks of right as depending on the bearing of rags and broom:
23 He speaks of Shiva and so on,—so the Kshapanaka.
24 With a view to abuse of others he studies Veda, Shástra, right and so forth:
25 He reproaches all;
26 Even Maheshvara, Vishnu and so forth;
27 He also speaks of right with a view to eating;
28 For the sake of discussion he praises others—this is the Baudha.
29 The Laukāyatika, when dead, is a denizen of hell, extern to profit, pleasure, right, and liberation.
30 And the same applies to his family; that family perishes within the period of sons and grandsons.
31 The Kāpāli, abandoned by his village, household, and relatives, becomes a denizen of hell, denounced by all people:
32 And at that very time his family perishes.
33 The Kshapanaka is denounced by his family, and those who live in the village, and three families perish.
34 The Baudha becomes a very detested denizen of hell; and his existing family perishes, or in the time of sons and grandsons.
35 Connection with heretics of this sort he should not have, even in thought.
36 Even by one whose counsels are well ordered.

22 The "broom" is the brush of twigs which the Jain ascetics carry in order to brush away insects.
34 The Sanskrit sentence is here confused; but the meaning is clear.
36 [Not]: we may, if we prefer, read caturmukham. This Sutra connects well with No. 7.
who discerns the weak points of others, and who is [not?] a man of virtue, sovereignty cannot be preserved.

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

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

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

40 Like Ishvara, like Moon and Sun.

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

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

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

44 Pleasure and advantage are to be tested by right;

45 Right by right;

46 Advantage by advantage;

47 Pleasure by pleasure;

48 Liberation of the soul by liberation.

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

40 ‘Like Ishvara’: his motives must be inscrutable.

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

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

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

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

54 During counsel he should not evoke anger.

55 Right is the main factor; not personal objects,

56 Happiness unrighteously enjoyed is no friend.

57 Maintenance of position is \( \text{[or and]} \) enhancement.

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

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

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

60 One bad man ruins many.

61 Fate depends upon manhood.

51 We translate *mantre na praveshayet*.

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

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

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

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

1 Manliness is the quality of one superior to weakness.

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

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

4 Also endurance of fasting and so forth.

5 He should make treasures with fragrances and robes.

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

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

8 He should know new mantras:

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

10 Entrance to the city of Liberation is by three:

11 Shākta, Vaishnava, Shaiva.

12 The Shākta is like a journey in a vessel;

13 The Vaishnava like a high road;

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

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

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9—16 Again apparently a sectarian inserton:

cf. ad II. 8, III. 33.

14 This is the Shaiva system: see Sarvadarśhana samgraha, c. VI.
16 Having marked this, let him have recourse to one.
17 Let him ever mark the aspect of the lord of lights (the moon?).
18 And let him defend the order of four castes.
19 And let him make use of medicines;
20 These which fortify strength, complexion, energy, self-esteem, intelligence, courage, compassion, and reduce the faulty humours.
21 Let him procure success by gifts, honours, ornaments, and sciences.
22 Let him watch the eighteen Tirthas.
23 Tirthas are the six constituents of royalty, also enemy, friend, and neutral:
24 Also intestine enemy, intestine friend, intestine neutral; and these are dependents, companions, and friends.
25 Also wives, sons, and kinsmen.
26 Others also [to be watched] are temples, places for dances and,
27 sacrifices, twilight, pools, cross-roads, heretic abodes, shops, schools for the young, parade-grounds, fields, new-moon etc. festivals, harlots' houses, the seashore, presence of ascetics, frontiers, places for sale of liquor, serais for travellers.

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22 Tirtha: a technical term in the Science of Policy for the important personalities in the kingdom. The use is somewhat peculiar in 23.
23 The constituents (prakriti), as usually enumerated, are king, minister, country, fortress, treasury, army, and friend: see Arthashastra, c. 93, and Formichi, op. cit., p. 92.
27 'Twilight-pools' would be places for performing twilight worship.
28 Let him have festive attire.
29 At the city gate let there be a general stoppage.
30 However, let him not exclude all.
31 Let him honour Itihāsas and Purānas;
32 And expositions thereof:
33 And the Śākta scriptures:
34 And the Vaikhānasā scriptures;
35 And the Sānkhya;
36 And the Śaiva.
37 As regards all these, let him perform and require the due study.
38 A Brāhmaṇa let him not slay, even if infected with faults.
39 To the unmerciful [no] mercy should be shown.
40 Let him show respect to village headmen;
41 Also to city magnates.
42 Let him conciliate even the weak.
43 By largesse much:
44 Not also with little.
45 In the case of excellent persons not in the order of the plenitude of their merits.
46 Let him play with dice:
47 Also [Or] let him not play at all.
48 Serpents and so forth let him slay.

