प्रकाशिका - १९

Prakashika - 19



नीतिप्रकाशिका

वैशम्पायन कृत

सम्पादक

उर्मी एस शाह

राष्ट्रीय पाण्डुलिपि मिशन

॥ विज्ञानमुपास्व ॥

National Mission for Manuscripts

Prakashika Series
No. 19

General Editor
Prafulla Kumar Mishra

Nītiprakāśikā

of

Vaiśampāyana

— A Critical Edition —

Editor

Urmi S. Shah

National Mission for Manuscripts

NATIONAL MISSION FOR MANUSCRIPTS

New Delhi

and

DK PRINTWORLD

Cataloguing in Publication Data — DK
[Courtesy: D.K. Agencies (P) Ltd. <docinfo@dkagencies.com>]

Śāha, Urmi, 1952–
Nītiprakāśikā of Vaiśampāyana : a critical edition / with Editor: Urmi S. Shah.
p. cm. — (Prakashika series ; no. 19)
English and Sanskrit.
Includes bibliographical references (p.) and index.
ISBN 9789380829302
ISBN 9789380829029 (series)

1. Military art and science – India – History. 2. India – History, Military. 3. Vaiśampāyana. Nītiprakāśikā. I. Vaiśampāyana. Nītiprakāśikā. English & Sanskrit. II. National Mission for Manuscripts (India) III. Title. IV. Series: Prakashika series ; no. 19.

DDC 355.00954 23

ISBN 13: 978-93-80829-30-2
ISBN 13: 978-93-80829-02-9 (series)
First published in India in 2014
© National Mission for Manuscripts, New Delhi.

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Published by:
National Mission for Manuscripts
No. 11 Mansingh Road
New Delhi - 110 001
Phone: (011) 2338 3894; *Fax:* 2307 3340
E-mail: director.namami@nic.in
Website: www.namami.nic.in

Co-published by:
D.K. Printworld (P) Ltd
Regd. Office: 'Vedaśrī', F-395, Sudarshan Park
(Metro Station: Ramesh Nagar), New Delhi-110 015
Phones: (011) 2545 3975; 2546 6019; *Fax:* (011) 2546 5926
E-mail: indology@dkprintworld.com
Website: www.dkprintworld.com

Printed by: D.K. Printworld (P) Ltd., New Delhi

Foreword

TECHNICAL literature happens to be the most significant repository of knowledge of India. But very few people have any idea regarding this. Science and technology is never a monopoly of Europe only. India and China both the countries have made many inventions and use of technology of different categories which need not be depicted. Besides, the basic scientific texts of Āryabhaṭṭa, Varāhamihira, Nāgārjuna, Caraka, Suśruta, Śālihotra and Kaṇāda for mathematics, astrophysics, alchemist, medicine, surgery, particle physics and horse treatment, etc., there are Vimānaśāstra, Vāstuśāstra, town planning and other important knowledge for the welfare of all beings in general and human beings in particular.

Similarly war craft is an important text that needs the attention of scholars. Among many weapons, missile is one. Again among missiles bow and arrow are the most important ones. The use of bow and arrow is evolved from the days of *Rāmāyaṇa* where Rāma could marry Sītā by just using the bow and could show his excellence before a wrathful Paraśurāma. In *Mahābhārata* sophisticated archery is warranted when Arjuna could pierce the eyeball of the revolving fish looking at its reflection under the post. The main weapon of Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābhārata wars was arrow. Arjuna could shoot it in left hand. The ordinary weapons could become extraordinary by the skilful hands of archers with their achievements of boons from different divine agents.

The present work is a critical edition of *Nītiprakāśikā* of Vaiśampāyana with the commentary of Sītārāma called *Vivṛtti*. This text is prepared by Urmi S. Shah by consulting a number of manuscripts from different parts of the country. Even though it was published long before, it was not critically edited. The readers will be delighted to read this book who know about other technical

texts like *Samarāṅgana Sūtradhāra, Mānasollāsa* and *Harihaya-caturaṅga* .

The Mission feels a great pleasure to dedicate this work to the intellectual domain of this country.

Prafulla Kumar Mishra
Director
National Mission for Manuscripts

Preface

अलब्धमीहेद्धर्मेण लब्धं यत्नेन पालयेत् ।
पालितं वर्धयेन्नित्यं वृद्धं पात्रेषु निक्षिपेत् ।।

alabdham-īhet-dharmeṇa labdhaṁ yatnena pālayet ।
pālitam vardhayet-nityam vṛdhaṁ pātreṣu nikṣipet ।।
— *Nītiprakāśikā* 8.61

One should achieve the unobtained righteously, protect it with efforts, always strive to increase it and then place it in the proper hands.

FOLLOWING the above-mentioned ancient but contemporary principles relevant in life, I am putting my post-doctoral work titled "A Critical Edition of the Nītiprakāśikā of Vaiśampāyana" before the academic world. The endeavour was conceived in a vague form after the completion of a Minor Research Project on the "Philosophy of Dhanurveda and Its Application to the Modern Shooting Sports" in the year 1997. I came across the two edited texts of *Nītiprakāśikā* in the Adyar Library (Chennai) while collecting data for my Minor Research Project in January 1997. The treatise appeared to be of my interest and use for a future project. However, as late as in the 13th World Sanskrit Conference at Edinburgh, July 2006, an informal beginning of its study was presented through my research paper titled "A Comparative Study of the Nītiprakāśikā and Rāmāyaṇa (Bālakāṇḍa and Ayodhyākāṇḍa)" in the Epic section now under publication by Motilal Banarsidass, edited by John Brockington. However, it took a concrete shape of post-doctoral study by the financial support of the University Grants Commission (UGC), New Delhi, through the grant under Major Research Project under the Tenth Plan. The present work also includes some data from some of my research papers on related topics and the Minor Research Project in 1997 (also funded by UGC), which has already been mentioned.

The preparation of a critical edition is a serious and laborious task. Hence an acknowledgement to the academic support need to be made here. Besides the scholarly advices of some experienced academicians like M.L. Wadekar and S.Y. Wakankar, the In-charge Director and Deputy Director (now retired) of the Oriental Institute, Vadodara, respectively, P.G. Lalye (retd. Head, Sanskrit Dept., Osmania University, Hyderabad), Madhusudan Penna (Associate Professor, Kalidasa Sanskrit University, Nagpur), Sinirudhha Dash (University of Madras, Chennai), S. Jagannatha (Oriental Research Institute, Mysore), S.N. Bhavasar, Sunita Vaze (USA) and several others had been of valued help. I would also like to thank Bharati Shelat (ex-Director, B.J. Institute of Learning and Research, Ahmedabad, and an editor of the critical edition of *Śrīmad Bhāgavata Purāṇa*), who was always by my side to examine and re-read the manuscripts in Telugu script as well as go through the critical edition and my *guru* Gautam Patel for always giving me invisible backing throughout the study. My gratitude to the late Vachaspati Upadhyaya-ji (Vice-Chancellor, Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri Rashtriya Sanskrit Vidyapeeth) cannot be described in words.

The unconditional love I received from home coupled with a highly encouraging environment provided by the Principal Rev. Fr. Vincent Braganza, and the ex-Principal Rev. Fr. Francis Parmar at the St. Xavier's College (Ahmedabad) where I work and carried out the research cannot be described. I thank Rev. Fr. Braganza for his kind Foreword.

The last word of gratitude goes to Sunil Koshti, Minaxi Patelia and some students who have untiringly helped me to put the study in the final computerized format. Of course, I cannot thank Ms. Krishna Joshi, my research associate for the project, enough to prepare this work.

I am also grateful to those whose specific mention has not been made but who have supported me directly or indirectly.

This work of pure academic value to be appreciated by academicians is invaluable for me due to the efforts put in it and by the memories of people and incidents close to my heart. I would be grateful for the valued suggestions of the scholars.

14 March 2014

Urmi S. Shah
Ahmedabad

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Abbreviations

ADh	*Āpastamba Dharmasūtra*
AiBr	*Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*
AP	*Agni Purāṇa*
ASm	*Āpastamba Smṛti*
AV	*Atharvaveda*
BDh	*Baudhāyana Dharmasūtra*
BG	*Śrīmad Bhagavad-Gītā*
BhP	*Śrīmad Bhāgavata Purāṇa*
BP	*Brahma Purāṇa*
CTV	*Tattvavivṛti* (Critical Edition)
DV	*Dhanurveda Saṁhitā*
GBr	*Gopatha Brāhmaṇa*
GDh	*Gautama Dharmasūtra*
GP	*Garuḍa Purāṇa*
KA	*Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra*
KNS	*Kāmandakīya Nītisāra*
Mān	*Mānasollāsa*
MatP	*Matsya Purāṇa*
Mbh	*Mahābhārata*
MP	*Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*
MS	*Manusmṛti*
NP	*Nītiprakāśikā*
NSm	*Nārada Smṛti*
PSm	*Parāśara Smṛti*
Rāmā	*Rāmāyaṇa*

ṚV	*Ṛgveda*
ŚatBr	*Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*
SNS	*Śukra Nītisāra*
TV	*Tattvavivṛti*
VāP	*Vāmana Purāṇa*
VāP	*Vāyu Purāṇa*
VDh	*Vasiṣṭha Dharmasūtra*
VDV	*Vasiṣṭha's Dhanurveda Saṁhitā*
VP	*Viṣṇu Purāṇa*
YS	*Yājñavalkya Smṛti*
Yukti	*Yuktikalpataru*
YV	*Yajurveda*

Introduction

Nītiprakāśikā (*NP*) of Vaiśampāyana is a treatise on *dhanurvidyā* (military administration, training and organization) and *rājanīti* (polity). Its detailed and interesting commentary *Tattvavivṛti* (*TV*) is written by a scholar named Sītārāma. *NP* was edited and published first by Gustav Oppert from Madras with an elaborate introduction in 1882 and later it was published by the Government Oriental Manuscript Library, Chennai (GOML) with the commentary *TV* on the basis of two of its own manuscripts (MSS) in 1953. However, none of these is a critical edition. Hence the present work may be said to the first critical edition of this in valuable treatise.

I.1. The Manuscripts: Details and Codification

The list of the MSS and the printed editions used for the critical text is as follows:

(A) MSS at GOML, Chennai

Volume VIII of the Library's Descriptive Catalogue describes its MSS as:

1. MS No. 3875. Title: *नीतिप्रकाशिका* (*Nītiprakāśikā*). Substance: Paper. Size: 12¾" x 8¼". Pages: 72. Lines to a page: 16. Characters: Devanagari. Condition: Good. Appearance: New, in bound form.
2. MS No. 3876. Title: *नीतिप्रकाशिका तत्त्वविवृतिसहिता (Nītiprakāśikā Tattvavivṛtisahitā)*. Substance: Paper. Size: 7.8" x 6.8". Pages: 105. Lines to a page: 22. Characters: Telugu. Condition: Good. Appearance: New. It is complete with 1 to 8 *sarga*s with commentary.
3. MS No. 3877. Title: *नीतिप्रकाशिका तत्त्वविवृतिसहिता (Nītiprakāśikā Tattvavivṛtisahitā)*. Substance: Paper. Size: 8.2" x 6.2". Pages: 4. Lines to a page: 16. Characters: Telugu. Condition: Good. Appearance: New. It is incomplete.
4. MS No. 3878. Title: *नीतिप्रकाशिका तत्त्वविवृतिसहिता* (*Nītiprakāśikā Tattvavivṛtisahitā*). Substance: Paper. Size: 13.8" x 8.8". Pages: 40. Lines to a page: 32. Characters: Telugu. Condition: Good.

Appearance: New. It is bound and has incomplete text with complete commentary.

(B) Oriental Research Institute, Mysore

The MSS of the Institute are referred to in the NCC as "Mysore, I, page 291". Their detailed description in the catalogue of the Institute is as follows:

1. MS No. C. 334/a, Serial No. 34910. Title: *नीतिप्रकाशिका* (*Nītiprakāśikā*). It begins with the verse: श्रीमद्गजाननं वाणीं नत्वा ब्रह्मादिसद्गुरून् । नीतिप्रकाशिका सेयं तन्यते सादरान्मया सीतारामेण कौतुकात् (*śrīmad-gajānanaṁ vāṇīṁ natvā brahmādi-sadgurūn । nītiprakāśikā seyaṁ tanyate sādaran-mayā sītārāmeṇa kautukāt*।।) and ends with वैशम्पायन इत्युक्त्वा तमेव स जगाम ह । पारीक्षितोऽपि मुमुदे सुनीत्या पालयन् प्रजाः (*vaiśampāyana iti-uktvā tam-eva sa jagāma ha । pārīkṣito 'pi mumude sunītyā pālayan prajāḥ* ।।) followed by the colophon इति श्रीमन्नीतिप्रकाशिकायां राजव्यापारकथनं नाम अष्टमस्सर्गः ।। नीतिप्रकाशिका सेयं तारामेण सीकौतुकात् । लिखिता बेंगलूरौ परमेश्वरवत्सरे ।। (*iti śrīman-nītiprakāśikāśikāyāṁ rājavyā parakathanaṁ nāma aṣṭamssargaḥ।। nītiprakāśikā seyaṁ tārāmeṇa sīkautukāt । likhitā beṅgalūrau parameśvara-vatsare* ।।)
2. MS No. 5378 mentioned as MS No. C 2914/1, Serial No. 34911. Title: *नीतिप्रकाशिका* (*Nītiprakāśikā*). Substance: Paper. Size: 31.7 cm x 21.5 cm. Pages: 6. Lines 24 to a page. Characters: Devanāgarī. Condition: Good. Appearance: New. Incomplete.
3. MS No. C. 334/b, Serial No. 34912. Title: *नीतिप्रकाशिकातत्त्वविवृतिः* (*Nītiprakāśika-Tattvavivṛtiḥ*). It begins with श्रीमज्जगत्पतेः पादौ भक्त्या नत्वा यथामति। नीतिप्रकाशिका तत्त्वविवृतिं करवाण्यहम् ।। — (*śrīmajjagatpateḥ pādau bhaktyā natvā yathāmati । nītiprakāśikā tattvavivṛtiṁ karavāṇy-aham* ।). This is the first verse of *TV* on *NP*. The commentary ends with पारीक्षितोऽपि जनमेजयोऽपि सुनीत्या प्रजाः पालयन् मुमुदे इत्यन्वयः।। (*pārīkṣito 'pi janamejayo 'pi sunītyā prajāḥ pālayan mumude ity-anvayaḥ* ।।). The last colophon states: इति श्रीमन्नीतिप्रकाशिकाविवृतौ अष्टमस्सर्गः।। व्याख्यास्सूर्येन्दुतुल्याः स्युरस्या यद्यपि भो बुधाः।। गृहदीपायतां चेयं तथाप्यर्थविवेचने।। सीतारामकृतेयमाशु तनुतां मोदं बुधानां रवेर्वारे त्वीश्वरवत्सरे तप त्रयोदश्यां समग्रा पुरे । श्रीवेंग्लूर्व(?)भिधेऽथ कृष्ण सुनृपे रत्नासनाधिष्ठिते राज्ये शासति चामराजतनये ह्यात्रेयगोत्रोद्भवे।। (*iti śrīmaṇ-nītiprakāśikā-vivṛtau aṣṭamassargaḥ* ।।

vyākhyāssūryendutulyāḥ syurasyā yadyapi bho budhāḥ ||
gṛhadīpāyatāṁ ceyaṁ tathāpy-artha-vivecane ||
sītārāmakṛteyamāśu tanutāṁ modaṁ budhānāṁ ravervāre
tvīśvaravatsare tapa-trayodaśyāṁ samagrā pure || śrī-
veṅglūrvabhidhe 'tha kṛṣṇa sunṛpe ratnāsanādhiṣṭhite rājye śāsati
cāmarājatanaye hy-ātreyagotrodbhave ||)

(C) Oriental Institute, Vadodara

The MS of the Institute is neither mentioned in NCC, nor in the database of NMM. The catalogue of the Institute — "An Alphabetical List of Manuscripts in the Oriental Research Institute, Baroda", second volume, compiled by V. Raghavan, 1999, notes it as Serial No. 18, Acc. No. 6565. Title: *नीतिप्रकाशिका सव्याख्या. व्याख्या तत्त्वविवृति सीताराम* (*Nītiprakāśīkā Savyākhyā. Vyākhyā Tattvavivṛti Sītārāma*). Size: 12.2" x6.2". Leaves: 38. Lines: Indefinite number of lines to a page, varying from 15 to 21. Characters: Telugu.

(D) *NP* was first ever edited by Gustav Oppert from Madras (Chennai) in 1882 (reprinted in 1970). In his elaborate introduction to it he mentions that he possessed one copy of the work in MSS form supplied to him by a learned brāhmaṇa named M.R. Ry. T. Krishna Row of Triplicane. Written in Telugu characters, it had a full text with the commentary of Sītārāma, while the other copy he had was in the Grantha characters (about which no information is provided).

(E) A much later edition of *NP*, titled *वैशम्पायननीतिप्रकाशिका* (*सीतारामकृततत्त्वाविवृतिसहिता*) (*Vaiśampāyana-Nītiprakāśikā*) (*Sītārāmakṛta-tattvāvivṛti-sahitā*) of T. Chandrasekharan (Curator, GOML, Madras) was published from the Government Press, Madras, in 1953 under the Government Oriental Manuscripts Series 24. Its text and commentary are based on MSS 3875 and 3878, respectively.

The above printed editions and the available MSS were classified and codified as follows:

(a) Pri. Edn. 1 = the printed edition in E above was taken as "vulgate" based on two of the MSS at GOML with the commentary *TV* with it.

(b) Pri. Edn. 2 = the edition of Oppert mentioned in D.

(c) T_1 = MS No. 6565 in C.

(d) T_2 = MS No. 3878 mentioned in A4.

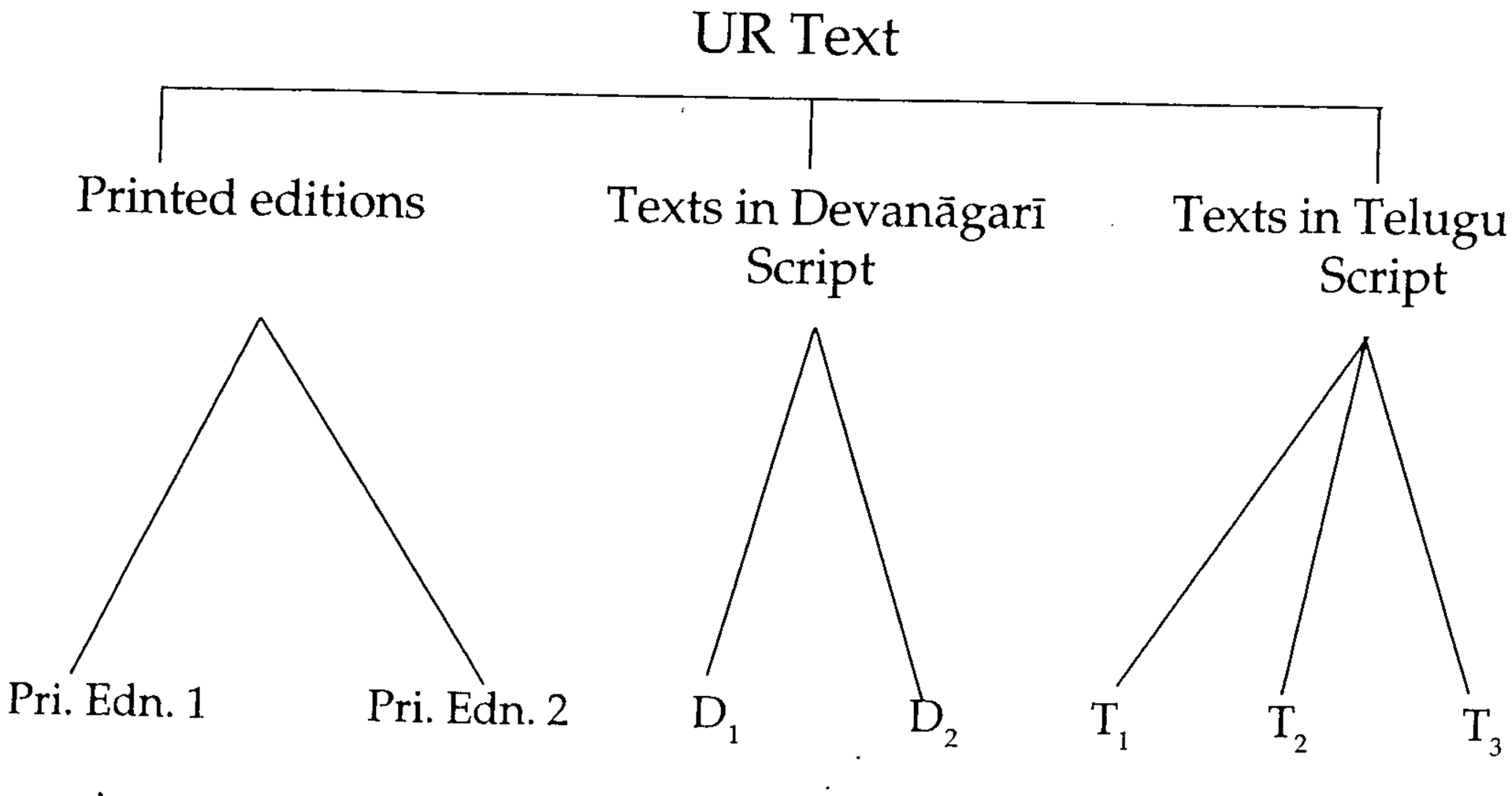
(e) T_3 = MS No. 3876 mentioned in A2.

(f) D_1 = MS No. 3875 mentioned in A1.

(g) D_2 = MS No. 5378 mentioned in B.

I.2: Evaluation of the MSS

The interrelationship of the MSS that helped to reconstruct the UR text of *NP* and the printed editions can be shown as follows:



Based on		Based on	MS No.	MS No.	MS No.	MS No.	MS No.
D_1 or MS No. 3875 only text in GOML	T_2 or MS No. 3878 incom-plete text and com plete comme ntary in GOML	unavailable Telugu and Grantham MSS. Ed. by Oppert	3875 at GOML. A base for Pri. Edn. 1	5378 At ORI, Mysore. Incom-plete. Not con-sidered in any editions	6565 having OR Vado-dara. Not noted in NCC	3878 Incom-plete text and complete com-mentary. A base for Full text - Pri. Edn. 1 and com-mentary	3876 in GOML Incom-plete. Not con-sidered in printed editions

(A) 1. In I.2. This MS is complete with only the text of *NP* from 1 to 8 cantos. It does not have the commentary *TV*. Markings with blue pencil are found at many places with meanings and small notes on the pages of the text as well as on some

of the opposite pages in running handwritings in English. Its pages bear the emblem of the University of Madras in the top left corner.

2. This MS is untraceable.

3. The description given above in A3 found in NCC and the Descriptive Catalogue for this MS. However, the MS with this number contains a portion of a treatise in Grantha characters which certainly is not *NP*. This MS contains 14 verses of the first canto with verses 1-3, 4-7, 8-11 and 12-14 on each page respectively on each of its four pages with commentary. It also has the commentary of the 15th verse till the word केशधारणे (*keśadhāraṇe*). Further, the commentary of the verses written about on each page is written horizontally at the top of the leaf followed by the commentary written beneath it in two parts diagonally with the first line starting from inside going outside and in the opposite direction on the other part. The characters here seen to be of about the second half of the eighteenth century CE).

4. This MS is followed by a work in Vāstuśāstra. Therefore it has a total number of 48 pages out of which *NP* covers pages 1-20b. Though the general condition of the MS is considered to be good, the writing is to be found on both sides of the leaf which tends to create a problem in MS legibility. Moreover, towards the end of the second work, pages have started tearing due to brittleness. With reference to *NP*, only the first six verses of the first canto are to be found followed by the commentary. Thereafter verses suddenly appear and these are 26, 27 and 28, again followed by continuous commentary till the end, on leaf 20b. Here the scribe has calculated the text he has copied through the number of verses probably for remuneration in the manner given below:

प्रथमे सर्गे (*prathame sarge*)	–	225	पञ्चमस्सर्गे (*pañcamassarge*)	–	100
द्वितीये (*dvitīye*)	–	95	षष्ठस्सर्गे (*ṣaṣṭhassarge*)	–	335
तृतीये (*tṛtīye*)	–	64	सप्तमस्सर्गे (*saptamassarge*)	–	114
चतुर्थे (*caturthe*)	–	96	अष्टमस्सर्गे (*aṣṭamassarge*)	–	184
		480			633.

संख्याग्रष्टमस्य (*saṁkhyāgraṣṭamasya*) – 1113

The characters of this MS seem to be moderately old and the pages as well as the method of writing suggest that it can belong to about nineteenth century CE.

(B) 1. This MS is untraceable.

2. This MS is incomplete, the 4th, 5th and 6th cantos are available only with the commentary. The text is supposed to begin with श्रीगणेशाय नमः (*śrī gaṇeśāya namaḥ*) and then with the verse स्वयम्भोर्वचनं श्रुत्वा (*svayaṁbhorvcanaṁ śrutvā*) and ends with सुप्रतिष्ठा प्रतिष्ठश्च श्येनो विजयसञ्चयौ ।। (*supratiṣṭhā pratiṣṭhaśca śyeno vijaya-sañcayau* ।।). The last colophon on the sixth page reads इति श्रीनीतिशास्त्रे नीतिप्रकाशिकायाम् आयुधविशेषनिरूपणं नाम पञ्चमोऽध्यायः । (*iti śrī-nītiśāstre nītiprakāśikāyām āyudhaviśeṣanirūpaṇaṁ nāma pañcamo 'dhyāyaḥ* ।). However the page ends with the fourth verse of the sixth canto and the word पञ्चमः सर्गः (*pañcamaḥ sargaḥ*) instead of पञ्चमोऽध्यायः (*pañcamo 'dhyāyaḥ*).

That the scribe is from the south India is evident by the use of characters ण (for ए) and; अ (for प्र) but the use of ल (for ळ) and ध (for घ); these indicate the influence of the north Indian style. Hence this MS can be placed between seventeenth and eighteenth centuries CE.

3. This MS is untraceable.

(C) This MS was procured by the Oriental Institute, Vadodara, on 26/08/1917 from an unknown source. It was compared with the text as given in Oppert's edition of 1882. The colophon of 7b of *praśasti* on the last leaf mentions that it was composed at Bengaluru in *Īśvara-vatsara* by Kṛṣṇarāja, the son of Chāmarāja, the Highness of Mysore, ruling from *Ratnāsana*. The MS has three *pāṭhīs* with the text in the centre and the commentary in the first and the third *pāṭhīs* to a page..

The written matter on the first two leaves of this MS does not have any relation with *NP*; it reads as follows:

Leaf 1

This title-page has the following matter written on it probably by the scribe. The reading is given as it could be deciphered; language does not appear to be Sanskrit:

ॐ श्री सरस्वतीविलासपु समग्रं वासुदेव शास्त्रुकून् वारिचेति किंचोच्छेशौरकैयच्छव्रं स्तकं-ग्नदि तारणसंवत्सरो श्रीजेष्ठुग्न सोमवारं नातु-रात्रि-सरस्वतीविलासप्रारंभः ।। शुभं भवतु ।।

(*oṁ śrī sarasvatīvilāsapu samagraṁ vāsudeva śāstrukūn vāriceti kiñcoccheśaurakaiyacchavraṁ stakaṁ-gnadi tāraṇasaṁvatsaro śrījeṣṭhugna somavāraṁ nātu-rātri-sarasvatīvilāsaprāraṁbhaḥ* ।। *śubhaṁ bhavatu* ।।)

Leaf 2

द्वादशसंवादः ?????? ताकपि सप्तमि एकादशीना तु सप्तमि ये ते घटय ... (*dvādaśasaṁvādaḥ ?????? tākapi saptami ekādaśīnā tu saptami ye te ghaṭaya* ...) from here, जीविनां वेश्यास्त्रीणामङ्लकारान् वाह्यमातोद्यजीवनाम् । (*jīvināṁ veśyāstrīṇāmaṁlakārān vālıyamātodya jīvanām* ।)

यस्य यस्योपकरणं येन जीवत्ति कारूकाः सर्व-स्वहरणे ह्येतना राजा हन्तुमर्हति मृतांगलग्नविक्रेतुर्गुरो स्तायतुस्तथा राजयानासनारोद्धुदेण्ड उत्तमसाहसम् ।।

स्मृत्यंतरमपि दंड द्विजातिलिंगिनश्शूद्रान् घातन्मनुरब्रवीत् हस्तेपला ... श्रीरामाय नमः पदयोस्तु ।

(*yasya yasyopakaraṇaṁ yena jīvatti kārūkāḥ sarva-svaharaṇe hyetana rājā hanturmahati mṛtāṅgalagnavikreturguro stāyatustathā rājayānāsanārodḍhudeṇḍa uttamasāhasam)* ।।

smṛtyaṁtaramapi daṇḍa dvijātiliṅginaśśūdrān ghātanmanura bravīta hastepalā .... śrīrāmāya namaḥ padayostu ।

(Here the .... जीविनां (*jīvināṁ*) is the ending part of the quartets ab a verse and हस्तेपला (*hastepalā*) is in the quartets c and d of a verse. With their respective incomplete lines as: आयुधान्यायुधीयानां बाहादीन्वाहय (जीविनाम्) (*āyudhānyāyudhīyānāṁ bāhādīnvāhaya (jīvīnām)*) and (हस्तेपला) पमानं तु कारणेन विभावितम् ।। ((*hastepalā*)*pamānaṁ tu kāraṇena vibhāvitam*). (Moreover, these verses occur in *Sarasvatīvilāsa*, pp. 493-94, chapter

Daṇḍī-vidhiḥ in Vyavahārakāṇḍa, ed. Shama Shastry, Mysore.)

However, it is strange that the above is not noted either in the descripitive catalogue of the Institute or on the card-board casing, though it mentions all the other details noted earlier, even at the time of the acquisition and cataloguing of the MS.

The text of *NP* starts from Leaf No. 3.

The colophon on the last leaf occurs at the end of the second *pāṭhī* thus: इति श्रीमन्नीतिशास्त्रे नीतिप्रकाशिकायां राजव्यापारकथनं नामाष्टमस्सर्गः करकृतमपराधं क्षन्तुमर्हन्तु सन्तः। श्री गोपालकृष्णाय नमः ।।

नीतिप्रकाशिका सेयं सीतारामेण कौतुकात् ।
कल्याणपुर्यां लिखिता परमेश्वरवत्सरे ।।

iti śrīman-nītīśāstre nītiprakāśikāyāṁ rājavyāpārakathanaṁ nāma-aṣṭamassargaḥ kara-kṛtam-aparādhaṁ kṣantum-arhantu santaḥ । śrī gopālakṛṣṇāya namaḥ ।।

nītiprakāśikā seyaṁ sītārāmeṇa kautukāt ।
kalyāṇapuryāṁ likhitā parameśvaravatsare ।।

The colophon occurring at the end of the third *pāṭhī* says: श्रीमन्नीतिप्रकाशिकातत्त्वविवृतौ अष्टमस्सर्गः । (*śrīman-nītiprakāśikā-tattvavivṛtau aṣṭamassargaḥ ।*)

The commentary continues from the first *pāṭhī* into the third:

व्याख्यास्सूर्येन्दुतुल्याः स्युरस्या यद्यपि भो बुधाः।। गृहदीपायतां चेयं तथाप्यर्थविवेचने।। सीतारामकृतेयंमाशु तनुतां मोदं बुधानां रवेर्वारे त्वीश्वरवत्सरे तपत्रयोदश्यां समग्रा पुरे। श्रीबेंग्लूर्वभिधेऽथ कृष्णनृपतौ रत्नासनाधिष्ठिते राज्यं शासति चामराजतनये ह्यात्रेयगोत्रोद् भवे।। श्रीमन्महागणपतये मम गुरवे नमो नमः ।। (*vyākhyāssūryendutulyāḥ syurasyā yadyapi bho budhāḥ ।। gṛhadīpāyatāṁ ceyaṁ tathāpyarthavivecane ।। sītārāmakṛteyamāśu tanutāṁ modaṁ budhānāṁ ravervāre tvīśvaravatsare tapatrayodaśyāṁ samagrā pure। śrībeṅglūrva bhidhe 'tha kṛṣṇanṛpatau ratnāsanādhiṣṭhite rājyaṁ śāsati cāmarājatanaye hyātreyagotrodbhave ।। śrīmanmahāgaṇapataye mama gurave namo namaḥ ।।*)

In this MS is found a feature, characteristic to the MSS from south India, namely, a motif in the margin as well as in the second and the first/third *pāṭhī*s, respectively, indicating

the end of each canto and the commentary. A motif in the text and in the margin suggests the end of *NP* and *TV*, respectively. Further it may be noted that the leaves numbered 2-5, 25-28, and 30-33 are of blue paper. There are markings with a blue pencil also. Moreover, the sizes of the characters are different even on a single page. They neither appear to be very recent, nor very old; their probable date may be placed in the later half of the seventeenth and the early part of the eighteenth centuries CE.

(D) The Introduction makes it evident that Oppert had both these MSS before him when he prepared this edition. However, no clue can be found regarding their existence.

In this first ever edition of *NP* (and having clearly visible fonts) Oppert acknowledges gratitude of a brāhmaṇa who supplied him the manuscript; however he does not provide a specific and meticulous reference to its availability even in GOML, where the learned professor himself was a curator. That it was during Oppert's time the Madras government started the Oriental Manuscripts Library mentioned in *The Madras Tercentenary Commemoration Volume 1939*, page 417, published by the Madras Tercentenary Committee, should be kept in mind here. He prepared the catalogue of the MSS available in the south India in three volumes under the title *Lists of Sanskrit Manuscripts in Private Libraries of Southern India* (printed at the Government Press, Madras) containing the names of 10,421 MSS. Its second volume which has some relevance is published in the year 1885. Here in the section listing the MSS of the then existing private manuscript library at Triplicane. However, as it is untraceable the trail of the MSS used by Oppert appears to be lost.

Oppert observes that this treatise is old in style and language by advancing a few arguments (Introduction, p. 28). However all of them do not hold ground but yet they may be noted in brief:

(a) The illustrations in 1.14a, 4.29c, 4.44c, 5.2d, 6.7b, 8.24b and 8.78a are supposed to disregard *sandhis*, but actually they are true only with respect to Oppert's edition and not in

the other MSS; while at 6.8d द्विधा इति (*dvidhā iti*) is not combined due to metrical purposes.

(b) The irregularities in declension, formation of nouns such as सौवर्णाम् (*sauvarṇām*), qualifying पृथिवीम् (*pṛthivīm*) which is a feminine word (1.36d) and एकविंशत्सहस्राणि (*eka-viṁśat-sahasrāṇi*) (7.24a, 27ab) are correct, while पूर्वराज्ञाम् (*pūrva-rājñām*) that is, the earlier kings and hence is also perfect as genitive plural.

(c) The words मज्जयानं (for मज्जमानं) (*majjayānaṁ* for *majjamānaṁ*) in 1.41b may be considered as a slip of pen in the Pri. Edn. 2 as it is also found in other MSS. Similarly, नाम्य (*nāmya*) in 4.11b and योज्य (*yojya*) in 4.11c are uniform in all the MSS and in their individual contexts agree with the other gerunds referring to the steps in shooting in archery.

(d) However, Oppert is correct about the irregularities with respect to the use of *parasmaipada* and *ātmanepada;* to illustrate, व्रजे (*vraje*) in 2.52b, उत्पतमाने (*utpatamāne*) in 3.16a, लभेत् (*labhet*) in 6.104d, आचक्षेत् (*ācakṣet*) in 8.47d and अपेक्षेत् (*apekṣet*) in 8.52d, which are *ātmanepada* roots. However, the verb लभन्ति (*labhanti*) in 3.40d is corrected in the commentary as लभन्ते (*labhante*). Thus the earlier incorrect form seems to be an error of the scribe.

(E) This edition, though based on the two MSS 3875 and 3878 (our D_1 and T_2), and the first one is from the MS library, we can notice that it deviates from them in the text and the commentary; to illustrate:

(a) In 1.11c, the Pri. Edn. 1 has taken बलिना (*balinā*) in the place of reading कलिना (*kalinā*) offered by D_1.

(b) In the first canto D_1 gives the numbers 21 and 22 to each of these verses, whereas the Pri. Edn. 1 clubs them together as a single verse numbered 21. All the other MSS follow D_1 which is accepted by us.

(c) In 2.31cd though D_1 has 18 syllables by the addition of °कुल° (°*kula*°) after °विमल° (°*vimala*°), the Pri. Edn. 1 does not accept it and gives the line of 16 syllables.

However, we find that D_1 is closer to the Pri. Edn. 2 than to the Pri. Edn. 1. We also find that their numberings and the

way of doing so, giving only the bare text, their close resemblances, markings with blue pencil, the hand-written notes in a running script in English in the text as well as on the opposite page, and the embossed emblem of the University of Madras during the British rule lead one to logically surmise that D_1 probably belonged to Oppert. The notes probably were written during his study of *NP* intended for publication. Moreover, it may also have been the Devanāgarī transcription of one of the MSS he used, for his personal study and for editing it, which is now in the possession of the GOML.

(d) There are discrepancies in the text and the commentary as in 6.48c; the text in the Pri. Edn. 1 accepts *dhātrāṇi* (धात्राणि) but *TV* therein reads *dātrāṇi* (दात्राणि). The printing is not as distinctly here as that of Pri. Edn. 2.

The UR text of *NP* has been reconstructed on the principles for preparing the critical edition by the eminent predecessors in BORI (Pune) and the Oriental Institute (Vadodara), and the suggestions of the scholars referred to in the Preface. Despite this, the text not being a big one with major variations and full commentary in two of its MSS, logical analysis guided me to arrive at its UR version. However, a few of the principles used for the process may be noted, such as:

(a) The Pri. Edn. 1 was accepted as the vulgate as it was based on two its MSS.

(b) The Pri. Edn. 2 also had to be constantly kept in view for the text and the comments of Oppert.

(c) The deviations of the Pri. Edn. 1 from D_1 and T_1 have been checked and compared with the ones in the other MSS. Thereafter, though accepted as vulgate, the deduced appropriate readings both in *NP* and *TV* have been accepted for the UR text and *CTV*.

(d) Logical and appropriate readings of the Pri. Edn. 2 and the MSS have been preferred.

(e) The variations not violating the metrical norms have been accepted.

(f) The *sandhi* rules are followed wherever possible.

(g) The archaic forms are retained if found even in *TV*.

(h) The groupings of verses according to the topics are usually retained.

(i) Following the above, *TV* also has been edited and NP been made more explanatory thereby.

(j) The quotations offered by the commentator are provided with their reference numbers from the related text which if not traced are shown with a question mark.

(k) The last nasal followed by a consonant of the same class is replaced by *anusvāra*. The appropriate nasals in those places have been inserted.

(l) These MSS (Telugu) usually do not have the *avagraha*, its insertion is made wherever necessary.

(m) In Telugu MSS, wherever needed, proper Sanskritized script is used; to illustrate, a character that has two *mātrā*s (one *mātrā* on the top and another beneath it) and also where *repha* is added after the letter instead of putting it at the top of the character.

I.3. Observations from NP and CTV

All the variations among the above printed editions and the MSS have been noted in the critical edition of the text. The following principles (with illustrative examples) have been accepted for reconstructing the final text:

1. The scribe's errors such as:

   (a) सादरान्° . . . (*sādarān*°) in 1.2d is found as ह्यादरान्° (*hy-ādarān*°) in the Pri. Edn. 2 and D_1.

   (b) In 1.24a, the Pri. Edn. 1 reads मुनि (*muni*) while the Pri. Edn. 2 and D_1 read मनु (*manu*).

   (c) In 1.34a, the Pri. Edn. 1 reads नाग (*nāga*) while the Pri. Edn. 2 and T_1 read नग (*naga*).

   (d) In 2.17, the Pri. Edn. 2 gives भिण्डिवाल (*bhiṇḍivāla*) and D_1 विण्डिवाल (*biṇḍivāla*), while T_1 renders it as भिन्दिपाल (*bhindipāla*).

   (e) The Pri. Edn. 1, in 2.20c, gives यौष्टिकं (*yauṣṭikaṁ*), while T_1 gives it as मौष्टिकं (*mauṣṭikaṁ*).

Such cases indicate errors/inability to correctly decipher the original script by the scribes. They have been attended to.

2. There are metrical deviations in the number of letters in the generally used *anuṣṭup* metre (except in 6.111 where the *upajāti* metre is used) so that there may be 15/17/18 letters; to illustrate:

(a) In 1.2c, यं महाराजं (*yaṁ mahārājaṁ*) the Pri. Edn. 1 adds a syllable, while यं भूपालं (*yaṁ bhūpālaṁ*), the Pri. Edn. 2 gives the correct number 16.

(b) In 2.31cd, the Pri. Edn. 2 and D_1 have 18 syllables due to addition of the word °कुल° (°*kula*°).

(c) The 5.28ab has 17 syllables in all the MSS.

(d) In 8.3cd, the Pri. Edn. 1 तस्मादभिभवेद्राजा सर्वभूतानि तेजसा (*tasmād-abhibhavet-rājā sarva-bhūtāni tejasā*) has 15 letters.

(e) In 8.24ab, आयव्यये च विज्ञायायत्यभ्युदयं तदा (*āya-vyaye ca vijñāya-āyatyabhyudayaṁ*) also it has 15 letters.

(f) So also in 8.78ab — भेदस्त्रिधान्यतरस्नेहसंपादनं पुरा (*bhedastridhā-anyatara-sneha-saṁpādanaṁ purā*).

(g) On the other hand, in 8.40ab — परिवर्तनाधिकारौश्च कायक्लेशोपपादनैः (*parivartanādhikāraiśca kāyakleśopa-pādanaiḥ*), there are 17 syllables in all the MSS except T_1 where the four-lettered word अधिकार (*adhikāra*) brings the total number of syllables to 16. However, the word परिवर्तन (*parivartana*) is not accepted as here the commentary also uses the same word and not अधिकार (*adhikāra*). Hence this break in metre has to be accepted.

3. Use of the Pāṇinian Grammar:

(a) In 1.7d, बुद्धिदोषतः - पञ्चम्यास्तसिः। (*buddhi-doṣataḥ*) (*pañcamyāstasiḥ* ।) (*Aṣṭādhyāyī* 5.3.7) is quoted to indicate the ablative case.

(b) In 1.23d, च (वासवः) - चकारः समुच्चयार्थकः। (*ca vāsavaḥ*) - *cakāraḥ samuccayārthakaḥ*) justifies the use of the particle च (*ca*).

(c) In 2.30, सुनाभकः सुनाभ एव सुनाभकः । स्वार्थे कप्रत्ययः। (*sunābhakaḥ sunābha eva sunābhakaḥ । svārthe ka-pratyayaḥ* ।) the use of the suffix क (*ka*) is explained.

(d) In 2.32, दैत्यस्तन्नामकः। न तु दितिगर्भसंभृतः। अत्रावयवार्थेनार्थ-ग्रहणन्यायुक्तत्वात् इत्यादि। (*daityastannāmakaḥ। na tu diti-garbhasaṁbhūtaḥ। atra-*

avayavārthena-arthagrahaṇa-nyāya-yuktatvāt ityādi ।) elucidates the term दैत्य (*daitya*) and the indeclinable.

(e) In 2.33, धनरती - धनश्च रतीश्च धनरती। पुल्लिङ्गद्विवचनम्। (*dhana-ratī dhanaśca ratīśca dhanaratī । pulliṅgadvivacanam* ।) the compounded words are separated.

4. Grammatical Variations:

(a) In 1.5c, the Pri. Edn. 1 uses तस्मै (*tasmai*) while the Pri. Edn. 2 and T_1 use तस्मिन् (*tasmin*).

(b) In 1.7c, the Pri. Edn. 1 uses रमताम् (*ramatām*) while T_1 uses रमते (*ramate*).

5. Intentional changes to have been made by the scribe which indicate his and his employer's education and learning. To illustrate:

(a) In 1.10a, the Pri. Edn. 2 has कथा कृताः (*kathā kṛtāḥ*) while T_1 has कथा श्रुताः (*kathā śrutāḥ*).

(b) In 1.11c, the Pri. Edn. 1 has बलिना (*balinā*) whereas the Pri. Edn. 2 and D_1 has कलिना (*kalinā*).

(c) In 1.15a, the Pri. Edn. 1 reads अनाढ्य (*anāḍhya*) whereas the Pri. Edn. 2 and D_1 read असाध्य (*asādhya*).

6. Familiarity with the tradition, Śāstras, Purāṇas and Lexicons:

Sītārāma has very often quoted from the *Nirukta* and the epics, especially from the *Rāmā*. Lexicons of Amara, Vaijayantī and others are profusely referred to. Also, Daṇḍī, Bhāravi and Kālidāsa (to illustrate the definition of kṣatriya from *Raghuvaṁśam* in 1.29cd is referred to as a maxim) are quoted. These can be illustrated as: स्याच्छरीरास्थि कङ्कालः पृष्ठास्थि च कशेरुका इत्युभयत्रामरः।। (*syāt-śarīrāsthi-kaṅkālaḥ pṛṣṭhāsthi ca kaśerukā ity-ubhayatra-amaraḥ* ।।) (*NP* 2.56); पुण्यकर्मा दक्षो वै दक्षिणश्च सः इति भारविः।। (*puṇyakarmā dakṣo vai dakṣiṇaśca saḥ iti bhāraviḥ* ।।) (*NP* 2.2).

Further, at times Sītārāma quotes several lexicographers to support himself. To illustrate, in 5.48, in addition to giving the etymology of the word *śataghnī*, he quotes from Vaijayantī, Keśava and Trikāṇḍaśeṣa (Appendix 3).

However, the Purāṇas are not referred to. Also the quote

from *Vikramāṅkacarita* in *NP* 1.1, regarding *NP*, cannot be found.

7. Insertions of the commentary in between the verses and at times thus splitting the verses, considering the subjects treated (that is, employing method of *ardha-śloka-adhikāra*) introduce the subjects, as at 26, 27c — सार्धश्लोकैकमेकं वाक्यम्।। (*sārdha-ślokaikamekaṁ vākyam* ।।). To illustrate:

(a) In 1.21 when Vaiśampāyana explains the reason for his narration of the tradition of the Nītiśāstra, namely, to show his conversance with it. He often groups a few verses having the same topic. To illustrate, in the fifth canto we find verses 4-5 together in a cluster as they collectively describe the *vajra*. Similarly, in the eighth canto, verses 31-37 are grouped as they list the different types of the offenders of the state.

(b) In 1.29 to show the change of the subject, namely, to bring in the context of the dialogue between Brahmā and Pṛthu.

This recurs throughout the text show the thorough familarity of Sītārāma with the treatise.

8. Explanations of the words/phrases of the text:

The commentator's explanations of the important and necessary words are elucidated properly to project the sense intended by the author, such as —

(a) In 1.4c, the word प्रत्युज्जगाम (*pratyujjagāma*) is explained as प्रत्युज्जगाम अभ्युज्जगाम। मन्त्रिपुरोहितैः सह युक्तः इत्यर्थः। (*pratyujjagāma abhyujjagāma । mantripurohitaiḥ saha yuktaḥ ityarthaḥ* ।). Sītārāma explains it so as to express Janamejaya's respect offered to Vaiśampāyana.

(b) In 1.8b, भद्रपीठे (*bhadrapīṭhe*) is explained as मुन्युपवेशार्थक्लृप्ताष्टकोणयुत-मङ्गलपीठे। (*muni-upaveśārtha-klṛpta-aṣṭakoṇayuta-maṅgalapīṭhe*). This explains the kind of the seat offered to the sages and the holy men.

(c) In 1.11-17, 16a, उदरम्भरिता (*udarambharitā*) is elucidated as स्वार्थः स्वप्रयोजनमुदरम्भरिता कुक्षिपूरणमेव। न त्वैहिकामुष्मिकम्। (*svārthaḥ sva-prayojanam-udarambharitā kukṣi-pūraṇam-eva । na tv-aihika-āmuṣmikam* ।). Here in 1.11-17, the author has elaborated the ethically and morally declined conditions prevalent

during the Kali age, worrying Janamejaya. This word is self-explanatory despite which it is thoroughly explained.

(d) In 2.18, 22-27, the etymological explanations of the following words are lucidly given: धनुः as धन्यते प्रार्थ्यते शूरैरिति धनुः। धनु ध्याने; भिण्डिवालः = भिण्डिमस्त्रधारणं वलयति श्लथयतीति भिण्डिवालः; शक्तिः = शत्रूनर्दयतीति शक्तिः; द्रुघणः = द्रुगुः वृक्षो हन्यतेऽनेनेति द्रुघणः। (*dhanuḥ = dhanyate prārthyate śūrairiti dhanuḥ। dhanu dhyāne; bhiṇḍivālaḥ = bhiṇḍim-astradhāraṇam valayati ślathayati-iti bhiṇḍivālaḥ; śaktiḥ = śatrunardayatīti śaktiḥ; drughaṇaḥ = dguḥ vṛkṣo hanyate 'neneti drughaṇaḥ*). In 5.38, Sītārāma plainly says: मुसलः-मुसलः प्रसिद्धः।। (*musalaḥ-musalaḥ prasidhhaḥ ।*). This weapon is popularly known and hence no commentary is given except for this comment.

9. Outstanding characteristics of *NP* and *TV*:

(a) At 1.1 in the beginning of the commentary, in the second verse after the benedictory stanza, is the word *sudhi°* and the commentary of the first canto also ends with the same word — *sudhi°*. Moreover, in the colophon of *TV* of the fifth canto, he uses the word *sūri* for himself. These indicate the confidence of the author and the commentator in the intelligentsia.

(b) In 1.23, स्कन्दः (*skandaḥ*) is explained as सुब्रह्मण्यः (*subrahmaṇyaḥ*). As this name of Kārttikeya is prevalent only in southern India, it is indicative of the origin of, at least, the commentator Sītārāma in that part of the country.

(c) In 1.26b, 27d — The use of the adjective *mahāmatiḥ* twice for Veda Vyāsa is noteworthy as also the use of the adjective *bhagavān* for him immediately in 1.26c, which speak of the supreme importance given to the sage in *NP*.

(d) मारकः-मारः माहेश्वरीमायादिरूपः (*mārakaḥ-māraḥ māheśvarī-māyādirūpaḥ*) is the phrase occurring at the end of *CTV* on *NP* 1.53 with reference to a verse quoted from *KNS* 14.20 on the topic of natural and man-made calamities; the word *māraka* comes in the list of the five natural calamities. It is often considered as a local deity of deadly diseases like plague and others killing people. (It is known as *marakī* or *mahāmārī* in Gujarati.)

As mentioned above, Sītārāma interprets this as — "in the form of the *māyā* of Maheśvara". Māra is accepted in the Indian tradition as the god of love. Metaphorically, therefore, he is shown to be the greatest enemy of Prince Gautama (Buddha) whom he overcame before he attained Realization. Hence the Buddhist tradition interprets it as the destroyer, the evil one, tempting men to indulge in their passions. Sītārāma's interpretation and correlation of *māyā* as the power of the Lord Śiva or Maheśvara and its correlation of *māraka* with *māra* refers to the untrue worldly appearances leading man away from Him. This application of a philosophical term in the context of polity is indeed interesting. However, it helps us to arrive at the probabilities of Sītārāma being a Śaivite (evident from his father's name being Nañjuṇḍa), his familiarity with Buddhism, Saivism and multiple branches of knowledge (vide the use of the term *sudhīndra* in *CTV* 1.1), and his acquaintance with the method of commenting on technical text by elaborating personal thoughts and points of views through the elucidative, simple and yet scholastic commentary.

However, it would be fair to surmise that thereby is reflected a holistic view of the issue at hand (and not study in isolation) through the use of such words and phrases on the part of Sītārāma.

(e) There is a profuse use of quotations and elaborate elucidations of the verses 1.38 on *DV* and its structure, 1.46 about the *sanihārāstra*s and 1.48-53 about the different aspects of *Arthaśāstra* which show a thorough knowledge and familiarity of the commentator with the subjects he is dealing with in this technical text. The abundant quotes from the epics especially *Rāmā*, *KNS* and *SNS* support this argument.

(f) We can see the influence of the southern languages in the use of the character ळ (*ḷa*) instead of ल (*la*) in the text and the commentary. It clearly indicates the southern origin of *NP* and *TV*; for example, the word गुळिका (*guḷikā*) (*NP* 4.45c) in the Pri. Edn. 1 is found as गुलिका (*gulikā*) in the Pri. Edn. 2, D_1 and T_1 in 3.45 and 4.45. Also in 2.27, the word शोभा (*śobhā*) is explained as एकेनैव झळझळायमानता (*ekenaiva*

jhaḷajhaḷāyamānatā). Here ळ (*ḷa*) is preferred spontaneously to ल (*la*); so also in 4.40a. नलिका (*nalikā*) in the commentary is नळिका (*naḷikā*) and in 4.45d we have गुलिका (*gulikā*) but in the commentary it is गुळिका (*guḷikā*).

(g) The use of the words from polity such as तीर्थ (*tīrtha*) (1.51c in commentary the Pri. Edn. 1) as तीर्थानि मन्त्रिप्रभृतीरष्टादश (*tīrthāni mantri-prabhṛtīraṣṭādaśa*), त्रिविधं बलम् (*trividhaṁ balam*) (*NP* 1.52d), पार्ष्णिमूलम् (*pārṣṇimūlam*) and पार्ष्णिग्राहकम् (*pārṣṇigrāhakam*) (*NP* 1.53c), द्वादशविधं मण्डलम् (*dvādaśavidhaṁ maṇḍalam*) (*CTV* on *NP* 1.53c), दैवं व्यसनं पञ्चविधम् । मानुषं पञ्चविधम् (*daivaṁ vyasanaṁ pañcavidham । mānuṣaṁ pañcavidham*) (*NP* 1.53), स्वमूलं स्वराज्यम् (*svamūlaṁ svarājyam*) (*NP* 1.54), सप्तोपायाः (*saptopāyāḥ*) (*NP* 1.49b), अष्टौ कर्माणि (*aṣṭau karmāṇi*) (*NP* 1.51 in the commentary), अष्टाङ्गसंयुता चतुर्विधबला चमूः (*aṣṭāṅgasaṁyutā caturvidhabalā camūḥ*) (*NP* 1.55b) and so on shows the commentator's thorough knowledge of *Arthaśāstra*.

(h) There is use of uncommon words like पोथयन्, झर्झरयन् (*pothayan, jharjharayan*) in 2.23d, दैतेय (*daiteya*) in 2.45b, 48b, गजयन्तुः (*gajayantuḥ*) for mahout in *NP* 7.40a and others in *NP*.

(i) In 2.25, 28b and 32 different postures/movements, or *karaṇa*s are explained individually.

(j) In 6.89a we find नियुतं लक्षम् (*niyutaṁ lakṣam*) explained through quotation from *Kāmandaka-ṭīkā* which shows the deep study of the commentator of the subject.

(k) We find variation in the name of the father of the weapons. *NP* 1.44 mentions him as Bhṛśaśva while in *NP* 4.10 he is referred to as Kṛśāśva; *TV* on *NP* 1.44 notes it as a variation. It is noteworthy here that *Rāmā* 2.26 and 27 enlist all the *śastra*s and *astra*s, to be given to Rāma by Viśvāmitra, are mentioned as the sons of Kṛśāśva and Jayā (*Rāmā* 2.25.18). Thus though both the variations may have been prevalent, the use of both within the text is strange.

(l) At some places the references and verses quoted by *TV* cannot be found. To illustrate, *TV* on *NP* 7.20 quotes six verses from *Mbh* Udyoga-Parva. The commentary mentions them to be from its chapter 54; however, the Ślokānukramaṇī of *Mbh* (Nag Prakashan, Delhi, 1972) puts

the first three verses in chapter 155.16, 17 and 18; while the remaining three verses are not to be found there. (A question mark is put when the reference could not be found.)

(m) At times, the references given in *TV* are found with some differences, as *TV* on *NP* 6.53d quotes Amara for बलिश (*baliśa*) as बडिश (*baḍiśa*).

(n) The commentator is, at times, aware of variations which he himself notes; to illustrate, in enumeration of *astra*s at NP 2. 22c, he notes: शूलवतं शूलवतनामकम् । followed by its variation as: क्वचिच्छूलबरमिति वा पाठ : ।

10. The frequent use of the terms *niṣka* and *varva* for currency is noteworthy. The word *niṣka* denoting a currency is known as an ornament in the tradition since ancient times. The other words denoting currencies *sāṇa* said to be synonymous with *karṣa* (*NP* 6.52) again are well-known terms. Here one may remember that the smallest unit of currency *māṣa* was equal to 5 *guñjā*s, 16 *māṣas* were equal to 400 *guñjā*s. Further *sāṇa* was equal to one-fourth *suvarṇa;* it was made of silver while the *karṣa* weighed 80 *guñjā*s (Shastri and Parikh, *Bhāratīya Sikkāśāstra*, 1979: 36-37). A new term used for currency at 6.89 and elsewhere is *varva*. *CTV* explains it as a gold coin equal to 28 *guñjā*s. Sītārāma quotes *Medinī* in his support saying that either it is a big silver coin or is identical with *niṣka;* hence it denotes a gold coin (also in *NP* 7.39). Shastri and Parikh refer to the south Indian coins minted after tenth century CE (p. 42). Among these currencies was *varāha* which was in gold. It was called so as it had the emblem of the boar on it. It was in vogue during the reigns of the Pallava and the Sātavāhana kings (sixth–ninth centuries CE). This was later prevalent in the times of the Kadambas, Cāḷukyas, Yādavas, Hoyasaḷas and others. It is also referred to with reference to the Woḍeyārs of Mysore (Sampath, *The Untold . . .*, p. 438). (Could this word have been localized as *varva*?) This was replaced by the emblem of a temple which was called by the Europeans as "pagoda". This suggests the early part of the seventeenth century when the British East India Company was fully established. Oppert observes, "The value of the *varva* which is an ancient coin, is difficult to determine." (Oppert, *On the Weapons . . .*, chap. 1, p. 7, fn. 8.)

11. In 6.46a, we find the use of the word *palyāṇi* that is *palyana* explained by taking the support of Amara as *palyayana* (Appendix IV.3). This word is used in Gujarati even today as *palāṇa* having the same connotation.

12. We further find in *NP* 7.55 that the author mentions the east (*prācī*) as the direction of fear (that is, any direction from which fear from the enemy may be faced is called so); in such a circumstance only *sūci* or *vakra vyūha* could be formed to offer a stronger resistance to the enemy.

13. (a) The colophon of T_1 is similar to that in the MS 3 in B (which is untraceable) as referred to in the *Descriptive Catalogue* of the ORI, Mysore. Both refer to the following historical facts, namely, (a) the date (*tapa-trayodaśyām*), the day (*ravervāraḥ*) and the year (*īśvara-vatsara*), (b) the city (*beṅgalurū abhidhe pure*) and (c) the ruler (Kṛṣṇarāja, the son of Chāmarāja who reigns from the *Ratnāsana*) when it was written. The fourth point is a clear

Gregorian Year	*Date*	*Hindu Almanac*
CE 1637	25 June	*Āṣāḍha śukla trayodaśī*
	9 July	*Āṣāḍha kṛṣṇa trayodaśī*
CE 1697	22 May	*Jyeṣṭha śukla trayodaśī*
	6 June	*Jyeṣṭha kṛṣṇa trayodaśī*
	17 October	*Kārttika śukla dvādaśī* and *trayodaśī*
CE 1757	15 May	*Vaiśākha kṛṣṇa dvādaśī* and *trayodaśī*
	25 September	*Adhika Āśvina śukla trayodaśī*
CE 1758	22 January	*Pauṣa śukla trayodaśī*
CE 1817	30 March	*Caitra śukla trayodaśī*
	27 July	*Adhika śukla trayodaśī*
	21 December	*Mārgaśīrṣa śukla trayodaśī*
CE 1877	24 November	*Jyeṣṭha śukla trayodaśī*
	18 November	*Kārttika śukla trayodaśī*

indication of the commentator Sītārāma hailing from the State of Mysore. (He may also probably have been under his patronage.) The third point refers to the Jovian Year Cycle or the *Bṛhaspati-saṁvatsara-cakra*. Based on the revolution of the Jupiter around the sun in twelve years, it consists of the cycle of sixty years. We can, therefore, present the probable span of period during which the MS has been written the day being a Sunday:

(a) The same *īśvara-vatsara* appears after 60 years, that in Śaka Saṁvat 1859, that is, in CE 1937. This is too late as the MS had been procured in CE 1917.

It follows from this that the scribe of this MS had copied it from the original that is lost to us now. Further, Mahīdhara (*YV* 15.57) says — *tapaḥ māghaḥ tapasyaḥ phālgunaḥ* (तपः माघः तपस्यः फाल्गुनः); thus when each month has its name, we find that *tapaḥ* stands for the month of Māgha. Sir Monier-Williams refers to the same when he gives the same meaning, that is, as the name of the month intervening between winter and spring; thus its connotation is identical. *Amarakośa* (1.4.16) also says *tapaḥ māghaḥ* (तपः माघः).

However, V.S. Apte quotes *Śiśupālavadha* (6.63) where the word *tapa* (adjective) means summer — the hot season, and *tapas* (noun) as the month of Māgha. In the colophon of the MS T_1 this thirteenth day is called *tapa-trayodaśī* in the *saṁvatsara* called *īśvara*. This is twelfth year in this cycle of calendar years. Further, in the fivefold division of *tithi*s it falls under *jayā* or *vijaya* (victory). This is symbolic in view of *NP* having the aim of achieving triumph over the evil effects of Kaliyuga. Moreover, in the Śaivite tradition the thirteenth day of the bright half of the month has *pradoṣa* while that of the dark half of the month is considered as Śivarātri.

(b) The city where the MSS were written was Bangalore referred to as Bengaluru. It was acquired by the Woḍeyār·king Cikkadevarāya (CE 1673–1704) in CE 1687; since then it formed an integral part of the history of Mysore. Moreover, it always remained a coveted township representing political supremacy in south India (and also between the Woḍeyārs and the Marāṭhās under Śivāji). It appears that the scribe or

the commentator himself was a resident of this city which he mentions in two MSS.

(c) The reign then was that of Chāmarāja Woḍeyār's son Kṛṣṇarāja of the Ātreya *gotra*. The kings of the Woḍeyār dynasty had inherited the Hindu tradition after the downfall of the Vijayanagara Empire. Naturally, therefore, as is well known in history, Sanskrit had been given a prime importance among them. Besides the kings the army generals (*dalavoys*) too were scholars of Sanskrit. One of them was Nañjarājayya under Immaḍi Kṛṣṇarāja Woḍeyār who was a great scholar of Sanskrit and translated as well as wrote many Sanskrit works. Mummaḍi Kṛṣṇarāja Woḍeyār (CE 1799–1831), the son of Khasa Chāmarāja Woḍeyār IX was a great scholar of Sanskrit and Kannaḍa despite being a weak ruler. This tradition of Sanskrit learning and writing continued in nineteenth century along with the flourishing Kannada and Telugu literatures.

In this context comes the reference to the Bejewelled, Golden Throne or *chinnaḍa* or *ratna siṁhāsana* of Mysore called *bhadrāsana* referred to as *ratnāsaṅa* in the colophons of both these MSS. The throne of the Woḍeyārs is of a great historical importance; it has been in fact the crown jewel and pride of Mysore. Tradition ascribes its ownership to the Pāṇḍavas; it was hidden after their death and then was brought to Andhra Pradesh. Thereafter it was revealed by Vidyāraṇya to Harihara I who established the Vijayanagara State. The Emperor Veṅkaṭarāya of Vijayanagara gave this throne to Rājā Woḍeyār in the year 1609-10 as a gesture of his prominent feudatorship. Thereafter it remained the official throne of Mysore kings. Aurangzeb gave autonomy to Mysore in CE 1700 and sent a letter of recognition giving the right to hold *darbār* seated on the "celebrated throne of the Pāṇḍavas" (Sampath, *Splendours of . . .*, p. 10).

I.4. The Author and the Commentator

The Author Vaiśampāyana

The author of *NP* is the sage Vaiśampāyana. According to the ancient Indian mythological tradition he was the second of the four

disciples of Veda Vyāsa and received *YV* from him. The Taittirīya branch of *YV* belonged to him. Hence in *NP* we find some references to Veda Vyāsa suggesting a great regard and respect from him: *mahā-tapāḥ* (one who performs great penance) (1.2d), *saṁśrita-vrataḥ* (he whose austerities are severe) (1.3b), *mahā-muniḥ* (great sage) (1.d), the narrator of the *rājadharma*s in *Mbh* (1.10a), *mahā-ṛṣiḥ* (great seer) (1.19b), *mahā-matiḥ* (of great intellect) (1.26d, 27b).

Moreover, he was a narrator of *Mbh* (*Bhāratīyā Saṁhitā*) to Janamejaya at the behest of his *guru* Veda Vyāsa (*Mbh* 1.1.16-19). Hence we find Janamejaya mentioning in *NP* that though he has heard about *rājadharma*s from him in *Mbh*, he wishes to hear them again (*NP* 1.10). Vaiśampāyana, therefore, informs him that this was the purpose of his visit and imparts him the same knowledge along with great emphasis on the art and science of *DV* for his better governance of the state and the society in the Kaliyuga (*NP* 1.20). However, though he visits Janamejaya of his own accord for this purpose he awaits the query from the king (*NP* 1.2, 3, 41) as knowledge should not be imparted till the disciple is keen to have it.

Vaiśampāyana thus comes in *NP* as the narrator of the *Rāja-nīti-śāstra*. He is shown here as the last, rather the exponent of the current version of this Śāstra in the form of *NP* — the work he is narrating by the request of Janamejaya. Thus we find him at the end of the long, glorious and ancient tradition of this science originally evolved by Brahmā in one lakh chapters condensed into just eight (*NP* 1.21-28).

The above-mentiond facts point out at the narrative skills of the sage in the form of the tradition of Nītiśāstra and the smooth way to introduce the subject through the dialogue between Brahmā and Pṛthu (Vainya — the son of Vena), on the same subject and who also followed the same method of imparting the knowledge. Brahmā too had approached Pṛthu and expounded this science. Further, the underlying motive was the welfare of the society through good and efficient governance. *NP* mentions that Pṛthu was one such great king (*NP* 1.20-36). This implies the sage's trust in the king. After fulfilling his mission, Vaiśampāyana returns to his *guru* (*NP* 8.99-100).

Despite the above tradition and linking the present work to *Mbh*, Vaiśampāyana's authorship of *NP* seems to be an effort to

extol the work and its value. Though Oppert's ascription of the authorship to him (section I.3), and thus putting it in the class of works of *Mbh* and *Harivaṁśa* with considerable antiquity (Pri. Edn. 2, Introduction, p. 2) is doubtful. In fact, the author has borrowed several verses from *MS*, *SNS*, *KNS* and such related texts or sections of texts (see chapter I.6) that the antiquity of this work raises a doubt.

Of course, the fact that the author never uses any word of Islamic influence in the text is no argument to support the antiquity (see below under Commentator also for this point in this section). Further, the use of the epic metre, namely, *anuṣṭup* and the arguments of Oppert too are unable to support his own view, nor the irregularities he has shown in his footnotes (Pri. Edn. 2, Introduction, p. 28) hold validity.

Another argument to this effect is that we do not find a reference to *NP* in any parallel work, noted by the professor himself (ibid.) except for the one made by Sītārāma in his commentary on *NP* 1.1 to Vikramārkacarita where *NP* is referred to *aṣṭādhyāyavatīm nītim* (Treatise on Polity Having Eight Cantos). (My efforts in this direction to support the professor have proved futile.)

The Commentator Sītārāma

Coming from the Kauṇḍinya *gotra* and born of a scholarly father named Nañjuṇḍa, Sītārāma commences to elucidate *NP* through his commentary *TV* — *nañjuṇḍākhyaḥ budhaḥ-tadīya-tanujaḥ* (*CTV* 1.1, 2). His father's name is clearly indicative of his Śaivite background (for, especially in Kannada, *nañj* means "poison" and *uṇḍa* is the affix denoting the act of eating); thus the name stands for Śiva whose throat is blue owing to drinking poison (Nīlakaṇṭha being the Sanskrit synonymn for it). His ardent devotion for Him is evident from the use of the word *bhaktyā natvā* — bowing down with devotion to Jagannātha and others, that is, other deities and *gurus*) at the commencement of *TV*.

Here though Sītārāma humbly says that he is composing this commentary according to his capacity, in the very second verse of *TV* he voices his confidence in his scholarship and ability to do so; this is projected through the use of the terms *simhaḥ, sudhīndra agraṇīḥ* (lion, the foremost among the excellent scholars). Here he

describes himself as the lion desirous of fame in the form of pearls obtained by crushing the temples of the mighty elephants; the might for him is that of learning and speech which are his gifts. The second hemistitch of the second verse referring to his prayers to the scholars reveals his courtesy as well as the confidence of his own scholarship for the elucidation of the subject under discussion. Here, one is reminded of the similar *darpokti* of Jagannātha (*Bhāminīvilāsa* 1.2).

Sītārāma is justified in calling himself as leading the scholars of his times at the beginning of the commentary; for, observations show that the style of Sītārāma is simple, elucidative, direct and highly commendable for the subject of the text. He is conversant with and in full command of the subject he is discussing. Moreover, he seizes appropriate opportunities to project his scholarship whenever possible, such as in *CTV* on *NP* 1.48-49, 53, where he gives a detailed analysis of the subject under discussion with profuse quotations from the epics, *KNS* and other related works. Further his familiarity with several lexicons and other works is also evident by the profuse quotations he has given in *TV*. Hence at times, we do feel, his claim of a great scholar is justified.

The suggestions of the colophons of T_1 and B.3 (untraceable) regarding the date, time, year and other details inform us that Sītārāma probably wrote *TV* in Bangalore in the year CE 1697 on *tapa-trayodaśī* when Chāmarāja ruled the State of Mysore (see I.3, 14a). Moreover the use of the words Skanda as Subrahmaṇya, *ḷa* for *la* (see I.4.127) confirms his origin and residence in south India, especially Karnataka.

Further, the use of the word *mlechha-bhāṣā*, namely, *pīrudāna*, to elucidate the term *patadgrāha* for the spittoon used after eating the betel leaf and its shape (*NP* 6.54) to be taken to the battlefield among the list of the indispensable items for the army exhibits the commentator's knowledge of the Persian words and vessels which had been of daily use among the people. Further, this fact also is suggestive of the south regions where the betel creeper and the nuts grow in plenty.

Moreover, the name of his father is also suggestive of his being a devotee of Śiva. However, the commentator's name Sītārāma and the fillers like *śrī gopālakṛṣṇāya namaḥ* in T_1 indicate the influence of

Vaiṣṇavism too. They suggest the coexistence of Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism. Karnataka is known for its tradition of the Smārta School of Ādi Śaṅkarācārya which includes the worship of Śiva and other deities like Sūrya, Śakti, and other deities too (*deva-pañcāyatanam*) are simultaneously worshipped. In addition to this, the commentator's far-fetched extension of the meaning of the word *māra* also confirms his scholarship and knowledge of Buddhist philosophy.

Thus it can be very safely said that Sītārāma was a southern brāhmaṇa, a great scholar full of confidence and self-esteem, knowing the art of writing subtle and yet simple commentaries, with a thorough knowledge of the tradition. On this basis, I am inclined to think that Sītārāma's pride and self-esteem could have been a reason prompting him to take up such an elucidation of a rare work like *NP* which is not only technical but also not much known nor referred to in the literary tradition. One may further tend to think that he could have been a compiler of this work.

I.5. Subject in Brief

As noted earlier, *NP* is a treatise delineating *Nītiśāstra — rājanīti* and *dhanurvidyā;* the latter here comes in with a specific purpose.

NP consists of eight cantos, either called *sargas* or *adhyāyas* variedly in different editions and MSS. It opens with introducing the sage Vaiśampāyana visiting Janamejaya at Takṣaśilā with his disciples. After the due formalities, the king requests him to impart the knowledge of *DV* to effectively control and govern the society depraved of moral and ethical values due to the influence of Kaliyuga. Vaiśampāyana reveals this to be his purpose of visit and then starts his narration by introducing the king to its long and ancient tradition of which he was the last editor. He, however, then leads Janamejaya into the narration through the dialogue between Brahmā and Pṛthu (Vainya), the former being the first exponent of this tradition in the Kṛta age.

The weapons are said to have originated from the sage Bhṛśāśva and Jayā as well as Suprabhā. Jayā gave birth to all the arms and missiles while the latter became the mother of the powerful and unapproachable *saṁhāra* weapons.

Brahmā advises Pṛthu to accept from him the entire *DV* to protect his subjects well along with the full knowledge of all the principles, qualities, strengths, weaknesses, and other details of polity. Thereafter march against an enemy can be undertaken again with complete knowledge of the one's own arm as well as that of the enemy. The ultimate goal is to emerge victorious.

The first canto ends with Brahmā preparing himself to impart *DV* to Pṛthu.

Hence the second canto opens with the instruction of *DV*. *DV* is described with its divisions and the presiding *mantra* to gain victory and form for war. Here the weapons are divided into four categories — *mukta* like bow, arrow, *bhiṇḍivāla* and others totalling to 12 weapons; *amukta* comprising of 20 weapons like *vajra, īlī, paraśu* and others; *mukta-amukta* which are twofold — *sopasaṁhāra* and *upasaṁhāra* weapons which are 44 and 55, respectively; and *mantra-mukta* weapons which are six in number but are irresistible and extremely powerful. All these are of both offensive and defensive nature. There is also a distinction between the common weapons and missiles, between counter-projectiles and some other more powerful weapons. This enumeration is followed by the story of the sage Dadhīci who accepted his body to become the depository of 32 weapons of the gods and how he gave them up. This canto ends with a direct address to Janamejaya by referring to the earlier dialogue.

The third canto opens with Pṛthu's request to Brahmā to narrate the origin of the sword and its movements through the legend of Śiva. The entire canto is devoted to this topic ending with the glorification of listening to the myth of the sword.

The fourth and the fifth cantos respectively open with the descriptions of the first two limbs of *DV*. The fifth canto ends with enumeration of the terrible weapons which shall be used in Kaliyuga, but actually are not to be used in ordinary circumstances. However, their use against certain barbarous warring tribes such as the Hūṇas, the Pulindas and others is strongly recommended for the sake of implementing *dharma* in the world.

The sixth canto describes the military arrays, their formations, parts, the composition of the army, use of the various sections of

the army, qualifications of the various officers, system of promotion pension-grants, employment of different artisans and other matters related to the army. It ends with the glorification of the topic.

The seventh canto begins with the enumeration of the nine different divisions of the army, namely, *patti, senāmukha, gulma* and so on. Thereafter, *NP* lays down giving banners to different corps to distinguish between the two fighting armies, pay to be given to the officers of various ranks on monthly basis, rewards and awards to soldiers for their brave feats, advisable time for march, precautions to be taken during encampments, punishments for breaking rules during wars, spy network and several such detailed issues. This ends with the pronouncement of the gain of the fruit of 100 sacrifices by the king if he punishes the offender and releases the righteous.

The entire eighth canto is devoted to the delineation of the *rājadharma*s or the general and routine duties of the king in the government and administration of the state. It ends with the departure of Vaiśampāyana to his *guru* and the King Janamejaya effectively administering the state as per his instructions.

I.6: Parallel Verses

	Nītiprakāśikā	*Manu Smṛti*	
7.45:	न कूटैरायुधैर्हन्याद्युध्यमानो रणे रिपून् । दिग्धैरग्न्युज्वलैर्यन्त्रैस्तन्त्रैश्चैव पृथग्विधैः ।।	7.90ab:	Identical
7.46:	न हन्याद्वृक्षमारूढं न क्लीबं न कृताञ्जलिम् । न मुक्तकेशं नासीनं न तवाऽस्मीति वादिनम् ।।	7.91:	Identical
7.47:	न प्रसुप्तं न प्रणतं न नग्नं न निरायुधम् । नायुध्यमानं पश्यन्तं न परेण समागत् ।।	7.92:	न प्रसुप्तं न for सुप्तं
7.48:	आयुधव्यसनम्प्राप्तं नार्तं नातिपरीक्षितम् । न हीनं परावृतं च वल्मीकमाश्रितम् ।।	7.93:	नायुधव्यसनप्राप्तं नार्तं नातिपरिक्षतम् । न भीतं न परावृत्तं सतां धर्ममनुसरन्।।
7.51b:	कुर्याद्यात्रां महीपतिः ।	7.182b:	कुर्याद्यात्रां for यायाद्यात्रां ।
cd:	फाल्गुने वापि चैत्रे वा यदा पश्येद्ध्रुवं जयम् ।।	7.182cd:	यदा पश्येदभुवं जयम् ।।
7.54ab:	यतश्च भयमाशङ्केत्ततो विस्तारयेद् बलम् ।	7.188ab:	यतश्च भयमाशङ्केत्तत्र विस्तारयेद्बलम् ।।
7.54cd:	सेनापतिबलाध्यक्षौ सर्वदिक्षु निवेशयेत् ।।	7.189ab:	Identical
7.55ab:	यतश्शङ्का भवेद्भीतस्तां प्राचीं कल्पयेद्दिशम्।	7.189cd:	Identical
7.56:	गुल्मांश्च स्थापयेदाप्तान् कृतसंज्ञान् समन्ततः । स्थाने युद्धे च कुशलानभीरूनभिघातिनः ।।	7.190:	Identical
7.58ab:	उपजप्यानुपजपेद्भैद्यांश्चैव विभेदयेत् ।	7.197b:	बुद्ध्येतैव च तत्कृतम् for भैद्यांश्चैव विभेदयेत्
8.1ab:	राजधर्मान्प्रवक्ष्यामि यथावृत्तो भवेन्नृपः ।	7.1ab:	Identical
	लोकरञ्जनमेवात्र राज्ञो धर्मस्सनातनः ।।	cd:	संभवश्च तथा तस्य सिद्धिश्च परमा यथा ।।

Parallel Verses (cont.)

	Nītiprakāśikā	*Manu Smṛti*
8.3:	अष्टाभिर्लोकपालानां मात्राभिर्निर्मितो यतः । तस्मादभिभवेद्राजा सर्वभूतानि तेजसा ।।	7.4: Identical
8.4:	सोऽग्निर्भवति वायुश्च सोऽर्कस्सोमस्स धर्मपः । स कुबेरस्स वरुणः स महेन्द्रः प्रभावतः ।।	7.7: Identical
8.5:	बालोऽपि नावमन्तव्यो मनुष्य इति भूमिपः । महती देवता ह्येषा नररूपेण तिष्ठति ।।	7.8: Identical
8.6:	एकमेव दहत्यग्निर्नरं दुरुपसर्पिणम् । कुलं दहति राजाग्निस्सपशुद्रव्यसञ्चयम् ।।	7.9: Identical
8.7:	तस्य प्रसादे पद्म श्रीर्विजयश्च पराक्रमे । मृत्युश्च वसति क्रोधे तस्मात्सर्वाश्रयस्तु सः ।।	7.11a: यस्य for तस्य b: सर्वतेजोमयो हि सः for तस्मात्सर्वाश्रयस्तु सः।
8.9:	उत्थायापररात्रेषु चिन्तयेदर्थनिर्णयम् । गुणदोषान् स्वयं बुद्ध्वा कर्तव्यार्थे प्रसन्नधीः ।।	7.145: उत्थाय पश्चिमे यामे कृतशौचः समाहितः । हुताग्निर्ब्राह्मणांश्चार्च्य प्रविशेत्स शुभां सभाम् ।।
8.11:	नित्यकर्म समाप्याथ नित्यदानं विधाय च । त्रैविद्यवृद्धान्नत्वा तु तिष्ठेदेषाञ्च शासने ।।	7.37ab: ब्राह्मणान्पर्युपासीत प्रातरुत्थाय पार्थिवः । cd: विदुषः for नत्वा
8.12:	तेभ्योऽधिगच्छेद्विनयं विनीतात्मा हि नित्यशः । वनस्थाश्चैव राज्यानि विनयात्प्रतिपेदिरे ।।	7.39ab and 7.40cd: Identical
8.13b:	इन्द्रियाणां जये योगमधितिष्ठेद्दिवानिशम् । जगकज्जितेन्द्रियस्येदं वशे भवति नित्यदा ।।	7.44b: समातिष्ठेत् for अधितिष्ठेत् cd: जितेन्द्रियो हि शक्नोति वशे स्थापयितुं प्रजाः।।
8.17:	यस्य शूद्रस्तु कुरुते राज्ञो धर्मविवेचनम् । तस्य सीदति तद्राष्ट्रं पङ्के गौरिव पश्यतः ।।	8.20ab: Identical

8.18:	मौलाञ्छास्त्रविदश्शूरांल्लब्धलक्षान् कुलोद्भवान् । सचिवान् सप्त चाष्टौ वा कुर्वीत सुपरीक्षकान् ।।	7.54b:	कुलोद्गतान् for कुलोद्भवान्
8.19:	सुमन्त्रिणः प्रकुर्वीत द्वौ वा त्रीन्यायवादिनः । तैस्सार्धं चिन्तयेदर्थान् प्रजाहितपरो नृपः ।।	7.60:	अन्यानपि प्रकुर्वीत शुचीन्प्राज्ञानवस्थितान् । सम्यगर्थसमाहर्तृनमात्यान्सुपरीक्षितान् ।।
8.21:	दूतं चैव प्रकुर्वीत सर्वशास्त्रविशारदम् । इङ्गिताकारचेष्टज्ञं शुचिं ललाटिंक हितम् ।।	7.63d:	दक्षं कुलोद्गतं for लालाटिंक हितं
8.22:	धर्मशास्त्रानुसारेण समागत्य सपुरोहितः । व्यवहारान्नृपः पश्येद्विद्वद्भिर्ब्राह्मणैस्सह ।।	8.128:	Identical
8.30:	यत्र श्यामो लोहिताक्षो दण्डश्चरति पापहा । प्रजास्तत्र न मुह्यन्ति नेता चेत्साधु पश्यति ।।	7.25:	Identical
8.43:	मृदुर्हि राजा सततं लघुर्भवति सर्वशः । तीक्ष्णाच्चोद्विजते लोकस्तस्मादुभयमाचरेत् ।।	7.140:	Identical
8.46:	ग्रामस्याधिपतिः कार्यो दशग्रामाधिपस्तथा । विंशतीशश्शतेश्च सहस्रेशो नृपेण तु ।।	7.115d:	सहस्रपतिमेव च ।
8.47:	ग्रामीयान् ग्रामदोषांश्च ग्रामिकः परिपालयेत् । तानाचक्षेत दशिने दशको विंशतीश्वरे ।।	7.116:	ग्रामदोषान्समुत्पन्नान् ग्रामिकः शनकैः स्वयम् । शंसेद् ग्रामदशेशाय दशेशा विंशतीशिने ।।
8.48:	विंशतीशश्च तत्सर्वं वृत्तं जानपदे जने । तानाचक्षेत दशिने दशको विनिवेदयेत् ।।	7.117:	विंशतीशस्तु तत्सर्वं शतेशाय निवेदयेत् । शंसेद् ग्रामशतेशस्तु सहस्रपतये स्वयम् ।।
8.49:	यानि ग्रामिकभोज्यानि ग्रामिकस्तान्युपाश्नुते । हिरण्यधान्यभागेन यतो राष्ट्रीयकस्स्मृतः ।।	7.118:	यानि राजप्रदेयानि प्रत्यहं ग्रामवासिभिः। अन्नपानेन्धनादीनि ग्रामिकस्तान्यवाप्नुयात् ।।
8.68:	गिरिपृष्ठं समारुह्य प्रासादं वा रहो गतः । अरण्ये निश्शलाके वा मन्त्रयेत्पृथिवीपतिः ।।	7.147d:	अविभावितः for पृथिवीपतिः

Parallel Verses (cont.)

	Nītiprakāśikā	*Manu Smṛti*
8.70:	यस्य मन्त्रं न जानन्ति समागम्य पृथग्जनाः । स चिरं पृथिवीं भुङ्क्ते कोशहीनोऽपि पार्थिवः ।।	7.148: Identical
8.71:	जडान्धमूकबधिरान् काणशौण्डाधमानपि । स्त्रीम्लेच्छव्याधितव्यङ्गान् मन्त्रकाले विसर्जयेत् ।।	7.149: जडमूकान्बधिरांस्तैर्यग्योनान्वयेतिगान् । स्त्रीम्लेच्छत्याधितव्यङ्गान्मन्त्रकालेऽपसारयेत् ।।
8.80ab:	तदात्वायतिसंयुक्तः सन्धिर्ज्ञेयो द्विलक्षणः ।	7.163cd: Identical
8.81ab:	अमित्रे चैव विकृते द्विविधो विग्रहः स्मृतः ।	7.164cd: मित्रस्य for अमित्रे
8.83ab:	मित्रस्य चानुरोधेन द्विविधं कृतमानसम् ।	7.166cd: Identical
8.84ab:	तद्गुणागुणवेदिभिः	7.167cd: षाड्गुण्यगुणवेदिभि for तद्गुणागुणवेविदिभिः
8.85ab:	अर्थसम्पीडनार्थञ्च	7.168ab: अर्थसम्पादनार्थं च for अर्थसम्पीडनार्थञ्च
8.88ab:	एवं सर्वमिदं राजा सह समन्त्र्य मन्त्रिभिः ।	7.216ab: Identical
8.88cd:	मध्याह्नेऽर्थागमं कृत्वा भोक्तुमन्तःपुरं व्रजेत् ।।	7.216cd: व्यायम्याप्लुत्य मध्याह्ने भोक्तुमन्तः पुरे विशेत्।।
8.89ab:	सुपरीक्षितमन्नाज्ये अद्यान्मन्त्रैर्विषापहे ।	7.217cd: सुपरीक्षितमन्नाद्यमद्यान्ममन्त्रैर्विषापहैः ।।
8.89cd:	भुक्त्वा स विहरेच्चैव स्त्रीभिरन्तःपुरे सह ।।	7.221ab: Identical
8.90cd:	सन्ध्याञ्चोपास्य विधिवदग्निं हुत्वा समाहितः ।।	7.223ab: Identical

	Nītiprakāśikā	*Rāmāyaṇa*
1.44ca:	जया च सुप्रभा चैव दक्षकन्ये महामती ।।	120.15ab: जया च सुप्रभा चैव दक्षकन्ये सुमध्यमे ।

The origin of all the *śastra*s and *astra*s from Bhṛśāśva/Kṛśāśva in *Rāmā* and his two wives Jayā and Suprabhā referred to in *NP* 1.44-45 is found in *Rāmā* 1.20-13-17. This reference occurs in *Rāmā* in the context of the proclamation of Viśvāmitra's greatness as a warrior because he has the knowledge of all of them.

NP verses 2.22-27 and 2.29-36 are found in a order similar to a great extent in *Rāmā* 1.26.4cd-19; 1.27.4-8. These are considered to be *astra*s and *saṁhārāstra*s; in short, divine missiles. In *NP* they occur as the *mukta–amukta* weapons as narrated by Brahmā to Pṛthu and now narrated by Vaiśampāyaṇa to Janamejaya. In *Rāmā* they are narrated by Viśvāmitra to Rāma.

	Nītiprakāśikā	*Mbh (Śāntiparva)*	
1.21:	ब्रह्मा महेश्वरः स्कन्दश्चन्द्रः प्राचेतसो मनुः । बृहस्पतिश्च शुक्रश्च भारद्वाजो महातपाः ।।	12.58.1:	एतत्ते राजधर्माणां नवनीतं युधिष्ठिर । बृहस्पतिर्हि भगवान्नान्यं धर्मं प्रशंसति ।।
1.22:	वेदव्यासश्च भगवांस्तथा गौरशिरा मुनिः । एते हि राजशास्त्राणां प्रणेतारः परन्तपाः ।।	12.58.2:	विशालाक्षश्च भगवानन्यश्चैव महातपाः । सहस्राक्षो महेन्द्रश्च तथा प्राचेतसो मनुः ।।
1.23:	लक्षाध्यायाञ्जगौ ब्रह्मा राजशास्त्रे महामतिः । पञ्चाशच्च सहस्राणि रुद्रस्संक्षिप्य चाब्रवीत् ।।	12.58.3:	भारद्वाजश्च भगवांस्तथा गौरशिरा मुनिः । राजशास्त्रप्रणेतारो ब्रह्मण्या ब्रह्मवादिनः ।।
1.25:	प्राचेतसमुनिश्चापि षट्सहस्राण्यथाब्रवीत् । त्रीण्यध्यायसहस्राणि बृहस्पतिरुवाच ह ।।	12.57.43:	प्राचेतसेन मनुना श्लोकौ चेमावुदाहृतौ । राजधर्मेषु राजेन्द्र ताविहैकमनाः शृणु ।।
3.6:	विशीर्णे कार्मुके राजन्प्रक्षीणेषु च वाजिषु । खड्गेन शक्यते युद्धे साध्वात्मा परिरक्षितुम् ।।	12.160.3:	Identical
3.7:	शरासनधरांश्चैव गदाशक्तिधरांस्तथा । एकः खड्गधरो वीरस्समर्थः प्रतिबाधितुम् ।।	12.160.4:	Identical
3.9:	हिरण्यकशिपुश्चैव हिरण्याक्षो विरोचनः । शम्बरो विप्रचित्तिश्च प्रह्लादो नमुचिर्बलिः ।।	12.160.27:	Identical
3.10d:	देवैर्योद्धुमुपाक्रमन्	12.160.8d:	रेभिरेऽधर्मनिश्चयाः for देवैर्योद्धुमुपाक्रमन्
3.11:	तदा हिमवतश्शृङ्गे नानाधातुविराजिते । शतयोजनविस्तारे पुष्पितद्रुमकानने ।।	12.160.31a, b, d:	पृष्ठे सुरम्ये पद्मतारके मणिमुक्ताचयाचिते ।।

Parallel Verses (cont.)

Nītiprakāśikā		*Mbh (Śāntiparva)*
3.16:	तस्मिन्नुत्पतमाने च प्रचचाल वसुन्धरा । महोर्मिकलिलावर्तश्चुक्षुभे स महोदधिः ।।	12.160.39ab: Identical c: तत्रोर्मिं for महोर्मिं d: च महार्णवः for स महोदधिः
3.17:	पेतुरुल्का दिवो घोराश्शाखाश्च मुमुचुर्द्रुमाः ।। तद्दृष्ट्वा सर्वभूतानि प्राव्यथन्त मुहुर्मुहुः ।।	12.160.4a: महोत्पाताः for घोराश्शाखाः cd: मुहुर्मुहुश्च भूतानि प्राव्यथन्त भयात्तथा ।।
3.18:	महर्षिसुरगन्धर्वानब्रुवं भयविह्वलान् । मयैवं चिन्तितं भूतमसिर्नामेष वीर्यवान् ।।	12.160.41a: मयैतश्च्चिं for महर्षिसुरं d: °नुवाचेदं पितामहः for °नुब्रुवं भयविह्वलान्
3.19:	रक्षणार्थं लोकस्य वधाय च सुरद्विषाम् । ततस्तद्रूपमत्सृज्य बभौ निस्त्रिंश एव सन् ।।	12.160.42cd, 43ab: Identical
3.20ab:	विमलस्तीक्ष्णधारश्च कालान्तक इवोद्यतः ।	12.160.42cd: Identical
3.22cd:	त्रिकूटञ्चर्म चोद्यम्य सविद्युतमिवाम्बुदम् ।।	12.160.49ab: Identical
3.23ab:	चचार विविधान्मार्गान्महाबलपराक्रमः ।	12.160.49cd: Identical
3.30:	विष्णुर्मरीचये प्रादान्मरीचिर्भगवानपि । महर्षिभ्यो ददौ खड्गमृषयो वासवाय च ।।	12.160.65abc: Identical d: वासवाय तु for वासवाय च
3.31:	महेन्द्रो लोकपालेभ्यो लोकपाला ददुश्च तम् । मनवे सूर्यपुत्राय ततस्ते तमथाब्रुवन् ।।	12-160.66b: लोकपालस्तु पुत्रक for लोकपाला ददुश्चतम् d: ददुः खड्गं सुविस्तरम् for ततस्ते तमथाब्रुवन् ।
3.32cd:	असिना धर्मगर्भेण शिक्षयस्व प्रजापते ।	12.160.68 cd: विभज्य दण्डं रक्ष्याः स्युर्धर्मितो न यदृच्छया ।।
3.35:	कृत्तिका तस्य नक्षत्रमसेरग्निश्च देवता । रोहिणी गोत्रमप्यास्य रुद्रस्तस्याधिदैवतम् ।।	12.160.80 b: दैवतम् for देवता c: गोत्रमस्याथ for गोत्रमप्यास्य d: रुद्रश्च गुरुरुत्तमः for रुद्रस्तस्याधिदैवतम्

Parallel Verses (cont.)