32 ‘Expositions’: The word pāka would seem to be a synonym for pākī in janapākī, bākapākī ‘teaching the people’; see Shatapatha-Brahmana XI. 5. 7. 1.
33–7 These sutras are perhaps again an insertion: see Introduction and ad II. 8, III. 9.
39 Or “no mercy (adaya).
49 High Brâhmans, perfected by various mantras and rich in knowledge, let him honour.

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

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

52 Let him check the bad;

53 And protect the learned.

54 Let him not oppress a village;

55 Or a city:

56 Or temples.

57 Let him make use of fermented liquors;

58 Not in excess, however.

59 Also flesh food.

60 Compassion to life must be shown:

61 The Buddhist way and so forth not.

62 Nor as regards imperceptible (creatures).

63 Gay ladies are to be used.

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

65 And it has seven continents.

66 And is girt with seven seas.

67 Karma, Bhoga, Atibhoga, Divya, Shringâra,

61 The Buddhists and Jains especially denounce killing in sacrifice.

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

67 These names, as applied to the seven deipas, do not seem to occur elsewhere. But Bharata Varsha is karma-bhumi in the Vishnu-purâna, II. 3. 2.
Siddha and Kaivalya are the designations of the continents.

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

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

70 Therein to the north is Himvat.

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

72 Therein to the south is Bhārta Khanda.

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

74 In relation thereto is the administration of punishment.

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

76 By administration of punishment the holy Sun is king:

77 And Wind and all the gods:

78 And mortal creatures.

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

80 From Dvārakā as far as Purushottama and the

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

71 ‘Nine thousand’ : The usual estimate, as in the Vīshnu-Purāṇa II. 3. 2.

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

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

81 In this area also are the seven Great Mountains, Raivataka, Vindhya, Sahya, Kumara, Malaya, Shriparvata, Pariyatra.

82 And the Great Rivers, Gangá, Sarasvati, Káliná, Godávari, Káverí, Támrarparni, Ghritamála.

83 And eighteen countries.

84 Eighteen are the maritime kings:

85 And eighteen the hill kings.

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

87 Nepal one hundred and four.

88 On the shore of the eastern sea:

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

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

82 ‘Great Rivers’: The word bala-nádi does not seem to occur elsewhere. On the various lists of the chief rivers see Wilson’s note, Vishnu-P. II pp. 131-2. The Ghritamála is, doubtless, Wilson’s Kritamála.

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

The application of the numbers in this sutra is obscure.

Is ‘as far as the Sahya’ = ‘in breadth’?

88 The site of the Varuna-tirtha does not appear to be known.
Each one hundred and five are northern Lāṭā, 
And eastern Lāṭā.
Kāshi and the Pāncāla country are together eighty;
Kekaya and Srinjaya are sixty;
The Matsya and Magadha country one hundred;
Mālava and Shakantā eighty;
Kosalā and Avanti sixty;
Saihyā and Vidarbha together two hundred;
Videha and the Kuru country one hundred;
Kāmboja and Dāshārṇa eighty.
These are the great countries.
These indeed are four-cornered.
The Āratta and Bāhlika country are from south to north one hundred, from east to west twelve.
The Shaka and Surāśṭra country are four-cornered and of forty.
Anga, Vanga, and Kalinga are of one hundred and four-cornered.
Kāshmir, the Huna and Arabashtha countries, and Sindh are of one hundred and four-cornered.
The Kirāta, Saṅvīra, Cola, and Pāṇḍya countries, situated on north and south are of one hundred increased by sixty.

89 sqq. For other lists of countries and peoples see Mahābhārata, Bhīṣma-parvan, IV.317–378. Vishnu-Purāṇa,II.3, Varaha's Brihat-samhitā, XIV, Garga-samhitā (Janapada-atyoha).
93 Shakuntā is not elsewhere known as name of a country or people.
103 The Hunas are, doubtless, those of Hundesh.
105 The Yadava country and Kánci are of one hundred and forty.
106 These are minor countries.
107 The seven Konkans are of one hundred and four, and the...
108 These are on the water.
109 On mount Sahaya are four hill countries;
110 On Shriparpvata two;
111 On Raivataka one;
112 On the Vindhyas five;
113 On Kumára one;
114 On Mahendra three;
115 On Páriyátra three.
116 All are equal, from south to north of fifty, from east to west of five yojanas.
117 In the Mleccha region are Yavana countries, mountainous.
118 The countries are adorned with villages, cities, gardens, and so forth, and with holy domains and so forth.
119 Eight are the Vaishnava domains;
120 Badariká, Shálgráma, Purushottama, Dváraka, Bilvácala, Ananta, Simha, Shríranga.
121 Eight the Shaiva;
122 Avimuktaka, Gangá-dvára, Shiva-kshtetra,