	Nītiprakāśikā	*Mbh (Śāntiparva)*
3.36cd:	असिर्विशसनः खड्गस्तीक्ष्णधर्मा दुरासदः ।	12.160.81cd: पाण्डवेय सदा यानि कीर्तयल्लँभते जयम् ।।
3.37ab:	श्रीगर्भो विजयश्चैव धर्ममालस्तथैव च ।	12.160.82cd: Identical
3.38cd:	जयं कीर्तिं लभन्ते ते येऽसिं सम्मृजयन्ति वै ।।	12.160.85ab: तदेतदार्ष माद्रेय प्रमाणं कर्तुमर्हसि ।
8.1cd:	लोकरञ्जनमेवात्र राज्ञो धर्मस्सनातनः ।	12.57.11ab: Identical
8.2:	यथा हि गर्भिणी हित्वा स्वप्रियं मनसोऽनुगम् । गर्भस्य हितमाधत्ते तथा कुर्यात्प्रजाहितम् ।।	12.34.32; 12.56.45: Identical
8.3:	अष्टाभिर्लोकपालानां मात्राभिर्निर्मितो यतः । तस्मादभिभवेद्राजा सर्वभूतानि तेजसा ।	12.56.46: Identical
8.5cd:	महती देवता ह्येषा नररूपेण तिष्ठति ।।	12.68.40cd: Identical
8.8:	अगृढ्विभवा यस्य पुरराष्ट्रनिवासिनः । नयापनयवेत्ता यस्स राजा त्विदमाचरेत् ।।	12.57.34: Identical
8.43:	मृदुर्हि राजा सततं लघुर्भवति सर्वशः । तीक्ष्णाच्चोद्विजते लोकस्तस्मादुभयमाचरेत् ।।	12.56.21: Identical
8.44:	राजानं प्रथमं विन्देत्ततो भार्यां ततो धनम् । राजन्यसति लोकेऽस्मिन्कुतो भार्या कुतो धनम् ।।	12.57.41: Identical
8.46b:	दशग्रामाधिपस्तथा ।	12.88.3b: दशग्राम्यस्तथापरः for दशग्रामाधिपस्तथा
cd:	विंशतीशशतेशश्च सहस्रेशो नृपेण तु ।।	cd: द्विगुणायाः शतस्यैवं सहस्रस्य च कारयेत् ।।
8.47cd:	ग्रामाणां शतपालाय सर्वं वै विनिवेदयेत् ।।	12.88.4: तान्ब्रूयाद्दशपायासौ स तु विंशतिपालाय वै ।।
8.48ab:	विशंतीश्च तत्सर्वं वृत्तं जानपदे जने ।	12.88.5: सोऽपिविंशत्यधिपतिवृत्तं जानपदे जने ।
8.49cd:	हिरण्यधान्यभागेन यतो राष्ट्रीयकस्स्मृतः ।।	12.88.6: दशपस्तेन भर्तव्यस्तेनापि द्विगुणाधिपः ।

Parallel Verses (cont.)

	Nītiprakāśikā	*Mbh (Śāntiparva)*
8.50cd:	ग्रामं ग्रामशताध्यक्षो भोक्तुमर्हति सत्कृतः ।	12.88.7ab: Identical
8.51 ab:	शाखानगरमर्हस्तु सहस्रपतिरुत्तमम् ।	12.88.8ab: Identical
8.52 cd:	धर्मज्ञस्सचिवः कश्चित्तदपेक्षेदतन्द्रितः ।।	12.88.9d: °त्रपश्ये° for °त्तदपेक्षे°
8.53:	नगरे नगरे च स्यादेकस्सर्वार्थचिन्तकः ।	12.88: Identical
	उच्चस्थानो घोररूपो नक्षत्राणामिव ग्रहः ।।	
8.56:	उच्चावचाः कराः न्याया पूर्वराज्ञां युधिष्ठिर ।	12.88.13: Identical
	यथा यथा न हीयेयुस्तथा कुर्यान्महीपतिः ।।	

	Nītiprakāśikā	*Śukra Nītisāra*
7.46:	न हन्याद्वृक्षमारूढं न क्लीबं न कृताञ्जलिम् ।	4.7.340: Identical
	न मुक्तकेशं नासीनं न तवाऽस्मीति वादिनम् ।।	
7.47:	न प्रसुप्तं न प्रणतं न नग्नं न निरायुधम् ।	4.7.341: न सुप्तं न विसन्नाहं न नग्नं न निरायुधम् ।
	नायुध्यमानं पश्यन्तं न परेण समागतम् ।।	नायुध्यमानं पश्यन्तं युध्यमानं परेण च ।।
8.4:	सोऽग्निर्भवति वायुश्च सोऽर्कस्सोमस्स धर्मपः ।	1.71: इन्द्रानिलयमार्काणामग्नेश्च वरुणस्य च ।
	स कुबेरस्स वरुणः स महेन्द्रः प्रभावतः ।।	चन्द्रवित्तेशयोश्चापि मात्रा निर्हृत्य शाश्वतीः ।।

I.7. Conclusion

Thus we find that six out of eight cantos are totally devoted to *DV* or military art and science, with the aim being to control the deteriorated *dharma* or ethical and moral values prevailing in the society due to Kaliyuga (*NP* 1.10-18). Therefore the instruction on *DV* as an indispensable part of polity — *rājanīti/rājadharma/rājaśāstra* — makes *NP* a primary text of *DV*.

However, as is known, *DV* or military organization and administration come under the scope of the kingly duties or *rājadharma* referring to the maintenance of law, order, prosperity and welfare of the state, and thus make the king an ideal leader of an ideal state. This can be seen in *NP* 8.100 which implies Janamejaya's implementation of this art and science in his government.

Further, the two pairs of *gurus* and disciples, namely, Brahmā–Pṛthu and Vaiśampāyana–Janamejaya have *gurus* who are respectively the first and the last exponents of this branch of knowledge instructing their chosen human disciples. Both these kings respectively from the Kṛta and Kali *yugas* are ideal kings with the welfare of the society and their people as their aim. However, the contrast in their respective times is evident in that Pṛthu had no need to use coercive force to implement or to maintain *dharma*, whereas Janamejaya's primary need was its use. Simultaneously, however, the evil forces in the form of the demons did exist even when Brahmā created the sword and Śiva wielded it to get rid of them (*NP* 3). This implies that the evil is inherent in the cosmos, even at the level of the divine and gods too need such weapons and the power of coercion through *DV* to overpower it. Therefore it is projected smoothly as an indispensable part of *dharma* or *rājaṇīti* which is described by *NP* winding up the entire subject with the daily routine of the king, that is, the administration and foreign policy of the state in the eighth canto.

The section I.6 has shown that several verses especially in the eighth canto are verbatim the same or similar with a few changes in them and thus are borrowed from other texts. The method of the description of the daily routine of the king also seems to have been based on MS 7, but in a more polished way. Further, we find here that the author of *NP* discusses these topics of polity briefly, again in the footsteps of the MS and other texts except for *KA*. In

fact, it is a quick review of all the matters of polity done by the predecessors. However, in it he excludes referring specifically to (a) *durga,* (b) *janapada,* (c) *pura* and indirectly to (a) the seven constituents of the state and (b) the three powers and achievements (though *mantra-śakti* is given primary importance in *NP* 8.67). All these are listed in *NP* 1.48-49 in a passing manner.

Sītārāma realized this and very elaborately discussed them in *TV* on these and other verses in *NP* 1. This makes up for the loopholes left by Vaiśampāyana. Hence *NP* needs to be studied along with *CTV* for which an effort has been made here.

Moreover it justifies the aim of *NP* referring to an effective administration of the state and prevention of the people from *adharma;* for, to achieve this aim is *rājñaḥ dharmāḥ* (the duty of the king) and as a kṣatriya to save them from harm (*kṣatatrāṇāt prajāstam tu kṣatriyam-ca-abruvanstathā* — *NP* 1.29cd). It further stands to reason that despite the narration of *rājadharma* already told to Vaiśampāyana to Janamejaya at the behest of Veda Vyāsa in *Mbh* (Āśramavāsika-Parva 15), reference to *bhāratīyāḥ dharmāḥ* (*NP* 1.10ab), Janamejaya's doubt regarding the effective control of the situation in the present times by following those is justified. Therefore, the instruction of *DV* as complementary to that of polity in *Mbh* assumed a greater significance. Thus with both together the narration of *rājadharma* becomes complete.

This instruction of *DV* in the background of *rājadharma* is not to be found in the epic tradition except for in *AP* (248-52). It appears, therefore, that a scholar of a much later date composed this work with several verses compiled into it in a style similar to that of the epics and the Purāṇas. Whether this scholar was the same as Sītārāma the commentator or somebody else cannot be determined and hence cannot be dated to a specific period. Similarly Sītārāma too cannot be said to have lived in either ancient or very modern times; he may have lived not before the fifteenth century CE. All the references quoted by him in the commentary (Appendix 3) support it. Besides, no manuscript that old has been found. Moreover, observations in section I.3 support the late times, at least the prevalence and the influence of the Muslim and the British cultures on Sītārāma though to a little extent. Another supportive argument is that no independent text on *DV* of date as ancient as *Mbh* or *Rāmā* has been found till today. Hence no definite time can be ascribed to either *NP* or to *TV*.

I.8. Concordance

Critical Edition	*Pri. Edn.1*	*Pri. Edn. 2*
	प्रथमस्सर्गः (First Canto)	
1d	सा॰	ह्या॰
6d	°वि॰	°लि॰
10a	कथा॰	कृता॰
15a	असाध्य॰	अनाढ्य॰
25a	मनुं॰	मुनि॰
26a	°लोक्य	°लोड्य
35b	ननग॰	°नाग॰
37a	°तान॰	एता॰
44d	ददामि	ददानि
52d	तीर्थानि चारकैः	वीथिविचा॰
57a	°स्यैनं	स्येवं
	द्वितीयस्सर्गः (Second Canto)	
4c	°परि॰	°पारि॰
17c	लगुडः	लगुडाः
19c	°माली	°मीली
20c	मौष्टिकं	यौष्टिकं
27d	शैवाषीके॰	°शेलेषीका
29c	°श्चैवावा॰	°श्चैवाप्य
31b	तुन्द॰	धुंधु
31c	विमलकुलश्चैव	विमलश्चैव
33c	करलीरो	करवीरो
51a	मन्दशात्ता॰	मंदगात्
	तृतीयस्सर्गः (Third Canto)	
18b	°ब्रुवं	ब्रवन्
19a	रक्षणार्थाय	रक्षणर्थाय
20b	काला॰	काल॰
30d	°मृषयो	°मृषभो
	चतुर्थस्सर्गः (Fourth Canto)	
6d	तस्यध्यानं	तस्याभ्यास॰
17a	वीथी	वीधी
19a	स्फारणं	स्थारणं
37c	चत्वार्थे॰	चत्वर्यि॰
51a	भुसुण्डी	बृसुण्डी

Critical Edition	*Pri. Edn. 1*	*Pri. Edn. 2*
	पञ्चमस्सर्गः (Fifth Canto)	
8c	तडिद्गौरञ्च	तटित्दौरचं
37b	पट्ट°	पाद°
43b	°अवस्थान	°अधस्थानं
43d	°अवप्लुतम्	°अपद्रुतम्
46b	नतोन्नता	नरोन्नता
58c	°वृषला	निरता
	षष्ठस्सर्गः (Sixth Canto)	
4a	प्रथमो	प्रदरो
16d	°अनुगामिनः	अनुकामिनान्
26a	सः	°सा
48b	°निबन्ध°	°विबन्धा°
64b	वफद्यधा°	वीवधा°
94a	°पहा	हता
	सप्तमस्सर्गः (Seventh Canto)	
1a	वैन्य	सैन्यं
15c	°श°	°ष°
30d	तीर्यते	तीयती
33a	युवराजाय	यवगजाय
33c	पर्वसेना	सर्वसेना
34b	त्रि°	द्वि°
48a	नायुध°	आयुध°
50d	तस्मै	तेभ्यो
56d	अभिघातिनः	अरिघातिनः
64d	धर्मानुवर्तिना	धर्मानियायिना
	अष्टमस्सर्गः (Eighth Canto)	
1b	°न्नृपः	°न्नरः
29ab	चरितानि विचार्येव चारेभ्यश्चाधिकारिणाम् ।	चारेभ्यरश्चाधिकारिणां चरितानि विचार्य च
40c	कशाघातै°	कराघातै°
44d	कुतो धनम्	धनकृतः
68a	समारुह्य	समागत्य
71d	विसर्जयेत्	विवर्जयेत्
81a	अमित्रे	पित्रेण
95b	भजिष्यति	भविष्यति

Nītiprakāśikā

II.1. A Detailed Study

Introduction to the Text

NP, as the title suggests, "throws light on or expounds polity, that is, *nīti*, to be followed by the king as the head of the state". Therefore, we find the subject allocation of the text as follows:

First Canto	Rājadharmopdeśa (The Instruction on the Royal Duties)
Second Canto	Dhanurvedavivekakathanam (Imparting True Knowledge of *DV*)
Third Canto	Khaḍgotpattikathanam (The Narration of the Origin of Sword)
Fourth Canto	Muktāyudhnirūpaṇam (The Description of the Weapons that are to be Released)
Fifth Canto	Amuktāyudhnirūpaṇam (The Delineation of the Weapons that are not be Released)
Sixth Canto	Senānayanakathanam (The Narration of Leading the Army (for War))
Seventh Canto	Sainyayogakathanam (The Instruction on the Administration of the Army)
Eighth Canto	Rājavyāpārakathanam (The Description of the Duties of the King)

Thus, the first and the eighth cantos directly focus on the king's duties and the activities related to the governance. The other cantos deal with the weaponry and military activities, and are thus related to the science of warfare forming a part of *rājadharma* requested by Janamejaya.

The Background

Here both Vaiśampāyana (the second of the four disciples of Veda Vyāsa who received *YV* from him) and Janamejaya (the grandson

of Abhimanyu and the great grandson of Arjuna) are the characters from *Mbh*. *NP* opens with Vaiśampāyana's visit to Janamejaya on his own accord at Takṣaśilā. On receiving the news of the arrival of the sage he set out with his ministers and priests to meet him. After the usual ceremonial offerings Janamejaya adjourned to another room for a personal meeting with the sage. Here the king referred to the depravities of the Kaliyuga leading to the deterioration of morality, righteousness, shift of emphasis on wealth and other evil effects in details (*NP* 1.11-17). Hence the knowledge of government and administration with a focus on the military science had to be retold with a greater emphasis on *daṇḍa / DV*. Janamejaya also says that although he has heard about *rājadharma*s from the sage himself as narrated in *Mbh* (Vaiśampāyana had narrated *Mbh* to Janamejaya at the behest of his *guru* Veda Vyāsa — *Mbh* 1.1.16-19), he keenly desires to hear them again for effective governance of the people in this age (*NP* 1.10). Consequently Janamejaya, with a lot of concern, asks about how to handle the above situation effectively through *DV*, that is, through military training and organization and the practice of arms both during peace and war as a part of his kingly duties.

Vaiśampāyana responds with satisfaction revealing that the exposition of the same was the motive of his visit at present. This request is essential as per the tradition requiring the expression of the keen desire of the pupil to have knowledge through a request to the preceptor.

Instruction Begins

In the beginning of his instruction Vaiśampāyana narrates the tradition of the teachers of Nītiśāstra and subsequently the brief delineation of the subjects mentioned above through the dialogue between Brahmā and Pṛthu in ancient days. *NP* ends mentioning that thereafter Janamejaya looked after his subjects accordingly, that is, adhering to what was instructed to him with sincerity (*NP* 8.100d).

Thus the text can be studied in two distinct sections: (1) Rājanīti/ Rājadharma, and (2) Daṇḍanīti or Dhanurvidyā (i.e. *DV*).

Traditions and Purpose

The well-known narrative skill of Vaiśampāyana is illustrated in his method of the narration of the subjects through the tradition of Nītiśāstra and the dialogue between Brahmā and Pṛthu on it. Further, through it, he also suggests that he is following the tradition of the first exponent of this branch of knowledge, namely, Brahmā who similarly had approached Pṛthu on his own. The common point was that both the kings were worthy recipients of this knowledge. They looked after their people and their welfare.

Vaiśampāyana's blessing to Janamejaya is noteworthy here — *dharme te ramatām buddhiḥ* (may your intellect remain focused on *dharma*). In view of this, the purpose of the exposition of *NP* is significant, as also the king's statement that his *viśiṣṭa dharma* = *rājadharma* has been already expounded by Vaiśampāyana in *Mbh;* however, he wants a reiteration of the same.

This proves that the subject of *NP* to throw "light" (*prakāśa*) on *nīti/rājadharma* and to implement it effectively is possible only by the knowledge of military science. The reasons of the importance of *daṇḍa* are elaborately given by Manu which may be remembered here (*MS* 7).

In this context *DV* being the Upaveda of *YV* — the Veda elaborating and propagating sacrificial system to gain material prosperity is appropriate. *DV*'s implementation and effectiveness can be justified. Hence the author of *NP* calls it a subtle science — *sūkṣma-nīti* (*NP* 1.20b), which requires the king to be adept in both these aspects of *rājadharma*. Further, the *NP* 1.27cd — before which *NP* 1.21-27ab give the tradition of *rājaśāstra* (*NP* 1.28d) and how it was condensed — also refers to the core of this entire issue, namely, *martyānām buddhidoṣaḥ* (the fallacy arising in the intellect of men) and *saṁkṣipta-āyuḥ* (their short lives).

Hence, as also due to Janamejaya's knowledge of this science, Vaiśampāyana is briefly recounting it here (*lakṣaṇoddeśamātraḥ* — *NP* 1.28a). He does so through the narration of the primary tradition, rather, why and how the *ādi sadguru* Brahmā propounded this science along with the creation of sword and other weapons (*NP* 2).

This gives the other direct purposes of this brief proposition of *NP* also (besides the influence of Kali) which are as under:

1. This science has a person as *adhikārī* — the king who is able and inclined to protect his people from any kind of harm (*NP* 1.29), which was implemented by Pṛthu.
2. Hence, moreover, it is clearly said that he was called *rājā*, as his people, subjects loved him (*NP* 1.30ab).
3. Due to this, even the earth yielded desired fruit without being asked for (*NP* 1.30cd), precious metals, gems, clothes (*NP* 1.31), open lands and whatever the people asked for (*NP* 1.32); construction of dams, irrigation, highways on mountains and absence of any kind of untoward mishaps were attributed to the leader of the nation (*NP* 1.33).
4. With so much of overwhelming income and yields, the king utilized the same for the people — especially those who were pious (*NP* 1.35). *NP* says through the primary tradition that Brahmā — the expounder of the science of polity in one lakh verses (*NP* 1.22) was satisfied by the fulfilment of his duties by Pṛthu and hence appeared before him asking him for a boon (*NP* 1.37). The king asked him to impart the knowledge of *DV* to its full — with all its limbs and types of weaponry (*NP* 1.38).
5. Happily responding, Brahmā was eager to impart it for the purpose of enabling Pṛthu to continue to look after the welfare of his subjects like his offspring in accordance with *dharma* (*NP* 1.47cd).

   (It may be noted that in this context the author of the *NP* summarily enumerates all the elements of polity, administrative units, foreign policy, and alertness required for the king, and operations and other issues of a strong army (*NP* 1.48-55). This is the purpose of the Nītiśāstra/Rājaśāstra/Rājanītiśāstra due to which it can be said to be ethical polity. To implement and maintain it is the aim of *DV* as seen above.)

With this in view, *NP* discusses the duties and tasks the king is to accomplish daily in order of their hours in his routine, in the eighth canto from verses 9-91; therefore, this canto is titled Rājavyāpārakathanam.

6. Here the canto commences by reiterating the aim of kingship, namely, *lokarañjanam-eva-atra rājño dharmaḥ sanātanaḥ* (*NP* 8.1cd). This is illustrated in the second verse by the example of a lady with child with all her attention, though carrying out her routine flawlessly as per schedule, is focused on the welfare of her unborn child. This simile is a subtle one. It suggests the tenderness, love and affection as well as the feelings of well-being and care of a mother for her child. The king should have this feeling and intensity for the well-being of his people on which all his activities must concentrate. This can be directly linked with *NP* 1.47cd: *sarvāḥ pālaya dharmeṇa prajāḥ putrān-iva-aurasān* (protect all the subjects like your own sons) — by receiving *DV* from Brahmā by Pṛthu, and from Vaiśampāyana by Janmejaya.
7. Looking at the eulogy stated towards the end of the text, we find Brahmā's advice to Pṛthu that the king following this path of *nīti* shall surely secure the fourfold aim of human life to its fullest (8.92). Applying this in Janamejaya's case Vaiśampāyana pronounces that by practising this instruction Janamejaya too shall with his fame well-established here, attain the ultimate good of human life in the world hereafter (8.95).
8. Interesting point is that this knowledge is unrestricted to the society — whether he be a brāhmaṇa, kṣatriya, vaiśya or a śūdra. It is especially necessary for a king. Moreover, women of the royal household (queens and princesses) should have this knowledge as well. It will enable all to attain fame here and the ultimate goal in the world hereafter (8.97, 98).

Origin and Tradition

A point may be noted here. Brahmā was the first exponent of the treatise of *rājanīti* and *rājadharma* consisting of one lakh verses (*NP* 1.22ab); it was subsequently condensed according to the needs of the times by different divinities and sages. Finally Vaiśampāyana prepared its shortest version in eight cantos titled *Nītiprakāśikā*. Hence Brahmā is projected here not only as the creator but also as the *guru par excellence* narrating *DV* to Pṛthu. In *NP* when Vaiśampāyana narrates

*rājadharma*s and *rājavyāpāra*s focusing on *DV* to Janamejaya, he is re-acting the role of Brahmā not only for the subject of narration, but also going on his own accord to him, just as Brahmā did for Pṛthu. This elevates the characters of both the teacher and the disciple.

Moreover, in *NP* we find another noteworthy detail that is namely, Brahmā's association with these subjects also as the creator of the weapons in (a) evolving the *asi* (sword), (b) blessing Jayā — the daughter of Dakṣa Prajāpati and a wife of the Sage Bhṛśāśva with weapons and missiles as her progeny, and (c) instructing *DV* to the gods and advising them to redeem their weapons from Dadhīci to challenge the demons.

Here the tradition of the exposition and handing down of Nītiśāstra as it appears in *NP* and in other texts such as in *Mbh* and *SNS* is noteworthy:

1. In *NP* 1.21-27:

   Brahmā created this treatise in one lakh cantos:

Gurus	*Śiṣyas*	*Cantos*
(a) Brahmā	Maheśvara	1,00,000
(b) Maheśvara	Skanda	50,000
(c) Skanda	Indra	25,000
(d) Indra	Prācetasa Manu	6,000
(e) Prācetasa Manu	Bṛhaspati	3,000
(f) Bṛhaspati	Śukra/Kāvya	1,000
(g) Śukra/Kāvya	Bhāradvāja	700
(h) Bhāradvāja	Gauraśirā	500
(i) Gauraśirā	Veda Vyāsa	300
(j) Veda Vyāsa	Vaiśampāyana (probably in *Mbh*)	
(k) Vaiśampāyana	Janamejaya	8

2. In *Mbh*:

   (i) 12.58.2-3 refers to this tradition where the originator is Śiva and it goes to kāvya, Indra, Prācetasa Manu, Bharadvāja and then to Gauraśirā muni; these are the leading names of the science of polity.

(ii) In 12.59.26 — When the world was overpowered by lawlessness, the gods approached Brahmā to revoke *dharma,* Brahmā expounded *rājadharma* in one lakh verses:

tato 'dhyāya-sahasrāṇām śatam cakre svabuddhijam |
yatra dharmastathaivārthaḥ kāmaścaivābhivarṇitaḥ ||
Mbh P 2.29.29

(iii) In 12.59.87-91 — In continuation of the above tradition, it is said further that it was then given to Śiva and so on as follows:

	Gurus	*Śiṣyas*	*Cantos*
(a)	Brahmā	Śiva	1,00,000
(b)	Śiva (*Vaiśālākṣam Śāstram*)	Indra	10,000
(c)	Indra (*Bāhudantakam Śāstram*)	Bṛhaspati	5,000
(d)	Bṛhaspati	Kāvya	3,000
(e)	Kāvya		1,000

(iii) Śānti-Parva 58:

(a)	Viśālākṣa	Śukrācārya
(b)	Śukrācārya	Indra
(c)	Indra	Prācetasa Manu
(d)	Prācetasa Manu	Bhagavān Bhārādvāja
(e)	Bhagavān Bhāradvāja	Muni Gauraśirā

However, the tradition stops here at Gauraśirā.

(iv) Śānti-Parva 58.2-3:

(a)	Viśālākṣa	Kāvya
(b)	Kāvya	Indra
(c)	Indra	Prācetasa Manu
(d)	Manu	Bhāradvāja
(e)	Bhāradvāja	Gauraśirā

These are called *rājaśāstra-praṇetāraḥ* (the exponents of the science of polity). However it is interesting to note that *SNS* (4.5.404) says that this treatise has 2,200 verses. It should be noted that at all these

places, this treatise was composed by Brahmā and given to Śiva and then to Indra and so on which was being gradually condensed due to the decrease in the life span and the subsequent effects on the human race with the passage of time.

Towards the end of the treatise, Vaiśampāyana says that he has expounded the *rājadharma*s for Janamejaya to look after the welfare of the people as his eternal duty: *loka-rañjanam-eva-atra rājño dharmaḥ sanātanaḥ* (*NP* 8.1ab). Sītārāma comments here that *rājadharma*s are the duties to be performed by the king from dawn till the time he goes to sleep.

The sage further glorifies the adherence of a king to *dharma* by saying that he who follows these *rājadharma*s unfailingly attains all the four goals of human life (fruit to be achieved by the king in this world), namely, *dharma, artha, kāma* and *mokṣa* (*NP* 8.95-96). Moreover, this knowledge is open to the whole society including women in general and those from the royal households in particular (*NP* 8.97-98).

It is interesting to note in the context of *dharma* and *rājadharma* that polity refers to fair deal both in administration and warfare. However, *NP* assertively says at the end of the fifth canto that whenever there is the decay of *dharma,* resort to fight by deceit is fully justifiable (*NP* 5.55). This occurs at the end of the discussion of the various types of weapons. Vaiśampāyana asserts again that these *dharma*s are elaborated to Janamejaya as he was desirous to strive for the welfare of his subjects which, as noted earlier, requires this *DV*. Hence he says: *iti-etat-kathitam vatsa mayā lokahitaiṣiṇā* (*NP* 5.59).

DV in NP: Cantos 2-7

The military administration, organization and weaponry form an integral part of *DV*, which in turn forms an indispensable section of the *rājadharma* and the *rājavyāpāra* even in *NP*. As we have seen the very opening of *NP* that it is narrated to Janamejaya by Vaiśampāyana to meet with the depravities of the Kaliyuga. For this purpose Vaiśampāyana (and earlier Brahmā) imparted the Nītiśāstra and *DV* formed its core and aim. Therefore here we find a very detailed delineation of *DV* as (a) weapons and weaponry, and (b) military administration, organization and warfare as follows.

(A) WEAPONS AND WEAPONRY

Besides the military organization and administration, the skill of wielding weapons and their description forms the intrinsic part of *DV* which Janamejaya desires to learn from Vaiśampāyana to check his people from going astray from the path of righteousness in the Kali age. In this connection the sage starts imparting him *rājadharma* to which also the present topic is related. It, however, comes as a part of the dialogue between Brahmā and Pṛthu. Brahmā says that *asi* (sword) was created by him earlier for the purpose of controlling the evil and meant to be wielded for the same by kings like Pṛthu (*NP* 1.42). Here he refers to the origin of the weapons — Bhṛśāśva was his son born out of his mind. His wives were the two daughters of Dakṣa, named Jayā and Suprabhā. Of these, Jayā begot the weapons and missiles as her sons by the grace of Brahmā (*NP* 1.45). On the other hand, Suprabhā became the mother of fifty powerful and unapproachable *saṁhāra* weapons (*NP* 1.45, 46).

It is interesting to note that *NP* gives mythological origin of the weapons. The sage Bhṛśāśva, a son born to Brahmā from his mind, fathers the weapons which are born by his grace! We hardly come across references to him except that he was the father of a sage named Devapraharaṇa. (The name Kṛśāśva occurs as a variant according to Sītārāma — *kṛśāśva iti pāṭhāntaram* — *CTV* on *NP* 1.44.)

The myth of the rebirth (the re-formation) of these weapons is narrated in the second canto of *NP*. Here the progenitor is the sage Dadhīci, the ancient seer who is also known as Dadhīca. This myth justifies their number being thirty-two as well as their greatness and shapes. It occurs in *NP* 2.42-59 thus:

> The gods were vanquished by the demons in the ancient days as they were not skilled in the *DV*. Hence they started fleeing from the battle. On way to hide on the mountain Mandara, they came across the sage Dadhīca to whom they entrusted their weapons for protection. The sage consumed them and incorporated them in the bones of his body. Brahmā instructed the *DV* to the gods in its fullest extent. Now being confident of their power, the gods went to Dadhīci and asked him to return their weapons. The sage suggested to cut his body with the weapon named *gojihvā* and take his bones which were in reality now the weapons entrusted to him by the gods. Thus

the thirty-two weapons emerged from his bones taking the shape of those respective bones and from the *kaśerukā* (the backbone) emerged the *vajra*. These weapons were sharp and fatal as they created heat in the sage's body and were subsequently affected by it. Except for the *vajra,* all the weapons were inherited by the humans. Now the gods were able to vanquish the demons with the reinforced energy of the weapons and the knowledge of the *DV*. (I would like to point out here that the hermitage of Dadhīci was supposed to be situated on the banks of Sabarmati at Dudheshwar, near the Gandhi Ashrama, Ahmedabad.)

This version of the origin of the weapons is significant from the point of view of their shapes and functions, the custom of not using the *gojihvā/gomukha* and the knowledge of the origin of the *vajra*. Here both Dadhīci and the gods are projected in a different light; Dadhīci gives new shapes and spiritual energy to the already existing weapons through his own spirituality and the gods become strong and formidable by knowing *DV*. This reinforced strength leads them to a sure victory. However, it may also be noted that if a calm and serene sage like Dadhīci was affected by the amalgamation of the sharp weapons, any other person could certainly be led astray by the immense power their possession would give. Hence the right knowledge and adherence to *dharma* was essential; it would give the sense of discrimination of their appropriate use.

The story of the making of the *vajra* from the bones of Dadhīci comes in *Mbh* Vana-Parva 98.3-24 (also in *Mbh* 1.127.12, 12. 329.17-27) where he is said to have given up his bones to Indra to kill Vṛ̥tra. This was suggested to the gods by Brahmā for the welfare of the three worlds. Here the *vajra* is described as being strong, firm, sharp, terrifying, six-edged and having a frightening sound when in use. Tvaṣṭā created the *vajra* from these bones and Indra killed Vṛ̥tra with this new weapon (*Mbh* 99.13-14) in the battle that followed. In *Mbh* 12.329.17-27 it is said that this new weapon is irresistible as it was created out of the bones of a brāhmaṇa. Here we can see the myth of Dadhīci in a unique way not found elsewhere.

The Form of DV

We go back to the second canto and we find the description of the form, appearance and *mantra* of *DV*. It is said that *DV* has four limbs, is red in complexion, has four faces, eight arms, three eyes and belongs to the Sāṅkhāyana *gotra*. In each of its right hands it has (the weapons) *vajra, khaḍga, dhanuṣa* and *cakra,* while *śataghnī, gadā, śūla* and *paṭṭiśa* in each of its left hands.

The actual application and use of the weapons are its crown, *nīti* its trunk, *mantra*s its armour, withdrawal (of the weapons and missiles) its heart, and weapons and missiles form its pair of earrings. Skills in various types of weaponry are its adornments. *DV* has yellowish eyes with red corners and is adorned with garlands in the form of victory; he is said to be mounted on a bull. Here is given its *mantra: oṁ namo bhagavate dhanurvedāya* — followed by saying *mama śatrūn bhakṣaya* twice, ending with *huṁ phaṭ svāhā*. Uttering this magical *mantra* 32,000 times with the other words, one can disrupt and vanquish the enemy forces and protect one's own army, associates and oneself (*NP* 2.1-10).

There are different opinions regarding the four limbs of *DV* (*NP* 2.11-15):

I. *Mukta* are the weapons that are totally hurled for striking (like the bow and arrow and others, *amukta* are those that are not released while wielding (like the sword), *mukta-amukta* are simultaneously released and not released and *mantra-mukta* are those that are released with the use of *mantra*s and hence cannot be withdrawn.

II. Some experts of *DV* say that it has four varieties: weapon, missile, counter-missile and the ultimate missile.

III. The four limbs according to others are — *ādāna* (holding), *sandhāna* (aiming), *vimokṣa* (releasing) and *saṁhṛti* (withdrawal).

The first division is more popular. Hence *NP* refers to it in the second canto especially in the first three of it. Thus:

I. *Mukta Weapons* — These weapons are twelve in number and they are so called as they are released from the hand when used. The second canto just enumerates them as — bow, arrow, *bhiṇḍivāla, śakti, drughaṇa, tomara, nalikā, laguḍa, pāśa, cakra,*

dantakaṇṭaka and *bhusuṇḍī* (*NP* 2.17, 18). Their description and movements (*gatis*) are described at length in *NP* 4.6-52) thus:

1. *The bow*

   (a) *Its description* — The bow should have a wide "neck", pointed ends, narrow mid-portion where three fingers can be kept, with the body being four fore-arms long, bent at three places, and with a long stave (*NP* 4.8), a terrifying face due to sharp teeth, having a reddish hue and a gurgling sound, tied with the string made of the tissue of the entrails or intestines of the dead body licked by jackals (*NP* 4.9).

   (b) *Its use* — One should, in accordance with the rules of *DV*, bend the bow with the left hand, string it with the right hand and hold its grip from behind (*NP* 4.11). One should place the left thumb on its belly (that is, grip of arrow), and four fingers on its back, and simultaneously place the string in the midst of the feathered part of the arrow with the tips of the thumb and fingers joined together (*NP* 4.12). After pulling it till the ears and eyes absolutely fixed on the target (in other words) not sighting anything else, one should be ready for its release with full knowledge and alertness of piercing the target (*NP* 4.13). If one is able to release the arrow right on the target, he can be said to be well-trained (*NP* 4.14ab).

   (c) *Targets* — They are fourfold: steadfast, subtle, soft and that which can be pierced with full strength (*NP* 4.15cd). To illustrate, the steadfast target is the mountain, the subtle (or tiny one) is the *guñjā* berry, and the soft one is such as the fowl's egg and a water jar (*NP* 4.16), felling of the bodies of the demons, elephants and others is the one to be pierced with full strength (*NP* 4.17).

   (d) *The movements for training and use* — These are fourteen in number for the bow. They are — aiming properly, merely twanging by pulling the string, doing so by bending the bow, shaking it all around pulling it while chasing the enemy, drawing the bow for shooting by moving it in a circular motion, bending the bow

downwards, vibrating it, shaking it, swinging it for shooting near and far, as well as at the back and not very far away (*NP* 4.18, 19).

(e) *The types of bows* — *Śārṅga* (the bow made of horn), *triṇata* (the bow that is bent at three places), *vaiṇava* (made of bamboo and of four hands in length and which can be fully bent, *vaitastika* (is the bow which is used to shoot arrows of twelve fingers of length), the bow made of bamboo (of the length of one hand — these are the bows mentioned in the text (*NP* 4.21).

2. *The arrow* — It has always to be used with the bow as it is released with by pulling the bowstring. Hence the accessories of the bow and the arrow together need to be referred to such as the finger-protecting armour and the bow being full of the arrows (*NP* 4.23) as also the stances, etc. in archery. The arrow, having a large blue body, is wielded by holding it with two hands, one finger in is circumference and has the range of 400 spans (*NP* 4.28). It can be wielded in two ways — by whirling and by throwing (*NP* 4.29).

There are five stances for archery — bending fully low, bending half by spreading the left leg forward, standing with both the feet in an even position, spreading both the legs equally apart, and sitting with both the legs folded together (*NP* 4.24). The positions include quickly circling on the right side as well as on the left side, charging towards (the enemy) and returning, and turning round (*NP* 4.26). A combination (of appropriate positions), breaking open through the enemy's array, straight movement, and the paths for the chariot — these ten are the positions related in *DV*, especially archery (*NP* 4.27).

3. *Bhiṇḍivāla* — It is a curved weapon, with the broad bent head, a hand in length when raised and capable of being wielded with a single hand (*NP* 4.30). It is wielded and released by the infantry by whirling it thrice with the left foot forward (*NP* 4.31).
4. *Śakti* — It (probably a kind of a spear?) is of the measure of two hands, with a crooked movement for cutting asunder

the target, informidable, has a sharp point, terrible nails, and when released creates terrifying sound like that of huge bell (*NP* 4.32). It looks ferocious like a lioness about to devour its prey, is dark blue in colour and stained by the blood of intestines of the enemy (*NP* 4.33). It has a wide grip. As it is to strike the distant target, it has to be wielded with two hands to tear apart the hardest of the targets (*NP* 4.34). There are six ways of wielding a *śakti* — lifting it up, whirling it, moving crookedly with it, bending a little to release it, releasing it and throwing it (*NP* 4.35).

5. *Drughaṇa* — (A kind of a club). It is made of iron, has a curved neck and broad head. It is of the length of fifty fingers and has the thickness of a fist (*NP* 4.36). Springing up, throwing, exploding and breaking — these are the four movements used for wielding it (*NP* 4.37).

6. *Tomara* — It (another kind of a club) is made of wood with an iron head and a fine plumage, tall body measuring three hands and circumference of a fist (*NP* 4.38). It can be wielded in three movements — raising for throw, backward movement and piercing (*NP* 4.39).

7. *Nalikā* — A slender pipe straight in shape with a hole in the centre, it is capable of tearing the heart, blue in colour, and is like a quiver holding the arrows (*NP* 4.40). Holding, blowing and piercing are the three movements of wielding it (*NP* 4.41).

8. *Laguḍa* — Narrow at the bottom with a wide shoulder, *laguḍa* (a cudgel) has a thick head and a short, stout and strong body. Its front portion is made of iron (*NP* 4.42). Made of the elephant tusk, it is raised with both the hands for four types of strikes — raising, dashing, thrashing and pounding (*NP* 4.43). The author says that the strong infantry can fight with the enemies with it (*NP* 4.44).

9. *Pāśa* — The triangular-shaped *pāśa*, adorned with small lead balls, is made of tiny parts of iron and has the circumference of the span of the thumb and the forefinger (*NP* 4.45). The three ways of using it are — stretching out, encircling and tearing. The author observes here that the noose is used by lower classes of people (*NP* 4.46).

10. *Cakra* — *Cakra* (disc) is circular in shape (with a hole in the centre) with sharp spokes, has the colour of water with the indigo plant in it (i.e. blue in colour) and two circles involving the span of the thumb and fingers (*NP* 4.47). There are five movements of wielding it — piercing, circular motion, throwing, cutting away and splitting (*NP* 4.48).

11. *Dantakaṇṭaka* — It is the name of another weapon of this category. Its body is full of iron stings (like teeth), is wide at the tip, narrow at the end and looks bright like the burning charcoal (*NP* 4.49). To wield it, one has to raise arms, hold its stick-like body with a tight grip and use either of the two movements with eyes in the front, namely, felling and piercing (*NP* 4.50).

12. *Bhusuṇḍī* — (A mythical weapon which is an eight-sided cudgel) it has a big knot, huge body and a well-formed clasp. Its length is of three hands and is of the colour of the black ferocious cobra (*NP* 4.51). Expulsion and moving to and fro are two ways of wielding it (*NP* 4.52).

II. *Amukta Weapons* — The *amukta* category of weapons: These are the weapons that are held while being used. They are twenty in number (hence twelve of the earlier variety added to these make thirty-two weapons in all). They are — *vajra, īlī, paraśu, gośīrṣa, asi-dhenukā, lavitra, āstara, kunta, sthūṇa, prāsa, pināka, gadā, mudgara, sīrā, mūsala, paṭṭiśa, muṣṭika, parigha, mayūkhī* and *śataghnī*. These form the second section (quarter) of *DV*. They are described in the fifth canto of *NP*:

1. *Vajra* — Originated out of the bones of Dadhīci for the assassination of Vṛtra, *vajra* is a brilliant weapon of immeasurable power. It can assume any form (*NP* 5.1) and pacify all the powers of the enemy (*NP* 5.2). Having a wide grip, it is surrounded by 100 joints, and engirdled on circumference by sharp edges like swords, it is huge, tall and golden like the lightning (*NP* 5.3-5). Loosening, shaking, piercing and splitting are the four movements that are used for wielding the *vajra* (*NP* 5.6).

2. *Īlī* — It a short sword (or even a cudgel), is a black weapon two hands long, with a grip without the hand-guard, with

bent plank in front that is five fingers wide (*NP* 5.7). The four movements of wielding it are throwing, raising, overtaking and holding (*NP* 5.8).

3. *Parašu* — This battle axe has a slim, dark-bodied staff, a shaking face with the broad front of the shape of the crescent moon (*NP* 5.9). It has a grip at the bottom, a crest with the body that is raised by both the arms. Striking and splitting are the two movements of *parašu* (*NP* 5.10).
4. *Goširṣa* — It is also known as *goširа*. It has two widened feet attached with a wooden mechanism at the bottom, with an iron plank at the top (*NP* 5.11). With three edges, a strong grip, sixteen fingers of length, a sharp front and a broad middle, it is blue and red in colour (*NP* 5.12). *NP* says that it was gifted by Indra to Manu; it, therefore, symbolizes the supremacy of the kings in the world (*NP* 5.13). The four ways of wielding *goširṣa* are — holding it with the grip, throwing, using it as a defence and piercing (*NP* 5.14).
5. *Asidhenu* — This dagger can be called the daughter of the sword. Of the measure of a hand and tied into the girdle, it is extremely handy to kill the nearby enemy (*NP* 5.15). Hence the author asserts that it should always be carried by excellent kings. It is wielded in three ways — holding by the front portion of the fist (for striking), for tearing up and for piercing (*NP* 5.16).
6. *Lavitra* — A sickle, it is a weapon with a curved body, a broad back, a bright front, blackish colour, a broad grip, five fingers wide and length of a hand when raised by using both the arms (*NP* 5.17). It is to be used with both the arms raised and bring them down — these are the two ways of wielding it (*NP* 5.18).
7. *Āstara* — A weapon like a boomerang, it has a knot at its bottom, is long at the head and has a big hand (i.e. grip). It has a curve on hand, belly and head, is dark-coloured and has two "arms" (*NP* 5.20). Whirling, pulling and cutting asunder are the three ways of wielding it. It is useful for killing both the mahaouts and the foot soilders (*NP* 5.21).

8. *Kunta* — A spear, made of iron with sharp thorns on its six-angled edge, is five hands long, with "rounded" feet, has a terrible performance and effect (*NP* 5.22). Flying up and down, swooping, touching the ground with hands and head sideways as well and piercing are the six ways of wielding it (*NP* 5.23).

9. *Sthūṇa* — A (club), made of thick stump or trunk of bamboo, is reddish in appearance, has sturdy joints close to each other, is as tall as a man, soft and has two movements — swirling and striking (*NP* 5.24).

10. *Prāsa* — Another kind of a spear, *prāsa* is red, made of bamboo, seven hands long when standing erect, has the iron head, sharp edge, and is decorated with a tuft of silk threads (*NP* 5.25). The four movements of *prāsa* are — drawing, pulling, shaking and piercing (*NP* 5.26).

11. *Pināka* — It is also called *triśūla* (trident). It has three heads, a black front portion and a terrifying appearance. It is made of copper, has an iron head and is of the measure of four hands (*NP* 5.27). It has clusters of rough thorns with a copper ring in the neck. It has two movements — shaking and piercing (*NP* 5.28).

12. *Gadā* — *Gadā* (mace) is made of iron used in making the loop of a yoke. It has 100 spokes, a broad head with a conical shape at the top, is terrifying and measures four hands in length (*NP* 5.29). Its body is strong like the axle of the carriage due to which it is capable to break apart even a mighty elephant (*NP* 5.30). Avoiding the strikes, casting asunder, escaping from behind, running away quickly, stretching out — are some of the twenty ways of wielding this weapon (*NP* 5.32-34).

13. *Mudgara* — This hammer is small at the bottom with a tiny head and three hands, is honey coloured, broad at the shoulders and eight *bhāra*s in weight (*NP* 5.35). It has a rounded grip, is dark bluish in colour and two to five hands long. Whirling and striking are the two movements to wield it (*NP* 5.36).

14. *Sīra* — It (ploughshare) is a two-curved weapon with a tuft (top knot), the face of an iron band that can pull, is of the length of a man and smooth in colour. It pulls and makes one fall (*NP* 5.37).

15. *Mūsala* — The *mūsala* (pestle) has eyes and head but not the limbs. It is fastened with iron at the root and the end. Striking and crushing are its two movements (*NP* 5.38).

16. *Paṭṭiśa* — Yet another kind of a spear, it is said to be the brother of the sword. It is of the measure of a man, with two edges, a pointed horn and has the hand guard for holding with the fist (*NP* 5.39).

17. *Mauṣṭika* — It (a kind of a knife, a fist-sword) is known to be having a fine grip, good in appearance due to its raised portion measuring the span between thumb and forefinger, white at the front, high head, and bright and wide middle (*NP* 5.40). Moving quickly for encountering, moving a little, retaining position already held, holding after encountering and then holding, turning back, moving aside, changing with bent body to hold the opponent's knee, etc., springing for a jump like a frog are some of the movements to wield it (*NP* 5.43-44).

18. *Parigha* — A stick studded with iron, it is circular in shape, four hands in length made of sturdy wood and can be wielded only by extremely strong men (*NP* 5.45).

19. *Mayūkhī* — Probably another kind of a stick, it is made of wood (usually bamboo) with a grip to hold it. It can be wielded by bending and then raising it. Surrounded by bells, it is good in appearance and is used with a plank to avoid being hit in the eyes (*NP* 5.46). These are the five movements said to be used with *mayūkhī* — hitting, warding off, striking, releasing and moving quickly for encountering (*NP* 5.47).

20. *Śataghnī* — Probably a kind of a mace, it is also said to be a projectile used in seigecraft. It is made of steel, has thorns on it and is extremely sturdy. It looks like *mudgara*, is four hands long, circular and has a fine grip (*NP* 5.48). It is wielded with movements similar to that of *gadā* (*NP* 5.49).

All the weapons of the above two categories are pacified by the son of Suprabhā, named Sarvamocana (*NP* 2.38).

III. *The mukta–amukta category of weapons*

(a) *Astra*s and *upasaṁhārāstra*s

(b) *Āsurāstra*s and their counter-missiles, which in all, come to 44 and 5 in each sub-category.

1. *Daṇḍa cakra, dharma cakra, kāla cakra, aindra cakra, śūlavata, brahmaśīṣa, modakī, śikharī, dharmapāśa, varuṇapāśaka, painākāstra, vāyavya, śuṣkārdra, śikharāstraka, krauñcāstra, hayaśīrṣa,* the missiles named *vidyā* and *avidyā, gāndharvāstra, nandanāstra, varṣaṇa* as well as *śoṣaṇa, prasvāpana, praśamana, santāpana, vilāpana, madana, mānavāstra, nāyana, tāmasa, saṁvarta, mausala, satya, saura, māyāstra, tvaṣṭra-astra, somāstra,* "Destroyer merely by the mental faculty", *nāgāstra, gāruḍāstra* and the missiles named *śaiva* and *īṣīkā,* — these are the forty-four *mukta-amukta* weapons (*NP* 2.22-27).

*Upasaṁhārāstra*s which pacify the weapons of the enemies are: *satyavān, satyakīrti, avāṅmukha, parāṅmukha, dṛḍhanābha, alakṣya, lakṣya, āvila, sunābhaka, daśākṣa, śatavaktra, daśaśīrṣa, śattodara, dharmanābha, mahānābha, tundanābha, nābhaka, jyotiṣa, vimala,* both *nairāsya, kṛśana, yogandhara, sanidra, daitya, pramathaja, sācirmālī, dhṛtirmālī, vṛtimān, rucira, pitṛya, saumanasa, vidhūta, makara, karalīra, dhana, rati, dhānya, kāmarūpaka,* the twin *jṛmbhakā, āvaraṇa, moha, kāmaruci, varuṇa* and *sarvanābhaka* (*NP* 2.28-34).

2. There are five *āsurāstra*s or demoniac missiles — *kaṅkālāstra, mausalāstra, kāpālāstra, kaṅkaṇāstra* and *paiśācāstra* (*NP* 2.35); whereas *satyavān, sarvadamana, kāmarūpa, yogandhara* and *alakṣya* are the destroyers of the demoniac missiles (*NP* 2.36).

IV. There are six *mantra-mukta* weapons, namely, *viṣṇu cakra, vajrāstra, brahmāstra, kālapāśaka, nārāyaṇāstra* and *pāśupatāstra* which are to be released with the use of *mantra*s; they also have *mantra*s for their withdrawal (*NP* 2.40-41).

The third canto is devoted to the description of the sword. Hence it is described in detail here. (The bows and arrows are described at length under section II.2.) It is as follows:

> The sword is called *asi*. Another name which *NP* uses for it is *khaḍga*. It is mentioned under the list of the *amukta* type of weapons which forms the second limb of DV (see page 51 for four limbs of DV). The reference to this weapon occurs very first time in *NP* in the first canto Brahmā goes to Pṛthu and the latter requests him to impart the instruction of the Rājaśāstra and DV with all its limbs and secrets. In answer Brahmā begins his instruction with the reference to the sword as *asi* (*NP* 1.42). He says that it was created by him in early times for controlling the evil-minded people; since then it has remained with persons like Pṛthu to control such people and provide welfare to the subjects (ibid.).

Asi as *khaḍga* is again mentioned in the second canto (*NP* 2.2a) as one of the weapons held by *DV* in one of his right hands. Later in the same canto it is referred to under the *amukta* weapons (the weapon *asidhenukā* (knife) derives its name from *asi* — *NP* 2.19b). Its constellation is Kṛttikā, its deity is Agni, the *gotra* is Rohiṇī and Rudra is its presiding deity (*NP* 3.35). The different names of the sword are *asi, viśasana, khaḍga, tīkṣṇadharmā, durāsada, śrīgarbha, vijaya* and *dharmamāla* (*NP* 3.36). It is considered to be the foremost among the weapons even by Rudra (*NP* 3.37).

This canto titled Khaḍgotpattikathanam refers to the myth about the origin, tradition, the ways in which it is wielded in details by Brahmā is described in detail (*NP* 3.1-3). Brahmā begins by glorifying the importance of the sword. When the bow is broken and the horses are destroyed, the sword comes in most handy for self-protection. Moreover, with the sword one can match even the archers as well as those warriors who use *gadā* and *śakti*.

The myth begins by saying that the demons like Hiraṇyakaśipu, Hiraṇyākṣa, Virocana, Śambara, Vipracitti, Prahlāda and many others began to war with the gods and violated *dharma*. Therefore Brahmā performed a sacrifice to restore *dharma* (*NP* 3.9-12ab). After 1,000 years, a being with dazzling brightness and cruel form arose from the fire of the altar. It assumed the form of a sword (i.e. *asi*) (*NP* 3.12cd-20). *Asi* was given to Lord Śiva by Brahmā; so it was

Śiva who wielded it for the first time with the shield. Then the author goes on to describe thirty-two ways of wielding it along with a triangular shield — circling, turning in a circle upwards in the air, and also in a curved motion, running like a deer, running in a specific manner, chasing, following properly, getting into motion, and holding down and also firmly, bending the sword by putting it besides the feet, in moving the arm in circular motion over the head, trapping by synchronized use of the grip of the sword and the feet, placing it on the ground and holding it upwards, running, rushing to face the enemy, preventing the fist of enemy, striking off the sword from his hands, raising one's own sword, slanting and upward movements were used by Śiva to vanquish the demons (*NP* 3.25-28).

Thereafter is given the tradition, wherein Śiva gave *asi* to Viṣṇu, Viṣṇu to Marīci, Marīci to *maharṣi*s who gave it to Vāsava (Indra). He gave it to *lokapāla*s and they gave it to Manu. Manu propagated this knowledge in the world (*NP* 3.29-33). Now Brahmā gives it directly to Pṛthu for implementing the *rājadharma* for his subjects.

It may be noted that in *NP* we can find a detailed narration of the myth regarding the origin of the sword and an entire canto is devoted to it. Such importance given to this particular weapon cannot be found elsewhere when bow and arrow are considered to be superior to it. The sword is the best weapon according to the author of *NP* (3.6-8). Hence towards the end of the canto also the author reiterates its glorification by saying that the warrior expert in warfare must always worship this weapon to gain victory and fame (*NP* 3.38).

We find the same tradition in *Mbh* 12.166. It is popularly known as *asi* or *khaḍga gītā*. It comes as an answer to the query of Nakula to Bhīṣma regarding the origin and excellence of *asi/khaḍga*. The myth can be briefly narrated as follows:

Brahmā created everything and all beings were supposed to follow his commands. The demons violated them as well as the Vedic *dharma*, and were totally engaged in torturing people. At the behest of the *brahmarṣi*s, Brahmā performed a sacrifice from which arose the terrifying beast which transformed itself into the weapon *asi*.

The constellation regarding its birth, *gotra* and eight names are same as those in *NP*. It is also glorified as the best among the weapons. *Mbh* describes four forms of the sword which are actually the four ways in which the offender can be punished — (a) punishment by harsh words to the offender committing small offences, (b) punishment by imposing penalty for somewhat serious offences, (c) punishment by cutting a limb of the body of a serious offender, and (d) punishment by giving death sentence by one who commits an extremely grave offence.

(B) MILITARY ADMINISTRATION AND ORGANIZATION DURING PEACE AND WAR

As already seen earlier and referred to many times, this aspect is integral to *rājadharma* and *rājanīti*. Hence out of its eight cantos, two complete cantos — the sixth and the seventh of *NP*, — discuss various aspects of military administration and organization in times of war and peace.

In essence, here several aspects of this subject such as the composition of the different units of the army, its branches, the use made of its various branches such as elephants, chariots, cavalry and infantry, the employment of artisans for military purposes, an enumeration of the most necessary provisions. Besides these, the qualifications required for officers, a system of promotion, pension-grants, salaries and many other aspects are also discussed.

Structure of the Army

The army consisted of four main limbs (*aṅgas*), namely, infantry, cavalry, chariots and elephants (*NP* 7.2). The naval limb existed as the fifth one depending on the geographical terrain. *NP* enumerates in detail the nine sections or units into which this fourfold army was divided as well as their compositions starting from the lowest/smallest to the highest/largest (*NP* 7.3-31). (The figures here are mind-boggling but they are as given by the (*TV*.)

Units	*Chariots*	*Elephants*	*Foot-soldiers (= Infantry)*	*Cavalry*
Patti	1	1	5	3
Senāmukha	3	30	3,00,000	3,000
Gulma	9	90	9,00,000	9,000
Gaṇa	27	270	27,00,000	27,000
Vāhinī	81	810	81,00,000	81,000
Pṛtanā	243	2,430	2,43,00,000	2,43,000
Camū	729	7,290	7,29,00,000	7,29,000
Anīkinī	2,187	21,870	21,87,00,000	21,87,000
Akṣauhiṇī	21,870	2,18,700	21,87,00,000	21,87,00,000

Each of these units is headed by its respective commander and above all is the commander-in-chief who is in-charge of the entire army. He needs to be from a good family, has his passions under his control, who has been tested by the king in the past, is clever, good looking and dear to him, who can immediately understand the king's intentions as well as those of the others, is capable of commanding and leading his troops and can understand his soldiers on the battlefield (*NP* 6.72-73). All the commanders of all the units also must have the same qualifications (*NP* 6.74-76). At times, commanders can be appointed with two or three troops/units combined as per the situation (*NP* 6.76cd).

Appointments and Administration

These form the roots of an efficient army. They are referred to as follows:

1. Appointments of the officers-in-charge over different cadres in the army — A worthy, clever, handsome person of good family, who is in control of his passions, who has been tried in the past, is a favourite of the king, who reads the mind of his master and is capable of guessing others' intentions, is an expert in leading troops, courageous and conciliates his soldiers on the battlefield should be elected as the commander-in-chief (*NP* 6.72-73).

The commanders of *patti, senāmukha, gulma, gaṇa, vāhinī, pṛtanā, camū, anīkinī* and *akṣauhiṇī*s should be separately selected according to the same qualifications, all of them being

under the commander-in-chief (*NP* 6.74-76). The former eight are under the charge of the commander of *akṣauhiṇī* (*NP* 6.80ab).

2. The seniority of the commanders as well as the soldiers within each unit depends upon appointment (*NP* 6.79, 80cd).
3. Three extremely well-trained generals should be appointed to each unit army, one chief in command, one next to him and a third one last in comma. Among them, the latter two obey the orders of the general in command of the unit (*NP* 6.82).

Expenditures and Salaries of the Officials

The soldiers should pay for their clothes and washermen's bills as well as for medicines when sick out of their salary (*NP* 6.102). The salaries and wages were to be paid on monthly basis.

NP lists the salaries of the officers of different cadres of the army as follows:

(a) The crown prince — 5,000 *varvas*
(b) The leader of the army unit called *parva* — 4,000 *varvas* (*NP* 6.33)
(c) The *atiratha* — 2,000 *varvas*
(d) The *mahāratha* — 2,000 *varvas* (*NP* 6.34)
(e) The charioteer — 1,000 *varvas*
(f) The warrior riding the elephant — 1,000 *varvas*
(g) The *ardharatha* — 500 *varvas* (*NP* 6.35)
(h) The *ekaratha* — 300 *niṣkas*
(i) The warrior on the elephant with each of their companions — 300 *niṣkas* (*NP* 6.36)
(j) The superintendent of all the horses — 3,000 *niṣkas*
(k) The leader of the infantry — 2,000 *niṣkas* (*NP* 6.37)
(l) The leader of 1,000 men from infantry — 500 *niṣkas*,
(m) The lord of 1,000 horsemen — 1,000 *niṣkas* (*NP* 6.38)
(n) Each man from infantry — 5 gold coins
(o) The leader of 100 *patti* riding horse — 7 gold coins (*NP* 6.39)

(p) The mahaout, the charioteer, the flag-bearer, the guard of the disc, the leader of 300 foot-soldiers, the runner of 300 miles in a day, the leader of the carriers of news of the enemies, the manager bearing a staff, the lord of the different categories of bards, the controller of the bringing and distribution of grains, the controller of defence accounts giving the salaries to the army, the counter of the soldiers — each of these — 15 *varva*s (*NP* 6.40-42).

After this *NP* notes that the salary to be given to the soldiers should be determined in accordance with their work, family heredity, and time (*NP* 6.43).

Pre-war Training, Planning and Arrangements

The king has to be prepared for war during the times of peace as well as disturbance; for, disturbances and other times can arise suddenly. Hence he has to check their training and all the details regarding the army daily (8.23a).

1. *All the four limbs of the army need training for their specific individual purposes*:

   (i) *Elephants* — In the war, the elephants are trained for marching in front, entering into forest forts, making new roads and clearing existing ones, destroying objects and appliances creating fright in the army, breaking walls, carrying treasure, allaying the fear of the timid, conciliating quarrelsome elephants, blockading in a fort the hostile infantry and cavalry, and also for carrying loads and breaking trees (*NP* 6.59-61).

   Also, a country which has trees and excellent creepers, which can be crushed (for eating), is without mire or caverns, whose rocks can easily be mounted and which is uneven, is fit for elephants (*NP* 6.71).

   (ii) *Chariots* — The functions of the chariots are to go in the second line, protect the elephants, fill up the gaps in the line of battle, keep the enemy at a distance, blockade the enemy, stand at the head of the battle-array and make a frightening noise (*NP* 6.62-63).

(iii) *Cavalry* — The cavalry has to obtain the knowledge of the woods, country and roads, protection of the troops of the allies and the forage, dispersal over the country in order to get grass and fuel, frightening the enemy by neighing, closely following, going far away, performing rapid movements and creating pillage in the hostile troops (*NP* 6.64-65).

(iv) *Infantry* — Clearing wells and fords, making roads, camps and the royal tent, performing sundry unpaid duties, protecting the granaries, arsenals and treasuries, and making the entrenchments for the army, are the tasks of the infantry (*NP* 6.66-67).

2. *Terrains mentioned for their use*: A country which has neither trees, nor big rocks, nor anthills, nor thickets and thorns is suitable for treading and also that which is not very uneven is regarded as convenient for infantry. Moreover, a country without mire, stumps, or without stones, which can withstand the treading of the hoofs of horses, which also is without cracks and even, is esteemed as a good country for the horses to move. Further it is said that a country which has no cornfields, no pitfalls, no trees and thickets can bear the pressure of wheels and hoofs and is pleasant, is praised as fit for carriages (*NP* 6.68-70).

3. *Advanced training*: This type of training is to be given to some warriors by the king. This indirectly is promotion and recognition of their merits as well as upgradation. Thus, (a) of those soldiers, who serve on the carriages, should be made expert riders, (b) the horsemen be turned into able chariot-soldiers, (c) these two (the horsement and chariot-soldiers) capable of fighting from the back of elephants, and also as foot-soldiers, and (d) the latter as chariot-soldiers, horsemen and elephant-soldiers (*NP* 6.55-56).

Further, all the soldiers should be made experts in charioteering, elephant-riding, in guarding the carriage wheels and in other difficult things (*NP* 6.57).

Lastly, the king should instruct his troops of all the four sections well in all the thirty-two movements of war, which are laid down in polity (*NP* 6.58).

4. *Planning for war*: As war involves the entire nation at stake, planning for it is utmost essential. Moreover, extreme minuteness and particularness are involved therein to meet with any unforeseen requirement as well. Hence the author of *NP* enumerates the details as follows:

(a) The fortified camp is required that is quickly accessible by a horse in a day, has a broad rampart, an encircling ditch, is well stored with money, grain and weapons. It should be garrisoned by archers with full provision of water and husk for burning. It should be fully supplied with artisans (*NP* 6.29-30).

(b) Before leaving the capital for the battlefront, the king should appoint trustworthy and intelligent men who have been frequently rewarded as surveyors for harem and all such personal matters, as superintendents of the seraglio, and as treasurers for the protection of the harem and the citizens (*NP* 6.31).

(c) Before setting out on march the king should dispatch many road-makers and artisans, workmen who give the finishing touch, superintendents of the work, diggers, carpenters, surveyors, (tree) planters as also bridge-makers, those who know the geography of the country, hunters who are well acquainted with forests, and the spies who find out the hostile army hidden in a low point (*NP* 6.34-35).

(d) For the march, the king should have ready all the necessaries such as saddles, bridle-bits, stirrups and other such things, chowries, helmets, armours and housings, ropes, spike-hammers, iron horseshoes, plane irons, hoes, wood-chisels, knives, wheels, cramp-irons, saws, leather water-bags, baskets, shovels, needles fit for sewing purposes, bulls for carrying burdens, mules, far-going camels, and medicine for elephants, horses and men, various musical instruments, the sweet *kairātaka*, beverage cotton of the silk-cotton tree, together with flint and iron, various musical instruments, wooden vessels, iron and copper basins, brass implements, stonecutters, chisels, grindstones, balances, awls, boots breeches, as

well as whips, hounds, bamboo sticks, traps and fish-nets, spittoons, perfumed oil, yellow orpiment, and many such things for the march of the army (*NP* 6.51-54).

(e) When he begins the march, he should distribute his watchmen and sentinels and place his reserve 200 bows' length distant from his army behind, arranged in a proper array (*NP* 6.32-33).

(f) *Areas to be avoided during the march*: After dispatching all the men of the army, the king should lead his own army. On way, he should be alert so as to avoid burning grounds, the shrines of gods, the hermitages of great sages, holy places and sanctuaries. Also, he should not tread on burning husk, ashes, hair and skulls (*NP* 6.36-37). Further, the king should camp in pleasant, auspicious, healthy and well-watered country on the way (*NP* 6.38).

(g) *En route* to the warfront, he has to remove the hurdles placed by the enemy, be alert of the single individuals who roam about the camp (*NP* 6.39).

(h) Moreover, he should daily visit all the parts of his army surrounded by his bodyguards (*NP* 6.39).

(i) The king should personally check the encampments of his allied kings and simultaneously he should send his troops all around in order to frustrate the efforts of the enemy (*NP* 6.40).

(j) He should always keep his espionage system in action. Excellent encampments for the army should be made, not all being at the same spot. All must be provided with ample supply of water, wood, all types of grains, drinks and food, as also finances. Expert medical aid as well as skilled artisans paid handsomely must also be present at each encampment. All the encampments must be well-protected (NP 6.41-43). Attack on the enemy can be finally planned and led thereafter.

(k) The king must give awards, clothes and jewellery and much money to the warriors, after which he should confront the enemies without anxiety (*NP* 6.44).

5. *Replenishment of the supplies*: The king should keep himself updated about the soldiers and their wornout weapons. He should provide new ones in their stead; in no way the pay may be affected (*NP* 6.105).

6. *Time for expedition/march*: The ideal time to lead the war expedition is the month of Mārgaśīrṣa, as it is then that the roads are clear and weather is pleasant. Such favourable climate and situation are due to last till the months of Phālguna or Caitra giving him sufficient time to gain a sure victory by a well-planned expedition (*NP* 7.51). However, to achieve this aim, he should be extremely secretive regarding the friends who have sided the enemy; for, such people are considered as the greatest enemies (*NP* 7.52).

7. *Review of the army*: An excellent king himself gets his troops ready for the war; he should stand in the centre of the army, review them and then send them forward (*NP* 6.15).

8. *Battle arrays* — (a) *Purpose:* The purpose of the arrays is stated right at the beginning, namely, to disrupt, destroy and elude the enemy army, and simultaneously to keep one's own army in unison for operation on the front (*NP* 6.1)

   (b) *Controlling factors*: The king is advised to form the arrays on the battle considering his own strengths and the difficulties as well as the mass of the enemy army (*NP* 6.2).

   (c) *Types:* There are four basic arrays (*NP* 6.3) under which are given various sub-varieties of each. They are as follows:

Here it is interesting to note that the well-known arrays that the layman has heard of such as *vārāhī, makara, garuḍa, krauñca, padma* and others are categorized according to the arrangements of the different sections of the army on the warfront (*NP* 6.9). With reference to the number of the arrays, it is said that using one's own intellect as well as resourcefulness and the strata of life — god, man and demon, innumerable arrays can be thought of and implemented according to the situation (*NP* 6.10). Lastly the author mentions the seven sections of an array — the front portion, two sides, two wings, the centre, the back portion, the portion in reserve and the two edges (*NP* 6.11).

Daṇḍa (*NP* 6.4-5)	*Bhoga* (*NP* 6.6)	*Asaṁhata* (*NP* 6.7)	*Maṇḍala* (*NP* 6.8cd)
Pradara	*Gomūtrikā*	*Ardhacandrakatdhara*	*Sarvabhadra*
Dṛḍhāka	*Haṁsikā*	*Vajra*	*Durjaya*
Satya	*Sañcārī*	*Śarkaṭaka*	
Cāpa	*Śakaṭa*	*Śṛṅgī*	
Aśvākṣī	*Karapatanti*	*Kākapādī*	
Supṛṣṭha		*Godhikā*	
Apratiṣṭha			
Śyena			
Vijaya			
Sañjaya			
Viśāla			
Sūcī			
Sthūṇa			
Avarṇa			
Camumūkha			
Sukhāsya			
Vijaya			

The arrangement of the limbs of the army is also recommended in *NP*. To illustrate:

- The king should arrange in battle the elephants in the front, the chariots behind the horses on both sides and in the rear the infantry. This is the first and the best option for gaining victory (*NP* 6.12).
- According to the enemy's array and the situation, the king should send to the front the chariots, elephants, horses and infantry, or the horses, chariots, elephants and infantry, or the infantry, horses, chariots and elephants, together with their attendants, having arranged them in proper order and determining the right place and time (*NP* 6.13-14).
- Further, he should place the strongest and the most efficient soldiers in battle. The herd of tamed elephants should be kept ready to move on the highway that is 100 bows wide (*NP* 6.17).

- The king should be accompanied by a select harem, a small rear guard, and some intimate neighbours, some suburban inhabitants, and some merchants who live in the capital, chamberlains, eunuchs, old men, young, sick, wounded, blind, lame, maimed, and very weak persons (*NP* 6.18-20).
- Similarly, the state coaches for pleasure — riding furnished with comfortable seats, officials with their attendants and war material, treasury, armoury for weapons (like cannon balls, etc.) and arsenal, granaries, stragglers and all the thin and weak group should be made to stay at the rear and protected properly by some of his valiant men (*NP* 6.21-23).

10. *On the front:* Very strong men, fast runners, persons who can face the enemy bravely can move freely amongst the enemy, spies, messengers (who can easily bring information of the enemy), persons who give information by signals and men experienced in fighting, and the tallest of his elephants, which carries the flag of victory together with his strong and well-trained soldiers should be sent in front of the army (*NP* 6.25).

11. *Daily changes in local distribution of the army*: For the absolute security of his men and himself, the king should make daily changes in the local distribution of his army. This also keeps his men alert about their aim, namely, loyalty towards their master (*NP* 6.83).

12. *Creating faction in the enemy army*: The king should assign a large amount of money to him who can sow dissension in the hostile army, who can scale the hostile forts and enlarge his kingdom (*NP* 6.110).

13. *Self-protection*: The officials who precede the king together with their attendants, the military escort with its attendants, persons who walk immediately behind the king, runners, staff-bearers and other followers, the sword and armour bearers, eulogists and bards should be placed in front for the protection of the king (*NP* 6.26-27).

Further, a fleet of well-bred, white and fiery horses carrying warriors and charioteers that are clad in their mail should be stationed near and behind the king (*NP* 6.28).

14. *Personal Presence*: As the leader of the nation and, therefore, of the entire army, it forms an integral part of a king's *nīti* as well as duty to hold the strategic place devoid of danger which is coveted by heroes and fight the enemies. However, here too, his bodyguards who have sworn never to leave their posts even when his army is in confusion should accompany him (*NP* 6.85).

15. *Army corps*: War is a gamble depending on destiny, as often all the perfect plans come to be foiled within a moment and tables turn. Hence, in case the army flees the king has to hold the ground by stopping it with the army corps, which is called *muṇḍanika*. By controlling the situation thus, the king should consecrate the arms and new ensigns and march out; thus he can defeat the enemies (*NP* 6.86). Here *NP* (6.87) gives the definition of the term *muṇḍanika* — it is the army corps composed of troops which have neither the royal umbrella nor chowry and is placed at a distance of 2 *gavyūti*s (2 *krośa*s according to Oppert).

16. *Security in the camps, movements, etc.*: Security in the camp is of utmost importance at any given point of time. *NP*, therefore, discusses these measures and also explains as being defensive in nature. It says that what are undertaken to foil the machinations of the enemy are the defensive measures (*NP* 6.78cd).

Hence watchwords need to be given out in the army which have to be changed everyday. However, *NP* warns that only the officers should know them, not the soldiers and other persons (*NP* 6.77). Further, special persons wearing the king's badge should go about to proclaim his orders (*NP* 6.78ab). Moreover, except for those who are on duty the king should kill all those who walk about the camp at night, who give a wrong watch-word and in this way disobey the royal orders (*NP* 6.81).

17. *Kūṭayuddha*: This topic with reference to war is mentioned towards the end of the fifth canto, that is, when the description of all kinds of weapons, their training comes to an end and before the discussion on military administration and organization begins. These are the weapons that are used to attack/defense openly, that is, not for unfair use. In other words, both the

warriors know of the use of these weapons, rather, they are used in their very presence.

However, since the entire text begins on the note of welfare of the people by the state through expert knowledge of *DV* in Kaliyuga as expressed by Janamejaya, in a very natural manner, the author has concluded this section by referring to weapons not used in a traditional way nor the traditional weapons. In other words, now the author takes up the topic of such weapons and in it we find the mention of some tribes that are considered to be out of the fold of the acceptable social communities. The underlying motive is that when the enemy adopts unfair means, one has to be prepared for it so that a counter-attack may be made properly. This is as follows.

In the Kaliyuga, all the weapons that are described so far will undergo change in accordance with the physique, strength and inclination of the people. What kind of the inclination and nature would be is already described in the first canto. Hence the weapons and the ways of using them also would be given accordingly. The machines will be used to throw balls of iron, lead and stone balls. Here the author seems to be referring to catapults and canons as also to guns. (This is an important point i.e. if guns are referred to, the composition of the text is not ancient.) The other weapons are such as pouring of hot oil, liquid jaggery, honey, the sap of the *sarjarasa* and other objects to take the enemy by surprise which will be abundantly used in the Kaliyuga due to the increase in *adharma* (unrighteousness) (*NP* 5.55).

In this context are mentioned the various tribes that are usually considered to be outside the accepted social code and communities. *NP* (5.56-58) enumerates them and who were known by the author to be adhering to the above means. They are the Hūṇas, Pulindas, Śabaras, Barbaras, Pallavas, Śakas, Mālavas, Koṅkaṇas, Āndhras, Coḷas, Pāṇḍyas, Keraḷas, Mlecchas, Goyonis, Cāṇḍālas, Śvapacas, Māvellakas, Lalitthas, Kirātas and Kukkuras.

They are referred as *khala* (rogues, evils) (*NP* 5.57b), *pāpāḥ* (sinful) (*NP* 5.58a), and born of a mixed caste — a taboo and hence incurring *sāṅkarya-doṣa* (*NP* 5.58c). Therefore, since they follow conduct contrary to *dharma* (social norms), they would naturally not understand it. The commentary observes here that these tribes follow conduct other than the accepted one and hence they violate *dharma*

— so they are *vṛṣala* (of low caste) or *dharma-lopaka* (violators of *dharma*).

18. *People not to be injured/killed in war*: *NP* recognizes that on the battlefield, one can kill the enemies with various types of concealed, poisoned, burning, stone-throwing or occult weapons (*NP* 6.45).

However, the importance of the Indian political theology lies in its firm belief in humanitarian approach. Hence people not to be injured or attacked are very clearly laid down.

One should not kill a warrior who has climbed upon a tree, a eunuch, one with folded hands, with open hair, sitting, saying "I am yours", who is asleep, who has bowed down, who is naked, is without weapons, who is not not fighting, onlookers, who is accompanying somebody, who is facing difficulty with his weapons, who is in agony, who has not been able to test his weapons, nor a low, nor who has retired, nor who has resorted to an anthill, nor should one kill him who has surrendered with a blade of grass in his mouth, nor who is wearing a woman's dress (*NP* 6.44, 46-49ab). *NP* condemns attack on these by proclaiming that if these persons are killed even by a soldier, he becomes a sinner and his good actions are exchanged with the evilones of those whom he has killed (*NP* 6.49cd, 50).

19. *Rewards and other gestures shown after war*: These are the gestures of appreciation through which the army retains its loyalty as they show the king's sincere recognition of the merits of his men, those who have lost parts of their bodies and themselves. *NP* says that when the soldier receives rewards in addition to his pay, he will perform daring feats (*NP* 6.92). The king should, besides the pay, give a reward for daring acts also in order to obtain brave men for his service (*NP* 6.101). The soldiers should pay for their clothes and washermen's bills as well as for medicines when sick from their salary (*NP* 6.102). This important duty is carried out by the king in the following ways:

    (a) If an extraordinarily meritorious deed has been performed, the king should specially present to the soldiers a vessel (purse) full of money (*NP* 6.88).

(b) He should give 100,000 *varva*s to him who kills the hostile king, half of that sum when a crown prince is killed, the same also on the slaughter of a commander-in-chief (*NP* 6.89).

(c) On putting to death a leader of an *akṣauhiṇī* he should give half of the former sum,

(d) And on the murder of a councillor or minister half of that (*NP* 6.90),

(e) And also to him who kills the commander of a *anīkinī, camū, pṛtanā, vāhinī, gaṇa, gulma, senāmukha* and *patti* after having respectively deducted one-half for the state treasury, he should give the remaining halves (*NP* 6.91).

(f) He who has killed the general of an *akṣauhiṇī*, or the second or third in command of it, or also a leader of a *camū* or of a *pṛtanā*, or a commander of an *anīkinī*, obtains accordingly a gift from the king. In this manner a reward is to be fixed for the slaughter of any officer in a still lower position (*NP* 6.93-94).

(g) The king should give a soldier 5 *varva*s when he has taken and delivered over to him an enemy soldier who, weapons in hand, was running away (*NP* 6.95).

(h) A king should give 3 *varva*s to him who informs him about one of his soldiers, who, for the sake of his life, were running away without arms (*NP* 6.96).

(i) He who informs the king that he has killed an elephant and an elephant-rider, and cleft the skull of a *mahārathika*, is worthy to receive 2,000 *varva*s (*NP* 6.97).

(j) He who has killed a distinguished cavalier or the commander of the infantry should receive 1,000 *varva*s from the king (*NP* 6.98).

(k) He who brings away from the hostile army an elephant or a chariot receives from the king a reward of 500 *varva*s (*NP* 6.99).

(l) Food is to be given to the soldiers on march though not stationed at a place. This is to be given besides the pay, knowing the fatigues on the road (*NP* 6.100).

(m) The king should divide the booty taken from the country of the enemy thus — half should be given to the soldiers, and he should himself take the other half (*NP* 6.103).

(n) A soldier who should take a horse or a chariot with its appurtenances, should, being praised by the king, obtain the fourth part of its value (*NP* 6.104).

(o) To the relations of those who have for his sake been killed in battle by the enemy, and also to those who are worn out in his service, he should give pensions (*NP* 6.106).

(p) To the families of those who are dead and to those who are living, but have in the past served the king very faithfully, he should give half of their former pay (*NP* 6.107).

(q) The young soldiers, who while facing the enemy in battle are crippled and unfit for service of the king, should receive half of their former pay (*NP* 6.108).

(r) To him, who in order to undo the machinations of the enemies informs the king of their secret plans, is promised double his wage (*NP* 6.109).

(s) The king should assign a large amount of money to him who sows dissension in the hostile army, who scales the hostile forts, and who tries to expand his kingdom (*NP* 6.110).

20. *Arthavāda or glorification*: Those brave warriors who are steady in the war intently killing kings, attain heaven when they fight with might without escaping from the battlefield (*NP* 7.44).

The Daily Routine of the King

This is referred to in the eighth canto which comes at the end of *NP*. As seen, the aim of *NP* is to lay down *rājadharma* especially in the context of the complete deviations from the social and moral norms. This specifically invited exposition of *DV* forming the focus of *NP*. However, *DV* is expounded only in connection of *rājadharma* as specific requirement of Janamejaya (*NP* 1.10-18). Therefore, after discussing *DV* (1.42-47, cantos 2-7), finally, the author describes the subject of the *rājadharma*, and thus giving it the title — Rājavyāpārakathanam. Here, he describes at length polity and daily

administration of the king as the head of the state, in the form of his daily routine. Through this the author speaks about polity and administration of the state; hence the title. However, at the outset itself, the author implies that all this comes under the scope of his one and only duty — *lokarañjanam*, that is, to look after the welfare of his subjects from dawn till late night.

This is like a lady who concentrates all her activities on the child she is carrying in her womb, and makes her own interests subservient (*NP* 8.2). The author then describes the divine origin of the king from the eight guardians of directions, and hence his authority (*NP* 8.3-7). This coincides with Manu's description of the subject in the chapter wordings being very similar. In the eighth verse we find a clear indication of the success of kingship in manifestation of prosperity and wealth by the citizen without any fear from the king. Thereafter, the author proceeds to describe the daily routine of the king all of which projects his functions. His day starts at the early dawn with contemplation and analysis of the issues of the state to be discussed during his meeting with the ministers, in a fresh state of mind (*NP* 8.9). On finishing his daily chores (*NP* 8.10-11), he is to commence with the working of the assembly and engage himself in the work of governance. It must be noted here that the author emphasizes upon the king's daily visit to the learned wise to pay respect and seek guidance in spirituality as well, which would incline him towards the control of senses as well which will be helpful to him to the effective practice of his duties to the state (*NP* 8.12-14). The day of the king involves the following matters in the order as given in *NP*:

1. The judicial matters include the appointment of a learned and wise brāhmaṇa as the chief judge (*NP* 8.15cd).
2. The ministers should be seven or eight and be associated with public and administrative sectors as per their heredity (*NP* 8.18).
3. The advisors should be two or three in number to give him counsel in all the matters of the state; they should be balanced in mind, fair and just in approach (*NP* 8.19).
4. The doorkeepers and others officials who are in constant close contact with him physically during all his activities have to

be alertly watched from the point of his personal security (*NP* 8.20).

5. The ambassadors and envoys should be sharp, learned, wise and have the extraordinary capacity to be able to read the minds of others (*NP* 8.21). These posts are related to the foreign affairs of the state.

6. Now the author deals with the judicial matters wherein is also mentioned the office of the *purohita*. The king is to be guided by him, the ministers and the wise brāhmaṇas in the legal matters where civil and criminal cases are to be examined and judgements are to be pronounced keeping in view the civil, criminal and religious laws of the day (Dharmaśāstras) (*NP* 8.22). The author puts in a note of caution for the king here, namely, never to punish the innocent which may lead him to hell (ibid.).

7. Subsequently are delineated the activities carried out by the king in the order of the actual sequence in his routine. They are — the examination of the army and the distribution of the salary, the livelihood of the weak sections of the subjects (*NP* 8.23), the daily accounts, the welfare of the farmers (*NP* 8.24), the effects of natural calamities and financial and other aspects of governance and others (*NP* 8.24-26).

8. Thereafter, the author takes up the day-to-day administration of the king. This involves personal (and probably surprise) checking of the officers during their working hours. If they were found corrupt or harassing the subjects, they would be punished by king (*NP* 8.27ab). The victimized subjects are to be comforted, by him personally by giving them gifts as assurance (*NP* 8.27cd). On the other hand, the corrupt and cruel officers have to be reprimanded by the king personally (*NP* 8.28). The author further says that as the king's duty is to implement *nīti*, he has to be alert about the activities of all his officers through his spies.

9. Different types of penalties and punishments to be pronounced to various kinds of offenders are listed (*NP* 8.31-36). However, again, the outstanding feature is not just to inflict punishment, but also mould them into duty bound

human beings and officers (*NP* 8.37). The author further recommends penalties and punishments to officials in accordance with their offences, and also those who mock them as well as the royal personages (*NP* 8.38-42).

10. Three golden rules to be invariably followed are laid down at this stage which are both practical and relevant in the contemporary times as well:

    (a) The leader of the nation (the king in our context) has to be soft and kind at heart and behave not too harshly towards his people (*NP* 8.43).

    (b) A man's prime security and prosperity lies with the government. Where this is achieved, one's family and wealth can be secure too (*NP* 8.44). The implication is that a man may migrate to a nation having secure and stable government in case they are not provided to him in his home country.

    (c) Freedom in duty — that is, the dedicated officials are to be given independence in carrying out in ratio of their income. In other words, this is a direct relation of the responsibility in proportion to the salary an official draws (*NP* 8.45).

11. Thereafter are enumerated the cadres of different officials and their pay scales (*NP* 8.46-53). There the author begins with the rural administration — a village begins the smaller unit, and ends with officer administering the capital and each city. This officer, designated as *sarvārthacintaka,* was to be placed in each city, being the highest in the cadre of officials on the executive side, and in-charge of his region. The purpose is to protect the people from corrupt and cruel officials. Thus the concept of the welfare state is clearly laid here which is in direct correlation with the implementation of *rājadharma* in Kaliyuga in the first canto.

12. For the effective implementation of this administrative structure and the economic growth of the society, equally effective and yet a soft structure of taxation in various sectors is essential. The aim is to lay down a just and fair taxation structure responsible for carrying out the twofold purpose

of the collection of abundant revenue for the state treasury and simultaneously to tax subjects in proportion to their income in a just way so as not to foil the growth of their personal affluence and prosperity (*NP* 8.56). (That the king should never collect taxes from the brāhmaṇas is voiced in *NP* 8.57.) However, as far as the management is concerned, the golden rule of *NP* is — to earn and generate income in a great proportion and to economize expenditure, simultaneously guarding the welfare of the people (*NP* 8.58).

13. Public welfare works like building reservoirs, planting trees, constructing roads and other facilities related to infrastructure, felicitating the learned, giving charity to the brāhmaṇas and other matters come within the scope of the *rājadharma* (*NP* 8.59-62). Again the golden rules here for the king are:

    (a) to obtain what is not gained, to guard and increase this and then to distribute among the deserving people (*NP* 8.63),

    (b) to guard what he earns for the state as well as what is given to him (*NP* 8.65), and

    (c) to honour and continue with the system of earning livelihood as laid down by the ancestors (*NP* 8.66).

14. The significance of the counsel and advice of the advisors and ministers is so great that according to Vaiśampāyana, it is the foundation of victory (*NP* 8.61ab). Hence, he refers to the secret places to hold the same following Manu (*NP* 8.68-69, 71).

15. A brief enumeration of the four means/instruments of *rājanīti* and their varieties follows hereafter (*NP* 8.72-79); then follows the division of the sixfold foreign policy and their sub-divisions (*NP* 8.80-85). Also are referred to the position of the state, that is, its internal condition of its stagnation, as well as their powers and their consequences of the king and the state (*NP* 8.86). All these form the issues to be discussed by the king with his advisors and ministers. It is with this hectic and alert schedule that the king's day till lunch ends (*NP* 8.88).

The later half of the day is reserved for the king's personal life (*NP* 8.89-90). The day finally ends with reading and discussing the matters related to religion and spirituality before going to sleep (*NP* 8.91).

Towards the end Brahmā glorifies the implementation of the above — *rājadharma/rājanīti,* training in military organization and weaponry; implementing this in his routine, the king is sure to achieve the fourfold aim of human life (8.92). With this glorification Vaiśampāyana concludes his instruction as the purport of the text is proven. It is twofold:

(a) the attainment of the fruit of following the instruction as achieved by Pṛthu to be obtained by Janamejaya as well (*NP* 8.94-95), and

(b) the similar gain by men of all castes, especially by the kṣatriyas as well as their women (*NP* 8.97-98). The achievement of the aim of the text is culminated in one simple line at the end of the text — that is, Janamejaya also derived pleasure by looking after his subjects by following the well-defined *nīti* (*NP* 8.100cd) — thus the aim of the objects is materialized when imparted to a worthy person.

II.2. Glimpses of Rājadharma: A Comparative Study

The seeds and the germinations of all the branches of knowledge are to be found in the Vedic times, which is true for *rājadharma* as well; for, the king or the leader of the state is indispensable at all times in all societies. Hence *rājadharma* (the royal duties) is indirectly referred to in the Vedic literature. Since the basic idea of kingship (that is the leadership of the state) is to introduce and maintain order in the society, *rājadharma* always implied government and statecraft, the fulfilment of his duties and responsibilities by the king has been of utmost significance for the stability, development and happiness of the society. Hence *Mbh* (12.63.29) says: *sarve dharmā rājadharma-pradhānāḥ* (*rājadharma*s are the fountainhead of all the *dharma*s).

From this point of view, *rājadharma* forms an important, an integral part of Dharmaśāstra literature and also forms the subject of many a treatise in the tradition. Mm. P.V. Kane enlists them in

his encyclopaedic work (Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstras*, vol. III, p. 13). Keeping these in view, I have tried to leaf through a few of those important pages of history in an attempt to understand and project the traditional *rājadharma* in them.

The subject of *rājadharma* generally proceeds chiefly under the concept of *saptāṅga rājya* (the seven constituents of the state):

1. The ruler/king, his origin, qualities and others.
2. The *amātya/saciva/mantrin* or the ministers and the *tīrthas* or the other high officials of the state with whose counsel and assistance the king carries out the administration of the State through different *upāyas*, *śaktis* and *sidhhis;* and *ṣaḍguṇas*.
3. *Janapada/rāṣṭra* (state).
4. *Durga* (fortification and capital).
5. *Kośa* (treasury and finance).
6. *Bala/daṇḍa* (military administration and organization) (*DV*)
7. *Mitra* (Ally).

Local administration is also always referred to as a part of general administration.

These can be found variedly referred to since the Vedic literature till some late medieval texts in the pages that follow.

II.2.1. The Vedic Literature

The seven constituents of the state are referred to in the Vedic literature in a way different from that found in the texts on polity due to its form.

The necessity of the ruler/king is referred to and so also his importance. *AiBr* (1.14) says that the gods were in an unhappy state as they did not have a king; hence they elected one unanimously. This magnifies his importance and indicates his duty to look upon the state as his own; the ruler who does not do so neither deserves to rule nor does the state belong to him (*ŚatBr* 9.3.2.5). Being a kṣatriya by birth, he is to follow this duty as his *dharma* as he is the lord of *dharma* (ibid. 5.3.3.7).

Pt. Satavalekar (Lecture 33) deriving the definition of kṣatriya from the word *kṣatra* on the basis of *VS* 30.2 — *kṣatrāya rājanyam*, interpretes it as "brave, warrior"; hence kṣatriya is the one who

protects people from misery and downfall. Similarly, *vīra* is the one who protects people from the enemies and takes them over the difficulties (*ṚV* 6.45.6); thus he is not only brave, but is steady, victorious, giving charity, a fast shooter, wielding sharp weapons and unbearable for the enemies (*ṚV* 9.90.3). *VS* 22.22 consists of a prayer for expert shooters and great warriors of the nation — *ā rāṣṭre śūrā iṣavyostivyādhī mahāratho jāyatām*. The warrior should be strong, lustrous, have the quality of perseverance and be virtuous (*AiBr* 38.1; *TBr* 1.5.8.3). He is called "the protector of the nation" — *rāṣṭragopā* when he remains inclined towards achieving the welfare of the people (*AiBr* 40.1).

The *purohita* held an extremely important office. It is said that he who looked after the spiritual and religious affairs of the ruler was a brāhmaṇa — he was the *purohita* (*AiBr* 40.1). He assisted the ruler in all the matters of the state and also possessed the capacity to win wars for him as did Vasiṣṭha in the Daśarājña war (*ṚV* 7.18; *ṚV* 33). The *purohita*s like Vasiṣṭha and Viśvāmitra had magnanimous personalities and exerted a great influence on the rulers who patronized them as a part of their duties. They not only practised austerities, but learnt, taught, and knew the art and science of defence and attack well. Hence despite the presence of the ruler and the commander-in-chief, the *purohita* guided the kings to victory. His office is considered to be like that of the commander-in-chief (*ŚatBr* 5.3.1.1). In the spiritual realm, it was believed that the gods did not accept the oblations of the ruler who did not have a *purohita* (*AiBr* 40.1).

*Amātya*s (ministers) are referred to in the Vedic literature. *ŚatBr* 5.2.5.1 gives them the qualification of *ratna*. *AV* (1.29.1-6) says that they are to be five in number, *sūta* and *grāmaṇī* being among them (the latter signifies the local administration). The minister was considered to be the pillar of the nation; for, the ruler drew strength to rule from him (*ŚatBr* 12.4.5.1-4).

Janapada/rāṣṭra and *pura* are also mentioned in the Vedic literature. Different types of cities (as capitals) are referred to, such as Śata-lauha-pura (*ṚV* 7.15.14), Śaradīpura (*ṚV* 1.131.4; *AV* 20.75.2). These were governed with the counsel of the *purohita* and the ministers, along with the assemblies (*sabhā* and *samiti*). The members were called *sabhya* and the speaker was called *sabhāpati* (*TS* 4.5.3.2:

sabhāpatibhyaśca vo namaḥ; AV 8.10.9: *yantyasya sabhāṁ sabhyo bhavati ya evam veda; AV* 8.10.11: *yāntyasya samitīṁ samityo bhavati ya evam veda*).

Further, an important constituent of the state was *durga* (fortification) for the protection of the *pura* and *rāṣṭra*. That the Vedic culture was pastoral and agro-based with cattle-rearing as the main occupation is a known fact. *Vāji* and *rayī* are the recurring words for wealth and prosperity. To gain it was the ambition of an individual and of the nation. Hence, *ŚatBr* (5.1.6.6) says that the chief duty of the ruler was to enrich his state in all aspects. The Vājapeya and the other sacrifices had the gain of prosperity as their chief aim, besides sovereignty.

Here it may be noted that different types of taxes as revenues are referred to, such as the tax on land (*AV* 3.29.6), custom duty with reference to the maritime trade (ibid.), tax on sale and purchase of goods (*AV* 3.29.3), general taxes (*AV* 19.45.3-4), special tax during war (*AV* 11.10.5) and others. Generally speaking, one-sixth of the income formed the tax to be paid in the state treasury (*ŚatBr* 5.2.5.9).

At this point of time, references to *bala/daṇḍa* (military aspect) of the Vedic life cannot remain unobserved. The words *mama-satyam* or *vāja-sāti* (section II.3) cannot be neglected along with the fact that Indra — the national hero was also a valorous war-god who had killed Vr̥tra, Ahi, Vala and other demoniac forces. The Daśarājña and many other wars too were waged. That the conflicts between the kingdoms were of a usual occurrence among the Vedic people is evident by such references. Pt. Satavalekar has shown military references in the Vedas especially in the context of the Maruts at length (Lecture 33).

Consequently, *ṣaḍguṇa*s (six factors) of foreign policy are also referred to, such as *sandhi* in the myth of Indra and Namuci (*TBr* 12.6.8), *yāna* as the march for victory (*TBr* 2.8.5.5-6) and so on.

Among the several weapons such as the armour, sword, bow and arrow (*ŚatBr* 13.2.15.5), *vajra, rukma, r̥ṣṭi* (*TBr* 2.8.5.5-6); quiver (*R̥V* 5.57.2, etc.), *asi* (*JBr* 3.3.39), *paraśu* (*AV* 11.9.1; *ŚatBr* 3.5.3.10), *pāśa* (*ŚatBr* 1.2.2.16, etc.), lead balls (*ŚatBr* 5.3.3.10; *TBr* 1.7.8.2), fire weapons (*AiBr* 3.5; *ŚatBr* 1.4.6.11-12), fire-emitting arrows (*AiBr* 4.8), land mines (*ŚatBr* 3.4.4.2-3) and others are mentioned which prove that the Vedic people were adept in warfare too.

Daṇḍa in another form refers to the exercise of the coercive power to maintain law and order within the state and thus implement the effective prevalence of security leading to prosperity. We find reference to the police force to this effect in the famous Akṣa-Sūkta of *Ṛ̊V* (10.34) where the gambler has to face the police (referred to as the soldiers) as he is unable to pay the debt he has incurred by the loss of the bet.

To achieve this purpose, namely, of internal security as well as a watch over the activities of the allies and enemies, spies and envoys or messengers were engaged. That Agni was the messenger (*dūta*) of the gods and Saramā went to the Paṇis in search of the cows of the gods are well-known instances in this respect. The Saramā-Paṇi-Sūkta (*Ṛ̊V* 10.108) projects the use of *dāna* (one of the four *upāya*s) which the Paṇis employed to win over Garuḍa — the first messenger of the gods to their side, as well as its ineffectiveness on Saramā, followed by the battle between the gods and the Paṇis. Here Bṛ̊haspati as the commander-in-chief (*senānī*) led the army of the gods and won the battle.

Lastly, it must not be forgotten that not only prosperity, but sovereignty, that is, the acquisition of more land and wealth and its maintenance were the twin goals of the Vedic statecraft also. These were to be fulfilled by the king through the sacrifices like Aśvamedha, Rājasūya, Vājapeya, Sarvamedha and others. This concept permeated down through the ages (we can see the notion of sovereignty in all the civilizations).

In brief, we can observe that the distinctive feature of the Indian kingship was the intimate connection of the ruler and the *purohita,* and the ruler and his people (the ruler being the lord of his people — *viś-pati*).

II.2.2. Dharmaśāstras

The Dharmaśāstras describe all the aspects of life of their contemporary times. Due to this, the discussions here cover *rājadharma* as well. Hence we find that some Dharmasūtras and Smṛ̊tis discuss it at least to some extent. Mm. P.V. Kane has discussed this subject very comprehensively in his *History of Dharmaśāstras,* vol. III, in the first section. However, an attempt is made here to deal with this topic with some refrain, namely, Dharmasūtras and Smṛ̊tis (excluding their auxiliary works).

MS (7) opens with the introduction to this subject, which clarifies the term *rājadharma* as being — *yathāvṛtto bhavet-nṛpaḥ* (ibid. 1ab) — how the king should act, his origin and the ultimate achievement (*siddhi*) (ibid. 1cd). It further says that the king — a kṣatriya — should receive training and *saṁskāra*s of a brāhmaṇa and, thereafter, protect all his people justly (*MS* 7.2).

Pulastya Smṛti (7d) considers *rājadharma* to be the fifth *dharma* in addition to the four *dharma*s of all the castes and stages of life — *rājadharmastu pañcamaḥ*. Further, the rituals, the Vedic study and others form the common *dharma*s of all the three upper castes (ibid. 9), whereas the ritual performances, the Vedic study and the protection of the people constitute the exclusive *dharma*s of the king (ibid. 10ab). *Hārīta Smṛti* (2.1.5) also says that the coronated king should look after his people according to *dharma* (besides ritual performances, charity, implementing foreign policy and other things properly and other activities) and should promote *dharma* and prevent *adharma* in his realm. *Atri Smṛti* (14) also notes the protection of beings as the duty of the king. It further says that the king has to bring those who have deviated from the path of *dharma* to that of *dharma* (ibid. 15). It is interesting to note that the punishment of the wicked, adoration of the pious, enrichment of the treasury by fair means, impartiality towards those who approach the king with prayers and protection of the kingdom are the *pañca-yajña*s (five sacrifices) meant for the performance of the kings (ibid. 28). Extolling this, Smṛti says that even the brāhmaṇas do not attain the merit which the kings do by protecting their subjects (ibid. 29).

Now *GDhS* (2.1.7) lays down that the execution of *rājadharma* lies in the protection of all the people by the king in his state as also of the movable and immovable things. *BDhS* (1.11.1) and *VDhS* (19.7) reiterate the same point. The latter also says that the king should establish the *varṇa-āśrama-dharma*s in accordance with the variations of the laws and customs of the different regions, communities, families and other factors. It further enjoins two additional tasks under this, namely, not returning from the battlefield and giving up life in critical times (*VDhS* 2.1.16). It may be noted here that *Atri Smṛti* (368) says that a *vipra* (brāhmaṇa) by birth is called a kṣatriya when in the war he strikes at the enemy warriors and defeats them. *MS* (7.2cd) also says that protection of all beings in a just manner is

the duty of the king. It justifies this by referring to the origin of the king — when there was a chaos in the society in the absence of leadership and everybody was running about in panic, god created the king for their protection (ibid. 7.3). At 7.87, 144, Manu also says that the king's duty is to treat all his subjects equanimously and not to return from the battlefield.

The entire scope of *rājadharma* can be usually discussed under the scope of the daily routine of the king which is done by Manu and others as under:

1. Getting up at dawn, worship the brāhmaṇas, wait upon the learned (*MS* 7.37-38).
2. Counsel with the ministers.
3. Exercise, bathe, lunch, then relax in the harem (*MS* 7.216-21).
4. At appropriate time discuss all the state matters with the ministers.
5. Perform the *sandhyā* rituals.
6. Fully armed, receive reports from the messengers and ambassadors (*MS* 7.221).
7. *YS* (1.327-30, 339) lays down that after waking up, the king has to look into the matters of accounts, judiciary, treasury, ambassadors, ministry, assembly, military and the commander-in-chief, and at appropriate times in between meet the family, have meals, be in the company of the learned, spend time in pastimes, study and other personal matters.
8. In the later part of his seventh chapter, Manu observes that the pursuit of knowledge should hold a great significance in the daily routine of the king. Waiting upon the wise brāhmaṇas well-versed in the Vedic lore with humility at dawn is essential for this also (*MS* 7.31). He should receive instructions from them in the Vedas, the principles of *daṇḍa-nīti*, spirituality, philosophy and financial matters (*MS* 7.43).

The following are mentioned with reference to the administration:

1. *Appointments: MS* (7.54) says that the king should appoint six or eight ministers whose families have been in the state

service for generations, who are well-versed in all arts, sciences, weaponry and other related aspects.

ApDhS (2.5.10-14) mentions that *purohita* should be an expert in Dharmaśāstras and *Arthaśāstra*.

The qualifications for the ambassadors (*dūta*) are also referred to; they should be dedicated, pure, intelligent, have a photogenic memory, be fearless and have many other qualities (*MS* 7.64); for, relationships between different states depend upon their skill (*MS* 7.66). An important point is made by *MS* 7.65 here, namely, the army should be under the control of the commander-in-chief, all the sciences under the control of the army, treasury under the control of the king and *ṣāḍguṇya* (the foreign policy) under the control of the state and the ambassadors (*MS* 7.65).

2. *YS* (1.353) and *MS* (9.294) refer to the state and its seven constituents (*saptāṅga rājya)* as we find them in *KA* (6.1.1). However, *YS* uses the word *jana* instead of *janapada,* while *MS* uses the term *pura.* Moreover in both these texts, only the order of the enumeration of the constituents differs.
3. The Dharmasūtras refer to *kośa* (the state treasury). The aspect of the income of the state in the form of the revenue is to be earned from trade and commerce through *śulka* (duty/tax) imposed on the sale/purchase of merchandize by sea or road in exchange of which the king offers protection to the traders. To illustrate, *MS* (7.127-33) says that *śulka* as a tax should be levied on the goods of the traders, and 1/50 portion of animals, gold, etc., products, 1/6 or 1/12 of the crops and so on should be collected as revenue for the state treasury. It refers to the annual tax (*sāṁvatsarikam balam*) (*MS* 7.80).
4. *Daṇḍa* and *vyavahāra* (punishment and judiciary) are also referred to; to illustrate, *GDhS* (2.2.19) lays down that the king should carry out and solve the judicial matters in accordance with the Vedas, the Dharmaśāstras, its related texts, the Upavedas and the Purāṇas. He should be able to extract the truth in these matters, as it is higher than all the *dharmas*: *sarva-dharmebhyo garīyaḥ prāḍ-vivāde satyavacanam* (*GDhS* 2.5.31).

In case of the wrong cases and falsehood, *daṇḍa* (punishment) is necessary. Hence *GDhS* (2.2.28) says that it is the *dharma* of the king to punish the offenders: *daṇḍo damanāt-iti-āhuḥ-tena-adāntān damayet*. It is said further: *sa ca rājño dharmaḥ*. It is to be executed without any attachment or anger in proportion to the offence (ibid. 2.1.8). We also find the existence of different types of *daṇḍa* such as showing social contempt, harsh words, fine and penalty as well as death; for, each living creature abides by the social norms only out of the fear of *daṇḍa* (ibid. 2.2.28). However, these types of punishments are to be laid down in accordance the region, time, duties, knowledge and other factors. (*VDhS* 19.9).

It must be remembered that the implementation of *daṇḍa* is to be done only after hearing the witnesses to prevent chaos and establish *dharma* in the society (*ApDhS* 2.5.11.3). *MS* extols *daṇḍa* by saying that it was created by god to prevent chaos and to establish *dharma* in the society (7.14).

YS (1.338) specifies that the king should know the acts of his officials; then he should honour the sincere ones and should eliminate the evil ones (*YS* 1.357).

5. Inter-state relationship is referred to in these texts as:

   (a) *Ṣādguṇya* are the six qualities of foreign policy. They are the same as given by *KA* 7.1. *MS* (7.160) lays down that constant alertness regarding these is the duty of the king. He must have a thorough knowledge of these with all their sub-varieties (ibid. 162-68). *MS* (7.160-76) discusses in detail the sub-divisions of each of these qualities.

   (b) *Upāya*s (the means to success) of the tasks by the king are also referred to in *MS* as being four in number. Manu says here that the king should prefer to use *sāma, dāna, bheda,* and *daṇḍa*. The last should be practised to subjugate the enemy (7.198). *YS* 1.346 mentions four means of successfully achieving a task — *sāma, dāna, daṇḍa* and *bheda*.

6. *War, conquests and post-war situations*: *GDhS* pronounces that it is the king's supreme duty to be constantly alert and prepared for victory in war (ibid. 2.1.13, 16). In case of victory,

the king is advised to give a special recognition and rewards to his warriors responsible for his victory; for, this inspires them for the feats of bravery in future (*GDhS* 2.1.22).

YS (1.342-343) recommends that if a king has subjugated a nation by his might, he should honour and abide by the rules of conduct and norms prevalent there.

MS (7.90) assertively prohibits the wars by deceitful means (*kūṭayuddha*) on the battlefield.

Manu declares that when *dharma* is destroyed, it destroys the society, while protects it when it is protected; therefore, *dharma* should always be vigilantly guarded: *dharma eva hato hanti dharmo rakṣati rakṣitaḥ* (8.15). Therefore, it is the prime duty of the king to guard it for the sake of his state and the people, and to rule justly. Hence Manu further says that the king should personally check all his plans and projects, armed forces, accounts and audits, and judiciary; though he is busy in all these multiple duties all the time, he has to be extremely alert and focused in each of these (*MS* 8.419). If he performs his duties diligently, he attains the highest goal a man aspires for (*MS* 8.420). It must be remembered that to implement *dharma* in his realm, the king himself has to imbibe them in his life, remove vices like gambling and betting with animals which are powerful enough to destroy the state (*MS* 9.221). Those who play with these should be punished (*MS* 8.224), keep a checks on both overt and covert thieves through his spies (*MS* 9.256).

Finally we must remember the importance kingship holds — Manu identifies the king with *yuga* (aeon/age): *rājā hi yugam-ucyate* (9.301) as he has the power to mould the history.

II.2.3. Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra

The fact, that *KA* with all its preceding treatises on polity forms the foundation of the succeeding Indian tradition, is unanimously accepted. The structure and the functions of the state and its leadership such as *saptāṅga rājya, tīrthas* in-charge of the different departments of the administration, policy decisions for the use of various means of legislation and decisions like *upāyas, ṣāḍguṇya-nīti,* their execution in administration, the use of the espionage system to keep a check on the violation of *dharma* by the appointed officials and the subjects, to regulate the appropriate inflow and

expenditure of the revenue of the treasury for the state welfare and prosperity, military administration and organization for internal and external security as well as to hold a strong status in *rājamaṇḍala*, civil and criminal law, and other means and techniques to establish a sound rule and thus promote happiness and growth of the subjects. In other words, the aim of *KA* is to create *artha* (the livelihood of men) which in turn implies that it is the means of acquisition and protection of the earth:

> *manuṣyāṇāṁ vṛttirarthaḥ, manuṣyavatī bhūmirityarthaḥ ।*
> *tasyāḥ pṛthivyā lābha-pālanopāyaḥ śāstram-arthaśāstramiti ॥*
> — *KA* 15.1.1-2

Artha may denote the earth but it is actually the people residing on it, who strive for and make their livelihood utilizing its products and secure their well-being. With their basic needs fulfilled, they gain prosperity, preserve it, enjoy it and simultaneously contribute towards social welfare; this is the *dharma* of man and the king which leads to the establishment of the welfare state. The key to this is the sound management of the threefold activities of economy, namely, agriculture, cattle-rearing and trade, which constitute the fulfilment of the three means of earning livelihood. However, when we understand this, we realize that Kauṭilya has twin aims: (a) protection of the territory by the king, that is, its smooth administration, and (b) the acquisition of new territories which refers to conquests/peaceful means for the same (indirectly the inter-state relationships); these two cover polity (*rājadharma/rājanīti*) (bringing in the scope of *DV*).

Kauṭilya presented these from the practical point of view in his treatise exhaustively and the subsequent authors of the subject relied on it in totality. It would be, therefore, worthwhile to have a glimpse of *KA*.

To achieve the above-noted points as the goal of polity, the protection of the people was the primary function of the king. Hence Kauṭilya says: *rājñaḥ svadharmaḥ svargāya prajā dharmeṇa rakṣituḥ* (when the king carries out his duty of protecting the people, he gains heaven) (*KA* 3.1.41). Hence the whole of the Kaṇṭakaśodhana-prakaraṇa is concerned with the protection of the people, their property and the society at large from the anti-social elements as well as from the natural calamities. He further says:

prajāsukhe sukham rājñaḥ prajānām ca hite hitam ।
nātmapriyam hitam rājñaḥ prajānām tu priyam hitam ॥
— *KA* 1.19.34

In the happiness of his subjects lies the king's happiness; in their welfare his welfare. He shall not consider as good only that which pleases him but treat as beneficial to him whatever pleases his subjects.

Hence he is to constantly devote his efforts towards generating *artha* (*KA* 35). Further, the conclusion categorically states that this treatise helps the king to spread *dharma, artha* and *kāma* and thereby avert *adharma* and disaster in the state (*KA* 15.1.72).

Keeping this in view, some of the fundamental points related to achieve this aim can be noted, such as:

1. For creating a balance between promoting the welfare of the people and augmenting the resources of the state, Kauṭilya warns the king not to deplete the treasury and neither to impoverish nor to anger the subjects (*KA* 2.1.16; 7.5.27).
2. Regarding the enforcement of the laws with the help of the coercive power of *daṇḍa*, Kauṭilya clearly suggests that the king should neither be unjust, nor terrorize, nor be too lenient with the subjects and the officials; he should be just and fair in meting out *daṇḍa* as the coervice power to enforce law (*KA* 1.4.7-10).
3. Secrecy of counsel which should be held only with three or four *mantrin*s (*KA* 1.15.60). The counsel involves planning, creating resources for it, execution, management of obstacles in between and successful accomplishment (*KA* 1.15.42). However, the cabinet ministry (*mantrī-pariṣad*) may consist of twelve or more ministers (*KA* 1.15.50).
4. The daily routine of the king spread over eight parts of the day and night is briefly referred to describing his personal supervision and checking of the internal and external security, public works, accounts section, cabinet meetings and correspondence with other states, receiving news from the spies, free hours for counsel, supervision of the units of ministry, deliberations and planning with the commanders,

meetings with ambassadors and important personages life, planning counsel and dispatch of the personal spies and other personal activities like the evening rituals and finally sleep (*KA* 1.19.9-23). Thus all the three divisions of the present-day government legislation, executive and judiciary, including military were to be personally checked. This required a rigorous training since childhood (*KA* 1.17.22).

5. To enrich the *kośa*, revenue not only from agriculture, cattle-rearing, and trade and commerce but also from penalty / fine (*KA* 3.20.9; 4.10.9), tax on such sources as gambling and betting houses (*KA* 3.20.10), sexual entertainment (*KA* 2.27.1, 10, 27, etc.) and other sources was collected.
6. The provision of livelihood to women with no means of the same (*KA* 2.32.2; 2.23.11-12; 14, etc.), special protection to the brāhmaṇas, ascetics, minors, aged, sick, handicapped, helpless and women through free travel service (*KA* 2.28.18), legal cases (*KA* 3.20.22), maintenance at the state expense (*KA* 2.1.26) and so on, protection of women slaves from exploitation (*KA* 3.13.20-24), of children especially in the context of slavery and bonded labour (*KA* 3.13.1-2, 4) and others was to be provided by the king. The people who had suffered at the hands of the corrupt officials were to be compensated (*KA* 2.8.24-25).

To be brief, Kauṭilya has not left a single aspect of social and political life where he has not found scope for the king to take care of his subjects and employees. As far as the latter are concerned, Kauṭilya says that the king should give the loyal officers the benefit of permanent jobs as they have the welfare of the state as supreme in their minds (*KA* 2.9.36), as also offer promotion and rewards for their excellence at work (*KA* 2.9.9).

7. The army should consist of men recruited from all the castes and communities. Kauṭilya prefers well-trained kṣatriyas with a strong army of vaiśyas and śūdras to that of the brāhmaṇas (*KA* 9.2.21-24).
8. An equanimous and fair attitude of the king helps to build up sixfold troops — *maulabala* (the standing army of the

soldiers in service), *bhṛtabala* (those recruited for particular occasions), *śreṇibala* (the private armies maintained by merchant guilds), *mitrabala* (the troops of the allies), *amitrabala* (the troops belonging to the enemy) and *aṭavībala* (the forest tribes) (*KA* 9.2.1).

9. The daily practise in the training of the armed forces and fighting arts is considered very important. The king should carry out an inspection of the various units and their readiness as well as excellence at regular inverals (*KA* 5.3.35-36).

10. Loyalty of the troops is to be under constant surveillance (*KA* 5.3.47).

11. *KA* mentions four kinds of weapons: *yantra* (machines used in war and seigecraft), *āyudha* (weapons), *āvaraṇa*s (shields) and *upakaraṇa* (other items of dress and equipment of war) (2.18.1). Each of these is to bear the king's emblem (*KA* 5.3.37). This division of the weapons is more logical and scientific than the one described by *NP* and *VDV*.

12. The goal set before the ruler in foreign policy is that of expansion as is evident from the theory of *rājamaṇḍala* (*NP* 6.2.13-22). Hence besides the policy of *ṣāḍguṇya*s, the military organization and administration, *upāya*s, the use of the ambassadors and others is vital to any state. In this context, Kauṭilya recommends the king to be *dharmavijayin* (the conqueror by *dharma*) (*KA* 12.1.11-12).

13. The seasons and the terrain should determine the mobilization of troops for war.

14. All the other details regarding the protection of the kingdom and capital, guarding the rear, encampments and others are described in the ninth and tenth chapters of *KA*.

15. Kauṭilya mentions and approves of three types of wars — *prakāśa* (open war), *kūṭa* (concealed) and *tūṣṇī* (silent) (7.6.40-41). However, the war where time and place are intimated is called *dharmiṣṭha* (righteous) (*KA* 10.3.26) (naturally this and the first one can be resorted to when the *vijigīṣu* is superior in strength, or else, the second one). The latter is described at length (*KA* 10.3.3-23) which shows the commonly recognized tactics that are not objectionable from the military point of view.

16. The arrangements of the troops in the battle arrays is mentioned; their choice depends upon the terrain and the enemy troops (*KA* 10.6.3-43).
17. *KA* refers to war ethics, namely, persons not to be attacked, such as those who have fallen down, those who have surrendered and so on (13.4.52).
18. *KA* shows that all sorts of tricks are preferred for victory to a serious fight (13.1-3). In case of failure of either of these, blocking supplies, breach in the walls of the fort and other tactics should be resorted to (*KA* 13.4.6-12). War at a suitable time should be the last resort (*KA* 13.4.26).
19. Despite laying down the theory of *rājamaṇḍala,* Kauṭilya also describes the means and ways of withstanding imperialism in the twelfth chapter, and the aids to be provided to the weak king. Thus he takes into account all possible situations the state finds itself into and offers advice about all courses open to it in his time.

Thus this treatise is meant for each and every king in all aspects of polity. Moreover, the observance of the continuation of the practice of all the customs that are in accordance with *dharma* in the conquered territory also reveals Kauṭilya's understanding of human psychology (9.13.5-24). The relevance of *KA* in modern times is beyond doubt.

II.2.4. Rāmāyaṇa

Rāmā, a living tradition of India, has its incidental references to *rājanīti /rājadharma* as it is the story of the royal family of the Raghus. Traditionally the ideal state has always been termed as *rāmārājya* and as such it has influenced the Indian psyche to a great extent. *Rāmā* itself refers to *rāmarājya* towards the end of the opening canto of the Bālakāṇḍa. It is interesting to note that when Mantharā approaches Kaikeyī to remind her to demand the promised boons from Daśaratha, the queen's first reaction is that of the confidence in the establishment of an ideal state in Ayodhyā. Moreover, having the theme of the royal family, the entire *Rāmā* has direct and indirect references on polity.

Gustav Oppert observes in his introduction to *NP*, "In its contents, *NP* coincides in many points with *Rāmāyaṇa*, especially with its first two books" (p. 1). *Rāmā* has been specifically taken up here briefly from this point of view.

The crux of *Rāmā* is given on the basis of two main episodes:

1. Daśaratha's decision to consecrate Rāma as the crown prince and its repurcussions from Kaikeyī.
2. Bharata's meeting with Rāma at Citrakūṭa. Here the dialogue and the discussion between Rāma, Bharata, Vasiṣṭha and Jābāli in the presence of the officials and citizens of Ayodhyā is not just illustrative of the love of the brothers and love for *dharma*, they contain lively discussions on *rājanīti* and *rājadharma* as well. Of this group of cantos, the 94th canto can be called as entirely containing *rājadharmopadeśa* as the informal query of Rāma to Bharata focuses on the proper administration in accordance with the tradition of the solar dynasty. (The characteristic feature of this canto is that each question Rāma asks Bharata begins with the interrogative particle *kaccit* which means "I hope/I trust". Hence this canto is often called Kaccit-sarga. Mm. P.V. Kane notes, "The word *kaccit* is employed when the person asking the question desires to have a favourable reply, as *Amarakośa* says: *kaccit kāmapravadane* (Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstras*, vol. I, p. 400).

Thus most of the illustrative discussion of *rājanīti* and *DV* can be had from the Ayodhyākāṇḍa.

Rāmā does not give the enumeration of the seven constitutents of the state, nor does it refer to *rājanīti* and *DV* as theoretical delineations, but through the epic story. Therefore we have to deduce these through a brief analytical study.

We can see these through the story as follows:

1. *Daily Routine of the King*: Several verses of the eighth chapter of *NP* give a detailed narration of the daily routine of the king similar to the ones that we find in several of the treatises on *nīti*. These refer to his daily division of work including judiciary, counselling with his ministers, civil administrative tasks, constructing roadways, *ṣāḍguṇya*, giving donations and so on (*Rāmā* 8.9-72). Here again is mentioned at length that

ṣāḍguṇya, kṣaya-sthāna-vṛdhhi and *śaktis* which need to be discussed with the council of ministers (8.80-91).

Rāmā refers to this aspect in the Kaccit-sarga. There is the reference to the daily routine of the king (*Rāmā* 2.94.12-13) such as the daily checking of the main roads of the city early in the morning (*Rāmā* 2.94.43), personally checking all the forts and fortifications of the kingdom so that they are always ready with their full stores of wealth, grains and food provisions, weapons, water resources, machineries (for war), artisans and archers (*Rāmā* 2.94.44) and giving away some wealth for worship of gods, ancestors, caring for the brāhmaṇas, welcoming the guests, warriors and friends (*Rāmā* 2.94.46).

2. *The Protocols*: *NP* refers to the protocol which the king follows in welcoming the sage Vaiśampāyana (1.4-6) but not how the king is received officially.

Rāmā mentions this point more than once. A prescribed protocol was followed for the formal reception of the king, on meeting another king on occasions like wedding and others. To illustrate, when on his way to meet Rāma, Bharata approached Bharadvāja's hermitage, he kept behind him his army and proceeded to meet the sage with the *purohita* (*Rāmā* 2.84.1-3). The formalities were exchanged and thereafter the sage offered hospitality to Bharata and his retinue overnight with meals. Here the entire arrangement was as per the laid down protocol (*Rāmā* 2.84.1-3; 85.37).

3. *Prakṛti-sampat* (*the Elements Constituting the State*): *NP* does not mention the seven elements of the state separately though they are mentioned and incorporated indirectly. However, *CTV* on *NP* 1.51 refers to the eighteen *tīrtha*s (heads) of different departments of the state administration which must be favourable to the king. Besides the king, these are: *amātyas* (ministers), *purohita* (chief officiating priest), *yuvarāja* (crown prince), *bhūpati* (feudatory king), *dvārapāla* (doorkeeper) *antarvaṁśika* (Lord Chamberlain) and twelve others (these are quoted from some Nītiśāstra. see the *CTV* on *NP* 1.51 in the critical edition).

All these *prakṛti-sampat* should be constantly under the watch of the king through the espionage system whether they are faithful or not as also their behaviour with the people.

It is also said here that of these *prakṛtis*, *mantrī*s (advisors), *kośa* (treasury) and *bhṛtya*s (other officials) who serve him with sincerity and dedication constitute the threefold strength of the state (*trividha bala*) of the king. *Rāmā* refers to these as a part of the story at appropriate places (2.94.21, etc).

As the head of the state and the fountainhead of all the state activities, the king also heads all the elements of the state. The polity of Ayodhyā shows that the king was not an absolute monarch. He took decisions by putting proposals to the assembly and getting its sanction to implement at least in the significant issues of the state. To illustrate, regarding Rāma's consecration as the crown prince, Daśaratha called the *pariṣad* (assembly) to take its consent (*Rāmā* 2.1.34). He placed the proposal before it and in view of Rāma's worthiness it was instantly approved joyfully. There is a mention of Rāma being loved by his subjects (*Rāmā* 2.3.13ab) and the joy felt by the people on hearing about the coronation (*Rāmā* 2.5.13-19). Moreover, *Rāmā* 1.37, 2.32 prove that even the future crown prince/king could be discrowned and exiled if he tortured people, as happened with Asamañja.

4. *The King and His Origin*: Like *NP* (8.3-7) and *MS* (7.5. 7-9, 11) which say that the king was originated to remove the state of anarchy that was prevailing in the society, *Rāmā* refers to the origin of the king by describing the "kingless" or pre-government state in the context of the main plot of the epic and asserts that it is not acceptable. After Daśaratha's funeral, *rājakartāraḥ* or the "king-makers", the leading and the highly qualified brāhmaṇas like Mārkaṇḍeya, Maudgalya, Vāmadeva, Kaśyapa and others headed by the royal priest Vasiṣṭha, got together in *sabhā* (assembly) along with the *amātya*s (ministers) to nominate the king and thus avert the evils of *arājakatva* (kingless condition in the state) (*Rāmā* 2.61.1-3, 5-25). Later a similar situation is described by Jābāli who tries to convince Rāma to return to Ayodhyā and assume the reins of the state (*Rāmā* 2.100). In this context Ayodhyā

is compared with a woman whose husband is away — *eka-veṇī-dharā* (*Rāmā* 2.100.8) and it is also said that the earth is a widow (*Rāmā* 2.97.11).

5. *Rājaguṇas* (*Virtues Required by the King*): These are specifically referred to in both the texts under discussion. In *Rāmā*, besides the knowledge of *naya, apanaya, ṣāḍguṇya* and others, the qualities that are required for the king are avoiding procrastination of duties and accomplishing tasks properly (*Rāmā* 2.94.14-15) extending due recognition to the learned men in the kingdom (*Rāmā* 2.94.17-18), nobility and purity, doing away with theft, being free of greed and thus being clean (*Rāmā* 2.94.47), honouring the elders, children and the leading doctors with donations/grants/awards (money), warm in heart and speech (*Rāmā* 2.94.51), paying proper and courteous respect to teachers, elders, ascetics at temples, all those whose desires were already fulfilled and the brāhmaṇas (*Rāmā* 2.94.52), being on the constant watch to avoid confusion between *dharma, artha* and *kāma* (*Rāmā* 2.94.53), fulfilling each of them in his routine (*Rāmā* 2.94.54), not entertaining the atheist brāhmaṇas (*lokāyatika*) as they were shallow and clever in inspiring others towards wrong decisions, considering themselves to be scholars (*Rāmā* 2.94.32), shifting people's focus from the standards prescribed by the secular and moral laws evolved through ages (*Rāmā* 2.94.33), not partaking of food alone but offering it to friends who had good feelings for the king as a householder (*Rāmā* 2.94.52), to remain in direct touch with the people and respond to them equally with love (due to which Rāma was loved by all the *prakṛtis*) (*Rāmā* 2.1.24; 2.2.25-26; 3.8-9, 13, 28; 4.16). Actually these were some of the most important qualities of Rāma which made the whole of the assembly, all the subjects including the Mlecchas, the Āryas and the foresters to unanimously support and endorse Daśaratha's proposal to designate him as the crown prince (*Rāmā* 2.2.14, 18; 2.3.9).

Rāmā also refers to the training of Rāma as the prospective successor to the throne. He was trained at the practical level in state and civil administration for the benefit of the subjects

(*Rāmā* 2.1.12-13). In other words, the epic emphasizes the king's direct contact with his subjects to be his most favourable quality.

Women were also conversant with the royal duties. In this context it is worth noting that Sītā is called *abhijñā rājadharmāṇāṁ* (*Rāmā* 2.23.4). It indicates that the princesses were also well-conversant with the science of polity and the royal duties. *NP* says towards the end that royal women should have the know-how of this science (8.98b).

6. *Amātya*s (*Ministers*): They are called *sacivas* in *NP* where it is said that they must be seven or eight in number, having specific qualities and must be experts in Nītiśāstra (*NP* 8.18). In *Rāmā* it is said that they must be appointed after properly checking their qualifications (*Rāmā* 94.49-50). The Tilaka commentary on *Rāmā* explains the word *vicakṣaṇaḥ* in 2.100.24 as *abhyasta-nīti-śāstraḥ,* that is, the minister must be an absolute expert in *rājanīti*. Similar is the meaning given by Mādhavayogī as *avadheya-viṣaya-viśeṣaḥ,* that is, those who have grasped their subject well — in this case it is *rājanīti.*

These ministers were the executive members of the cabinet. Among them too due recognition was to be given to the most efficient ones (*Rāmā* 2.94.19). Further, it is interesting to know that Rāma always remembered to treat the employees with personal feelings. He suggested to Bharata that he must take note of and proper care of the ministers in personal difficulties, as otherwise they were capable of bringing harm at the personal and state levels (*Rāmā* 2.94.49-50).

7. *Bhṛtyas* (*Officials of the State*): The assignment of the proper duties to *bhṛtya*s (other highly-placed officials) was an important task. Rāma advised Bharata that they must be assigned appropriate duties by the king (*Rāmā* 2.94.20).
8. *Mantrins* (*Advisors/Counsellors*): They should have specific qualities. According to *NP* (8.19), they must be two or three in number. Meetings with them and their advice are so important that they form the root of victory for the king. It proves their key role in advising *ṣāḍguṇya-nīti* to the king, his status in *rājamaṇḍala* and maintenance of his *śakti* and

vṛdhhi as well as the state of emergency. Here they are probably the elders, experienced, wise and dedicated persons who helped the king in all kinds of decision-making as they had no personal interest in polity thus forming the advisory body.

In *Rāmā* they are eight in number and are called *rājakartāraḥ* (policy-makers) headed by Purohita Vasiṣṭha.

9. *Purohita* (*Priest*): The office of *purohita* was very important. It was held by the highly spiritual sage Vasiṣṭha; he was *rājadharmavit* (*Rāmā* 2.75.8ab). He was also the *guru*, the spiritual guide and the leading advisor to the king. Hearing Rāma's angry retort to Jābāli, Vasiṣṭha defended him and presented before Rāma the tradition of succession by primogeniture in the solar dynasty (*Rāmā* 2.102.2-31) and also reported the unanimous proposal of the *pariṣad* (members of the assembly), consisting of *naigama* (members of the governing bodies of the capital and other towns), and *śreṇīs* (members of the guilds) which could not be turned down.

   Further, it appears that when the state was kingless, *purohita* led all the "king-makers" or *rājakartāraḥ* before the assembly (*Rāmā* 2.61.3) and had the power to solve the situation of interregnum, to summon the nominated king (here, Bharata) and then to offer him the royal throne (*Rāmā* 2.62).

10. *Rājadoṣas* (*Weaknesses of the King*): The weaknesses of the king form the focus of the discussion and comparison of Sītārāma very specifically as he observes similarities between *NP* and *Rāmā* here. These weaknesses have to be avoided by the king so as to perform his *dharma* efficiently.

    These are fourteen in number (*CTV* on *NP* 1.48-49), such as short-temper, carelessness, procrastination of tasks, not guarding the confidential counsel and so on.

11. *Succession to the Throne*: The point of the succession to the throne is not mentioned in *NP*. But in *Rāmā* it forms the pivot on which the story revolves. Succession to the throne was by the law of primogeniture or rather, it can be said that there was hereditary monarchy, that is, the eldest son was entitled to get the throne (*Rāmā* 1.1.19, 2.2.7.7c, etc.) — he was *dāyāda* — the kingdom rightfully belonged to him, in

this case, to Rāma: *ikṣvākūṇām hi sarveṣām rājā bhavati pūrvajaḥ* (*Rāmā* 2.102.30). However as noted above it had to undergo the formal procedure. This process also avoided the dispute of succession.

Another important aspect of the point arose in the case of Rāma, that is, when the eldest son's right was overlooked, the throne could be taken away in different ways suggested respectively by Lakṣmaṇa and Daśaratha: (1) to fight and kill the unjust king (*Rāmā* 2.20.23-32), (2) to imprison the ruling king who took such a decision (*Rāmā* 2.31.23) and (3) to win over the entire administration and subjects and establish a new kingdom (ibid.).

Rāmā mentions another tradition of selecting the crown prince which was probably geopolitical or as referred to later in the paper on the basis of *śulka.* At the time of marriage with Kaikeyī, Daśaratha had promised her father to give the kingdom to her son; this is termed as *rājya-śulka* (bride price in the form of the kingdom) (*Rāmā* 2.99.3-8).

But as we see in *Rāmā* this leads to a disastrous situation due to the violation of a conventional system.

12. *Vaidya* (*Royal Doctor*): The appointment of *vaidya* was very significant both at the times of peace and war. He had to be extremely loyal. Hence his qualifications were: expertise in medication, perfect knowledge and utilization of the four *upāyas* and *rājanīti,* close relations with the king, bravery, and utmost loyalty to the king so that he would never be tempted to kill him (*Rāmā* 2.94.23).

13. *Kulaputrāḥ* (*Bodyguards of the King*): Great care was to be taken about the appointments of the bodyguards of the king. They had to be hereditary in service so that they were loyal to him; when need arose they would be ready to lay their lives for him (*Rāmā* 2.94.28).

14. *Upādhyāyas* (*Teachers and Priests*): These belonged to different fields. To illustrate, the Kaccit-sarga refers to two: (a) the religious preceptor (*Rāmā* 2.94.5) and (b) the teacher of the military science or *DV* (*Rāmā* 2.94.9). (While commenting on *Rāmā* 2.100.14, Tilaka notes that an *upādhyāya* named

Sudhanvā was *arthaśāstra-viśārada*, that is, *rājanīti-śāstram tatra viśāradaṁ paṇḍitaṁ* of polity as also of *DV*.)

15. *Dūtas* (*Ambassadors*): In the Kaccit-sarga Rāma asks whether Bharata had appointed a *dūta* who was learned, diplomatic, truthful projecting things as they ware and having an impressing personality (*Rāmā* 2.94.29cd).

16. *Cāra/Cārakas* (*Spies*): The spies have been of a great importance in knowing the inner secrets of the administration as well as the inter-state relations. Much has been said about it elsewhere but in *NP* there is rarely any mention of it. *Rāmā* depicts the espionage in its later books. However, in the Kaccit-sarga it is referred to from a theoretical point of view by Rāma. The spies were to find and report secret information of all the eighteen heads of the departments/*tīrthas* in detail (enumerated earlier). This helped the king to be vigilant over the sector of civil administration for effective control over them.

17. *The Pariṣad* (*Assembly*): This was normally the assembly consisting of the cabinet of *amātyas*, *mantrins*, *rājakartāraḥ* (the learned and spiritual brāhmaṇas like Vāmadeva, Bharadvāja and others), *śreṇīs* (guilds of merchants and tradesmen), *naigamas* (corporations governing the cities), *paura-jānapadāḥ* (people from both the urban and the rural areas), who would help the king in administration of the state as can be seen in Daśaratha seeking its approval to consecrate Rāma as the crown prince (*Rāmā* 2.2).

18. *Jānapadas* (*Subjects*): *Jānapadas* (citizens living outside the capital) were to be learned (literate), clever and full of understanding (*Rāmā* 2.94.29ab) (as *paurajānapadāḥ* together formed a major part of the assembly assisting the king to govern the state). They were to be properly cared for and the farmers and herdsmen of all types were to be carefully and lovingly protected so that they were happy (*Rāmā* 2.94.37-40). They were also to be provided redemption from taxes to give them a financial backing (*Rāmā* 2.94.41ab). Here we have a very concrete statement of the chief duty of the king as the leader of the state, namely, protection and care of all the subjects

according to *dharma* (*Rāmā* 2.94.41cd). *NP* does not refer to this aspect from this point of view.

Further as a part of the subjects Rāma showed his concern about the women as well as simultaneously cautioned Bharata regarding them. He suggested that women were to be provided emotional and physical comfort, as also protection (*Rāmā* 2.94.42ab); but they were not to be entirely trusted nor secrets be divulged to them (ibid. cd). *NP* does not refer to this aspect.

19. *Pura* (*Capital*): Reference to the capital city is not found in *NP*. But *Rāmā* has fond references and descriptions of Ayodhyā, the capital of Kosala and the centre of all the political and economic activities. To illustrate, in the Kaccit-sarga, Rāma asks Bharata whether he carefully protected this well-planned and beautiful city (*Rāmā* 2.94.34-36).

20. *Daṇḍa*: The term refers to both justice and punishment as well as the army. In other words, coercive force for the maintenance of law and order is implied by this term:

    (a) *NP* briefly refers to the former aspect. It says that the king had to carry out justice in a judicious manner along with *amātyas*, *purohita* and the learned and wise brāhmaṇas (*Rāmā* 8.22-23). Further, it shows the importance of *daṇḍa* as does Manu (7.25).

    It further describes and lays down the kinds of criminals and thieves and how they must be punished (*NP* 8.30).

    This is not found in *Rāmā* with much emphasis.

    (b) Army and military administration/organization — *Daṇḍa* in the sense of "army" occupies the major portion of *NP* (cantos 2-7). Fourteen aspects as mentioned in the Nītiśāstra treatises were to be checked as — *deśa* (country, region), *durga* (forts), *ratha* (chariot), *hasti* (elephants), *vāji* (horses), *yoddhā* (warriors), *adhikāriṇaḥ* (officers-in-charge of the different government departments), *antaḥ-purānta* (supervisor of the harem and the interiors of the palace), *gaṇana* (supervisor of the numbers of the animals, chariots and other animals and vehicles used in war), *sastra* (officer in charge of scriptures), *lekha* (accounts

section), *dhana* (officer-in-charge of finance), and *āsāva* (concealed enemies and also army) (*CTV* on *NP* 1.48-49). These fourteen needed to be constantly checked as they formed the strengths and weaknesses of the king.

Of these, factors 3-6 refer to the structure of the army. The army constituting of the eight limbs and four sections, should be led by well-trained and experienced commanders and military officers as the aim is to subdue the enemy (*Rāmā* 1.55).

(c) *Rāmā* also contains references to the army and military organization and operations. To illustrate, these are as follows:

- The entire superstructure of the foreign relations/ *ṣāḍguṇya-nīti* depends on the strength of the army besides other *prakṛti*s. Hence Rāma indicates that the commander-in-chief must be bold, happy with the king, brave, patient, intelligent, pure, noble, faithful and resourceful (*Rāmā* 2.94.24).
- The other highly placed and chief officers in the army have to be physically strong, expert in the art of warfare, able to anticipate calamities and are adventurous.
- They must be honoured and felicitated properly (*Rāmā* 2.94.25).
- The army must be given proper daily meals, monthly salary and share (of the booty captured after the victory in a war), as also whatever was to be given gift, bonus, etc. at appropriate times to keep them motivated and happy (*Rāmā* 2.94.26).
- If the king tarried in this matter and the right time passes away, he would surely invite displeasure of the soldiers and others in the army which would amount to ushering a great calamity (*Rāmā* 2.94.27).

The king being in charge of the army must inspect whether the secret forests with elephants ware properly maintained, and be on a constant guard against surprise enemy attack. Therefore as noted earlier in the daily

routine of the king, he had always to check the forts and fortifications.

The king had to be a great and capable warrior, skilled in weaponry and other aspects related to it like Viśvāmitra (*Rāmā* 1.201.1-14).

(d) The army is referred to in various ways. Throughout the epic we come across frequent references to it such as — its expanse in the terms of *akṣauhiṇī* (*Rāmā* 1.19.3; 2.76.22), warrior tribes like Kāmboja, Pahlava and others which were warrior races (*Rāmā* 1.54.23), the important units of the army, four-sectioned (*caturaṅgiṇī*) *senā* made up of the infantry, elephants, cavalry and chariots (*Rāmā* 1.53.12, etc.), the king as the chief commander of the army (*Rāmā* 2.76.22, etc.), the qualities of warriors as being brave, skilled in using all types of weapons and missiles (*Rāmā* 1.19.4ab) and several others.

We also find the description of the army in *Rāmā* 2.77.3-5, 7; 76.24, etc.

(e) The army, for any expedition, consisted of all kinds of manpower and equipment for it such as all types of artisans, geographers, engineers and others who construct roads, etc. for the march (*Rāmā* 2.73.13, 74).

(f) Usually Śiva is associated with *DV*.

(g) In *Rāmā* Viśvāmitra pleased Śiva with penance and obtained *DV* to fight against Vasiṣṭha to avenge his defeat at the hands of the army created by Kāmadhenu in the latter's hermitage (*Rāmā* 1.54.16-18).

(h) *Dharma-yuddha* (war according to the laid down norms) was the custom of the day. But communities like the *rākṣasa*s used to resort to foul means (*kūṭa-yuddha*) to win the war (*Rāmā* 1.19.7). (Such a reference comes even in *NP* (5.56-58) where the adoption of similar tactics against those who use them are strongly recommended.)

(i) *Rāmā* acknowledges the superiority of *brahma-bala* or the power of *brahma* / spirituality over that of *kṣatra* / physical and merely relying on the authority of the power of kingship (*Rāmā* 1.53.14).

(j) An interesting feature of *Rāmā* not found in *NP* is that women seemed to be participating in war. Kaikeyī's incident is too well known to be repeated here (*Rāmā* 2.9.9). She also assisted Daśaratha in war against Śambara for which she was granted boon (*Rāmā* 1.1.19).

Further when Bharata went to meet Rāma at Citrakūṭa with his army, there is a reference to *yodhāṅganā*s (women warriors) (*Rāmā* 2.76.23).

21. (a) *Kośa* (*Royal Treasury*): *NP* lays down that the income of the state must be more than its expenditure (8.24), whereas the Kaccit-sarga mentions it in the form of query by Rāma to Bharata. As an astute statesman, Rāma asked whether the *kośa* (treasury) always remained full, having lesser expenditure than income, wealth not going into the hands of the undeserving (*Rāmā* 2.94.45); on the other hand his indirect advice was that wealth could be given away (to an extent and for the benefit of the kingdom) in the form of the worship of gods, ancestors, maintaining the brāhmaṇas, welcoming the guests, and to warriors and friends (*Rāmā* 2.94.46).

(b) *Revenue or Taxation*: It is said in *NP* that taxation should be fair and just (8.56-57); this is not referred to specifically in *Rāmā* though the picture is that of a happy people implying the existence of a good taxation system.

22. *Civil Administration*: *NP* refers to this at length with all the units of administration in a sequence, the smallest unit being a *grāma* (8.49-54). This system must have existed but references are not to be found in *Rāmā*. Of course, as noted earlier, the forestors and other sections of the society according to regions do occur in *Rāmā* in the context of the story.

23. (a) *Rājamaṇḍala* (*The Circle of Kings/Inter-State Relationship*): This refers to the circle of the kings surrounding *vijigīṣu* and his relations with them. This theory is not discussed in *NP* but the references to *vijigīṣu, pārṣṇigrāha, ari, mitra* and so on show the assumption of the author that the reader is conversant with this Kauṭilīyan theory of the inter-state

relations (1.53). Neither this theory nor such references in details are to be found in *Rāmā.*

However, during the *Rāmā* period, India seemed to be having several states/kingdoms ruled by independent and vassal kings. Being a powerful kingdom, Kosala had good relations with all the kings. Daśaratha named the kings who were to be invited to the *putreṣṭi-yāga* (*Rāmā* 1.12.17-24). Therefore although the kings of Ayodhyā were referred to as having conquered all enemies, it appears that Daśaratha had no enemies. Further, the Aśvamedha sacrifice of Rāma shows the acceptance of the concept of sovereign kingship.

(b) *Ṣāḍguṇya-nīti* (*Policy of Using the Six Qualities in Inter-state Relations*): *NP* notes that the king must be an expert in the application of the six qualities or situations in foreign relations — *sandhi, vigraha, yāna, āsana, dvaiḍhībhāva* and *āśraya* (1.48c). These are further referred to in *NP* 8.80-86. The king should always resort to eightfold tasks (*NP* 1.50 *CTV*) — *kṛṣi* (agriculture), *vaṇik* (trade and commerce), *patha* (roadways), *durga* (fortifications), *setu* (building bridges), *kuñjara-bandhanam* (means *bahu-bhakṣakatvāt teṣām yathā-vibhāgam grāmīṇa-dhanikaiḥeva grāme grāme poṣaṇārtham bandhanam,* that is, allotting the elephants belonging to the army to different villages to maintain them so as to equally balance their cost), *khani* (the mines where gems are found, and *ākara* or the mines where precious metals like gold) (*NP* 1.50) and other precious metals are found (*CTV* on *NP* 1.50). Indirectly these are not mentioned as a specific theory in *Rāmā.* However, the prosperity of Ayodhyā supports/suggests this.

(c) *The Upāyas* (*Fourfold Means or Techniques*): These are the means used to know the strengths and weaknesses of the self as against the enemy.

These are again not referred to specifically in the earlier part of *Rāmā* but are done so in the later ones where the war against the demons takes place. To illustrate, Sundarakāṇḍa refers to these when Hanumān decides to use *daṇḍa* to fathom Rāvaṇa's strength as the other three means — *sāma, dāna* and *bheda* — were useless in the case of the demons (*Rāmā* 39.3).

24. *Nature and Aim of the Rājadharma/Rājanīti*: Both *NP* and *Rāmā* project their views on *rājanīti*. To illustrate, the very first verse of the eighth canto of *NP* lays down the purpose of *rājadharma*, namely, *lokarañjanam* (satisfying the subjects) as is noted in *CTV* — *jana-santoṣa-karaṇam*.

In *Rāmā*, Bharata poses a very significant interrogative question — how is *rājadharma* going to help him when he had deviated from his *dharma* by violating the tradition of the right to succession by primogeniture (*Rāmā* 2.95.1cd; 97.2). This suggests an important point, namely, the king himself has to follow *dharma* for imposing it on his subjects; this is the fundamental concept of *rājadharma/rājanīti*. This is an eternal truth of *rājadharma* — *yad-vṛttaḥ santi rājānaḥ-tad-vṛttaḥ santi hi prajāḥ* (people follow the behaviour of their kings) (*Rāmā* 2.101.9ab). Therefore the conduct of the kings must be truthful and beyond the censure of the people (*Rāmā* 2.101.10ab).

A minor but a very important point projected by Rāma is never to neglect the people who are weak and not to misbehave with them (*Rāmā* 2.94.31); for, *rājadharma* was a path of thorns on which one had to remain ever alert to safeguard one's interest.

II.2.5. Mahābhārata

The epic depicting the great war of Āryāvarta has been a source to voluminous literature of various branches in the times that followed. In its depiction of the human struggle of *trivarga* and the decisive supremacy of *dharma* therein, we find the powerful passion for wealth and other instincts at play against *dharma*. Focusing on the royal family of Hastināpura and having roots in *kāma*, *Mbh* depicts *rājadharma* and *adharma* very forcefully. However, *rājadharma* in this sub-section is chiefly based on Rājadharma-Parva depicted in Śānti-Parva. Its depiction is important especially because in *NP* Janamejaya specifically requests Vaiśampāyana to reiterate the subject though it had been delineated to him in *Mbh*, but now he wishes to hear them again due to the evil influence that Kaliyuga exerts on the society; here he calls them *bhāratīyāḥ dharmāḥ* (*NP* 1.10ab). In answer, Janamejaya's quest for the same is fulfilled and

DV is described as an integral part of *rājadharma* (*NP* 2-7) as also a brief narration of the king's daily routine (*NP* 8) (section II.1).

Thus *rājadharma/rājanīti* is the aim of Vaiśampāyaṇa and the condensation of the same through the passage of time and the full tradition of its propagators as given in *NP* is found more than once in *Mbh* as follows but not fully (section II.1). Its propagators are called *rājaśāstra-praṇetāraḥ* (*Mbh* 12.58.1-3) or *rājaśāstrāṇām praṇetāraḥ* (*NP* 1.21-22).

According to *Mbh*, all *dharma*s are merged in *rājadharma* (12.63.25), and all the public welfare, epidemics, calamities, influence of all times stem and afflict the society from the king (*Mbh* 12.141.9-10). It is called *daṇḍanīti* as the world is led on to the right path by *daṇḍa — daṇḍenaiva nīyante cedam daṇḍam nayati vā punaḥ* (*Mbh* 12.59.78ab). Hence a wise kṣatriya should always resort to it for the acquisition of the unacquired and guard the acquired (*Mbh* 12.69.102). *Mbh* 12.63.28 calls this method as *rājadharma*.

The concept of *saptāṅga rājya* (seven constituents of the state) is an accepted one throughout the tradition whether specifically stated or not. Hence in *Mbh* too we find them all.

The emergence of the king is divine; he is divine like Indra and hence one who wishes prosperity should honour him as if he is Indra incarnate (*Mbh* 12.67.4). However, Anuśāsana-Parva (61.32-33) lays down that if the king was cruel, he could be killed. Elsewhere *Mbh* cites the illustration of Vena to support this (*Mbh* 12.93-95).

In this context again *Mbh* 12.59.125 may be remembered where the king is called *rājā* as he keeps all people content (*rājā* < *rañj* to please), as also the illustrative myth of Vainya (i.e. Pṛthu) being called upon by the gods and sages to take an oath and his promise by protecting the world, carry out his duties as laid down in the *daṇḍanīti* and not act at his free will (*Mbh* 12.69.106-08).

Besides this, it was the special duty of the king to protect the poor, orphans, aged, and the widows and provide them with livelihood (*Mbh* 12.86.24). The equanimous nature of the king is emphasized as well (*Mbh* 12.69.72-73). In brief, looking into the happiness of the people is the true religion/duty of the king (*lokarañjanamevātra rājñām dharmaḥ sanātanaḥ* — *Mbh* 12.57.11) and they must be diligently protected just as the mother-to-be protects her child she is carrying (*Mbh* 12.56.45-46).

Usually the law of primogeniture and the succession of the male heir to the throne prevailed as far as succession was concerned. However, at times, after a war, the conqueror could place the brother/son/grandson of the vanquished king; on such a male heir being unavailable, even his daughter could be crowned (*Mbh* 12.33.43-46). Also, the younger brother inherited the throne as was the case of Śāntanu and Devavrata.

Moreover, another case of Pāṇḍu getting the throne of Hastināpura superseding the blind Dhṛtarāṣṭra is glaringly evident in the story of *Mbh* (1.109.25).

*Rājaguṇa*s (qualities a king should possess) are also mentioned, which are thirty-six in number (*Mbh* 12.70). Simultaneously he should avoid the fourteen *doṣa*s (vices) like hot temper, procrastination and others (12.5.107-09; 2.5-125). *Mbh* 12-59.33 further states that *ānvīkṣikī, trayī, vārttā* and *daṇḍanīti* formed the essence of the education of the princes. It (3.277.4) states them to be proficient in the Vedas and *DV*.

An important point to be remembered and implemented by the king was to be alert to avoid internal dissensions and corruption, as illustrated by the ruin of the Vṛṣṇis (*Mbh* 12.81.25-26).

That the *amātya*s (ministers) were efficient, learned and proficient in *rājanīti* is evident by the illustrations of Vidura and Kuṇika. The latter is consulted by Dhṛtarāṣṭra who is disturbed by the affection and attention that the Pāṇḍavas get from the people. Kuṇika's advice is:

> *putrāḥ sakhā vā bhrātā vā pitā vā yadi vā guruḥ ।*
> *ripusthāneṣu vartantaḥ hantavyā bhūtimicchatā ॥* — *Mbh* 1.139.52
>
> One who wishes to have prosperity should kill even the son, a friend, a brother, the father or even the *guru* if they are in the place of the enemy.

Kuṇika further says:

> *bhrātṛvyā balino yasmāt pāṇḍuputrā narādhipa ।*
> *paścāt-tāpo yathā na syāt tathā nītirvidhīyate ॥* — *Mbh* 1.139.92
>
> O king, your nephews — the sons of Pāṇḍu — are strong; therefore, adopt such a policy so as not to repent later.

(This chapter is omitted in the critical edition.)

Vidura's advice is absolutely fair and pro-*dharma;* while the Kuṇika's counsel is for the benefit of the king and follows the principle of *kūṭanīti*. We find here very interesting and lively views on *rājadharma/rājanīti* from different points of view. The incident of Vārṇāvata takes place following Kuṇika's advice in which the Pāṇḍavas are saved by Vidura.

Counsel with such ministers and its secrecy before its implementation is very significant for its success, so says Vyāsa in Sabhā-Parva — *vijayo mantra-mūlo hi rājñām bhavati bhārata* (*Mbh* 5.27). Policy and decisions have to be guarded so that no outsider may know it; only those who are to carry it out should know it only when it is begun or accomplished (*Mbh* 12.140.24).

The deliberation of the king and the ministers would be regarding all the state matters — internal and foreign, though *Mbh* accepts the supremacy of fate in all aspects (*Mbh* 2.47.36; 3.179.27). However, it accepts planning, disaster management as essential to achieve the task. In this respect may be mentioned the planning of works of public welfare, namely, irrigation, which was planned and implemented by the government (*Mbh* 2.5.77).

The subjects for counsel naturally are the governance, planning, foreign policy and military administration. Different departments with their heads, which are highly placed officers called by the tradition as *tīrthas*, are necessary. *Mbh* also knows them to be eighteen in number. However dedicated and efficient they are, *Mbh* advises the king to keep a watch over them through his espionage system (*Mbh* 2.5.38). Simultaneously, the king should spread cunning and strong spies in the foreign states and in places likes pubs, gardens, monasteries, rest houses, assemblies, places of pilgrimage and others within his own state (*Mbh* 12.140.39-42). News from them would keep the king updated with the minutest internal and external developments.

Parallel to *cāraka* (spy), *dūta* (envoy) was also an important official. His qualities are specifically mentioned such as alertness, fearlessness, not procrastinating, considerate, fitness, politeness and yet firmness in speech and such other eight virtues (*Mbh* 37.27). We know of Kṛṣṇa being an ideal *dūta*.

As far as *janapada/rāṣṭra* is concerned, *Mbh* mentions long lists of nations in various connections coming to more than 200, as at 2.4.21-32; 2.4.20.26-30; 2.52.13-19 and so on. *Gulma, saṁgraha* and others were names respectively given to a central post of guards over 2/3/5 villages and 100 villages (12.87.3); so is implied the hierarchy of local government.

A minor point may be noted here lest it be missed, namely, the duties and precautions of the servants of royalty (*bhṛtya*s). These are explained by the priest Dhaumya to the Pāṇḍavas before the thirteenth year of exile, that of incognito (*Mbh* 4.12-50 with the refrain *sa rājavasatim vaset*).

The state flourishes depending on the three *śakti*s of the king and their respective *sidhhi*s. All the three — *prabhu, utsāha* and *mantra* occur in *Mbh* (7.6). Again, for the same reason and for the extension of the state, the use of all the four *upāya*s was indispensable. *Mbh* (12.69.23) advises to avert *daṇḍa*, that is, war, following Bṛhaspati, and resort to the other three, that is, *sāma, dāna* and *bheda. Mbh* 150.42 adds *upekṣā*, that is, not preventing a person from doing an unjust act/addition/fight as an additional *upāya*.

*Durga*s (fortifications) are referred to in *Mbh* 12.56.35. They are of six kinds — *dhanva, mahī, jala, nṛ, vārkṣa* and *giri*. Further, *Mbh* 12.5.36 also lays down that forts should possess abundant arms, grain, wealth, war animals and beasts of burden, medicines and other essential things. Construction of planned city like Indraprastha by Maya is mentioned, and so also the dance halls, the assembly halls and others are also referred to.

As *kośa* (treasury) is of utmost importance, the king is advised to guard his finance with great alertness (*Mbh* 12.119.16). Taxes of various types form the main source of revenue to enrich the treasury for running the state and public welfare works. Hence the king is advised to draw appropriate taxes from the people at proper times (*Mbh* 12.87.17-18; 13). Udyoga-Parva (34.17-18) states that just as a bee draws honey but leaves the flower uninjured, so the king should take wealth as tax from the subjects without harming them:

yathā madhu samādatte rakṣan puṣpāṇi ṣaṭpadaḥ ।
tadvadarthānmanuṣyebhya ādadyadavihiṁsayā ॥

Further, one may pluck flowers like a garland-maker but must not cut the very root like a coal-maker:

puṣpam puṣpam vicïnvīta mūlacchedam na kārayet ।
mālākāra ivārāme na yathāṅgārakārakaḥ ॥

An important point here is that the king is asked always to honour the wealthy men in his kingdom as they constitute an important element of the realm as they can be requested to confer favours to him for the sake of the people (*Mbh* 12.88.29-30).

Bhāga (share) in the produce of the land, *śulka* (toll and custom duties) and *daṇḍa* (fines) from the defeated litigants and wrongdoers formed the chief and permanent sources of income (*Mbh* 12.71.10). The king is advised not to enter into any financial dealings with the son, brothers, widows and others (*Mbh* 37.30).

Bala/daṇḍa or the army formed an important constituent for the internal and external security of the state. The commonly known fourfold division of the army are accepted (*Mbh* 2.5.63), while the Āśramavāsika-Parva (7.7-8) includes the army of *śreṇī*s as the fifth unit. Among there come the traditional (*maula*) and the ally (*mitra*) armies as well. However, *Mbh* (12.59.41-42) enumerates eight — the known four, to which are added *viṣṭi* (labourers), navy (*nāvaḥ*), spies (*cāraḥ*) and guilds (*deśika*). The description of the war refer to these, but more to chariots, infantry and elephants.

The constitution of the Pāṇḍava army was of seven *akṣauhiṇī*s and of the Kaurava army was of eleven *akṣauhiṇī*s. *Mbh* (60.14-20) notes that when Droṇa assumed the post of commander-in-chief, the Kaurava army was reduced to nine *akṣauhiṇī*s. *Mbh* 155.24-26 give the table of an *akṣauhiṇī*. Its further sub-divisions were *pṛtanā, vāhinī, dhvajinī* and *camū*.

Such tables are given elsewhere too, namely, in *Mbh* 155.28-29 and 1.2.19-22. These are comparable with the one given in *NP* 7.3-10, where the enumeration of the groups from *patti* to *akṣauhiṇī* and the supporting men from each is given (see Oppert, *Weapons, Army Organization* . . . , p. 5). Further, like *NP*, *Mbh* refers to many *vyūha*s; to illustrate, the Āśramavāsika-Parva 7.15 refers to *śakaṭa, padma* and other arrays and elsewhere other formations are also referred to. *Cakravyūha* was the most complicated one and we know that Abhimanyu was killed in it. The rules of war were also laid

down and agreed upon before the commencement of war, such as one should fight only with one similarly equipped, one should not kill a soldier already in combat with another and so on (*Mbh* 1.27-32).

Moreover, the humanitarian approach in accordance with the ethical and moral principles had to be followed, such as the boys/old men could not be killed, nor could one kill someone from the back or one who would hold a blade of grass in his mouth and so on (*Mbh* 12.95.13-14). However, the rule of the combat with the mace was not to strike below the belt (navel); but it was violated by Bhīma by striking Duryodhana on his thigh (*Mbh* 60.6). In the same way, dusk brought the war of the day to an end; but the night battles in the light of lamps were carried on (*Mbh* 154; 163.16ff).

The rewards and the booty were given to the winning soldiers as implied in *BG* 2.37. On the other hand, one who ran away from the battle, it was believed, went to hell (*Mbh* 12.98.40-41).

Several weapons (*śastra*s and *astra*s) of war existed from an advanced technological point of view for a war of this magnitude; to illustrate, *Mbh* 284.4-5; 155.3-9 also refer to *śataghnī, mudgara, asi, tomara, nārāca* and others with the weapons of deceit such as *sarjarasa*. It is interesting to note that the origin of the sword described in *Mbh* 12.160.1-87 is similar to that in *NP* 3 (section I.6).

An important point to be noted is that the army constituted of *bala* (power). It was of five types according to *Mbh* (37.52-55) — *bāhubala* (brute physical power), *amātyabala* (power through the ministers), *dhanalābha* (power of wealth), *abhijātalābha* (power of good descent) and *prajñābala* (intellectual power); the last one is supposed to be the best (ibid. 55). Moreover, it is also said that the spiritual power was the real power, not the warrior's power (*Mbh* 1.175.45).

Mitra (ally) is the last constituent of the state. He was of four kinds — *sahārthaḥ* (having the same goal), *bhajamānaḥ* (who has come for profection or security), *sahajaḥ* (natural) and *kṛtrima* (one who is acquired) (*Mbh* 12.80.3). This as well as making friends was watched, practised and formed the concept of *rājamaṇḍala* which is found in *Mbh* 12.59.70-71 where these constituents are said to be seventy-two in number.

In brief, the delineation of *rājadharma* in *Mbh* is too voluminous to be described in greater details.

II.2.6. The Purāṇas

YS (1.3) holds that the Purāṇas, Nyāya, Mīmāṁsā, Dharmaśāstra, the six Vedāṅgas and the four Vedas (in all fourteen) are the sources of all knowledge and also of *dharma*. Mm. Kane (*History of Dharmaśāstras*, vol. I, part I, p. 410) notes the acceptance of the authority of these texts by the Dharmaśāstra tradition. He further observes that *rājadharma* (and other related topics) here are "very much influenced by Manu, Yājñavalkya, Nārada and mostly by the first" (ibid., p. 417). Hence, a brief review of *rājadharma* in the Purāṇas is essential here for a comparative study. However, this subject is discussed with full focus in *AP*, *MatP*, *MP* and *GP*.

AP having a dialogue between Agni and Vasiṣṭha is basically the narration of the sage Sūta to Śaunaka and others in the Naimiṣāraṇya (*AP* 1.1-12). This dialogue occurs twice — (a) when Puṣkara imparts the knowledge of *rājadharma* to Rāma (Paraśurāma?) in the chapters 218-37, and (b) when Rāma does the same to Lakṣmaṇa in chapters 238-42. *MatP* is in the form of a dialogue between the Lord Matsya (an incarnation of Viṣṇu) and Manu. *MP* delineates *rājadharma* through the dialogue between the queen Madālasā and her third son Alarka at the time of his sacred thread ceremony (chapter 24). It occurs as an answer to Alarka's request for her advice for welfare here and hereafter, that is, *dharma*, *artha* and the welfare of his subjects (ibid. 3, 4cd). In her answer, Madālasā delineates *rājadharma* (ibid. 5-39). *GP* briefly presents this subject through the narration of Sūta to Śaunaka and others.

The Aim of Rājadharma

The primary duty of the king, the instant he is coronated, is to have counsel with his advisors and ministers to strive in accordance with *dharma* towards the welfare of his subjects (*MP* 24.5). Moreover, in doing so, the maintenance of *dharma* by all the castes and communities of the subjects in all the stages of life besides following his own is the aim of *rājadharma* (ibid. 31-32c). *MatP* (98.37) emphasizes the counsel to be inevitable for the king in order to take all well-thought and -planned policy decisions. The Purāṇa compares it with sailing on a boat that cannot keep its balance if

independent and sole decisions are taken by a person. This is confirmed by *MP* (130.33-34) that the kingship is not meant for pleasure, but for the protection of the earth and carrying out his *dharma*. Howsoever good is the intention of the king for his state's welfare, he should guard the secrecy of all his counsel and plans (*Mat* 24.6-8).

1. *The Daily Routine of the King*: We have seen that the eighth canto of *NP* delineates the duties of the king as *rājavyāpāra*. Here are discussed the actual administrative aspects of the state governance and foreign policy through the daily routine of the king. It also involves the military aspects as they require constant alertness and readiness for internal and external security. *NP* shows that the day of the king from dawn till lunch to be extremely busy with all these aspects, with noon to night to be full of family life and acquisition of more knowledge as well as the growth of spirituality. Hereby both *aihika* (fruits of the works done in this life) and *āmuṣmika* (their fruits in the life hereafter) welfare are secured.

   We find that this is found in a very offhand manner in *AP* alone (*AP* 234.119). However, only the king's physical routine is described, except for holding the court discussions and the counsel of the ministers, practise in weaponry and his personal security that are merely referred to (ibid. 13.16ab, 17, 19).

2. *The Saptāṅga Rājya* (*Seven Constituents of the State*): The Purāṇas accept the concept of the *saptāṅga rājya* (*AP* 225.12; *MatP* 98.19). At times, the term *daṇḍa* is interchanged with *senā* (*AP* 239.1b). It is observed that each of these constituents is inter-connected with the other (ibid. 1cd). *AP* 239.2 considers the *rāṣṭra* (*janapada*) to be the most important while *MatP* (98.19) considers the *svāmī*/the king as the chief one. *MatP* (98.21) further observes that the revolt of any of these constituents is dangerous and reflects the short-sighted policy of the king. Imprisonment or any other heavy punishment awaits the one who does so (ibid. 22).

It must be mentioned that the *rājadoṣa*s referred to by Sītārāma in *CTV* (*NP* 8.14) but not done so by *NP* specifically, are also delineated in the Purāṇas. According to *MP* they are *ṣaḍ-*

dosāḥ (six enemies of the king), like *kāma* (passion), *krodha* (anger) and others (*MP* 24.14). These are to be controlled by the king lest they lead to his destruction. Here the famous mythological illustrations of Pāṇḍu, Aila, Vena, Purañjaya and Anāyu's son and others are given (*MP* 24.15-16); whereas the King Marut ruled over the world by conquering them (*MP* 24.17).

Madālasā harps upon this point by justifying one to have several *gurus* for imbibing the principles of *rājadharma* from the objects of nature, such as a crow, a cuckoo, a honey-bee, a crane, a swan, the iron, an owl, an ant, the sparks of fire, the seeds of the cotton-silk tree, the sun, the moon, the lotus, a female slave, the wife of a *cāṇḍāla* and others (*MP* 24.18-21). Thus being self-controlled, the king can bring those who follow the evil paths deviating from the righteousness to the proper path. Such a king attains the heavenly world:

utpatha-grāhiṇo mūḍhān sarvdharmāt-calitān-narān ।
yaḥ karoti nije dharma sa rājā svargam-ṛcchati ॥

— *MP* 24.30

The generally known *amātya* (minister) is called *saciva* here. His vices such as lethargy, lack of enthusiasm, arrogance, procrastination and others are to be closely watched by the king (*AP* 241.26). The *amātya*s should be pure, brave, having a thorough knowledge of all the branches of knowledge as well as of polity, dedicated to the king and born in a noble family (*AP* 239.11). Further, they as well as the advisors should be truthful, with perseverance, steadfastness, impressive, healthy, skilful, shrewd, intelligent (*AP* 239.14), with a sharp memory, ability to read the mind of the enemy, firm, able to hold secrets and with other qualities (*AP* 239.16). The king should test them oft and on (*AP* 239.19). All their efforts should focus on plans for the welfare of the state and of their execution, further its progress, accounts, military operations, relations with the rivals and such other tasks all of which are intended for the welfare of the state (*AP* 241.17).

Purohita, a brāhmaṇa by caste, should be well-versed in the three Vedas and the art and science of polity (*AP* 239.16).

The leading constituent of the state is *swāmī* (king). All the above Purāṇas give the qualities and the duties of the king especially with reference to the different spheres of governance, along with the aim of kingship — in other words, *rājadharma*. Birth in a cultured family, pure, young, enthusiastic, clean, truthful, polite and warm to elders and *gurus*, obliging in nature with the absence of evil tendencies, full of lovingness and compassion, religious inclination and dutifulness are some important qualities the king should have (*AP* 239.4). He must be thoroughly educated in *Trayī*, *Daṇḍanīti* and *Arthaśāstra* (*AP* 225.21). Madālasā refers to the quality of avoiding addictions (*MP* 246ab), as well as control of the self, of the ministers, officers and his own people prior to controlling the enemy as essential (*MP* 24.11).

3. The *kośa* (state treasury) is the basis of kingship (*yatra rāja tatra kośaḥ kosādhinā hi rājatā* — *AP* 241.22; 242.33). The state treasury is filled by revenue in different forms — *bali, bhāga* and *śulka* — all constituting different forms of taxation to be paid by each citizen in various ways. To illustrate: (a) All the shops should pay one-twentieth of its sale proceeds as tax (*AP* 223.23). (b) All imported goods are to be taxed (*AP* 223.24). (c) From the sale of flowers, perfumes, herbs and other goods, the merchant is to pay one-sixth of the sale proceeds, while from the animals, it is to be one- fifth (*AP* 223.27, 29). (d) No brāhmaṇa is to be taxed (*AP* 223.31).

   It is binding on the king to earn wealth for the state, augment it, protect it and make more acquisition of the same (*AP* 238.4). Moreover, it is laid down that he should obtain wealth by ethical means and modesty only (*AP* 238.3).

4. The function of the *daṇḍa* (army) is to check and control both kinds of security — external and internal, the enemy and the friend, as well as the people (*AP* 241.23). (The details of this are discussed under *DV*, as here there is a reference to both the internal and external security of the state, as well as judiciary to maintain the ethical values within the society. The aim is to achieve the progress of the state.)

   Daṇḍa also refers to the judiciary, that is, the implentation of the coercive force in the state for law and order. This can be

implemented by the use of *daṇḍa* with appropriate intensity. *Daṇḍa* should be used for implementing ethics and order in the society (*daṇḍena ca prakurvīta nityārtham pṛthivī-kṣitā)* (*MP* 24.22ab). To achieve this, the king must imbibe the motives and tasks of the following five deities for the reasons given as under:

- Like Indra — the god of rains who drenches and satisfies the earth by rains for four months of the year, the king should gratify the subjects with necessary charities, financial help, etc. (*MP* 24.24).
- Like Sūrya who scorches the earth for eight months of the year and sucks water from its reservoirs, the king should extract taxes from his subjects without tormenting them (ibid. 25).
- The king should be equanimous to all, like Yama, the god of death (ibid. 26).
- Like the soothing Moon, he should bring happiness and cheerfulness to all (ibid. 28).
- Just as Vāyu — the wind moves in a concealed way in all the beings, so should the king keep a secret watch over one and all in the state (ibid. 29). In this respect, the comment of *MP* 24.9 is that neither friends, nor the kin, nor the relations may be trusted, though in certain situations, the enemy may be trusted.

Some other duties and qualities that the king must have are like fulfilment of the desires of the people (*MatP* 104.8) and the protection of cows, the Vedas as well as Arthaśāstra (*GP* 67. 26ab). However, the king's relations and his attitude and behaviour towards his subjects play a major role in his being successful in following *rājadharma* as under :

(a) He should see to it that all are able to get employment like the cloud showering rains for all (*AP* 239.43).

(b) He should use half of the revenue in charity (*AP* 223.14).

(c) Women are to be specially taken care of (*AP* 222.13-18). They should be made happy through love and care (*AP* 238.18).

(d) The brāhmaṇas should always be worshipped (*AP* 222.14; 223.14cd).

(e) The king should meet with the special needs of the poor, the orphans and the other weak sections of the society (*AP* 225.25).

(f) He should always extend hospitality to those who approach him (*AP* 238.19).

(g) Appointment of officials at all levels of government.

The basic principle behind all these is to ensure the welfare of the state and effective administration by the careful employment of virtuous men and screening the ones with vices (*GP* 69.1). However, it is also laid down that their capacity should be tested before they are appointed (*AP* 220.11). Dedication and obedience to the king as one has them for one's *guru*, holding back the secrets and keeping coolness are the qualities that are emphasized in (*AP* 221.1; 22.41). Counsel and planning with the virtuous ministers lead him to victory (*AP* 220.1) when they too are able to retain secrets (*AP* 225.19).

(h) Appropriate training is to be given to the princes (especially the crown prince) including that of *DV* (*MatP* 38.1).

(i) General attitude of the king towards the officers and the subjects should be neither too harsh nor too liberal.

(j) Efficient espionage network and absolutely sincere door-keepers are very important factors for effective security of the king and the state. The former forms the eyes of the king and keeps him updated with the movements of each official and the people in general. For this purpose, there are two categories of spies — covert and overt (*gupta* and *prakaṭa*) (*AP* 241.12, wherein *gupta* (covert) spies are to move in disguise). The qualities of the doorkeeper are also mentioned (*AP* 220.2). It is also said that they have to be alert even about the hours of the day (*AP* 220.5ed).

(k) Several other officials are referred to here whom the king has to appoint, such as:

(i) The *dūta* (envoy, ambassador) who is to be soft-spoken, strong, knowledgeable and diplomatic in foreign policy and relations (*AP* 220.3).

(ii) The personal guard always on feet with a sword in hand (*AP* 220.4a).

(iii) The charioteer thoroughly knowledgeable in all operations (*AP* 220.46).

(iv) The cook (*AP* 220.4ed).

(v) The treasurer expert in gemology, accounts and other things (*AP* 220.bcd).

(vi) The keeper of the elephants who should know the elephants and their medicines (*AP* 220b-d).

(vii) The alert mahout (*AP* 220.7a).

(viii) The keeper of horses (*AP* 220.7b).

(ix) An intelligent commander, and superintendent of the fort, who is also an architect himself with the knowledge of Vāstuśāstra (*AP* 220.7cd).

5. *Durga*s (fortifications) are necessary for the security of the state against the enemy attack. *AP* (222.4-6) narrates the different varieties of the forts and opines that the fort which is capable of housing the inhabitants of the capital, temples, arsenals and others that can be well-protected is the most excellent one (ibid. 6).
6. The *mitra*s (friendly kings) are supportive and helpful in various ways (*AP* 241.24).
7. The only reference to the local self-government is that of the head of ten villages (*AP* 223.1).
8. Often it may happen that though the appointments are made considering their qualities, a few officials may turn out to be corrupt and indulgent in exploiting the people. In such cases, the king has to punish them in some way or the other (*AP* 220.12); these methods are not mentioned in the Purāṇas, but are mentioned in *NP*.
9. Further, successful kingship is directly related to the king's threefold power (*śakti*) and the subsequent success (*siddhi*). These

depend on his control, enthusiasm and counsel. As indicated by the illustration of the victory of Bṛhaspati over Śukrācārya due to his power of counsel, *AP* holds this power to be the mightiest (241.1). Hence *mantra-śakti* (power of counsel) has five components — means to solve problems, time, place, preventive measures and dedication to work (*AP* 241.4).

10. From the psychological point of view, *AP* holds cheerfulness of mind, confidence in the plan, controlled sense-organs, archery and supportive measures and means to achieve progress to be the true factors responsible for the success of any plan (*AP* 241.5). This can be successful if the following are avoided — drunkenness, lethargy and procrastination, lust, sleeping at daytime, talkativeness, overhearing and other bad qualities (*AP* 241.6).

11. The calamities (*vyasanas*) are defined as *anayāt-vyasyanti śreyastasmāt tad-vyasanam smṛtam* (*AP* 241.14ab). The state frequently faces two types of calamities, namely, man-made and divine. The former is due to wrong planning/decision on the part of the king. The divine calamities are like natural fires, various epidemics, famine and plague (*AP* 241.14cd, 15).

12. *Upāyas* (means of success) against the enemy are seven — negotiation (*sāma*), bribery (*dāna*), attack (*daṇḍa*), sowing seeds of dissension among the enemy (*bheda*), creative illusion (*māyā*), neglect (*upekṣā*) and magic (*indrajāla*) (*AP* 226.5-6; *MatP* 100.2). *AP* (226.7-13, 234.2-9 and 334.16) delineates at length the sub-varieties of these as follows —

(a) *Sāma* — *tathya* and *atathya*, that is, by using these virtues, good people may be won over (*AP* 226.7; *MatP* 100.14).

(b) *Dāna* — *MatP* considers it to be the best measure to win over the rival (*sarveṣāṁ-api-upāyānāṁ dānaṁ śreṣṭhatamaṁ mataṁ*) (*Matp* 102.1).

(c) *Daṇḍa* is twofold: *gupta* (secretly carrying out the task) and *prakāśa* (carrying it out openly) (*AP* 234.2-3). However, *MatP* holds that here too opinions of the Dharmaśāstras should be observed by the king that being the proper policy always to be followed (103.2).

(d) *Bheda* may be used torwards angry enemy and others to win over his own people and enemies (*AP* 226.13; *MatP* 101.6, 12, 15).

(e) *Māyā* consists in the use of illusory tricks by experts in the art and creating meteor-showers (*AP* 226.8-9). Even the disguises of spirits, emitting fire from mouth and other means are to be included here (*AP* 242.63, 65).

(f) *Upekṣā* — The attitude of neglect can vanquish the enemy (*AP* 226.5-7).

(g) *Indrajāla* is to be used to convince the enemy king of the support of the divine armies with all their sections, after which *māyā* can be resorted to (*AP* 334.16).

It is held that the brāhmaṇas should be won over through *sāma* (*AP* 241.53), the commander-in-chief and warriors through *dāna* and *bheda*, while the vassal king, offenders, foresters and others may be controlled by *bheda* and *daṇḍa* (*AP* 242.62).

13. *Ṣāḍguṇya* are the measures of the foreign policy of the state. It is determined by the internal stability and economic growth. They are — *sandhi* (peace), *vigraha* (war), *āsana* (staying quiet), *yāna* (marching), *saṁśraya* (seeking shelter) and *dvaidhībhāva* (dual policy) (*AP* 334.17-19). Any of these may be employed considering the above as well as the situation in the circle of kings — *rājamaṇḍala* (*AP* 240.1-32). The knowledge of *ṣaḍguṇas* is the root of the successful leadership according to Madālasā (*MP* 24.10bcd).

Among these, *AP* (240.9) mentions four to be the chief *sandhis* — *paraspara-upakāra, maitra, sambandhaja* and *upahāra*. Their further ten sub-divisions are also enumerated (*AP* 240.7-8). It is interesting to note that a strong belief in omens (*AP* 228.5).

14. Looking into the judicial matters is also an important part of the king's daily routine. It implies protection to the followers of *dharma* and punishment to its violators. It is possible to implement the ethical code due to the power of *daṇḍa* wielded by the king. *MatP* (103.15) notes that the people do not perform sinful actions out of the fear of punishment. *AP*

(227.7-8, 33, 49, 64) describes in detail the punishments for various types of crimes. However, there is a warning that if the king punishes the truthful ones and releases the wrongdoers, he may end up in losing his kingdom and gaining hell (*MatP* 103.6). Therefore the king is advised to execute the judicial matters with discrimination in accordance with the Dharmaśāstras, the focus being on intensely coveting the welfare of his people (*MatP* 103.7). However here also the king is advised to be tactful; the criminal offenders who are disliked by one and all may be given capital punishment publicly, while the hero in a secret way (*AP* 241.52).

15. In this context, it is interesting to observe a striking term used by *MatP* for the goal of the king of being *sthūla-lakṣya* or concretely result-oriented so that the welfare of the state can be achieved with the beneficiaries being his subjects (*MatP* 98.28). Therefore, looking after the state according to *dharma*, the king himself being truthful and vanquishing the enemies form the essence of *rājadharma* (*GP* 67.2). It should be noted that in order to achieve this aim, the conscientious prevention of *doṣa*s (vices) like hunting, gambling, lust, drunkenness, procrastination and others as noted above becomes obligatory.

Additionally, the king should be alert on issues such as famine (*AP* 239.27), forts, fortification and insufficiency of arms (ibid. 28), treasury and wastage of finance or insufficient collection of revenue (ibid. 29), lethargy and weakness with reference to army (ibid. 30), ally tormented by divine factor, and full of anger and lust (ibid. 33), and his own behaviour through harsh speech, hard-hearted punishment and lack of finance (being vices born out of wrath) as well as hunting, gambling, drunkenness and lust (arising out of passion) (*AP* 239.34-35).

All this discussion is based on the twofold concept of the state, namely, *ābhyantara* (internal) and *bāhya* (external). The former is the body, mind and spirit of the king himself, while the latter is the state as it exists physically through ministers, forts, treasury and the other constituents (*AP* 239.47). Hence, *AP* 237 reflects a fervent prayer in *Śrīstotra* for the stability of the state.

A point from the Purāṇas which is not referred to in *NP* is that the people as citizens of the state and members of the society also have duties and responsibilities towards the state in the following ways — by practising non-violence, amicable speech and behaviour, truthfulness, etc. (*AP* 238.10), earning and saving gold, crops, cloth, vehicles and other types of wealth (*AP* 238.180).

II.2.7. Dhanurveda Saṁhitās

War in the form of conflict is an integral part of man's nature. A special branch of knowledge, therefore, developed as a part of the education in general, and of princes in particular. Hence, with the passage of time, there grew a corpus of the Upavedas or auxiliary Vedas each of which was attached with a Vedic Saṁhitā. Thus Āyurveda was associated with *ṚV*, *DV* with *YV*, Gandharvaveda with *SV* and *Arthaśāstra* with *AV*.

(In *TV* on *NP* 1.1, we find the mention of Bhārata — *Mbh* having *rājadharma* as its significant import as auxiliary to *YV*.) *SNS* (4.278) also says that the king should have mastery over weaponry and the art of battle by studying *DV* which is auxiliary to *YV*.

Now *DV* (the knowledge of military organization and operation) forms a very significant role in statecraft, both for internal and external security. The espionage system is responsible for updating the king and the other highly placed officials of the happenings, relations inside the government, among the people and in *rājamaṇḍala*. It forms the basis of all the security operations at all the levels and in all the conditions.

As noted earlier, *daṇḍa* in the form of punishment for the offenders and the violators of law within the state through legislation and judiciary based on the prevalent social and criminal laws and customs provide the legal execution whereas the military system and its regular, alert and trained military protect the state boundaries from any kind of infiltrations.

Therefore, the actual military structure and its various aspects as observed in the discussion in *NP* give a broad guideline of *DV* — an auxiliary Veda of *YV*. With this background, it would be worthwhile to have an overview of *DV* as the ancient Indian science of armed forces (based on my article "Ancient Indian Science of

Weaponry", *Journal of Indian Intellectual Studies*, **1**(1-2): 168-91, December 2004). We know that of all the four Vedic Saṁhitās, *YV* is associated with the sacrificial institution. Its chief aim was to gain material wealth (in *ŚatBr* 1.4.6.18 and all over the Vedic literature we find prayers to gain the same — *vayam syāma patayo rayīṇām*). Naturally, therefore, *DV* probably formed the means towards this achievement.

Though the ancient texts on the subject are not to be found, a few texts of this science are available to us today such as:

1. *Auśanasa-Dhanurveda-Saṅkalanam*
2. *Koḍaṇḍa-maṇḍaṇam*
3. *DV* in *Bṛhat-Śāraṅgadhara-paddhati*
4. *Dhanurveda Saṁhitā of Vasiṣṭha* (*VDV*)
5. *Paurastya Dhanurveda* (a collection of quotations from different authors of the texts on this science)
6. *Sadāśiva Dhanurveda* (which is almost identical with *VDV*)
7. *Dhanurveda* (*AP* 249-252).

(Since most of *DV*s are similar in nature, the two most important, *VDV* and *AP* are taken up for study here.)

Aim of DV

The aim of *DV* is given explicitly by *VDV*. Here the recipient of the instruction is Viśvāmitra who is a *vijīgīṣu* suggestive of personal excellences, favourable constituents of the state and implementing good policy (*KA* 6.213, 6.1). Hence these are:

1. *duṣṭa-śatru-vināśa* (ibid.), that is, destruction of the evil enemy,
2. *ṭe hita* (ibid. 5a) that is, personal benefit like self-defense and conquest of the enemy,
3. *duṣṭa-dasyu-caurādibhyaḥ sādhu-saṁrakṣaṇam* (5ab, p. 2), that is, protection of the good from the evil and uncivilized elements and thieves, and
4. *dharmataḥ prajāpālanam* (5c, p. 2), that is, looking after the welfare and prosperity of the subjects according to *dharma*.

In this context it must be remembered that the fourfold division of the society was conceptually based on the practical aspects of

social life. Simultaneously war with all its probabilities existed on both offensive and defensive levels. Hence though it was the chief duty of the kṣatriya, as the protector and governor of the state to be perfectly conversant with this science and skill, the whole society had right to gain this knowledge, though the emphasis of the weapons used differed. To illustrate, *VDV* lays down that the bow should be given to a brāhmaṇa, the sword to a kṣatriya, the spear to a vaiśya and the mace to a śūdra. However, for the former, his thorough examination as a recipient is absolutely necessary (*atha dhanurdānavidhiḥ* — 7ab). Moreover, absence of negative qualities like greed, cheating, unappreciativeness (ibid., *dhanurdānavidhiḥ* 33), cruelty, perversiveness, restlessness, treachery, unfaithfulness (ibid., Introductory passage) are to be checked before imparting this knowledge lest it is misused (ibid., *vyūhādibhiryuddhakathanam* 46). These refer to both the mental and physical fitness of the person learning this science and that he should be an enlightened person. Hence in the context of the science of archery (it refers to the military science as a whole), it eulogizes:

eko 'pi yatra nagare prasiddhaḥ syāt dhanurdharaḥ ।
tato yānti-arayo dūrāt-mṛgāḥ siṁha-gṛhāt-iva ॥

— Ibid., *ācārya-lakṣaṇam*

Even if there is a single renowned archer in the city the enemies keep at bay just as the deer from the lion.

Thus this knowledge is not just for self-preservation but also of the society it being a scientific technique and skill. We have seen that *NP* expounds this for implementing it in the society as an effort to bring it on the path of *dharma*.

Subjects Discussed in DV

While correlating with the weapons, the subject that it treats is fourfold as found in *VDV*. Vasiṣṭha, in *VDV*, briefly relates the nature of its contents giving its four sections as:

1. *Dīkṣā-prakāraḥ*, that is, instruction on the initiation, qualifications of the teacher and of the disciples, initiation in archery, beginning of the training, the purposes of learning it.