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

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

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

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

And versed in the administration of punishment;

In the Treta they are active and skilled in policy:

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

And versed in policy:

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

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

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

So in the Brihaspati Sutra the third chapter.

The Mahabharata also names the Tishya as the fourth age.
IV (Omens and Counsel)

1 At the Brahma hour the rising from sleep.
2 Let him consider right and interest.
3 The cry of the cock is auspicious:
4 Also the sight of an elephant and so forth;
5 Also the sound of elephants, the chanting of auspicious praises, and Veda-recitation;
6 Also holy talk of divinities;
7 Also recollection of nobles;
8 Also eye-collyrium:
9 Also looking in a mirror.
10 Let him adorn himself.
11 Also chewing of betel:
12 Also camphor, sandal, incense of agallochum:
13 Conchs, Kāhalas, horns, cut reeds, guitars, harps, drums, kettle-drums:
14 And noises of trumpets:
15 Also seeing of divine women:
16 Also the interrupted first note of the minstrel (?):
17 Also the sound of the jāti melody (or 'the cry of birth'):
18 White flowers in liquid butter.
19 Fire satisfied with mantras becomes of one hundred flames, and attended with smoke having the sing of Vishnu.
20 Then the spectacle of oxen is inauspicious:

1 The Brahmanā mukhāta is the early morning: see Weber Indische Studien, x. p. 296, and Aitareya Brahmana II. 15.
2 The Greek writers mention the early morning salutation of an Indian king by an elephant (Aelian, XIII. c. 22).
3 Or 'incense of camphor, sandal, and agallochum'.
21 Also the spectacle of vultures
22 Also a twilight blaze:
23 Also the cry of quarreling jackals.
24 Or the sound of carnivorous beasts is heard at the gate of village or city.
25 Where also sweating of images of gods is perceived, there departure to another place is the only appeasement: there is no remedy.
26 Unavoidably to be observed are these acts.
27 Victory is rooted in counsel.
28 Men are of three kinds, best, worst and middle.
29 In counsel also [is the same triplicity].
30 That action is best which is undertaken in company with connections, kinsmen, friends, the learned, the thoughtful.
31 And, when right is doubtful, devotion to a guru.
32 He is best who sets to after taking counsel with men intent on advantage.
33 If, after thinking out good and bad results, he sets to through being overcome by folly, he is the worst.
34 That counsel is best which is taken unanimously, under the guidance of policy, by wise councillors.
35 Where, at first of divers opinions, they are afterwards unanimous, that is the middle.

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

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

37 First the measure is introduced by the master.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

38 'Rigid prostration': The word *dandapranamam* 'prostration with the body straight as a stick' occurs in the *Dashakumara-cvrita*: see the St. Petersburg lexicon.

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

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

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

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

Let him not make the first advance in rendering services:

Also let him certainly render service.

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

So says the Guru.

So in the Brihaspati Sūtra the Fourth Chapter.

---

I. e. let him not claim practical infallibility on the ground of learning.
V (Upayás)

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

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

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

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

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

21 Let him test by their sentiments.

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

23 He may be known by his gestures:

24 A composed person not.

25 One whose mind is without apprehension is calm.

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

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

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

29 The fickle are not to be highly honoured.

30 So says the Preceptor Brihaspati.

So in the Brihaspati Sutra the Fifth Chapter.

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

19 Accusative after vi-sbeas, as in I. 38.

22 Reading viro' shara'ih sahasa na jnayate.

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

27 Reading nayayuktam. The meaning is, however, not clear.
VI (Nâma)

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

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

3 Let him observe friendly acts.

4 Policy is carried out after examination by councillors.

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

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

7 Let him acquire wealth.

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

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

10 In riches is rooted the world.

11 And therein are all things.

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

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

14 In knowledge is rooted the world.

15 Knowledge again is all.

16 So says the Guru.

So in the Brihaspâtî Sûtra the Sixth Chapter.

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

F. W. Thomas.
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