2. *Saṁgrahaḥ*, that is, knowledge of all the aspects of archery such as, bows which should be avoided as also which ones to be used, manufacturing of bows and arrows as well as their individual parts and so on.,
3. *Siddha-prayogaḥ*, that is, the principles of collection of the weapons, their varieties, measurements of the bows, their characteristics, the prohibited bows, the different types of bows, the bowstrings, the arrows, their qualities, the arrowheads, the types of arrows, the stances for release/use of weapons, the modes and positions of shooting, holding and drawing the bowstave and the bow, the arrow grips and other details are discussed at length in these two sections.
4. *Prayoga-vidhayaḥ*, that is, the application of the weapons describing how to shoot the different types of objects, *vyūha*s, the divisions and training of the army, war strategies, use of missiles and so on.

It must be noted that this formal and proper division of the subjects is not to be found in other texts. Also, *AP* consists of the narration of the subject to Vasiṣṭha by Agni. Although it refers to some of the weapons only it is still incomplete as compared to *NP* as many of the aspects of the subject are not dealt with. It is interesting to note the different ways in which it classifies *DV* which are noted at appropriate places. However, it also divides its subject into four *pāda*s (sections) — *catuṣpādam dhanurvedam* (*AP* 249.1a).

Weapons and Weaponry: Description and Training

CATEGORIES

VDV divides the weapons into four categories on the basis of mode of operation, their characteristics and functions:

1. *Mukta* are the weapons to be released completely for striking, such as the bow and the arrow.
2. *Amukta* are the weapons not to be released, but to be held in the hand while in use, such as the sword.
3. *Mukta–amukta* are the weapons which could be released or held in the hand as per the need such as the spear, the knife and others.

4. *Yantra-mukta* are the weapons to be released with machines, such as *śataghnī*.

(Nīlakaṇṭha, the commentator of *Mbh*, notes the same division of the weapons as in *VDV* on the Ādi-Parva 220.72.)

The teacher, according to *VDV*, is given different grades depending on his skill of using the weapons with equal skill and number (see under "Types of War"). It refers to the five types of war on the basis of the weapons used. The classification of the weapons according to *AP* (249.2) is:

1. *Yantra-mukta* such as the projectiles, bow–arrows and others (ibid. 4ab)
2. *Pāṇi-mukta* are when the weapons are thrown by hand, such as stones, *tomara* and others (ibid. 4cd)
3. *Mukta-sandhārita* are the weapons that are thrown and then resumed, such as spears and others (ibid. 5ab)
4. *Amukta* is the war where weapons like sword, etc. that are not released from the hand are used (ibid. 5cd)
5. *Bāhu-yuddha* is the war when arms and fists are the weapons one fights with (ibid. 2cd).

Major S.K. Bhakari categorizes the weapons mentioned in *VDV* and the related texts on the basis of their utility and role in the actual battle as well as in terms in which they can be understood in the modern age. On this basis, he gives the following categories of weapons:

1. close combat weapons — that is, weapons having close range and used in hand-to-hand fights, such as knife and sword,
2. light close-support weapons such as bow–arrow, and spear,
3. heavy close-support weapons such as catapults (*śataghnī*), requiring men to carry and operate them for the purposes of both defence and offence,
4. shields,
5. armour (*VDV Nārācāntikaśataghnīnām-varṇanam* 74, *Pratyāgamanam*).

Description of the Weapons and Training for Their Use

It is interesting to note in the context of the aspiration for self-assertion that man since pre-historic times found instruments to do so through the implements we know as weapons. Psychologically they give him superiority of strength and power over others. Hence he developed them by refinement and deep insight into their use to achieve his aim. Consequently we find innumerable references of these in the Vedic literature as reflecting the then-existing society. To illustrate, bow, arrow, quiver, bow string, *vajra*, sword, spear, armour, headgear, lead ball, battle axe, noose, stick, fire weapons and others are frequently mentioned in the Vedic literature.

However, when we come to the actual works on *DV* available to us today, we find that unlike *NP*, *VDV* focuses on bow and arrow as chief weapons. Hence they are discussed at length. So does *AP;* however, they do refer to other weapons though the comprehensiveness of *NP* is lacking.

BOW AND ARROW

This pair of weapon of close support has been held in high esteem since the Vedic times. Although all the above weapons have been referred to in different texts, *VDV* concentrates on how to learn and master it. Bows for practice and for war were different:

(a) As its wielder is more important than the bow, the size of the bow should be in proportion to the strength of the archer. The ideal bow measures five-and-a-half cubit; common man's bow should be shorter than *śārṅga* and such divine bows. Materials like metals, horn and wood are used to make the bows.

(b) *VDV* also describes the materials of the bowstring such as silken thread, sinews of animals, hide, ripe bamboo and others (ibid., *śara-lakṣaṇāni*).

(c) The thickness, weight, types, etc. of the arrows are discussed at length (ibid., *phalalakṣaṇam*).

(d) Further, the arrowheads were of varied types like *ardhacandra, kṣurapa, bhalla* and others to achieve various purposes such as killing, practice, piercing the armour, cutting the

bowstring of the enemy and so on (ibid., *phalapāyanam*). This suggests that self-defence and the strategic use of archery in different circumstances were well-analysed and practised. At times, the tips of the arrows were poisoned; the process was called *phalapāyanam* (ibid., *sthāna-muṣṭi-ākarṣaṇa-lakṣaṇāni*).

(e) All the procedures to be followed in the shooting techniques or modes of shooting which include positions like *pratyālīḍha, ālīḍha, viśākha* and others on the basis of the positions of the feet, ankles, trunk alignment and thumb are given at length; they have to be kept in mind while training for hitting the desired target. These are called stances in modern times; they are eight in number (ibid., *dhanurvyāyāḥ*). *AP* (249.9-318) also discusses these which are eight in number — *samapāda, vaiśākha, maṇḍala, ālīḍha, pratyālīḍha, sthāna, vikaṭa* and *sampūt*, but it (249.20) prefers the *vaiśākha* posture over the others.

(f) Holding of the bowstring (*muṣṭī*) (ibid., *dhanurmuṣṭi-sandhāna*), drawing of the bow (*sandhāna*) (ibid., *dhanurvyāyaḥ*) and pulling the bowstring in various ways depending upon the targets (*vyāya*) (ibid., *lakṣyam, lakṣyābhyāsa-svarūpāṇi*) are also discussed at great length both in *VDV* and *AP* (249.19, 22, 29, 33-34). These are for daily practice and exercise for successful combats during war. (It may be mentioned that all these are discussed in detail and illustrated by G.N. Pant in *Indian Archery* and *Arms and Armours*. The readers are suggested to refer to both these books to know the historical development of the science of archery and illustrations and other such aspects since prehistoric times through the Vedic age.)

(g) It must be noted here that *Mbh* (220.72) refers to ten further sub-divisions of the actual use of bow and arrows:

1. *ādāna* (initiation),
2. *sandhāna* (drawing and aiming),
3. *mokṣaṇa* (releasing thereafter),
4. *vinivartanam* (return of the arrow),
5. *sthāna* (postures most of which are standing),

6. *muṣṭi* (holding the bowstring for releasing the arrow),
7. *prayoga* (operation),
8. *prāya-racitāni* (practice),
9. *maṇḍalam* (circular movement), and
10. *rahasya* (secret of perfect shooting).

(h) *AP* (249.37) strongly recommends that all the foot soldiers, especially the archers riding horses, chariots and elephants must always use the best type of bows, namely, those that are four hands in length and arrows of 12 fists length. Further, the twice-born should get his bow made of the length of his own height which along with his mace and other weapons should be washed with meat and then put them carefully in the sacrificial ground (*AP* 250.1). When he is getting ready for the war, he should tie his quiver first on the right side on his back. At any cost he should not have any dejection and sorrow in his mind at the times of training as well as war — *aviṣaṇṇa-matiḥ* (ibid. 250.5a).

(i) The targets (*lakṣya*s) are of varied types — (1) *sthira* (steady or fixed), (2) *cala* (moving), (3) *cala–acala* (steady and moving) (in other words, the shooter is moving while the target is fixed), and (4) *dvi-acala* (both the target and the shooter move simultaneously) (ibid., *śramakriyā* 21cd, 22ab). This practice of shooting keeps the warrior alert and ready for the hour of need.

AP (250.11) mentions six types of targets:

1. *tīkṣṇa* (sharp),
2. *parāvṛtta* (revolving),
3. *gata* (in motion),
4. *nimna* (low),
5. *unnata* (high), and
6. *kṣipta* (thrown).

It strongly says that one who masters shooting all these six can easily attack the rival army from either of its sides and vanquish it (ibid. 15). However, the practice of releasing arrows from all around simultaneously, that is, with high

speed, is firmly recommended by *AP* (ibid. 10cd) as also hitting the moving and unsteady targets from all sides (ibid. 18). In all the cases and at all costs the archer (in that case, any warrior must have his target perfectly fixed in his mind — *mano lakṣya-gatam kṛtvā* (ibid. 7a)).

(j) In the training of the use of all the weapons, *yoga*, especially *prāṇāyāma*, plays an important role. Hence *VDV* shows how the combination of breaths *pūraka, kumbhaka* and *recaka* has to be carried out (ibid. 24). *AP* (241.6cd) gives additional details, namely, total control over hands, mind and vision — *jita-hastaḥ, jita-matiḥ, jita-dṛk*. This will enable one to shoot his target perfectly — *lakṣya-sādhakaḥ* (*AP* 251.1ab).

It is interesting to note that *VDV* poetically refers to the expertise in archery on the principle of how one should handle the weapon — here, the bow and the arrow. It says that the shooter should hold the arrow gently and carefully like a flower but should pull the bowstring to release the arrow firmly so as to thrash a snake (ibid. 26). *VDV* also gives a simile from the practical life for the efforts to achieve perfection in shooting, namely, just as the common man's aim is to achieve material gain, the direction of the arrow should always be its target (ibid. *vyūhān* 47).

(k) *Perfect shooting* can be achieved through four principles:

1. *śramaḥ* (concentrated effort),
2. *askhalita dṛṣṭiḥ* (steady vision). Both these principles lead to *śīghra-sandhāna* (perfect and quick shooting) (ibid., *śramakriyā* 21cd, 22ab),
3. *prāṇāyāmaḥ* (absolute control over breath) (ibid.), and
4. *guru-samakṣam śrama-kriyā* (practice under the constant guidance, coaching and presence of an able teacher) (ibid., *śīghrasandhānam*).

(Here one may remember the illustration of Eklavya who being rejected by Droṇa practised and achieved perfection in archery by looking upon Droṇa as his teacher. This astounding perfection forced him to demand Ekalavya's right thumb as *guru-dakṣiṇā*. It may be noted here that the right

thumb for the right-handed person needs to be used to grip the bowstring, arrow and to release the arrow.)

(l) *Techniques and different types of shooting in archery*: Techniques such as fast shooting (ibid. *dūra-pātitvam*), long-range shooting (ibid. *dṛḍha-bhedanam, śuddhagatayaḥ, citravidhiḥ, kāṣṭhabhedanam*, etc.) and others are also discussed along with the techniques of sensing the direction, speed of the arrow, shooting different objects, piercing strong objects, shooting on the basis of the sound, etc. (ibid. *auṣadhīḥ*). Here, *VDV* again emphasizes that one who has attained the knowledge of the weapons should have a fair and pure mind and also should be modest in speech and diligent in work; for, weapons destroy an incompetent person. Vasiṣṭha lays down the importance and the details of the target practice at length as it gives a regular training to the shooter; but simultaneously he also enjoins a break from it.

The weapons of different kinds could be placed in any of the four categories given above. *VDV* does refer to some of them. However, its focus being archery with its techniques, missiles and organization of the army, other weapons do not find a place here. On the other hand, when *AP* describes archery, it brings in the making, training and movements of some other weapons as well. Thus it discusses briefly *pāśa* (*AP* 251.2-6), *khaḍga* with shield (*AP* 252.1-4cd), *laguḍa* and *bhiṇḍipāla* (*AP* 251.11-12, 15), *cakra* (*AP* 252.8), *gadā* (*AP* 252.11-12, 19-23), *śūla* (*AP* 252.9), *tomara* (*AP* 252.10), *paraśu* (*AP* 252.13), *mudgara* (*AP* 252.14), *paṭṭiśa* and *vajra* (*AP* 252.16), *kṛpāṇa* (*AP* 252.17), *kṣepaṇī* (*AP* 252.18) and the use of limbs (*AP* 252.24-29). Each of these is referred to along with its distinct movements in using the respective weapon.

While using a weapon, the warrior needs to be quick-footed with quick impulses and responses to overpower the opponent in practice and the enemy in war (*AP* 251.12).

Further *AP* also mentions that the archers, the mahouts of the elephants, the charioteers and the warriors that accompany them need specialized training for fighting in unison on the battlefield (*AP* 252.31-33ab).

ASTRAS OR MISSILES

The broad category into which all the weapons were placed, namely, of *śastra* and *astra* is significant. *Śastra* is the term used for all the above weapons, whereas *astra* is the missile which is hurled at the opponent by uttering divine *mantra*s of various types on a weapon, usually the arrow.

According to *VDV*, *astra*s are of different types under the names of different deities and used with various motives such as:

1. *Brahmāstra* has Brahmā as the presiding deity and the purpose of the missile is to kill/capture the enemy.
2. *Pāśupatāstra*, presided over by Śiva, is used to kill a large number of enemies.
3. *Brahmadaṇḍa* is presided over by Brahmā and is used to kill a large number of enemies and also to cut off *brahmāstra*.
4. *Brahmaśira* was an important missile given by Droṇa to Arjuna.
5. *Vāyavāstra* is presided over by Vāyu and creates storms.
6. *Āgneyāstra* has Agni as the deity and is used to create fire among the enemy (ibid. 83).

Along with these descriptions, *VDV* gives rules for their applications too. To illustrate, before applying *brahmāstra*, the archer should utter the Savitṛ *mantra* "a hundred thousand million times" (that is, manytime specific number mentioned is certainly impractical) in the reverse order and purify it before releasing it. By doing so, he can destroy the foetus in the womb as well as every person present on the battlefield (ibid., *astra-vidhiḥ* 78).

The *VDV* asserts that one has to know the science and art of weapons and missiles in detail. The use of releasing and warding off the missiles is more significant than their use as they are not to be employed for ordinary purposes due to their destructive nature on a large-scale (ibid., *guṇa-lakṣaṇāni*).

The Use of Medicines and Charms

Different medicines and charms are prescribed for counter-acting enemy attacks and thus for self-defense, such as the different herbs (their mixtures) and pastes like *apāmārga, puṣpī, kumudinī, muṭija,*

aparājitā, etc. are to be made for this purpose. To illustrate, the application of the paste of the root of the *pīpal* tree collected on the Sunday when the Hastā constellation is there enables even a coward to conquer a great warrior. Or the paste of the root of the *apāmārga* collected on the Sunday during the Puṣyā constellation helps to make the enemy missiles futile (ibid., *vidhirupavāsaḥ*). Even fasts and holding the roots of *jaṭāmāṁsī* collected during Puṣyā constellation in hand/mouth/on the head gives success and he would not face any threat from the king, thief or snakes (*VS* 17.82).

Military Organization on the Front

This is the most important aspect of military science as it determines the tactics of war. It is discussed as follows:

AIM OF THE ARMY

Very naturally the ideal army should be strong, brave, courageous, large in number and formidable. This could be achieved by following the above norms. A good army would keep friends near and enemies at bay (*VDV, Vyūhādibhiryuddhakathanam* 24d). This is actually also the policy for war as well as peace which is mentioned earlier while glorifying the science of archery or warfare.

All the texts on polity lay down the king's daily routine involving specific hours to upkeep his own physical fitness and military supervision. The king was in the direct charge of the Army along with the *purohita* in military, educational and spiritual capacities and the commander-in-chief who headed the army with all its wings. This is not mentioned in the *NP*.

THE STRUCTURE OF THE ARMY

The *VDV* mentions the four units of the army usually known as the *caturaṅgiṇī senā* (ibid., *senānayaḥ* 52-53), namely:

1. *padāti* (infantry),
2. *aśva-dala* (cavalry),
3. *hasti-dala* (elephants), and
4. *ratha* (chariots).

AP (249.1bcd) says that *DV* is fivefold (*pañcavidham*), namely, chariots, elephants, cavalry, infantry and warriors. (It may be noted

that G.N. Pant devotes an entire chapter on military archery in his book *Indian Archery*, discussing the use of bows and arrows for shooting while on chariot, horse, elephant, camel, ship and while in siege.)

However, it also says elsewhere that the division of the army is sixfold:

1. *maula-senā* (the unit of the army which runs through generations in the royal family),
2. *bhūta-senā* (the unit of the army which is fully maintained by the king himself),
3. *śreṇī-senā* (the army of the citizens),
4. army of the friends which helps the king in times of his need,
5. *dviṣad-bala* (the unit of the armed force under the control of enemy), and
6. *āṭavika-senā* (the unit formed of the forestors headed by one among them) (*AP* 241.43).

Kūṭa-yuddha (war by deceit) is favoured by *AP* unlike *NP* which advises it in case the enemy does so. The Purāṇa recommends that in case the enemy forces are sleeping or is in fright, the king should lead an open attack, as the situation is in his favour but if it is against him, he should opt for an attack by deceit (*AP* 242.12). It asserts that maximum of the enemy warriors can be killed by this type of war (*AP* 242.14). It says that by polluting water and such means also this can be achieved (*AP* 242.18).

Again, specific references to the numerical formation of the army are not found in *VDV*, but the words like *akṣauhiṇī* used in the epics are indicative of these.

It appears that the daily supervisions and exercises, competitions, etc. kept the army always alert.

After discussing the above in the last section, *VDV* discusses topics like:

1. Use of medicines and charms for counteraction and self-defence (referred to earlier).
2. Procedures to be followed before the commencement of war (ibid. 13) such as the performance of *yoga-mudrā*s (ibid. 14),

meditation on Rudra and Haimavatī (Durgā) with *mantras* (ibid. 23-25), taking specific angles to keep the sun and the moon in particular positions for the warrior (ibid. 26), breathing (ibid. 23-32), following the rules of Svara-śāstra (ibid. 16-19) and astrology (ibid. 35-36).

Appointment of the Officers, Salaries and Amenities

The appointments of the commander-in-chief and leaders of the army in specific situations are mentioned above. However, it is not much discussed in *VDV* or in *AP*.

Quarters and Uniform

No references to the residential quarters or the barracks nor about their uniform are to be found here. However, references to the armours and other weapons and where to wear them do occur indirectly.

Placements of Different Units

AP (242.45ab) lays down the principle that the king is the lifeline of the army; with his capture/death the entire army loses its life: *yuddham hi nāyaka-prāṇam hanyate tad-anāyakam*.

Although as the physically and mentally fit people were eligible, for military recruitment as well as for wielding the weapons, *VDV* specifically says that on the battlefield, the king should keep beside him only the faithful, courageous, truthful and dedicated warriors and the feudal princes, who are fond of each other, who can wield the toughest bows like *śārṅga* and also the equestrian warriors skilled in the war-strategies. This is because it is this group/unit/army which can emerge victorious through the proper strategic organization.

Two units of the army should be kept on each side of the king, — one unit must be behind him, and the other should remain far and be on the move for vigilance: *vyūharacanāyām atinipuṇaśca bhavet sa eva senānīrvidheyāt* (*VDV*, *Senāpatikaraṇavidhiḥ*).

AP (252.31-33ab) refers to employing (i) two archers, two mahouts and two shield-bearers on an elephant, (ii) three warriors on horse to protect it, and (iii) the archer to be protected by warriors wearing armours and wielding shields.

Use of Different Units/Warriors on the Battlefront

All the four divisions of the army should be arranged in an array on the battlefront. The strongest warrior had to be placed first as its commander who must know all the types of *vyūha*s such as *daṇḍa, varāha, śakaṭa, matsya* and so on, depending on the strength of the enemy, the battlefield and such other factors (ibid., *Agratobhaya-pipīlikāvyūham* 51).

AP lays down that one-fourth of the army must be deployed to oversee and guard all the activities taking place in the entire camp (241.44).

The Organization of the Army on the Battlefield

Each limb of the army has a different function to perform in the battle. Thus:

1. the cavalry is to fight on the plains,
2. the elephants and boats are used in water,
3. the infantry uses bows and arrows while lying in ambush,
4. the use of the other weapons of offence and defence such as shields, swords and spears is done by the infantry according to the situation, and
5. the warriors skilled in the war strategy may lead the group and the rest be kept behind (ibid. *Atha vyūhān* 47).

Vyūhas or Battle Arrays

VDV advises that only some portion of the army should participate in war and its major position should keep vigilance from all the sides. During the war, different situations may arise for which the army has to follow various modes of war as well as strategies. The commander-in-chief should know all types of *vyūha*s (battle arrays) (ibid. *Vyūhān* 47.51) such as:

1. *Daṇḍa vyūha* (staff array): If the enemy is all around then this array should be formed, in which the commander-in-chief remains in the front.
2. *Śakaṭa vyūha* (cart-shaped array): It should be formed when apprehension of danger is from behind. Here, the army is less in number in the front and more at the back so as to give it the shape of a cart.

3. *Varāha vyūha* (boar-shaped array) is made if the danger is from the sides. *Varāha* and *garuḍa* arrays have the army less in number in the front and at the back, but remains in a bigger number in the middle.
4. *Matsya vyūha* (fish-shaped array).
5. *Makara vyūha* (crocodile-shaped array).
6. *Padma vyūha* (lotus-shaped array).
7. *Sūcimukha vyūha* (needle-shaped array).
8. *Pipīlikā vyūha* (ant-shaped array) is formed if the attack is from the front.

Whichever *vyūha* is adopted, the basic principle to be followed is that only some portion of the army should be mobilized for the battle and the major part should move around vigilantly. *AP* discusses the ways the arrays to be used even during the march (*yāna*) in the instruction by Rāma to Lakṣmaṇa on *rājadharma*. Like *NP* (6.11), it also enumerates the seven limbs of a *vyūha* as *urasya, kakṣa, pakṣa, madhya, pṛṣṭha, pratigraha* and *koṭi* (*AP* 242.42).

9. In case of danger of the enemy attack is from the front the king should set out using the formation of *makara vyūha* (*AP* 242.6).
10. *Śyena vyūha* with open wings to resist danger from sides.
11. *Sūcimukha* when danger of confusion from the enemy exists (*AP* 242.7).
12. *Śakaṭa vyūha* helps to face the danger from behind.
13. *Vajra vyūha* helps to face the danger of any kind.
14. *Sarvatobhadra vyūha* enables the king to resist danger from all the sides (*AP* 242.8).
15. *Gaja vyūha* should have an *anīka* which consists of a group of nine elephants; each *anīka* should be placed at the distance of five bows (*AP* 242.39-40).
16. *Madhya-bhedī vyūha* should have the placement of the warriors on horses on each side of the array (*AP* 242.46).
17. If the warriors on elephants are placed in between them, it is called *antarbhedī vyūha* (ibid.).

The *AP* 242.53-70 enumerates several other types of *vyūhas*.

However, *AP* recommends *vyūhas* to always have *pratigraha* (reserve of an army) in the form of a detachment posted with a general 400 yards in the rear of a line (242.31-32, 33ab).

VDV notes that the warrior on duty dying on the battlefield is sure to gain heaven; for, this action is equivalent to penance and pilgrimage. Moreover, if one dies while fighting for a brāhmaṇa, cow, women or a minor, he is sure to gain salvation or bliss (*VDV Hantvyāhantvyopadeśaḥ* 64-66).

It must be noted that the mention of the office cadre, military rules, appointments, war casualties, intelligence system, the system of military supplies, the medical coverage, women in the camp, the actual planning and preparations for war and other topics are discussed by Kauṭilya and other writers on polity as well as by the epics, but not by *VDV* although these are extremely essential in the military organization and administration.

Moreover, it must not be forgotten that *DV*, as a treatise on war and military science, uses several sciences such as metallurgy, astrology, Pātañjala *yoga*, Āyurveda, rituals and Svaraśāstra. It also contains superstitious beliefs and insists on the study of grammar, Smṛtis and other texts.

Types of War

It is very interesting to note that *VDV* refers to different types of teachers on the basis of their proficiency in the use of seven main types of weapons. Thus:

1. *Ācārya* is the title for the teacher who can wield seven kinds of weapons — *cakra, kunta, chūrikā, gadā, dhanuḥ* and *bāhu* with equal dexterity.
2. *Bhārgava* is the teacher who is proficient in only four of these weapons.
3. *Yodhā* excels in the use of only two weapons.
4. *Gaṇaka* is good in just a single type of weapon (ibid. *dhanurdānavidhiḥ* 7).

Indirectly this refers to wars depending on the weapon used by the compatting soldiers.

On the other hand, *AP* (249.3) notes that war is twofold considering the use and the intrinsic qualities of the weapons used:

1. *Ṛju* — that is, the use of the normal weapons and missiles following the usual method of war.
2. *Māyā* — that is, the use of the deceitful means and methods in war. This may be termed as *kūṭa-yuddha* as referred to in *NP* towards the end of the fifth canto. Also, the types of war can be based in relation with the weapons used. This classification is qualitative in nature. Hence there are four types of war on the basis of the choice and suitability of the warrior (*AP* 249.6-7ab): (a) the best type of war is when the bow and the arrows are used, (b) the mediocre when the spears are used, (c) low when the swords are used, and (d) lowest when the arms and fists are used.

It further says that in case the number of infantry is more than the other limbs, it is called *āvāpa yuddha* (*AP* 242.48).

SNS (4.53) gives three categories of war on the basis of the implements used — (1) *daivika* where *astra*s with *mantra*s are used, (2) *āsura* where *nālāñca-astra*s are used, and (3) *mānava* in which the arms and weapons are used. It further says that these types of wars may take place between many warriors, one against many, one against one and two against two (*SNS* 4.54).

Ethics of War

Though everything is fair in war, there are certain ethical principles to be followed even in this stressful situation. *DV* lays down that an armed man should not use his weapons on — (1) *supta* (a man who is lying down), (2) *prasupta* (a sleeping person), (3) *unmatta* (a mentally deranged man), (4) *ākaccha* (one with loose undergarments), (5) *śastra-varjita* (an unarmed person), (6) *bāla* (a child), (7) *strī* (a woman), (8) *dīna* (a weak and therefore one who has surrendered), and (9) *dhāvanta* (a fleeing man) (ibid., *Astravidhiḥ* 77).

To effectively implement this, *VDV* says that one who has attained the knowledge of the weapons and missiles should have a fair and pure mind, and should be so in speech and action; for, weapons destroy an incompetent and undeserving person (ibid. 8).

Post-War Situation

This is with reference to the awards and remunerations for the army.

Although the treatises on polity like *KA* and others discuss the wages and other employment benefits to be given to the soldiers, rewards and other issues, they are not referred to in *VDV* directly. However, with the intention of motivating the army towards success, it mentions two points — (a) on attaining victory, the warrior would be handsomely rewarded so that he will become wealthy, or (b) if he dies on the battlefield, he will attain heaven and fame on the earth. Therefore, he is advised to fight with great patience and kill the enemies (*VDV, Hantavyāhantavyopadeśaḥ* 65-66).

AP also mentions that the victorious king should give specific portions of wealth from his treasury to his heroes. To illustrate, he should give one lakh *dravya* (wealth in gold) for killing the enemy king, while half of this sum for killing a prince (242.34).

Psychology and Philosophy of DV

It is true that the study of war is not just a fiction reading, it is a scientific understanding to achieve victory which requires a harmonious and coherent co-ordination of the human mind, body and the arms, along with the knowledge of the terrain of the field. So, although times and technologies have changed since *DV* evolved, the principles of war science have remained the same at all times.

Psychology of *DV* refers to the frame of the mind of the warrior and philosophy of *DV* is related to the lifestyle and the purpose behind learning and practising it. They are discussed under the purpose of *DV*, the qualifications of the teacher and the student and also under "training" to a great extent. The other points to be noted are:

1. Among the several types of bows whose use is prohibited is the one used by the family ancestors, as its use may bring disputes among relations. Practically, this is true because such a bow would be old and break easily if used. Therefore, it also implies the respect for the forefathers which is very significant to achieve success.
2. *Yoga-mudrās* (yogic postures) are to be carried out before the beginning of the war. They calm the sense-organs, control

the mind and make the body flexible — elements essential for the physical and mental fitness responsible for the success of the warrior.

3. Lord Śiva has to be propitiated with *mantra*s and so on as He is the presiding deity of the military science. Thereafter, salutations are also to be offered to Durgā Haimavatī — the consort of Śiva. This is again suggestive and significant because she symbolizes the victory of good over evil. *Mantras* of these two deities are to be pronounced without fallacy; this would not only assure their efficacy, but also indicate absolute concentration and total involvement of the warrior in his duty.
4. Perfection in self-defence leads to absolute success. This implies perfection in practice, concentration of the mind and control of the self and breath.
5. The sun and the moon are shown to be exerting a direct influence over the warrior and the battle. Today we may take it to be superstitious, but probably this is an indication that the warrior has to elevate himself so much so that his body and mind are in tune with the cosmos.
6. Control of breath in specific ways helps him to win over the enemies. This technique of breath control is to be taught only to the select few who are virtuous, look after their subjects, reward the honest and punish the evil.
7. War strategies are also based on astrological principles which again symbolize man's capacity to be in harmony with the cosmos.
8. It is said in the narrations of the battle arrays that patience is a virtue in war.

This proves that the knowledge of *DV* was not just a science, but was also an art. It was an art of looking at life of the individual and the society as a whole. It needed to be a positive outlook in which not only the urges of self-assertion and expansion prevailed, but self and social elevation was inevitable. To achieve this at the practical level, self-defence as the projection of the instinct of self-survival is absolutely essential. Military science, therefore, is

indispensable for both the internal and external security as well as the peace of a nation. In the modern times as well, we witness that the possession of weapons and military alertness give power to the nations for the compulsive maintenance of peace. Here we may remember Radhakrishnan's remark: "At times aggression is the best means of defence". Of course, the most significant point not to be forgotten is the self-discipline in maintaining control in using the immense military power. But it is this discipline that leads to peace and progress.

One may recall the word *yoga* (derived from the √*yuj* meaning to join) which implies the process by which the outgoing sensual tendencies of man may be controlled in order to indulge in the adherence to *dharma* and help others to follow it, thereby to reach out to them with the attitude of brotherhood and compassion. When the king practises this along with the coercive power he carries out his *dharma,* namely, *rājadharma* reaping the fruit of a happy and prosperous state.

As far as the military aspect is concerned we have seen the inevitability of the coercive power in the form of the use of weapons and weaponry to achieve this aim; hence *DV* mentions the use of concentration, breath control and the other psychological issues beyond the normal human psyche as noted in the section II.2.7. In the use of every weapon, especially for hitting at the target, both physical and mental aspects are involved. This is true even today. Shooting in sport and for military purposes is no exception to it. Training in the use of all weapons involve total mental tuning with the body; however the archery and in modern times shooting with either a bow and an arrow or the gun involves more mental strength and training than physical. Hence man must be aware of himself, his own personality type, his mental bend and an awareness of the aspects of the science and art of the particular weapon to ascertain his successful adaptability to it.

As far as shooting with the bow and arrow or a gun is concerned, the physical aspects involved in it are very peculiar; for, the normal tendencies of the body are mobility and flexibility, while here, total physical activitylessness is required which is an anti-body characteristic feature. This physical aspect makes shooting most

difficult. The mental aspects require complete focus on the aligned sights on the aiming area of the target and the synchronization of the release of the shot with breath control, motionlessness of the body and thoughtlessness of the mind. In short, this requires a completely harmonious and coherent co-ordination of man (body, mind and machine, that is, the bow and the arrow or the gun). It is a split-second reflex which helps the shooter to pierce the target and the same split-second reflex may make him miss it. The slightest mistake at the point of shooting and the slightest margin of movement magnify to such an extent while the shot reaches the target 10/25/50 m away that the shot goes completely haywire. This precision has to be maintained constantly not in sport which is for a brief period of time, but constantly in the war which is a matter of life and death!

Abhyāsa (constant practice to control the fickle tendencies of the mind arising due to the sensory perceptions), *vairāgya* (renunciation of the involvement in the sensory perceptions), *citta-prasāda* (calm state of mind due to the first two factors) and the practice of the eightfold *yoga* achieve this state of mind. *Dhyāna, dhāraṇā* and *samādhi,* successively followed and reached through the constant practice of *āsana*s and breath control (*prāṇāyāma*) especially with *kumbhaka* breath, lead to the removal of cover, concealing the brightness and purity of mind. They help in developing concentration. The above discussion, in brief, propagates physical fitness indirectly, development of the positive virtues like truth, perfection in practice and complete control of the self and tuning of the mind as well as of the body with the cosmos. This naturally requires a disciplined life — of the body and the mind, which is acquired through constant practice alone. This developes *abhaya* (fearlessness) and *ātma-śraddhā* (faith in one's own self).

In the modern times, in sports, this aspect — mental discipline including breathing techniques — is studied for peak performance. Michael K. Livingston provides guidelines for such a performance through the convergence of the mental and physical disciplines. In the preface of his book *Mental Discipline,* he introduces this theory as consisting of "a scientific and philosophical inquiry into the nature of the human mind", which he terms as "right practice". He explains

that each potential act of mind and body can be called a performance, and practice is a systematic thought conduct, performed for the purpose of acquiring knowledge/skill. Thus, practice, in other words, means "purposeful" thought/conduct, which lies as the centre of right practice. This is a creation of the mind. Just as the body is trained through physical practice of something, so too the mind is trained by practice and thus builds up mental discipline. Basically the Western philosophy reaches the mind through matter (called objectivism), whereas the Easter-philosophy follows a reverse pattern (called subjectivism). Towards the end of chapter 9, he admits the correlation of Pātañjala *yoga* with his principle of right practice.

Further, regarding the practice in the shooting sport, Vladislav Sanak ("Dry Training", UIT Journal — *International Shooting Sport*, 6th volume, 1993, p. 50), observes:

> Whoever is in the position to carry through a given programme and to control tiredness and boredom has better prospect to achieve higher scores during competition.

In its 2nd volume (1993), Manohar Singh emphasizes:

> The shooting sport is strongly related to sports psychology in the sense of concentration, sensometric accuracy, confidence, attention and eye–hand co-ordination. It is also related to *yoga* where meditation, control of breathing and body movements play an important role.
>
> — p. 28

In other words, shooting can be further enriched by a homogeneous blending of the above philosophies through seamless transition. One has to live in the present on moment-to-moment basis. This is compared with an experience of death; death here signifies death of the mind every moment. The mind which does not remember anything of the past is like the mind of a child — a clean slate. Similarly, the mind is not concerned about the futuristic events. Therefore, a person in the state of moment-to-moment application of the mind is not disturbed by the sorrows of the past nor is he apprehensive of the fear of the unknown that is to occur in the future. A man in this state of mind is, therefore, also unperturbed and detached about the cause and effect relationships. His only

interest is to put in his best possible performance in the present moment.

If a shooter is able to concentrate in the technically perfect execution of each shot, he is not practising multiple shots, but he is shooting multiple training sessions of one shot each. He is not concerned about a "flyer" (a bad shot) of the past nor does he think about the shots to be fired in the future. While executing the shot, the shooter is also not worried about the ultimate result of that training session. He lives in the present, experiencing the mental death every moment, thus he is the philosopher of the greatest order. This is the secret of the *DV* or *Dhanurvidyā*.

II.2.8. Kāmandakīya Nītīsāra

KNS, written in the footsteps of *KA*, is an important treatise of polity. Authored by Kāmandaka, the period of its composition falls between CE 400 and 600. In the twenty cantos running into thirty six *prakaraṇa*s, Kāmandaka has grasped and presented the quintessence of Kauṭilya in a lucid manner.

The focus here is on the detailed projection of *rājadharma*. Hence at the very outset he glorifies the king and his coercive power which enforces the world to follow the path of righteousness (*KNS* 1.1.1); and thereafter he offers obeisance to Viṣṇugupta. In the following verses of the 1st canto an emphasis is laid on *dharma* of the king and its significance. Next is described the importance of *daṇḍa* and the need of *āṇvīkṣikī, trayī, vārttā* and *daṇḍanīti* for the king.

KNS accepts and holds that the seven constituents of the state which, when mutually helpful, run the administration smoothly (4.1.1). A noteworthy point is the emphasis laid upon the king himself practising the virtues and self-control before implementing it on his subjects (*KNS* 4.1.3). Thus being pure and virtuous he can properly practise *rājadharma* with *daṇḍa*. Kāmandaka understands the effects of both a very harsh and a very liberal policy; in either case *daṇḍa* would be rendered meaningless. Hence he should use the third type, namely, a just and fair policy in accordance with the approved customs and traditions (*KNS* 2.5.37). This would help the king to strike a balance between and control the constituents of the state (*KNS* 4.7.1).

It may be noted in this context that Kāmandaka enlists the virtues of the king (3.6.6-8, 14-18). The qualities of the other constituents of the state are also described in the fourth section. The delineation of the duties of both the master and the employee (section 5), protection of himself and the prince by the king (section 7), focus on *sandhi* and *vigraha* out of the six elements of foreign policy (sections 9 and 10) as well as the counsel with the ministers on a smooth administration (section 11), emphasis on the types of vices and the ways and reasons to remove them (sections 13 and 14), and finally a detailed description of the military organization and administration, warfare and weaponry (sections 15-19) occupy an important place in this treatise.

In brief it can be said that Kāmandaka discusses all the subjects of *rājanīti/rājadharma* in a simple, convincing and yet a lucid manner. However, his greatness is in the following:

(a) He defines and then describes the subject under discussion; to illustrate, *vyasana*s (weaknesses of the king) are defined with the logic to avoid it — *yasmāt tad-vyasyati śreyastasmādvyasanamucyate । vyasatyadho vā vrajati tasmāt tat parivarjayet ॥* That is, *vyasana* is that which makes one shun what is beneficial and leads to downfall (*KNS* 14.21.19).

(b) The functions and qualities of each constituent of the state are described, which immediately follow by the assertive statement that all goodness is destroyed if any constituent faces *vyasana* (*KNS* 14.21.27 for *vyasana* of *janapada* and *KNS* 14.21.30 for *vyasana* of *durga*).

(c) Concise statements are highly suggestive — for example, in 16.24.1, Kāmandaka advises the king to aim at victory in war and to march on the enemy when he is free of all *vyasana*s of his constituents and possesses all the three *śakti*s leading to their respective *siddhi*s.

(d) Reference to the views of both the opponent and the proponent are made; however, the latter view is generally that of Kāmandaka. To illustrate, in 16.24.2ab, as the opponent he quotes the predecessors "the earlier teachers opine that the enemy should be attacked when he is in difficulty or

steeped in *vyasana*" (*KNS* 16.24.2ab); however, as the proponent, Kāmandaka asserts that *vyasana* (difficult times) are fleeting and hence a stronger king should attack a weaker (ibid. cd).

(e) Practical examples and similes are given to elucidate the point as in *KNS* 16.24.37 and 38, respectively, citing the examples of owls and crows, and dogs and crocodiles to show the appropriate time and place for war.

(f) Frequent references are made to myths to clarify the point under discussion; to illustrate — *KNS* 18.27.20 refers to the myth of the churning of the ocean and the gain of nectar by mutual agreement; on the other hand, the Kauravas lost lives due to dissent, to assert the significance of *sāma* as an *upāya*.

(g) The modern approach of Kāmandaka can be seen in 19.31 where he devotes an entire chapter to *kūṭayuddha* and the different ways of conducting it. The underlying principle is of the preference of the traditional warfare when time and terrain are favourable along with the constituents of one's state and *rājamaṇḍala* — this is called the *prakāśa-yuddha* (ibid. a-c); in the contrary situation, *kūṭayuddha* has to be resorted to (ibid. d).

Kāmandaka justifies it by saying that one should always destroy the enemies by *kūṭayuddha* (19.31.71a); for, no *dharma* is annihilated thereby (ibid. b); to illustrate — Aśvatthāmā destroyed the peacefully sleeping Pāṇḍava army with fatal weapons at night (ibid. cd):

suniyatamupahanyāt kūṭayuddhena śatrūn na hi tirayati dharmam
chadmanā śatrughātaḥ ।
acakitamavasuptam pāṇḍavānāmanīkam niśi suniśitaśastro
droṇasūnurjaghāna ॥

However, the traditional "open" war is also described in *KNS* 20.36. In this manner, Kāmandaka not only enunciates the diplomatic acts propounded by Kauṭilya, but renders the terse and aphoristic style of *KA* into lucid poetry inserting the above elements, and yet bestowing gravity, authenticity and the fame the work has gained.

II.2.9. Śukra Nitīsāra

Supposed to have been authored by Śukrācārya, this treatise also delineates polity (*nīti*). Śukrācārya, also known as Uśanas and Kāvya, was the *guru* of the demons according to the mythology and is linked with wisdom and polity even in the epics and Purāṇas. As Uśanas, he is regarded as a *vibhūti* — the greatest of the learned — *kavīnām uśanā kaviḥ* (*BG* 10.37d). His other name is Bhārgava. In short, Śukra has been a name in the tradition of Indian polity that has its roots in the Vedic literature, who composed this treatise in 2,200 verses. However, this treatise and the one mentioned in *Mbh* seem to differ, as the latter has 1,000 chapters (*Mbh* 12.59.87-91). Vandana Nagar quotes the views of all the scholars on the dates of *KNS* and *SNS* and arrives at the conclusion that *SNS* is as old as fourth century BCE (Nagar, *Kingship* . . . , pp. 8-9). However, this format of *SNS* is new and its contents probably may be old. Further, the references to Rāvaṇa, Hanumān, Bhīṣma and Arjuna in *SNS* 1.56-57 prove that this format of the treatise certainly came into existence after *Mbh* and *Rāmā.*

SNS is divided into four sections with the fifth being a supplementary section towards the end. The first section delineates the duties of the king. It says that Nītiśāstra aims at the welfare and protection of the society and has its goal fixed as the attainment of *dharma, artha* and *kāma* (*SNS* 1.5). Further, the ultimate goal of *rājadharma* is *prajānām paripālanam* and *duṣṭanigrahaṇam,* that is, looking after the welfare of the subjects and controlling the evil forces (*SNS* 1.14a-c). The king can gain full prosperity for the state if he is strong and practises *nīti* — *yatra nītibale cobhe tatra śrīssarvatomukhī* (*SNS* 1.17cd). Thereby his *nīti* should be such that all the constituents of the state are ever ready to support him (*SNS* 1.18).

Evidently, the concept of *saptāṅga rājya* is accepted and elaborated. Of these, the king is the head of the state, *amātya*s its eyes, the allies its ears, *kośa* its mouth, *bala* (army) its mind, *durga* its hands and *rāṣṭra* its legs (*SNS* 1.61-62). This personification of the state is striking due to the element of life in it as visualized by the author. The remaining section discusses the usual duties of the king, such as his routine, the appointments of the officials and so on.

A practical advice given to the king by Śukrācārya (2.3) is that he must always take any decision regarding the state in consultation with all the members of the assembly, ministers and advisors, and implement it. Besides this the second section discusses the functions of the crown prince and the other state dignitaries. Their characteristics and functions are also given here. There are other appointments also such as the musicians, the band, poets, potters, hunters, *kirātas*, painters, traders and others whose list is given here. The underlying principle is that each of these people should not be liars (a greater sin) and violent in nature (it being the greatest sin) (*SNS* 2.200). In entrusting a work to the servant (*bhṛtya*) and the latter receiving it, Śukrācārya gives an absolutely practical advice applicable even in the modern times — both these must be done in writing:

> *na kāryam bhṛtakaḥ kuryānnṛpalekhādvinā kvacit ।*
> *nājñāpayet-lekhanena vinā 'lpam vā mahānnṛpaḥ ॥* — *SNS* 2.277

Śukrācārya notes innumerable other practical instructions; to illustrate, the method of preparing documents and official letters (2.342-45) and duly endorsed by all the important officials (*SNS* 2.346-52), the preparation of balance sheet of the state income and expenses (*SNS* 2.353-63).

The third section deals with the general rules of morality to be observed by the king and his officials. These refer to specific functions as well as those generally to be followed in life. However, here may be mentioned a very magnanimous principle which in practice is greater than the modern humanitarianism. In 1.37-38, Śukrācārya firmly says that actions and their respective fruits are responsible for a happy or miserable life of an individual — *karmaiva karaṇam cātra sugatim durgatim prati* (1.37ab); so none in the world is a brāhmaṇa, a kṣatriya, a vaiśya, a śūdra or a *mleccha* by birth but is by one's qualities and subsequent actions (*SNS* 2.38). If this boldly stated truth is implemented in any state, *rāmarājya* would prevail and the Human Rights Commission would have to wind up its existence.

Seven sub-sections constitute the fourth chapter discussing the king's allies, *kośa*, the various arts and sciences, customs, assembly, court, forts and the army. The assembly and the court with all its

aspects are delineated in details in the fifth sub-section. The seventh sub-section deals with the military administration and organization in continuation of the description of *durga* (fort) and its functions. It defines *senā* at the very outset — *senā śastra-astra-saṁyukta-manuṣyādi-gaṇātmikā* (*SNS* 4.7.1). Its divisions of various types such as infantry as *sva-gamā* and the others as *anya-gamā* (*SNS* 4.7.3) are also defined in *SNS*. The significance of strength and further types, characteristics, types of elephants and horses, treatment of the army and others are described here. Very appropriately the sixfold foreign policy is described here along with that of the military (*SNS* 4.7.222ff). Here also Śukrācārya gives a sound advice to the king:

> *putravat pālitam yat-tu dāna-māna-vivardhitam ।*
> *yuddhasambhāra-sampannam svasainyam vijayapradam ॥*
>
> The king who has looked after (and trained) his army like his own son and given them awards, good weapons, remunerations and facilities will surely bring victory to him.
>
> — *SNS* 4.7.221

The fifth and a supplementary is a chapter having issues of miscellaneous rules of morality that promote welfare of the seven constituents of the state and the people.

In this way even a glimpse of *SNS* shows that it is a comprehensive work whose political part deals with government and statecraft including jurisprudence and law, while the non-political part refers to architecture, sculpture, ethics and morality, pedagogy and economics. There we can see that it deals with different fields of knowledge as well as Dharmaśāstras in a simple and friendly manner. Towards the conclusion, Vandana Nagar observes:

> The prescriptions of *SNS* . . . assume unique significance for the restoration of fast declining moral health of our nation and Śukra's guidelines can be of immense use for recasting of India's political system.
>
> — p. 97

II.2.10. A Few Medieval Comparative Texts on Polity

There have been several works related to the science of polity — *rājadharma* — in the tradition from late ancient period till the late

medieval age. Of these, *Mānasollāsa* is important besides *KNS* and *SNS*. Some other works like *Rājanītiratnākara* of Caṇḍeśvara (CE 1314-70), *Vīramitrodaya* (*Rājanītiprakāśa*) of Mitra Miśra (CE 1615-45), *Nītimayūkha* of Nīlakaṇṭha (CE 1615-45), *Vyavahāramayūkha* of Bhaṭṭanīlakaṇṭha (CE 1615-45), *Rājadharmakaustubha* of Anantadeva (CE 1650-80) and others are noteworthy treatises on the subject. However, being compilations of quotations from the Dharmaśāstras, epics, Purāṇas and other works, they are not discussed here.

Yuktikalpataru

This treatise is written by Śrībhojarāja in the eleventh century CE. This too is a secular work including the topic of *rājanīti* and *DV*.

The text opens with the discussion of *nīti* in which *rājadharma/ rājanīti* is described followed by *vāstu*, test of gems and other subjects. It is followed by the tests of the weapons.

Śrībhojarāja commences his work by announcing his debt to Bṛhaspati and Śukrācārya. It briefly gives the characteristics of the important *tīrthas* such as *purohita*, the commander-in-chief, the minister and others along with the seven constituents of the state. The sixfold foreign policy is also discussed at length. However, the striking point is the importance Śrībhojarāja gives to agriculture. It says that *rāṣṭra* (country) is the chief means of the rich treasury of the state; the fertile earth is chiefly responsible for it. Consequently it follows that the king must strive for the protection and welfare of his agriculturists —

rājñopāyena saṃrakṣya grāme grāme kṛṣibalaḥ ।
tebhyaḥ kṛṣistataścārtha arthebhyaḥ sarvasampadaḥ ॥ — *Yukti* 1.40

It is further said that just as physical exertion affects the body level so is the land affected by continuous farming for years (*Yukti* 1.41); hence the decrease in the fertility of land should inspire the king to locate new fields elsewhere. This point is new and very relevant to the modern times.

When the discussion centres on *vigraha* among *ṣaḍguṇas*, Śrībhojarāja very assertively and clearly opines that despite the mastery over weaponry, the king must never enter the battlefield; for, it may happen that the weak may overpower the strong (*Yukti* 1.58).

Here the mention of the navy as the fifth division of the army is made (*Yukti* 1.60b). Moreover, the ambassador is very clearly said to be the part of the espionage system and an open, official spy (*Yukti* 1.71d).

The chapter on weaponry (*astra-yuktiḥ*) expressly states that peace and prosperity of the state can be achieved only through *daṇḍa* which can be excercised by the use of weapons — *daṇḍa-sādhyam yato rājyam sa daṇḍaḥ śastra-saṁśritaḥ* | (verse 1ab); therefore weaponry (*DV*) holds such importance. Here the weapons that are mentioned are such as bow and arrow, axe, *parigha* and others which may be called *nirmāya* (normal) while fire and others are *māyika* (illusory) (verse 30). They are weapons such as fire, water, wood, heated oil and others which are used in *kūṭayuddha* (verse 32). Śrībhojarāja opines that the essential characteristics of a weapon are its defensive capacity, concise size and firmness or strength (verse 34cd). In view of the discussion on sword, the treatise here refers to the various types of armours (verses 36-37). Sword in *NP* is discussed with an entirely different approach, while here the types of iron, types of swords, its forms, swords for different castes and from different regions and other aspects are delineated. This is much different from *NP*.

Mānasollāsa

This work by King Someśvara III (also known by the epithet Bhūlokamalla) of the Cāḷukya dynasty ruling at Kalyāṇa (Karnataka), belongs to the twelfth century CE. An encyclopaedic work in metrical form it is also called *Abhilāṣitārthacintāmaṇi*. It contains, in five *viṁśatis* (sections) divided into twenty chapters each, all the major topics of learning as necessary to be known to the king and the royal family.

Mān, therefore, is not a direct work on polity, but it discusses the subject in reference to the different branches of learning. To illustrate, in 2.19 it describes the significance and different types of *dānas* (charities and gifts) such as *deśya, karaja, saptija, kanyādāna* and so on. Towards the end of the chapter, Someśvara establishes his point that the aim of *bheda* (division) can be achieved by *dāna*, but the latter should be preferred as it generates cordial feelings in both the parties concerned (*Mān* 2.19.1028). Each individual, even

gods, can be influenced by *dāna* (*Mān* 2.19.1029) and hence the king who resorts to this means (with discrimination) is worshipped by his subjects as if he is a divinity (*Mān* 2.19.1030).

Also, in 1.4, the acquisition of several precious gems and tests of their worth are elaborately described with reference to *Kośa* — one of the chief of the seven constituents of the state (*saptāṅga rājya*).

The aim of the work is the acquisition of the state, its preservation (*Mān* 1.11) and enjoyment (*Mān* 1.12ab). To maintain it, the foundation is provided by the virtues of the king (and all men) such as the prevention of falsehood, betrayal, inappropriate things and food, jealousy, bad company, anger and self-praise (*Mān* 1.1.14-15). On the other hand, he should practise charities and gifts, gentle speech, public welfare works, honour ancestors, brāhmaṇas, guests, elders and teachers, care for the poor, orphans, distressed, servants and so on (*Mān* 1.1.16-18).

A summary of all the topics of *rājanīti*, namely, *saptāṅga rājya*, the three *śaktis*, the sixfold *guṇas*, the four *upāyas* are given of which is noteworthy the inclusion of the topics on the citizens and the guilds of merchants (*rājyāṅgāni prakṛtayaḥ paurāṇām śreṇayo 'pi ca* — *Mān* 1.1.19-22). All these are chiefly referred to in the first volume of *Mān*. However, expertise in weaponry — *dākṣyam śāstrasya* — tops the twenty arts and sports discussed in the text (*Mān* 1.1.26c).

The seven constituents of the kingdom have the king as the chief constituent. Hence he has to possess specific *guṇas* known in polity as *rājaguṇas*, such as truthfulness, bravery, forgiving nature, pronouncing punishment in proportion to the crime and so on (*Mān* 1.2.2-9). Here, *Mān* gives a great significance to the maintenance of good health by the king in order to be fit for his duty — *vyādhibhirvarjito rājā rājakāryakṣamo bhavet* (*Mān* 1.2.10).

Thereafter are enumerated the qualities of the ministers (*Mān* 1.2.52-59), *purohita* (*Mān* 1.2.60), commander-in-chief (*Mān* 1.2.90-92), the judge or the chief justice (*Mān* 1.2.93-94), the accountant general (*Mān* 1.2.124-25), the doorkeeper (*Mān* 1.2.126), an ambassador or a foreign officer-in-charge of carrying out the foreign policy (*Mān* 1.2.127-130), accountant (*Mān* 1.2.131), charioteer (*Mān* 1.2.132-33), royal cook (*Mān* 1.2.134-37), royal doctor (*Mān* 1.2.138-

45) and the guardian of the harem and attendants of the royal children (*Mān* 1.2.146-50). The aim of the author is to emphasize their control of senses, lack of greed, dedication and alertness of duty.

The system of the local self-government and the division of the state for governance here is common with that of *NP* and *MS*, namely, a village headman, governor of ten villages above him, of twenty, 100 and 1,000 villages (*Mān* 1.3.159-61).

Mān (1.3.163-66) refers to the collection of revenue from different sources as *bhāga, kara* and *bali;* however, the learned brāhmaṇas (*śrotriya*) are exempted from it (*Mān* 1.3.166cd).

Capturing and raising of the elephants formed an important part of any Indian army, especially in southern part of India. Hence with this detailed description is delineated their multi-purpose training including for war (*Mān* 1.3.282-331). The treasury (*kośa*) is discussed for which the gems like pearls, diamonds, minerals, weights and balances, emeralds, corals and others are to be collected in the form of investments and to exert good influence on the state:

evaṁ vicārya ratnāni kośe saṁcinuyānnṛpaḥ ।
āyurlakṣmīṁ jayaṁ kīrtiṁ labhate ratnasaṁgrahāt ॥

— *Mān* 1.4.536

King Someśvara puts in wise words of advice that just as a lake accumulates water drop by drop, an anthill grows with every particle of clay (*Mān* 1.4.537), so does the small royal treasury can grow gradually (*kṣaudram ca rājavittaṁ ca stokastokena vardhate* — *Mān* 1.4.538ab); therefore, the king should make special efforts to increase the treasury (*Mān* 1.4.538cd). The treasury may be divided into four parts, out of which three-fourth should be spent to achieve *dharma, artha* and *kāma* (*Mān* 1.4.539), while one-fourth portion remains as a reserve (*Mān* 1.4.540ab); for, thereby a rich king gains happiness — *kośavāṁ sukhamāpnoti kośādhīnastu sīdati ॥* (*Mān* 1.4.540cd).

Here is discussed the subject of the construction, maintenance of forts and placements of weaponry as well as storehouses, granaries and others (*Mān* 1.5.541-55) which is totally absent in the *NP*.

As far as the army is concerned, infantry, elephants, cavalry and chariots are mentioned (*Mān* 1.6.680cd). However, selection, salary, supervision, rewards and punishments of warriors are discussed in detail with the focus here is more on the ways of winning over them (*Mān* 1.6.556-72). The striking aspects of the discussion in the military administration are the medical treatment of the horses (*Mān* 1.6.573-619) and of the elephants (*Mān* 1.6.620-77). Moreover are mentioned points like the strong chariots to have four horses (*Mān* 1.6.679cd) and to place many types of weapons inside them (*Mān* 1.6.679ab). They should have several warriors of the *mahāratha* category in them. Warriors may have different kinds of weapons (*Mān* 1.6.681-82) belonging to the *yantra-mukta, mukta* and *amukta* categories (*Mān* 1.6.683).

Mān (1.7.685-86) refers to the ally and his virtues which are not to be found in *NP*.

Someśvara is clear and direct regarding the way the king must function. He grades him thus: the king who is self-reliant in deciding his duties is the best; next comes the one who needs guidance and help of someone else as well is mediocre; while the one who is totally dependent on his ministers is the weakest. This is the opinion of the experts in *nīti* (*ātmāyatto nṛpaḥ śreṣṭho dvyāyattastu madhyamaḥ* | *kaniṣṭhah sacivāyatta iti nītivido viduḥ* || *Mān* 2.8.687 and in details at *Mān* 2.8.693-95). He also describes the ways and behaviour of the ministers in the state affairs which categorizes the nature of the state (ibid. 688-92). *NP* has no intention to go into details of the calibres of the king. In other words, this refers to the importance of *prabhu-śakti* — one of the three *śaktis* of the king (ibid. 696) — *mantra-śakti* in details and *utsāha-śakti* are also delineated in independent chapters (ibid. 697-721 and 722-24, respectively).

Mān 2.11, 12 and 13 respectively discuss types of *sandhis, vigraha* and *yātrā* (*yāna*). In this context, the auspicious and inauspicious issues as well as omens for *yātrā* are discussed in several chapters. This is incidental in bringing up the topic of beliefs, superstitions and Svaraśāstra. The other three constituents of the foreign policy are discussed in 2.14, 15 and 16 similarly.

The four *upāyas* are also discussed (*Mān* 2.2.17 and chapter 20). Two topics named Svaraśāstra and *yoginī cakra* are discussed here

(*Mān* chapter 20) which show the importance of the knowledge of astrology as well; the purpose here being to gain victory (*Mān* 12.1145) (also *VDV* chapter *rāhuyuktā yoginībalayuddham* 1-9). However, in *VDV*, this chapter is followed by the mood and the arrangement of the army on the day of the war, while in *Mān* the delineation is for the day previous to the war and later on the day of the war (2.20.1146-51 and 1152 onwards, respectively).

Here, the points like the actual distribution of rewards of gold, clothes and other things as well as the words of praise to the soldiers to provide inspiration for victory in the midst of the assembly of the army and the allies are discussed. Also noteworthy point here is the tactic of alarming the enemy army by various kinds of war sounds the previous night (*Mān* 2.20.1150-51).

As far as *vyūha*s (battle arrays) are concerned *Mān* says that a counter-array to that of the enemy army must be formed (*Mān* 2.20.1170) in which the terrain is very significant (*Mān* 2.20.1171). In the following verses *Mān* gives *vyūha*s interestingly and in a detailed manner on the basis of the terrain of the battlefield (*Mān* 2.20.1169-78). Here each of them is given an order of preference of the arrangement (*Mān* 2.20.1179-81) and the placement of the different units of the army (*Mān* 2.20.1182-91). *Man* 2.20.1193-1207 adds the description of elephants, chariots and warriors — one's own and of allies that are to be placed in *vyūha*. It mentions the weapons like the bow and the arrow, *śakti, tomara, kunta, mudgara,* sword and shield. These details are not found in *NP*. The actual description of the war in miniature is given in *Mān* 2.20.1208-19, which is unusual and interesting (not found in *NP*). The author again advises giving gifts/rewards to those who performed the feats of killing important persons from the enemy army in war (*Mān* 2.20.1220) which again emphasizes the significance of *dāna* as an *upāya*. The use of poison on the defeated important enemy personages is described too (*Mān* 2.20.1225-31) besides punishments to them (*Mān* 20.1232-42).

It is noteworthy that the exhibition of the skill in weaponry by the king before important persons in the arena in peaceful times was a sport according to *Mān*. Hence, it is here that are described different strategic positions kinds of *muṣṭi*s (fists) for fighting using

various types of swords, shields, bows and arrows. Piercing the moving fish, date palms and such varieties of sports in archery are also described in *Mān.*

In such descriptions *Mān* generally differs from *NP*, *VDV* and other texts. The weapons like *cakra, kunta* and others are also referred to at length (*Mān* 4.1-96).

Judiciary, its appointments, functions and punishments are also discussed as an aspect of *rājadharma*, besides other legal issues (*Mān* 2.20.1243-97).

The most usual aim and means to perform his *dharma*s effectively for the king is the control of the senses (referred to in *NP* in just one phrase — *ari-ṣaḍ-varga-rahitaḥ* — *Mān* 8.14a). It is voiced well with a simile in the *Sarasvatīvilāsa*:

> The king who looks after the state and its affairs dutifully and properly by controlling passion and anger, is sought after, loved and followed by his people, like the rivers following the ocean.
>
> *kāmakrodhān tu saṁyamya yo 'rtham dharmeṇa paśyati ।*
> *prajāstamanuvartante samudramiva sindhavaḥ ॥*
>
> — *Mān* 5, last chapter

Hariharacaturaṅga

This work authored by Godāvaramiśra was written in the sixteenth century CE in Orissa. It is a valuable work not only on polity but more on the military science including the battle arrays or *vyūha*s and how the fourfold troops of the army can be arranged. This is signified by the word *caturaṅga* (may be chess) in the title.

The work, divided in eight sections (*paricchedas*), describes in detail the four divisions of the army at the outset and then discusses *DV, nīti,* war and the game. The work is a very interesting one as the battle arrays are described with a specific reference to the game of *caturaṅga*. Hence the last section — *krīḍā-paricchedaḥ.*

Rājadharma is defined here as the duty of the king to look after the subjects as if they are his family — *paripālayatā rājñā prajāḥ poṣyāḥ kuṭumbavat* (1.6ab). Further, war is defined as the effort of the *vijīgīṣu* to protect the subjects from the enemies with the proper arrangement of the fourfold army —

dviśadbhyastrātukāmena prājastagvijigīṣuṇā ।
caturaṅgeṇa yoddhavyamiti yuddham pravakṣyate ॥ —1.7

Hence as a means of war, *DV* is indispensable; therefore it is also discussed. Thus the opening verses are used by the author to establish the purpose of this work.

An important point notes here is, in conformity with the previous works on the subject of *Arthaśāstra* the king has to be thoroughly conversant with *nīti* and *DV* with the army organization and administration (1.9-10).

The fourfold division of the army is:

(i) The elephants form the most important unit of the army due to which the first section of 813 verses is entirely devoted to the types of elephants, the terrain on which they should be used, their training, the myths related to this importance and so on.

(ii) The chariots form the next important unit of the army on the battlefield. The next section describes and discusses the construction of the chariot, its horses, the significance and its mobility and hence the advantage of a single charioteer over 10,000 warriors in just fourteen verses.

(iii) As a part of the army, the horses, their types, characteristics, grooming, training and other topics are described in the third section of 837 verses. It says that if the king is to implement and practise his supreme *dharma* of looking after his subjects, the horse is indispensable to the army due to the swift movements in all the directions (3.2). Therefore, the entire earth can be won over through the use of horses (3.11).

(iv) The fourth unit of the *caturaṅga* is *patti* (foot-soldiers/ infantry). This unit is capable to fight at night and also from within the fort. Its mobility and accessibility make it indispensable (4.3-4). The fourth section describes its characteristics in eighteen verses.

The 399 verses of the fifth section describe *DV*, especially archery. Hence the different types of bows, their structures, their constituents, arrows, quivers, targets, positions and the other related points are discussed here. We find that verse 8 is exactly the same as we find in *VDV* (see I.6; *VDV* and Dharmaśāstras in section II)

— *eko 'pi yatra nagare prasiddhaḥ syāthanurdharaḥ,* etc. — which delineates the supreme importance of archery and hence the archer.

The sixth section opens with the eloquent significance of *nīti* and its implementation as the king's duty. The very opening verse says that Yudhiṣṭhira emerged victorious over Dhṛtarāṣṭra who also knows *nīti* because the former practised it. Hence the practice of *nīti* supersedes its theoretical knowledge. To achieve this, right counsel (*mantra*) is most important (this importance is described in words similar to those of *MS*). The author advises whom to be avoided at the time of deliberation, where to hold it, its importance, what should be discussed and so on. This involves the discussion of the threefold *śaktis*, their *siddhis*, *upāyas*, *ṣaḍguṇas* (six elements of foreign policy), planning, untold calamities, the six constituents of the state, *tīrthas*, their characteristics of all these, *rājamaṇḍala* and the routine of the king with the vices he should avoid in 503 verses.

The next section eulogizes wars by saying that there is no undertaking as excellent as the war for the king — *rājñām yuddha-samā na-asti gatiḥ śreṣṭhā-iha bhūloke* (7.3ab). The author quotes the famous declaration of the Lord from *Bhagavad-Gītā* — *dharmyāt-hi yuddhāt-śreyo 'nyat-kṣatriyasya na vidyate* (2.31cd). It is the natural duty of the kṣatriya to die on the battle just as it is the duty of the brāhmaṇa to study and perform penance (7.7). After elaborately describing this glory, the author discusses the different *vyūhas* (battle arrays) from verse 120 onwards. The virtues and weaknesses of all the important and relevant *tīrthas* are enumerated as well as their functions. Further, *kūṭayuddha* and all such means which are actually *adharma* are sanctioned here as the underlying principle of war is victory over the enemy by all possible means — *upāyaiḥ sakalairjeyaḥ śatruḥ* (7.193cd).

The subject of this section is certainly war, but is presented in the form of the game of to be played by two *caturaṅga* layers assuming the names of Hari (Viṣṇu) and Hara (Śiva). It is introduced towards the end of the previous section by the phrase — *yuddhavat krīḍanam* (7.196d), that is, war in the form of game. It is called the war of the gods. Both wear the costumes of the respective gods with the board painted on a piece of cloth, marked with the necessary number of

squares measured with a rope. The "men" represent the different types of warriors and important officials necessary here. Their details, moves, *vyūha*s to be used in the game and such other details are minutely described here. Stakes had to be laid for each game.

This illustrative method of teaching and learning war organization is an interesting one. In fact, it is a kind of a visual method of educating the princes and kings. This concept and the way *rājanīti* as well as *DV* are presented in a novel way. Several concepts noted here such as total sanction to *kūṭayuddha*, the detailed qualities of the crown prince and others are striking and new as compared to the texts noted here. We can refer here to a contemporary view of a military person who compares war with chess:

> Wars, like chess matches, are generally characterized by opening moves, both offensive and defensive, by a middle game exchange, and by a decisive end game.
>
> —Radhakrishnan, *Strategies and . . .*, p. 21

Two verses here show absolute similarity with *NP* 7.122 referring to the parts of the *vyūha* and *NP* 7.146 stating the underlying principle therein that the direction of fear is to be understood as the East (section I.6). The latter has not been found so far in the texts consulted so far. Moreover, it contains profuse illustrations from the epic mythology to support required points.

There are several other texts also delineating polity and *DV* as a part of it. However, all of them cannot be brought in here for discussion. A few of them which may be referred to are as follows:

- *Vīramitrodaya* (*Rājanītiprakāśa*) of Mitra Miśra. It has all the topics discussed on polity containing quotations from Manu, Yājñavalkya and other works.
- *Nītimayūkha* of Nīlakaṇṭha delineates the topics like meaning of the term *rājā*, coronation of the king, the seven constituents of the state, vices the king should avoid, judiciary, weapons again with more importance on sword and so on.

The date of both these works is between CE 1615 and 1645.

- *Sarasvatīvilāsa* (Vyavahārakāṇḍa) of Pratāparudra Mahādeva Mahārāṇā (CE 1500-25) also discusses the subject concentrating more on judiciary as *daṇḍa*.
- *Sāmrājyalakṣmī Pīṭhikā* is a work on statecraft from Śaiva Tantra literature. Sāmrājyalakṣmī is the deity representing the power and glory of the state, and 30 *paṭala*s (chapters) are devoted to her. *Paṭala*s 31-72 deal with statecraft and discuss topics like forts, coronation, daily routine of the king, and chapters 127-28 deal with military camps, followed by the army and its units, weapons, *yāna*, in the form of the dialogue between Śiva and Pārvatī. However, the work as a whole was not available.
- *Rājanītiratnākara* of Caṇḍeśvara belongs to a date prior to that of the above two treatises, that is, CE 1314-70.

These works are not discussed hitherto as they are not original works, but compilations of quotations on all the topics of *rājanīti/ rājadharma* with the authors' explanatory notes which are their own.

II.2.11. Regional Works

Sanskrit literature containing the references and depiction of *rājadharma/rājanīti* is very vast. I have tried to give glimpses of a couple of such works with the knowledge that full justice cannot be done to them. They are — (a) *Kānhaḍade-prabandha* in medieval Gujarātī, and (b) *Budha-bhūṣaṇa* in Sanskrit from Maharashtra.

Kānhaḍade-prabandha

This is a poem written in the medieval Gujarātī language by Padmanābha in CE 1456 describing an event which happened in CE 1311. He was the court-poet of Ākhayarāja Cauhāṇ of Jhalor who had Kānhaḍade (Kṛṣṇadeva) Cauhāṇ as his ancestor in the fifth generation. Referring to the actual details in a literary form, the central issue is historical in nature. It describes the invasion of Allāuddīn Khaljī on Gujarat, the subsequent destruction that resulted and the courage with which Kānhaḍade, Sāṅtala and others met the invasion.

Thus depicting the sentiment of heroism and patriotism in the description of wars, it can stand in comparison with a court epic. It

projects the poet's knowledge of history, geography, Dharmaśāstras, the conduct of the kṣatriyas, the kings, court life, government administration and statecraft of both the Hindu and Muslim rulers, military administration and organization, warfare, fortifications and other subjects.

The event of the Muslim invasion was rooted in the disregard and insult shown by the King Sāraṅgade of Gujarat towards his minister Mādhava, who avenged it by inviting Allāuddīn Khaljī from Delhi to attack Gujarat. Thus personal insult resulted into the destruction, conflict and conversion of the entire region! The poet says: *mādhava mahutahī karavau adharma, navi chuṭiyai agilan karma* (1.15ab), that is, Mādhava performed a lowly action this way — actions performed earlier never leaves one! Here we can appreciate *NP* 8.28 which says that the king may reproach the officer who commits a crime/mistake, but actually should never be harsh. We find the neglect of this practical advice by the authors of *rājanīti* by Sāraṅgade.

Here through Mādhava, the poet refers to the vices (*doṣa*s) that a king should avoid: lust (consuming of concoction of herbs to augment it) and short temper (which is like keeping an unsheathed sword) (1.24-26).

The use of *upāya*s, especially of *sāma* and *dāna* can be seen when Mādhava gifts multitude of horses to Khaljī expecting his help, the latter accepting his request and sending precious gifts with assurances to Kānhaḍade to let his army pass through Jhalor to invade Gujarat (1.20, 28-29).

We can see the king taking important policy decisions — here of refusing Khaljī's request by duly consulting his ministers and the court (1.32). Here we find the use of *ṣāḍguṇya-nīti*. Jhalor was intended to be made an ally through assurance of retaining its status and allow Khaljī to attack Gujarat. However, the situation of allowing the entry to the barbaric and untrustworthy *mlecchas* into the kingdom was a dangerous one. Hence, indirectly war was preferred.

Padmanābha now proceeds to describe the preparations of the *yāna* (march) on Gujarat (1.40-49; 2.34-36), the battles with different kings (1.54-55; 1.198-214 and so on), fortification (1.134; 2.103), the allies of Kānhaḍade from 36 royal families (1.184), the horses and

their riders (in the Bhaḍāuli between 1.191-92), the evening and the night battles, *vyūhas* (1.197-215), the use of the element of surprise and the subsequent panic (1.201-05), arms and armours (1.189-90 — where thirty-six types of weapons are indicated such as armour, head-gear, sword, knives, daggers, bows and arrows, etc.), the description of the Hindu captives and their tortures (1.154-58) and so on.

The entire *prabandha* is full of the descriptions of wars that took place on the lands of Gujarat and Rajasthan 145 years before the poet lived. It is interesting to find references to the machines throwing stones on the enemy army from the fort called *ḍhikulī* (2.109, 114), the balls targeting the enemy warriors from a machine called *magaravī* (2.128), the fireballs thrown from the canons (2.127) and other such weapons through which aim was taken from a distance leading to a great destruction.

Kānhaḍade's ally Sāṅtalade always won against Khaljī's attacks. But ultimately, the minister of the sultān thought of using the means of religious violation to win, namely, pollute the reservoir supplying water to the fortified area by killing cows and throwing their heads in it (2.139-43). This led to the downfall of the Sāmiyāṇā fort — the chief supporting pillar of Kānhaḍade.

In this work we move with the events, times and experience the patriotic and heroic sentiments in the flow of the story as well as visualize the wars that are described in it.

Budha-bhūṣaṇa

This work — Adornment of the Wise — in Sanskrit is supposed to have been authored by the King Śambhājī — the son of Chatrapati Śivājī.

Of its three chapters, the second one deals with *rājanīti/ rājadharma* in 632 verses, and thus forms the main body of the work. The author delineates the subjects as under:

(a) the king and his qualities/qualifications (verses 1-31),

(b) the seven constituents of the state and taking assistants (verses 32-46),

(c) the chief minister (verses 47-71),

(d) the princes, their education and duties (verses 72-91),

(e) the king's advisers (verses 92-96),

(f) the other constituents of the state — *kośa* (verses 111-86), *bala* (army) (verses 187-98),

(g) the duties of the king (verses 199-203),

(h) the espionage system (verses 204-15),

(i) the attendants (verses 216-41),

(j) the councillors and counsels (verses 242-73),

(k) the ambassadors (verses 274-84),

(l) the king's duties again (verses 285-321),

(m) his vices (verses 322-67),

(n) the invasion and military (verses 368-96), and

(o) the general duties of the king (verses 397-630).

The noteworthy points are: intelligence as an important weapon of the king (*buddhi-śastraḥ*) (2.3a), complete obedience to the father (that is, the king) by the prince or else his treatment to be like that of the slave's son (2.89), selection of the crown prince (2.92), *kośa* and subservience of kingship to it (*yatra rājā tatra kośaḥ kośādhinā hi rājatā* — 2.98cd), absolute supremacy to the fort on the mountain (a characteristic feature of the rugged terrain of the Marāṭhā kingdom — 2.115), the equipment to be placed therein — the weapons like *śataghnī*, bows and arrows, swords, armours, *triśūla*s, *paṭṭiśa*s, *prāsa*s, *śaktis*, *paraśu*s and others as well as fuel and other things (2.136-53), the sixfold army (2.186) and also the four divisions (2.187cd), marriages of the daughters of the family (2.245a) as one of the issues of counsel with the ministers — a family matter and yet important for alliance, hunting and creation of hunting forests (2.357), *upāya*s being seven in number (2.436), the praise of the brāhmaṇas (2.471-74), the persons who are never to be trusted (2.622) and other related subjects.

It must be noted that the chapter ends here abruptly when the delineation of the local government begins in verse 630. Velankar observes, "I found that it scarcely contained anything of either literary or historical importance" (Introduction, p. ix). Keeping this in mind we again find here that several verses are cited from other works like

MS, MatP, Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa and *KNS*. Hence there are several parallel verses here which are comparable with those in the section I.6, such as 2.67 — *maulān śāstravidaḥ*, etc. for the *mantrins*, 2.243 — *giripṛṣṭho samāruhya*, etc. for deliberations, and others. Thus this work appears more of a compilation than being original.

Of all the works leafed through above, we find certain individual circumstances in which they touch *rājadharma*s. The Vedas are projections of the then-existing society and culture and do not deliberately venture to delineate them; whereas Dharmaśāstras are exactly the opposite — they were the texts aimed to refer to the social and other circumstances and voice their opinions. The epics and Purāṇas describe *rājadharma*s through the dialogues between the characters or the narrator and the listener, usually as an integral part of the story.

DV focuses on the military administration and organization, weaponry and training, without referring to *rājadharma* specifically. The texts on polity fall back upon all these and hence usually form the scholarly compilations (or otherwise). However, texts like *Mān, Hariharacaturaṅga* and other purely literary works like *Kānhaḍade-prabandha* are ingenious treatises though they delineate the same subject, due to the creative approach of their authors. Of course, though the first two of these three rely on their predecessors and the then prevalent trend to compile works, they are undoubtedly original in their presentations. In these circumstances, it may not be very wrong to say that Vaiśampāyana similarly authored *NP* inserting parallel verses from so many texts dexterously and appropriately in the spheres of *rājadharma* and Kaliyuga, with special focus on *DV*. Moreover, therefore, as in the above works, here too we do not find the traces of Muslim influence.

II.3. Nītiprakāśikā: Its Contemporary Relevance

As man lives in a complex social environment which he himself has created, he incessantly confronts two situations — (a) conflicts and problems which need to be settled within that framework, and (b) psychological, social and spiritual necessities. Hence the operation of some kind of "moral ideals" as "values" or "duties" is a pre-condition to his life. These in totality are called *dharma* in the Indian tradition. Derived from the root √*dhṛ dhriyate* meaning "to

uphold, to support, to nourish, to sustain", *dharma* is explained as *dhriyate loko 'nena dharati lokam vā* or as *dharati lokāni* (*Vācaspatyam*, vol. 5, p. 3850; *Śabdakalpadrumaḥ*, vol. 2, p. 783) meaning thereby that the world is upheld by *dharma;* or, *dharma* is that which upholds, sustains the worlds and the society. Hence in the Dharmaśāstra literature ultimately its connotation has been the privileges, duties and obligations of a man, his standard of conduct as a member of the society and in a particular stage of life. Accordingly, it implies ordinance, usage, duty, right, justice, morality, virtue, quality, religion and such related concepts. The Vedas being the ultimate source of *dharma*, the roots of this concept can be found as an integral part in the connotation of the term *ṛta* referring to the governing, controlling principle of the cosmos and hence also of *satya* (truth). Therefore *dharma* is postulated as a very comprehensive principle incorporated in the different duties of man in his individual capacity as well as in his relations with the society and through his duties in all his different functions at the social level. Thereby it denotes all the acts endorsed by the Vedas, customs, the acts approved by the society and by an individual's due reflection and reason conducive to human welfare. This aims at the point that the welfare of humanity is the ultimate aim of *dharma* further implying that *artha* and *kāma* (the *trivarga*) also have to be in conformity with it.

Dharma, therefore, has been one of the most difficult words to be translated with all its exact connotations as well as definition at any stage of its development. In course of time, it has come to denote many shades of meanings all of which are discussed by Mm. Kane in details in his *History of Dharmaśāstras* (vol. I, part I).

Manu observes that the sources of *dharma* are the Vedas, the tradition, the practice of those who know the Veda, the conduct of the virtuous and self-satisfaction —

vedo 'khilo dharmamūlam smṛtiśīle ca tadvidām ।
ācāraścaiva sādhūnāmātmanastuṣṭireva ca ॥ — 2.6

Pulastya Smṛti also elaborately lays down the connotation of *dharma* as being fivefold — the duties (a) of the castes, (b) in each stage of life, (c) at times the previous two connotations combined, (d) to be carried out on specific occasions, and (e) of the king or *rājadharma*

(2.7); *rājadharmastu pañcamaḥ* (2.6d). It further says that the practice of the rituals as laid down by the Vedas, study and charity are the common duties of all the three castes, while the first two and the protection of the living creatures is the specific duty of the kṣatriya — *yajanādhyāyane rājño bhūtānañca-abhirakṣaṇam* । (ibid. 8-10; 10ab). *Hārīta Smṛti* also says that the king should look after his subjects according to *dharma* while practising the same qualities as mentioned by *Pulastya* (2.15). *Gautama Dharmasūtra* opines that it is the special but twofold duty of the crowned king to protect all the living creatures in his kingdom along with their movable and immovable properties as well as be steadfast on the war front:

rājño 'bhiṣiktasya sarvabhūtānām rakṣaṇamadhikam ।
saṅgrāmo yuddha tatra saṁsthānam praṇatyayaḥ ॥

nivṛtiḥ palāyanam tadabhāvo 'nivṛtiḥ ।
etau ca rājño 'dhikau dharmau ॥ — 2.1.6-7

These must be carried out in conformity with the Vedas, Dharmaśāstras, the Upavedas and the Purāṇas (ibid. 2.2.19).

Therefore, Mm. Kane prefers the connotation of *dharma* as given by Kauṭilya (1.3) when he establishes the necessity of the Vedic lore at the beginning of his treatise as

sarveṣāmahiṁsā satyam śaucamnasūyānṛśaṁsyam kṣamā ca ॥

Here *dharma* is prescribed as the duties common to all the strata of the society such as abstaining from making injury to living creatures, truthfulness, uprightness, freedom from malice, compassion and forebearance (*KA* 1.3.13). Further, each individual has special duties too which form his *svadharma* leading to endless bliss — *svadharmaḥ svargāya-anantyāya ca* (*KA* 1.3.14). Kauṭilya, therefore, correlates *dharma*s specific to each caste and stage of life simultaneously with the above discussion. In the present context, the special *dharma*s of a kṣatriya according to Kauṭilya are:

adhyayanam yajanam dānam śastrajīvo bhūtarakṣaṇam

studying, performing sacrifices, making gifts, living by (the profession of) arms and protecting beings. — *KA* 1.3.6

Mm. Kane's observation is worth noting here:

> The fulfilment of their duties and responsibilities by rulers was of paramount importance to the stability and orderly development of society and to the happiness of individuals in the state and therefore one often finds that *rājadharma* is said to be the root of or the quintessence of all *dharmas*.
>
> — *History of Dharmaśāstras*, vol. 3, p. 3

This science and art of *rājadharma* has *rājaśāstra, rājanīti, daṇḍanīti, nītiśāstra* and other words as its synonyms. In this context, it would be worthwhile to know their etymologies and the subsequent implications to understand the aim of *NP* — the treatise under study. Mm. Kane translates the word *rājanīti* as "government and politics" (ibid., p. 150). On the other hand, it is known that the word *daṇḍa* in *daṇḍanīti* literally denotes a staff, a stick or the sceptre. Hence it symbolizes the power of the king who holds and wields the *daṇḍa* to control, to punish the wrongdoers and maintain peace and order in the state; for, it is the king who controls those who do not control themselves from harming the society. Therefore, *daṇḍanīti* also denotes the science of government as it sets out the functions of the state and the administration of its different organs, being the authority regulating people and their doings to avoid chaos and insecurity and thereby leading them to the path of *dharma*. The king is the most important institution in the society and, therefore, all rules for his guidance to carry out his duties were also called *rājadharma* or *rājanīti*. *Mbh* (12.63.28) identifies it with *rājadharmas*. *KA* (1.3-4) also accepts it; Kauṭilya specifically says that *daṇḍa* is the means of stability and welfare of *āṇvīkṣikī* (philosophy), *trayī* (the three Vedas) and *vārttā* (economics) in the society — the policy of its administration is *daṇḍanīti* or the science of politics — *āṇvīkṣikī-trayī-vārttānām yogakṣema-sādhano daṇḍaḥ, tasya nītirdaṇḍanītiḥ;* on it is dependent the orderly maintenance of worldly life (*KA* 1.4.3).

It is the duty of the leader of the state to lead his nation on the right path for which he has to follow that path himself and use *daṇḍa* (coercion) to implement it. This subsequently includes the judiciary and the military means (coercive force) to implement it in the society. Hence it is also called *daṇḍanīti* or *daṇḍaśāstra*. An illustration from *Rāmā* (2.32.15-19) with reference to the banishment of the prince Asamañjas — the rightful heir to the throne by Sagara

shows that welfare of the subjects by the use of *daṇḍa* for the implementation of *dharma* proves the point. The uprooting of the Nanda dynasty by Cāṇakya and Candragupta is a historical fact in this context.

This is *rājadharma/rājanīti/rājanītiśāstra.* In this context, it must be remembered that the word *rājā* is derived from the √*rañj* meaning "to gladden" and √*rāj-rājā rājateḥ* (*Nirukta* 2.3); therefore the king is the one who is radiant by gladdening, that is, looking after the welfare of the subjects. On the other hand, *nīti* denotes the techniques to fulfil the goals of the material world leading to happiness in this life and hereafter:

> *nīyante saṁlabhyante upāyādayaḥ aihika-āmuṣmika-arthā vā-asyām-anayā vā*
> — *Śabdakalpadrumaḥ,* vol. 4, p. 11

Thus *rājanīti* or *daṇḍanīti* is the science of polity by which the king achieves the welfare of the state through prudent, judicious and discreet use of the means on hand and thereby following his *dharma* (duty), acquires and maintains material wealth as the fundamental part of polity and wields the coercive authority and power of the state in the internal and external affairs to presrve and augment it. Hence *rājanīti* and *daṇḍanīti* convey polity and state administration as well as military organization and administration.

In this light we can appreciate Kauṭilya's aim in propounding the *dharma* of the king:

> *kṛtsnam hi śāstramidamindriyajayaḥ*
>
> The whole of this science (of polity) means control over senses.
> — *KA* 1.6.3

He denounces the king who behaves in a manner contrary to his *dharma* by saying that he quickly perishes (*KA* 1.6.4). Thus control over the senses is the cause of the conscientious performance of duties and righteousness. Therefore *rājadharma* formed a part of Dharmaśāstra as well as *Arthaśāstra* (polity) since ancient times. Hence, *Mbh* too discusses them at length in Śānti-Parva (56-172). At all places the aim is to emphasize the fulfilment of the duties and the responsibilities as the root of stability and righteous development of the society as well as individual happiness.

In the light of the above discussion, we find that in the contemporary times the concepts like ethics and morality that form the fundamentals for social stability as being synonymous with *dharma*. Another similar concept is that of "human rights":

> Rights are what we expect from others and others from us and all genuine rights are conditions of social welfare. Thus the rights everyone may claim are partly those which are necessary for the fulfilment of the functions that the society expects from him. They are conditioned by co-relatives to his social responsibilities.
>
> — Gokulesh Sharma quotes from "Politics" of Hob Honce, *An Introduction* . . . , p. 1

In broad terms, referring to the civil, economic and social life, peace, democracy, cultural identity, freedom of conscience, social justice, women, children, differently-abled persons, workers, prisoners, political detainees, students, minorities and innumerable aspects of the society, human rights enables a person to have "right to all things that are essential to the reasonable development of his personality, consistently with the rights of others and the complete observance of the moral law where this rule is enforced, the rights of all individuals and of society as well, are amply and reasonably protected" (ibid.). Briefly speaking it is a system which brings about harmony in all kinds of pluralisms leading to the progress of the society at large.

With this discussion before us, we find that all these contemporary concepts ultimately correlate to *dharma*, aiming at the self as well as the social progress and upliftment — this is in fact also the primary aim of *rājadharma*. Here we may note the explanation of *dharma* in the words of L.N. Rangarajan:

> *Dharma* not only signifies an absolute and immutable concept of righteousness but also includes the idea of duty which every human being owes to oneself, to one's ancestors, to society as a whole and to universal order. *Dharma* is law in its widest sense — spiritual, moral, ethical and temporal.
>
> — Introduction, *Kauṭilya: The Arthashastra*, p. xiii

We know that the modern system of human rights came into existence as a sequence to the holocaust of the Second World War.

It is interesting to observe that though the branch of the texts on ethics — Dharmaśāstra existed in the tradition along with texts propagating the attainment of liberation from the transmigratory cycle of life and death, none ever denounced war! We may ask ourselves the question whether despite the propagation of these concepts concerning the entire humanity has the world today refrained itself from war?.... It has not — because war/conflict in the form of the conflict of ideologies and fulfilment of ambitions, is an instinctive reaction/behaviour of human beings and therefore its existence is allied with human existence. Therefore since times immemorial human race has witnessed this situation in all nations, all economic categories; whereas the contemporary times show that a greater violence of human dignity has been taking place than it ever did. Hence it would be but proper to look into the Indian concept of *rājanīti* incorporated in its tradition projecting a peculiar situation, namely, the coexistence of:

(a) the war — The Vedas use the words *mama satyam* (*ṚV* 10.42.4; *AV* 20.89.4), *vāja-sāti* (*Nighaṇṭu* 2.17) and *mahā-dhana* (ibid.) as the synonyms of war. *AV* (8.14.12) proclaims — *sat-ca-asat pasp*ṛ*dhāte*, that is, "truth and falsehood conflict with each other".

The Vedic Indra, the performer of great feats of war and the slayer of powerful enemies with his *vajra* was the national hero. Moreover, it is also a well-known fact that *digvijaya* (conquest of directions) had been advocated as the goal of the king/kṣatriya which involves his self-assertion and self-expansion. Another term for it was *sārvabhaumatva* (sovereignty). The famous Rājasūya and Aśvamedha sacrifices were evolved with this idea in mind. It declares that *sārvabhaumatva* of the king is established by Aśvamedha sacrifice (13.1.2.3), whereas through the Puruṣamedha he gains posperity, wealth, supremacy and sovereignty and also gives him the title of *virāṭ* (13.4.1.13,15; 13.1.9.10). The texts on ancient polity uphold this ideal of supreme monarchy when they use the word *vijīgīṣu* (*KA* 4.2.7), that is, the king who aspires to become the supreme monarch. This shows that war and weaponry were an integral part of the state policy and therefore, their knowldege was inevitable for the

king. Moreover, *AP* has three interesting cantos each of which contains a prayer for a kṣatriya to recite with faith and devotion to gain victory over enemy in war. Two of these cantos (*AP* 233-34) containing *trailokya-vijaya-vidyā* and *saṁgrāma-vijaya-vidyā* respectively are from *Yuddhajayārṇava* as noted in their colophons. Similarly, yet another canto, namely, 237, *śrī-stotra* is a hymn to the Goddess Lakṣmī to be recited by the king for gaining victory in war as did Indra earlier for the stability of his kingdom (*AP* 237.1). They indicate the war for assertion and imposition of one's ideology on the other besides acquisition of other's wealth. The sacrifices like Aśvamedha, Rājasūya and others were laid down for conquests.

In fact, *NP* (1.44-45) proclaims weapons to be the progeny of Jayā — a daughter of Dakṣa Prajāpati and a wife of the Sage Bhṛśāśva, a son of the Lord Brahmā himself. In *BG*, the first message of the Lord is expounded on the background of the Great War, where the Lord's clear advice to Arjuna is to follow his *karma/dharma* (or duty) determined by his natural tendencies — in *this* case being a kṣatriya to fight against the tyrants is his duty (*BG* 7.31-38). Therefore the military science formed an integral part of education. In plain terms there has never been any negation of conflict.

(b) and the establishment of the welfare state (*NP* 1.47-49) by law and order through the implementation of *daṇḍa* (*NP* 8.30; *MS* 7.14). This term includes security of the state and the subjects — internal and external — which refers to war too. Here the functions of the leader of the state to be ready for internal security and war are justified (*NP* 1.11, 18).

With this discussion in view, it is not surprising to find the glorification of war. To illustrate:

> The warrior should fight with great patience to destroy the enemies as in case of victory he will gain wealth (booty and reward) while in case of death he will gain heaven as well as he will leave behind him a great fame.

tasmāt dhairyam vidhāyaiva hantavyā paravāhinī।
jite lakṣmīrmṛte svargaḥ kīrtiśca dharanītale॥
— *VDV, Vyūhādibhir-yudhha-kathanam* 45; section II.2.7

It further says that the greatest virtue of a kṣatriya was death on the battlefield, while death on bed due to illness at home was a shame (ibid. 46). To fulfil this aim we find that *DV* (the art and science of military administration, organization and weaponry) forms an intrinsic part of *rājadharma/rājanīti* (polity).

Thus we can see that the basic human instinct of assertion and thereby the expansion of his ego is moulded in the social context and is justified. Hence it is said that *yuddhasya kathā ramyā* — the story of war is charming. The ancients, therefore, did talk of peace but they never denied the probabilities of war ever looming large on every state. The world has witnessed Napolean, Mussolini, Hitler and several others who were both the statesmen and warlords of a high stature, dreaming and dragging humanity to witness the destructions of war. On the other hand, the great sages like Vyāsa and spiritual persons such as Kṛṣṇa try to avert war knowing fully well the mighty influence of this instinct.

Hence *DV* as the Upaveda of *YV* was officially recognized, its knowledge glorified for both offensive and defensive purposes. Treatises were written on it and variously referred to in literature, while effort was always made to bring in the context of *dharma* in it to establish the welfare state. We must, therefore, recall that the weapons had been given anthropomorphic forms and are presented as males and females in iconography — a contribution of the Kuṣāṇa and the Gupta periods. The Khaḍga-Gītā of *Mbh* (section II.2.4), the mythical origin of the weapons as well as their reappearance in *NP* (section II.1) and such other references support this. Further, specific weapons also became more prevalent in different sects, such as *cakra, gadā* and *dhanuṣa* became the weapons of Viṣṇu and were deified in Vaiṣṇavism while *triśūla, pāśa* and other weapons of Śiva and Śaivism (Mani, *The Cult of Weapons* . . .).

It would now be proper to examine how *NP* projects the above concepts and their relevance in the contemporary times:

1. Vaiśampāyana visited Janamejaya to impart to him the knowledge of *rājadharma* as evident by his blessing *dharme te ramatām buddhiḥ* (*NP* 1.7c; *pratyudgamanayogyapradeśāt* in *CTV* on ibid.) — the appropriate place/person to be approached (for this purpose). He had foreseen the effects of Kaliyuga described by Janamejaya (*NP* 1.11-17). Through imparting the knowledge of this Nītiśāstra, his motive was to enable the king to use coercive power to control degradation. The tradition of the vastness of this science (*NP* 1.21-27) being gradually abridged in proportion to the worsening times and the subsequent short life as well as the narrow understanding of man (*NP* 1.27cd) indicate the significance of this instruction at this crucial hour.
2. This implies Janamejaya to be a conscientious and an updated ruler anxious for the welfare of the state.

   These two points together are extremely relevant in all times and places. The sage here in the role of an educationist, a counsellor, a *guru* and above all, a spiritual authority, reminds him of his official capacity how to control the ethical and moral degradation through coercive force. Such sages formed the inner core of the society, acting as the advisors in the tradition — *rājakartāraḥ* in Vālmīki's words to the ruler (section II.2.3). Thus, polity and spirituality together would lead to the proper governance of the state.
3. The goal of the ruler is to protect the people from any harm — *prajārakṣan . . . kṣatatrāṇāt* (*NP* 1.29a, c; *kṣatatrāṇātmṛtyoḥ sakāśāt paripālanāt kṣatriyam-abruvan* — *CTV* on ibid.). This implies the intelligent planning of the state policies, proper utilization of the funds from *kośa* for the *vṛddhi* of the state. Simultaneously should his plans be meant for the appropriate measures to meet with the unanticipated natural disasters (disaster management).
4. These are to be deliberated with the ministers (*mantrins*) before every sunrise (*NP* 8.9ab). The hours for counsel are extremely crucial, for, their secrecy holds the key to the

success of the plans (*mantro vijayamūlam hi*) (*NP* 8.67ab; 8.68-70); this secrecy is next to *kośa* in importance (*NP* 8.70). A practical point mentioned here is with regard to the persons to be avoided — they are the ones who, due to their challenged status in life, tend to be lured into revealing the confidential matters of the state easily (*NP* 8.71). This psychological factor does not go unnoticed in *NP*.

5. The divine origin of kingship (*NP* 8.3, 5) is certainly unacceptable in the modern times. However, the underlying motive appears to establish the importance of the post for governance due to the different functions the ruler can perform to carry out his *dharma*. As noted in section II.2.5, he performs the chief function performed by a particular duty of whose portion he is made. It is the performance of these *dharmas* that bestows upon him the form of a great deity (*NP* 8.5). However, the tradition and *NP* warn of the practical aspect of this post, namely, the wrath of the king/ruler can bring harm — hence one must keep his distance from power (*NP* 8.6). This point is relevant today. What corruption and transformation power can lead to need not be discussed; it is an experience and an observation that one has even today.

6. As *NP* upholds knowledge being virtually superior to and holding the key to wealth and power for the state's welfare, it advises the king to take the counsel of the wise, the learned of the Vedas and abide by it (*NP* 8.11-12). These are *vṛddhas*, the intellectually and spiritually mature (grown), and hence the right persons to guide the king in his duty. Moreover, the material gain is not their aim of life which is evident in their residence in the forest (*vanasthāḥ* — *NP* 8.12c). A humble approach to them for guidance would lead to the establishment and maintenance of the welfare state — the goal of *rājadharma*.

(Is this not relevant today? The rulers may take counsel from such experts to achieve this goal. However it must be clarified here that "religion" and spirituality have connotations that are different from how they are generally looked upon today.

The sages like Vaiśampāyana and seers like Vasiṣṭha envisaged the elevation of the human race and looked upon the king as an instrument to achieve it; their guidance and counsel cannot be dispensed with at any cost; this is the intention of *NP*.)

7. For the materialization of this goal, *NP* says that the ruler has to be clean — he has to win over his base desires, short temper, greed, infatuation (passion) and ego (*ari-ṣaḍ-varga-rahitaḥ* — *NP* 8.14a), be learned, pure (*NP* 8.14) and constantly and also alertly strive to control his sense-organs to effectively govern the complex administrative machinery (*NP* 8.13). Bharata's question to Rāma in accepting the throne as deviation from his *dharma* by the violation of the tradition of primogeniture and then being a righteous king is justified here (*Rāmā* 2.95.1cd, 97.2 — section II.2.2).

8. The government in the past and today has consisted of three components, namely, the legislature, the executive and the judiciary.

   (a) The former was often called *sabhā* or *pariṣad*, which is not specifically mentioned in *NP*. It consisted of the advisors, ministers, the crown prince, *purohita*, the commander-in-chief, the accountant general and other important officials from all the departments of the government, the representatives from the subjects, *naigamas* and *śreṇīs*. As noted in section II.2.2, proposals were placed before it for its consideration. However, the confidential issues and subjects such as the four *upāyas*, *ṣāḍguṇya*, the threefold *śaktis* and *siddhis* were also discussed for implementation (*NP* 8.72-84). In *NP* the qualifications of the appointment of the ministers and the advisors are clearly laid down (*NP* 8.18-19), as also of the ambassador (*NP* 8.21); while a few others are merely referred to (*NP* 8.19-20).

   (b) The executive was formed by the other officials constituting the government machinery. The local government formed its part. The sub-divisions of the administration of the state into one village, ten, twenty,

100 and 1,000 villages and their functions as well as salaries are referred to. This principle of decentralization of the state governance for effective administration is similar to that which exists today. However, a very important point in *NP* in this context is the surprise personal checking due to sincere effort for the welfare of the people, by the king himself following the information provided by his personal informants (*NP* 8.29ab).

If these officials were found guilty two ways are suggested by *NP* to handle the situation — (i) the instant remedy being to pacify and satisfy the affected people (*NP* 8.27cd), and (ii) to threaten/reprimand/punish the concerned officials (*NP* 8.27ab, 28ab). Here, in the latter case, *daṇḍanīti* comes into picture — the purpose, however, was to threaten or reprimand them at first (outwardly) being kind at heart (*NP* 8.28ab) and employing various *upāyas* here also (*NP* 8.28cd). However, in a list of crimes performed by offenders with evil tendencies (*NP* 8.31-36), after the examination of their offences, they were to be punished at first and then positive efforts were to be made to bring them back on the path of *nīti* and *dharma* (*NP* 8.37cd). Moreover, these officials might be punished if necessary, in different ways (*NP* 8.38-41) and also those who laugh at them (ibid.), with the ulterior motive of bringing them back to *dharma* (suggested by the use of the verb — *saṁśikṣayet* — *NP* 8.42cd).

Above these, in the urban areas, the administration and the implementation of the laws were to be carried out in the areas on the outskirts of the cities/capital and then in the city. Each city had a leader — equivalent to the mayor who was to be extremely alert and strict within the power of his office (*NP* 8.53). The proper administration of the rural and the urban areas were to be looked into by a righteous and alert minister (*NP* 8.52). The underlying motive was to protect the people from

these powerful but selfish and evil-minded officials (*NP* 8.55).

Here we find that *NP* strongly asserts a clean, efficient, righteous and alert executive aiming at the welfare of the people; using coercive means towards the offending officials and offering immediate help and the steps to keep the people happy.

Here lies the secret of the success of the ruler of the nation and true democracy within monarchy. This is one of the most relevant points offered by *NP* towards democracy being a welfare state! Thus only a "clean" ruler can offer a "clean" state machinery.

(c) In these steps towards the welfare state comes a learned and neutral judiciary. According to *NP*, the king constituted the supreme court (*NP* 8.15ab — *uccāsanastho nṛpati rājyatantram vicārayet*); while the seat of the chief judge was to be occupied by *purohita* who was not only a brāhmaṇa by name, but by learning, wisdom and purity of nature (*NP* 8.15cd). Here the rigidity of the caste system can be seen — no śūdra was supposed to be appointed in the judiciary (*NP* 8.17). However, though this is not acceptable today, the other two qualifications are extremely relevant, as the seat of a judge carries solemnity and the commanding position; no immature or biased person may occupy it.

Moreover, the tradition also takes care to see that a single judge may not pronounce the judgement — not even the king; he has to be assisted by at least one minister, *purohita* and the other learned brāhmaṇas well-versed in Dharmaśāstras, that is, civil, criminal and other laws of the land and time in dealing with the judicial issues (*NP* 8.22).

Here, *NP* follows the accepted ethical value propounded by Manu (*MS* I.6) when it makes an ancient and yet an extremely contemporary point, namely, if the king punished the right and does not punish the criminals, he not only gained infamy, but also hell (*NP* 8.22).

Though such a consequence does not hold ground today, the principle, *per se*, forms the integral part of the judiciary even today.

9. The references to *kośa* (treasury) are an extremely important part of the king's duties, that is, to check the financial matters personally (*NP* 8.24ab) — a matter so relevant in the contemporary times that the leader of the nation could lose his position if he did not understand the financial matters.

As a very important source of revenue, the system of taxation is advised to be just and fair as also in proportion to the income, so as not to harm the efforts of the subjects in being prosperous (*NP* 8.56); it leads to the economic growth of the state as well.

NP refers to *śulka* while discussing taxation as a part of *rājadharma* or the duties of the king. It states that the king should levy taxes in different proportions as was done by the earlier kings in a manner that the people find no difficulty in paying them (*NP* 8.56).

10. *NP* advises the king with the golden rule of economy, namely, despite the taxation system being just, the revenue generated must be optimum and expenditures within limits (8.58). *CTV* (on ibid.) explains this by quoting a passage from an unknown Smṛti source that this implies if a king utilized one-fourth of the treasury for the military purposes, one-fourth for himself, one-fourth of the next half for charity and retained the rest in the treasury; from the fourth one-half keeping in reserve, and then used the remaining as per his will, he (that is, the state) would enjoy eternal prosperity.

11. In *NP* 8.58, the noteworthy advice given to the king is to freely travel along the length and the width of his state as well as other states, which would give him a sufficient exposure towards the welfare of his own people and also to know them from a closer vicinity (ibid. *CTV*).

12. The public welfare works like building water reservoirs, constructing rest houses, good and shady roads for transports and travel (*NP* 8.59), and arranging livelihood for the poor,

visually and physically challenged (*NP* 8.23) and those struck by famine and other calamities (*NP* 8.25) are to be daily looked into; wherever necessary, a proper funding from the treasury or his own portion should be given to the proper persons (*NP* 8.23cd, 25cd). Rāma's advice to Bharata regarding care and proper attitude towards the weak sections of the people is noteworthy here (section II.2.3). In fact, these amenities form the infrastructure for a prosperous state.

13. Agriculture and its importance are recognized by *NP*. The livelihood and prosperity of the agriculturists held a great importance in the Indian tradition. Hence *NP* puts their *yoga-kṣema* — acquisition of new lands and the subsequent enrichment of agriculture as a part of livelihood and prosperity of the farmers — as one among the chief issues to be checked personally by the king everyday. Its recognition as one of the chief occupations by *NP* is in keeping with the Indian tradition and its effort to bridge the gap between the masses and the king in a direct manner. However, it is ensured here that farming remained an integral occupation of the Indian life, and hence to help and support the farmer and yet not to maim his spirit of self-esteem, the king was to provide the needy among them loans from his private funds to be repaid when possible. This was to be documented with all the details of the procedures and persons concerned (*NP* 8.24cd, 26).
14. Felicitation of the learned and the wise was to be carried out in various ways. Besides, even through force and other means, the king was to push the brāhmaṇas to involve in their natural profession of education (*NP* 8.60). Those excelling in learning and virtues were to be given gifts and also at times a piece of land for their livelihood as appreciation and encouragement (*NP* 8.62-63).
15. The pay scale of the officers, that had been given to them during the prior king's rule, was not to be disturbed in any case — for, this being a sensitive issue may affect him adversely. In such matters, tradition was to be honoured (*NP* 8.66).

16. The aim of the king in all the practical aspects is given here by *NP* in a condensed manner:

    (a) *alabdham-īhet* — to aim for what is not gained,

    (b) *labdham yatnena pālayet* — to nurture that which is gained with care,

    (c) *pālitam vardhayet nityam* — to make untiring efforts to increase it, and

    (d) *vṛddham pātreṣu nikṣipet* — to give this to the proper persons (*NP* 8.61).

17. As noted earlier, *DV* (military science) always formed an extremely significant part of *rājadharma* (polity). A substantial portion of the budget was also allotted to the military for the security of the nation as is done today. Hence, *NP* places the payment of wages, remunerations, daily needs and situations of the army in the form of their *bhṛti* and functions everyday (*NP* 8.23ab).

18. The tradition keeps insight into the practical aspect of life too. Injunction is given saying that the army must be provided with full economic and social rights such as good and nutritious food, just and favourable conditions of work, proper wages and so on (*NP* 7.33-42). A proportion of the booty in case of victory also was given to the warriors (*VDV*, *Hantavyāhantavyopadeśaḥ* 65-66). *NP* also lays this down very clearly (6.100-11).

19. The other details of *DV* as described in *NP* that need to be considered from the contemporary approach are as follows:

    (a) The origin of the weapons (*śastras* and *astras*) is considered to be divine. This myth and the twofold narrations (Brahmā–Pṛthu and Vaiśampāyana–Janamejaya) of *NP* are inter-linked for the welfare of the subjects like one's own children — *sarvāḥ pālaya dharmeṇa prajāḥ putrānivaurasān* (*NP* 1.47cd). *CTV* notes a very important and relevant point that in view of what follows (*NP* 1.48-56), namely, a thorough knowledge of the administration of the state and inter-state policy as being essential for the person who desires to receive the

instruction of *DV* (*CTV* on ibid.). It is also asserted that on knowing *DV* thoroughly, a ruler can understand *rājanīti* better (*NP* 2.61). This point is relevant in contemporary times as the world is perhaps experiencing more disturbing conditions than those described by Janamejaya in *NP* 1.11-17. For the preservation of the moral and ethical values in the society, the rulers do not need just the coercive force, but also the understanding for the possession of that power and the purpose of *rājadharma*.

(b) The fourfold division of the weapons into *mukta, amukta, muktāmukta* and *mantra-mukta* (*NP* 2.11) as also that of *AP* (section II.2.6) can be correlated with the contemporary one as given by Major Bakri (ibid.). This is true despite the fact that there has been a revolutionary technological advance in the field of weaponry. However, the point where the tradition (*DV*) differs from the contemporary technology is that while a mere button (or a trigger) releases weapons and missiles today, the traditional knowledge conceived of the practice of withdrawals of these weapons as *upsaṁhārāstra*s (*NP* 2.28-34), *saṁhārāstra*s (*NP* 2.22-27) and others as belonging to the five demoniac missiles — *āsurāstra*s (2.35-36), with the motive of self-defence (*NP* 2.28cd, 36d, 37d, 38).

(c) The third canto of *NP* describes the myth of the origin of *khaḍga* (sword) and the thirty-two ways in which it can be used for offensive/defensive purposes. *Asidhenukā* (knife), called "the daughter of the sword" due to its miniature form (*NP* 5.15-16) is used even now as a close combat weapon. Both these weapons, besides others like *laguḍa* (sticks of various types), the bow and the arrow, and the noose are used even today for the same purposes. The training in their use and the ways to wield them may have become somewhat sophisticated (especially in archery) but their forms remain unchanged to this day.

(d) War by deceitful means (*kūṭayuddha*) is mentioned at the end of the discussion of the weapons and the weaponry

just to make a more or less comprehensive coverage of the subject. It permits the use of these only in specific cases (*NP* 5.53-57). However, surprise, silent attack and other strategies have been inevitable in war in any age.

(e) The other relevant points with reference to the army are: the battle arrays which are the strategic battle formations for offensive and defensive purposes during the march and on the war front (*NP* 6.2-15), the war animals — elephants (*NP* 6.17-18), the accompanying men for the back support (*NP* 6.19-23) and the encampments during war (*NP* 2.24-31), the arrangements for the protection of the capital and the inhabited areas (*NP* 6.32), the people required for the march (*NP* 6.33-36ab), places like hermitages, holy places and others which should be left unaffected by the army on march (*NP* 6.36cd, 37), the encampment areas (*NP* 6.38-39), the erection of the camps (*NP* 6.40-43), the arrangements and security of the medical aids, carriers of dead bodies, arsenals (*NP* 6.45-49), the animals used in war (*NP* 6.50), and many other minute details which are very much relevant today even with the uses of highly advanced technological aids. The existence of the commandos who fight till death in those days were known as *saṁśaptaka*s (*NP* 6.85b; *saṁśaptakaiḥ śapathapūrvakam yuddhādanivartibhiḥ* — *CTV* on ibid.) is still a relevant concept as well.

(f) War implies loss of limb and/or life. Hence high salaries as well as other motivating perks and rewards are essential for those who join the army. This has been implemented since eternal times as war came to have a pivotal role in procuring land and wealth. Hence *NP* refers to the subject of the payment of salary and other benefits to be personally checked everyday by the king (*NP* 8.23ab). Moreover, before the march to the warfront, the warriors should be gifted with grains, rich clothes, jewellery and a good amount of cash for his family to motivate his participation in war (*NP* 6.44).

Moreover, during and after the war such a motivation is to be further provided by the instant announcement of awards and rewards for killing a king or a prince or a commander-in-chief and other important personages in the war (*NP* 6.89-99). This lengthy enumeration proves that the author of *NP* was aware of the role wealth played in such situations — a psychological concept relevant even today. In this context the use of the word *loka-saṁgrahaṇa* is noteworthy (*NP* 6.101c). *CTV* (on ibid.) explains it thus: *lokasaṁgrahārtham śūrajanamelanārtham* (to assemble and to recruit the brave warriors), the king should give awards in the form of clothes, cash, etc. to those who have performed well in the war to express his appreciation of their feats; the amount of these may exceed the salary of the concerned warrior!

A further motivation is in the form of the distribution of half of the booty won in the victorious war among the warriors (*NP* 6.103). Thus recruitment to the army and excellent performance brought in immense riches to the warriors of all the cadres. This significance given to them was probably essential from these points of view — (i) war being a gamble of life and death, (ii) the family of the maimed or dead warrior may be taken care of, (iii) army revolt due to any kind of dissatisfaction be averted, (iv) bribe by the enemy is prevented, and (v) emphasis on not only victory, but even from the purpose of defence being secured. With these in view, *NP* says that those warriors who died while in service or were alive or even retired, may be given half of their salaries so that the needs of their families are taken care of (*NP* 6.10b-107).

(g) The different units and their constitutions enumerated in *NP* (7.1-30) cannot correspond exactly to those of today; but it does indicate the practice of this concept in the tradition. The pay scales mentioned here (*NP* 7.32-43) to be given to the warriors are based on their cadre (*kulaparyayāḥ* — *NP* 7.43b) and more noteworthy, in the

times of emergency / war on their requirements (*tat-tat-kalanusaratah* — *NP* 7.43d).

(h) *NP*, following the tradition (section II.2.7), clearly lays down the war ethics of neither injuring nor killing men in specific situations, indirectly, including the non-participating civilians (*NP* 7.45-49). It prohibits through these psychological tactics, namely, loss of the enjoyment of the fruits of the merits one has performed (*NP* 7.50). This point is hardly considered and implemented in today's world; a point that is evidently neglected either in open wars or in acts of terrorism!

(i) Yet another important principle to be observed during the march is resorting to the specific formations such as *daṇḍa, śakaṭa, varāha, garuḍa, sūci* or *makara* — (i) probably their being flexible in the types of terrains to be crossed and protection of the men and materials to be carried to the warfront (*NP* 7.53), (ii) with probabilities of easy expansion of any wing of the array in accordance with the corner from which the enemy attack was possible (*NP* 7.54ab), (iii) posting the commanders of various units all around in the array (*NP* 7.54cd), (iv) the eastern as the chief direction of offence and defence, being the one from where the enemy attack was feared the most (*NP* 7.55), (v) experts in offensive techniques in groups also to be posted in seven *gulma*s all around with code words given to each of them (*NP* 7.56), (vi) looking for cutting the supplies of good etc. to the enemy by finding the weak spots in him (*NP* 7.57) and (vii) simultaneously finding and sealing his own weak spots (*NP* 7.59).

These indicate the existence of the practice of constant alertness, flexibility and the elements of surprise and quick decision-making during war.

(j) A highly ethical principle to be observed even in the times of war is laid down by *NP* while winding up the discussion on *DV*, namely, the innocent should be released and the offenders to be punished (*NP* 7.64ab). *NP* calls such a king — *dharmānuyāyin* — the follower of *dharma*, who gains the

fruit of 100 sacrifices (*NP* 7.64cd). It is interesting to find that this ethical principle is to be followed even in the times of emergency, as we are familiar with the principle that everything is fair in war!

(k) The entire concept of *rājadharma/rājanīti* with its minutest details is advised to be comprehended by all the members of the society, especially by the king and the women of the royal family. In this context we may recall the incident of Madālasā's instruction of *rājadharma* to Alarka (section II.2.5) and Sītā and Mantharā knowing *rājanīti/rājadharma* fully well (section II.2.3). History shows that this knowledge is in the interest of the women as well because the royal households were always full of plots and counter-plots aimed at seizing the throne; in such situations, this awareness would give a comfortable environment to them to meet with the circumstances.

In addition to the above a few more relevant points from the treatises other than *NP* may be mentioned here. They are the following:

(l) The king should always take decision pertaining to the state in consultation with the assembly and *tīrthas* (*SNS* 2.3). The suggestion should be on the lines of democracy.

(m) Entrusting of a work and its receipt should always be done through official letter, that is, in writing; thus every detail of the execution of the state matters should be on record (*SNS* 2.277).

(n) Śukrācārya, like a true *guru* and spiritual person well-versed in polity, believes in the equality of all men. None is a brāhmaṇa or of any other caste or a *mleccha* by birth; a person's proper or improper actions make him so (*SNS* 2.38; 1.37ab). This concept, if imbibed in practice today, would ease out all the problems in India today and nullify the intense influences of Kaliyuga!

(o) Employment to all (*AP* 239.43), use of half of the revenue for charity, that is, for the welfare of the people (ibid. 223.14), special care and love for women (ibid. 238.18), meeting with the special needs of the poor, orphans and weaker sections of the society (ibid. 225.25), accessibility of the king and

extension of hospitality by him (ibid. 238.19), are some points which formed a part of *rājanīti/rājadharma* in the tradition, but are absolutely relevant in contemporary times.

(p) Appointment of each and every official at the level of the government service required qualifications and their tests (*GP* 69.1; *AP* 220.11). This concept too is extremely modern. If they were found corrupt later, they should be punished (*AP* 220.12). This is most applicable in the bureaucracy today where the faltering officers get away with offences and the people are left to suffer.

(q) Appropriate training to be given to the princes (today this may be made applicable in case of very highly placed officials through workshops) is a relevant point as well (*MatP* 38.1).

(r) However, we must note an important point that whereas human rights deal primarily with the rights of an individual, *dharma* as laid down in the Dharmaśāstras deals also with the duties of each individual.

It may be noted here that the Indian Constitution discusses the fundamental rights as well as the duties of a citizen. Articles 12-35 refer to the fundamental rights, namely, rights to equality, freedom against exploitation, freedom of religion, cultural and educational rights and constitutional remedies and so on. They act as a guarantee that all Indian citizens can and will lead their lives in peace as long as they live in the Indian democracy. On the other hand, Article 51A gives ten fundamental duties such as duties towards the self, concerning the environment, the state and the nation and others. It is the moral duty of every citizen of India which must be and should be performed by him, such as to abide by the Constitution of India and her ideals and institutions to promote harmony and the spirit of common brotherhood amongst all the people of India. Along with both these come the directive principles of the state policy embodied in Part IV of the constitution, directing the central and state governments to guide the establishment of a just society in the country. They also cover the social, political, economic, legal and other aspects. Thus we can see that though

separated, fundamental rights, fundamental duties and the directive principles are interrelated and interdependent. It is interesting to find that the Universal Declaration of the Human Rights and International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights are not much different from the concept and implication of *dharma*.

Keeping the above discussion in the mind, we know that *dharma* forms the innermost core, central theme of the lifestyle as depicted in Dharmaśāstras as well as in the concepts of ethics and human rights. The former as reflected in the Dharmaśāstras with each individual assigned and kept within his/her assigned role, paved the way for the evolution of Hindu law pertaining to all aspects of life as does the latter.

Usually everywhere the authors of the treatises on polity refer to the duties of the king, not of the subjects. People, as the citizens of any state as well as in the capacity of the members of the society, have duties and responsibilities too. In return of all the security and attention provided by the king, the subjects have to abide by non-violence, polite speech and behaviour, truthfulness and other qualities (*AP* 238.10), earn and also save gold, crops and all kinds of wealth (ibid. 180) which would make themselves and the state financially sound and conscientiously oriented towards its economic growth. This reminds us of the fundamental duties of our constitution. (This is not mentioned in *NP*.)

Throughout the entire *Mān*, King Someśvara II shows his enlightenment of the subject and asserts the need for all members of the royal family to learn and use innumerable arts and sciences besides just *rājanīti* and *DV*. In fact, it appears that not only sports, war games and exhibitions, gemology, testing horses, elephants and several such branches of knowledge were essential especially for the king to make him thorough and alert about his environment so as not to be exploited. Important principles like investment in precious gems and others (*Mān* 1.4.536), gradually increase the royal treasury with special efforts (*Mān* 1.4.538) and keeping one-fourth as reserve (*Mān* 1.4.540cd), the use of psychological tactics to alarm the enemy army (*Mān* 2.20.115ɔ-51), use of poison to do away with the important enemy (*Mān* 2.20.1225-31), the exhibition of skill in

weaponry by the king in the arena (section II.2.9a) and such other points are extremely relevant today despite the concept of decentralization of such matters. The king as the head of the state had to have the knowledge of these so as to see through any kind of exploitation and thus a burden on the state thereby.

The essence of kingship/leadership is given by Vālmīki as: *yad-vṛttaḥ santi rājānaḥ-tad-vṛttaḥ hi prajāḥ* (*Rāmā* 2.101.9b), that is, people follow the behaviour of their kings/leaders. Modern psychology may term this as "sheep mentality" or at times even "ostrich mentality"; but Vālmīki's principle and statement of truth always hold ground based on psychology itself. The leader practising what he preaches is bound to be loved, respected and followed by the people whom he leads; this conduct creates an aura of ethical polity which enables the king to implement *dharma*-righteousness in the people besides material prosperity.

When we consider the stylistic features of *NP* we find that it is in the form of the conventional dialogue between the teacher and the student; on the other hand, most of the treatises referred to in the earlier part of section II have a different form. Despite this, they aim at projecting the theories and practicalities of the art of government and military science with the establishment of a powerful state with a high moral order (*dharma*). *NP*, in the style of the Purāṇas in simplicity, mythological references and directness of approach, presents its aim in a methodical manner. The style of *NP* (along with *CTV*) renders the reading lucid and smooth. The projection of the welfare of the society and military in different ways reveals the author's conscientiousness of the issue and its correlation with polity as *rājadharma*, especially in the light of the connotation of *dharma*, are extremely appropriate.

The detailed descriptions of the commencement of the march by mobilizing the army, its accompanying persons and accessories, the battle arrays and other minute details are noteworthy. However, we do not find here references to the uniforms of the soldiers, barracks, the schedules of training, the martial arts like wrestling and others for training; these are lacking in most of the other works on polity as well and *NP* keeps up the tradition! Unlike the other *DV* texts and like *Mbh* (section II.2.5) it lays importance on the sword as

the ultimate weapon, and merely enlists the bow and the arrow among the other weapons. However, in such a context, it should have referred to its manufacture at length instead of just repeating its origin from *Mbh*! Further, the mention of the *kūṭayuddha* as a necessity does not keep conformity with the later treatises on polity and *KA* itself (12 and 14) where sanction is given to it. Through such points and the presentation of the king's functions in just a single canto glaringly suggest the dominance of the style of the Purāṇas and the late medieval works. Although it certainly appears that the author has made efforts to give *NP* an ancient look, its detailed depiction of *DV* gives it a distinct place in the literature of polity.

However, the efforts of *NP*'s author to make the values, some concepts as well as the emphasis on *DV* eternally relevant are remarkable; for, man's basic nature has remained unaltered since times eternal — not only to talk of Kaliyuga.

A contemporary opinion would further justify the need for *DV* to be an inevitable part of *rājanīti*:

> The story of weapons is the history of humanity. Weapons form the basis for a certain aspect of written history, a prerequisite for warfare and conquest and consequently responsible for changing the face of the world.

Therefore,

> Weapons were the best friends of the brave, the symbol of authority and the token of command, the visible sign of force, strength and domination.
>
> — Kumar, *Weapons and Military Technology*, p. 8

I would like to quote from Niccolò Machiavelli in this context, that is, with regard to the significance of *DV* in *NP*:

> A prince ought to have no other aim or thought, not select anything else for study, than war and its rules and discipline; for this is the sole art that belongs to him who rules, and it is of such force that it not only upholds those who are born princes, but it often enables men to rise from a private station to that rank. And, on the contrary it is seen that those who have thought more of case than of arms they have lost their states.
>
> — Machiavelli, *The Prince*, Chapter XIV

In the modern times when *dharma* is understood as religion in its narrow sense, this concept of *rājadharma/rājanīti* is extremely relevant for understanding and implementing it in practical life. The formulation of the political theory in terms of *saptāṅga rājya* is concerned with the practical functioning of the government as is evident in *KA* and the subsequent texts that deal chiefly with the internal administrative machinery, the law on disputes and the strategy of war and peace — all the three constituting *rājadharma* (polity). It is noteworthy, therefore, that the relation between polity and religion of the West is different in our tradition. But for *purohita* (and the sages) who besides being the religious guide to the king had a greater role to play as an advisor to him in the state affairs for humanity at large (section II.2.4), the ecclesiastical factor in shaping polity was different from that in the Western thought. No text on polity in our country and culture was ever written on religious lines. The reason was the concept of *dharma* as *svadharma* and *rājadharma*. Therefore, *Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣad* (1.4.11.15) describes *dharma* as *kṣatrasya kṣatram* (ruler of the rulers). *Daṇḍa* denotes coercion/punishment and "to tame, to conquer, to subdue" which implies the restraint on *adharma* or adherence to the basic human tendencies; thereby it establishes *dharma* — *rājadharma* is this responsibility of the king.

As *NP* and *TV* were probably written during the times of the Mysore kings, I would like to refer to Vikram Sampath who has described how Tipu Sultan spent everyday in his life for the kingdom. Improvement in the quality of the life of his people, eliminating the influence of the colonial power and building transnational borders whereby the British power was weakened through war as well, were his aims. He knew the importance of military strength to achieve all these. Hence he personally inspected the army for its preparedness and discipline, fortifications, repair work, arsenals, classification of news from espionage cell and other aspects. Moreover, from the literary point of view, we get a treatise on the science of warfare entitled *Fathul Mujahidin*, that is, "Triumph of Warrior" describing the training and experiences of Tipu in the battles in eight chapters. Moreover, the recorded history informs us that Tipu's father Hyder Ali used the science of rocketry in 1780 against the British. Tipu's rockets are to be found in the Woolwick

Museum in London with details about their casings, warheads, propellants, weight and so on; their range of performance was from 900 m to 1.5 km. The Indian rocketry died with Tipu (*The Untold . . .*, pp. 313-37). Moreover, the history of Mysore and the other princely states has witnessed the fact that many of their leaders were not only capable statesmen and warriors but men of letters as well.

Homi J.H. Taleyarkhan's observation on Rāma is worth noting here:

> . . . it must be recognized that Rāma was not a temple god. Unlike Viṣṇu and Śiva, he had the fewest number of temples in his name. He was universal. His name lives not only in the place he was born but in the minds of millions of people. . . . Rāma is the ideal of manhood. He is a part of the Indian psyche.
>
> — Taleyarkhan, *From Warfare to Welfare . . .*, p. 29

A brief reference to Rāma of yore is alive in the hearts of the Indians as the ideal king and a mighty warrior who was socially conscious, would be apt here; for, I have looked upon Rāma as a visionary rising beyond common human realms and stand "ten fingers taller" than the others — *atyatiṣṭhaddaśāṅgulam* (*ṚV* 10.90.1). (In Gujarati it is expressed thus — a man rising a fist higher than the others — *muṭhhī ūñcero mānavī*.) Consequently in the times that followed, his administration assumed the epithet of an ideal state — *rāmarājya*.

Rāmā mentions that Vālmīki taught the song of Rāma's life to Lava and Kuśa for elucidating the philosophy of the Vedas, that is, the exposition of *dharma* (*Rāmā* 1.4.5). This is voiced by Rāma as

> *naivāham rājyamicchāmi na sukham na ca maithilīm ।*
> *tvāham satyamicchāmi nānṛtam puruṣarṣabha ॥*
>
> It is not kingship, or comfort or even Maithilī that I desire, but that you be truthful, O bull among men, not false.
>
> — *Rāmā* 2.31.32

Therefore, we find innumerable references in *Rāmā* which associate Rāma with *dharma* (*Rāmā* 3.35.13; 1.1.3 and others). His awareness of the evil outcome of the vice of sensual pleasure is important here, namely, a king must avoid when, Rāma speaks his heart out to Lakṣmaṇa that Daśaratha's weakness for the fulfilment of his

desire led to the total agonizing life of his own mother, family and now the kingdom by Rāma's exile and his own death; the boon to Kaikeyī led to the brink of disaster (*Rāmā* 2.47.8; 1.1.29). The indulgence in sensual pleasures — a human weakness — as *adharma,* should have been controlled especially by Daśaratha being the head of the state! Succumbing to sensualities on the part of the leader of the state is certainly a negative stance in *rājanīti.* On the other hand, Rāma's acceptance of the inevitable result of his father's doing positively, with a view to rectify its repercussions on the family and on the state by setting an example of *dharma.*

Vālmīki keeps on highlighting Rāma's virtues as a king and an ideal human being (*Rāmā* 2.1.15-17) and thus perfect in the practice of *dharma* and *nīti* (*Rāmā* 2.1.19-20, 25). He had, due to these virtues, won the hearts of his people and became their darling. Consequently the people overwhelmingly rejoiced at his coronation and were in deep sorrow on his being deprived of the same (*Rāmā* 2.47.29; 2.53). Moreover, the famous Kaccit-sarga (*Rāmā* 2.94) gives evidence of his twofold concerned query — (i) happiness of the people of Ayodhyā and (ii) Bharata's administration and an indirect advice to him as an elder brother. As a kṣatriya, he is a wielder of weapons *par excellence — dhanurvede ca niṣṭhitaḥ* (*Rāmā* 1.1.13). He could be a ruthless warrior and a killer of enemies as is evident in the war against Khara and Dūṣaṇa in Araṇyakāṇḍa (*Rāmā* 3.23-27; 37.15). However, he and Sītā do not believe in indulging in war unless provoked to protect *dharma* — that is, endangerment of peaceful activities and welfare of people (*Rāmā* 3.8-9).

Rāma's attitude towards the people of all categories is full of love and compassion. To name a few of them are — Guha — the leader of the fishermen, Śabarī (a Bhīl woman), Jaṭāyu (a bird), Vibhīṣaṇa, Sugrīva and others, besides the spiritually advanced sages in the forest. All of them hold a very high opinion of him and though exiled consider none else but him as their king. This is expressed by Vālmīki beautifully through the sage Agastya:

> *rājā sarvalokasya dharmacārī mahārathaḥ ।*
> *pūjanīyaśca mānyaśca bhavānprāptaḥ priyātithiḥ ॥* — *Rāmā* 3.11.27

Sheldon Pollock rightly observes:

> Rāma is unequivocal: it is not for the sake of political power (*artha*) that he suffers living in the world; he is only concerned with *dharma* . . . the path to the highest heaven for Rāma is . . . truth, righteousness and strenuous effort, compassion for creatures and kindly words (*Rāmā* 2.101.30). . . . And he never says that he has renounced the kingdom — he will come back to rule his kingdom at the end of the period of exile. He honours his father's *pratijñā,* his mother's wish, but retains at the same time his right to the throne that is legally his. Thus he is redefining, transvaluating the obligations.
>
> — Pollock, *Rāmāyaṇa:* Ayodhyākāṇḍa, p. 69

The above discussion on the concepts of *dharma, rājanīti/rājadharma/daṇḍanīti, DV* and *NP* shows that the Indian tradition had the goal of the state and the king to enable all men in the society to live in peace, harmony, prosperity and happiness carrying out their *svadharma* (individual and social duties); the king through the efficient administration machinery, righteous judiciary, rich treasury and strong military strength was responsible to create and maintain this social condition. Thus, the state and the king were a means to this end. However, in the realization of this goal, the emphasis was laid on *dharma*. These and other responsibilities of the king (with the above elements of his assistance in efficient functioning) need to be practised with conscientiousness in the contemporary polity — synthesis of the individual *dharma* with the specific *dharma* is sure to lead to the establishment of the welfare state (the gain in this world — *iha* and also to hereafter — *āmuṣmika*) as referred to by Kauṭilya in his *Arthaśāstra* (1.3.6, 16) (Introduction to this chapter).

I firmly believe that *dharma* certainly is applicable to the contemporary complex and tense situation which asserts materialism. Solution to ease it out lies in balancing it in the light of ethical and moral values of *dharma.*

वैशम्पायननीतिप्रकाशिका
सीतारामकृततत्त्वविवृतिसहिता

Nītiprākāśikā of Vaiśampāyana
with the Tattvavivṛti of Sītārāma

The Critical Text and Commentary (Tattvavivṛti) with Translation

प्रथमस्सर्गः

राजधर्मोपदेशः

First Canto

Instruction on the Royal Duties

श्रीमद्गजाननं वाणीं नत्वा ब्रह्मादिसद्गुरून्।
नीतिप्रकाशिका सेयं तन्यते सादरान्मया ।।१।।

व्याख्या - श्रीमज्जगन्नाथमादौ भक्त्या नत्वा यथामतिः।
नीतिप्रकाशिकातत्त्वविवृतिं करवाण्यहम्।।

दुर्वादिद्विरदेन्द्रकुम्भदलनाशक्तिस्ववाग्वैखरी-
-हस्ताग्रादवलब्धमौक्तिकयशः सिंहः सुधीन्द्राग्रणीः।

नञ्जुण्डाख्यबुधस्तदीयतनुजः सीतापदेनाञ्चितो
रामः कौण्डिनगोत्रजः स कुरुते ग्रन्थं बुधान् प्रार्थयन्।।

अथ तावद् भगवतो वेदव्यासस्यान्तेवासी वैशम्पायननामा महर्षिः कल्युत्पन्न-राजानुजिघृक्षया सूक्ष्मनीतिबुभुत्सवे जनमेजयाय चतुर्मुखपृथुसंवादरूपेण धनुर्वेदमुपदेष्टुं ग्रन्थादौ शिष्टनियमितप्रत्यूहापनोदनं मङ्गलमन्तेवासिशिक्षायै निबध्नाति श्रीमत्यादिना।

गजस्याननं यस्य सः। श्रीमांश्चासौ गजाननश्च। तम्। वाणीं सकलविद्याधिदेवताम्। ब्रह्मा आदिर्येषाम्। ते च ते सद्गुरवश्च। नीतिदेशिकान् तांश्च नत्वा । नीतिप्रकाशिका तदाख्या कृतिः। सा अनादिसिद्धा। इमां मद्बुद्धिस्थाम्। सादरात् जनमेजयानुग्रहवशात् मया वैशम्पायनेन तन्यते विस्तार्यते तदुक्तं विक्रमार्कचरित्रे -

श्रुत्वा वैशम्पायनमुखाद्धृष्टो जनमेजयस्तदा। अष्टाध्यायवतीं नीतिं प्रावर्तयत तां तदा।। इति ।।१।।

Having bowed down to the Lord Gajānana, the Goddess of Speech and the righteous *gurus* like Brahmā and others, this *Nītiprakāśikā* is elaborately written by me with due respect to them (and to show grace on Janamejaya). (1)

श्रीमत्तक्षशिलायां तु सूपविष्टं वरासने ।
जनमेजयं भूपालं द्रष्टुकामो महातपाः।।२।।

1d - Pri. Edn.$_2$, D$_1$ - ह्या ° (for सा °)

2c - Pri. Edn.$_1$ महाराजं (for भूपालं). This breaks the metre by adding one letter.

व्याख्या - श्रीमत्यां तक्षशिलायां तदाख्यायां नगर्याम्। वरासने सिंहासने। सूपविष्टं सुखोपविष्टम्।।२।।

(Once) when the great king Janamejaya was seated on the throne, with the desire to see him, the performer of great penance (2)

वैशम्पायननामा तु महर्षिस्संशितव्रतः ।
अभ्यागात् सहितश्शिष्यैर्व्यासशिष्यो महामुनिः ।। ३।।

व्याख्या - सर्वान् धर्मान् जानाति मुनिः व्यासशिष्यः वेदव्यासान्तेवासी वैशम्पायननामा महर्षिः शिष्यैः स्वशिष्यैः सह अभ्यागात् जनमेजयं द्रष्टुमाजगामेति योजना बोध्या। सम्यक् शितं तीक्ष्णं व्रतं यस्य सः संशितव्रतः। धर्मान् जानातीति मुनिः। अभ्यागात् । शिष्यैः स्वशिष्यैः सहितः। एतच्छ्लोकद्वयमेकं वाक्यम्। जन्मनैवातिशुद्धेन शत्रून् वै जितवांश्च यः। जनमेजयः स विज्ञेयो जनमेजय इत्यपि - इति निरुक्तेः।।३।।

— a disciple of Veda Vyāsa, the performer of severe austerities, a great seer and a sage Vaiśampāyana by name, came to Takṣaśilā to meet him with his students. (3)

तमायान्तमृषिं श्रुत्वा जनमेजयभूपतिः।
प्रत्युज्जगाम सहसा सह मन्त्रिपुरोहितैः।।४।।

व्याख्या - प्रत्युज्जगाम अभ्युज्जगाम। मन्त्रिपुरोहितैः सह युक्तः इत्यर्थः।।४।।

On knowing about the (unexpected) arrival of the seer, the king Janamejaya rushed to receive him with his ministers and *purohita*. (4)

पाद्यमर्घ्यं तथा गाञ्च मधुपर्कं विधाय च।
तस्मै प्रोवाच कुशलं प्रहृष्टेनान्तरात्मना ।।५।।

व्याख्या - गां पूजार्थम्। तेनानुपृष्ट इति शेषः। कुशलं स्वकुशलं स्वक्षेमं प्रोवाचाकथयत्। पूर्वं गुरोः कुशलं पृष्ठ्वेति भावः। सद्गुरुदर्शनान्मनोहर्षः राज्ञः।।।५।।

After respectfully washing his feet, offering him water along with the mixture of honey and milk, with intense delight in his heart, he inquired of his welfare and said: (5)

धन्योऽस्म्यनुगृहीतोऽस्मि यन्मे दर्शनमागतः।
तारिताः पितरस्सर्वे पावितोऽहं त्वया मुने।।६।।

व्याख्या - धन्यः धनार्हः । अनुगृहीतः ऐहिकामुष्मिकफलं प्रापितः । यत् यस्मात् कारणात् मे दर्शनं मद्दृष्टिगोचरतामागतः प्राप्तः।। तारिताः पापादुद्धारिताः। पावितः परिशुद्धीकृतः।।६।।

6d - Pri. Edn.$_2$, D$_1$ °लि° (for °वि°)

I am blessed. I am indeed graced as I have been able to see you. In fact, O sage, all my ancestors are redeemed and I am sanctified by your visit. (6)

इत्युक्तवन्तं राजानं प्रयुयोजाशिषश्शुभाः ।
धर्मे ते रमतां बुद्धिरित्युक्त्वागात्सभां ततः।।७।।

व्याख्या - राजानम्। उद्दिश्येति शेषः। धर्मे तव बुद्धिः रमताम्। आसक्ता भवतु इत्याध्याशीः-स्वरूपम्। ततः प्रत्युद्गमनयोग्यप्रदेशात्। सभां तक्षशिलाख्यनगर्यां विद्यमानां राजसभामगात् प्राप्तः। राज्ञा सहेति शेषः।।७।।

He gave auspicious blessings to the king who had thus spoken to him, "May your intellect be fixed on *dharma*". Saying thus he then went to the assembly. (7)

उपविष्टे मुनौ तस्मिन्भद्रपीठे नृपोत्तमः।
परिवृत्यासनाभ्याशे कृताञ्जलिरुपाविशत्।।८।।

व्याख्या - भद्रपीठे मुन्युपवेशार्थक्लृप्ताष्टकोणयुतमङ्गलपीठे उपविष्टे सति। आसनाभ्याशे वैशम्पायन-आसनसमीपे । परिवृत्य मुनेरभिमुखं निवृत्य।।८।।

When the sage seated on the auspicious seat, the excellent king sat beside him, facing him with folded hands. (8)

कथान्तरमथासाद्य जनमेजयभूपतिः।
प्रणम्य तमृषिं भक्त्या कृताञ्जिलरभाषत ।।९।।

व्याख्या - अथ सर्वोपवेशान्तरम्। कथानां वेदशास्त्रोक्तमहाराजप्रतिपादकानां कथानामन्तरमवकाशं विश्रान्तिकालमासाद्य स्वाभिलषितप्रश्नावकाशं प्राप्य । भक्तिराराध्यत्वप्रकारकज्ञानरूपा तया। प्रणम्य जानुभ्यामवनिं गत्वा। अभाषत प्रश्नवाक्यमुपाक्रमतेत्यर्थः।।९।।

Thereafter when the talk on issues related to the Vedas and polity ended, the King Janamejaya bowed down to the sage and spoke: (9)

राजधर्माः कथास्सर्वे भारतीयास्त्वयोदिताः।
हृदि मे संशयः कश्चित्तं भवाञ्छेत्तुमर्हति।।१०।।

व्याख्या - भारतीयाः महाभारतप्रतिपादिताः । त्वयोदिताः उदाहृताः सर्वे वेदपुराणोक्ताश्च । भाविमनुष्यजीवनसन्देहयुक्तः संशयः। तं विरुद्धकोटिद्वयजातम्। भवान् छेत्तुमर्हतीति योजना। ।।१०।।

Though you have already propounded all the royal duties in *Mahābhārata*, there is a doubt in my mind; may you please dispel it. (10)

10a - Pri. Edn.$_2$, T$_1$ - कृता° & श्रुता° respectively (for कथा°)

व्याख्या - कलिधर्मान् प्रपञ्चयति - इत इति -

इतश्चानुदिनं धर्मस्सत्यं शौचं क्षमा दया ।
कालेन कलिना ब्रह्मन् क्षरत्यायुर्बलं स्मृतिः।।११।।

व्याख्या - इतः इमं कालमवधीकृत्य । अनुदिनमुत्तरोत्तरदिवसेषु । अत्यन्तसंयोगे द्वितीया। बलिनाशक्यप्रकारेण। कालेनायुः परिभेदकर्त्रा । धर्मः इष्टापूर्तादिजन्यः । सत्यं यथार्थवचनम्। शौचमैहिकाचरणजन्यशुचित्वम्। क्षमा परापकारसहिष्णुता । दया परदुःखप्रहरणेच्छा । बलं देहदाढ्यम् । स्मृतिः पूर्वानुभवजन्या। क्षरति ह्रसति । उत्तरोत्तरं नश्यतीत्यर्थः।।११।।

O lord, these are the times when as each day passes righteousness, *dharma*, truth, purity, tolerance, compassion, life, strength and memory are weakened by the Kali age. (11)

वित्तमेव कलौ नृणां जन्माचारगुणोदयः।
धर्मन्यायव्यवस्थायां कारणं बलमेव हि।।१२।।

व्याख्या - जन्माचाराभ्यां यः गुणोदयः स वित्तमेव । द्रव्यनिमित्तक एव । धर्मेण क्रियमाणाय न्यायव्यवस्था तस्यां बलमेव प्रबलालम्बनरूपेण कारणम्।।१२।।

In the Kali age, birth and behaviour are judged by mere wealth, and might alone is the cause of righteousness, law as well as of its execution. (12)

दाम्पत्येऽभिरुचिर्हेतुर्मायैव व्यावहारिके ।
स्त्रीपुंस्त्वे कौशलरतिर्विप्रत्वे सूत्रमेव च।।१३।।

व्याख्या - दाम्पत्ये जायापतिभावे । अभिरुचिस्सम्मतिः, न कुलगोत्रादि। व्यावहारिके क्रय-विक्रयादौ मायैव कौटिल्यमेव। स्त्रीत्वे पुंस्त्वे च श्रेष्ठ्ये कौशलरतिः चातुर्यरुचिः। न तु स्वाचारः विप्रत्वे ब्राह्मण्ये । सूत्रमेव यज्ञोपवीतमेव । न त्वध्ययनाध्यापनादि।।१३।।

Mutual consent is the decisive factor in conjugal life; crookedness is present in transactions of all kinds; skill stands only for feminine and masculine excellences, and sacred thread makes one a brāhmaṇa. (13)

लिङ्गमेवाश्रमख्यातावन्योन्यापत्तिकारणम्।
अवृत्त्या न्यायदौर्बल्यं पाण्डित्ये चापलं वचः।।१४।।

व्याख्या - आश्रमयोः गार्हस्थ्ययतीकयोः। ख्यातावन्योन्यापत्तावाश्रमादाश्रमप्राप्तौ च कारणीभूतं लिङ्गमेव। शुभ्रकाषायवस्त्रधारणमेव। अवृत्त्याद्रविणादिदानसामर्थ्येन न्यायदौर्बल्यम्। सभायामवक्तृत्वं पराजय इति भावः। पाण्डित्ये सदसद्वृत्तित्वे चापलं वचः विशेषवचनाकथनम्।।१४।।

Dress alone suggests the stage of life, absence of bribe causes lethargy in judiciary, while skill in speech leads to victory in the learned assemblies. (14)

असाध्यतैव साधुत्वे स्नानमेव प्रसाधनम्।
स्वीकार एव चोद्वाहे लावण्ये केशधारणम् ।।१५।।

व्याख्या - साधुत्वेऽनाढ्यतैव दारिद्र्यमेव कारणम्। न त्वाढ्येषु साधुत्वमित्यर्थः। प्रसाधनमलङ्कारः स्नानमेव, सौवर्णाद्यभावात्। स्नातारोऽपि न भविष्यन्तीत्याशयः। उद्वाहे विवाहे स्वीकार एव सम्मतिरेव, न तु साम्बन्ध्यविचार इत्यर्थः। लावण्ये विषये केशधारणम्, न तु दीक्षादिनिमित्तमित्यर्थः।।१५।।

Poverty is the reason to take up a monastic life; bath (toiletries) forms the adornment; mere mutual consent leads to marriage, while having hair is the sign of beautification. (15)

उदरम्भरिता स्वार्थः यशोऽर्थे धर्मसेवनम्।
दाक्ष्यं कुटुम्बभरणे सत्यत्वे धाष्ट्र्यमेव हि।।१६।।

व्याख्या - स्वार्थः स्वप्रयोजनमुदरम्भरिता कुक्षिपूरणमेव, न त्वैहिकामुष्मिकम्। यशोऽर्थं लोकप्रसिद्ध्यर्थम्। न परोपकारादिषु। सत्यत्वे याथार्थ्ये धाष्ट्र्यमेव वाक्यप्रयोगप्रौढिमेव। न तु कार्यन्याय इति भावः।।१६।।

Caring for the self refers just to filling one's stomach; resorting to *dharma* is to gain fame; efficiency means taking care of the family, while diplomacy in speech is directly related to truth. (16)

शूद्रप्रायेषु वर्णेषु छागप्रायासु धेनुषु।
पाषण्डप्रचुरे धर्मे दस्युप्रायेषु राजसु।।१७।।

कथं तेषामियं नीतिर्विस्तृता वशमेष्यति।
धनुर्वेदविवेकश्च शस्त्रास्त्रज्ञानमेव च।।१८।।

व्याख्या - धर्मे पाषण्डप्रचुरे पाषण्डमात्रोपदेश्ये सति। राजसु दस्युप्रायेषु ईषन्न्यूनचोरवृत्तिषु। मार्गदुर्गादौ प्रत्यक्षप्रहाराभावादीषन्न्यूनत्वं राज्ञाम्।।१७।।

व्याख्या - तेषां तादृशबुद्धिसंकोचवतां विस्तृता बहुप्रबन्धप्रतिपादिता मनस्सन्देहविषयेयं नीतिः। शिक्षा शास्त्रम्। कथं वशं बुद्ध्यधीनम्। एष्यति प्राप्नोति। धनुर्वेदविवेकः धनुर्विद्याधिदैवतध्यानप्रकारः। शस्यते हन्यते जनोऽनेनेति शस्त्रम्। अस्यते देहे

15a - Pri. Edn.$_1$ - अनाढ्य° (for असाध्य°)

16a - T$_1$ - उदरम्भरता (for उदरम्भरिता).

16c - T$_1$ - कुटुम्बभरणं (for कुटुम्बभरणे)

परिक्षिप्यत इत्यस्त्रम्। तयोः अमन्त्रकप्रयोगसमन्त्रकप्रयोगवतोः ज्ञानं विवेकः ननु धनुर्वेदस्य किं पृथग्वेदत्वमिति चेन्न।

यजुर्वेदोस्योपवेदो धनुर्वेद उदाहृतः।
ऋचोपवेद आयुस्स्यात्साम्नो गान्धर्व उच्यते ।।
अथर्वणस्य भरतमिति वेदोपवेदकाः।
खड्गविद्यादिकं यत्तु यजुर्वेदाङ्गकं हि तद्।।
इति महोदधिसारवचनादुपवेदस्वीकारात्।।१८।।

All the castes have become lowly and the cows like the goats. Righteousness is full of deceit and the kings behave like *dasyus*. (17)

"When such is the case, how will the complex polity be understood and so will the discriminating sense of military and weaponry expertise"? (18)

इति तद्वचनं श्रुत्वा हृदयज्ञो महानृषिः।
अर्थोपहितया वाचा राजानमिदमब्रवीत्।।१९।।

व्याख्या - हृदयज्ञो भावज्ञानवान्। अर्थोपहितया बह्वर्थयुक्त्या ।।१९।।

On hearing these words of the king, the great seer who was able to read the minds of the people, addressed him with meaningful speech. (19)

इङ्गितं ते मया ज्ञातं सूक्ष्मनीतिप्रबोधने।
लब्धानुयोगः प्रब्रूयाच्छास्त्रं नो चेदधी भवेत्।।२०।।

व्याख्या - ते तव। इङ्गितमभिप्रायः। पराभिप्राय इङ्गितमित्यमरः (३.१.१५) सूक्ष्मनीतिप्रबोधने संक्षिप्तशब्दबोध्याखिलनीतिज्ञानविषये । प्रश्नं विना शास्त्रकथने बाधकमाह - लब्धेत्यादिना। अनुयोगः प्रश्नः । प्रश्नोऽनुयोगः पृच्छा चेत्यमरः (९.६.१०) अधी भवेत्। नापृष्टः कस्यचिद्ब्रूयाच्छुभं वा यदि चेतरदिति निषेधशास्त्रोल्लङ्घन-जन्यपापवान् भवेत्। अतोऽहं प्रब्रूयामिति शेषः।।२०।।

Your intention to have elucidation of this subtle knowledge is already known to me. Now that you have made a request for it, I shall impart the same to you. (20)

व्याख्या - नीतिशास्त्रावबोधने स्वसामर्थ्याविष्करणाय नीतिशास्त्रकर्तॄन् तद्ग्रन्थाध्यायसङ्ख्यां चाह - ब्रह्मेत्यादिना -

ब्रह्मा महेश्वरस्स्कन्दश्चेन्द्रः प्राचेतसो मनुः।
बृहस्पतिश्च शुक्रश्च भारद्वाजो महातपाः।।

वेदव्यासश्च भगवांस्तथा गौरशिरा मुनिः।
एते हि राजशास्त्राणां प्रणेतारः परन्तपाः।।२१।।

व्याख्या - गौरशिरास्तन्नामकः। प्रणेतारः प्रवर्तकाः।।२१।।

The performers of great austerities — Brahmā, Śiva, Kārttikeya, Indra, Manu, Bṛhaspati, Śukra, Bhāradvāja, the revered Veda Vyāsa, and the Sage Gauraśirā — these have been the brilliant propounders of polity and performers of severe penances. (21).

लक्षाध्यायाञ्जगौ ब्रह्मा राजशास्त्रे महामतिः।
पञ्चाशच्च सहस्राणि रुद्रस्संक्षिप्य चाब्रवीत्।।२२।।
पञ्चविंशत्सहस्राणि स्कन्दस्संक्षिप्य चावदत् ।
दशाध्यायसहस्राणि द्विसहस्रे च वासवः।।२३।।

व्याख्या - जगौ उक्तवान्। राजशास्त्रेऽपारनीतिशास्त्रे।।२२।।
संक्षिप्य शब्दसंक्षेपं कृत्वा। स्कन्दः सुब्रह्मण्यः। चकारस्समुच्चयार्थकः। द्वादशसहस्राणीत्यर्थः।।२३।।

With his supreme intellect Brahmā created the treatise in polity consisting of one lakh chapters. Rudra propagated it after condensing it into fifty thousand. (22)

Skanda further condensed it into twenty-five thousand, while Indra did so into twelve thousand chapters. (23)

प्राचेतस मनुश्चापि षट्सहस्राण्यथाब्रवीत्।
त्रीण्यध्यायसहस्राणि बृहस्पतिरुवाच ह ।।२४।।

काव्यस्तु तत्समालोक्य चक्रेऽध्यायसहस्रकम् ।
सप्ताध्यायशतं शास्त्रं भारद्वाजस्तथाभणत् ।।२५।

व्याख्या - काव्यः शुक्रः। शुक्रो दैत्यगुरुः काव्य इत्यमरः (१.३.२५)। समालोक्य सम्यग्विचार्य। अध्यायानां शतं सप्त यस्मिन् तत्। सप्तशताध्यायवच्छास्त्रमित्यर्थः। अभणत् अदर्शयत्।।२४, २५।।

Prācetasa Manu propagated it in six thousand chapters, while Bṛhaspati preached it in three thousand chapters. (24)

Kāvya (Śukra) analysed and condensed it into one thousand chapters, whereas Bhāradvāja did so in seven hundred. (25)

23d - T_1 - द्वे° (for द्वि°)

24a - Pri. Edn.$_1$ - मुनि° (for मनु°)

25a - Pri. Edn.$_1$, D_1 - °लोड्य (for °लोक्य)

मुनिर्गौरशिराश्चापि पञ्चाध्यायशतं जगौ।
वेदव्यासस्तु भगवांस्तत्संक्षिप्य महामतिः।।२६।।

शतत्रयाध्यायवतीं नीतिं चक्रे महामतिः ।
संक्षिप्तमायुर्विज्ञाय मर्त्यानां बुद्धिदोषतः।।२७।।

व्याख्या - लक्षाध्यायप्रतिपादिताखिलार्थस्य शतत्रयाध्यायप्रतिपादनसामर्थ्यवत्वात् महामतित्वविशेषणं वेदव्यासस्य । संक्षिप्तमित्यादि सार्धश्लोकमेकं वाक्यम। बुद्धिदोषतः। अनाभ्यासाच्च वेदानामाचारस्य च लङ्घनात् । आलस्यादन्नदोषाच्च मृत्युर्मर्त्याञ्जिघांसति इत्यादिशास्त्रानभिज्ञत्वरूपबुद्धिदोषात्। पञ्चम्यास्तसि (पा. सू. ५.३.७)।।२६।।२७।।

The Sage Gauraśirā imparted it in five hundred chapters. On the other hand, Veda Vyāsa with his supreme intellect condensed this treatise on polity further into three hundred chapters anticipating the brief lives and corrupt intellect of the mortals now. (26-27)

तल्लक्षणोद्देशमात्रं मया तव निवेद्यते।
सावधानमना भूत्वा राजशास्त्रं निबोध मे।।२८।।

व्याख्या - तल्लक्षणं नीतिलक्षणम् । उद्देशमात्रं निर्देश एव। विषयान्तरसञ्चाररहित्य-रूपशिष्यावधारणाय राजानं स्वाभिमुखीकरोति। सावधानेत्यादिना। मे मत्तः।।२८।।

I shall impart the same to you with its characteristics in brief; so listen to this science of polity with an alert mind. (28)

व्याख्या - धनुर्वेदोपदेशयोग्यं पृथुं विशेषतो निर्दिशति - पृथुरित्यादिना -

पृथुर्वैन्यः प्रजा रक्षन्मृत्युं जित्वा पुरा किल।
क्षतत्राणात् प्रजास्तं तु क्षत्रियञ्चाब्रुवंस्तथा।।२९।।

व्याख्या - वैन्यः वेनपुत्रः। मृत्युं जित्वा स्वधर्मेण निर्जित्य, पुरा प्रजा अरक्षत्। किलेति वार्तायाम्। क्षतत्राणान्मृत्योः सकाशात् परिपालनात् क्षत्रियमब्रुवन्। क्षतात्किल त्रायत इत्युदग्रः क्षत्रस्य शब्दो नृवरेषु रूढ इति न्यायात् (रघुवंशम् २.५३)।।२९।।

It is said that Pṛthu, the son of Vena, protected his subjects by conquering death. As he protected them from danger, they called him kṣatriya. (29)

नामापि तस्य राजेति प्रजारागादजायत।
अकृष्टपच्या पृथिवी चासीद्वैन्यस्य कामधुक्।।३०।।

28b - T_1 - निगद्यते (for निवेद्यते)

29d - T_1 - ंस्तदा (for ंस्तथा)

व्याख्या - प्रजासु रागादनुरागात्। राजेत्यपि नामाभवत्। वैन्यस्य पृथोः । पृथिव्यकृष्टपच्या कर्षणबीजावापादिकं विनापि फलप्रदायिनी। अत एव कामधुक् मनोऽनुरूपफलप्रदायिनी आसीदिति योजना।।३०।।

His title of *rājā* also originated out of his subject's love for him, the untilled earth yielded the grains and gave everything that the son of Vena wished for. (30)

आसन्हिरण्मया दर्भास्सुखस्पर्शा मनोहराः।
तेषां चीरैस्सुसंवीताः प्रजास्तेष्वेव शेरते।।३१।।

व्याख्या - तन्महिम्नात्याश्चर्याण्यपि जातानीत्याह - आसन्नित्यादिभिस्त्रिभिः । तेषां चीरैस्तत्कृतवल्कलैः।।३१।।

The *darbha* grass grew golden, smooth to touch and pleasing to the eyes. The people made clothes out of them and were content. (31)

प्रविभागो न राष्ट्राणां पुराणाञ्चाभवत्तदा।
यत्र यत्र प्रजा आसन्तत्र दोग्ध्री महीसुखम्।।३२।।

At that time there were no divisions of the (earth into) nations and cities. The earth gave comfort and yielded to the needs of the people wherever they resided. (32)

तेन संस्तम्भिता ह्यापस्समुद्रमभियास्यता।
पर्वताश्च ददुर्मार्गं ध्वजभङ्गश्च नाभवत्।३३।।

व्याख्या - ददुस्तस्येति शेषः।।३३।।

Waters flowing into the ocean were checked by him; the mountains gave him a way and there were no wars. (33)

षष्टिनागसहस्राणि षष्टिनगशतानि च।
सौवर्णान्यकरोद्राजा ब्राह्मणेभ्यश्च तान्यदात् ।।३४।।

व्याख्या - नागाः गजाः। पर्वताः । अदात् षोडशदानानि कृतवानित्यर्थः। सौवर्णं सुवर्णखचितम्।।३४।।

The king had sixty-six thousand elephants and sixty-six hundred mountains, he had a treasure of gold all of which he gave to the brāhmaṇas. (34)

इमाञ्च पृथिवीं सर्वां मणिरत्नविभूषिताम्।
सौवर्णामकरोद्राजा ब्राह्मणेभ्यश्च तां ददौ।।३५।।

Decorating this earth with gems, jewels and gold, the king gave it away to the brāhmaṇas. (35)

तानन्यान्गुणान्बुद्ध्वा तस्य राज्ञश्चतुर्मुखः।
आत्मानं दर्शयामास वरदोऽस्मीति चाब्रवीत्।।३६।।

व्याख्या - बुद्ध्वा ध्यात्वा। आत्मानं दर्शयामासादर्शयत्। तमागच्छदिति भावः।।३६।।

Appreciating these unique virtues of his, the four-faced Brahmā revealed himself to him and said, "I desire to grant you a boon". (36)

ब्रह्माणञ्च ततो दृष्ट्वा श्रुत्वा चैव स तद्वचः।
पृथुः परमसंहृष्टो वव्रे तं वरमुत्तमम्।।३७।।

व्याख्या - तद्वचः वरदोऽस्मीति स्वाभीष्टदायकवचनम्।। तं प्रसिद्धम्।।३७।।

On seeing Brahmā before him and then on hearing these words of his, the extremely joyous Pṛthu asked for a boon from him. (37)

चतुष्पाच्च धनुर्वेदस्साङ्गोपाङ्गरहस्यकः।
शस्त्रास्त्रभूषितो मह्यं प्रदेयस्तु त्वया भवेत्।।३८।।

व्याख्या - चतुष्पात् मुक्तामुक्तमन्त्रमुक्तमुक्तामुक्तात्मकपादचतुष्टयवान्। पात् पादौ पाद इत्यस्य रूपम्। अङ्गानि चत्वारि लक्ष्याणि तान्यग्रे वक्ष्यन्ते। उपाङ्गानि शब्द-स्पर्श-गन्ध-रस-दूर-चलादर्शन-पृष्ठस्थित-स्थिर-भ्रमण प्रतिबिम्बोद्देशलक्ष्याख्यानि त्रयोदश। तेषां क्रमेणोदाहरणानि। दशरथकर्तृकमुनिकुमारक-अर्जुनकर्तुकद्रोणग्राहकमकरी-मन्मथ-कर्तृकपुष्पबाणकरणकविरहिजन-बभ्रुवाहनकर्तृकमध्वस्त्रकर्मक-अर्जुनकर्तुक जयद्रथशिरोहरणपूर्वकवृद्धक्षत्रक-अर्जुनकर्तृकखेचरपक्षि-रामकर्तृक-पातालदानव-भूरिश्रवसो बाहु-शत्रुद्रुपदकृतमत्स्यतुलाप्रतिबिम्ब-मत्स्यभित्तिपत्र-भेदादीनि रहस्यानि तपोगुप्तानि। तैः सह वर्तत इति साङ्गोपाङ्गरहस्यकः। बहुव्रीहौ कप्रत्ययः। शस्त्रमन्त्रकप्रयोगः। अस्त्रं समन्त्रकप्रयोगः।।३८।।

May you please impart Dhanurveda to me with its four limbs, all the secrets as adorned by all the weapons and missiles. (38)

आत्मानं परमं मन्ये लोकेभ्यो लोकपूजितः।
यस्य मे दर्शनं प्राप्तो भवान्वेदमयो निधिः।।३९।।

व्याख्या - लोकेभ्यः जनेभ्यः। आत्मानं मां निधिः निक्षेपवत्सन्तोषकारी।।३९।।

"O you who are worshipped by all the worlds and who are the ocean in the form of the Vedas! I consider myself to be supremely blessed on seeing you". (39)

36a - Pri. Edn.$_2$, D$_1$, T$_1$ - एतानन्या° (for तानन्या°)

इत्युक्त्वानन्ददुग्धाब्धौ मज्जमानं पृथुं तदा ।
प्रोज्जहार जगत्स्रष्टा वाचाथ प्लवरूपया।।४०।।

व्याख्या - प्लवरूपया प्रस्तावकथायुक्तत्वेन मज्जनोद्धारतरिरूपं प्राप्तया ।।४०।।

Then the Creator of the cosmos being pleased with Pṛthu, merged him in the ocean of milk as it were, addressing him with words that were like a boat therein. (40)

दिष्ट्या ते बुद्धिरुत्पन्ना धनुर्वेदपरिग्रहे।
अहमप्येतदेव त्वां वक्तुकाम इहागतः।।४१।।

व्याख्या - दिष्ट्या त्वत्कीर्तिसम्पादकदृष्टेन।।४१।।

It is fortunate to know that you are inclined to receive Dhanurveda; I have actually come here with a desire to impart the same to you. (41)

व्याख्या - खड्गस्य ब्रह्मसृष्टत्वेन भृशाश्वपुत्रत्वाभावादसिसृष्टिमादौ विविनक्ति - असिरिति -

असिः पूर्वं मया सृष्टो दुष्टनिग्रहकारणात् ।
भवादृशसमीपस्थो लोकान्शिक्षञ्चरत्यसौ।।४२।।

व्याख्या - पूर्वं देवयजनसमये शिक्षन्प्रजाः स्वस्वधर्मेण स्थापयन्नसाविदानीं तव समीपे वर्तमानः।।४२।।

I created the sword in ancient days in order to control the evil. It is meant to be with the kings like you to train people (in following virtues). (42)

धनुराद्यायुधव्यक्तौ त्वमेवादिस्स्मृतो मया ।
तस्माच्छस्त्राणि चास्त्राणि ददामि तव पुत्रक।।४३।।

व्याख्या - धनुरादीनामायुधानां व्यक्तौ लोकप्रचारणे त्वमेवादिरूपज्ञानत्वेन स्मृतः ध्यातः।।४३।।

You were in my mind when I created the bow and the other weapons. Therefore, O dear son, I shall give you the weapons as well as the missiles. (43)

व्याख्या - शस्त्रज्ञानाय तेषां पितरं मातरञ्चाह - भृशाश्व इति -

भृशाश्वो मानसः पुत्रो द्वे जाये तस्य संमते।
जया च सुप्रभा चैव दक्षकन्ये महामती।।४४।।

व्याख्या - कृशाश्व इति पाठान्तरम्।। मानसो मन्मथसंकल्पजः । जया तन्नामिका, सुप्रभा तन्नाम्नी दक्षप्रजापतिपुत्र्यौ। महामती शस्त्रास्त्रप्रसवचातुर्यबुद्धियुक्ते।।४४।।

43d - Pri. Edn.$_2$, D$_1$ - ददानि (for ददामि)

O intelligent one! Bhṛśāśva — son born from my psychic powers, had two loving and learned wives — Jayā and Suprabhā. Both were the daughters of Dakṣa. (44)

जया लब्धवरा मत्तः शस्त्राण्यस्त्राण्यसूत वै।
पञ्चाशदपरा चापि तावत्पुत्रानजीजनत् ।।४५।।

व्याख्या - भृशाश्वज्येष्ठा भार्या। लब्धवरा ऐच्छिकसृष्टिसामर्थ्यप्राप्तिरूपवराश्रया। मत्तो मत्सकाशात्। अपरा कनीयसी सुप्रभानामिका सहधर्मिणी तावत् पञ्चाशत्सङ्ख्यकान् पुत्रानजीजनत् असूत।।४५।।

Blessed by me, Jayā begot fifty weapons and missiles as her children; the other one also gave birth to sons. (45)

संहारान्नाम दुर्धर्षान् दुराक्रामान् बलीयसः।
मन्त्रदैवतसंयोगाच्छस्त्राण्यस्त्रत्वमाप्नुवन्।।४६।।

व्याख्या - संहाराञ्छत्रुमुक्तास्त्रशामकान्।। तदुक्तं मन्त्रमहोदधौ (?) -

स्वमुक्तास्त्रस्य स्वायत्तीकरणं मुष्टिरुच्यते ।

परोन्मुक्तास्त्रशमनमुपसहांर ईरितिः।। इति।।

दुर्धर्षान्प्रधर्षयितुमशक्यान्। दुराक्रामानस्त्रानभिभूतान्। बलीयसा अस्त्रोपशमनबल-युक्तान्। ननु वज्रशक्त्यादीनामपि शस्त्राणामस्त्रसामर्थ्यस्य दृष्ट्वापृथगस्त्रग्रहणं व्यर्थमित्याशङ्क्य शस्त्रास्त्रयोर्वैलक्षण्ये युक्तिमाह - मन्त्रेति। मन्त्रप्रतिपादित-दैवतसंयोगात् सामीप्यमहिम्नास्त्रत्वम्। तत्सामर्थ्यं न तु स्वतः सिद्धम्। अत एव तृणादीनामपि दम्भोद्भवादिनिग्रहसामर्थ्यं दृष्टम्। न बल्बजतृणानि शस्त्राणीति तयोर्भेदः।।४६।।

Due to their capacity of pacifying the irrepressible and irresistible arms released by the enemies and their association with the *mantras* of the divinities, weapons turned into missiles. (46)

व्याख्या - धनुर्वेदग्रहणे प्रयोजनमाह -

मत्सकाशाद्धनुर्वेदं प्रगृह्य जयतां वर ।
सर्वाः पालय धर्मेण प्रजाः पुत्रानिवौरसान्।।४७।।

O excellent among the victorious ones! Receive Dhanurveda from me and dutifully look after your subjects — one and all — like your own sons. (47)

व्याख्या - धनुर्वेदाधिकारिणा राजनीतिमता भाव्यमिति मनसि निधाय ब्रह्मा पृथोः मुख्यान् राजधर्मानुपदिशति सन्धिविग्रहेत्यादिना -

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After 47, T_1 ins. ददामि श्रीमहागणाधिपतये नमः।

सन्धिविग्रहतत्त्वज्ञस्त्वनुमानविभागवित् ।
षाड्गुण्यविधियुक्तश्च सर्वशास्त्रविशारदः ।।४८।।

वृतो राजगुणैष्षड्भिस्सप्तोपायांस्तदाचर ।
बलाबलेन सम्यक्त्वं समीक्षस्व चतुर्दश ।।४९।।

व्याख्या - सन्धिः साम। विग्रहो निग्रहः। दण्ड इत्यर्थः। तयोस्तत्त्वज्ञस्तत्तत्कालप्रयोगविवेकवान्। भवेति सर्वत्र शेषः। अनुमानविभागवित् स्वपरशक्तिबलाबले अनुमानविभागवित्। निश्चित्य विभागो विभजनम्। परामात्यादिभ्यो धनप्रदानं तद्वत्। अनुमानविभागविदिति पाठान्तरम्। एवञ्च नीतिशास्त्रप्रसिद्धोपायचतुष्ट्याभिज्ञत्वमुक्तम्। षाड्गुण्यविधि-युक्तश्च। षड्गुणाः सन्धि-विग्रह-यान-आसन-द्वैधीभाव-समाश्रयाख्याः। स एव षाड्गुण्यं स्वार्थे ष्यञ्। तस्य विधिरज्ञातावबोधनम्। तेन युक्तः। तत्र सन्धिविग्रहौ प्रत्येकं द्विविधौ। प्रबलदुर्बलयोर्विजिगीषावतोः समभूमौ युद्धप्रसङ्ग आद्यो विग्रहमिच्छति। इतरस्तु तेन सहाल्पतरग्रहेणापि सन्धिमेवेच्छति। तथा च दुर्बलद्वारकौ सन्धिविग्रहावन्यौ। प्रबलद्वारकावन्यौ तदिदमुक्तं रामायणे द्वियोनी सन्धिविग्रहाविति। तत्र प्रबलयोर्निविग्रहो यानासनयो : प्रयोजकः । दुर्बलयोर्निस्सन्धिः। द्वैधीभावसमाश्रययोः। यथोक्तं कामन्दकीये (११.१६.१३ is similar) –

सन्धेश्च विग्रहस्यापि द्वैगुण्यं सम्प्रचक्षते।
यानासने विग्रहस्य रूपं सन्धेः परं द्वयम् ।। इति ।।

द्वौ गुणभूतौ यस्य सः द्विगुणः। स च स च तौ। तयोः भावः द्वैगुण्यम्। तत्र यानं विजिगीषोररिं प्रति यात्रा। आसनं कदाचिच्छक्तिप्रतिबन्धे तत्रैव शत्रोर्दुर्गमावेष्ट्य तत्र धान्यादिप्रवेशनं प्रतिबध्नतावस्थानम्। बलवता विग्रहे बलवत्तरेण तच्छत्रुणा सन्धिं कृत्वोभयत्र दासोऽस्मीति वाचैवात्मसमर्पणं कर्तव्यं न कर्मणेति द्वैधीभावः।।

यथोक्तं कामन्दकीये (११.१६.२३) –

बलिनोर्द्विषतोर्मध्ये वाचात्मानं समर्पयन्।
द्वैधीभावेन वर्तेत काकासिवदलक्षितः।।इति।।

अरिणा पीड्यमानस्य बलवद्दुर्गभूपालाद्याश्रयणं समाश्रयः। सर्वशास्त्रविशारदः षट्छास्त्रनिपुणः। पाणिने - (?)-त्यादि शास्त्रषट्कमुदाहृतमिति शौनकवचनात् (?)।

षड्भिः राजगुणैर्वृतो युक्तः।

वक्ता प्रगल्भो मेधावी स्मृतिमान्न्यायवित्कविः ।
परावरविभागज्ञः प्रमाणकृतनिश्चयः।।

इति नारदस्तु तावुक्ता वेदितव्याः(?)। न केवलं ज्ञातुमेव कुशलोऽपि तु वक्तुमपीत्याह - वक्तेति। समानाधिकरण एवेत्याह - प्रगल्भ इति। असम्बद्धप्रलापी - नेत्यर्थः। यतो मेधावी ऊहापोहकुशलः। तादृशोऽपि स्मृतिमानधीतं न नाशितवानित्यर्थः। नर्यवित् दायविभागदिव्यवहारवित्। कविरनागतदर्शी। वक्तृत्वप्रगल्भत्व-मेधावित्व-स्मृतिमत्व-

नयवित्व-कवित्वाख्याः षड्गुणाः। परावरविभागज्ञो ज्ञानकाण्डकर्मकाण्डयोः यथायोग्यं शिष्येषु विभागजनज्ञः। यतः प्रमाणकृतनिश्चयः। प्रमाणं प्रत्यक्षानुमानागमादि। तच्च द्विविधम्। लौकिकमलौकिकञ्चेति। आद्यं घटवह्निं वर्णादिविषयम्। द्वितीयं निर्विशेषात्मवस्तुत्त्वविषयम्। अत्र श्लोके राजगुणेषु वक्तृत्वं, चारामात्यादिषु यथायोग्यं कार्योपदेशकौशलम्। प्रागल्भ्यं शत्रुदमनादावुत्कर्षप्रदर्शम्। मेधावित्वं तर्ककौशलम्। स्मृतिमान् कविरित्यतीतानागतयोः परामर्शित्वम्। नयविदिति नीतिशास्त्रवित्त्वम्। एतैः राजगुणैः । उपायान् बलाबलम् । अन्यान्। चतुर्दश। त्वं समीक्षस्वेति योजना । चतुर्दशभिः राजदोषैर्विरहितो भव।। ते च वक्ष्यन्ते -

नास्तिक्यमनृतं क्रोधः प्रमादो दीर्घसूत्रता।
अदर्शनं ज्ञानवतामालस्यं पञ्चवृत्तिता।।
एकचिन्तनमर्थानामनर्थज्ञैश्च चिन्तनम्।
निश्चितानामनारम्भो मन्त्रस्यापरिरक्षणम्।।
मङ्गलाद्यप्रयोगश्च प्रत्युत्थानञ्च सर्वशः।
कच्चित्त्वं वर्जयस्येतान् राजदोषांश्चतुर्दश।।

इति रामायणोक्ताः (२.९४.५६-५८)। नास्तिक्यं परलोकापलापः । प्रमादोऽनवधानता। दीर्घसूत्रता चिरक्रियत्वम्। पञ्चवृत्तिता पञ्चेन्द्रियपरवशता। अर्थानां प्रयोजनानामेकचिन्तनम् एकेनैव चिन्तनम् अनर्थज्ञैर्विपरीतार्थदर्शितार्थदर्शिभिस्सह चिन्तनं मन्त्रः। मङ्गलमुत्सवः। आदिपदाद्देवपूजादि तस्याप्रयोगोऽननुष्ठानम्। प्रत्युत्थानञ्च सर्वशः। युगपत्सर्वदिगवस्थितशत्रूद्देशेन दण्डयात्रेति तदर्थः। अत्र चकाराद्विंशतिवर्गरहितोऽपि भवेत्यर्थः। विंशतिवर्गस्तु कामन्दकीये उक्तः (९.१४.२४-२८) –

बालो वृद्धो दीर्घरोगी तथा ज्ञातिबहिष्कृतः।
भीरुको भीरुजनको लुब्धो लुब्धजनस्तथा।।

विरक्तप्रकृतिश्चैव विषयेष्वतिसक्तिमान्।
अनेकचित्तमन्त्रश्च देवब्राह्मणनिन्दकः।।

दैवोपहतकश्चैव दैवचिन्तक एव च।
दुर्भिक्षव्यसनोपेतः खलव्यसनसङ्कुलः।।

अदेशस्थोऽबहुरिपुर्युक्तोऽकालेन यश्च सः।
सत्यधर्मव्यपेतश्च विंशतिः पुरुषाः अमी।।

एतैस्सन्धिं न कुर्वीत निग्रहस्स्यात्तु केवलमिति।।

सप्तोपायाः साम-दान-भेद-दण्ड मन्त्रौषधीन्द्रजालाख्याः बलाबलं स्वपरपक्षयोस्साम्यम्। परस्य हीनता स्वस्य वा हीनतेति। त्रिविधं यथायोग्यं बुद्ध्यादिभिः सामादयः परीक्षणीयाः। किमनेन शत्रुणा साम कर्तव्यं न वा ? कर्तुमारब्धञ्चेत्सिद्ध्यति न वा. सिद्धञ्चेदन्ते कुशलं न वेति चारप्रेषणादिना बलाबलप्रभृतिकं परीक्षणीयम्। तथा चतुर्दशदेशादयोऽपि परीक्षणीयाः।। ते च नीतिशास्त्रोक्ताः (?) –

देशो दुर्गं रथो हस्ती वाजी योधाधिकारिणः।
अन्तः पुरान्तगणना शास्त्र-लेख्य-धनासवाः।
परीक्ष्या ह्यधिपास्तेषां चतुर्दश नरेश्वरैः।।इति।।

योधाः अधिकारिणः देशपाल-दुर्गपाल-सेनापत्यादयः। गणनाश्वरथधनादीनां सङ्ख्या। लेख्यमायव्ययनिर्णयाय सर्वस्य पत्रारोहकरणम्। धनं पर्याप्तमपर्याप्तञ्चेति विचार्यम्। आसवाः मद्यवदपकारिणः। प्रच्छन्नशत्रवः। आसव इति पाठे बलमित्यर्थः।।४८, ४९।।

With the thorough knowledge of the use of the measures of peace and war, strengths and weaknesses of yourself and those of your enemies, the six measures of foreign policy, expertise in all sciences and techniques, (48)

Cultivate the befitting royal virtues and implement the seven means of success against an enemy along with the six virtues essential for a king and then critically analyse the strengths and weaknesses keeping in view the fourteen (elements and officials of the state). (49)

अथ स्वात्मानमन्वीक्ष्य परांश्च रिपुसूदन।
तथा सन्धाय कर्माणि सेवस्वाष्टौ सदा नृप।।५०।।

व्याख्या - अथात्मानं बलिनं परान्दुर्बलान्परीक्ष्य सेवस्व राज्यमिति शेषः। तथा विपरीते जयमूलस्य कोशस्य वृद्धये सन्धाय परैस्सह साम कृत्वा। अष्टौ कर्माणि –

कृषिर्वणिक्पथो दुर्गं सेतुकुञ्जरबन्धनम्।
खन्याकारः करादानं शून्यानाञ्च निवेशनम्।
अष्टौ सन्धानकर्माणि प्रयुक्तानि मनीषिभिः।। इति।।

कुञ्जरबन्धनं बहुभक्षकत्वात्तेषां यथाविभागं ग्रामीणधनिकैरेव ग्रामे ग्रामे पोषणार्थं बन्धनम्। खनिः रत्नाद्युत्पत्तिस्थानम्। आकरः सुवर्णाद्युत्पत्तिस्थानम्। खननमात्रेण घमनादिनाभिमुखीकरणेन च तयोस्तल्लाभहेतुत्वात्।।५०।।

O slayer of the enemies! Administer the kingdom well, analyse your own strengths and check on the weaknesses of the enemies thereafter; then also using the eightfold activities for the increase of wealth in the treasury, (50)

भवानष्टादशान्येषु स्वपक्षे दश पञ्च च।
त्रिभिस्त्रिभिरभिज्ञातैर्वेत्ति तीर्थानि चारकैः।।५१।।

व्याख्या - भवानिति। तीर्थानि मन्त्रिप्रभृतिरष्टादश। यान्यवगाह्य राजा कृतकृत्यो भवति तानि चोक्तानि नीतिशास्त्रे (?) -

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51c - T_1 - "विज्ञा" (for "भिज्ञा")

51d - Pri. $Edn._1$ - वीर्थिविचारकैः (for तीर्थानि चारकैः)

मन्त्री पुरोहितश्चैव युवराजश्च भूपतिः।
पञ्चमो द्वारपालश्च षष्ठोऽन्तर्वंशिकस्तथा।
कारागाराधिकारी च द्रव्यसञ्चयकृत्तथा।
कृत्यकृत्येषु चार्थानां नवमो विनियोजकः।
प्रदेष्टा नगराध्यक्षः कार्यनिर्माणकृत्तथा।
धर्माध्यक्षः समाध्यक्षो दण्डपालस्त्रिपञ्चमः।
षोडशो दुर्गपालश्च तथा राष्टान्तपालकः।
अटवीपालकान्तानि तीर्थान्यष्टादशैव तु।
चारैर्विचारयेत्तीर्थानात्मनश्च परस्य च।
पाषण्डादीनवज्ञातानन्योन्यमितरेष्वपि।
मन्त्रिणं युवराजञ्च हित्वा स्वेषु पुरोहितम्।। इति।।

एषां तीर्थशब्दवाच्यत्वे हलायुधः (पञ्चमम् - अनेकार्थककाण्डम्, पृष्ठः ९८) –

यौनौ जलावतारे च मन्त्र्याद्यष्टादशस्वपि।
पुण्यक्षेत्रे तथा पात्रे तीर्थं स्याद्दर्शनेष्वपि।।

परेषामष्टादशसु स्वस्य मन्त्रिपुरोहितयुवराजवर्जं पञ्चदशसु तीर्थेषु । चारानन्यैः परस्परञ्चविज्ञातान् त्रींस्त्रीन्प्रयुज्य तत्र तत्रत्यां वार्तां सर्वचारसंवादे तथ्यां जानीयात् ज्ञात्वा च स्वप्रजानामनुरञ्जनेन पुरप्रजानां दुःखितानामभयदानेन धनादिदानेनाकर्षणेन च स्वराष्ट्रं वर्धयेदित्युक्तं भवति।।५१।।

May you have the full knowledge of the eighteen *tīrthas* (i.e. the chief counsellors and the other officials) of the enemy and fifteen of yourself (except for the ministers, the *yuvarāja* — the crown prince — and *purohita*) by engaging three spies for each of them. (51)

व्याख्या - एवं विजेतुं प्रकृतिसम्पदमुक्त्वा विजयकालमाह तथा व्यसनिनमिति –

तथा व्यसनिनं शत्रुं निशम्य नृपसत्तम।
अभियाहि जवेनैव समीक्ष्य त्रिविधं बलम्।।५२।।

व्याख्या - व्यसनानि -

स्त्री द्यूतं मृगया मद्यं नृत्यं गीतं तथाटनम्।
वाद्यं निन्दा दिवास्वापो व्यसनानि नृणां दश ।। इत्युक्तेर्युक्तम् (?)।

त्रिविधं बलम्। मन्त्र-कोश-भृत्यबलानि प्रभुमन्त्रोत्साहशक्तिर्वा। समीक्ष्य स्वबुद्धया विचार्य। अभियाहि यात्रां कुर्वीत्यर्थः।।५२।।

O excellent king! Completely suppressing well the enemy in trouble thus, move quickly to attack him with the threefold strength examining it thoroughly. (52)

धृत्वा यात्रामारभस्व प्राप्तकालमरिन्दम।
पार्ष्णिमूलञ्च विज्ञाय व्यवसायं पराजयम् ।।५३।।

व्याख्या - पार्ष्णिमूलं पार्ष्णिग्राहकादिर्यस्य तद्द्वादशविधं मण्डलम्। तथोक्तं कामन्दकीये (८.१२.४, ६, १६-१९) –

अमात्यराष्ट्रदुर्गाणि कोशो दण्डश्च पञ्चमः।
एताः प्रकृतयस्तज्ज्ञैर्विजिगीषोरुदाहृताः।।

सम्पन्नस्तु प्रकृतिर्भिर्महोत्साहः कृतश्रमः।
जेतुमेषणशीलश्च विजिगीषुरिति स्मृतः।।

अरिर्मित्रमरेर्मित्रं मित्रमित्रमतः परम्।
अथारिमित्रं मित्रञ्च विजिगीषोः पुरस्कृताः।।

पार्ष्णिग्राहस्ततः पश्चादाक्रन्दस्तदनन्तरः।
आसारावनयोश्चैव विजिगीषोस्तु पृष्ठतः।।

अरेश्च विजिगीषोश्च मध्यमो भूम्यनन्तरः।
अनुग्रहे संहतयोर्च्यस्तयोर्निग्रहे प्रभुः।।

मण्डलाद्बहिरेतेषामुदासीनो बलायिकः।
अनुग्रहे संहतानां व्यस्तानाञ्च वधे प्रभुः ।। इति।।

विजिगीषुः शत्रुः तयोर्मित्रे तन्मित्रे इति त्रीणि द्वन्द्वानि। क्रमेण पुरतः विजिगीषोः पृष्ठतः पार्ष्णिग्राहाक्रन्दौ । पार्ष्णिग्रहः पृष्ठरक्षकः। आक्रन्दः प्रोत्साहकः। एतयोरनुग्राहकावसारौ। तत्तत्पृष्ठगतौ पार्ष्णिग्रहसार आक्रन्दासारश्चेति दश पुरुषाः विजिगीषोः शत्रोः पार्श्वे । मध्यमः सर्वेषां पार्श्वे उदासीन इति मण्डलम्। पार्ष्णिमूलमित्युच्यते। व्यवसायं कृत्यनिश्चयम्। कृत्यञ्च।

अलब्धवेतनो लुब्धो मानी चाप्यपमानितः।
क्षुद्रश्च कोपितोऽकस्मात्तथा भीतश्च भीषितः।।

यथाभिलषितैः कार्यैर्भिन्द्यादेतांश्चतुर्विधान्।
परकीयान् स्वकीयांस्तु रक्षोद्विजयकामुकः ।।

इति नीतिशास्त्रोक्तेः (?)। पराजयं पराजयमूलानां व्यसनानां परपक्षे सद्भावं स्वपक्षे चाभावं विज्ञाय दिष्ट्याऽविशेषतो दैवज्ञादिद्वारा ज्ञात्वा। तत्र दैवं व्यसनं पञ्चविधम्। मानुषं पञ्चविधम्। यथोक्तं कामन्दकीये (१४.२१.२२) –

हुताशनो जलं व्याधिर्दुर्भिक्षं मारकस्तथा।
इति पञ्चविधं दैवं व्यसनं मानुषं परम्।।

अयुक्तेभ्यश्च चोरेभ्यः परेभ्यो राजवल्लभात्।
पृथिवीपतिलोभाच्च प्रजानां पञ्चधां भयम् (?)।।इति।।

मारः माहेश्वरीमायादिरूपः।।५३।।

O suppressor of the foes! Begin the march at the proper time with full knowledge about the enemy at the back and the others in the *rājamaṇḍala,* as well as with full intention to defeat them and emerge victorious. (53)

स्वमूलं तु दृढं कृत्वा परान्याहि विशां पते।
विक्रमस्व विजेतुं ताञ्जित्वा च परिपालय ।।५४।।

व्याख्या - स्वमूलं स्वराज्यम् । दृढं दृढप्रत्ययिभिः शूरैरधिष्ठितम्। परानभिभाव्यं कृत्वा। परान् याहि प्राप्नुहि। ताञ्च विजेतुं विक्रमस्व प्रयत्नवान् भव। तान् जित्वा वशगान् कृत्वा। परिपालय अन्नवस्त्रादिदानेन स्वाधीनान् कुरु। न तु तेषां तन्त्राधिकारं देहीत्यर्थः।।५४।।

Firmly establishing your own authority, conquer the enemies, O lord of the people! strive to overpower them, and then vanquishing them, do take care of them. (54)

दृढमष्टाङ्गसंयुक्ता चतुर्विधबला चमूः।
बलमुख्यैस्सुनीता ते द्विषतां प्रतिवर्धिनी।।५५।।

व्याख्या - अष्टाङ्गसंयुक्ता -

यथा नागा हया योधाः पत्तयः कर्मकारकाः।
चारा दैशिकमुख्याश्च ध्वजिन्यष्टाङ्गिता मता।।

चतुर्विधबला मौल-वैत्र-भृत्याटविकैर्बलैर्युक्ता। बलमुख्यैस्सेनापतिभिस्सुनीता सम्यक्प्रापिता शिक्षिता वा । तव चमूः द्विषतां त्वच्छत्रूणाम् । प्रतिवर्धिनी प्रातिकूल्येन भेदिनी। दृढं भवतीति शेषः।।५५।।

May your army with its eightfold constituents (namely, elephants, horses, warriors, *pattis,* artisans, spies, the chief regional officers and the flag-bearing unit of the army), four sections of the army (hereditary soldiers, the staff-bearers, attendants, soldiers of the forest unit) and well-guided by their respective leaders, be stronger than that of your enemy. (55)

इत्येवमनुशास्यैनं ब्रह्मा लोकगुरुः पुनः।
धनुर्वेदं ग्राहयितुं वक्तुमेवोपचक्रमे।।५६।।

व्याख्या - इत्येवमितिप्रकारेण। अनुशास्य शिक्षयित्वा । तद्योग्यधर्मानुपदिश्येत्यर्थः । एवं पृथुं धनुर्वेदं शस्त्रविद्याम्। ग्राहयितुं प्रापयितुम्। पुनरपि वक्तुं धनुर्वेदं वेदस्वरूपं तन्मन्त्रं च कथयितुम् । उपचक्रमे लोकगुरुः। परमकारुणिकतया लोकप्रवर्तनाय

56a - Pri. Edn.$_1$ - °स्यैवं (for °स्यैनं)

स्वदर्शनजनितसन्तोषपरवशतयावस्थितं पृथुं बुभुत्सुं स्वयमेव मत्वा तेनाऽपृष्टोऽपि रहस्यं कथयतीति वेदितव्यं सुधीभिरिति।।

Then having instructed thus, Brahmā, the preceptor of the worlds, again started speaking in order to impart Dhanurveda. (56)

।। इति वैशम्पायननीतिप्रकाशिकायां सङ्गतिप्रदर्शनपूर्वकराजधर्मोपदेशो नाम प्रथमस्सर्गः।।

।। इति श्रीसीतारामकृतायां नीतिप्रकाशिकातत्त्वविवृतौ प्रथमः सर्गः।।

Here Ends the First Canto of the Nītiprakāśikā of Vaiśampāyana Titled "Instruction on the Royal Duties".

Here Ends the First Canto of the Tattvavivṛti of Sītārāma.

Colophon - T_1-।। इति श्रीमन्नीतिप्रकाशिकायां सङ्गतिप्रदर्शनपूर्वकराजधर्मोपदेशो नाम प्रथमस्सर्गः।।

T_1- ।। इति नीतिप्रकाशिकायां तत्त्वविवृतौ प्रथमः सर्गः। श्री गणेश प्रसन्नः।।

अथ द्वितीयस्सर्गः

धनुर्वेदविवेककथनम्

Second Canto

Imparting the True Knowledge of Dhanurveda

चतुष्पाच्च धनुर्वेदो रक्तवर्णश्चतुर्मुखः।
अष्टबाहुस्त्रिणेत्रश्च साङ्ख्यायनसगोत्रवान्।।१।।

व्याख्या - चतुष्पाच्चेत्यादि।। धनुर्वेदपुरुषध्यानप्रकारं दर्शयितुं तदाकारमाह। चतुष्पात्पाद - चतुष्ट्यवान्। रक्तवर्णो जातरूपसदृशरक्तः। चतुर्मुखः मण्डलाकारणे कण्ठलग्न-मुखचतुष्टयं धृतवान्। साङ्ख्यायनसगोत्रवान् साङ्ख्यायनो ब्रह्मा तत्समानं गोत्रं यस्य सः।। तन्मानसपुत्रत्वात्तद्गोत्रः। तथा च निरुक्तौ (?) -

सङ्ख्या परार्धपर्यन्ता तदयं साङ्ख्य उच्यते।
अयनं तस्य यस्मात्तत् ब्रह्मा साङ्ख्यायनस्स्मृतः।। इति ।।१।।

Dhanurveda has four limbs, is red in complexion, has four faces, eight arms, three eyes and belongs to the Sāṅkhyāyana *gotra*. (1)

वज्रं खड्गो धनुश्चक्रं दक्षबाहुचतुष्टये।
शतघ्नी च गदाशूलपट्टिशा वामबाहुषु।।२।

व्याख्या - दक्षो दक्षिणः। वामेतरः। पुण्यकर्मा दक्षो वै - दक्षिणश्च सः इति भारविः (?)।।२।।

In each of its right hands (Dhanurveda) has (the weapons) *vajra, khaḍga, dhanu* and *cakra,* while *śataghnī, gadā, śūla* and *paṭṭiśa* in each of its left hands. (2)

प्रयोगकोटीरयुतो नीत्यङ्गो मन्त्रकञ्चुकः।
उपसंहारहृदयः शस्त्रास्त्रोभयकुण्डलः।।३।।
अनेकवल्गिताकारभूषणः पिङ्गलेक्षणः।
जयमालापरिवृतो वृषारूढस्स उच्यते।।४।।

व्याख्या - प्रयोग आयुधप्रयोग एव। कोटीरं किरीटम्, तेन युतः। नीतिशास्त्रमेवाङ्गानि राजशास्त्रं यस्य। मन्त्राः चिन्तनं गायत्र्यादिमन्त्रा वा कञ्चुकं कवचं यस्य। उपसंहार एव हृदयम्मनो यस्य। शस्त्रास्त्र एवोभयकुण्डले कर्णोभयपार्श्वलम्बिनी यस्य सः। अनेक-वल्गितानि

4c - Pri. Edn., - 'पार्रि" (for 'पर्रि')

शस्त्राभ्यासाः तदाकाराणि तत्स्वरूपाणि भूषणानि यस्य। पिङ्गलेक्षणो हरितनेत्रद्वयवान्।
ललाटनेत्रान्ते रक्तवर्णः। जयः शत्रुपराजयलब्धमहिमा। स एव माला तया परिवृतः।।३-४।।

The application and use of the weapons form its crown, polity its trunk, *mantra*s its armour, withdrawal (of the weapons and missiles) its heart, and the weapons as well as the missiles form its pair of earrings. (3)

With skills in various types of weaponry forming its adornments, Dhanurveda has yellowish eyes with red corners. Adorned with the garlands in the form of victory he mounts on a bull. (4)

एतन्मन्त्रं प्रवक्ष्यामि वैरिजालनिकृन्तनम्।
आत्मसैन्यस्वपक्षाणामात्मनश्चाभिरक्षकम्।।५।।

व्याख्या - एतं मन्त्रमेतद्देवताकमन्त्रम्।।५।।

I shall now impart to you this *mantra* that cuts asunder the network of enemies and protects your army, associates and yourself. (5)

व्याख्या - मन्त्रोद्धारमाहादावित्यादि -

आदौ प्रणवमुच्चार्य नम इत्यक्षरे ततः।
वतेति भगपूर्वं तु धनुर्वेदाय चोच्चरेत्।।६।।

व्याख्या - भगपूर्वम्, भग इत्यक्षरद्वयपूर्वकम्। वतेति परम्। भगवत इत्यर्थः।।६।।

Having uttered the *praṇava* first, then the two letters *nama* and *vata* following the two words *bhaga*, one should utter *dhanurvedāya* (that is *oṁ namo bhagavate dhanurvedāya*). (6)

मां रक्ष रक्षेत्युच्चार्य मम शत्रूनथो वदेत्।
भक्षयेति द्विरुच्चार्य हुं फट् स्वाहेत्यथोच्चरेत्।।७।।

व्याख्या - अथो अन्त्यभागे ।।७।।

(Following this), uttering *māṁ rakṣa rakṣa*, one should say *mama śatrūn bhakṣaya* twice, and end with *huṁ phaṭ svāhā*. (7)

अहमेव ऋषिश्चास्य गायत्री छन्द उच्यते।
महेश्वरो देवतास्य विनियोगोऽरिनिग्रहे।।८।।

व्याख्या - अहमेव ब्रह्मैव।।८।।

I am verily its seer, Gāyatrī is its metre, Śiva the great God is its presiding deity and its application lies in overpowering the enemy. (8)

6c - T_1 - भगवत् (for भगपूर्वं)

द्वात्रिंशद्वर्णकमनुं वर्णसङ्ख्यासहस्रकैः।
जपित्वा सिद्धिमाप्नोति रिपूंश्चाप्यधितिष्ठति।।९।।

व्याख्या - मनुं मूलमन्त्रम्। वर्णसङ्ख्यासहस्रकैः मन्त्राक्षरवृत्ति द्वात्रिंशत्सहस्रैरित्यर्थः।।९।.

Uttering this *mantra* thirty-two thousand times, one attains success and vanquishes the enemies. (9)

सत्यं सत्यं पुनस्सत्यं त्रिर्वदामीह वेनज।
धनुर्वेदस्य विवृतिमथाख्यास्ये निबोध मे।।१०।।

व्याख्या - विवृतिं विवरणम्। निबोधावेहि। ॐ नमो भगवते धनुर्वेदाय मां रक्ष रक्ष मम शत्रुं बन्धय भक्षय हुं फट् स्वाहा इति मन्त्रप्रकारः।।१०।।

O son of Vena! Thrice I say this to be true.

Now I am imparting to you the detailed discussion of Dhanurveda which you should listen with alertness. (10)

मुक्तञ्चैव ह्यमुक्तञ्च मुक्तामुक्तमतः परम्।
मन्त्रमुक्तञ्च चत्वारि धनुर्वेदपदानि वै।।११।।

व्याख्या - मुक्तं हस्तमुक्तमायुधजातम्। अमुक्तं हस्त एव तिष्ठच्छत्रुमारकम्। मुक्तञ्च तदमुक्तञ्च मुक्तामुक्तम्। सोपसंहारमस्त्रम्। मन्त्रैर्मुक्तमुपसंहाररहितं मन्त्रमुक्तमिति शेषः।।११।।

The four limbs of Dhanurveda are the weapons that are hurled with the hand fully for striking (*mukta*), those that are not hurled (*amukta*), those that are simultaneously released and not released (*mukta–amukta*), and those that are released with the use of *mantras* (*mantra-mukta*). (11)

मुक्तं बाणादि विज्ञेयं खड्गादिकममुक्तकम्।
सोपसंहारमस्त्रं तु मुक्तामुक्तमुदाहृतम्।।१२।।

उपसंहाररहितं मन्त्रमुक्तमिहोच्यते।
चतुर्भिरेभिः पादैस्तु धनुर्वेदः प्रकाशते।।१३।।

व्याख्या - तस्यैव विवरणं मुक्तमित्यादि द्वाभ्याम्।।१२-१३।।

Mukta weapons are like the arrow and others, *Amukta* like the sword and others, the weapons that can be released and then withdrawn are *mukta–amukta;* (12)

10d - D_1 - 'तिबोध (for निबोध)

While the *mantra-mukta* ones are said to be those that cannot be withdrawn. Dhanurveda glows with these four limbs. (13)

शस्त्रमस्त्रञ्च प्रत्यस्त्रं परमास्त्रमितीव च।
चातुर्विध्यं धनुर्वेदे केचिदाहुर्धनुर्विदः।।१४।।

व्याख्या - पादचातुर्विध्ये मतान्तराण्याह शस्त्रमित्यादिना। प्रत्यस्त्रं निवारकास्त्रम्।। परमास्त्रं ब्रह्मास्त्रादि।।१४।।

(Referring to the weaponry), there are some experts of Dhanurveda who say that it has four varieties — weapon, missile, counter-missile and the ultimate missile. (14)

आदानञ्चैव सन्धानं विमोक्षस्संहृतिस्तथा।
धनुर्वेदश्चतुर्धेति वदन्तीति परे जगुः।।१५।।

व्याख्या - आदानं ग्रहणम्। सन्धानं प्रयोगः। विमोक्षः मोचनम्। संहृतिस्संहारः।।१५।।

On the other hand, there are those who also say that *ādāna* (holding), *sandhāna* (aiming), *vimokṣa* (releasing) and *saṁhṛti* (withdrawal) are the four (aspects of training) in wielding weapons in Dhanurveda. (15)

तत्राद्यं मतमालम्ब्य मुक्तामुक्तायुधान्यहम्।
द्वात्रिंशद्भेदतो वच्मि तत्रायं विस्तृतिक्रमः।।१६।।

व्याख्या - द्वात्रिंशद्भेदतो विद्यमानानीत्यर्थः। विस्तृतिः प्रपञ्चः।।१६।।

Of these, referring to the first opinion about the weapons of *mukta, amukta* and other types, I shall now elaborate the thirty-two sub-varieties of the former. (16)

धनुरिषुर्भिण्डवालश्शक्तिद्रुघणतोमराः।
नलिका लगुडः पाशश्चक्रं वै दन्तकण्टकः।।१७।।

भुसुण्डीति द्वादशैते मुक्तभेदाः प्रकीर्तिताः।
धनुर्वेदस्याद्यपादस्तवायं कथितो नृप।।१८।।

व्याख्या - धन्यते प्रार्थ्यते शूरैरिति धनुः। धनु ध्याने। इष्यतैच्छाविषयः क्रियत इति इषुः। इष इच्छायाम्। भिण्डमस्त्रधारणं वलयति श्लथयतेतीति भिण्डवालः। शत्रूनर्दयतीति शक्तिः। द्रुगुः वृक्षो हन्यतेऽनेनेति द्रुघणः। एवमग्रेऽप्यायुधवाचकशब्देषु व्युत्पत्तिरूह्या। द्वात्रिंशदायुधविवरणमग्रे वक्ष्यते। दन्तकण्टकस्तन्नामकायुधविशेषः। इति पूर्वोदाहृतप्रकारेण मुक्तभेदा मुक्तनामकधनुर्वेदाद्यपादप्रतिपादिताद्वादशायुधविशेषाः।।१८।।

17a - D_1 - 'र्बि' (for 'र्भि'), Pri. Edn.$_1$ - 'पाल' (for 'वाल')

17c - Pri. Edn.$_1$ - लगुडाः (for लगुडः)

Bow, arrow, *bhiṇḍivāla, śakti, drughaṇa, tomara, nalikā, laguḍa, pāśa, cakra, dantakaṇṭaka* and (17)

bhusuṇḍī — these are the twelve types of weapons of the *mukta* category. O king! Hereby I have told you the first portion of Dhanurveda. (18)

व्याख्या - धनुर्वेदद्वितीयपादप्रतिपादितांविंशतिविधायुधानां नामानि क्रमेण कथ्यन्ते। वज्रमित्यादिश्लोकद्वयेन -

वज्र[मीली] च परशुर्गोशीर्षमसिधेनुका ।
लवित्रमास्तरः कुन्तस्स्थूणः प्रासः पिनाककः।।१९।।

vajra, īlī, paraśu, gośīrṣa, asi-dhenukā, lavitra, āstara, kunta, sthūṇa, prāsa, pināka, (19)

गदा मुद्गरः सीरा मुसलः पट्टिशं तथा।
मौष्टिकं परिघश्चैव मयूखी च शतघ्निका ।।२०।।

gadā, mudgara, sīrā, musala, paṭṭiśa, mauṣṭika, parigha, mayūkhī and *śataghnī-* (20)

अमुक्ता विंशतिरिमे द्वितीयः पाद उच्यते।
मुक्तामुक्तानि शस्त्राणि द्वात्रिंशद्गणितानि ते।।२१।।

व्याख्या - अमुक्ताः स्थितिस्वभावाः। द्वात्रिंशत्, शस्त्रप्रतिपादकधनुर्विद्या प्रथमद्वितीयपादाभ्यां प्रतिपादिताः द्वात्रिंशदेवेत्यर्थः। गणितानि गणनपूर्वकं कथितानि।।२१।।

These twenty, being the weapons of the *amukta* variety, form the second section (quarter) of Dhanurveda. Thus both *mukta* and *amukta* weapons in all come to be thirty-two in number. (21)

व्याख्या - तृतीयपादप्रतिपादितान्यस्त्राणि नामतो निर्दिशति दण्डचक्रमित्यादिना -

दण्डचक्रं धर्मचक्रं कालचक्रं तथैव च।
ऐन्द्रचक्रं शूलवतं ब्रह्मशीर्षं च मोदकी।।२२।।
शिखरी धर्मपाशश्च तथा वरुणपाशकम्।
पैनाकास्त्रञ्च वायव्यं शुष्कार्द्रं शिखरास्त्रकम्।।२३।।

व्याख्या - शूलवतं शूलवतनामकम्। क्वचिच्छूलवरमिति वा पाठः। ब्रह्मशीर्ष ब्रह्मास्त्रादन्यत्। मोदकीत्युपनामकगदासंज्ञास्त्रम्। शिखर्युपनामकगदासंज्ञकास्त्रम्। शुष्कार्द्रं अशन्युपनामकेऽस्त्रम्। पिनाकिनोऽग्नेरिदं पैनाकम्।।२३।।

19a - Pri. Edn.$_1$, D$_1$ - °माला (for °मीली)

20c - Pri. Edn.$_1$ यौष्टिकं (for मौष्टिकं)

Daṇḍacakra, dharmacakra, kālacakra, aindracakra, śūlavata, brahmaśīrṣa and *modakī;* (22)

similarly, *śikharī, dharmapāśa, varuṇapāśaka, painākāstra, vāyavya, śuṣkārdra, śikharāstraka,* (23)

क्रौञ्चास्त्रं हयशीर्षञ्च विद्याविद्येऽस्त्रसंज्ञिके।
गान्धर्वास्त्रं नन्दनास्त्रं वर्षणं शोषणं तथा।।२४।।

व्याख्या - नन्दनास्त्रं विद्याधरदेवताकम्। तदस्त्रादसीनां प्रादुर्भावः इति भावः। नन्दनस्यैवासि-रत्नमिति नामान्तरम्।।२४।।

krauñcāstra, hayaśīrṣa, the missiles named *vidyā* and *avidyā, gāndharvāstra, nandanāstra, varṣaṇa* as well as *śoṣaṇa,* (24)

प्रस्वापनप्रशमने सन्तापननिवापने ।
मदनं मानवास्त्रञ्च नायनं तामसं तथा।।२५।।

व्याख्या - प्रशमनं शत्रूणां क्रोधशामकम्। मदनं रिपूणामुन्मादजनकं मानवास्त्रं शत्रुमपसार्य दूरे प्रक्षेपकम्। तामसं रिपूणामज्ञानजनकम्। सर्वेष्वस्त्रेषु स्वस्वनामानुरूपकार्यकारित्वं व्युत्पत्तिमहिम्ना सुधीभिर्विभावनीयम्।।२५।।

prasvāpana, praśamana, santāpana, nivāpana, madana, mānavāstra, nāyana, as well as *tāmasa,* (25)

संवर्तं मौसलं सत्यं सौरं मायास्त्रमेव च।
त्वाष्ट्रमस्त्रञ्च सोमास्त्रं संहारं मानसं तथा।।२६।।

व्याख्या - मौसलं मुसलव्यूहनिर्माणसामर्थ्यवत्। असुरादन्यविधं मायास्त्रम्। इन्द्रजालादि-मायाकारकम्। संहारं प्राणवियोजकम्। मानसं मनस्सङ्कल्पसाधकम्।।२६।।

saṁvarta, mausala, satya, saura, māyāstra, tvāṣṭra, astra, somāstra, saṁhāra, "Destroyer merely by the psychic faculty", (26)

नागास्त्रं गारुडास्त्रञ्च शैवेषीकेऽस्त्रसंज्ञिके।
चतुश्चत्वारि चैतानि सोपसंहारकाणि वै।।२७।।

व्याख्या - नागास्त्रं सर्परूपेण शत्रुबन्धकमस्त्रम्। शैलं वायव्याद्यस्त्रबाधावारणायपर्वतपङ्क्ति-सृष्टिहेतुकम्। उपसंहारकाणि मुक्तामुक्तानीत्यर्थः।।२७।।

nāgāstra, gāruḍāstra, the two missiles named *śaiva* and *iṣīkā,* — these are verily the forty four ones that are *mukta–amukta.* (27)

व्याख्या - उपसंहाराणामपि तृतीयपाठकथनीयत्वादत्रैव तानपि नामतो वक्ति क्रमप्राप्तान् -

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25d - T_1 - सौमनं (for नायनं)

27b - Pri. Edn.$_2$, D_1, T_1, - शैलेषीका" (for शैवेषीकें)

वक्ष्यामि चोपसंहारान् क्रमप्राप्तान्निबोध मे।
यज्ज्ञात्वा वैरिमुक्तानि चास्त्राणि शमयिष्यसि।।२८।।

व्याख्या - क्रमप्राप्तानुपसंहारकतयानुपदमेव बुद्ध्याधिरूढान्। मे मम। वदनादिति शेषः। वैरिमुक्तानि चेत्यत्र चकारात् स्वप्रयुक्तस्यास्त्रस्य मन्त्रविशेषेण पुनरात्मनि स्थापनरूपसामर्थ्यमपि द्योत्यते। उपसंहारपरिज्ञाने पुनः प्रयोगानर्हतयास्त्राणां प्राप्तप्रायत्वमापद्यते इत्युपसंहारकथनमिति भावः।।२८।।

Now (while referring to these) you learn from me the withdrawals of weapons that have been handed down in order of the intensity of destruction knowing which you shall be able to pacify the missiles released by your enemies — (28)

सत्यवान् सत्यकीर्तिश्च रभसो दृष्ट एव च।
प्रतिहारतरश्चैवाप्यवाङ्मुखपराङ्मुखौ।।२९।।

Satyavān and *satyakīrti*, each of which can be perceived with speed, and are greater in the force of striking back, *avāṅmukha* and *parāṅmukha*, (29)

दृढनाभोऽलक्ष्यलक्ष्यावाविलश्च सुनाभकः।
दशाक्षश्शतवक्त्रश्च दशशीर्षशतोदरौ।।३०।।

व्याख्या - [आविलः] अनिलस्तन्नामा। सुनाभ एव सुनाभकः। स्वार्थे कप्रत्ययः।।३०।।

dṛḍhanābha, alakṣya, lakṣya, āvila, sunābhaka, daśākṣa, śatavaktra, daśaśīrṣa, śatodara, (30)

धर्मनाभो महानाभस्तुन्दनाभस्तु नाभकः।
ज्योतिषो विमलश्चैव नैरास्यकृशनावुभौ।।३१।।

व्याख्या - नैरास्यश्च कृशनश्चेत्युभौ द्वित्वसङ्ख्यावन्तौ। न तूभाविति पृथग्ग्रहणम्।।३१।।

dharmanābha, mahānābha, tundanābha, nābhaka, jyotiṣa, vimala, both *nairāsya* and *kṛśana*, (31)

योगन्धरस्सनिद्रश्च दैत्यः प्रमथजस्तथा ।
साचिर्माली धृतिर्माली वृतिमान् रुचिरस्तथा ।।३२।।

व्याख्या - दैत्यस्तन्नामकः। न तु दितिगर्भसंभूतः। अत्रावयवार्थेनार्थग्रहणस्यायुक्तत्वात् इत्यादिः।।३२।।

29cd- Pri. Edn.$_2$, D$_1$ - °श्चैवा° (for °श्चैवाप्य°)

30b - TV always reads अनिल in the place of आविल as in *NP*

31a - D$_1$ °भो (for °भस्°)

31ab- Pri. Edn.$_1$, T$_1$ - °भो धुंधु; D$_1$- °भो तुंदु° - (for °भस्तुन्द°)

31c - Pri. Edn.$_2$, D$_1$ - विमलकुलश्चैव (for विमलश्चैव)

yogandhara, sanidra, daitya, pramathaja, sācirmālī, dhṛtirmālī, vṛtimān, rucira, (32)

पित्र्यस्सौमनसश्चैव विधूतमकरौ तथा।
करलीरो धनरती धान्यं वै कामरूपकः।।३३।।

व्याख्या - धनश्च रतिश्च धनरती। पुल्लिङ्गद्विवचनम्।।३३।।

pitṛya, saumanasa, vidhūta, makara, karalīra, dhana and *rati, dhānya, kāmarūpaka,* (33)

जृम्भकावरणौ चैव मोहः कामरुचिस्तथा।
वरुणस्सर्वदमनसन्धानस्सर्वनाभकः।।३४।।

व्याख्या - ननूपसंहारेष्वेकोनपञ्चाशदुद्देशात्पूर्वं चतुश्चत्वारिंशदस्त्रकथनादपरितनपञ्चोपसहार्याणि कानीत्याशङ्क्य कङ्कालादिपञ्चास्त्राण्युक्त्वा चैतेषु तदुपसंहारांश्च विवेचयन् तां शङ्कां परिहरति।।३४।।

the twin *jṛmbhaka, āvaraṇa, moha, kāmaruci, varuṇa,* and the overpowering as well as that can be aimed at all, namely, *sarvanābhaka,* (34)

व्याख्या - कङ्कालेत्यादिना -

कङ्कालास्त्रं मौसलास्त्रं कापालास्त्रञ्च कङ्कणम्।
पैशाचास्त्रञ्चेति पञ्चाप्यसुरास्त्राणि भूपते।।३५।।

व्याख्या - असुरास्त्राणि मयशम्बरमारीचविद्युज्जिह्वेन्द्रजित्सृष्टानि। तत्र कानिचित् सृज्यमानान्यपि सर्वज्ञतया सुप्रभया पूर्वमेव तदुपसंहाराः सृष्टा इत्यविरोधः।।३५।।

and (finally) O king, the group of fivefold demoniac missiles — *kaṅkālāstra, mausalāstra, kāpālāstra, kaṅkaṇāstra* and *paiśācāstra.* (35)

सत्यवान् सर्वदमनः कामरूपस्तथैव च।
योगन्धरोऽप्यलक्ष्यश्चाप्यसुरास्त्रविघातकाः।।३६।।

चतुश्चत्वारिंशदेते पञ्चान्योन्यविमर्दकाः।
मेलयित्वा च पञ्चाशदेकोना ह्यस्त्रनामकाः।।३७।।

सर्वमोचननामा तु सुप्रभातनयो महान्।
मुक्तामुक्ताखिलशमो मद्वरात्प्रथितः परः।।३८।

व्याख्या - मन्त्रमुक्तषडस्त्रप्रतिपादनेन जयापुत्रपञ्चाशत्वं बोधयति - मन्त्रमुक्तञ्चापीत्यादिना सार्धश्लोकेन।।

33c - Pri. Edn.$_2$, D$_1$ - करवीरो (for करलीरो)

In a similar manner, *satyavān, sarvadamana, kāmarūpa, yogandhara* and *alakṣya* are also destroyers of the demoniac missiles. (36)

The above forty-four and adding to them the later five which can be utilized against one another makes the group named missiles of forty-nine in all. (37)

Moreover, there is the great son of Suprabhā, named Sarvamocana, who through my blessing is well known to be pacifying all the *mukta* and *amukta* varieties of weapons. (38)

अयं तृतीयपादस्स्याद्धनुर्वेदस्य भूपते।
मन्त्रमुक्तञ्चापि वक्ष्ये सावधानमनाश्शृणु।३९।।

O king, this is the third section of Dhanurveda. And now I shall also narrate the section of the weapons to be released by using *mantras* — listen to it with an alert mind. (39)

विष्णुचक्रं वज्रमस्त्रं ब्रह्मास्त्रं कालपाशकम्।
नारायणं पाशुपतं नाशाम्यमितरास्त्रकैः।।४०।।

I destroy enemies with these missiles — *viṣṇucakra, vajrāstra, brahmāstra, kālapāśaka, nārāyaṇāstra* and *pāśupatāstra.* (40)

स्वान्यसंहारकाभावान्मन्त्रमुक्तान्यमूनि षट्।
अयञ्चतुर्थपादस्स्याद्धनुर्वेदस्य सम्मतः।।४१।।

व्याख्या - विश्वामित्रवसिष्ठयोर्युद्धे ब्रह्मास्त्रेणैव तच्छान्तम् । ब्राह्मं ब्राह्मेण तेजसेत्यादिना ब्रह्मास्त्रादीनामुपसंहारदर्शनात् कथं मन्त्रमुक्तत्वमित्याशङ्कां मन्त्रमुक्तपदस्य विशेषार्थपर्यवसायित्वकथनेन परिहरति स्वान्यसंहारकाभावादित्यादिना - तथा च स्वव्यतिरिक्तोपसंहारकमन्त्ररहितमेव मन्त्रमुक्तमित्युच्यते। इति सर्वञ्चतुरस्त्रम्। अयं मन्त्रमुक्तविचारः। सम्मतः नीतिज्ञानुमत इत्यर्थः।।४१।।

These six that are to be released with *mantras* also have *mantras* for their withdrawal. That this is the fourth section of Dhanurveda as the opinion of experts in this science. (41)

व्याख्या - शस्त्राणि द्वात्रिंशदेवेति बोधयितुमितिहासमाह शृण्वित्यादिना-

श्रुणु चाप्यपरं भूयो विशेषं वच्मि तेऽनघ।
पुरा दैवासुरे युद्धे निर्जिता दानवैस्सुराः ।।४२।।

व्याख्या - अपरं विशेषं जयासृष्ट्यनन्तरजातप्रभेदम्।।४२।।

O pure one! Also listen to this which I want to tell you. In the earlier times, gods were vanquished by the demons. (42)

धनुर्वेदाविशेषज्ञाः पलायनपरायणाः।
दधीचिन्ऋषिमालोक्य तस्मै दत्वायुधानि ते।।४३।।

व्याख्या - धनुर्वेदाविशेषज्ञाः धनुर्वेदविशेषानभिज्ञाः। अत एव पलायनपरायणास्सन्तो दधीचिं तन्नामकं महर्षिंमालोक्य पलायनमार्ग इति शेषः। दत्वा दैत्येभ्यो रक्षणार्थं न्यासविधिना तत्सात्कृत्वा।।४३।।

Thoroughly knowing in Dhanurveda but prone to escape (from them), they saw the sage Dadhīci on way whom they entrusted with their weapons. (43)

मन्दरं पर्वतश्रेष्ठं वस्तुकामा द्रुतं ययुः।
ते तत्रोषुर्बहूनब्दानिन्द्रमुख्या भयात्सुराः।।४४।।

व्याख्या - पर्वतश्रेष्ठमुद्दिश्येति शेषः। ऊषुः स्थिताः।।४४।।

Then they went away quickly with the desire to take shelter on the excellent mountain Mandara. Along with Indra as their leader, they stayed there for many years out of fear from the demons. (44)

दधीचिरपि तान्यत्त्वा दैतेयेभ्यो ह्यरक्षत।
शल्यभूतानि तस्यर्षेरायुधानि तपोबलात्।।४५।।

व्याख्या - अत्त्वा भक्षयित्वा। तपोबलाच्छल्यभूतानि शरीरास्थ्यन्तर्गतानि।।४५।।

Dadhīci consumed them (that is, the weapons) and protected them from the sons of Diti. By the power of the penance of the sage the weapons were incorporated in his bones. (45)

अथ मां शरणं प्राप्ता देवास्सेन्द्रपुरोगमाः।
पराजिता विलीनाश्च मन्दरे भयविह्वलाः।।४६।।

व्याख्या - अथ बहुकालमन्दरप्रवासानन्तरम्। मां ब्रह्माणम्।।४६।।

(He understood that) the gods, with Indra as their leader, had come to his refuge being defeated and taking shelter in the Mandara mountain due to fear. (46)

अथाददां धनुर्वेदं देवेभ्यस्सरहस्यकम्।
चतुष्पादयुतं साङ्गं तेषामनुजिघृक्षया ।।४७।।

व्याख्या - अथ मामुद्दिश्य शरणप्राप्त्यनन्तरम्। अददां दत्तवानस्मि।।४७।।

Then I imparted Dhanurveda to the gods with all its secrets, four sections and limbs with the desire to take revenge (on demons). (47)

46c - T_1 - निलीना° (for विलीना°)

अथ लब्धवरा मत्तो योद्धुं दैतेयसत्तमान्।
दधीचिं प्रस्थिता दृष्ट्वा तान्ययाचन्त सङ्गताः।।४८।।

व्याख्या - लब्धवराः प्राप्तधनुर्विद्याः। प्रस्थिताः। अभिषेणनकौतुकाः। दधीचिं दृष्ट्वा, तदाश्रम इति शेषः। तानि पूर्वदत्तायुधानि अयाचन्त। युद्धे जयासाधनार्थं देह इत्यब्रुवन् इत्यर्थः।।४८।।

Thereafter, on receiving blessing (of Dhanurveda) from me, they set off to fight the best of the demons; they together asked Dadhīci (for the weapons entrusted with him). (48)

आयुधापेक्षिणां श्रुत्वा वचनमृषिसत्तमः।
शल्यभूतानि सञ्चिन्त्य कृपार्द्रस्तानथाब्रवीत्।।४९।।

व्याख्या - शल्यभूतानि तदवलेपदर्शनजनितस्वकृतास्येन महिम्ना च शल्यभूतानि।।४९।।

On hearing the words of request to them who were desirous of their weapons, the sage thought of the weapons which had now become a part of his bones and addressed them out of compassion, (49)

साधनान्यस्थिभूतानि मम देहे दिवौकसः।
गोजिह्वया लेहयित्वा विशसित्वायुधानि वः।।५०।।

व्याख्या - साधनानि युद्धोपकरणानि। लेहयित्वा लेहनव्याजेनमद्देहं शकलीकृत्य विशसित्वा कर्तनपूर्वकं लेहयित्वा।।५०।।

O gods! The instruments of war are incorporated in my body; you will have to cut my body into pieces with *gojihvā*. (50)

मदंशात्तान्युपादाय जयध्वं युधि शात्रवान्।
मम चैवं वधो दृष्टो नात्र कार्या विचारणा।।५१।।

व्याख्या - न चैवं दुर्मरणं तव स्यादित्याशङ्कयाह - ममेति। दृष्टो ब्रह्मणा सङ्कल्पित इत्यर्थः। इदं तपसा दृष्टमिति।।५१।।

You may collect the parts of my body and then vanquish the enemies. You need not ponder over (that is, hesitate in) killing me in this manner. (51)

व्याख्या - देवकार्यार्थं देहविनियोगे मम नरकं न घटत इत्याह देवेति -

देवोपयोगिनं देहमिमं कृत्वा दिवं व्रजे।
यूयं स्वकार्यं संसाध्य मम लोकान्प्रयच्छत।।५२।।

"I shall attain heaven by using my body for the purpose of the gods; and on your part, you may fulfil your task and proceed to my world." (52)

51a - Pri. Edn.$_1$ - मदंगात्°, D$_1$ - मदंमात् (for मदंशात्°)

ते तस्य वचनं श्रुत्वा तथा चक्रुर्दिवौकसः।
आत्मकार्यगरीयस्त्वात्तत्कार्यं प्रतिपेदिरे।।५३।।

व्याख्या - आत्मकार्यगरीयस्त्वादवश्यकरणीयत्वेनात्मकार्यस्य श्रेष्ठत्वात्। प्रतिपेदिरेऽङ्गीकृतवन्तः।।५३।।

On hearing his words, the gods did so. They performed this act due to the greater need for the fulfilment of their own work. (53)

व्याख्या - तर्हि ब्रह्महत्याश्रयीभूतं किमित्याशङ्कयाह गोमुखमिति -

गोमुखं ब्रह्महत्यापि विवेश नृपसत्तम।
देवसन्तोषणाल्लोकान् शाश्वतान् स ऋषिर्ययौ ।।५४।।

O best of the kings! The sin of killing a brāhmaṇa also entered the *gomukha*, while that sage entered the eternal worlds by satisfying the gods. (54)

तदाप्रभृति लोका वै न पश्यन्तीह गोमुखम्।
प्रातः पुरुषशार्दूल तद्दोषगतमानसाः।।५५।।

व्याख्या - प्रातः पुण्यवस्तुदर्शनम्। प्रातःकालविहितम्। मध्याह्नादौ कदाचित्पापिदर्शनेऽपि तावद्दोषो नास्तीति प्रातःपदेन सूचितम्। कुतः, तद्दोषगतमानसाः स्मृततद्दोषा इत्यर्थः।।५५।।

From then onwards, O tiger among men! The people of the world remember this crime at dawn and never have the sight of *gomukha*. (55)

एकत्रिंशच्च कङ्कालास्सा चैका च कशेरुका।
द्वात्रिंशन्निर्गता देहात्तस्यर्षेस्सुमहात्मनः।।५६।।

व्याख्या - कङ्कालरश्शरीरास्थि। कशेरुका पृष्ठास्थि। स्याच्छरीरास्थि कङ्कालः पृष्ठास्थि च कशेरुका इत्युभयत्रामरः (२.६.६९) ।।५६।।

From the body of that great sage emerged thirty-two (weapons), — thirty-one from the bones and one from the backbone. (56)

यद्यदङ्गाश्रितञ्चास्थि यद्यद्रूपमगान्मुनेः।
तत्तदस्थ्युद्गतं शस्त्रं तत्तदाकारकं ह्यभूत्।।५७।।

व्याख्या - केषाञ्चिदायुधानां ह्रस्वत्वम्। केषाञ्चिदुच्चत्वं विलक्षणवर्णत्वञ्चैकजातास्थीनां कथमित्याशङ्कयोच्चावचत्वप्राप्तिकं कारणमाह यदिति।।५७।।

The weapon emerging from each bone situated in its specific location and from the body of the sage, took the shape of that bone. (57)

तीक्ष्णस्वभावाद्गर्वाच्च दधीचिमुपताप्य तु।
तद्भक्षितान्यायुधानि तेन शल्यीकृतानि वै।।५८।।

व्याख्या - तीक्ष्णस्वभावात्स्वभावतैक्ष्ण्यात् गर्वात् अस्थिनिगरणकर्तुरन्तर्धानतीक्ष्णस्वभावादन्तर्दाहः कर्तव्य इत्यहङ्कारात् तेन तपश्शक्तिमता शल्यीकृतान्यस्त्राकारकाणि कृतानि। वै निश्चये।।५८।।

Due to their sharp nature and glory, those weapons that were protected by the sage in the form of his bones had tormented him (due to heat). (58)

शस्त्राणि लोके द्वात्रिंशत्प्रचरिष्यन्ति पार्थिव।
कशेरुकोद्गतं वज्रमिन्द्रहस्तगतं विना ।।५९।।

व्याख्या - लोके भूलोके। वज्रायुधधारणे नराणामसामर्थ्यात्तद्विनेति।।५९।।

And now O king, they shall be known to the world as thirty-two in number, without *vajra* that emerged from the spine and which was now in Indra's hands. (59)

धनुर्वेदस्य माहात्म्यान्निर्जिता दानवास्सुरैः।
भूलोके त्वावधीकृत्य धनुरादि चरिष्यति।।६०।।

व्याख्या - धनुर्वेदस्य धनुर्विद्याग्रहणस्य। त्वा त्वाम्। अवधीकृत्य प्रवर्तकगुरुमाश्रित्य धनुरादि चरिष्यतीत्यन्वयः।।६०।।

Due to the greatness of Dhanurveda the demons were vanquished by the gods. The bow and the other (weapons) shall henceforth be known in the world by the name of the respective preceptors who would instruct in wielding them. (60)

धनुर्वेदविदं त्वां तु समाश्रित्य नृपोत्तमाः।
नीतिमन्तो भविष्यन्ति मत्प्रसादान्न संशयः ।।६१।।

व्याख्या - नीतिमन्तो राजशास्त्राभिज्ञाः। न त्वेदृताशा दृष्टा मया। कुत इत्याशङ्कयाह - मत्प्रसादादिति।।६१।।

By my grace, the best of the kings who know Dhanurveda shall resort to you and shall surely grasp this *nīti* (polity). (61)

इत्येतत्कथितं वत्स माहात्म्यं वेदसम्मितम् ।
शस्त्रोत्पत्तिश्च कथिता किं भूयश्श्रोतुमिच्छसि ।।६२।।

Thus I have, O child, imparted to you this great subject in accordance with the Vedas and the evolution of the weapons. What else do you wish to know? (62)

व्याख्या - वेदसम्मितं धनुर्वेदप्रतिपाद्यम् । उत्तरकथाप्रश्नं बोधयति किं भूय इति ।।६२।।

धनुर्वेदस्योपदेशमिमं योऽधिगमिष्यति।
त्वत्कृते मत्कृते सोऽथ सर्वान् कामानवाप्नुयात् ।।६३।।

व्याख्या - अधिगमिष्यति ज्ञास्यति। सर्वान् कामानवाप्नुयादिति शास्त्राध्ययनस्य प्रयोजनकथनम्।।६३।।

He who shall get this knowledge of Dhanurveda will be able to fulfil all his desires. (63)

पारीक्षित महाबुद्धिः पृथुश्श्रुत्वा विधेर्वचः।
हृदयस्थं ततो भावं द्रष्टुं समुपचक्रमे।।६४।।

व्याख्या - पारीक्षित जनमेजय। महाबुद्धिरिति पृथुविशेषणम्। भावमभिप्रायम्।।६४।।

The intelligent son of Parīkṣita heard the words of the creator, knew his inner wish and proceeded to ask him. (64)

।। इति वैशम्पायननीतिप्रकाशिकायां धनुर्वेदविवेककथनं नाम द्वितीयस्सर्गः।।

।। इति श्रीसीतारामकृतायां नीतिप्रकाशिकातत्त्वविवृतौ द्वितीयस्सर्गः।।

Here Ends the Second Canto of the Nītiprakāśikā of Vaiśampāyana Titled "Instruction on Imparting the True Knowledge of Dhanurveda".

Here Ends the Second Canto of the Tattvavivṛti of Sītārāma

Colophon - Pri. Edn.$_2$, D_1, T_1,

T_1. श्रीमन्नीतिशास्त्रप्रकाशिकातत्त्वविवृतौ द्वितीयस्सर्गः।।

D_2. ।। इति श्रीमन्नीतिप्रकाशिकायां धनुर्वेदविवेककथनं नाम द्वितीयस्सर्गः।।

अथ तृतीयस्सर्गः

खड्गोत्पत्तिकथनम्

Third Canto

Narration of the Origin of the Sword

लोकनाथ नमस्तेऽस्तु सर्वाश्चर्याश्रय प्रभो।
उत्पादितो मया खड्गः पूर्वमित्युदितं त्वया ।।१।।

व्याख्या - अथ पृथुः खड्गोत्पत्तिः प्रष्टुं ब्रह्माणं गुरुं नमस्करोति लोकनाथेति। सर्वेषाञ्चतुर्दश-भुवनान्तर्गतानाम्। आश्चर्याणां बुद्धीन्द्रियविकासकानाम्। आश्रय आवासभूतः।।१।।

O Lord of the worlds, O Master! Salutations to you. You are the resort of all the wonderful things. You said that the sword was created by you earlier. (1)

खड्गः कदा हि जनितस्त्वया केनेह हेतुना।
कस्त्वत्सकाशात्प्रथममग्रहीदसिमुत्तमम्।।२।।

व्याख्या - प्रश्नप्रकारः। खड्ग इत्यादिना।।२।।

When and for what purpose was the sword created? Who was the first to receive the most excellent sword from you? (2)

परम्परा तु का तस्य भूलोकप्रापणी विभो।
पूर्वाचार्यञ्च खड्गस्य मम ब्रूहि पितामह।।३।।

व्याख्या - परम्परा शिष्यप्रशिष्यसन्ततिः। तस्य खड्गस्य भूलोकप्रापणी लोकेप्रचारयित्री। पूर्वाचार्यं प्रथमप्रतिगृहीतारम्।।३।।

O Lord, what is its tradition on this terrestrial region? O Grandsire, please tell me about its first preceptor. (3)

स तद्वचस्समाकर्ण्य प्रोवाचेदं पितामहः।
यत्र येन निमित्तेन यथासौ जनितः पुरा ।।४।।

व्याख्या - पितामहः ब्रह्मा। येन निमित्तेन येन कारणेन। यथा येन प्रकारेणन। असौखड्गः।।४।

On hearing his words, the Grandsire spoke about where and for what reason it was created earlier. (4)

2a - T_1 - वा (for हि)

वेनपुत्र प्रवक्ष्यामि खड्गसम्भवमुत्तमम्।
सावधानमनाश्श्रुत्वा सर्वत्र जयमाप्स्यसि।।५।

व्याख्या - वेनस्य तन्नामकराज्ञः पुत्रः।।५।।

O son of Vena, I shall expound the most excellent (that is, unique) origin of the sword; on hearing it with an alert mind you shall secure victory everywhere. (5)

विशीर्णे कार्मुके राजन्प्रक्षीणेषु च वाजिषु।
खड्गेन शक्यते युद्धे साध्वात्मा परिरक्षितुम्।।६।।

व्याख्या - विशीर्णे खण्डिते। प्रक्षीणेषु मृतेषु। साधु सम्यक्।।६।।

O king, when the bow is broken and when the horses are destroyed, it is possible to protect one's own self efficiently in the battle with the sword. (6)

शरासनधरांश्चैव गदाशक्तिधरांस्तथा।
एकः खड्गधरो वीरस्समर्थः प्रतिबाधितुम्।।७।।

व्याख्या - शराः बाणाः। आसनं तस्याधारः तान्। एवकारश्चाप्यर्थकः। सर्वायुधधरांश्चापीत्यर्थः।
प्रतिबाधितुं वैपरीत्येन हन्तुम्।।७।।

The brave and the lone wielder of the sword is capable to counteract the wielders of bow and arrows, mace and *śakti* even single-handedly. (7)

आयुधेभ्यो वरः खड्गस्तस्माल्लोकेषु विश्रुतः।
मया सृष्टः पुरा राजन् कस्मिंश्चित्कारणान्तरे।।८।।

व्याख्या - यस्मात्सर्वेभ्य आयुधेभ्यश्चोत्कृष्टसामर्थ्यवान्। तत्र हेतुर्मया सृष्टत्वम् कारणान्तरे निमित्तान्तरे।।८।।

Being the best among all the weapons, the sword is thus well known in the worlds. O king, it was created by me in early times for a specific reason. (8)

व्याख्या - तत्कारणमाह हिरण्यकशिपुरिति -

हिरण्यकशिपुश्चैव हिरण्याक्षो विरोचनः।
शम्बरो विप्रचित्तिश्च प्रह्लादो नमुचिर्बलिः।।९।।

Hiraṇyakaśipu, Hiraṇyākṣa, Virocana, Śambara, Vipracitti, Prahlāda, Namuci and so also Bali — (9)

एते चान्ये च बहवस्सगणा दैत्यदानवाः।
धर्मसेतुमतिक्रम्य देवैर्योद्धुमुपाक्रमन्।।१०।।

व्याख्या - दैत्या दितिकुमाराः। दानवा दनुनाम्न्यास्सुताः। धर्मसेतुं धर्मसीमानम्। अतिक्रम्योल्लङ्घ्य। उपाक्रमन्नारभन्।।१०।।

These and many other sons of Diti and Danu began to war with the gods transgressing the limits of righteousness. (10)

व्याख्या - खड्गसृष्टिप्रदेशमाह तदेत्यादिना -

तदा हिमवतश्शृङ्गे नानाधातुविराजिते।
शतयोजनविस्तारे पुष्पितद्रुमकानने।।११।।

व्याख्या - तदा धर्महाससमये नानाधातुभिस्स्वर्णरूप्यादिभिः विराजिते। शतयोजनविस्तारे शतयोजनसङ्ख्याकपरिमण्डलवति। हिमवतश्शृङ्गे प्रधानशिखरे।।११।।

Then on the summit of the Himavān which is adorned with several metals, 100 *yojanas* in expanse and with forests full of trees and blossoms, (11)

यज्ञं ह्यकरवंस्तत्र सर्वलोकार्थसिद्धये।
ततो वर्षसहस्रान्ते त्वद्भुतं समजायत।।१२।।

व्याख्या - अकरवं कृतवानस्मि। स्वस्य यज्ञकरणे प्रयोजनमाह - सर्वेति सर्वलोकानाह समस्त-जनानाम्। अर्थः परलोकसाधनरूपः तस्य सिद्धिश्शिक्षा। तस्यैतत्। यज्ञोपक्रमणानन्तरं वर्षसहस्रान्तरे यज्ञावसाने। अद्भुतमाश्चर्यम्।।१२।।

I performed a sacrifice for the achievement of good of all the worlds. At that time, when a thousand years (of penance) were over, a miracle occurred. (12)

नभोऽग्निज्वालयोद्भास्यं द्योतयज्जगतीतलम्।
विकीर्याग्निं तथा भूतमुत्थितञ्चाग्निकुण्डतः।।१३।।

व्याख्या - नभोऽन्तरिक्षम्। अग्नेराहवनीयाग्नेः। ज्वालयोद्भास्य उत्थानसमये वेगादग्निज्वालया चिरं प्रकाशयदित्यर्थः। जगतीतलं भूप्रदेशम्। द्योतयत्स्वदेहकान्त्या प्रकाशयत्। अग्निं स्वोत्पत्तियोग्यम्। विकीर्य प्रसार्य। अग्निकुण्डतो भूतमुत्थितमिति योजना।।१३।।

As the flames of fire brightly illuminated the sky, lit up the surface of the earth and spread everywhere, a person arose from the fireplace. (13)

नीलोत्पलसवर्णन्तत्तीक्ष्णदंष्ट्रं कृशोदरम्।
सुप्रांशु दुर्घर्षतरं ज्वालमालासमाकुलम्।।१४।।

व्याख्या - भूतमेव वर्णयति नीलोत्पलेत्यादिना। सुप्रांश्वत्युन्नतम्। दुर्घर्षतरमितरैरत्यन्तमघर्षणीयम्। ज्वालानां देहभासां मालासमाकुलं व्याप्तम्।।१४।।

It had the colour of the blue lotus, sharp teeth, a narrow mid-part, was tall (long), more inaccessible than others and covered by the flames of fire. (14)

रक्ताक्षं क्रूरनिर्ह्रादं सर्वप्राणिभयङ्करम्।
स्वतेजसातिरौद्रेण द्रष्टुर्दृष्टिविलोपकम्।।१५।।

व्याख्या - क्रूरनिर्ह्रादं भयङ्करक्रेङ्कारयुक्तम्। द्रष्टृणां द्रष्टेर्विलोपकम्। अतिक्रूराकारत्वाद्रष्टुमशक्यमित्यर्थः।।१५।।

Red-eyed and having a harsh (cruel) sound, terrifying all creatures, it dazzled the sight of the beholders by its lustre and extremely frightening form. (15)

व्याख्या - तादृशभूतसमुत्पत्तिकाल उत्पातानाह तस्मिन्नित्यादिना -

तस्मिन्नुत्पतमाने च प्रचचाल वसुन्धरा ।
महोर्मिकलिलावर्तश्चुक्षुभे च महोदधिः।।१६।।

व्याख्या - उत्पतमाने प्रोद्यमाने। महोर्मिभिः कलिला व्याकुलाः आवर्ता अम्भसां भ्रमयः यस्य सः। तादृशस्सन् चुक्षुभे क्षुब्धोऽभूत्।।१६।।

The earth shook vigorously when it arose and the ocean was agitated with high waves and whirlpools. (16)

पेतुरुल्का दिवो घोराश्शाखाश्च मुमुचुर्द्रुमाः।
तद्दृष्ट्वा सर्वभूतानि प्राव्यथन्त मुहुर्मुहुः।।१७।।

व्याख्या - दिव अन्तरिक्षात्। उल्का अङ्गारमात्रशेषकाष्ठाः। उल्का स्यान्निर्गतज्वालेत्यमरः (१.५७.२४) । शाखा द्रुमशाखाः।।१७।।

Meteors showered on the earth and the trees shed their huge branches. On seeing this all the creatures were disturbed again and again. (18)

महर्षिसुरगन्धर्वानब्रुवं भयविह्वलान्।
मयैवं चिन्तितं भूतमसिर्नामैष वीर्यवान्।।१८।।

व्याख्या - अब्रुवम्। तमिति। शेषः।।१८।।

I addressed the great sages, demons and the *gandharvas* who were agitated with fear about this being. This brave one was named by me as *asi* — the sword. (18)

18b - Pri. Edn.$_1$ - ᵒब्रवन् (for ᵒब्रुवं)

रक्षणार्थाय लोकस्य वधाय च सुरद्विषाम्।
ततस्तद्रूपमुत्सृज्य बभौ निस्त्रिंश एव सन्।।१९।।

व्याख्या - निस्त्रिंश एव सन् खड्गाकार एव सन्। बभौ स पुरुषः। विधेयप्राधान्यात्पुल्लिङ्गता ।।१९।।

It then gave up that (terrifying) form and assumed the shape of the sword for the protection of the world and destruction of the despisers of the gods. (19)

विमलस्तीक्ष्णधारश्च कालान्तक इवोद्यतः।
पञ्चाशदङ्गुल्युत्सेधश्चतुरङ्गुलिविस्तृतः।।२०।।

व्याख्या - तीक्ष्णा धारा यस्य सः। काले प्रलयकाले अन्तक उद्यतः संहारोद्युक्तः। पञ्चाशदङ्गुलीनामुत्सेध औन्नत्यं यस्य सः।।२०।।

It was bright, had a sharp edge and was raised upright like death incarnate, fifty fingers long and four fingers wide. (20)

व्याख्या - तस्य प्रथमप्रमृहीतारमाह तत इत्यादिना -

ततस्त्वृषभकेतोस्स हस्ते दत्तो मया ह्यसिः।
राक्षसान्तकरस्तीक्ष्णस्तथाधर्मनिवारकः।।२१।।

व्याख्या - तीक्ष्णो निशितः। अस्यते क्षिप्यते शत्रूपरीत्यसिः। असु क्षेपणे। अधर्मनिवारक इति छेदः।।२१।।

Then the sword was placed by me in the hands of the Lord who has with the bull as His emblem (that is, Śiva), as it was to bring the end of the demons it being sharp and annihilator of unrighteousness. (21)

तमुद्धृत्य महादेवस्सर्वशत्रुभयङ्करम्।
त्रिकूटञ्चर्मचोद्यम्य सविद्युतमिवाम्बुदम्।।२२।।

व्याख्या - त्रिकूटन्त्रिशिखरम्। त्रिकोणं वा। चर्मखेटकं नैल्यान्मेघस्थानीयम्। विद्युत्स्थानीयः खड्गः।।२२।।

The great god raised it which was terrifying for all the enemies by holding a triangular shield like a rain cloud having the streak of lightning. (22)

चचार विविधान्मार्गान्महाबलपराक्रमः।
छिन्दन्भिन्दन्नुजन्कृन्तन्दारयन्पोथयन्नरीन्।।२३।।

19a - Pri. Edn.$_1$ - रक्षणर्थाय (for रक्षणार्थाय)

20b - Pri. Edn.$_1$. - काल' (for काला')

व्याख्या - भिन्दन्द्वैधीभावं प्रापयन्। छिन्दन् छेदनं कुर्वन्। रुजन् व्यथयन्। कृन्तन्सावशेषं कर्तयन्। दारयन् पाटयन्। पोथयन् झर्झरयन्।।२३।।

That mighty and valorous one moved on various paths, piercing, tearing up, breaking, cutting, splitting and crushing the enemies. (23)

द्वात्रिंशत्करणानि स्युर्यानि खड्गप्रयोधने।
चित्रशीघ्रपदं तानि दैत्यसङ्घे व्यदर्शयत्।।२४।।

व्याख्या - खड्गप्रयोधने खड्गयुद्धे। चित्राणि विन्यासचतुराणि शीघ्राणि त्वरितानि, पदानि पादविन्यासा यस्मिन् कर्मणि तत् तथा तानि। वक्ष्यमाणत्वेन प्रसिद्धानि द्वात्रिंशत्करणानि वल्गितानि दैत्यसङ्घेऽदर्शयदिति योजना।।२४।।

In the war where the sword is used, there are thirty-two movements. He exhibited them with the way in which the placing of feet is swift and skilful while (warring) amidst the group of demons. (24)

व्याख्या - द्वात्रिंशत्करणानि विशदयति भ्रान्तमित्यादिना -

भ्रान्तमुद्भ्रान्तमाविद्धमाप्लुतं विप्लुतं सृतम्।
संयान्तं समुदीर्णञ्च निग्रहप्रग्रहौ तथा।।२५।।

व्याख्या - भ्रान्तं भ्रमणम्। उद्भ्रान्तमूर्ध्वभ्रमणम्। आविद्धं भुग्नम्। आविद्धङ्कुटिलम्भुग्नमित्यमरः (३.१.७१)। आप्लुतं हरिणवत्प्लुतम्। विप्लुतं विशेषप्लवनम्। सृतमनुसरणम्। संयातं सम्यग्यानम्। समुदीर्णं सम्यत्त्करणम्। निग्रहोऽधिक्षेपः। प्रग्रहो दृढग्रहणम्।।२५।।

Circling (on the ground), turning in a circle upwards (that is, in the air), and also in a curved motion, running like a deer, running in a specific manner, chasing, following properly, getting into motion, and holding down and also firmly. (25)

पादावकर्षसन्धाने शिरोभुजपरिभ्रमौ।
पाशपादविबन्धाश्च भूम्युद्भ्रमणके तथा।।२६।।

व्याख्या - पादावकर्षः पादप्रान्तेन खड्गनमनम्। सन्धानं शत्रूपरि विन्यासः। शिरोभ्रमणं भुजपरिभ्रमणम्। पाशः खड्गयोर्ग्रथनं प्रसिद्धम्। पादः त्सरुमिश्रणम्। खड्गयोर्मिश्रणम्। पाशः पादो मुष्टिर्विमिश्रणम् इति मेदिनी (?)। विबन्धः खड्गनिरोधनम्। भूमिरधोविन्यासः। उद्भ्रमणकमुञ्चैरुद्धृतिः।।२६।।

In hitting the enemy by bending the sword by putting it besides the feet, in moving the arm in circular motion over the head, trapping by

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26a - T_1 - 'सन्दाने (for 'सन्धाने)

synchronized use of the grip of the sword and the feet, placing it on the ground and holding it upwards, (26)

गतप्रत्यागताक्षेपाः पातनोत्थानके प्लुतम्।
लाघवं सौष्ठवं शोभा स्थिरत्वं दृढमुष्टिता।।२७।।

व्याख्या - गतं पश्चाद्गमनम्। प्रत्यागतं शत्रूद्देशेनाभिमुखगमनम्। आक्षेपो रिपुमुष्टिस्खालनम्। पातनं रिपुकाद्भूमौ खड्गन्यासनम्। उत्थानकं स्वखड्गोद्धृतिः। प्लुतं स्वस्थानप्राप्तिः। लाघवं शीघ्रप्रयोगः। सौष्ठवं खड्गधारणे नैपुण्यम्। शोभा एकेनैव खड्गेन समन्ताच्चालितेन सर्वदिगवच्छेदेन झलझलायमानता। स्थिरत्वं दृढावस्थितिः। दृढमुष्टिता त्सरोर्दृढग्रहणम्।।२७।।

Chasing, rushing to face the enemy, preventing the fist of enemy, striking off the sword from his hands, raising one's own sword, (27)

तिर्यगूर्ध्वप्रचरणे द्वात्रिंशत्करणान्यहो।
विजित्य दानवान् सङ्ख्ये हृष्टो रुद्रो बभूव ह।।२८।।

व्याख्या - तिर्यक्प्रचरणं तिर्यग्गतिः। ऊर्ध्वप्रचरणमुन्नतदेशावस्थितिः। इति द्वात्रिंशत्खड्ग-वल्गितानीत्यर्थः। सङ्ख्ये युद्धे। हृष्टरूपस्सन्तुष्टकारः।।२८।।

Slanting and upward movements — these are the thirty-two movements (of the sword). Rudra was highly pleased by vanquishing the demons in the battle using them. (28)

व्याख्या - अथ खड्गविद्यायाश्शिष्यप्रशिष्यान्कथयितुं तदादौ विष्णोः खड्गप्राप्तिं कथयति - तत इति -

ततस्तु भगवान् रुद्रो विष्णुं दृष्ट्वा समीपगम्।
सत्कृत्य धर्मगोप्तारमसिं तस्मै ददौ मुदा।।२९।।

व्याख्या - समीपगं खड्गग्रहणार्थमन्तेवासिनं सत्कृत्य महागुणवत्त्वादिकथनेन संपूज्य। धर्मगोप्तारमित्यपि विशेषविशेषणम्। तस्मै विष्णवे। मुदा प्रापणजन्यसन्तोषेण।।२९।

Then Lord Rudra saw Viṣṇu and approached him, offered respects to him — the protector of righteousness, and offered the sword to him with joy. (29)

विष्णुर्मरीचये प्रादान्मरीचिर्भगवानपि।
महर्षिभ्यो ददौ खड्गमृषयो वासवाय च।।३०।।

व्याख्या - भगोऽस्यास्तीति भगवान्। तथा ऐश्वर्यस्य समग्रस्य वीर्यस्य यशसः श्रियः। ज्ञानवैराग्ययोश्चैव षण्णां भग इतीरणा इत्युक्तेः।।३०।

30d - Pri. Edn.$_2$, D$_1$ - 'मृषभो (for 'मृषयो)

Lord Viṣṇu gave the sword to Marīci who gave it to the great sages; the sages in turn gave it to Vāsava. (30)

महेन्द्रो लोकपालेभ्यो लोकपाला ददुश्च तम्।
मनवे सूर्यपुत्राय ततस्ते तमथाब्रुवन्।।३१।।

व्याख्या - महेन्द्रो वृत्रहन्ता। इन्द्रो वृत्रमवधीत् तन्महेन्द्रस्य महेन्द्रत्वमिति श्रुतेः । ते लोकपालाः तं मनुम्।।३१।।

Indra gave it to the guardians of the directions who in turn gave it to Manu, the son of Sūrya, and then said thus, (31)

धर्मसेतुमतिक्रान्तांल्लोके धर्मार्थकारणात्।
असिना धर्मगर्भेण शिक्षयस्व प्रजापते।।३२।।

व्याख्या - लोके जगति। धर्मार्थकारणाद्धर्मार्थादीनां संरक्षणनिमित्तम्। धर्मगर्भेण धर्मसंरक्षणार्थ-मुत्पन्नत्वात् धर्मगर्भत्वव्यपदेशः। शिक्षयस्वाकार्यान्निवर्तय। हे प्रजापते मनो।।३२।।

O Lord of the people! Instruct (us to wield the sword) for the protection of *dharma* in the world from its violators, as it is born for this function. (32)

स तथेति प्रतिश्रुत्य गृहीत्वा खड्गमुत्तमम्।
लोके प्रवर्तयामास राजधारामुखेन वै।।३३।।

व्याख्या - प्रतिश्रुत्य प्रतिज्ञाय। राजधारामुखेन राजपरम्परा द्वारा।।३३।।

Saying "Be it so", he took the most excellent sword from me and spread it (that is, its use) in the world through the royal tradition. (33)

त्वमप्येतमसिं मत्तो गृहाण नृपसत्तम।
पालयस्व च धर्मेण प्रजाः पुत्रानिवौरसान्।।३४।।

व्याख्या - हे नृपसत्तम। पुरोग्रहणमन्त्रोपदेशपूर्वकं प्रयच्छ।।३४।।

O excellent King! (Hence) you also receive this sword from me and righteously care for (your) subjects as if they are your own progency.

कृत्तिकास्तस्य नक्षत्रमसेरग्निश्च देवता।
रोहिणी गोत्रमप्यस्य रुद्रस्तस्याधिदैवतम्।।३५।।

व्याख्या - नामाष्टकरूपमन्त्रमुपदेष्टुं नक्षत्रगोत्रदेवताधिदैवतानि कथयति तथा चोक्तं मन्त्रसारे नाममन्त्रेषु नक्षत्रं देवतां..... पुरः। गोत्राधिदैवते चैव कथयन्मन्त्रमुच्चरेत् इति (?) ।।३५।।

Its constellation is Kṛttikā, its deity is Agni, the *gotra* is Rohiṇī and Rudra is its presiding deity. (35)

व्याख्या - मनुमाह - असेरित्यादिना -

असेरष्टौ हि नामानि रहस्यानि निबोध मे।
असिर्विशसनः खड्गस्तीक्ष्णधर्मा दुरासदः।।३६।।

श्रीगर्भो विजयश्चैव धर्ममालस्तथैव च।
अग्र्यः प्रहरणानाञ्च रुद्रेणैवं समीरितः।।३७।।

व्याख्या - प्रहरणानामायुधानां मध्ये। अग्र्यः प्रथमं ब्रह्मणा सृष्टः। एतेन द्वात्रिंशदायुधेष्वगणना-प्रयुक्ता न्यूनता परास्ता। रुद्रेण नीलकण्ठेनाप्येवं श्रेष्ठ इति समीरितः।। अथवा रोदयति प्रजा अन्तकाले दाहेनेति व्युत्पत्त्या रुद्रोऽग्निः। तेनायुधसृष्टेः प्रागेव मयि जात इति। अग्र्यश्रेष्ठस्समीरितः।।३७।।

Listen from me the eight secret names of the sword — *asi, viśasana, khaḍga, tīkṣṇadharmā, durāsada,* (36)

śrīgarbha, vijaya and *dharmamāla.* It is the foremost among the weapons and is thus considered by Rudra. (37)

असेश्च पूजा कर्तव्या सदा युद्धविशारदैः।
जयं कीर्तिं लभन्ते ते येऽसिं सम्पूजयन्ति वै।।३८।।

व्याख्या - एते पूजकाः।।३८।।

The experts in warfare should always worship the sword; for, those who do so with respect indeed gain victory and fame. (38)

कथेयं कथिता तुभ्यं खड्गमाहात्म्यसंयुता।
न कस्यचिन्मया प्रोक्ता किं भूयश्श्रोतुमिच्छसि।।३९।।

व्याख्या - कस्यचित् त्वदतिरिक्तस्य।।३९

This story of the greatness of the sword as narrated to you is not told to anybody else. What more would you like to hear? (39)

जिगीषवोऽरीन् राजानस्त्वभिषेणनकौतुकैः।
ये पठेयुरिमञ्जय्यं जयं युद्धे लभन्ति ते।।४०।।

व्याख्या - अरीनुद्दिश्याभिषेणने सेनया सह गमने। कौतुका उत्सुकाः। यत्सेनयाऽभिगमनमरौ तदाभिषेणनमित्यमरः (२.८.९५)। जय्यं जयसाधनम्। इमं सर्गम्। ते राजानः। पठेयुर्यदीति शेषः। तदा जयं युद्धे लभन्त इत्यर्थः।।४०।।

37b - T_1 - धर्मपाल' (for धर्ममाल')

Those kings who are desirous of victory by marching against the enemy should read this; for, thereby they will gain victory in war. (40)

।। इति वैशम्पायननीतिप्रकाशिकायां खड्गोत्पत्तिकथनं नाम तृतीयस्सर्गः।।

।। इति श्रीसीतारामकृतायां नीतिप्रकाशिकातत्त्वविवृतौ तृतीयस्सर्गः।।

Here Ends the Third Canto of the Nītiprakāśikā of Vaiśampāyana Titled "Narration of theOrigin of the Sword".

Here Ends the Third Canto of the Tattvavivṛti of Sītārāma.

Colophon - T_1 - इति नीति - तृतीयस्सर्गः।।

T_1 - ।। इति श्रीमन्नीतिप्रकाशिकातत्त्वविवृतौ सीतारामसूरिविरचितायां खड्गोत्पत्तिकथनसर्गव्याख्यायां तृतीयस्सर्गः।।

चतुर्थस्सर्गः

मुक्तायुधनिरूपणम्

Fourth Canto

Description of the Weapons that Are to Be Released

स्वयम्भोर्वचनं श्रुत्वा पृथुः परमहर्षितः।
प्रश्रयावनतो भूत्वा भूयः पप्रच्छ चाब्जजम्।।१।।

व्याख्या - स्वयम्भवतीति स्वयम्भूः। तस्य प्रश्रयो विनयः । अवनतो नम्रः। अब्जजं कमलजातम्।।१।।

Pṛthu was greatly pleased on hearing the words of the Self-existing One. He further asked the Lotus-born One being humble with modesty. (1)

द्वात्रिंशदायुधानीति मुक्तामुक्तोदितानि मे।
तेषां स्वरूपं वर्णञ्च प्रयोगान्वक्तुमर्हसि।।२।।

व्याख्या - मुक्तञ्चामुक्तञ्च मुक्तामुक्ते। द्वे धनुर्वेदपरे। ताभ्यां प्रतिपादितानि द्वात्रिंशदायुधानीति। मे मह्यम्। स्वरूपमेव संस्थानम्। वर्णं नीलपीतादिप्रयोगान् लक्ष्योपरि प्रयोजनानि। तेषामायुधानाम्। चात् तद्देवतानामपीति द्योत्यते। वक्तुमर्हसीति प्रश्नः ।।२।।

"You have narrated thirty-two weapons that are to be released and not-to-be-released to me. You may now please describe their forms, colours and applications in practice." (2)

इति पृष्टस्तु पृथुना भगवान् भक्तवत्सलः।
तत्सर्वं कथयामास तस्य विस्तारयन् यशः।।३।।

व्याख्या - तत्सर्वं प्रश्नगतप्रमेयजातम्। यशः यतस्सम्यग्धनुर्वेदप्रचारं कृतवानिति यशः। विस्तारयन् प्रसारयन्। कथयामासेत्यन्वयः।।३।।

Thus asked by Pṛthu, the Lord who adores his devotees, narrated to him everything elaborately. (3)

व्याख्या - आयुधानाञ्चैकसंस्थानरूपतया न पृथक्त्वेनोच्यत इत्याह तस्येति -

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1d - D_2 - सादरं (for चाब्जजम्)

तस्य देवस्य यद्रूपं यो वर्णो यश्च यादृशः।
आयुधस्याथ तन्नाम्नस्तानवेहि महामते।।४।।

व्याख्या - तान् देहौन्नत्यस्थौल्यवर्णप्रयोगान्।।४।।

O you with great intellect! Listen to the form, colour and name of each of the weapons in detail. (4)

पूर्वं वक्ष्यामि मुक्तानां संस्थानानि निबोध मे।
विदित्वा कारयन्नेवमायुधानां प्रकल्पनम्।।५।।

व्याख्या - प्रकल्पनं निर्माणम्।।५।।

First of all, I shall describe the form and structure of the weapons that are to be released knowing which they can be manufactured. (5)

धनुस्स्वरूपमाख्यास्ये प्रथमं नृपसत्तम।
तत्प्रमाणञ्च संस्थानं तस्य ध्यानक्रमं तथा।।६।।

व्याख्या - धनुषस्तदाख्यदेवस्य स्वरूपं देहः। तत्प्रमाणं तदौन्नत्यपरिध्यादि। संस्थानमङ्गसम्बन्धादि। ध्यानत्रयमनुसन्धानप्रकारः। तं चाख्यास्येसवक्षेयामीत्यर्थः।।६।।

O best among the kings! First of all I shall narrate the form and appearance of the bow, its measurement, its parts, and the modes of shooting. (6)

तत्रावान्तरभेदांश्च शराभ्यासक्रमं तथा।
लस्तकग्रहणञ्चापि लक्ष्यभेदं चतुर्विधम्।।७।।

व्याख्या - तत्र धनुषोऽवान्तरभेदान् वैतस्तिकादिबाणक्षेपकचापादिरूपान् शराभ्यासक्रमं बाणप्रयोगविधिम्। लस्तकस्य धनुर्मध्यस्य ग्रहणं परिग्रहः तम्। लस्तकस्तु धनुर्मध्यमित्यमरः (२.८.८५) । चतुर्विधलक्ष्यभेदो व्याख्यातः।।७।।

I shall also narrate to you the subordinate distinctions, the order of training in the release of the arrows, the holding of the middle portion of the bow (that is, the grip) and even the fourfold method of piercing of the target. (7)

4a - D_1 यस्य (for तस्य)

4a - T_1 वेदस्य (for देवस्य)

4c - D_2 °स्यार्थ° (for °स्याथ)

5b - T_1 °दि° (for °नि)

5c - T_1 ता° (for का°)

6d - Pri. Edn.$_1$ - तस्याभ्यास° (for तस्य ध्यान°)

व्याख्या - तदाकारमाह पृथुग्रीवमिति -

पृथुग्रीवं सूक्ष्मशिरस्तनुमध्यं सुपृष्ठवत्।
चतुष्किंष्कुप्रांशुदेहं त्रिणतं दीर्घजिह्वकम्।।८।।

व्याख्या - पृथुः ग्रीवा कन्धरम् यस्य तत्। सूक्ष्मं शिरोऽग्रभागो यस्य तत्। तनु कृशं मुष्टिसम्मितमिति यावत्। मध्यः यस्य तत्। सुपृष्ठवत् त्र्यङ्गुलिविस्तृतपश्चाद्भागवत्। चतुष्किंष्कुप्रांशुदेहम्। हस्तचतुष्टयोत्सेधदेहवत्। त्रिणतं मध्ये ग्रीवाभागयोश्च नम्रम्। दीर्घा जिह्वा यस्य तत्।।८।।

(The bow should have) a wide "neck", pointed ends, narrow mid-portion where three fingers can be kept, with the body being four fore-arms long, bent at three places, and with a long tongue (stave). (8)

दंष्ट्राकरालवदनं रक्ताभं घर्घरस्वनम्।
आन्त्रमालापरिक्षिप्तं लेलिहानं च सृक्कणी ।।९।।

व्याख्या - दंष्ट्राभिः करालं भयङ्करं वदनं यस्य। आन्त्रमालाभिः परिवृतः। क्षिप्तं बद्धम्। सृक्कणी ओष्ठप्रान्तभागौ।।९।।

It has a terrifying face due to sharp teeth, having a reddish hue and a gurgling sound, tied with the string made of the (tissues of the) intestines (of the deed body) licked by jackals. (9)

जयायाश्च कृशाश्वाद्यज्जातं वै लोकरक्षणे।
तद्ध्यात्वा मनसा सम्यग्गुरुं नत्वा विधानतः।।१०।।

व्याख्या - लोकरक्षणे प्रजापरिपालनविषये। तत् धनुषः आदिदेवम्। गुरुं धनुर्वेदाचार्यम्। विधानतः स्मृत्युक्तप्रकारेण (?) ।।१०।।

Concentrating fully with your mind on him (that is, the bow) who is born of Jayā and Kṛśāśva, bowing down in the customary manner to the proper *guru* of Dhanurveda, for the sake of the protection of the society, (10)

धनुर्वेदविधानेन नाम्य वामकरेण तत्।
दक्षिणेन ज्यया योज्य पृष्ठे मध्ये प्रगृह्य तत्।।११।।

व्याख्या - धनुर्वेदविधानेन धनुर्विद्योक्तविधिना तद्विधिस्तु - नामनं वामकरतो ज्यायोगो दक्षिणेन तु। कर्षणं कर्णपर्यन्तं मोचनञ्चेति तद्विधिः इति (?)। दक्षिणेन करेणेत्यनुकर्षः। ज्यया शिञ्जिन्या। मध्ये पृष्ठभागे। तद्धनुः।।११।।

8d - D_2 - तृणतं, T_1 - त्रिनेत्रं (for त्रिणतं)

9d - D_1 - सृक्किणि (for सृक्कणी)

One should, in accordance with the rules of the Dhanurveda, bend the bow with the left hand, string it with the right hand and hold its grip from behind. (11)

वामाङ्गुष्ठं तदुदरे पृष्ठे तु चतुरङ्गुलीः।
पुङ्खमध्ये ज्यया योज्य स्वाङ्गुलीविवरेण तु।।१२।।

व्याख्या - तदुदरे लस्तकाधोभागे। पृष्ठे ऊर्ध्वभागे। चतुरङ्गुलीः वामकराङ्गुलिचतुष्टयं योजयेदिति शेषः। पुङ्खं द्विदलीकृतं बाणमूलम्। मध्ये मध्यदेशावच्छेदेन। ज्यया गुणेन । स्वाङ्गुलिविवरेणाङ्गुष्ठसहकृतस्वदक्षिणहस्तशाखारन्ध्रेण। योजयेदित्यन्वयः।।१२।।

One should place the left thumb on its belly (that is, grip of the arrow), and four fingers on its back, and simultaneously place the string in the midst of the feathered part of the arrow with the tips of the thumb and fingers joined together. (12)

आकर्णं तु समाकृष्य दृष्टिं लक्ष्ये निवेश्य च।
लक्ष्यादन्यमपश्यंस्तु कृतपुङ्खः प्रयोगवित्।।१३।।

व्याख्या - लक्ष्ये शरव्ये। निवेश्य स्थापयित्वा। अन्यल्लक्ष्यप्रान्तविद्यमानवत्वमपि। अपश्यन्। कृतपुङ्खः सम्यक्कृतबाणमूलः। सुप्रयोगं सम्यग्बाणमोक्षं वेत्तीति तादृशो भूत्वेत्यर्थः।।१३।।

After pulling it up to the ears and with the eyes completely fixed on the target, (in other words) not sighting anything else, one should be ready for its release with full knowledge and alertness to pierce the target. (13)

यदा मुञ्चेच्छरं विध्येत्कृतहस्तस्तदोच्यते।
एवं बाणाः प्रयोक्तव्या ह्यात्मा रक्ष्यः प्रयत्नतः।।१४।।

व्याख्या - विध्ये लक्ष्ये। विध्यं शरव्यं लक्ष्यञ्चेत्यमरः (२.८.८६) । कृतहस्तः कृतौ शिक्षितौ हस्तौ यस्य सः। न केवलं लक्ष्यपातनं युद्धादौ। किन्त्वात्मसंरक्षणमप्यावश्यकमित्याह आत्मेति। हिरप्यर्थकः अव्ययनामानेकार्थत्वात्।।१४।।

If one is able to release the arrow right on the target, he can be said to be well-trained. In this way one may release the arrows so that one can protect the self with his own efforts. (14)

व्याख्या - प्रसङ्गाल्लक्ष्यविभागं तदुदाहरणान्यप्याह आविचाल्येत्यादिभिस्त्रिभिः -

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13a - D_2 - आकर्णां (for आकर्णं)

13c - D_2 - लक्ष्यादी° (for लक्ष्याद°)

14a - D_2 - विध्वे° (for विध्ये°)

अविचाल्यं च सूक्ष्मं सुकुमारमथो गुरु।
चातुर्विध्यञ्च लक्ष्यस्य धनुर्वेदविदो विदुः।।१५।।

The masters of Dhanurveda know that the target can be (pierced in a) fourfold (manner) — steadfastly, subtly, softly and with full strength. (15)

भूभृद्भेदश्चाविचाल्यं सूक्ष्मं गुञ्जादिभेदनम्।
कुक्कुठाण्डोदकुम्भानां भेदनं सुकुमारकम्।।१६।।

व्याख्या - भूभृद्भेदः पर्वतभेदनम्। गुञ्जादीत्यादिपदात् तद्बन्धककेशोदखण्डनमपि द्योत्यते।।१६।।

The steadfast target is the mountain, the subtle or the tiny one is the piercing of the *guñjā* berry, and the soft one is the fowl's egg and a water jar. (16)

रक्षोगजाददेहानां पातनं गुरु चोच्यते।
एवञ्च लक्ष्यविवृतिर्विज्ञेया नीतिमत्तरैः।।१७।।

व्याख्या - रक्षांसि कुम्भकर्णादीनि। निपातनं कर्तनम्।।१७।।

Felling of the bodies of the demons, elephants and others is called piercing the target with full strength.

Analysis of the targets in this way should be known by the masters of polity and warfare. (17)

व्याख्या - बाणमोक्षे चतुर्दशवल्गितान्याह - लक्ष्यस्येत्यादिना -

लक्ष्यस्य प्रतिसन्धानमाकर्षणविकर्षणे।
पर्याकर्षानुकर्षौ च मण्डलीकरणं तथा।।१८।।

व्याख्या - प्रतिसन्धानमनुसन्धानम्। आकर्षणं सिञ्जिनीमात्रस्य। विकर्षणं धनुषोऽपि विनामकम्। पयार्कर्षस्समन्ताद्धूननम्। अनुकर्षश्शत्रुमनुसृत्य कर्षणम्। मण्डलीकरणं कुण्डलाकारेण कर्षणम्।।१८।।

Aiming properly, merely twanging by pulling the string, doing so by bending the bow, shaking it all around, pulling it while chasing the enemy, drawing the bow for shooting by moving it in a circular motion, (18)

पूरणं स्फारणञ्चैव धूननं भ्रामणं तथा।
आसन्नदूरपातौ च पृष्ठमध्यमपातने।।१९।।

15a - D_2 - "चार्य" (for "चाल्यं")

16d - D_2 - कुसुमारकं (for सुकुमारकम्)

19a - D_1 - पूराणं (for पूरणं); Pri. $Edn._1$ - स्थारणं" (for स्फारण")

व्याख्या - पूरणं शब्देन सर्वासां दिशां प्रतिध्वनिमत्करणम्। स्फारणं धनुर्विस्फारः। धूननं हस्तप्रसारणभेदः भ्रामणं शत्रुमोहनार्थं स्वहस्त एव धनुषो विलक्षणसञ्चरणम्। आसन्नपातः समीपशत्रुपातनादिकं प्रसिद्धम्।।१९।।

Bending the bow downwards, vibrating it, shaking it, swinging it for shooting near and far, as well as at the back and not very far away, (19)

एतानि वल्गितान्याहुश्चतुर्दश धनुर्विदः।
धनुर्भेदान्प्रवक्ष्यामि तत्तत्कार्यानुसारतः।।२०।।
शार्ङ्गिकं त्रिणतं प्रोक्तं वैणवं सर्वनामितम्।
वैतस्तिकधनुश्शस्त्रं वैणवं तद्धि हस्तकम्।।२१।।

व्याख्या - धनुर्भेदान् धनुष्षु भेदान् भिन्नभिन्नधनूंषीत्यर्थः। शृङ्गैर्निर्मितं शार्ङ्गिकम्। तत् त्रिणतम्। वैणवं वेणुरचितम्। तत्तु सर्वमिन्द्रधनुराकारेण नामितं कर्तव्यं चतुर्हस्तप्रमाणकमेतदपि। "चतुर्हस्तप्रमाणं यत्तालमात्रं धनुर्हि तद्" इति मेदिनीनिघण्टुपर्यालोचनया धनुर्विशेषणस्थले तालमात्रपदार्थो ज्ञेयः। दैवासुरादिभावेषु यथायोग्यमुह्यम्। वैतस्तिकानां द्वादशाङ्गुलप्रमाणबाणानां क्षेपकं यद्धनुः तच्छस्त्रमित्युच्यते। तत्तु वैणवं हस्तकं हस्तप्रमाणोन्नतियुक्तम्।।

ते च वैतस्तिका बाणा ये वै चासन्नयोधिनः।
तद्धनुश्शस्त्रमित्यहुर्धार्यं तद्बुद्धिमत्तरैः ।। इति नीतिसारे (?) ।।२०-२१।।

The masters of Dhanurveda say that these are the fourteen types of shooting with bow and arrow. Accordingly now I shall narrate to you the different types of bows. (20)

Śārṅga (that is, made of horn), *triṇata* (that is, bent at three places), *vaiṇava* (made of bamboo and of four hands in length) which can be fully bent, *vaitastika* (that is, bow which is used to shoot arrows of twelve fingers of length), the bow made of bamboo and of the length of one hand. (21)

उपलोत्क्षेपकं चापं वैणवं तद्द्विरज्जुकम्।
त्रिहस्तात्सेधसहितं द्व्यङ्गुलीविस्तृतं तु तत्।।२२।।

व्याख्या - उपलोत्क्षेपकंपाषाणगुलिकप्रेरकं द्विरज्जुकं मध्यसम्बद्धगुणद्वयवत्। द्व्यङ्गुलीविस्तृतमङ्गुलिद्वयविस्तृतिकाण्डफलवत्।।२२।।

The bow made of bamboo has two strings and is used for shooting (rounded) pebbles — it has three hands of thickness and width of two fingers. (22)

21a - D_2, T_1 - श्रौङ्गिकं (for शार्ङ्गिकं)

बद्धगोधाङ्गुलित्राणः पृष्ठबद्धेषुधिस्सदा।
योग्यं कुर्यादन्यथा स्यादपराद्धपृषत्ककः।।२३।।

व्याख्या - गुध्यति परिवेष्टयति प्रकोष्ठमिति गोधा। अङ्गुलीनां त्राणं रक्षणं यस्मादङ्गुलित्राणम्। गोधापरनामकं यदङ्गुलित्राणमङ्गुल्याधारभूतहस्तकवचं तत् बद्धं येन सः। योग्यं शस्त्राभ्यासम्। शस्त्राभ्यासस्तु योग्यस्स्यात् इति मेदिनी (?)। अपराद्धपृषत्ककः लक्ष्यात्स्खलितसायकः। अपराद्धपृषत्केऽसौ लक्ष्याद्यश्च्युतसायक इत्यमरः (२.८.६८) ।।२३।।

With the finger-protecting armour tied well, the quiver tied at the back, (the archer) should always focus on the target with the arrow (fixed on the bow) following the rules of the science without fail. (23)

व्याख्या - पञ्च धनुर्धारिपादातिस्थितीर्विशदयति प्रत्यालीढमित्यादिना -

प्रत्यालीढकमालीढं तथा समपदं स्मृतम्।
विशालं मण्डलञ्चेति पञ्च धानुष्कवृत्तयः।।२४।।

व्याख्या - प्रत्यालीढं भूपर्यन्तनमनम्। आलीढं वामपादप्रसारणपूर्वकार्धनमनम्। समपदं पादाभ्यां सम्यगवस्थितिः विशालं पादद्वयान्तः प्रादेशमात्रावकाशतयावस्थितिः। पादौ संवेष्ट्यावस्थितिर्मण्डलमिति। पञ्च धानुष्कवृत्तयः। धनुर्धारिस्थितयः।।२४।।

There are five stances for archery — bending fully low, bending half by spreading the left leg forward, standing with both the feet in an even position, spreading both the legs equally apart, and sitting with both the legs folded together. (24)

गोधोपासङ्गकवचशिरस्त्राणपरीकराः।
गलपट्टीसंग्रहश्च रथिनस्साधनानि वै।।२५।।

व्याख्या - शिरस्त्राणं शिरःकवचम्। परिकरः कटिवेष्टनम्। गलपट्टीसङ्ग्रहः कन्धररक्षा-पट्टिसङ्ग्रहः। आयुधपतनप्रतिबन्धकमणिबन्धबद्धचर्मा। साधनान्युपकरणानि।।२५।।

The armour of the leather of crocodile to be tied on the body, the headgear, the waist-guard, the strips protecting the shoulders — are the means for war for the charioteer. (25)

प्रदक्षिणञ्च शैघ्र्यञ्चाप्यप्रदक्षिणमेव च।
गतं प्रत्यागतञ्चैव मण्डलञ्चाप्यवस्थितिः।।२६।।

मिश्रणं स्फोटनं वीथी रथमार्गास्स्मृता दश।
धनुर्विद्यां विदित्वैवं निर्दयस्तरणो भवेत्।।२७।।

23b - T_1 - "बन्धेषु" (for "बद्धेषु")

27a - Pri. Edn.$_2$, D_1 - वीथी (for वीथी)

व्याख्या - प्रत्यागतं शत्रुसम्मुखगमनम्। मण्डलं भ्रमणम्।।२६।।

मिश्रणं शत्रुरथेन। स्फोटनम् शत्रुव्यूहनिर्भेदः। वीथी अवक्रगतिः। एते इति शेषः।।२७।।

The positions are — quickly circling on the right side as well as on the left side, charging towards (the enemy) and returning, and turning round, (26)

A combination (of appropriate positions), breaking open through the enemy's array, straight movement and the paths for the chariot — these ten are the positions related in Dhanurveda knowing which one can become ruthless and victorious. (27)

इषुर्नीलबृहद्देहः द्विहस्तोत्सेधसंयुतः।
परिध्या चाञ्जलिमितो नळ्बमात्रगतिस्तु सः।।२८।।

व्याख्या - इषुर्नाम हस्तद्वयोन्नतहस्तपरिमितस्थौल्ययुक्तदारुलगुडः। नीलस्तैलधौतत्वान्नीलवर्णः। बृहत् गुरुर्देहो यस्य सः। हस्तद्वयोत्सेधेन हस्तद्वयौन्नत्येन संयुतो युक्तः। परिध्या परिमण्डलेन अञ्जलिमितः संयुतकरद्वयमध्येमेयपरिधिः। नळ्बमात्रगतिः चतुश्शतकिंष्कुप्रमाणदूरवर्तिशत्रुपातनयोग्यगतिमान्।।२८।।

The arrow, having a large blue body, is wielded by holding it with two hands, has one finger in circumference and is with the range of four hundred spans (to hit the enemy). (28)

भ्रामणं क्षेपणञ्चेति द्वे गती स्थूलसङ्गते।
इमे गती भगो ज्ञात्वा युद्ध्वारीन्विजयेद्युधि।।२९।।

व्याख्या - स्थूलसङ्गते इषुगते। इषुस्थूलसमाविति मेदिनी (?)।।२९।।

It is wielded in two ways — by whirling and by throwing — which are strong and skilful; knowing both these as derived from Bhaga (Lord Śiva) one should fight with the enemy and vanquish him in the battle. (29)

भिण्डिवालस्तु वक्राङ्गो नम्रशीर्षो बृहच्छिराः।
हस्तमात्रोत्सेधयुक्तः करसम्मितमण्डलः।।३०।।

व्याख्या - भिण्डिमस्त्रधारणं वलयति श्लथयतीति व्युत्पत्त्या भिण्डिवालो नाम हस्तमात्रोन्नतनताग्रभागबृहद्ग्रन्थियुक्तवक्रकाष्ठम्। एकहस्तधारणयोग्यमण्डलः।।३०।।

Bhiṇḍivāla has a curved body, with the bent head (front portion) which is broad, only a hand in length when raised and capable of being wielded with a single hand. (30)

28c- D_2 - 'युतो (for 'मितो)

28d- D_2 - नल्व' (for नळ्ब')

त्रिभ्रामणं विसर्गश्च वामपादपुरस्सरम्।
पादघाताद्रिपुहणो धार्यः पादातमण्डलैः।।३१।।

व्याख्या - वामपादपुरस्सरं यथा तथा विसर्गाख्यवल्गितवान्। तत्कर्म पादघातनम्। पादातमण्डलैः पत्तिसमूहैः।।३१।।

Capable of killing the enemies just by hitting, it is wielded and released by the unit of the infantry by whirling it thrice and by placing the left foot forward. (31)

शक्तिर्हस्तद्वयोत्सेधो तिर्यग्गतिरनाकुला।
तीक्ष्णजिह्वोग्रनखरा घण्टानादभयङ्करी।।३२।।

व्याख्या - शक्तिर्नाम हस्तद्वयप्रमाणदृढकाष्ठप्रत्युप्ताश्मसारफलिकाग्रवर्ति सिंहमुखयुक्ता घण्टमालावृतत्सरुमुक्तायुधविशेषः। तिर्यग्गतिस्संहार्यवस्तुकर्तनार्थं परिवृत्तगमना। अनाकुलेतरायुधभयरहिता। उग्रनखरा। नखस्थानीयमायुधे लोहकण्टकजालम्।।३२

The *śakti* is of the measure of two hands, with a crooked movement (to cut asunder the target), formidable for other weapons; it has a sharp point and terrible nails, and creates a terrifying sound like that of huge bell. (32)

व्यादितास्यातिनीला च शत्रुशोणितरञ्जिता।
आन्त्रमालापरिक्षिप्ता सिंहास्या घोरदर्शना।।३३।।

व्याख्या - व्यापादितास्या सिंहमुखीत्वात्। आन्त्रमालापरिक्षिप्तत्वमायुधे मध्ये मध्ये निबन्धनार्थम्। घोरदर्शना भयङ्करदृष्टिः। शत्रुशोणितरञ्जितेत्यनेन शत्रुदेहोन्मज्जनत्वं व्यज्यते।।३३।।

It looks as if it is devouring (like a lioness), extremely blue (dark) in colour, stained by the blood of intestines of the enemy, with the face of a lioness and hence looking ferocious. (33)

बृहत्त्सरुर्दूरंगमा पर्वतेन्द्रविदारिणी।
भुजद्वयप्रेरणीया युद्धे जयविधायिनी।।३४।।

व्याख्या - बृहत्त्सरुः। बृहत्त्सरुः खड्गमुष्टिर्यस्य सः। त्सरुः खड्गादिमुष्टिः स्यादित्यमरः (२.८.९०)। दूरं गमः गमनं यस्यास्सा दूरगमा। पर्वतेन्द्रान्विदारयतीति तथा। भुजद्वयाभ्यां प्रेरयितुं योग्या भुजद्वयप्रेरणीया।।३४।।

With a wide grip and going far, fit to be wielded with two hands and thus bringing victory in the war, it can tear apart the hardest mountains. (34)

33c - D_2 - °क्षित्वा (for °क्षिप्ता)

तोलनं भ्रामणञ्चैव वल्गनं नामनं तथा।
मोचनं भेदनञ्चेति षण्मार्गाश्शक्तिसंश्रिताः।।३५।।

व्याख्या - तोलनं प्रयत्नपूर्वकोद्यमः। वल्गनं हस्ताभ्यां धृत्वा तिर्यक्चालनम्। नामनं लक्ष्योद्देशेन मोचनार्थमधोवल्गनम्। शक्तिसंश्रिता मार्गस्साधकरूपाः।।३५।।

Six are the ways of wielding the *śakti* — lifting it up, whirling it, moving crookedly with it, bending a little to release it on the target, releasing it, and throwing it to tear the target. (35)

द्रुघणस्त्वायसाङ्गस्स्याद्वक्रग्रीवो बृहच्छिराः।
पञ्चाशदङ्गुल्युत्सेधो मुष्टिसम्मितमण्डलः।।३६।।

व्याख्या - द्रुघणो नाम चतुरङ्गुलन्यूनहस्तद्वयमितोन्नतवक्राग्रस्थूलभागयुक्तलोहलगुडः।।३६।।

Drughaṇa is made of iron, has a curved neck and a broad head; it is of the length of fifty fingers and has the thickness of a fist. (36)

उन्नामनं प्रपातश्च स्फोटनं दारणं तथा।
चत्वार्येतानि द्रुघणे वल्गितानि श्रितानि वै।।३७।।

व्याख्या - स्फोटनं विदलनकरणम्। श्रितान्याश्रितानि।।३७।।

Springing up, throwing, exploding and breaking — these are the four movements used for wielding it. (37)

तोमरः काष्ठकायस्स्याल्लोहशीर्षस्सुगुच्छवान्।
हस्तत्रयोन्नताङ्गश्च रक्तवर्णस्त्ववक्रगः।।३८।।

व्याख्या - तोमरो नाम लोहशल्यप्रत्युप्तकौशेयगुच्छयुक्तत्रिहस्तोन्नतरक्तकाष्ठम्। सुगुच्छवान् कौशेयनिर्मितगुच्छवान्। अवक्रगः ऋजुगतिः।।३८।।

Tomara is made of wood with the head of iron and a fine plumage, a tall body of three hands and circumference of a fist. (38)

उद्धानं विनिवृत्तिश्च वेधनञ्चेति तत्त्रिकम्।
वल्गितं शस्त्रतत्त्वज्ञाः कथयन्ति नराधिपाः।।३९।।

35d - T_1 - °माश्रिताः (for °संश्रिताः)

36a - D_2 - दघणा° (for द्रुघण°)

37b - T_1 - स्फोटकं (for स्फोटनं)

37c - $Pri.Ed_1$ - चत्वर्यि° (for चत्वार्ये°)

37d - D_2 - श्रुतानि (for श्रितानि)

39a - D_2 - उत्थानं (for उद्धानं)

व्याख्या - उद्धानं ऊर्ध्वतोलनम्। विनिवृत्तिः पश्चात्सरणम्। वेधनं कृन्तनम्। तत्त्रिकंतोमरवृत्तिं च तत् त्रिसङ्ख्यावच्च तादृशं वल्गितम्।।३९।।

The kings who have mastered weaponry say that it has threefold movements — raising for the throw, backward movement and piercing. (39)

नलिका ऋजुदेहा स्यात्तन्वङ्गी मध्यरन्ध्रिका।
मर्मभेदकरी नील़ा द्रौणिचापशरासनी।।४०।।

व्याख्या - नलिका नाम हस्तद्वयोन्नता धमनी। तावदङ्गुलिस्थूला द्रौणिचापाख्या। ऋजुदेहा। अवक्रकाण्डा। तन्वङ्गी। सूक्ष्ममध्यरन्ध्रकान्तर्बिलवती। मर्मभेदनी मर्मकर्तनी। नीली नीलवर्णा। द्रौणिचापशराः कौशेयगुच्छग्रथितस्थूलसूच्यः आस्यन्त अनयेति द्रौणिचापशरासनी । नलिकेन तदुच्चनास्तिके त्वयि नालीकविमुक्तिकामयोरिति श्रीहर्षप्रयोगोऽत्र द्रष्टव्यः।।४०।।

Nalikā is a pipe slender and straight in shape with a hole in the centre, capable of tearing the heart, blue in colour, and like a quiver holding the arrows. (40)

ग्रहणं ध्मापनञ्चैव स्यूतञ्चेति गतित्रयम्।
तामाश्रितां विदित्वा तु जेतासन्नान् रिपून्युधि।।४१।।

व्याख्या - ध्मापनं मुखवायुपूरणम्। स्यूतं ग्रथनम्। आसन्नान्समीपवर्तिनः।।४१।।

Holding, blowing and piercing are the three movements of wielding it knowing which one can vanquish the enemies not far. (41)

लगुडस्सूक्ष्मपादस्स्यात्पुथ्वंसस्थूलशीर्षकः।
लोहबद्धाग्रभागश्च ह्रस्वदेहस्सुपीवरः।।४२।

व्याख्या - लगुडो नाम लोहपदद्वयबद्धगजदन्तः। सूक्ष्मपादः अधोभागकृशः। पृथ्वंसो बृहदूर्ध्वभागः। स्थूलशीर्षकः स्थूलतराग्रभागः।।४२।।

Laguḍa is narrow at the bottom with a wide shoulder and a thick head. Its front portion is made of iron and has a short and stout body. (42)

दन्तकायो दृढाङ्गश्च तथा हस्तद्वयोन्नतः।
उत्थानं पतनञ्चैव पेषणं पोथनं तथा।।४३।।

40d - D_1, D_2 - 'शरैरिणी, T_1 - 'शरासिनी' (for 'शरासनी)

41a - D_1 - ध्मान' (for ध्मापन')

43d - D_2 - यथा (for तथा)

व्याख्या - पेषणं घर्षणं जर्जरीकरणमित्यर्थः ।।४३।।

Made of the elephant tusk, it has a strong body and is raised with both the hands for the strikes — raising, dashing, thrashing and pounding. (43)

चतस्रो गतयस्तस्य पञ्चमी नेह विद्यते।
दृढकायः पत्तिवर्गस्तेन युध्येत शत्रुभिः।।४४।।

व्याख्या - दृढकायो दृढदेहः। तेन लगुडेन।।४४।।

These are the four ways of its strikes, the fifth one does not exist for it; the strong infantry can fight with the enemies with it. (44)

पाशस्सुसूक्ष्मावयवो लोहधातुस्त्रिकोणवान्।
प्रादेशपरिधिस्सीसगुलिकाभरणाञ्चितः।।४५।।

व्याख्या - पाशो नाम प्रादेशप्रमाणलोहतन्तुरचितसीसगुलिकायत्तो बन्धनविशेषः। सूक्ष्मावयवः सूक्ष्मतन्तुः। लोहधातुः लोहवृत्तिः। नीलवर्णवान्। प्रादेशपरिधिः प्रादेशमात्रविस्तृतिः। सीसगुलिकारूपाण्येवाभरणानि। तैरञ्चितः।।४५।।

Pāśa is made of the tiny parts of iron and is triangular in shape, has the circumference of a span of the thumb and the forefinger, and is adorned with small lead balls. (45)

प्रसारणं वेष्टनञ्च कर्तनञ्चेति ते त्रयः।
योगाः पाशाश्रिता लोके पाशाः क्षुद्रसमाश्रिता।।४६।।

व्याख्या - योगाः वल्गितानि। योगस्तु वल्गितेऽभ्यासे इति मेदिनी (?) । क्षुद्रसमाश्रिताः भिल्लपुलिन्दादिनीचसमीपवर्तिनः।।४६।।

The three ways of using *pāśa* are — stretching out, encircling and tearing; *pāśa*s are used by low people. (46)

चक्रं तु कुण्डलाकारमन्ते स्वश्रसमन्वितम्।
नीलीसलिलवर्णं तत्प्रादेशद्वयमण्डलम्।।४७।।

व्याख्या - चक्रं नाम मध्यरन्ध्रयुक्तकुण्डलाकारग्रातितीक्ष्णलोहफलम्। स्वश्रम्। अरं धारा इत्यर्थः। स्वश्रि तेन समन्वितम्। नीली तन्नामिका काचन लता। तस्यास्सलिलमतिनीलमिति प्रसिद्धम्। तद्वर्णम्।।४७।।

Cakra is circular in shape (with a hole in the centre), with sharp spokes, having the colour of water with the indigo plant in it (i.e. blue in colour), and two circles involving the span of the thumb and fingers. (47)

46c - T_1 - लोक (for लोके)

ग्रथनं भ्रामणञ्चैव क्षेपणं परिकर्तनम्।
दलनं चेति पञ्चैव गतयश्चक्रसंश्रिताः।।४८।।

व्याख्या - ग्रथनं योजनं तर्जन्यामित्यर्थः।।४८।।

Only five are the movements of wielding the disc — piercing, circular motion, throw, cutting away and splitting. (48)

दन्तकण्टकनामा तु लोहकण्टकदेहवान्।
अग्रे पृथुस्सूक्ष्मपुच्छश्चाङ्गारकनिभाकृतिः।।४९।।

व्याख्या - दन्तकण्टको नाम बाणप्रत्युप्तफलकविशेषः। लोहकण्टकदेहवान् उभयपार्श्वप्रत्युप्त-तीक्ष्णलोहकण्टकाकारयुक्तः। अङ्गारकनिभाकृतिरग्निवर्णः। अनेन ज्ञायते ताम्रफलक इति।।४९।।

The *dantakaṇṭaka* is the name of the weapon with the body full of iron stings (like teeth), is wide at the tip and narrow at the end, with (reddish) brightness of a burning charcoal. (49)

बाहून्नतस्सुत्सरुश्च दण्डकायोऽग्रलोचनः।
पातनं ग्रथनञ्चेति द्वे गती दन्तकण्टके।।५०।।

व्याख्या - सुत्सरुस्समीचीनमुष्टिः दण्डकायः फलकाधारदण्डप्रधानः अग्र्यलोचनः श्रेष्ठनेत्रः भयङ्करः इति भावः।।५०।।

It is wielded with raised arms, with a tight hold on the grip holding its stick-like body and eyes in the front. Felling and piercing are the two movements of *dantakaṇṭaka*. (50)

भुसुण्डी तु बृहद्ग्रन्थिर्बृहद्देहस्सुसत्सरुः।
बाहुत्रयसमुत्सेधः कृष्णसर्पोग्रवर्णवान्।।५१।।

व्याख्या - भुसुण्डी नाम हस्तत्रयोन्नतग्रन्थियुक्तत्सरुयुतवक्रदारुः। कृष्णसर्पोग्रवर्णवान् नीलाहिवद्भयङ्करनीलवर्णवान्।।५१।।

Bhusuṇḍī has a big knot, huge body and well-formed clasp. Its length is of three hands and is of the colour of the black ferocious cobra. (51)

यापनं घूर्णनञ्चेति द्वे गती तत्समाश्रिते।
मुक्ता ह्येते समाख्याता नृपामुक्तानथ शृणु।।५२।।

व्याख्या - यापनं प्रेरणम्। घूर्णनं मूर्च्छाजनकत्वम्। द्वे गती वल्गिते तत्समाश्रिते भुसुण्डी स्थिते इत्यर्थः। मुक्ता मुक्तख्याद्यपादप्रतिपादिताः।।५२।।

48c - D_2 - दळनं (for दलनं)

51a - Pri. Edn.$_2$, - D_1 - बृसुण्डी, T_1 - भृसुण्डी (for भुसुण्डी)

Expulsion and moving to and fro are two ways of wielding it. O king, these are the weapons that are to be released; now listen about those that are not to be released. (52)

।। इति वैशम्पायननीतिप्रकाशिकायां मुक्तायुधनिरूपणं नाम चतुर्थस्सर्गः।।
।। इति श्रीसीतारामकृतायां नीतिप्रकाशिकातत्त्वविवृतौ चतुर्थस्सर्गः।।

Here Ends the Fourth of Canto of the Nītiprakāśikā of Vaiśampāyana Titled "Description of the Weapons that Are to Be Released".

Here Ends the Fourth Canto of the Tattvavivṛti of Sītārāma

Colophon - T_1 - इति श्रीमन्नीतिप्रकाशिकायां चतुर्थस्सर्गः ।। ४ ।।

T_1 - इति श्रीमन्नीतिप्रकाशिकातत्त्वविवृतौ सीतारामसूरिविरचितायां मुक्तायुश्वविशेष प्रतिप्रादने चतुर्थस्सर्गः ।। ४ ।। श्रीकृष्ण ।।

अथ पञ्चमस्सर्गः

अमुक्तायुधनिरूपणम्

Fifth Canto

Description of the Weapons that Are not to Be Released

अमुक्तप्रथमं वज्रं वक्ष्यामि तव तच्छृणु।
अप्रमेयबलं वज्रं कामरूपधरञ्च तत्।।१।।

व्याख्या - अमुक्तायुधेषु प्रथमं वज्रं विशिनष्टि ब्रह्मा। वज्रं नाम शतकोटीकाण्डप्रत्युप्तासि-व्यूहसमावृतवज्रादिनवरत्नखचितत्सरुसहितमायुधम्। अप्रमेयबलं निरुपमसारम्। कामरूपधरम् इन्द्रेच्छानुरूपाकारकरणसामर्थ्यवत्।।१।।

From among the weapons not to be released, listen to what I shall tell you about *vajra*. It is of immeasurable power and can assume any form. (1)

दधीचिपृष्ठास्थिजन्यं सर्वतेजःप्रशामकम्।
वृत्रासुरनिपातार्थं दैवतेजोपबृंहितम्।।२।।

व्याख्या - सर्वतेजःप्रशामकं रिपुसर्वायुधसामर्थ्यनाशकम्। दैवं सकळदेवसंबन्धि यत्तेजस्तेनोपबृंहितं वर्धितम्।।२।।

It originated out of the bones of Dadhīci for killing Vṛtra, with its effectiveness enhanced by the lustres of the gods. It pacifies all the powers of the enemy. (2)

कोटिसूर्यप्रतीकाशं प्रलयानलसन्निभम्।
योजनोत्सेधदंष्ट्राभिर्जिह्वया चातिघोरया ।।३।।

व्याख्या - योजनोत्सेधयुक्ताभिः योजनप्रमाणौन्नत्यसहिताभिः। उपलक्षितमिति शेषः।।३।।

(Further), it symbolizes (by its brilliance) crores of suns, has the brilliance of the fire at the time of deluge, an extremely terrifying tongue with teeth a *yojana* long, (3)

कालरात्रिनिकाशं तच्छतपर्वसमावृतम्।
पञ्चयोजनविस्तारमुन्नतं दशयोजनम्।।४।।

व्याख्या - कालरात्रिर्नाम सकलजगत्संहर्त्री देवता। तया निकाशं समानम्। शतपर्वभिस्समावृतं युक्तम्। पञ्चयोजनप्रमाणाविस्तृतिमत्।।४।।

It is like the darkness of death, surrounded by 100 joints, has the expanse of 5 *yojana*s, and is tall covering 10 *yojana*s, (4)

असिमण्डलसंवीतं परितस्तीक्ष्णकोटिमत्।
तडिद्गौरञ्च पृथुना त्सरुणा च विराजितम्।।५।।

व्याख्या - असिमण्डलैः खड्गसमूहैः। संवीतं परितो मण्डलाकारेण शाखोपशाखितया समावृतम्। परितस्समन्तात्। तीक्ष्णकोटिमत् सिताश्रीमत्। तडिदिव गौरं पीतवर्णवदित्यर्थः। पृथुना तादृशभारोद्वहनसमर्थेन। त्सरुणा मुष्टिधारणप्रदेशेन।।५।।

It is surrounded by the circle of swords, engirdled on circumference by sharp edges, is golden like the lightning and is decorated with a wide grip. (5)

चालनं धूननञ्चैव छेदनं भेदनं तथा।
वल्गितानि च चत्वारि सदा वज्रं श्रितानि वै।।६।।

व्याख्या - वल्गितानि चेत्यत्र चकारादपरिमितवल्गितानि ज्ञेयानि।।६।।

Loosening, shaking, piercing and splitting — these are the four movements that always belong to *vajra*. (6)

ईली हस्तद्वयोत्सेधा करत्ररहितत्सरुः।
श्यामा भुग्नाग्रफलका पञ्चाङ्गुलिसुविस्तृता।।७।।

व्याख्या - ईली नाम हस्तद्वयोन्नतपञ्चाङ्गुलिविस्तृताग्रविशालकरत्राणरहितमुष्टियुक्त खड्गविशेषः।।७।।

Īlī is two hands long, with a grip lacking the hand-guard, black in colour, with bent plank in front that is five fingers wide. (7)

सम्पातं समुदीर्णञ्च निग्रहप्रगहौ तथा।
ईलीमेतानि चत्वारि वल्गितानि श्रितानि वै।।८।।

परशुस्सूक्ष्मयष्टिःस्याद्विशालास्यः पुरोमुखः।
अर्धचन्द्राग्रकोटिस्तु मलिनाङ्गस्फुरन्मुखः।।९।।

5a - D_1 - अपि° (for असि°)

5c - Pri. Edn.- तटित्दौरंच, D_1 - तटित्गौरंच, D_2 - तडिद्रग्च (for तडिद्गौरञ्च)

7a - T_1 - झळी (for ईली)

8c - T_1 - झळी° (for ईली°)

9b - D_2 - पुरोन्मुखः (for पुरोमुखः)

त्सरुपादस्सशिखरो बाहुमात्रोन्नताकृतिः।
पातनं छेदनञ्चेति गुणौ परशुमाश्रितौ।।१०।।

व्याख्या - समुदीर्णं परदेहे मज्जनम्।।८।।

पुरोमुखः धाराप्रदेशनतशीर्षः। अर्धचन्द्रवल्लोहफलकयुक्तत्सरुयुतलोहमय-द्विहस्तोत्सेधायुतायुधविशेषः। स्फुरन्मुखो द्योतमानास्यः। त्सरुपादः मूलपादे धार्य-मुष्टिप्रदेशयुतः ।।९-१०।।

These are the four movements for wielding *īlī* — throwing, raising, overtaking and holding. (8)

Paraśu has a slim staff, with the front that is broad whose foremost portion is of the shape of the crescent moon and has a sharp edge, a dark body and a shaking face. (9)

It has the grip as its foot, a crest, with the body that is raised by both the arms. Striking and splitting are the two qualities with reference to *paraśu*. (10)

गोशीर्षं गोशिरःप्रख्यं प्रसारितपदद्वयम् ।
अधस्ताद्दारुयन्त्राढ्यमूर्ध्वायःफलकाञ्चितम्।।११।।

व्याख्या - गोशीर्षं नाम दारुयन्त्रप्रत्युप्तत्रिकोणलोहफलिकायुक्तषोडशाङ्गुल्युन्नतमायुधम्। गोशिरःप्रख्यं शृङ्गोमुखाकारम्। ऊर्ध्वम् उपरिभागे । (लोहफलीयुतम् अयः फलिकायुक्तम्। ऊर्ध्वायः फलकाञ्चितमिति पाठेऽप्ययमेवार्थः)।।११।।

Gośīrṣa also known as *gośira;* it has two widened feet attached with a wooden mechanism at the bottom, with an iron plank at the top. (11)

नीललोहितवर्णं तत्त्रिराश्रि च सुसत्त्सरु।
षोडशाङ्गुल्युन्नतञ्च तीक्ष्णाग्रं पृथुमध्यकम्।।१२।।

व्याख्या - नीललोहितवर्णमग्रे नीलवर्णयुक्तम् अधस्ताद्रक्तवर्णम्। तत्त्रिराश्रि परितः कोणत्रये तीक्ष्णधारासहितम्।।१२।।

Its colour is blue and red; it has three edges, a strong grip, is sixteen fingers tall, and has a sharp front and a broad middle. (12)

सत्कृत्य मनवे दत्तं महेन्द्रेण समुद्रिकम्।
प्रभुत्वसूचके लोके राज्ञां गोशीर्षमुद्रिके।।१३।।

व्याख्या - मुद्रिका साक्षरोर्मिका। अङ्गुलीयमिति यावत्।।१३।।

After honouring, *gośīrṣa* with his name embossed on it was given as a gift to Manu by Indra — the lord of the gods. Therefore the rings

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11d - T_1 - °मूर्ध्वंलोहफलीयुतम् (for °मूर्ध्वायःफलकाञ्चितम्)

with *gośīrṣa* embossed on them would symbolize the supremacy of the kings in the world. (13)

मुष्टिग्रहः परिक्षेपः परिधिः परिकुन्तनम्।
चत्वार्येतानि गोशीर्षे वल्गितानि प्रचक्षते।।१४।।

व्याख्या - परिधिः परितः क्षतनिमित्तं शत्रुदेहार्पणम् परिकुन्तनं पवितः कुट्टनम्।।१४।।

These four are said to be the four ways of wielding *gośīrṣa* — holding with the grip, throwing, using as a defence and piercing. (14)

असिधेनुस्समाख्याता हस्तौन्नत्यप्रमाणतः।
अतलत्रत्सरुयुता श्यामा कोटित्रयाश्रिता।।१५।।

व्याख्या - असिधेनुका नाम हस्तप्रमाणछुरिका। कोटित्रये पार्श्वयोश्शिरसि चेत्यथः। अश्रिर्धारा यस्यास्सा कोटित्रयाश्रिता।।१५।।

Asidhenu, known to be of the measure of a hand, (handy) to kill the enemy nearby, tied to a girdle, is called the daughter of the sword. (15)

अङ्गुलिद्वयविस्तीर्णा ह्यासन्नरिपुघातिनी।
मेखलाग्रथिनी सा तु प्रोच्यते खड्गपुत्रिका।।१६।।

व्याख्या - आसन्नास्समीपवर्तिनो ये रिपवस्तान् घातयतीति तथा।।१६।।

Wielded in three ways, namely, holding by the front portion of the fist (for striking), for tearing up and for piercing, — it should always be tied to the girdle by excellent kings. (16)

मुष्ट्यग्रग्रहणञ्चैव पाटनं कुन्तनं तथा।
वल्गितत्रयवत्येषा सदा धार्या नृपोत्तमैः।।१७।।

लवित्रं भुग्नकायं स्यात्पृष्ठे गुरु पुरश्शितम्।
श्यामं पञ्चाङ्गुलिव्यामं सार्धहस्तसमुन्नतम्।।१८।।

त्सरुणा गुरुणा नद्धं महिषादिनिकर्तनम्।
बाहुद्वयोद्यमक्षेपौ लवित्रे वल्गिते मते।।१९।।

व्याख्या - लवित्रं नाम महिषादिकर्तनयोग्यः परितः पञ्चाङ्गुलिविस्तृतः सार्धहस्तसमुन्नतः खड्गः। भुग्नकायं त्सरुमारभ्याग्रपर्यन्तं नतः कायो यस्य तत्। पृष्ठभागे गुरु स्थूलम्। पुरः उदो शितं तीक्ष्णम्।।१७-१९।।

14a - D_2 - मुष्ठि° (for मुष्टि°)

16a - D_2 - अङ्गुळि° (for अङ्गुलि°)

18c - D_2 - °गुळि° (for °गुलि°)

It has a curved body, is broad at the back and bright in the front, is blackish, having width of five fingers and a hand tall when raised. (17)

Lavitra is bound with a broad grip to enable to chop off a bull and other animals, with the use of both arms raised and bring them down being the two ways of wielding it. (18-19)

आस्तरो ग्रन्थिपादस्स्याद्दीर्घमौलिर्बृहत्करः।
भुग्नहस्तोदरशिरः श्यामवर्णो द्विहस्तकः।।२०।।

व्याख्या - आस्तरो नाम गलकर्तनयोग्यबृहदअङ्कुशः। ग्रन्थिपादः जम्बीरमात्रमितलोहग्रन्थि-युक्तमूलः। भुग्नहस्तो नतकरः। उदरशितः अधस्तीक्ष्णः।।२०।।

Āstara has a knot at its bottom, is long at the head and has a big hand (i.e. grip). It has a curve at hand, belly and head, is dark-coloured and has two "hands". (20)

भ्रामणं कर्षणञ्चैव त्रोटनं तत्त्रिवल्गितम।
ज्ञात्वा शत्रून् रणे हन्याद्धार्यस्सादिपदातिकैः।।२१।।

व्याख्या - त्रोटनं कर्तनम्। सादिनो गजारोहाः।।२१।।

Whirling, pulling and cutting asunder are the three ways of wielding it; knowing these the warriors can kill the enemies along with their mahouts and their foot-soldiers. (21)

कुन्तस्त्वयोमयाङ्गस्स्यात्तीक्ष्णशृङ्गषड्श्रिमान्।
पञ्चहस्तसमुत्सेधो वृत्तपादो भयङ्करः।।२२।।

व्याख्या - कुन्तो नाम वर्तुलाकारपादयुक्तपञ्चहस्तोन्नततीक्ष्णाग्रलोहदण्डः। षड्श्रिमान् हस्तप्रमाणग्रभागे षट्कोभवान्।।२२।।

Kunta is made of iron, having sharp thorns on six angles, is five hands long, with "rounded" feet and terrible (in performance and effect). (22)

उड्डीनमवडीनञ्च निडीनं भूमिलीनकम्।
तिर्यग्लीनं निखातञ्च षण्मार्गाः कुन्तमाश्रिताः।।२३।।

व्याख्या - उड्डीनमूर्ध्वप्लवनम्। अवडीनमधःप्लवनम्। निडीनं पार्श्वप्लवनम्। भूमिलीनकं हस्ताभ्यां शिरसा च भूस्पर्शनम्। तिर्यग्लीनं पार्श्वाभ्यां भूमिस्पर्शः। निखातं कृन्तनम्।।२३।।

Six are the movements of the spear — flying up, flying downwards, swooping, touching the ground (with hands and head), touching the earth sideways and piercing. (23)

20b - D_2 - 'मौळि' (for 'मौलि')

23b - T_1 - भूविलीनकम् (for भूमिलीनकम्)

स्थूणस्तु रक्तदेहस्स्यात्समीपदृढपर्वकः।
पुम्प्रमाण ऋजुस्तस्मिन्भ्रमणं पातनं द्वयम् ।।२४।।

व्याख्या - स्थूणो नाम समीपपर्वसहितपुरुषप्रमाणोन्नतहस्तस्थूलवेणुदण्डः।।२४।।

Sthūṇa is reddish in appearance, has sturdy joints near one another, is as tall as a man, soft and has two movements — swirling and striking. (24)

प्रासस्तु सप्तहस्तस्स्यादौन्नत्येन तु वैणवः।
लोहशीर्षस्तीक्ष्णपादः कौशेयस्तबकाञ्चितः।।२५।।

व्याख्या - प्रासो नाम मूलाग्रयोर्लोहशल्ययुक्तसप्तहस्तोत्सेधयुतरक्तवेणुदण्डः। कौशेयानि क्रिमिकोशोत्थसूत्राणि। तैर्निमितो यः स्तबकः पुङ्खस्तेनाञ्चितः शल्याधोभागालङ्कृतः।।२५।।

Prāsa is made of bamboo, seven hands long when stands erect, has the iron head, sharp edge, and is decorated with a puff of silk threads. (25)

आकर्षश्च विकर्षश्च धूननं वेधनं तथा।
चतस्र एता गतयो रक्तप्रासं समाश्रिताः।।२६।।

पिनाकस्तु त्रिशीर्षस्स्यात्सिताग्रः क्रूरलोचनः।
कांस्यकायो लोहशीर्षश्चतुर्हस्तप्रमाणवान्।।२७।।

ऋक्षरोमस्तबकझल्लीवलयग्रीवदेहवान् ।
धूननं प्रोतनञ्चेति त्रिशूलं द्वे श्रिते गती।।२८।।

व्याख्या - पिनाको नाम लोहमयत्रिशीर्षयुतकांस्यदण्डस्यूताल्लीवलयसमेतऋक्षरोमस्तबकयुक्तहस्तचतुष्टयोन्नतकांस्याधोभागयुतदण्डः। पिनाकोऽस्त्री रुद्रचापे पांसुवर्षत्रिशूलयः इति मेदिनी (कान्तवर्गः १२०) । कांस्यकङ्कणका तत्तु झल्लीवलयसंमितमिति च मेदिनी (?) ।।२७-२८।।

These are the four movements of the red *prāsa* — drawing, pulling, shaking and piercing. (26)

Pināka has three heads, a black front portion, and a terrifying appearance; it is made of copper, has an iron head and is of the measure of four hands. (27)

It has "groups" of rough "thorns" with a copper ring in the neck. The *triśūla* (i.e. *pināka*) has two movements — shaking and piercing. (28)

गदा शैक्यायसमयी शतारपृथुशीर्षका।
शङ्कुप्रावरणा घोरा चतुर्हस्तसमुन्नता।।२९।।

व्याख्या - गदा नाम बृहद्ग्रन्थिशीर्षयुक्ता चतुर्हस्तोन्नतदृढत्सरुयुतातिगुरुर्लोहदण्डः। शतारपृथुशीर्षका शतकोणयुक्तबृहद्ग्रन्थिशीर्षकाशङ्कुप्रावरणा अग्रे लोह-शङ्कुप्रत्युप्ता।।२९।।

Gadā, made of iron used in making the loop of a yoke, has 100 spokes, broad head, is conical at the top, terrifying and measures four hands in length. (29)

रथाक्षमात्रकाया च किरीटाञ्चितमस्तका।
सुवर्णमेखला गुप्ता गजपर्वतभेदिनी।।३०।।

व्याख्या - सुवर्णमेखला महारजतपट्टबद्धा।।३०।।

Having the body like that of the axle of the carriage and adorned with a crown on head, it has a golden girdle, tied in a concealed way and can break apart a mighty elephant. (30)

मण्डलानि विचित्राणि गतप्रत्यागतानि च।
अस्त्रयन्त्राणि चित्राणि स्थानानि विविधानि च।।३१।।

व्याख्या - अस्त्रयन्त्राणि अस्त्रवदग्न्यादिनिर्माणप्रयुक्तप्रेरणानि। विचित्राण्याश्चर्यजन्मस्थानि विलक्षणोपदेशानि।।३१।।

The assemblage of the missile-like (mechanical) gadgets are of various types, hit (the target) and return in multiple ways, and have varied as well as different stances and movements. (31)

परिमोक्षं प्रहाराणां वर्जनं परिधावनम्।
अभिद्रवणमाक्षेपमवस्थानं सविग्रहम्।।३२।।

व्याख्या - वर्जनं व्यंसनम्। परिधावनं पृष्ठपलायनम्। अभिद्रवणं शत्रूद्देशेन द्रुतगमनम्। आक्षेपं भीतिजननार्थं सभ्रूभङ्गवल्गनम्। विग्रहश्शत्रुदेहमेलनकरणम्।।३२।।

Avoiding the strikes, casting asunder, escaping from behind, running away quickly (with regard to the enemy), knitting the eyebrows, standing, stretching out, (32)

परावृत्तं सन्निवृत्तमवप्लुतमुपप्लुतम्।
दक्षिणं मण्डलञ्चैव सव्यं मण्डलमेव च।।३३।।

व्याख्या - परावृत्तं पृष्ठभ्रमणम्। सन्निवृत्तं पुरो भ्रमणम्। अवप्लुतं स्वोपरि शत्रोः प्लवनम्। उपप्लुतं शत्रूपरि स्वप्लवनम्। दक्षिणमण्डलं प्रदक्षिणकरणम्।।३३।।

Turning back, returning, being plugged into, jumping upon, turning round from right as well as from left, (33)

आविद्धञ्च प्राविद्धञ्च स्फोटनञ्ज्वालनं तथा।
उपन्यस्तमपन्यस्तं गदामार्गाश्च विंशतिः।।३४।।

व्याख्या - आविद्धमीषद्धातः। प्रविद्धं प्रबलाघातः। स्फोटनं बाहुशब्दकरणम्। ज्वालनं कोपकारणम्। उपन्यस्तं स्वगदोपरि परगदाघातग्रहणम्। अपन्यस्तं तद्गदोपरि स्वगदाघातः। अत्रायुधवल्गितेषु किञ्चित् किञ्चिद्भेदः स्वमत्योन्नेयः।।३४।।

Hitting slightly, hitting intensively, exploding and burning (due to anger), receiving the blow and returning it — these are the twenty ways of wielding *gadā*. (34)

मुद्गरस्सूक्ष्मपादस्स्याद्धीनशीर्षस्त्रिहस्तवान्।
मधुवर्णः पृथुस्कन्धश्चाष्टभारगुरुश्च सः।।३५।।

व्याख्या - मुद्गरो नाम त्सरुसहितबृहच्छङ्कुरूपी। हीनशीर्षो विगतशिखः सम्यक्कृत्ताग्रभाग इत्यर्थः। अष्टभारगुरुर्भाराष्टकमितगुरुत्ववान्।।३५।।

Mudgara is small at the bottom with a tiny head and three hands, is honey-coloured, broad at the shoulders and eight *bhāra*s in weight, (35)

सत्सरुर्वर्तुलो नीलः परिध्याकारसम्मितः।
भ्रमणं पातनञ्चेति द्विविधं मुद्गरे श्रितम्।।३६।।

व्याख्या - नीलःकृष्णदारुनिर्मितत्वात्।सत्सरुरेकस्सम्मितमण्डलः। तद्धस्तक्रमेण द्विचतुः-पञ्चमितपरिधिरिति ज्ञेयः।।३६।।

It has a rounded grip, is dark bluish in colour and two to five hands long. Whirling and striking are the two movements of the hammer. (36)

सीरो द्विवक्रो विशिखो लोहपट्टमुखः कृषन्।
पुम्प्रमाणस्स्निग्धवर्णस्त्वाकर्षविनिपातवान्।३७।।

व्याख्या - सीरो नाम हलः। विशिखश्शिखारहितः। कृषन् कर्षणसामर्थ्यवान्।।३७।।

Sīra has two curves, has a tuft (i.e. the top knot), with the face of an iron band that can pull, is of the length of a man and smooth in colour. It pulls and makes one fall. (37)

मुसलस्त्वक्षिशीर्षाभ्यां करैः पादैर्विवर्जितम्।
मूले चान्ते लोहबन्धः पातनं पोथनं द्वयम्।।३८।।

36a - D_2, T_1 - तत्सरु (for सत्सरु)

37a - T_1 - द्विवक्षो (for द्विवक्रो)

37b - Pri. $Edn._2$ - 'पाद' (for 'पट्ट')

व्याख्या - मुसलः प्रसिद्धः।।३८।।

Mūsala has eyes and head but is devoid of both the limbs. It is fastened with iron at the root and the end. Striking and crushing are its two movements. (38)

पट्टिशः पुम्प्रमाणस्स्याद्द्विधारस्तीक्ष्णशृङ्गकः।
हस्तत्राणसमायुक्तमुष्टिः खड्गसहोदरः।।३९।।

व्याख्या - पट्टिशो नाम ऋजुदेहोभयपार्श्वधारासहितहस्तत्राणसमेतत्सरुयुतखड्गविशेषः। खड्गसहोदरस्तद्बल्गितवान्।।३९।।

Paṭṭiśa, said to be the brother of the sword, is of the measure of a man, with two edges, a pointed horn and for holding with the fist it has the hand guard. (39)

मौष्टिकं सुत्सरु ज्ञेयं प्रादेशोन्नतिभूषितम्।
शिताग्रमुन्नतग्रीवं पृथूदरसितं तथा।।४०।।

व्याख्या - मौष्टिकं नाम मल्लैः हस्तधार्या छुरिका। सुसमीचीनमुष्टि युक्तः यः स सुत्सरुरुच्यते। त्सरु खड्गादिमुष्टिस्स्यादित्यमरः (२.८.९०)। पृथूदरसितमुन्नतोदरभागधारावत्।।४०।।

Mauṣṭika (a kind of a knife) is known to have a fine grip, good appearance due to its raised portion measuring the span between thumb and forefinger, white at the front, a high head, and is bright and has wide middle. (40)

मण्डलानि विचित्राणि स्थानानि विविधानि च।
गोमूत्रकाणि चित्राणि गतप्रत्यागतानि च।।४१।।

व्याख्या - विचित्राणि मण्डलानि चारीकरणखण्डमहामण्डलाख्यमण्डलभेदात् । तानि तु एकपदप्रचारेण चारीसंज्ञं तु मण्डलम् । द्विपादक्रमणं यत्र करणाख्यं तु मण्डळम् । करणानाञ्च संयोगात्खण्डमण्डलमीरितम् । खण्डैस्त्रिभिश्चतुर्भिर्वा महामण्डलमुच्यते (इति भारतोक्तानि)। विविधानि स्थानानि। वैष्णवं समपादञ्च वैशाखं मण्डलन्तथा। प्रत्यालीढं स्थानान्येतानि षण्णृणाम्।। (इति भारतशास्त्रोक्तानि)। एतानि पादयोः पूर्वापरविपेक्षपतिर्यग्विक्षेपादिविन्यासविशेषरूपकुटिलगमनानि। चित्राणि गतप्रत्यागतानि नानाप्रकारोपसर्पणापसर्पणानि।।४१।।

The assemblages of various weapons have different movements, which are zig-zag and others; they reach out the target and return in several ways. (41)

41c - D_2 - गोमात्र° (for गोमूत्र°)

तिरश्चीनगतान्येव तथा वक्रगतानि च।
परिमोक्षं प्रहाराणां वर्जनं परिधावनम्।।४२।।

व्याख्या - तिरश्चीनगतानि वक्रगतानि । सव्यापसव्यसञ्चरणानि। प्रहाराणां परदत्तप्रहाराणां परिमोक्षं स्थानचळनादिना व्यर्थीकरणम्। वर्जनं स्वप्रहारवैफल्यापदकस्थाने तद्वर्जनम्। परिधावनमेकस्य तिष्ठतः परितो धावनम्। भ्रमणमित्यर्थः।।४२।।

Slanting and crooked movements, preventing the strikes, avoiding one's own strike becoming futile, moving around, (42)

अभिद्रवणमाप्लावमवस्थानं सविग्रहम्।
परावृत्तमपावृत्तमपद्रुतमवप्लुतम्।।४३।।

उपन्यस्तमपन्यस्तमाघातं स्फालनं तथा ।
एतानि वल्गितान्याहुर्मौष्टिके नृपसत्तम।।४४।।

व्याख्या - अभिद्रवणमाभिमुख्येन शीघ्रगमनम्। आप्लावमीषद्गमनम्। अवस्थानं यद्वा यद्वाऽवस्थितिः। सविग्रहं विगृह्याभिमुख्यनावस्थानम्। परावृतं पराङ्मुखगमनम्। अपावृत्तं पार्श्वतोऽपसरणम्। अपद्रुतं परस्परजान्वादिग्रहायावनतकायतया धावनम्। अवप्लुतं मण्डूकवदुत्प्लवनम्।।४३।।

उपन्यस्तं प्रसारितशत्रुबाहुग्रहणम्। अपन्यस्तं प्रतिभटबाहुग्रहणार्थं स्वबाहुप्रसारणम्। आघातं शत्रुभुजेन साकं स्वभुजाघातः। स्फालनमूरुभुजयोश्शब्दकरणम्। मौष्टिक इति तथाविधायुधकरणकयुद्धे एतानि वल्गितानीत्यन्वयः।।४४।।

Moving quickly for encountering, moving a little, retaining position already held, holding after encountering and then holding, turning back, moving aside, changing with bent body to hold the opponent's knee, etc., springing for a jump like a frog, (43)

Catching the extended arm of the enemy, stretching one's own arm to clasp the enemy's arm, colliding the arm with that of the enemy, clapping the things arms with a noise, — these are the movements said to be with reference to *mauṣṭika*. (44)

परिघो वर्तुलाकारस्तालमात्रस्सुतारवः।
बलैकसाध्यसम्पातस्तस्मिन् ज्ञेयो विचक्षणैः।।४५।।

व्याख्या - परिघो नाम बृहत्कवाटोद्घाटनप्रतिबन्धककार्यर्गलविशेषः। परिघो योगभेदात्स्यान्मुद्गरोऽर्गलघातयोरिति विश्वः (?)। वर्तुलाकारः कोटिरहितः।

43b - Pri. Edn.$_{2.}$ D$_1$ - °मयस्थानं (for °मवस्थानं)

43d - Pri. Edn.$_2$, D$_1$ - °मयप्लुतं (for °मवप्लुतम्)

44b - D$_1$ - स्थालनं (for स्फालनं)

तालमात्रश्चतुर्हस्तप्रमाणोन्नतिमान्। चतुर्हस्तरतालमात्रः इति वैजयन्ती (३.७.१७१) ।
सुतारवो दृढवृक्षजन्यः। बलैकसाध्यसम्पातः महाबलमात्रनिर्वाह्यपातनाख्यवल्गितवान्।।४५।।

Parigha is circular in shape (without angles), four hands in length, made of sturdy wood; it can be wielded only by extremely strong men — this is how it should be known by the experts. (45)

मयूखी कृतयष्टिस्स्यान्मुष्टियुक्ता नतोन्नता।
किङ्किणीसंवृता चित्रा फलिकासहचारिणी।।४६।।

व्याख्या - मयूखी नाम क्षुद्रघण्टिकासहितत्सरुयुतनरतोन्नतवेणुदण्डः। फलिका नेत्रत्वङ्निर्मितखेटकम्।
तया सहचरतीति तथा। फलिका नेत्रविदलग्रथिताघातवारिणी इति केशवः (?) ।।४६।।

Mayūkhī is made of wood (usually bamboo) with the grip. It can be wielded by bending it and then raising it; it is surrounded by bells, is good in appearance and is used with a plank (to avoid being hit in eyes). (46)

आघातञ्च प्रतीघातं विघातं परिमोचनम्।
अभिद्रवणमित्येते मयूखीं पञ्च संश्रिताः।।४७।।

व्याख्या - प्रतिघातं प्रतीघातमिति द्विरूपकारः (?)। पञ्चयोगा इति शेषः।।४७।।

These are the five movements said to be used with *mayūkhī* — hitting, warding off, striking, releasing and moving quickly for encountering. (47)

शतघ्नी कण्टकयुता कालायसमयी दृढा।
मुद्गराभा चतुर्हस्ता वर्तुला त्सरुणा युता।।४८।।

व्याख्या - शतघ्नी नाम शतमेकप्रयोगेन हन्तीति व्युत्पत्त्या लोहकण्टकप्रत्युत्पकालायसमय-
मुद्गराभा गदा। शतघ्नी च चतुर्हस्ता लोहकण्टकिनी गदा इति वैजयन्ती (३.७.१९८)।
शतघ्नी च चतुर्हस्ता लोहकण्टकसञ्चिता यष्टिरिति केशवश्च (?)।।

चतुष्काधिकविंशत्या स्वङ्गुलैर्हस्तकल्पना।
सहस्रैरष्टभिः ख्यातं हस्तकैः क्रोशमानकम्।।
इति त्रिकाण्डशेषः। कालायसमयी अश्मसारविकारा। कालायसं दृढलोहः।
कालयसञ्चाश्मसारो दृषद्भेदिसुलोहकमिति केशवः (?) । त्सरुणा मुष्टिना।।४८।।

Śataghnī is made of steel, has thorns on it and is solidly sturdy, it looks like *mudgara*, is four hands long, circular and has a fine grip. (48)

गदा वल्गितवत्येषा मयेति कथिता तव।
अमून्यमुक्तायुधानि विंशतिर्नृपसत्तम।।४९।।

46b - Pri. Edn.$_1$ - नरोन्नता (for नतोन्नता)

व्याख्या - गदायां यानि वल्गितानि तावद्वल्गितवत्येषा शतघ्नी। इति शब्दस्समाप्तिवाचकः।।४९।।

I have told you that this (i.e. *śataghnī*) is wielded with movements similar to that of *gadā*. O excellent king, these are the twenty weapons that are not released. (49)

मुक्तामुक्तपदोक्तानि द्वात्रिंशदिति निर्णयः ।
ब्रह्मणा निर्मितः खड्गः पृथक् ते परिकीर्तितः।।५०।।

व्याख्या - मुक्तामुक्ताख्ये द्वे पदे। तयोरुक्तानीति पूर्वोक्तप्रकारेण द्वात्रिंशदायुधानीति शेषः। ते जनमेजयाख्यस्य तव। पृथक् द्वात्रिंशदायुधाधिकतया।।५०।।

These are certainly the thirty-two weapons, belonging to both the *mukta* and *amukta* categories. (50)

एतानि विकृतिं यान्ति युगपर्यायतो नृप।
देहदाढ्यानुसारेण तथा बुद्ध्यनुसारतः।।५१।।
यन्त्राणि लोहसीसानां गुलिकाक्षेपकाणि च।
तथा चोपलयन्त्राणि कृत्रिमाण्यपराणि च।।५२।।

व्याख्या - एतानि खड्गेन सह त्रयस्त्रिंशत्संङ्ख्याकानि। विकृतिं रूपाकारसामर्थ्यभेदरूपाम्। युगपर्याप्तस्त्रेतादिव्यत्यासात्। बुद्ध्यवुसारतश्शूरबुद्ध्यनुरोधेन।।५१।।

लोहसीसानां गुलिकाप्रक्षेपकाणि यन्त्राणि। बहुलोहनिर्मितसञ्चूर्णननलिकारूपाणि। "चूर्णः क्षोदे च पिष्टे च शकले पांसुकल्पयोः। लोहाभिसारिके चैव पुष्पधूपे च कथ्यत" इति केशवः (?)। उपलयन्त्राणि पाषाणोक्षेपकाणि। अपराणि सेतुशलाकादीनि।।५२।।

These weapons, O king, can have changes in their shapes and appearances for eternal ages on the basis of the physique, strength and intelligence of men. (51)

The mechanisms to release and throw iron balls, stones, man-made and others, (52)

व्याख्या - कूटयुद्धं सङ्कुलयुद्धम्। कूटयुद्धसहायानि भविष्यन्ति कलौ नृप।

कूटयुद्धसहायानि भविष्यन्ति कलौ नृप।
तप्ततैलं सर्जरसो गुडलालोग्रवालुका।।५३।।

व्याख्या - तप्ततैलं क्वथिततैलम्। गुडलाला सद्रवगुडम्। उग्रवालुका तप्तसिकता।।५३।।

मधुसाशीविषघटा बडिशानि बृहत्छिलाः।
क्रकचा धूमगुलिकास्तुषाङ्गारादिकं तथा ।।५४।।

अधर्मवृद्ध्या चैतानि भविष्यन्त्युत्तरोत्तरम्।
साधनानि महीपाल कूटयुद्धाभिकाङ्क्षिणाम्।।५५।।

व्याख्या - मधु क्षौद्रम्। साशीविषघटः ससर्पकलशः। बडिशं दन्तोत्पाटकशङ्कुविशेषः। कीलकवाच्याः बृहच्छिलाः। पृथूपलाः। त्रकचाश्शरपत्राणि। धूमगुलिका धूमचूर्णगुलुच्छानीति यावत्। अन्तरुद्धृतसारं यत्तद्गुल्मच्छमुदाहृतमिति वामनः (?)। शत्रुसम्मर्देषु स्वस्फुटनेन धूमोत्पादककिट्टचूर्णमञ्जूषाः। तुषाङ्गारादि मुर्मुराग्न्यादि। एतत्सम्पादनं राज्ञां दुर्गारोहकशत्रुदेहोपरि क्षेपतत्पादस्खलनादिना तदपसारणार्थम्।।५४।।
अधर्मस्य वृद्ध्या धर्मस्य ह्रासेन चेत्यर्थः। कूटयुद्धाकाङ्क्षिणामेनानि साधनानि। उत्तरोत्तरं त्रेताद्वापरकलिषु भविष्यन्तीत्यन्वयः।।५५।।

Shall be useful in unfair battles in the Kali age, O king, as also, heated oil, juice of *sarjarasa* (a kind of a tree), liquid jaggery, hot sand, (53)

Honey, pots filled with poisonous serpents, fish hooks, huge rocks, saws, bunches of balls emitting smoke, chaff fire — (54)

— These means, O king, shall be increasingly used by those inclined to wage unfair battles due to the progress of unrighteousness. (55)

हूणाः पुलिन्दाश्शबराः बर्बराः पल्लवाश्शकाः।
मालवाः कोंकणा ह्यान्ध्राश्चोलाः पाण्ड्याः सकेरलाः।।५६।।
म्लेच्छा गोयोनयश्चान्ये चण्डालाश्श्वपचाः खलाः।
मावेल्लका ललित्थाश्च किराताः कुक्कुरास्तथा।।५७।।

पापा ह्येते कथं धर्मं वेत्स्यन्ति च वियोनयः।
साङ्कर्यदोषवृषला भविष्यन्तधर्मे युगे।।५८।।

व्याख्या - हूणाद्यन्त्यजातिभटानां धर्मज्ञाने सामर्थ्याभावं कथयितुं तान्निर्दिशति हूणा इत्यादिना।।५६।।
गोयोनयः नन्दिन्युद्भूताः।।५७।।
वियोनयो विरुद्धयोनिजन्याः। धर्माज्ञाने करणमाह साङ्कर्यदोषः विलोमयोनिसंपर्कजन्यदोषः। तस्मिन्निरता आसक्ताः। तया च दुष्टानां न धर्मबुद्धिरिति भावः। साङ्कर्यदोषवृषला इति पाठे साङ्कर्यदोषेणान्यवर्णीयधर्माचरणप्रत्यवायेन वृषला धर्मलोपकाः। वृषो हि भगवान् धर्मस्तस्य यः कुरुते ह्यलम्। वृषलं तं विदुर्देवास्तस्माद्धम न लोपयेदिति मनुः (८.१६)।।५८।।

57b - T_1 - °श्वपच्चाः (for °श्शवपचाः)

57c - T_1 - ललिद्था° (for ललित्था°)

58c - Pri. $Edn._1$ - °निरता (for °वृषला)

The Hūṇas, Pulindas, Śabaras, Barbaras, Pallavas, Śakas, Mālavas, Koṅkaṇas, Āndhras, Coḷas, Pāṇḍyas with Keraḷas, (56)

Mlecchas, Goyonis and other vicious tribes like Cāṇḍālas, Śvapacas, Māvellakas, Lalitthas, Kirātas, Kukkuras — (57)

How could these sinful people of undesirable origin and inter-mixtures of castes through impropriety know righteousness in this unrighteous age? (58)

इत्येतत्कथितं वत्स मया लोकहितैषिणा।
तुभ्यं शुश्रूषवे धर्मान् किंभूयः कथयाम्यहम्।।५९।।

व्याख्या - स्वोक्तिं निगमयति ब्रह्मा इतीति।।५९।।

Thus, O my child, I have told you to serve your subjects with a desire to do good for them; what more should I tell you? (59)

।। इति वैशम्पायननीतिप्रकाशिकाया ममुक्तायुधनिरूपणं नाम पञ्चमस्सर्गः।।
।। इतिश्रीसीतारामकृतायां नीतिप्रकाशिकातत्त्वविवृतौ पञ्चमस्सर्गः।।

Here Ends the Fifth Canto of the Nītiprakāśikā of Vaiśampāyana Titled "Description of the Weapons that Are not to Be Released".

Here Ends the Fifth Canto of the Tattvavivṛti of Sītārāma.

Colophon - T_1 -।। इति श्रीमन्नीतिशास्त्रे नीतिप्रकाशिकायां आयुध(विष्णो)नि(र्नि)रूपणं नाम पञ्चमस्सर्गः।।

T_1 -।। इति श्रीमन्नीतिशास्त्रे नीतिप्रकाशिकायां तत्त्वविवृतौ पञ्चमस्सर्गः । श्रीम(च्)चन्द्राय नमः।५।।

अथ षष्ठस्सर्गः

सेनानयनकथनम्

Sixth Canto

Instruction on Leading the Army for War

अथ व्यूहान्प्रवक्ष्यामि शत्रुसैन्यप्रमर्दनान्।
बलाङ्गासङ्कुलार्थाय शत्रुसम्मोहनाय च।।१।।

व्याख्या - व्यूहान् बलविन्यासान्। व्यूहस्तु बलविन्यास इत्यमरः (२.८.७९)। बलाङ्गानां रथगजतुरगपत्तिरूपाणाम्। असङ्कुलार्थायासम्मर्दननिमित्तम्।।१।।

Now I shall tell you about the battle-arrays that torment the enemy forces, so as to guard your army and to lead astray the enemy. (1)

स्वशक्त्युपचयं ज्ञात्वा रिपुव्यसनमेव च ।
शत्रोस्त्रिगुणसैन्येन व्यूह्य सेनामरिं व्रजेत्।।२।।

व्याख्या - उपचयं वृद्धिम्। व्यसनमपचयम्। शत्रोस्तत्सम्बन्धिनः। सैन्येन सेनास्थजनसमूहेन। व्यूह्य योजयित्वा।।२।।

Knowing well the increase of your own strength and the decrease of the enemy, one should arrange one's own threefold forces to counteract the army of the enemy. (2)

दण्डो भोगोऽसंहतश्च मण्डलव्यूह एव च।
व्यूहाश्चत्वार एवैते तेषु भेदान् ब्रवीम्यहम् ।।३।।

व्याख्या - व्यूहाः मुख्यव्यूहाः। भेदानवान्तरव्यूहान्।।३।।

These are the four basic arrays — *daṇḍa, bhoga, asaṁhata* and *maṇḍala*. Now I shall tell you about the sub-varieties (of each). (3)

प्रथमो दृढकस्सत्यश्चापभूस्वक्षिरेव च।
सुप्रतिष्ठोऽप्रतिष्ठश्च श्येनो विजयसञ्जयौ।।४।।

विशालो विजयस्सूचीस्थूणोऽकर्णश्चमूमुखः।
सुखास्यो विजयश्चेति दण्डसप्तदशात्मकः।।५।।

1b - D_1 - °प्रमर्धनान् (for °प्रमर्दनान्)

4a - Pri. $Edn._1$ - प्रदरो (for प्रथमो)

5c - T_1 - सुबाह्यो दुर्जय° (for सुखास्यो विजय°)

व्याख्या - प्रथमोद्दिष्टदण्डव्यूहस्य सप्तदशावान्तरभेदानाह द्वाभ्याम्।।४-५।।

Dṛḍhaka, satya, cāpa, bhū-svakṣi, supratiṣṭha, apratiṣṭha, śyena, vijaya, sañjaya, (4) *viśāla, vijaya, sūci, sthūṇa, akarṇa, camūmukha, sukhāsya* and *vijaya* — these are the seventeen varieties of the first main array, namely, *daṇḍa.* (5)

गोमूत्रिका हंसिका च सञ्चारी शकटस्तथा ।
एवं करपतन्तीति भोगभेदास्तु पञ्च वै।।६।।

व्याख्या - भोगव्यूहस्य पञ्चविधत्वमाहैतेन।।६।।

The five varieties of *bheda* array are three-*gomūtrikā, hamsikā, sañcārī, śakaṭa* and *karapatanti,* (6)

अर्धचन्द्रकटद्धारो वज्रश्शर्कटकस्तथा।
शृङ्गी च काकपादी च गोधिकेत्यपरस्स्मृतः।।७।।

ardhacandrakaṭaddhāra, vajra, śarkaṭaka, śṛṅgī, kākapādī and *godhikā,* (7)

असंहतष्षड्विधः स्यादित्याहुर्व्यूहकोविदाः ।
सर्वभद्रो दुर्जयश्च मण्डलोऽपि द्विधा इति।।८।।

व्याख्या - असंहतव्यूहस्य षड्विधत्वमाहार्धचन्द्रेत्यादिना सार्धश्लोकेन। अपरस्तृतीयः मण्डलद्वैविध्यं सर्वभद्रेत्यादिना। इतीति मुख्यव्यूहभेदाः एतावन्त एवेति समाप्ति-वचनः इति शब्दः।।८।।

The next one (i.e. *asaṁhata*) is said to have these six varieties according to the masters of battle-array, whereas the *maṇḍala* array is of two types — *sarvabhadra* and *durjaya.* (8)

वाराहो मकरव्यूहो गारुडः क्रौञ्च एव च।
पद्माद्याश्चाङ्गवैकल्यादेतेभ्यस्ते पृथक् स्मृताः।।९।।

व्याख्या - अङ्गवैकल्यात् रथगजादिसेनाङ्गस्य व्यत्यासेन राहित्याद्वा प्रदरादित्रिंशद्भेदभिन्नेभ्यः। पृथग्भिन्नाः।।९।।

Vārāha, makara, gāruḍa, krauñca, padma and others are said to be separate (from these) due to the differences in the limbs of the array in them. (9)

रक्षो देवमनुष्याणां बुद्धिवैचित्र्यनिर्मिताः।
व्यूहास्सहस्रशो राजन् इति ज्ञेया मनीषिभिः।।१०।।

व्याख्या - रक्षःपदं दैत्यदानवभूतप्रेतापिशाचासुरोपलक्षकम्। देवपदं गन्धर्वकिन्नरकिंपुरुषसिद्ध-विद्याधरोपलक्षम्। इति मनीषिभिर्ज्ञेयाः इति योजना।।१०।।

6a - T_1 - हिंसिका (for हंसिका)

O king! Thousands of battle-arrays are recognized by the wise ones created by the differences in the intellect of the demons, gods and men. (10)

उरः कक्षौ च पक्षौ च मध्यं पृष्ठः प्रतिग्रहः।
कोटी च व्यूहशास्त्रज्ञैस्सप्ताङ्गो व्यूह उच्यते।।११।।

व्याख्या - उर इत्युरोभागस्थितव्यूहः। कक्षावुरस्थोभयपार्श्वस्थितव्यूहौ। एतौ द्वावेकतया वा पार्श्वव्यूहयोरग्रे स्थितप्रपक्षापरनामकव्यूहौ कोटी। इमे द्वे एकाङ्गत्वेनेष्यते । एवं व्यूहस्य सप्ताङ्गत्वम्।।११।।

The front (leading) portion, two interiors, two wings, the central portion, the hind, reserve of the army (which is posted with its general 400 yards in the rear of a line) and both the types of the hind arrays when considered as the front ones — this seven-limbed one is known as the battle-array by those who know this science. (11)

अग्रे नागान् रथान्पश्चात्पार्श्वयोस्तुरगान्नृपः।
पदातीन्पृष्ठतो व्यूहे चारयन् विजयी भवेत्।।१२।।

तत्तत्कार्यानुसारेण रथान्नागांस्तुरङ्गमान्।
नरानश्वान् रथान्नागान्नरानश्वान्नथांस्तथा।।१३।।

गजांश्चाग्रे प्रेषयेच्च योजयित्वा यथाक्रमम्।
देशकालौ निरीक्ष्यैव परिवारसमन्वितान्।।१४।।

सर्वाभिसारसहितो यात्रोद्युक्तो नृपोत्तमः।
प्रचक्रममथो दृष्ट्वा प्रसारे विनियोजयेत्।।१५।।

व्याख्या - सेनाङ्गचालनक्रममाह अग्रे - इति। अग्रे सेनाग्रभागे अग्राथे चारयन्निति पूर्वेण सम्बध्यते।पक्षपार्श्वव्यूहौ। एतद्वितयमध्य एकतयेष्टम्। मध्यमुरः पृष्ठतोऽवस्थितमनीकं मध्यं पृष्ठः मध्यस्यापि पृष्ठतोऽवस्थितं पृष्ठमुच्यते। प्रतिग्रहः प्रतिष्ठाख्यानिका तद्द्विशतधनुर्व्यहितं राजावस्थानं प्रतिग्रहः। कोटिपार्श्वकाग्रभागे योजयित्वा सज्जान कृत्वा यथाक्रमं ध्वजपताकागजप्रेषणपूर्वकम्। दैशकालौ शत्रुदेशतज्ज्ञयकालौ। परिवाराः पादरक्षकाः। तद्युक्तान्।।१२-१४।।

सर्वाभिसारेण युद्धोद्युक्तसैन्येन। सर्वाभिसारस्सर्वौघस्सर्वसन्नहनार्थक इत्यमरः (२.८.९४)। यात्रा जिगीषुराजयानम् । यात्रा प्रव्रजनमित्यमरः (२.८.९५)। प्रचक्रमं परितः प्रचलितसैन्यम्। प्रसार अग्रतो व्याप्तौ। प्रसारस्त्वग्रतो व्याप्तिरिति मेदिनी (?) ।।१५।।

The king who arranges in battle — the elephants in the front, the chariots behind the horses on both sides and in the rear the infantry, can be victorious. (12)

According to the situation the king should send to the front the chariots, elephants, horses and infantry, or the horses, chariots, elephants and infantry, or the infantry, horses, chariots and (13)

elephants, together with their attendants, arranging them in a proper order and determining the right place and time. (14)

An excellent king, who gets his troops ready for war and is intent on that expedition, should, standing in the centre, review them and then send them forward. (15)

अभिषेणनमन्विच्छन्नभिक्रममथाचरेत्।
सङ्ग्राहिणः काक्षिकांश्च जङ्घालाननुगामिनः।।१६।।

व्याख्या - अभिषेणनं सेनया सह शत्रूपरि गमनम्। यत्सेनयाभिगमनमरौ तदभिषेणनमित्यमरः (२.८.९५)। अभिक्रमं निर्भयेन शस्त्रोरभिमुखगमनम्। सङ्ग्राह आयुधस्खलनप्रतिबन्ध-कर्माणिबन्धबद्धचर्म स येषामस्तीति ते तथा। कुक्षिश्चर्मनिर्मितकोशः। तत्रत्यः खड्गः स येषां ते कौक्षिकाः। खड्गिनः इत्यर्थः। जङ्घाला अतिजवाः। अनुगामिनः युद्धे यथेच्छं जिगमिषवः। कामं गाम्यनुगामिन इत्यमरः (२.८.३५)। तानूर्जस्वलान् बलिनः सांयुगीनान्युद्धसमर्थान्।।१६।।

He should place in the midst of the army the shield-bearers, small-swordsmen, runners and volunteers (16)

ऊर्जस्वलान्सांयुगीनान्सैन्यमध्ये प्रचारयेत्।
उद्वान्तं हास्तिकञ्चापि घण्टापथचरं भवेत्।।१७।।

व्याख्या - उद्वान्तं निर्मदं समम्। उद्वान्तंनिर्मदानित्यमरः (२.८.३६)। हास्तिकं गजव्यूहसमूहम्। हास्तिकं गजता वृन्दे इत्यमरः (२.८.३६)। घण्टापथः घण्टोपलक्षितानां गजानां शतधनुः परिणाहराजमार्ग इत्यर्थः। अत्र चरं सञ्चारयोग्यं कुर्यादित्यर्थः। एतेन युद्धकालेऽपि राजमार्गा व्यूहकल्प्या इति भावो व्यज्यते।।१७।।

And should place the strongest and the most efficient soldiers.

The herd of the tamed elephants should be kept ready to move on the highway that is 100 bows wide. (17)

बालान् पोतांश्च कलभान् विक्कांश्चैवोपवाह्यकान्।
मदोत्कटांश्च कलभान् सान्नाह्यानेव कारयेत्।।१८।।

व्याख्या - बालान् पञ्चवार्षिकान्। पोतान् दशवार्षिकान् कलभांस्त्रिंशद्वर्षान्। विक्कान् विंशतिवार्षिकान्। उपवाह्यकान् राजवहनोचितान्। मदोत्कटानुत्कटमदवतः कलभान् गजशिशून्। एतानेतान्सर्वानित्यर्थः। सान्नाह्यान्युद्धसन्नद्धान्। कारयेदेवेति योजना।।१८।।

16d - D_1, T_1, Pri. Edn.$_1$ - °नुकामिनान् (for °नुगामिनः)

He should train for war the elephants that are five years old, as also those that are ten, thirty and fifty years old, as well as those in rut. (18)

वीतमन्तः पुरञ्चैव पृष्ठयान्वै प्रातिवेश्यकान्।
शाखानगरवासांश्च राजधानीवणिग्जनान्।।१९।।

व्याख्या - वीतं युद्धासमर्थम्। वीतन्त्वसारमित्यमरः (४.८.४३)। अन्तःपुरं राजप्रतिग्रहः। पृष्ठयान्पृष्ठतोऽवस्थानोचितान्। प्रातिवेश्यकानवरोधवध्वादिरक्षणसहायान। शाखानगरवास्तव्यान् प्रधाननगरसम्मर्देन बहिर्बद्धतुच्छग्रामस्थान्। वणिग्जनान्व्यापारिजनान्।।१९।।

A king should keep behind his army a select harem, a small rear guard, and some intimate neighbours, some suburban inhabitants, and some merchants who live in the capital, (19)

सौविदल्लान्वर्षवरान् वृद्धान् बालांश्च रोगिणः।
सक्षतानक्षिरहितान् पङ्गून् व्यङ्गान् सुदुर्बलान्।।२०।।

व्याख्या - सौविदल्लान् कञ्चुकिनः। वर्षवरान् षण्डान्। षण्डो वर्षवरस्तुल्यावित्यमरः (२.८.९)। सक्षतान् शस्त्रकर्तनसहितान्। व्यङ्गान्विरुद्धाङ्गान्। सञ्चारप्रतिबन्धस्थूलवृषणगुदशलाटुशाद्वङ्गवत इत्यर्थः।।२०।।

Chamberlains, eunuchs, the old men and young, the sick, wounded, blind, lame, maimed and very weak persons. (20)

तथा पुष्यरथांश्चैव भद्रासनयुतानपि।
प्रक्रियानुप्लवांश्चैव युद्धोपकरणानि च।।२१।।

व्याख्या - पुष्यरथान्यात्रामात्रोपयोगिरथान्। असौ पुष्यरथश्चक्रयानं न समराय यदित्यमरः (२.८.५५)। भद्रासनानि राजोपवेशयोग्यपीठानि। तद्युतनरानिति शेषः। प्रक्रियानुप्लवान्। प्रक्रियाधिकारे येषान्ते च तेऽनुप्लवा अनुगामिनश्च तान् प्रक्रिया त्वधिकरः स्यादित्यमरः (२.८.३१)।।२१।।

Similarly, the state coaches (i.e. chariots for pleasure-riding) which are furnished with auspicious (comfortable) seats, officials with their attendants and war material, (21)

कोष्ठागारायुधागारयन्त्रागाराणि यानि च।
मन्थरान् धान्यकोशञ्च यच्चान्यत्कृशदुर्बलम्।।२२।।

व्याख्या - कोष्ठागाराणि कुशूलान्तर्गृहादीनि। यन्त्रागाराणि लोहगुलिकाक्षेपकनलिकाद्यागाराणि। मन्थरान् मन्दगामिनः मन्दगामी तु मन्थर इत्यमरः (२.८.७२)। धान्यकोशं धान्यागारम्। कृशञ्च तद्दुर्बलञ्चेति समानाधिकरणेन समासः।।२२।।

The treasury, armoury for the weapons (such as canon balls and others) and the arsenal, the granaries, the stragglers, and the thin and weak groups. (22)

प्रतिग्रहे वासयेच्च योधासम्मर्दहेतवे।
तस्य रक्षाञ्च विधिवच्छूरैः कुर्यान्नराधिपः।।२३।।

व्याख्या - प्रतिग्रहे बृहत्सैन्यपृष्ठस्वल्पसैन्ये वासयेत्। तत्र हेतुः। योधानामसम्मर्दनिमित्तमिति।।२३।।

He should make them stay at the rear for the purpose of not distressing the warriors. The king should ensure their protection properly with the valiant men. (23)

ऊर्जस्वलांश्च जङ्घालानभ्यमित्रियकांस्तथा।
आत्यन्तिकान् स्पशान्दूतांश्जैत्रान्सांयुगिकांस्तथा।।२४।।

व्याख्या - ऊर्जस्वलान् बलिनः। जङ्घालानतिजवान्। अभ्यमित्रीयकानाभिमुख्येन शत्रूनलं गच्छन्तीति तान्। आत्यन्तिकान्युद्धे यथेच्छगन्तद्धन्। स्पशान् चरान्, अपसर्पश्चरः स्पश इत्यमरः (२.८.१३)। दूतान्वार्ताहारकान्। जैत्राञ्जेतुं शीलवतः। सांयुगीनान्युद्ध-समर्थान्।।२४।।

Very strong men, fast runners, persons who face the enemy bravely, those who can move freely amongst the enemy, spies, messengers (who can easily bring information on the enemy), person who give information by signals and men experienced in fighting, (24)

जैत्रध्वजपताकञ्च स्वगजञ्च महोन्नतम्।
नासीरे प्रेषयेदेतानूर्जस्स्वदि्भर्बलैस्सह।।२५।।

व्याख्या - जैत्रो जयशीलो यो ध्वजः केतनापरपर्यायपताकाधारदारुविशेषः। तस्मिन्विद्यमाना पताका वैजयन्ती यस्मिन् सः। तादृशं महोन्नतमत्युन्नतम्। स्वगजं राजहस्तिनमिति योजना। नासीरे सेनामुखे। सेनामुखन्तु नासीरमिति मेदिनी (?)। ऊर्जं धैर्यमेषां तान्यूर्जस्वन्तितैर्बलैस्सैन्यैः। वरूथिनी बलं सैन्यमित्यमरः (२.८.७८) ।।२५।।

And the tallest of his elephants, which carries the flag of victory, together with his broad-chested soldiers — he should send these in front of the army. (25)

पुरोगानुचरांश्चैव सहायाभिचरांस्तथा ।
पृष्ठांश्च जाङ्घिकांश्चैव वेत्रिणोऽनुप्लवांस्तथा।।२६।।

व्याख्या - पुरोगा अग्रे गन्तारः। तत्सहिता येऽनुचराः। पृष्ठरक्षका इति यावत्। तान्। सहायास्सहैवागन्तारः। अभिचरा अभित आगन्तारः। पृष्ठाः प्रतिष्ठन्ति अग्रे गच्छन्तीति व्युत्पत्त्या कार्यकरास्तान्। जाङ्घिकाः। जङ्घया जीवति यः सः जाङ्घिकः। सुदूरं गत्वा तत्रत्यवार्तां राज्ञे निवेद्य तस्मात्पारितोषिकं गृहीत्वा तेन जीविनः तान्। वेत्रिणः यष्टिधरानित्यर्थः। अनुप्लवान् शुचीन् दूरे पृष्ठभागे सहायार्थमागच्छतः।।२६।।

26b - Pri. Edn.$_2$, D$_1$ - सा° (for स°)

The officials who precede the king together with their attendants, the military escort with their attendants, persons who walk immediately behind the king, the runners, the staff-bearers and the other followers, (26)

असिचर्मधरांश्चैव शंसकान्मागधांस्तथा।
स्वपुरश्चारयेद्राजा स्वसंरक्षणकारणात्।।२७।।

व्याख्या - चाक्रिकान् पुञ्जीभूय स्तुवन्तःमागधान् वंशावलिप्रस्तावकान्।।२७।।

As well as sword and armour-bearers, eulogists and bards — he should place these in the front for his own protection (27)

आजानेयांश्च जवनान्पृष्ठ्यन् रथ्यांश्च कर्कशान्।
पृष्ठेऽश्वान्वासयेद्राजा सविधे व्यूहकङ्कटान्।।२८।।

व्याख्या - आजानेयान् कुलीयान् पृष्ठ्यन् पृष्ठेन वहनोचितान्। रथ्यान् रथोद्वहनयोग्यान्। कर्कशान् धवलान्। सितः कर्कश [कर्कः] इत्यमरः (२.८.४५) । सविधे समीपे। व्यूहकङ्कटान् सन्नद्धान्। सन्नद्धो व्यूहकङ्कट इत्यमरः (२.८.६५)।

(Further) a king should place behind and near him well-bred, white fleet and flery, riding and chariot horses, which are clad in their mail. (28)

आश्विनं वप्रसहितं सालं काष्ठविनिर्मितम्।
बृहत्कूटं सपरिखं धनधान्यायुधान्वितम्।।२९।।

व्याख्या - आश्विननश्वगतेनैकदिनसाध्यप्राप्तिकम्। त्रिष्वाश्वीनं यदश्वेन दिनेनैकेन गम्यते इत्यमरः (१.४.१७)। वप्रेण सालभित्तिमूलरचितमृत्कूटेन सहितं युक्तम्। शाकटीनिर्मितं काष्ठै रचितम्। बृहत्कूटं बृहन्ति कूटानि सालभिरचितवर्तुलमृदादिकूटानि यस्मिन्। कूटं समूहे शिखरे वरणप्रान्तपादक इति नानार्थकारः (?) । सपरिखं परितः खन्यत इति परिखम्। सालप्रान्तगर्तविशेषः। तत्सहितम्। सालं समाश्रयेत्। आधारतया स्थापयेत्।।२९।।

(The fortified camp) which a horse can reach in a day, has a broad rampart, an encircling ditch, is well-stored with money, grains and weapons, (29)

सकाण्डपृष्ठं सजलं सतुषाङ्गारशिल्पकम्।
समाश्रयेद्युध्यमानश्शत्रुभिर्नृपसत्तमः।।३०।।

व्याख्या - सकाण्डपृष्ठं शस्त्राजीविसहितम्। शस्त्राजीवी काण्डपृष्ठः इत्यमरः (२.८.६६) । तुषाङ्गारा मुर्मुराः। मुर्मुरस्तु तुषाङ्गार इत्यमरः (?) [धान्यत्वचि तुषः पुमान्- अमरः २.९.२२]। शिल्पिनश्च तैस्सहितं पालयेदिति।।३०।।

30b - T_1 - °शिल्पिकम् (for °शिल्पकम्)

Garrisoned by the archers, is provided with water, full of burning husk and supplied with artisans — the excellent king, who is fighting with his enemies — should guard. (30)

बहूदयान्प्रात्ययिकान्कृत्वान्तर्वंशिकान्नृपः।
प्राज्ञान्मूलप्रतीकारान्वैरनिर्यातनञ्चरेत्।।३१।।

व्याख्या - बहूदयाननेकोपस्तकरवतः। प्रात्ययिकानाप्तान्। अन्तर्वंशिकानन्तःपुराधिकारिणः। मूलप्रतीकारान् धनदानरक्षकान्। वैरनिर्यातनं शत्रुषु द्वेषप्रत्यर्पणं चरेत्।।३१।।

Having appointed men who have been frequently rewarded, who are trustworthy and intelligent as surveyors of harem and all things, as superintendents of the seraglio, and as treasurers, a king should then retaliate. (31)

मूलप्रतिग्रहं कृत्वा प्रत्यासारं प्रकल्प्य च।
पौरश्रेणीस्स्वराष्ट्रञ्च पालयन् कृतप्राभृतः।।३२।।

व्याख्या - मूलप्रतिग्रहं सैन्यपृष्ठसमूहम्। द्विधनुश्शतके देशे बृहस्सैन्यस्य पृष्ठतः। मूलप्रतिग्रहः प्रोक्तो व्यूहश्शूरविनिर्मित इति कामन्दकीये। प्रत्यासारो व्यूहपार्श्वस्थबलः। पौरश्रेणीरेकनायकस्सजातीयनागप्रजा। स्वराष्ट्रं स्वदेशमिलितपट्टणव्यूहम्। कृतप्राभृतः प्रतिगृहीतोपायनकः। प्राभृतन्तु प्रवेशनम् उपायनमुपग्राह्यमुपहारस्तयोपदेत्यमरः (२.८.२७) ।।३२।।

While protecting his citizens and kingdom, placing his reserve force (200 bows away from his army) behind the arranged army in a proper array, (32)

सैनिकान् परिधिस्थांश्च स्थापयित्वा नृपोत्तमः।
प्रस्थापयेन्मार्गकरान् पुरस्ताच्छिल्पिना बहून्।।३३।।

व्याख्या - सैनिकान् सेनारक्षणार्थं राजा कृतभृतिकान्। परिधिस्थान् सेनायाः परितः संरक्षणार्थं सञ्चरमाणान्।।३३।।

And distributing his watchmen and sentinels, an excellent king should dispatch many road-makers and artisans before marching, (33)

कर्मान्तिकान् यष्टिधरान् खनकांस्तक्षकानपि।
सूत्रिणो रोपकांश्चैव सेतुबन्धकरानपि।।३४।।

व्याख्या - कर्मान्तिकान् कार्यसमापनसमर्थान्। तक्षकान् दार्वादितक्षणसमर्थान्। सूत्रिणस्सूत्रधारिणः।।३४।।

32a - T_1 - मूक° (for मूल°)

As also the workmen who give the finishing touch, superintendents of the work, diggers, carpenters, surveyors, tree-planters as also bridge-builders, (34)

तथा भूमिप्रदेशज्ञान् व्याधान्वनविशारदान्।
विषमस्थं रिपुबलं ये विदुस्तान् बहुश्रुतान्।।३५।।

व्याख्या - विषमस्थं निम्नप्रदेशप्रच्छन्नम्। विदुर्वेत्तारः। बहुश्रुतान् श्रुतसकलवृत्तान्तान्।।३५।।

Those who know the geography of the country, hunters who are well acquainted with forests, and the spies who find out the hostile army hidden in a low point. (35)

प्रेषयित्वा नयेत्सेनां गुप्तिकर्म विधाय च।
परिहृत्य श्मशानानि देवतायतनानि च।।३६।।

व्याख्या - गुप्तिकर्म संरक्षणकृत्यम्।।३६।।

Having dispatched all his men of the army, he should lead his own force, being on the lookout for protection avoiding burning grounds and the shrines of gods, (36)

आश्रमांश्च महर्षीणां तीर्थान्यायतनानि च।
नाधितिष्ठेत्तुषाङ्गारभस्मकेशकपालिकाः।।३७।।

व्याख्या - अधि आश्रित्य तिष्ठेत्। तासु सेनानिवेशो न कार्य इति भावः।।३७।।

The hermitages of great sages, holy places and sanctuaries; he should not tread on and tent on burning husk, ashes, hair and skulls. (37)

मधुरानूषरे देशे शिवे पुण्ये जलावृते।
निवेशं कारयेद्राजा सेनायास्तु स्ववृद्धये।।३८।।

व्याख्या - स्ववृद्धये स्वाभ्युदयाय।।३८।।

The king should, for his welfare, force an entrance that is, stay for his army into a pleasant, not brackish, auspicious, healthy and well-watered country. (38)

विद्रावयेच्छत्रुगुल्मांस्तथा चैकचराहितान्।
परिक्रमेच्च सेनायां परितो योधसंवृतः।।३९।।

व्याख्या - शत्रुगुल्मान् शत्रुभिस्स्वनिरोधार्थं यूथशस्स्थापितभटान्। एकचराहितानेकैक एव गूढञ्चरतीति तादृशरिपून्।।३९।।

35a - T_1 - °प्रवेश° (for °प्रदेश°)

39c - D_1, T_1 - परिक्रमो च (for परिक्रमेच्च)

He should drive away the hurdles placed by the enemy, and also single individuals who roam about; and surrounded by his body-guards he should visit all the parts of his army. (39)

दूष्याणि च नरेन्द्राणां स्वयमेव विचारयन्।
शत्रूद्योगविघातार्थं परितश्चारयेद्बलम्।।४०।।

गुप्तिकर्म समादिश्य चाराननुविधाय च।
शिबिराणि महार्हाणि स्वयोधानां पृथक् पृथक्।।४१।।

प्रभूतजलकाष्ठानि दुराघर्षतराणि च।
भक्ष्यभोज्योपपन्नानि धनधान्ययुतानि च।।४२।।

व्याख्या - दूष्याण्युपगृहाणि। दूष्याद्यं वस्त्रवेश्मनीत्यमरः (२.६.१२) ।।४०-४२।।

Checking himself the tents of his allied kings, he should send his troops everywhere in order to thwart the efforts of the enemy. (40)

He should make war upon his enemies without anxiety after having directed the necessary protective arrangements, distributed his spies, and erected at separate places excellent encampments for the soldiers, (41)

Who are provided with ample water and wood, inaccessible, furnished with food which needs mastication and other food which may be swallowed without it, and filled with money and grain, (42)

कृत्वा सुशिल्पिनः प्राज्ञान् शतशो दत्तवेतनान्।
सर्वोपकरणैर्युक्तान्वैद्यांश्च सुविशारदान् ।।४३।।

व्याख्या - दत्तवेतनान्निर्यातितभृतिकान्। वैद्यान् चरकमौलिकचिकित्साकोविदान्। क्षतचिकित्सका रोगचिकित्सानिपुणा वा।।४३।।

Having collected in a place near to the camp many clever and good artisans and expert doctors who receive a handsome pay, and who are provided with all necessary things. (43)

प्रदेयानि तु योधानां वस्त्राण्याभरणानि च।
वित्तं बहु च संस्थाप्य निश्शङ्को योधयेदरीन्।।४४।।

व्याख्या - प्रदेयानि पारितोषिकाणि। दद्यात्प्रहृष्टो नियतं वर्वाणां राजघातिनेत्यादिना वक्ष्यमाणानि। निकटे स्वासन्नप्रदेशे। अरीन् योधयेत् स्वकीयैर्बलैरिति शेषः।।४४।।

After giving awards, clothes and jewellery and much money to the warriors, he should confront the enemies without anxiety. (44)

41a - T_1 - श्रीप्ति° (for गुप्ति°)

गतवाहनयोधानां वाहनानि प्रकल्पयेत्।
विशस्त्राणाञ्च शस्त्राणि दापयेद्युधि भूमिपः।।४५।।

व्याख्या - गतवाहनयोधानां गतानि युद्धैर्हतानि भृतानि वा वाहनानि ते च ते योधाश्च तेषां प्रकल्पयेत्। दापयेत् विशस्त्राणां विगतायुधानां दापयेत्। आयुधागाराधिकृतैरिति शेषः।।४५।।

When at war a king should assign vehicles (i.e. horses, chariots and others) to soldiers who have lost their own, and weapons to those who have lost them. (45)

पल्याणानि खलीनानि पल्ययाङ्कादिकानि च।
प्रकीर्णकानि शीर्षण्यान्यथो कङ्कटकान् कुथाः।।४६।।

व्याख्या - पल्याणानि हयपृष्ठे उपवेशार्थं क्लृप्तासनानि। पल्याणं स्यात्पल्ययनमित्यमरः (?) । खलीनान्यश्वविवर्तनार्थं क्लृप्तमुखरज्जुविशेषाः। खलिका तु खलीनोऽस्त्री-इत्यमरः (२.८.४९) । पल्ययाङ्कान्यश्वारोहार्थं क्लृप्तपार्श्वद्वयविलम्बिसोपानानि। प्रकीर्णकानि चामराणि (२.८.३१) । चामरन्तु प्रकीर्णकमित्यमरः (२.८.३१)। शीर्षण्यानि शिरस्त्राणि। शीर्षण्यन्तु शिरस्त्रेऽथ इत्यमरः (२.६.९८) । कङ्कटानुरश्छदान्। उरश्छदः कङ्कटक इत्यमरः (२.८.६४)। कुथाः परिस्तोमाः। परिस्तोमः कुथा द्वयोः। गजपृष्ठपिधानानि।।४६।।

He should have made ready all the necessaries for the march, such as saddles, bridle bits, stirrups and other such things, chowries, helmets, armours and housings, (46)

ज्याधनुर्वर्मशस्त्राणि चापानि यवसं बहु।
महायन्त्राणि नाराचांस्तोमरांश्च परश्वघान्।।४७।।

व्याख्या - ज्या मौर्वीम्। धनूंषि। वर्माणि कवचानि। शस्त्राणि खड्गादीनि। चापानि वैतस्तिकबाणप्रयोगसाधनत्रिवक्रधनूंषि। यवसं श्वेतदूर्वाः। यवसं तृणमर्जुनमित्यमरः (२.४.१६७)। महायन्त्राणि शिलालोहगुलिकाक्षेपकनलिकारूपयन्त्राणि।।४७।।

Bowstrings, bows, armours, weapons, triangular bows, abundant fodder, big machines, iron arrows, tomahawks and axes, (47)

रज्जून् शङ्कूञ्छङ्कुरोपान् लोहपादनिबन्धनान्।
धात्राणि च कुठारांश्च वाश्यांश्च छुरिका अपि।।४८।।

व्याख्या - रज्जून् पटग्रहगजतुरगादिबन्धनार्थान्। शङ्कूरोपाञ्छङ्कुस्थापनसमर्थतिर्यग्दारु-लगुडान्। लोहपादनिबन्धनान् लोहनिर्मिततुरगवृषभपादमृदुत्वपरिहारकलोहचन्द्रकान्।

48b - Pri. Edn.$_2$, D$_1$ - 'विबन्ध (for 'निबन्ध')

अश्वादिपादरक्षायां लोहचन्द्रक ईरित इति मेदिनी (१७५.८) । दात्राणि वाश्यान् दारुतक्षणसाधनानि।।४८।।

Ropes, spike-hammers, iron horse-shoes, plane irons, hoes, wood-chisels, and also knives, (48)

चक्राणि लोहपट्टाः क्रकचांश्चर्मभिस्त्रकाः।
पटकानि खनित्राणि सूचीश्च ग्रथनोचिताः।।४९।।

व्याख्या - लोहपट्टो रथचक्रनेमिबन्धनः। चर्मभस्त्रिकाः जलाहरणयोग्यनरवृषपृष्ठहार्य-चर्मकोशान्।।४९।।

Wheels, cramp-irons, saws, leather water-bags, baskets, shovels, needles fit for sewing purposes, (49)

पृष्ठ्यान् वृषानश्वतरीनुष्ट्रान्वै दूरगामिनः।
गजानाञ्च हयानाञ्च नराणामगदानि च।।५०।।

व्याख्या - पृष्ठ्यान् पृष्ठेन भारवहनसमर्थान्। अश्वतरीन् गर्दभ्यां तुरगादुत्पन्नान्। दूरगामिनः। उष्ट्रान् वार्तिककरभान्। अगदान्यौषधानि।।५०।।

Bulls for carrying burdens, mules, far-going camels, and medicine for elephants, horses and men, (50)

विविधानि च वाद्यानि तथा कैरातकं मधु।
शाल्मलीतूलिकाञ्चैवाप्यश्मसाराश्मसंयुतान्।।५१।।

व्याख्या - कैरातकं युद्धोत्साहजनकं मद्यम्। "युद्धोत्साहकरं मद्यं यत्तु कैरातकं हि तत्"। रणे भाविनि घोरे तु सेव्यं तत् क्षत्रियैर्द्रुतम् इति नीतिविवेके (?) । अश्मसारो लोहविशेषः। अश्माग्न्युपलः तत्संयुतां शाल्मलीतूलिकामित्येतत्र-यमग्न्युत्पादकमिति लोकप्रसिद्धम्।।५१।।

Various musical instruments, the sweet beverage *kairātaka*, cotton of the silk-cotton tree, together with flint and iron, (51)

वराकीश्चैव तरुजाः कटाहाँल्लोहताम्रकान्।
आरकूटांश्च टङ्कांश्च शाणांश्च पृधनानपि।।५२।।

व्याख्या - तरुजाः वार्क्षाः। वराकीः सूलपट्टीः। धान्यादिपूरणयोग्याः। आरकूटान् पित्तल्यपरनामकरीतिः। रीतिः स्त्रियामारकूटः इत्यमरः (२.९.९७) । टङ्कान् पाषाणभेदनान् च टङ्कः पाषाणदारक इत्यमरः(२.१०.३४)। निकषान् वृदनान् गुञ्जादितोलनकरान्। गुञ्जादितोलनकरो वृदनो मापकश्च स इति मेदिनी (?) ।।५२।।

Wooden vessels, iron and copper basins, brass implements, stone-cutters, chisels, grindstones, balances, (52)

52d - T_1 - पृद' (for पृध')

आरा उपानहश्चैवाप्यूरुत्राणि कशास्तथा।
विश्वकद्रूंश्च वेणूंश्च वागुरा बडिशान्यपि।।५३।।

व्याख्या - आराश्चर्मभेदकशस्त्राणि। आरा चर्मप्रभेदिकेत्यमरः (२.१०.३४)। ऊरुत्राणि पादमारभ्योरुपर्यन्ताच्छादकानि। कशाः अश्वादिताडनार्थप्रतीदान्। अश्वादेरताडनी कशेत्यमरः (२.१०.३१)। विश्वकद्रून्मृगयाकुशलशुनकान्। विश्वकद्रुर्मृगयाकुशल इत्यमरः (२.१०.२२)। वागुरा मृगबन्धनयोग्यजालाः। वागुरा मृगबन्धिनीत्यमरः (२.१०.२६)। बडिशानि मत्स्यबन्धनयोग्यवक्रशल्यानि। बडिशं [बळिशं] मत्स्यबन्धनमित्यमरः (१.१०.१६)।।५३।।

Awls, boots, breeches, as well as whips, hounds, bamboo sticks, traps and fishnets, (53)

पतद्ग्राहान् गन्धतैलं पीतिकादीनि यानि च।
प्रस्थानिकानि सेनायास्तानि सुष्ठु प्रकल्पयेत् ।।५४।।

व्याख्या- पतद्ग्रहांस्ताम्बूलश्लेष्मादि गृह्णाति स्वपृथुकण्ठभोगेनेति पतद्ग्राहः। म्लेच्छभाषायां पीकुदानीति प्रसिद्धः। पतद्ग्राहः पतद्ग्रह इत्यमरः (२.६.१३९)। प्रास्थानिकानि प्रस्थानयोग्यानि तानि पूर्वोक्तवस्तूनि। सुष्ठु प्रकल्पयेत् सम्यक् सम्पादयेत्।।५४।।

Spittoons, perfumed oil, yellow ointment, and all such like things for the march of the army. (54)

योधेषु रथिकान् कुर्यादश्वपृष्ठविशारदान्।
अश्वारूढांस्तथा कुर्याद्रथेषु परिनिष्ठितान्।।५५।।

व्याख्या - योधेषु चतुरङ्गबलविद्यमानभटेषु मध्ये रथिकान्। अश्वपृष्ठविशारदान् तुरङ्गयुद्ध-कुशलान्। कुर्यादिति सर्वत्रान्वयः।।५५।।

Of those of his soldiers who serve on the carriages, he should make expert riders, and the horsemen he should turn into able chariot-soldiers. (55)

उभौ तौ नृपतिः कुर्याद्गजपृष्ठसुयोधिनौ।
तान्हि कुर्यात्पदातीन्वै पदातीनपि तादृशान्।।५६।।

व्याख्या - तावुभौ रथिकाश्वसादिनौ। तान् रथिकगजारूढतुरगारूढान्। त्रीन्पादातवल्गितनिपुणान् कुर्यात्। तादृशान् रथिकगजारूढतुरगाधिष्ठिततुल्यान्।।५६।।

The king should make these two (horsemen and chariot-soldiers) capable of fighting from the back of elephants, and also as foot-soldiers, and the latter he should use as chariot-soldiers, horsemen and soldiers on elephants. (56)

सारथ्ये च गजस्कन्धे चक्ररक्षाविधौ तथा।
अन्येषु वा साहसेषु तान् कुर्यान्निपुणान्नृपः।।५७।।

व्याख्या - तांश्चतुरङ्गयोधान्।।५७।।

The king should make all soldiers expert in charioteering, elephant-riding, in guarding the carriage wheels and in other difficult things. (57)

द्वात्रिंशत्करणानि स्युर्युद्धे यानीह नीतितः।
चतुरङ्गबलं सर्वं तेषु कुर्यात्सुनिष्ठितम्।।५८।।

व्याख्या - किं बहुना ? पूर्वोक्तद्वात्रिंशदायुधविद्यानिपुणान्कुर्यादित्याहद्वात्रिंशदित्यादिना।।५८।।

The king should instruct his troops of all the four sections well in those thirty-two movements of war, which are laid down in polity. (58)

प्रयाणपूर्वयायित्वं वनदुर्गप्रवेशनम्।
अकृतानाञ्च मार्गाणां कृतानाञ्च प्रवर्तनम्।।५९।।

बिभीषिकाविघातश्च तथा प्राकारभञ्जनम्।
कोशनीतिर्भयत्राणं भिन्नसन्धानमेव च।।६०।।

शत्रुपत्त्यश्वरोधश्च दुर्गे भारोद्वहस्तथा।
वृक्षावभ्ञ्जनञ्चैव हस्तिकर्म प्रचक्षते।।६१।।

व्याख्या - चतुरङ्गबलकार्याण्याह - प्रयाणपूर्वयायित्वमित्यादिना। प्रयाणे यात्रायां पूर्वयायित्वं प्रथमगन्तृत्वम्। वनात्मकं यद्दुर्गं दुःखेन गन्तुं शक्यं तत्प्रवेशनम्।।५९।। बिभीषिकाणां कृत्रिमदारुमृन्निर्मितयन्त्राणाम्। द्रव्यप्रापणम्। भिन्नसन्धानं युद्धकाले परकृतछिद्रपूरणम्।।६०।।

शत्रूणां पत्तयश्च अश्वाश्च तेषां रोधो निरोधः। भारोद्वहो भारनिर्हरणम्।।६१।।

Experts declare that the work of elephants consists in marching in front, entering into forest forts, making new and clearing existing roads, (59)

Destroying appliances made artificially, breaking walls, carrying treasure, allaying the fear (of timid, and) conciliating the loopholes created by the enemy ranks, (60)

Blockading in a fort the hostile infantry and cavalry, and also carrying loads and breaking trees is the work taken from the elephants. (61)

द्वितीयसैन्ययायित्वं गजसंरक्षणं तथा।
भिन्नसन्धानकारित्वं दूरे शत्रुनिवारणम्।।६२।।

शत्रूणामभिरोधश्च व्यूहद्वारे व्यवस्थितिः।
महाघोषविधिश्चेति रथकर्म प्रचक्षते।।६३।।

व्याख्या - रथकर्माह - द्वितीयेति। द्वितीयसैन्यं प्रथमगतस्य स्कन्धावारार्थक्लृप्तसैन्यम्। तत्र गमनम्।।६२।।

शत्रूणामभिरोधोऽभिमुखनिरोधः। व्यूहद्वारेषु शत्रुसैन्यप्रवेशविवरेषु। महाघोषविधिः रिपुहृदयस्फोटकशब्दकरणम्।।६३।।

Men describe the function of the chariots as, to go in the second line, protect the elephants, and fill up the gaps (in the line of battle), keep the enemy at a distance, (62)

Blockade the enemy, stand at the head of the battle-array and make a frightening noise. (63)

वनदिङ्मार्गविज्ञानं वीरुधासाररक्षणम्।
प्रसारकरणञ्चापि हेषिताच्छत्रुभीषणम्।।६४।।

अनुयानापसरणे शीघ्रकार्योपपादनम्।
लुण्ठनं शत्रुसैन्यानामश्वकर्म प्रचक्षते।।६५।।

व्याख्या - अश्वकार्यमाह - वने दिशां मार्गाणांश्च विज्ञानम्। वीरुधस्य धान्यादिप्राप्तेः। आसारस्य सुहृद्बलस्य। रक्षणं स्वसैन्यप्रवेशकरणम्। प्रसारस्य तृणकाष्ठादिप्रवेशस्य करणं प्रापणम्। धान्यादेर्वीरुधः प्राप्तिः आसारस्तु सुहृद्बलम्। प्रसारस्तृणकाष्ठादेः प्रवेश इति कथ्यते इति वैजयन्ती (७.१.२) । हेषितात्स्वध्वनेः। शत्रुभीषणं शत्रुभय-सपादनम्।।६४।।

अनुयानमनुसृत्य यानम्। अपसरणं कार्यार्थं निर्गमः। शीघ्रकार्याणां शत्रुकृतकपटादीनाम्। उपपादनं स्वराज्ञे निवेदनम्।।६५।।

Obtaining the knowledge of the woods, country and roads, protection of the troops of the allies and the forage, dispersal (over the country in order to get grass and fuel), frightening the enemy by neighing, (64)

Closely following, going far away, performing rapid movements (as reconnoitring) and creating pillage in the hostile troops — they define these as the duties of the cavalry. (65)

शोधनं कूपतीर्थानां मार्गाणां शिबिरस्य च।
स्कन्धावारस्य करणं विष्टिकर्मप्रसाधनम्।।६६।।

कोशागारायुधागारधान्यागारादिरक्षणम्।
व्यूहप्राकारकरणं पत्तिकर्म प्रचक्षते।।६७।।

64b - Pri. Edn.$_2$, D$_1$, T$_1$ - पीवधा' (for वीरुधा')

व्याख्या - शिबिरस्थाननिवेशस्य स्कन्धावारस्य प्रधानबलरक्षकबाह्यरक्षणस्य। विष्टयो भृतिं विना कर्मकराः। तेषां कर्मणः प्रसाधनं करणम्।।६६।।

कोशो धनम्। व्यूहस्य प्राकारकरणं प्राकाराकारेणावस्थितिः।।६७।।

Clearing wells and fords, making roads, camps and the royal tent, performing sundry unpaid (menial) duties, (66)

Protecting the granaries, arsenals and treasuries, and making the entrenchments for the army, is described by them as the object of the infantry. (67)

अवृक्षस्थूलपाषाणगुल्मवल्मीककण्टका।
सापसारा पदातीनां भूर्नातिविषमा मता।।६८।।

अपङ्का शङ्कुरहिता तथा पाषाणवर्जिता।
खुराघातक्षमाभिन्ना समा भूर्वाजिनां मता।।६९।।

व्याख्या - अथ चतुरङ्गनिवेशभूमिमाह - अवृक्षेत्यादिना। तत्र प्रत्युपवेशो चितां भूमिमाह - अवृक्षेत्यादिना। सापसारा पादसञ्चारयोग्यप्रदेशसहिता। पादसञ्चारयोग्यो यस्त्वपसारः प्रकीर्तितः इति मेदिनी (?) ।।६८।।

अश्वभूमाह अपङ्केति। अभिन्ना अस्फुटिता। वाजिनामश्वानाम्। मतोपवेशनयोग्यत्वेन सम्मता।।६९।।

A country, which has no trees, big rocks, anthills, thickets and thorns, is suitable for treading and that which is not very uneven is regarded as convenient for infantry, (68)

A country without mire, without stumps, without stones, which can withstand the treading of the hoofs of horses, is without cracks and is even, is considered as a good country for the horses (to move), (69)

अकेदारा कृतश्वभ्रा वृक्षगुल्मविवर्जिता।
खुरचक्रसहा सौम्या रथभूस्सम्प्रकीर्तिता।।७०।।

व्याख्या - खुरचक्रयोराघातसहनवती।।७०।।

A country, which has no cornfields, no pitfalls, no trees and thickets, can bear the pressure of wheels and hooves and is pleasant, is praised as fit for carriages. (70)

मर्दनीयतरुश्रेष्ठव्रततिः पङ्कवर्जिता।
निर्दरा गम्यशैला च विषमा गजमेदिनी।।७१।।

70a - T_1 - °भ्रा (for °भ्रा)

व्याख्या - गजभूमिमाह मर्दनीयाः शुण्डापचयनयोग्या ये तरवो वृक्षाः तेषां श्रेष्ठा निबिडा व्रततिस्समूहो यस्याः सा। निर्दरा गुहरहिता।।७१।।

A country which has trees and excellent creepers, which can be crushed (for eating), is without mire or caverns, whose rocks can easily be mounted and which is uneven, is one fit for elephants. (71)

सर्वसेनाधिपः कार्यः कुलपुत्रो जितेन्द्रियः।
दृष्टापदानो दक्षश्च रूपवान्राजवल्लभः।।७२।।

व्याख्या - दृष्टापदानः परीक्षितसाहसचरित्रः। अपदानं कर्मवृत्तमित्यमरः (?)। राजवल्लभो नृपे भक्तिमान्।।७२।।

As the commander-in-chief should be appointed a person of good family, one who has conquered his passions, who has been tried in the past, is clever, handsome, a favourite with the king, (72)

लालाटिकश्चेङ्गितज्ञस्सेनानयविशारदः।
धृष्टस्सान्त्वयिता चैव स्वयोधानां रणाजिरे।।।७३।।

व्याख्या - लालाटिकः प्रभोर्भावदर्शी। इङ्गितज्ञः पराभिप्रायवित् पराभिप्राय इङ्गितमित्यमरः (३.२.७५) । सेनाया नयः शिक्षणं तत्र विशारदः निपुणः। धृष्टो धैर्यवान्। रणाजिरे युद्धे रङ्गे। स्वयोधानां सान्त्वयिता समाधाता।।७३।।

Who watches (senses) the forehead (expressions) of his master, who guesses the intentions (of others), expert in leading troops, courageous, and who conciliates his soldiers on the battlefield. (73)

अक्षौहिणीनां पतयः पृथक्कार्यास्तथाविधाः।
सेनापतिवशे तेऽपि तिष्ठेयुस्तेन पालिताः।।७४।।

व्याख्या - अक्षौहिणीनां तत्सङ्ख्याकसेनानाम् । पृथक् सर्वसेनाधिपतिभिन्नाः । तथाविधाः पूर्वोक्तसर्वसेनाधिपतिगुणतुल्यगुणकाः । तेऽप्यक्षौहिणीपतयोऽपि।।७४।।

The commanders of the *akṣauhiṇī*s should be separately selected according to the same qualifications; they should be under the commander-in-chief and in his charge. (74)

पत्तेस्सेनामुखस्यापि गुल्मस्य च गणस्य च।
वाहिन्याः पृतनायाश्च चम्वाश्चाप्यधिपाः पृथक्।।७५।।

74a - D_1 - अक्षोहिणी° (for अक्षौहिणी°)

75b - T_1 - रणस्य (for गणस्य)

अनीकिन्याश्च कार्या वै योधशिक्षासु निष्ठिताः।
द्वयोस्त्रयाणाम्पतयः कार्याः कार्यानुसारतः।।७६।।

व्याख्या - द्वयोः पत्तिद्वयस्य सेनामुखस्येत्यादिक्रमेण। त्रयाणां पत्तीनां सेनुखस्येत्यादिक्रमेण। कार्यानुसारतः पत्तिद्वयपत्तित्रयादिसाध्यकार्यवशात्।।७५-७६।।

Separate commanders should also be placed over a *patti, senāmukha, gulma, gaṇa, vāhinī, pṛtanā, camū,* (75)

and an *anīkinī,* such men as are well acquainted with the training of soldiers; accordingly, as is necessary, commanders should be placed over two or three combined army corps. (76)

दिवसे दिवसे संज्ञाः पृथक्कार्यास्स्वके बले।
ता जानीयुस्सैन्यपालाः न भटा नेतरे जनाः।।७७।।

व्याख्या - संकेतानि ताः संज्ञाः। भटानां यतो भिन्नाः इतरे जना उदासीना न जानीयुरिति योजना।।७७।।

Different watchwords should be given out in his army everyday, the officers should know them, but the soldiers and other persons ought not to know them. (77)

स्वाज्ञासञ्चरणार्थाय सञ्चरेयुस्स्वचिह्नताः।
शत्रूणामुपघातार्थं गुप्तिकर्म प्रचक्षते।।७८।।

व्याख्या - स्वाज्ञासञ्चरणार्थाय राजकार्यचालनाय स्वचिह्नता राजमुद्रोपलक्षिताः गुप्तिकर्मेत्थं गोपनकरणम्। शत्रूणामुपघातार्थं शत्रुकृतकपटप्रतिक्रियार्थमिति प्रचक्षते। तथा च निशि संकेतविरुद्धाभिधायिनः शिक्षणीया इति भावः।।७८।।

Special persons who wear his (i.e. the king's) badge, should go about to proclaim his orders; what is undertaken to defeat the machinations of the enemy they (the experts) describe as defensive measures. (78)

यादृक् सैन्याधिपत्ये तु पूर्वं योऽधिकृतो भवेत्।
स ज्येष्ठभावे नियतस्तत्पाश्चात्यास्तु तद्वशे।।७९।।

व्याख्या - याहक्सैन्याधिपत्ये यत्संज्ञिकसेनापतित्वे स पूर्वाधिपः। ज्येष्ठभावे ज्येष्ठत्वे नियतः क्लृप्तः। तत्पाश्चात्यास्तदनन्तराधिपतयः। तद्वशे तत्पूर्वाधिपत्याज्ञायां वसेयुरिति शेषः। अयं भावः एकः पत्त्याख्यसैन्याधिपः तस्य गणाख्यसैन्याधिपत्यं दत्त्वा चानन्तरं पत्तेरधिपः क्रियते। यस्स्वपूर्वपत्त्यधिपाज्ञां नोल्लङ्घेत। एवं गुल्माद्यधिपतिषु तरतमभावाश्चोहनीयाः।।७९।।

A warrior, who has been first appointed to a command in any of the branches of service, should receive his seniority, and his juniors should be under his orders. (79)

पत्त्याद्यङ्गपतीनष्टावक्षौहिण्यधिपानुगान्।
कृत्वा ज्येष्ठानुसारेण नियम्यास्सर्वसैनिकाः।।८०।।

व्याख्या - नियम्याशिशक्षणीयाः।।८०।।

The king should make eight (different kinds of) commanders (beginning with a *patti*) who are subject to the orders of the leaders of an *akṣauhiṇī*, and their soldiers should also be ranged according to seniority. (80)

राज्ञा नियमितांस्त्यक्त्वा तथासंज्ञोत्तरप्रदान्।
हन्यान्निशिचरान्सैन्ये नृपाज्ञापरिपन्थिनः।।८१।।

व्याख्या - नियमितान् कृतमुद्रादिचिह्नान्। त्यक्त्वा विना। संज्ञोत्तरप्रदानानभिज्ञा तु असंज्ञोत्तरप्रदानिति भेदः। राज्ञा गुल्मस्थापनाधिपे कर्णे जपविरुद्धभाषिणः। शत्रवः इति ज्ञेयाः इति भावः।।८१।।

Except those who are on duty, the king should kill all those who walk about the camp at night, who give a wrong watchword, thus transgressing the royal orders. (81)

अधिपाः प्रतिसेनायास्त्रयः कार्यास्सुशिक्षिताः।
उत्तमाधममध्यस्था ज्येष्ठाज्ञावशवर्तिनः।।८२।।

व्याख्या - ज्येष्ठः उत्तमः।।८२।।

Three very well-trained generals should be appointed to each unit of the army, one chief-in-command, another next to him and a third one last in command, who (the latter two) obey the orders of the seniormost (i.e. the chief-in-command). (82)

दिवसे दिवसे सेनां परिवृत्य प्रचोदयेत्।
एकत्र सुस्थितं सैन्यं शङ्का स्वस्यापि साधयेत्।।८३।।

व्याख्या - परिवृत्य व्यत्ययं कृत्वा। स्थानविनिमयं कृत्वेति यावत्। स्वस्यापि भृतिदायकराज्ञोऽपि। शङ्कामुपचापरूपभयं साधयेत् कुर्यात्।।८३।।

The king should make daily changes in the local distribution of his army; for if it were always comfortably located at one place, it may become disloyal to him. (83)

यस्त्वमात्योऽनुकूलस्स्याद्राजकार्यधुरन्धरः।
सैन्यपालस्य तस्याज्ञां स्वयं राजा समाश्रयेत् ।।८४।।

81b - T_1 - °संख्यो° (for °संज्ञो°)

82a - T_1 - °स्त्रियः (for °स्त्रयः)

व्याख्या - तस्यापत्सहायभूतामात्यस्य स्वयं राजापि समाश्रयेच्छृणुयात्।।८४।।

The king should follow the instruction of such a commander of the army who, as his minister, is able to bear the burden of the administration of the kingdom and is devoted to his interests. (84)

समुत्पिञ्जे स्वसैन्ये च संशप्तैर्योधयेदरीन्।
वीराशंसनके तिष्ठेद्विजिगीषुनृपस्त्वयम्।।८५।।

व्याख्या - स्वसैन्ये समुत्पिञ्जे भृशमाकुले सति समुत्पिञ्जिका भृशमाकुलेत्यमरः (२.८.९९)। संशप्तकैः शपथपूर्वकं युद्धादनिवर्तिभिः। संशप्तकास्तु समयात्संग्रामादनिवर्तिनः इत्यमरः (२.८.९८)। वीराशंसनके खण्डितगजाश्वादिभिरतिभयङ्करयुद्धभूस्थाने। सा वीराशंसनं युद्धभूमिर्यातिभयप्रदा इत्यमरः (२.८.१०)। स्वयं नृपो विजिगीषुस्सन्। तिष्ठेत्पूर्वोक्तद्वादश-राजमण्डलसहित इत्यर्थः।।८५।।

The king who wishes to conquer should stand in the place (of danger) coveted by heroes and fight the enemies with his body-guards who have sworn never to leave their posts, even when his army is in confusion. (85)

कान्दिशीके स्वसैन्ये तु मुण्डानीके वसेत्स्वयम्।
कृतलोहाभिसारस्सन् पश्चाद्गत्वा रिपून् जयेत्।।८६।।

व्याख्या - कान्दिशीके दैवकृताद्भयात्पलायमाने सति। कान्दिशीको भयाद्द्रुतः इत्यमरः (३.१.४२)। मुण्डानीके वक्ष्यमाणलक्षणकव्यूहे। कृतः लोहाभिसारोऽस्त्रधारणसमये कृतारार्तिकस्सन्। लोहाभिसारोऽस्त्रभृतां राज्ञां नीराजनाविधिरित्यमरः (२.८.९४)।।८६।।

If his army flees, he should stop with the army corps (*muṇḍanīka*). Having consecrated the arms (and new ensigns) and marched out, he should defeat the enemies. (86)

गव्यूतिमात्रे यो व्यूहो बृहत्सैन्यस्य निर्मितः।
अच्छत्रचामरैश्शूरैर्मुण्डानीकं स चोच्यते ।।८७।।

व्याख्या - बृहत्सैन्यस्य स्वप्रधानबलस्य गव्यूतिमात्रे गवोः क्रोशयोः मिश्रणं गव्यूतिमात्रम्। गोशब्दः क्रोशवाचीति दण्डी। यु मिश्रणे। तस्मिंस्तद्वयवधानकदेशे। "चतुष्काधिकाविंशत्याचाङ्-गुलैर्हस्तकल्पना। सहस्रैरष्टभिः ख्यातं हस्तकैः क्रोशमानकमिति"। अच्छत्रचामरैः। छत्रचामरादिबहिःप्रकाशोपकरणरहितैः शूरैर्निर्मितः मुण्डानीकसंज्ञित इत्युच्यते।।८७।।

If an army corps, composed of troops which have neither the royal umbrella nor chowry, is placed at a distance of two *gavyūtis*, it is called a *muṇḍanīka*. (87)

प्रत्यग्रे कर्मणि कृते श्लाघमानः कृतादरः।
योधेभ्यः पूर्णपात्रं हि दद्याद्राजा विशेषतः।।८८।।

व्याख्या - चारसंग्रहणार्थं बहुमानदानं वक्तुं प्रथमतः तत्कारणीभूतकृत्यमाह - प्रत्यग्रेति श्लोकेन। प्रत्यग्रे नूतने कर्मणि, साहसे। श्लाघमानः वीर्यश्लाघां कुर्वन्। कृतः आदरः योधेषु विश्वासो येन तथाभूतः सन्। विशेषतो भृत्यधिकम्। पूर्णपात्रं सन्तोषश्रवणानन्तरदीयमानबहुमानम्। स्वप्रियन्तु भृशं (कृत्वा) श्रुत्वा दृष्ट्वा वा दीयते च यत्। पारितोषिकरिक्थं तत् पूर्णपात्रं वदन्ति हीति निबन्धनकारः (?)।।८८।।

If an extraordinarily meritorious deed has been performed, the king, while applauding and showing his appreciation, should specially present to the soldiers a vessel full of money. (88)

व्याख्या - कीदृशकार्ये कियद्धनाधिकं देयमित्यत्राह दद्यादिति -

दद्यात्प्रहृष्टो नियुतं वर्वाणां राजघातिने।
तदर्धं तत्सुतवधे सेनापतिवधे तथा।।८९।।

व्याख्या - राजघातिने शत्रुराजशिरश्छेत्रे। स्वयोधाय प्रहृष्टः सन् वर्वाणामष्टाविंशतिगुञ्जापरिमितसुवर्णमुद्रिकाणाम्। गुञ्जाष्टविंशतिमितमहारजतमुद्रिका। वर्व स्यान्निष्कमित्यन्ये तामेवाहुस्सुवर्णकमिति मेदिनी (?)। नियुतं लक्षमिति कामन्दकटीकायां व्याख्यातम्। दद्यात्पारितोषिकविधिनेत्यादि। तत्सुतवधे राजपुत्रवधे कृत तदर्धं पञ्चाशत्सहस्राणीत्यर्थः। सेनापतिरत्र सर्वसेनानायकः।।८९।।

The pleased king should give 100,000 *varvas* to him who kills a (hostile) king, half of that sum when a crown prince is killed, the same also on the slaughter of a commander-in-chief. (89)

अक्षौहिणीपतिवधे तदर्धं परिचक्षते।
मन्त्र्यमात्यवधे चैव तदर्धं तु प्रदापयेत्।।९०।।

व्याख्या - अक्षौहिणीपतिवधे एकाक्षौहिणीनायकवधे पञ्चविंशत्सहस्राणि। बुद्धिसहायो मन्त्री। आपत्सहायोऽमात्यः। तदर्धं पञ्चाशताधिकद्वादशसहस्राणीत्यर्थः।।९०।।

On the putting to death of a leader of an *akṣauhiṇī* they say he should give half of the former sum, on killing a councillor or minister half of that, (90)

अनीकिनी चमूश्चैव पृतना वाहिनीगणः।
गुल्मं सेनामुखं पत्तिरेतेषां पतिघातिने।।९१।।

व्याख्या - अनीकिन्यादीन्यादीन्यक्षौहिण्यंशानि। एतेषामुक्ताङ्गानां पतिघातिने नायकहन्त्रे।।९१।।

To him who kills the commander of an *anīkinī, camū, pṛtanā, vāhinī, gaṇa, gulma, senāmukha* and *patti*. (91)

क्रमादर्धांशहासेन तत्तदर्धानि दापयेत्।
वेतनादधिकञ्चैतत्प्राप्य कुर्युश्च साहसम्।।९२।।

व्याख्या - क्रमाज्ज्येष्ठन्यूनभावक्रमात् ।अर्धांशहासेनार्धांशसङ्कोचकरणेन। तत्तदर्धानि पूर्वपूर्वनायकहन्तृदीयमानदर्धानि। दापयेत् कोशाधिकारिणेति शेषः। एतत्प्रतिदानस्य फलमाह - वेतनादधिकमिति।।९२।।

Having respectively deducted one-half, he should give the remaining halves; if a soldier receives this (reward) in excess of his pay, he will perform (more) daring feats. (92)

अक्षौहिण्याः पतिं हत्वा द्वितीयं वा तृतीयकम् ।
चम्वोरधिपतिञ्चैव पृतनानां पतिं तथा।।९३।।

व्याख्या - द्वितीयं पतिं तृतीयं वा पतिं। तथा चोत्तममध्यमादिषु। उत्तमं त्यक्त्वेतरौ हत्वेत्यर्थः। चम्वोश्चमूद्वयस्य पृतनां पृतनानामकसेनानां पतिं हत्वा।।९३।।

He who has killed a general of an *akṣauhiṇī*, or the second or third in command of it, or also a leader of a *camū* or of a *pṛtanā*, (93)

अनीकिनीप[न्यप]हा यावत्तावत्प्राप्नोति राजतः।
इत्थमग्रेऽपि योक्तव्यं सन्मानमधिपापहे।।९४।।

व्याख्या - अनीकिनीनामकसैन्यपालहन्ता यावत्प्राप्नोति पञ्चाशदुत्तरद्विशताधिक-षट्सहस्रवर्वान् लभते तावदेव पूर्वोक्तसैन्यपालहन्ता इत्यर्थः। अग्रेऽप्यनीकिन्याः द्वितीयं तृतीयं पृतनयोरधिपं वाहिनीनामधिपं हत्वा चम्वाख्याधिपहन्ता यावत्पञ्च-विंशत्युत्तरशताधिकत्रिसहस्रसङ्ख्याकवर्वान्प्राप्नोति। एवं चम्वोर्द्वितीयं तृतीयं वाहिन्योः पतिं गणाख्यसेनानां पतिं हत्वा। पृतनाधिपहेति यावत्। एवमर्धाधिकद्विषष्ट्युत्तरपञ्च-शताधिकसहस्रवर्वान्प्राप्नोतीत्यादिरीत्या योज्यम्। वाहिनीपतिहन्तुस्सपादैकाशीत्यधिक-सप्तशतवर्वाः। गणादिसेनापतिहन्तृष्वर्धांशन्यूनाः।।९४।।

A commander of an *anīkinī*, obtains accordingly a present from the king. In this manner a reward is to be fixed for the slaughter of any officer in a still lower position. (94)

पलायितं सायुधन्तु धृत्वा स्वभटदायिने।
वर्वाणां पञ्च वै दद्यात्तस्मै सत्कृत्य भूमिपः।।९५।।

व्याख्या - स्वभटदायिने स्वशूरस्य स्वाधीनकर्त्रे।।९५।।

A king should, after having with special honour noticed a soldier, give him 5 *varvas* when he has taken and delivered over to him a soldier who, weapons in hand, was running away. (95)

94a - Pri. Edn.$_1$ - हता (for °पहा)

95b - T$_1$ - दद्याद्भटं तु यः (for स्वभटदायिने)

पलायितं स्वभृतिकं विशस्त्रं देहलोभिनम्।
धृत्वा निवेदिने दद्याद्ववर्वाणाञ्च त्रिकं नृपः।।९६।।

व्याख्या - स्वभृतिकं स्वस्माद् भृतिर्वेतनं यस्य सः स्वभृतिकः तम्। विशस्त्रं शस्त्ररहितम्। देहलोभिनं युद्धे छेदभेदादिरूपोपद्रवध्यायिनमित्यर्थः। निवेदिने वशीकरणसमर्थाय। त्रिकं त्रीन् ववर्वानित्यर्थः।।९६।।

A king should give 3 *varva*s to him who informs him that he has taken one of his soldiers, who, for the sake of his life, was running away without his arms. (96)

गजञ्च गजसादिञ्च महारथिकमस्तकम्।
छित्त्वा निवेदयेद्राज्ञो द्विसाहस्रं स चार्हति।।९७।।

व्याख्या - गजसादिनं गजपृष्ठमधिरुह्य शत्रुयोधनसमर्थशूरञ्चेत्यर्थः। महारथिकः –

एकादशसहस्राणि योधयेद्यस्तु धन्विनाम्।
स वै महारथः प्रोक्तस्ततश्चातिरथस्स्मृतः।।

इत्युक्तलक्षणः। तस्य मस्तकं शिरः। निवेदयेद्रणादाहृत्य दर्शयेत्।।९७।।

He who informs the king that he has (killed) an elephant and an elephant-rider, and cleft the skull of a *mahārathika*, is worthy to receive 2,000 *varva*s. (97)

हयारूढवरं हत्वा पादाताधिपतिं तथा।
वर्वाणाञ्च सहस्रस्य योग्यो भवति राजतः।।९८।।

व्याख्या - हयारूढानां वरो नायकः तम्। योग्यः पात्रम्। राजतो राज्ञस्सकाशात्।।९८।।

He who has killed a distinguished cavalier or also the commander of the infantry deserves to receive 1,000 *varva*s from the king. (98)

शत्रुसैन्यात्कुञ्जरं वा रथं वा यस्समाहरेत्।
पञ्चाशद्ववर्वसम्मानं स प्राप्नोत्विह राजतः।।९९।।

व्याख्या - कुञ्जररथावनधिष्ठितपुरु[षः]। इह युद्धे। प्राप्नोत्विति लोकशिक्षणे।।९९।।

He who brings from the hostile army an elephant or a chariot receives from the king a reward of 500 *varva*s. (99)

प्रतिप्रयाणं भृत्यानां भक्तं देयं स्थितौ न हि।
मार्गायासं विदित्वैषां वेतनादधिकं त्विदम्।।१००।।

97a - T_1 - सार्दसाहतं (for गजसादिञ्च)

97c - T_1 - छित्त्वा (for भित्त्वा), T_1 - 'द्यो वे (for 'द्राज्ञो)

व्याख्या - प्रतिप्रयाणं प्रयाणे प्रयाणे। भक्तं व्रीहितण्डुलादिधान्यम्। स्थितौ निवेशनसमये। देयमित्यर्थेन भक्तमित्यनुकर्षः। भृतिस्तु देयैवेत्यर्थः। कुतस्तेषां वेतनादधिकं धान्यादिदानं कर्तव्यमित्याशङ्कयाहमार्गायासमिति। तेषां शूराणाम् न त्वितरेषामित्यर्थः। इतरेषां मार्गाद्यायासवत्वेऽपि युद्धादिरूपदुर्घटकार्याभावाद्वेतनेनैव तेषां निर्वाहः। शूराणान्तु पथ्यशनमपि देयमिति भावः।।१००।।

Food is to be given to the soldiers when marching though not when stationary; but this is given besides the pay, knowing the fatigues on the road. (100)

अन्येषु वा साहसेषु वेतनादधिकं नृपः।
लोकसंग्रहणार्थञ्च दद्याद्वै पारितोषिकम्।।१०१।।

व्याख्या - अन्येषु साहसेषु शत्रुसैन्ये स्थित्वा तद्वार्तां स्वराज्ञे निवेदनं, युद्धे प्रथममभिमुखशत्रुगमनं, मार्गे वृक्षवापीस्थितशत्रुकर्तनमित्यादिरूपेषु। लोकसंग्रहार्थं शूरजनमेलनार्थम्। पारितोषिकं स्वसन्तोषसूचकं द्रव्यवस्त्रभूषणादिरूपम्।।१०१।।

The king should besides the pay give a reward for daring acts in order to obtain brave men for his service. (101)

भटेभ्यश्चैव वस्त्राणि रजकानाञ्च वेतनम्।
तद्वैतनेनैव कल्प्यान्यौषधानि च रोगिणाम्।।१०२।।

व्याख्या - रजकानां शूरवस्त्रक्षालकभृत्यानाम्। रजक इति श्मश्रुवर्धकदिवाकीर्त्याद्युपलक्षणम्। भटेभ्यो गृहीत्वेति शेषः। तद्वेतनैनेव भटभृत्यैव तेषां वेतनं कल्प्यमिति योजना। रोगीणां रोगमनुभूयमानानाम्। औषधान्यगदानि कल्प्यानीत्यनुकर्षः।।१०२।।

The soldiers should pay for their clothes and washermen's bills as well as for medicines when sick out of their salary. (102)

परराष्ट्रार्जितं द्रव्यमर्धं राजा विभज्य तु।
योधेभ्योऽर्धं प्रदेयं स्यादर्धञ्च स्वयमाहरेत्।।१०३।।

व्याख्या - परराष्ट्रार्जितं शत्रुराज्याच्छूरैराहृतं द्रव्यं तदुपलक्षितवस्त्रभूषणादिरूपमर्धं यथा तथा विभज्य योधेभ्य आहृतेभ्यः तत्सहायेभ्यश्चार्धं प्रदेयम्। उर्वरितं स्वयमाहरेत्।।१०३।।

The king should divide the booty taken from the country of the enemy thus — half of it should be given to the soldiers, and he should himself take the other half. (103)

हयं वा शकटीं वापि हरेत्सोपस्कृतां भटः।
तदर्धं तुर्यमंशन्तु स लभेद्राजसत्कृतः।।१०४।।

व्याख्या - सोपस्कृतामुपकरणसहिताम्। इदं हयस्यापि लिङ्गव्यत्ययेन। तदर्धस्य तन्मूल्यस्य मूल्ये पूजाविधावर्ध इत्यमरः (?)। तुर्यं चतुर्थमंशं भागं स आहर्ता।।१०४।।

A soldier who should take a horse or a chariot with its appurtenances, should, being praised by the king, obtain one-fourth of its value. (104)

शिथिलानि च शस्त्राणि लुण्ठितं शत्रुभिर्युधि।
स्वयोधानां नृपो दद्याद्वेतनं परिहाप्य च।।१०५।।

व्याख्या - शिथिलानि जीर्णानि। शस्त्राणि शस्यन्ते हन्यन्ते यैरिति शस्त्राणि खड्गादीनि। लुण्ठितं बलात्परिमुषितम्। वेतनं परिहाप्य भृतिं विना। भृतावन्तर्भावमकृत्वा। राज्ञा स्वहस्तादेतानि देयानीति भावः।।१०५।।

The king should give to his soldiers — for the worn-out weapons and for the things taken from them in war by the enemy — new ones in their stead without reducing the pay. (105)

युद्धे स्वार्थं मृता ये च शत्रुभिस्तत्स्वबन्धुषु।
सेवया जीरिता ये च देयं तेषान्तु जीवनम्।।१०६।।

व्याख्या - स्वार्थं राजकार्यार्थम्। तेषां मृतानाम्। स्वबन्धुषु पुत्रपत्नीमातापितृषु। ये च सेवया राजसेवया। जीरिता जरां प्राप्ताः।।१०६।।

To the relations of those who have for his sake been killed in the battle by the enemy, and also to those who are worn out in his service, he should give pensions. (106)

मृतानां जीवताञ्चापि पूर्वं सेवापरात्मनाम्।
तदीयानान्तु तेषां वा पूर्वभर्मार्धजीवनम्।।१०७।।

व्याख्या - मृतानां मृतसम्बन्धिनां पूर्वसेवापरात्मनां जीवितां वृद्धानाम्। पूर्वभर्मार्धजीवनम्। सेवाकालक्लृप्तवेतनार्धरूपं जीवनम्। भृत्यो मर्म वेतनमित्यमरः (२.१०.३८) ।।१०७।।

To the families of those who are dead and to those who are living, but have in the past served the king very faithfully, he should give half of their former pay. (107)

व्याख्या - अवृद्धानामपि राजकार्यार्थं सक्षतानाम् अर्धवेतनं देयमित्याह सङ्ग्रामेति -

सङ्ग्रामाभिमुखाः कृन्ता युवानो न मृता भटाः।
राजसेवास्वशक्ता ये तेषां पूर्वार्धजीवनम्।।१०८।।

शत्रूणामुपघातार्थं तस्य मर्माणि योऽर्पयेत्।
स्वस्मै तस्यापि कर्मण्या द्विगुणा परिकीर्तिता।।१०९।।

व्याख्या - उपघातार्थमुपद्रवार्थम्। तस्य शत्रोः। जातावेकवचनम्। मर्माणि विवराणि स्वस्मै राज्ञे योऽर्पयेत् ज्ञापयेत्। तस्यापि आख्यातुरपि कर्मण्या कर्मसाध्या भृतिः। कीर्तिता। नीतिशास्त्राभिज्ञैरिति शेषः।।१०९।।

The young soldiers, who while facing the enemy in the battle became crippled and unfit for service of the king, should receive half of their former pay as pension. (108)

To him, who in order to undo the machinations of the enemies informs the king of their secret plans is promised double wages. (109)

शत्रुसेनाविभेत्तारं दुर्गारोहणतत्परम्।
स्वराज्यवृद्धिकर्तारं योजयेद्द्रविणोत्करैः।।११०।।

व्याख्या - शत्रुसैन्यानां रिपुसैन्यानां विभेत्तारं विशेषतो विद्रावकम्। मारकं वा। दुर्गारोहणतत्परं शत्रुदुर्गसालग्रहणार्थं तदारोहणचतुरम्। आसक्तिमिति यावत्। स्वराज्यवृद्धिकर्तारम्। स्वराष्ट्रीयेभ्योऽधिकतरग्रहणञ्च चतुरं राष्ट्रीयं राष्ट्राधिकारणमिति यावत्। द्रविणोत्करैः अधिकद्रव्यैः योजयेत् तस्मै बहुमतिपूर्वकं वस्त्राभरण-राष्ट्रदानादिभिस्सत्कुर्यादिति फलितार्थः।।११०।।

The king should assign a large amount of money to him who sows dissension in the hostile army, who scales the hostile forts, and who increases (expands) his kingdom. (110)

इत्थंविधाभिस्तु भटान् नियोज्य राजा कृतार्थस्तु रिपून्निहत्य।
संप्राप्य कीर्तिं महतीं श्रियञ्च महीयते राजवराभिवन्द्यः।।१११।।

व्याख्या - एवं प्रीतिदाने कृते राज्ञां फलमाह। इत्थंविधाभिरेतादृशप्रकाराभिः विधाविधौ प्रकारे चेत्यमरः (३.३.११०)। रिपून्निहत्य कृतार्थस्सन् कृतप्रयोजनो भूत्वा। राजवराभिवन्द्यः मूर्धाभिषिक्तैः कृताभिवादनः। महीयते सर्वोत्कर्षेण तिष्ठतीत्यर्थः।।१११।।

The successful king who has thus employed his soldiers, conquered his enemies, achieved his objects, acquired great renown and power, worthy of being praised by the best of kings obtains glory. (111)

।। इति वैशम्पायननीतिप्रकाशिकायां सेनानयनकथनं नाम षष्ठस्सर्गः ।।
।। इति श्रीसीतारामकृतायां नीतिप्रकाशिकातत्त्वविवृतौ षष्ठस्सर्गः।।

Here Ends the Sixth Canto of the Nītiprakāśikā of Vaiśampāyana Titled "Instruction on Leading the Army for War".

Here Ends the Sixth Canto in the Tattvavivṛti of Sītārāma.

Colophon - T_1 -।। इति श्रीमन्नीतिशास्त्रे नीतिप्रकाशिकायां सेनानयकथनं नाम षष्ठस्सर्गः ।। ६।।

D_1 -।। इति श्रीमन्नीतिशास्त्रे नीतिप्रकाशिकायां सेनानयकथनं नाम षष्ठस्सर्गः ।।

अथ सप्तमस्सर्गः

सैन्ययोगकथनम्

Seventh Canto

Description of Military Administration

अथ वैन्य प्रवक्ष्यामि सेनानयविवृद्धये।
पत्तिमारभ्य गणनां यावदक्षौहिणीं तव।। १।।

व्याख्या - हे वैन्य वेनपुत्र, पृथो इत्यर्थः। पत्तिं तदाख्यां ध्वजिनीम्। आरभ्योपक्रम्य। यावदक्षौहिणीम् अक्षौहिणीपर्यन्तम्। तव वक्ष्यामीत्यन्वयः।।१।।

O son of Vena! Now I shall tell you about counting of the army from *patti* till *akṣauhiṇī*. (1)

शताङ्गानामिभानाञ्च सैन्धवानां महीपते।
पदातीनाञ्च भद्रं ते सैन्यस्थानां विशेषतः।।२।।

व्याख्या - शताङ्गानां रथानाम्। शताङ्गस्स्यन्दनो रथ इत्यमरः (२।८।५१)। इभानां गजानाम्। सैन्धवानां हयानाम्। हयसैन्धवसप्तय इत्यमरः (?)। भद्रं ते इति वाक्सौमङ्गल्यद्योतनार्थं सैन्यस्थानां सेनासमूहविद्यमानाम्। गणनामिति पूर्वश्लोकेनान्वयः।।२।।

Especially, O king, of the chariots, elephants, cavalry, infantry, focusing on the well-being of your army men. (2)

पत्तिस्सेनामुखं गुल्मं गणो वै वाहिनी ततः।
पृतना चम्वनीकिन्यौ ततश्चाक्षौहिणी स्मृता।।३।।

एते सेनाविशेषा वै पत्तौ मुख्यान् वदामि ते।
रथं नागं तुरङ्गांश्च पदातीश्च विशेषतः।।४।।

एको रथो गजश्चैको नराः पञ्च हयास्त्रयः।
यस्यां सा पत्तिरेतेषां सहायान्प्रब्रुवेऽधुना।।५।।

व्याख्या - एतेषां रथगजतुरगपदातीनाम्।।५।।

Patti, senāmukha, gulma, gaṇa, then *vāhinī, pṛtanā, camū, anīkinī* and thereafter comes *akṣauhiṇī,* these are the main categories of the army divisions. (3)

1a - Pri. Edn.$_2$, D$_1$ - सैन्यं, T$_1$ - सैन्य° (for वैन्य)

3a - T$_1$ - गुल्म° (for गुल्मं)

(Of these), I shall tell you about the chief components of *patti* with a special reference to the chariots, elephants, horses and men on foot. (4)

Patti is the army unit consisting of one chariot, a single elephant, five men (on foot) and three horses.

Now I shall relate to you their supporting forces — (5)

नागा दश रथस्यास्य शतमश्वास्सहानुगाः।
सहस्रं तु नराः प्रोक्ताः परिवारा नृपाज्ञया ।।६।।

व्याख्या - अस्य रथस्य पत्तिरूपसेनामुख्यनायकसमेतरथस्य शतमश्वाः। नागाः गजाः दश। सहस्रं सहस्रसङ्ख्याकाः नराः पादचारिणः सहान्योन्यसहायभूताः। अनुगा अनुसारिणः। परिवारास्सेवकाः नृपाज्ञया राजशासनेन प्रोक्ताः नियमिता भवेयुरिति शेषः। शतं ब्राह्मणा इतिवत्।।६।।

Ten elephants, 100 horses and 1,000 soldiers on foot — are said to march with this single (chief) chariot to accompany by the order of the king. (6)

एकस्यैकस्य नागस्य शतमश्वाः प्रयायिनः।
पदातयस्सहस्रं तु प्रत्यङ्गेष्वनुयायिनः।।७।।

व्याख्या - एकस्यैकरथरक्षाविधौ नियमितदशगजेषु प्रत्येकं प्रत्येकमेकैकस्येत्यर्थः। शतमश्वाः प्रयायिनः पादरक्षार्थे नियमिताः सेनाङ्गेषु चतुर्विधसेनाङ्गघटकभूताः अनुयायिनस्सेवकाः।।७।।

Along with each of the elephants follow 100 horses and 1,000 soldiers on foot in each division (of *patti*). (7)

एकस्यैकस्य चाश्वस्य सहस्रं तु पदातयः।
दश चैतान् पतीन् युङ्क्त्वा कात्स्न्र्येन गणना त्वियम्।।८।।

व्याख्या - एकस्यैकस्य चाश्वस्य च गजपादसंरक्षणनियमिताश्वशतेषु प्रत्येकमेकस्यैकस्य हयस्य च सहस्रं पदातयः पादचारिणः अनुयायिन इति पूर्वेण सम्बन्धः। दशैतान्। एको रथो गजश्चैको नराः पञ्च हयास्त्रयः इत्यादिनोक्तान् पत्तीन्। सर्वनायकरथिकसहित-रथनवगजनायकाधिपैकगजपतिसहितगजसप्तनवत्युत्तरनवशतहयपतिसहिताश्व-सादित्रयाश्वत्रयपञ्चनवत्युत्तरशतनवकाकिनवकवतिसहस्रनायकपञ्चपदातिनायकान्। युङ्क्ता मेलयित्वा। रथिकादि-निष्ठपत्तित्वस्य रथादिषूपचारः। कात्स्न्र्येन साकल्येन। इयं वक्ष्यमाणगणना बोध्येति शेषः। तथा चायं फलितोऽर्थः। सर्वाधिपो रथिकः। गजाधिपाज्ञायां न रथिकः। अश्वाधि-पाज्ञायां न गजी। पत्तिनायकाज्ञायां नाश्वपतयः। त्रयो यथाभागं स्वस्वपरिवारसहितानां सजातीयानां गजपतिप्रभृतयः सेनामुखादिषु रथिकास्स्वतन्त्रपतयः तेऽपि स्वोत्कृष्टसेनापतिवशवर्तिनस्स्युरिति।।८।।

And there are 1,000 soldiers on foot as the followers of each horse. This complete counting includes the addition of these ten heads. (8)

एको रथो दश गजाः सहस्रञ्चापि वाजिनः।
लक्षसङ्ख्या नराः पत्तावेवमग्रेऽपि योजना।।९।।

व्याख्या - मिलितानां पत्त्यादिसेनास्थानां सर्वेषां गणनां वक्ति - एको रथ इत्यादिना। पत्तौ पत्त्याख्यसमूहेषु। घटकाः रथः एकः। गजा १० वाजिनः १,००० नराः पदातयः १,००,०००। अग्रेऽपि सेनामुखादावप्येवं योजना।।९।।

One chariot, ten elephants, as also 1,000 horses and men on foot in the number of 1,00,000 — that these should be in front of the *patti* is the arrangement. (9)

पत्त्यङ्गैस्त्रिगुणैस्सर्वैः क्रमादाख्या यथोत्तरम्।
अनीकिनीं दशगुणामाहुरक्षौहिणीं बुधाः।।१०।।

व्याख्या - यथोत्तरमनीकिनीपर्यन्तं दशगुणा अक्षौहिणी।।१०।।

All the countings of the divisions of *patti* to three times in their turns have been told in ascending order. The wise say that *akṣauhiṇī* is ten times (bigger) than *anīkinī*. (10)

सेनामुखे तु गुणितास्त्रयश्चैव रथा गजाः।
त्रिंशत्त्रिलक्षपदगास्त्रिसहस्रं हि वाजिनः।।११।।

व्याख्या - सेनामुखे रथाः ३, गजाः ३०, वाजिनः ३,०००, पदगाः ३,००,०००।।११।।

In *senāmukha* are placed three chariots, elephants, 3,000 horses and 3,00,000 soldiers on foot. (11)

गुल्मे नव रथाः प्रोक्ता नागानां नवतिं विदुः।
अश्वानां नव साहस्रं नवलक्षाः पदातयः।।१२।।

व्याख्या - गुल्मे रथाः ९, गजाः ९०, अश्वाः ९,०००, पदातयः ९,००,००० विदुर्नीतिज्ञा इति शेषः।।१२।।

They know that there are nine chariots, ninety elephants, 9,000 horses and 9,00,000 foot-soldiers in a *gulma*. (12)

गणाख्ये तु शताङ्गानां वराणां सप्तविंशतिः।
स्तम्बेरमाणां द्विशतं सप्ततिं प्राहुरार्यकाः।।१३।।

सप्तविंशतिसाहस्रं गन्धर्वाः परिकीर्तिताः।
सप्तविंशतिलक्षास्तु स्मृताश्चात्र पदातयः।।१४।।

9d - T_2 - एव' (for 'वेव')

After 10 T_1 ins. श्रीगणेशाय नमः।।

11a - T_1 - गणिता' (for गुणिता')

व्याख्या - गणाख्य - गणनामकचतुर्थव्यूहे २७ । शताङ्गा रथाः । शताङ्गस्स्यन्दनो रथ इत्यमरः (२.८.५१) । स्तम्बेरमा गजाः २७०, इभः स्तम्बेरमः पद्मीत्यमरः (२.८.३५)। आर्यका मारिषाः। वासुगर्यस्तु मारिषः इत्यमरः (१.७.१४)। गन्धर्वा अश्वाः २७,००० पदातयः २७,००,०००। अत्र गणे।।१४।।

While in the fourth division named *gaṇa*, the excellent chariots are twenty-seven in number, elephants 270 in number — this is what the wise say. (13)

Moreover, the *gandharva* type of horses are said to be 27,000 and 27,00,000 foot-soldiers. (14)

वाहिन्यां स्यन्दनाः प्रोक्ता ह्येकाशीत्या नियोजिताः।
दशोत्तरापृषतिकाः पद्मिनश्चात्र कीर्तिताः।।१५।।

एकाशीतिसहस्रास्तु तुरङ्गाः सम्प्रकीर्तिताः।
एकाशीतिकलक्षा वै विख्याताः पादचारिणः।।१६।।

व्याख्या - वाहिन्यां तदाख्यध्वजिन्यामेकाशीत्या एकाशीतिसंख्यया नियोजिता युक्तीकृताः स्यन्दनाः ८१। पद्मिन इभाः इभः स्तम्बेरमः पद्मी इत्यमरः (२.८.३५) ८१०। कीर्तितास्तिष्ठन्तीति विख्याताः। तुरङ्गाः ८१,०००। पादचारिणः ८१,००,०००।।१५-१६।।

The next division called *vāhinī* is said to be having eighty-one chariots and ten spotted elephants; (15)

It consists of 81,000 horses and 81,00,000 foot-soldiers. (16)

त्रयश्च चत्वारिंशच्च द्विशतं पृतना रथाः।
चतुश्शतच्च त्रिंशच्च द्वे सहस्रे च दन्तिनाम्।।१७।।

तुरङ्गाणां सहस्राणि त्रिचत्वारिंशदेव तु।
द्वे लक्षे चैव राजेन्द्र द्वे कोटी च नृणां भवेत्।।१८।
त्रिचत्वारिंशच्च लक्षं पदातीनां निबोध मे।

व्याख्या - पृतनायां पृतनाख्यसेनायां रथाः २४३। दन्तिनो गजाः २४३०। तुरङ्गाः २४३०००। पदातीनां सङ्ख्यामाह द्वे कोटि चेत्यादिना। पदातीनां नृणामित्यन्वयः। पादचारिणः २४३००००००। मे मत्तो, निबोध अवेहि।।१७-१८।।

O king! There are 243 chariots, 2,430 elephants, (17)

Two lakh forty-three thousand horses and 2,43,00,000 soldiers on foot in *pṛtanā*. (18)

15c - Pri. Edn.$_1$ - दशोत्तराष्टकशतकाः (for हशोत्तरापृषतिकाः)

व्याख्या - श्रोतृणामनुपेक्षणीयत्वरूपशिष्यावधानाय मध्ये मध्ये प्रतिज्ञा कार्येति मत्वा तामाह चम्वाख्येत्यादिना -

चम्वाख्ये सप्तमव्यूहे गणनां वच्मि विस्तरात् ।।१९।।

चम्वां सप्तशतञ्चैकन्यूनत्रिंशद्रथास्स्मृताः।
सप्तैव च सहस्राणि द्वे शते नवतिस्तथा।।२०।।

गजानां सप्तलक्षाणि चैकोनत्रिंशदेव तु।
सहस्राणि हयानाञ्च पदातीनामथो शृणु।।२१।।

सप्तकोट्यश्च चैकोनत्रिंशल्लक्षाणि भूपते।
जगुर्गणिततत्त्वज्ञा गणानां बुद्धिजीविनः।।२२।।

व्याख्या - सप्तमे व्यूहे पत्तिमारभ्य सप्तमसैन्ये गणानां रथगजतुरगपदातीनां सङ्ख्यां विस्तरा-द्वक्ष्यामि।।१९।।

अत्र विशेषः। उद्योगपर्वणि १५४ तमेऽध्याये यथा -
यथा रथास्तथा नागाः बद्धकक्षयाः स्वलङ्कृताः।
बभूवुस्सप्तपुरुषा रत्नपम्तुलवाद्रयः।।
द्वावङ्कुशधरौ तेषु द्वावुत्तमधनुर्धरौ।
द्वौ वरासिधरौ राजन्नेकः छत्रपताकधृत्।।
गजैर्मत्तैस्समाकीर्णं सर्वमायुधकोशकैः।
रथस्यासन् दश गजा गजस्य दश वाजिनः।।
नरा दश हयस्यासन्पदरक्षाः समन्ततः।
रथस्य नागाः पञ्चासन्नागस्यासंस्तथा हयाः।।
हयस्य पुरुषास्सप्त भिन्नसन्धानकारिणः।
सेना पञ्चशतं नागाः रथास्तावन्त एव च।।
पञ्चाशच्च शतञ्चाश्वा नराः पञ्चगुणास्ततः।
दशसेना च पृतना इत्यादि।

चम्वां रथाः ७२९। गजाः ७,२९०।।२०।।

सप्तलक्षाणीत्यादिना अश्वसंख्या। गजानामिति पूर्वान्वयी हयाः ७,२९,०००। अथो इत्यश्वसङ्ख्यानन्तर्यबोधकमव्ययम्। मङ्गलानन्तरारम्भप्रश्नकात्स्न्र्येष्वथो अथ इत्यमरः (३.३.२४७) ।।२१।।

पादचारिणः ७,२९,००,०००। गणानां पादातगणानाम्।।२२।।

Now I shall give you the counting of the seventh division (i.e. beginning from *patti*) called *camū* in which there are 43,(X),(XX) men from infantry. (19)

Seven hundred and twenty-nine chariots and 7,290 elephants are said to consist a *camū*, (20)

As also 7,29,000 horses. Now listen about the men from infantry — (21)

O king, these men are 7,29,00,000 — so opine the wise ones who are well-versed in the calculations about *gaṇa*. (22)

अनीकिन्यां द्वे सहस्रे सप्ताशीत्यधिकं शतम्।
रथानामथ नागानां गणनां वच्मि तेऽनघ।।२३।।

एकविंशत्सहस्राणि तथाचाष्टशतं नृप।
सप्ततिश्चेत्यथाश्वानां सङ्ख्यां शृणु समाहितः।।२४।।

एकविंशतिलक्षाणि सप्ताशीतिसहस्रकम्।
एकविंशतिकोट्यश्च पदातीनां नराधिप।।२५।।

सप्ताशीतिञ्च लक्षाणां विद्धि बुद्धिमतां वर।
एतद्दशगुणा या स्यात्तान्त्वमक्षौहिणीं शृणु।।२६।।

व्याख्या - अनीकिन्यां तदाख्यसेनायां रथाः २,१८७। नागाः २१,८७०। अनघ अमोघपराक्रम। समाहितः सावधानचित्तः। अश्वाः २१,८७,०००। पदातयः पत्तयः २१,८७,००,०००। हे नराधिप पृथो। जनमेजयसम्बोधनं वा।।२५।।

एतदृशगुणानीकिनी दशगुणां शृणु गणनापूर्वकमाकर्णयेत्यर्थः ।।२६।।

In *anīkinī* there are 2,187 chariots. Now, O mighty king, I shall speak about the calculation of the elephants. (23)

O king, they are 21,870 in number. Now listen carefully about the numbers of the horses which is 21,87,000. (24)

O lord of men! Men from the infantry are 21,87,00,000 in number. (25)

Know, O best of the intelligent ones, tenfold of the 87,00,000 of the men from the infantry would be an *akṣauhiṇī*. Now listen about it. (26)

अक्षौहिण्यान्त्वेकविंशत्सहस्राणि जनाधिप।
तथाचाष्टशतञ्चव सप्ततिं रथगां विदुः।।२७।।

अष्टादशसहस्राणि द्वे लक्षे च नरेश्वर।
तथा सप्तशतञ्चव गजानां गणना त्वियम्।।२८।।

द्वे कोटी चैव लक्षाणामष्टादश महीपते।
तथा सप्ततिसाहस्रा गन्धर्वाश्शीघ्रयायिनः।।२९।।

द्वे चार्बुदे च कोटिश्चाप्यष्टादश समीरिताः।
लक्षाणां सप्ततिश्चैव पदातीनामितीर्यते।।३०।।

एतानक्षौहिणीसंस्थान्विना राज्ञो रथा गजाः।
अश्वास्स्वतन्त्रास्सन्त्यन्ये पृष्ठगोपा नृपस्य ते।।३१।।

व्याख्या - अक्षौहिण्यां रथाः २१,८७०। रथं गामिनीति रथगा। ताम्। सप्ततिमित्यर्थः।।२७।।

गजाः २,१८,७००। इयं तावती गणना।।२८।।

गन्धर्वा अश्वा २,१८,७०,००० अष्टादशकोट्यधिकशतद्वयकोटिसंयुतेः।।

लक्षाणामष्टादश अष्टादशलक्षसङ्ख्याकारस्सप्ततिसाहस्राः। सहस्राण्येव साहस्राणि। सप्ततिसहस्राणि गणिता येषां ते सप्ततिसाहस्राः। शीघ्रपायिनो जवप्रयातारः।।२९।।

पदातयः २,१८,७०,००,००० । लक्षाणां सप्ततिः। सप्ततिलक्षणीत्यर्थः। इयती एतावत्प्रमाणवती पदातीनां गणनेति शेषः। इतीति चाक्षौहिण्या गणनासमाप्ति-वाचकश्शब्दः।।३०।।

अक्षौहिणीसंस्थान् तस्यां गणितान्विना। अन्ये तद्भिन्ना इत्यर्थः। रथाः। गजाः अश्वाः। नृपस्यः पृष्ठगोपाः देहरक्षकाः। स्वतन्त्रा अधिराजभिन्नाज्ञायामवर्तमाना इत्यर्थः। सन्ति नीतिशास्त्रसिद्धास्तिष्ठन्ति।।३१।।

O lord of the people, they know chariots to be 21,870 in number in an *akṣauhiṇī;* (27)

And also, O lord of men, 2,18,700 elephants — this is their calculation. (28)

O lord of the earth, the 2,18,70,000 galloping horses that go (to the destination) speedily, (29)

And along with these march men from infantry, 2,18,70,00,000 in number (are to be included here). (30)

These are the chariots, elephants and horses included in an *akṣauhiṇī,* counting out the king; for, there are others who protect the king separately. (31)

पत्त्याद्यङ्गे ध्वजपटाः पृथक्कार्या विशेषतः।
स्वसैन्यस्य च शत्रोश्च वैलक्षण्यस्य सिद्धये।।३२।।

व्याख्या - विशेषतो विविधवर्णभेदतः।।३२।।

Separate banners should be specially kept for *patti* and other divisions for the purpose of distinction between his own army and that of the enemy. (32)

30ab - T_1 - The entire line is different. It is as - कोट्यष्टादशसंयुक्ता कोटिद्विशतसंयुता।

30d - Pri. Edn., D_1 - 'तीयतो, T_1 - 'तीर्य्यात (for 'तीर्यते)

युवराजाय वर्वाणां पञ्चसाहस्रिकी भृतिः।
पर्वसेनाप्रणेत्रे च चतुस्साहस्रिकी च सा।।३३।।

व्याख्या - प्रसङ्गाद्युवराजादिराजकीयानां मासिकवेतनं विविच्याह युवराजायेत्यादिना। युवराजाय राज्यतन्त्रविचारणकुशलराजपुत्रतद्भ्रातृदौहित्रादिरूपाय पुत्रो भ्राताथ दौहित्रो राज्ञा यो राज्यचिन्तकः। स्वेन स्वकृत्येऽधिकृतो युवराजं हितं विदुरिति शौनकस्मरणात्। पर्वाणां पूर्वोक्तमुद्रिणां पञ्चसाहस्त्रिकी पञ्चसहस्रसङ्ख्याका। भृतिर्मासि मासि दीयमानवेतनमित्यर्थः। सा भृतिरित्यर्थः।।३३।।

The monthly salary of the crown prince is of 5,000 *varvas*, and of 4,000 *varvas* of the leader of the army unit called *Parva*. (33)

भृतिश्चातिरथे देया वर्वाणां त्रिसहस्रकम्।
महारथाय साहस्रद्वयं राज्ञाऽधिमासिकम्।।३४।।

व्याख्या - अतिरथे पूर्वोक्तलक्षणे। अधिमासिकं त्रिंशद्दिननियमितं जीवनम्।।३४।।

The salary of 3,000 *varvas* should be given to *atiratha* while 2,000 *varvas* should be given to *mahāratha* every month. (34)

वेतनं रथिकायाथ साहस्रं गजयोधिने।
दद्यादर्धरथायाथ वेतनं शतपञ्चकम्।।३५।।

व्याख्या - साहस्रं सहस्रवर्मसङ्ख्याकवेतनम्। शतपञ्चकं पञ्चशतसङ्ख्याकमित्यर्थः। रथिकाय रथाधिपतये। गजयोधिने गजैर्युक्तो यो युध्यति तस्मै शत्रूनुद्दिश्य युद्धतत्पराय। गजाधिपतय इति यावत् साहस्रं सहस्रवर्वसङ्ख्याकवेतनम् अर्धरथाय अर्धरथिकाय शतपञ्चकं पञ्चशतसङ्ख्याकमित्यर्थः।।३५।।

Now the salary of the charioteer and the warrior riding on the elephant should be given 1,000 *varvas* each while *ardharatha* should get 500 *varvas*. (35)

एकस्मै रथिकायाथ तादृशे गजसादिने ।
निष्काणां त्रिंशतं दद्याद्यतस्तौ तत्कुटुम्बिनौ।।३६।।

व्याख्या - एकस्मै रथिकाय एकरथनाथाय तादृशे एकगजनाथाय। तत्कुटुम्बिनौ तद्रक्षकौ।।३६।।

Ekaratha and similarly the warrior on the elephant along with each of their companions should get 300 *niṣkas* each. (36)

सर्वाश्वाधिपति राज्ञः त्रिसाहस्रं स चार्हति।
पादाताधिपतिश्चापि द्विसाहस्रस्य भाजनम्।।३७।।

33c - Pri. Edn.$_2$, D$_1$, T$_1$ - सर्वसेना' (for पर्वसेना')

34a - D$_1$ - धेया (for देया)

34b - Pri. Edn.$_1$ - द्वि' (for त्रि')

व्याख्या - सर्वाश्वानामधिपतिर्नायकः। राज्ञस्सकाशात्।।३७।।

The superintendent of all the horses of the king deserves to get 3,000 while the leader of the infantry is worthy to receive 2,000 (*varvas/ niṣkas*?). (37)

पादातानां सहस्रस्य नेत्रे पञ्चशतं स्मृतम्।
तथाचाश्वसहस्रेशे सहस्रं वेतनं भवेत्।।३८।।

पदातये सुवर्णानां पञ्चकं वेतनं भवेत्।
शतपत्त्यधिपे सप्त वर्वाणां हययायिने।।३९।।

व्याख्या - नेत्रे नायकाय। अधिभूर्नायको नेता इत्यमरः (३.१.११) । सहस्रं सर्वत्र वर्वाणामित्यनुषज्यते।।३८।।

सुवर्णानां वर्वाणाम्। हययायिने। एकाश्चनायकाय। वर्वाणां सप्त वेतनं-पदातिशतायके इवेत्यर्थः।।३९।।

It is held that 500 *varvas* should be given to the leader of 1,000 men from infantry, while the lord of 1,000 horsemen should get 1,000. (38)

Each man from infantry and the leader of 100 *patti* riding horse should get the wage of five and seven gold coins respectively. (39)

गजयन्तुसारथेश्च ध्वजिने चक्रपाय च।
पदातित्रिशतेशाय पथिकोष्ट्रचराय च।।४०।।

वार्तिकाधिपतेश्चाऽपि वेत्रिणां पतये तथा।
सूतमागधवन्दीनां पतये वीवधाधिपे।।४१।।

सेनाया भृतिदात्रे च भटानां गणनापरे।
मासि मासि तु वर्वाणां दश पञ्च च वेतनम्।।४२।।

व्याख्या - गजयन्तुर्हस्तिपकाय। ध्वजिने ध्वजस्तम्भाधारकाय। चक्रपाय चक्ररक्षकाय। पथिकोष्ट्रचराय पन्थानमेकदिनेन त्रिंशत्क्रोशमितमार्गं यच्छति य पथिकः। तादृशश्चासावुष्ट्रश्च तेन चरायोष्ट्रवार्तिकायेत्यर्थः।।४०।।

वार्तिकानां शत्रुराष्ट्रवार्ताहराणाम्। अधिपतेः। वेत्रिणां यष्टिधरदूतानाम्। वीवधाधिपे। वीवधो धान्यादेः प्राप्तिः। तस्याधिपः। तद्विचारणकर्ता। धान्यादेर्वीवधप्राप्तिरिति कोशः।।४१।।

41d - T_1 - र्पतिभ्यो (for पतये)

42a - D_1 - °धात्रे (for °दात्रे)

भृतिदात्रे वेतनदानाधिकृताय। भटानां गणनापरे अन्यूनाधिकविचाराधिकृताय। दशपञ्चदशेत्यर्थः।।४२।।

The mahout, charioteer, flag-bearer, guard of the disc, leader of 300 foot-soldiers, runner of 300 miles in a day, (40)

The leader of the carriers of news of the enemies, manager bearing a staff, lord of the different categories of bards, controller of the bringing and distribution of grains, (41)

The controller of defence accounts giving the salaries to the army, the counter of the soldiers each of which should be given the salary of 15 *varva*s every month. (42)

तत्तत्कार्यानुसारेण कुलपर्यायतस्तथा।
भटानान्तु भृतिः कल्प्या तत्तत्कालानुसारतः।।४३।।

व्याख्या - तच्च तच्च तत्तत्। तत्तच्च तत् कार्यञ्च तत्तत्कार्यम्। तस्यानुसारोऽनुरोधः। तेन। कुलपर्यायतः कुलक्रमानुरोधेन। तत्तत्कालानुसारतः दूरगमनयुद्धकालानुसारात्।।४३।।

However, salary to be given to the soldiers should be determined in accordance with their work, family heredity, and time. (43)

आहवेषु मिथश्शूरा जिघांसन्तो महीक्षितः।
युध्यमानाः परं शक्त्या स्वर्गं यान्त्यपराङ्मुखाः।।४४।।

व्याख्या - ननु बुद्धिपूर्वकं युद्धे मृतस्यात्मघातरूपदोषस्स्यादित्याशङ्कयाह - प्रत्यवायो नास्ति प्रत्युत पुण्यलोकावाप्तिरस्तीत्याह आहवेष्विति। अपराङ्मुखा अभिमुखं युध्यमानाः। शक्त्या परं स्वसामर्थ्यानुसारेण स्वर्गं यान्ति। इह देहं त्यक्त्वेति शेषः। द्वाविमौ पुरुषौ लोके सूर्यमण्डलभेदिनौ। परिव्राड्योगयुक्तश्च रणे चाभिमुखो हत इति पराशरोक्तेः (३.३२) ।।४४।।

Those brave warriors, who are steady in the war intently killing the kings, attain heaven when they fight with might without escaping from the battlefield. (44)

न कूटैरायुधैर्हन्याद्युध्यमानो रणे रिपून्।
दिग्धैरग्न्युज्वलैर्यन्त्रैस्तन्त्रैश्चैव पृथग्विधैः।।४५।।

व्याख्या - कूटैः कपटप्रहारसाधनैः। तान्येव विवृणोति दिग्धैरित्यादिना। दिग्धैर्विषलिप्तैः। अग्न्युवलैर्बलत्काष्ठैः। यन्त्रैरुपलोक्षेपकैः। तन्त्रैः कृत्यादिक्षुद्रप्रयोगैः।।४५।।

While fighting on the battlefield, one should kill the enemies with various types of concealed weapons, be they poisoned, burning, stone-throwing or occult means. (45)

न हन्याद्वृक्षमारूढं न क्लीबं न कृताञ्जलिम्।
न मुक्तकेशं नासीनं न तवास्मीति वादिनम्।।४६।।

व्याख्या - तवास्मीति वादिनं शरणागतम्।। ४६।।

One should not kill a warrior who has climbed upon a tree, a eunuch, one with folded hands, or with open hair, sitting, saying "I am yours", (46)

न प्रसुप्तं न प्रणतं न नग्नं न निरायुधम्।
नायुध्यमानं पश्यन्तं न परेण समागतम्।।४७।।

व्याख्या - अयुध्यमानं युद्धश्रान्तम्। पश्यन्तं विनोदार्थिनम्। राजभृत्यत्वरहितमित्यर्थः। परेण समागतमन्येन सह युद्धं कुर्वन्तम्। उदासीनं न हन्यादित्यर्थः।।४७।।

Nor who is asleep, who has bowed down, who is naked, without weapons, not fighting, an onlooker, who is accompanying somebody, (47)

नायुधव्यसनं प्राप्तं नार्तं नातिपरीक्षितम्।
न हीनं न परावृत्तं न च वल्मीकमाश्रितम्।।४८।।

व्याख्या - आयुधव्यसनमुपकरणस्खलनं प्राप्तम्। वस्तुत आयुधरहितमिति न पौनरुक्त्यम्। नातिपरीक्षितं शस्त्रशिक्षापरीक्षारहितम्। परावृत्तं युद्धात्पश्चान्निवृत्तम्।।४८।।

Nor who is facing difficulty with his weapons, who is in agony, who has not been able to test his weapons, nor a low, nor who has retired, nor who has resorted to an anthill. (48)

न मुखे तृणिनं हन्यान्न स्त्रियो वेषधारिणम्।
नैकतन्तुं कुलस्यापि घातयन् किल्बिषी भवेत्।।४९।।

व्याख्या - मुखे तृणिनं मुखावच्छेदनतृणधारिणम्। स्त्रियो वेषधारिणम्। कुलस्यैकतन्तुं कुलोद्धारकम् । स्वयं न हन्यादिति सर्वत्र योज्यम्।।४९।।

Nor should one kill him who has surrendered with a blade of grass in his mouth, nor who is wearing a woman's dress, nor the one who is the sole person to elevate his family — if these persons are killed one becomes a sinner, (49)

हन्यमानस्य यत्किञ्चिद्दुष्कृतं पूर्वसञ्चितम्।
तत्सङ्गृह्य स्वसुकृतं तस्मै दद्यात्तथाविधः।।५०।।

व्याख्या - हन्यमानस्य हननशीलस्य। हननकर्मीभूतस्य। स्वस्य हननकर्तुः। सुकृतं तेभ्यो हन्यमानेभ्यः। तथाविधः घातकः।।५०।।

48a - Pri. Edn.$_1$, D$_1$ - आयुध' (for नायुध')

50d - Pri. Edn.$_1$, तेभ्यो (for तस्मै)

(And) whatever evil action is performed by him earlier is accumulated and given to him, while his good actions to them. (50)

मार्गशीर्षे शुभे मासि कुर्याद्यात्रां महीपतिः।
फाल्गुने वापि चैत्रे वा यदा पश्येद्ध्रुवं जयम्।।५१।।

व्याख्या - यात्राकालमाह - मार्गशीर्षेत्यादिना। जयं जयसाधनस्वशक्त्युपचयादि।।५१।।

The king should commence the march for attack in the auspicious month of Mārgaśīrṣa, in which case he shall certainly achieve victory by the month of Fālguna or Caitra. (51)

शत्रुसेविनि मित्रे च गूढयत्नतमो भवेत्।
गतप्रत्यागते चैव स हि कष्टतमो रिपुः।।५२।।

व्याख्या - शत्रुसेविनि शत्रूपजापवति। मित्रे मित्रप्रवादे। गतप्रत्यागते गतसहितप्रत्यागते। गते गमने प्रत्यागते चेत्यर्थः। स हि कष्टतमोऽतिक्रूरः। रिपुर्वा।।५२।।

He should be extremely secretive towards the friend who has gone over to the enemy; for, who has gone and returned is the most difficult enemy (to be defeated). (52)

दण्डव्यूहेन सेनान्तु नयेत्तु शकटेन वा।
वराहगरुडाभ्यां वा सूच्या वा मकरेण वा।।५३।।

व्याख्या - नयेत् चारयेत्।।५३।।

He should lead his army by resorting to either of these arrays — *daṇḍa, śakaṭa, varāha, garuḍa, sūcī* or *makara*. (53)

यतो भवेद्भयं शत्रोस्ततो विस्तारयेद्बलम्।
सेनापतिबलाध्यक्षौ सर्वदिक्षु निवेशयेत्।।५४।।

व्याख्या - शत्रोः भयं शत्रुसकाशाद्भीतिः। यतो यादृशप्रदेशात्। ततस्तदभिमुखितया विस्तारयेदधिकगुल्मस्थापनपूर्वकस्कन्धावारकल्पनया प्रसारयेत्। सेनापतिः सर्वसेनानायकः बलाध्यक्षः स्वल्पसेनानायक इति भेदः। सर्वदिक्षु सेनायाः परितः प्रवेशनिर्गममार्गेषु।।५४।।

(The principle is that) he should concentrate greater part of the army at the place where there is fear from the enemy; then he may place the commander-in-chief and the chief officer (of the smaller part of the army) in the directions of entry and exit. (54)

यतश्शङ्का भवेद्भीतस्तां प्राचीं कल्पयेद्दिशम्।
सूच्या वक्रेण चैवैनान् योधयेद्व्यूह्य वैरिणः।।५५।।

55a - T_1 - "भीते" (for "भीत")

55c - T_1 - वज्रेण (for वक्रेण)

व्याख्या - तां दिशं प्राचीमभिमुखदिशं कल्पयेत्। कुर्यात्। एनान्वैरिण इत्यन्वयः।।५५।।

He should cautiously consider that to be the eastern direction from where there looms danger from the enemies; these he may oppose by the curved *sūci* array. (55)

गुल्मांश्च स्थापयेदाप्तान् कृतसंज्ञान् समन्ततः।
स्थाने युद्धे च कुशलानभीरूनभिघातिनः।।५६।।

व्याख्या - कृतसंज्ञान्राजमुद्राचिह्नान्। ध्वजादिचिह्नवतो वा। स्थानेऽवस्थितौ।।५६।।

He should individually name (by giving them his insignia or flag), out of the seven *gulma*s which must be placed all around that place and in the battle, besides the skilled and brave assassinators as well. (56)

यवसान्नोदकधनान्युपरुन्ध्याद्रिपोर्युधि।
चेष्टाश्चैव विजानीयादरीन् योधयता स्वयम्।।५७।।

व्याख्या - रिपोर्यवसान्नोदकधनानि यवसधान्यजलद्रव्याण्युपरुन्ध्यान्मध्ये मार्गं स्वसैन्यं संस्थाप्य निरुन्ध्यादित्यर्थः। अरीन्योधयतां स्वशूराणां चेष्टा अकपटकृत्यानि स्वयमेव विजानीयात्।।५७।।

While fighting the battle, he himself should obstruct the opponent's supply of barley, food, water, money, and also know the enemy's activities at the same time. (57)

उपजप्यानुपजपेद् भेद्यांश्चैव विभेदयेत्।
लुब्धान् दानेन बिभृयाच्छत्रोर्योधान्यथोचितम्।।५८।।

व्याख्या - उपजप्यान् जनान्तिकपूर्वकम्बुद्धिभेदकान्। भेद्यान् कलहप्रियान्। भेदयेन्मिथो वैरिणः कुर्यात्।।५८।।

He should create confusion among those warriors in the enemy camp, who are fond of quarrels thus causing rift among those who are vulnerable to it; on the other hand, he can buy over the greedy ones with gifts. (58)

तादृशानेव स्वीयांस्तु शिक्षयेदविचारयन्।
गोपयेत्स्वीयमार्गांश्च परमर्मपरो नृपः।।५९।।

व्याख्या - तादृशान् शत्रुकृतोपजापतत्परान् परस्परभेदपरान् बुद्ध्वेति शेषः। अविचारयन् शास्त्रप्रामाण्येन निश्चिन्तं शिक्षयेत्। परमर्मपरः शत्रुमर्मग्रहणतत्परः।।५९।।

56d - Pri. Edn.$_2$, D$_1$ - 'रिघातिनः, T$_1$ 'तिघातिनः (for 'भिघातिनः)

59c - T$_1$ - नो' (for **गो**'), 'मर्माणि (for 'मार्गांश्च)

Being extremely alert in guarding confidential matters, the king, eager to get at the weaknesses of the enemy, should train only those amongst his own men, to protect his own secrets. (59)

युद्धकाले ह्यनुप्राप्ते स्वीयाज्ञापरिपन्थिनाम्।
पलायनपराणाञ्च स्वयोधानामुपेक्षिणाम्।।६०।।

व्याजेन युध्यताञ्चैव सैन्यपानां सुलोभिनाम्।
पराङ्मुखपराणाञ्च मिथो योधविभेदिनाम्।।६१।।

शत्रुषु स्वीयमार्गांश्च व्याजात्ख्यापयतां स्फुटम्।
रिपूणां मार्गदातॄणां स्वापदञ्चाभिनन्दताम्।।६२।।

तेषां प्राणान्तिको दण्डो राज्ञा कार्यो विजानता।
सुमहत्यपराधेऽपि दूतवध्या विगर्हिता।।६३।।

व्याख्या - स्वीयाज्ञापरिपन्थिनां स्वकृताज्ञाविरोधिकृत्यवतामित्यर्थः। उपेक्षिणां स्वस्वामिजयोपेक्षावताम्।।६०।।

व्याजेन युद्ध्यताम्। शत्रुयोधापातनं यथा तथा युद्धं कुर्वतां सुलोभिनां परदत्तद्रव्यलोभयुक्तानाम्। मिथः। अन्योन्यं स्वसैन्ययोधविभेदिनाम्। शत्रुजयानुकूलान्कुर्वताम्।।६१।।

व्याजादन्यार्थतया पत्रलेखनपूर्वकं वस्तुप्रेषणपूर्वकं वा कपटात् मार्गदातॄणां स्वामिग्रहणार्थं विवरदातॄणाम्। स्वापदं राजावमानमभिनन्दताम्।।६२।।

विजानता शिक्षाशास्त्रनिपुणेन। दूतानां शत्रोर्वार्ताहराणाम्। स्यात्सन्देशहरो दूत इत्यमरः (२.८.१६) ।।६३।।

When the moment of war approaches, all those who disobey his orders, those who are inclined to escape from it, who disregard their own warriors, (60)

those who fight without sincerity (force, — that is those who are actually bought over by the enemy), who lead their army with greed (for gaining wealth), who easily turn away their faces from their masters, who can create factions in their own side, (61)

those who pass on the information of his side to the enemy through any means, those who give way for the enemies (to capture the stock of food etc. of his side), those who applaud the ones who insult their own king, — (62)

must be punished by death by the king using his expertise in the matter of the laws of war.

However (in any case) despite the gravity of the offence, assassination of a messenger is contemptuous. (63)

योऽदण्डयान्मोचयेद्राजा सम्यग्दण्डयाञ्श्च घातयेत्।
इष्टं भवेत्क्रतुशतैस्तेन धर्मानुवर्तिना।।६४।।

व्याख्या - धर्मानुवर्तिना धर्मशास्त्रानुसारिणा।।६४।।

The king who releases those (warriors) who are not guilty and kills those who deserve punishment, earns the desired fruit of 100 sacrifices as he abides by righteousness. (64)

।। इति वैशम्पायननीतिप्रकाशिकायां सैन्ययोगकथनं नाम सप्तमस्सर्गः।।
।। इति श्रीसीतारामकृतायां नीतिप्रकाशिकातत्त्वविवृतौ सप्तमस्सर्गः।।

Here Ends the Seventh Canto of the Nītiprakāśikā of Vaiśampāyana Titled "Description of the Military Administration".

Here Ends the Seventh Canto of the Tattvavivṛti of Sītārāma.

64d - Pri. Edn.$_1$ - धर्मानुर्यायिना (for धर्मानुर्वर्तिना)

Colophon - T_1 -।। ईति श्रीमन्नीतिशास्त्रे नीतिप्रकाशिकायां सैन्ययोगकथनं नाम सप्तमः सर्गः।।
D_1 -।। ईति श्रीमन्नीतिशास्त्रे नीतिप्रकाशिकायां सैन्ययोगकथनं नाम सप्तमस्सर्गः।।

अथाष्टमस्सर्गः

राजव्यापारकथनम्

Eighth Canto

Narration of the Duties of the King

राजधर्मान् प्रवक्ष्यामि यथावृत्तो भवेन्नृपः।
लोकरञ्जनमेवात्र राज्ञो धर्मस्सनातनः ।।१।।

व्याख्या - राजधर्मान्प्रातरारभ्य स्वापपर्यन्तं राजकृत्यानि।।१।।

Now I shall narrate to you the duties of the king and how he should be; for, it is the eternal duty of the king to look after his subjects well. (1)

यथा हि गर्भिणी हित्वा स्वप्रियं मनसोऽनुगम्।
गर्भस्य हितमाधत्ते तथा कुर्यात्प्रजाहितम्।।२।।

व्याख्या - जनसन्तोषकरणे दृष्टान्तमाह यथा हीति। मनसोऽनुगं मनोऽनुकूलम्। स्वं प्रियं स्वभर्तारं हित्वा निबिडतरालिङ्गनादिषु त्यक्त्वा स्वप्रियमिति पाठे तिक्तकटुकषायाद्याहारं त्यक्त्वेत्यर्थः। गर्भस्थजन्तोर्हितं पथ्यादिरूपं गर्भिणी षण्मासिकादिगर्भधारिणी यथा तथा प्रजाहितं कुर्यादित्यर्थः।२।।

He should strive for the welfare of the people leaving aside things dear to him like a woman expecting a child does so for the good of the child she is carrying. (2)

अष्टाभिर्लोकपालानां मात्राभिर्निर्मितो यतः।
तस्मादभिभवेद्राजा सर्वभूतानि तेजसा ।।३।।

व्याख्या - मात्राभिः कलाभिः।।३।।

Since the king is created from the eight portions of the guardians of the directions, he supersedes all the beings by his lustre. (3)

सोऽग्निर्भवति वायुश्च सोऽर्कस्सोमस्स धर्मपः।
स कुबेरस्स वरुणः स महेन्द्रः प्रभावतः।।४।।

व्याख्या - प्रभावतोऽग्न्यादिगुणसाधर्म्यादग्निः क्रोधे। वायुः स्वविरोध्यपसारणे। अर्कः प्रतापे। सोम आह्लादकल्पने। धर्मो न्यायविचारे। कुबेरः धनदाने। वरुणः क्षेमकृत्ये। महेन्द्रः परमैश्वर्ये।।४।।

1b - Pri. Edn.$_1$ 'न्नरः (for 'न्नृपः)

Due to his virtues he becomes Agni, Vāyu, Arka (Sun), Soma (Moon), Yama, Kubera, Varuṇa and Indra. (4)

बालोऽपि नावमन्तव्यो मनुष्य इति भूमिपः।
महती देवता ह्येषा नररूपेण तिष्ठति।।५।।

व्याख्या - राजा सन्मानमर्हतीति न्यायमनुसृत्य तेजोवतां न वयः कारणमित्याह। बालोऽपीति - महती देवता विष्णुरूपा देवता। नाविष्णुः पृथिवीपतिरिति न्यायात्। एको विष्णुर्महद्भूतमिति स्मृतेश्च (?)।। ५।।

Even though he may be a child, the king should not be disregarded as an ordinary human being; for, a great deity resides in him in human form. (5)

व्याख्या - राजविरोधिनां कुलहानिरित्याह एकमेवेति -

एकमेव दहत्यग्निर्नरं दुरुपसर्पिणम्।
कुलं दहति राजाग्निस्सपशुद्रव्यसञ्चयम्।।६।।

व्याख्या - दुरुपसर्पिणः दुर्बुद्ध्योपसर्पमाणं तत्र पतन्तमित्यर्थः।।६।।

While the inaccessible fire burns only a single person the wrath of the king burns the entire family along with its cattle and wealth. (6)

तस्य प्रसादे पद्मा श्रीर्विजयश्च पराक्रमे।
मृत्युश्च वसति क्रोधे तस्मात्सर्वाश्रयस्तु सः।।७।।

व्याख्या - प्रसादेऽनुग्रहे पद्माश्रया श्रीः सम्पदाद्यधिदेवता। यस्य कोपे महाबाधः प्रसादश्च महाफल इति न्यायादिति भावः (मनु ७.७७)। सर्वाश्रयः सम्पद्विपदुभयफलप्रद इत्यर्थः।।७।।

In his grace resides the goddess of wealth, victory in his valour, and death in his anger; therefore, he is to be resorted to by all. (7)

अगूढविभवा यस्य पुरराष्ट्रनिवासिनः।
नयापनयवेत्ता यस्स राजा त्विदमाचरेत्।।८।।

व्याख्या - यस्य राज्ञः पुरवासिनः अगूढविभवाः निर्भयमनाच्छादितैश्वर्याः। अयं भावः - दुष्टे राजनि स्वैश्वर्यं जना न प्रकटयन्तीति तदैश्वर्यामोदको य इति बोध्यम्। नयापनयवेत्ता च यः नीत्यपनीतिपरिज्ञाता। स इदं वक्ष्यमाणम्।।८।।

The king who knows good and bad policies, whose subjects residing in cities and other parts of the state and having revealed their prosperity, should practise this daily routine. (8)

उत्थायापररात्रेषु चिन्तयेदर्थनिर्णयम्।
गुणदोषान् स्वयं बुद्ध्वा कर्तव्यार्थे प्रसन्नधीः।।९।।

व्याख्या - अर्थनिर्णयं प्रयोजननिश्चयम्। कर्तव्यार्थे मन्त्रिभिः पूर्वदिने कर्तव्यत्वेन निर्दिष्टे अभिधेये। गुणदोषौ स्वयं स्वयमेव। बुद्ध्वा विचार्य। प्रसन्नधीरितिकर्तव्यताबुद्धिस्सन् इत्यर्थः।।९।।

Waking up towards the last part of the night, he should contemplate upon the economic issues with full knowledge of the virtues and otherwise (of all matters) for (carrying out) his duties with a cheerful mind. (9)

दैवं हृदा दृढं ध्यात्वा कृत्वा मङ्गलपाठकम्।
शुचिर्भूत्वा तु विधिवन्मङ्गलालम्बनं चरेत्।।१०।।

व्याख्या - मङ्गलपाठं गजेन्द्रमोक्षादिरूपस्तुतिपाठम्। मङ्गलपाठकं स्तुतिपाठं विधिवदाचार-काण्डोक्तप्रकारेण। शुचिः "एका लिङ्गे गुदे तिस्रः तथा वामकरे दश। पादयोर्मृत्तिकाषट्कम् उभये सप्तमृत्तिका" इति शास्त्राचरणलब्धशुद्धिस्सन्नित्यर्थः। मङ्गलालम्बनं श्वेतगोपुच्छादिस्पर्शनरूपम् ।।१०।।

Meditating upon his deity in his heart with concentration, reciting the holy chants and purifying himself in a proper way, he should carry out the auspicious rituals. (10)

नित्यकर्म समाप्याथ नित्यदानं विधाय च।
त्रैविद्यवृद्धान् नत्वा तु तिष्ठेदेषाञ्च शासने।।११।।

व्याख्या - त्रैविद्यवृद्धान् साङ्गवेदत्रयाध्ययनाध्यापनेन ज्ञानवृद्धान् नत्वा। एषां धनुर्वेदपराणां, शासने धनुर्विद्यादिशिक्षणरूपे। तिष्ठेदभ्यसेदित्यर्थः।।११।।

After finishing the daily bodily rituals and charities, he should offer respect to the learned ones of the Vedic lore abiding by their counsel. (11)

तेभ्योऽधिगच्छेद्विनयं विनीतात्मा हि नित्यशः।
वनस्थाश्चैव राज्यानि विनयात्प्रतिपेदिरे।।१२।।

व्याख्या - तेभ्यः त्रैविद्यवृद्धेभ्यः। विनयं नीतिं, विनयाभ्यासप्रयोजनमाह - वनस्था राज्यं हित्वा वने विद्यमाना विदुरपुत्रसञ्जयादयः उद्योगपर्वप्रोक्ताः ज्ञेयाः।।१२।।

He should always approach them with utter humility; for, it is they who reside in the forest, inspire the king to administer the kingdom efficiently. (12)

इन्द्रियाणां जये योगमधितिष्ठेद्दिवानिशम्।
जगज्जितेन्द्रियस्येदं वशे भवति नित्यदा ।।१३।।

व्याख्या - जये तद्विषये योगं योगाभ्यासमुपायं वा। इन्द्रियजयस्य प्रयोजनमाह जगदिति।।१३।।

He should resort to *yoga* day and night to conquer the sense-organs;

for, this world can always be controlled by the one who has conquered his senses. (13)

अरिषड्वर्गरहितो वेदशास्त्रपरश्शुचिः।
प्रातःकाले व्यतीते तु भूषितस्तु सभां व्रजेत्।।१४।।

व्याख्या - अरिषड्वर्गः कामक्रोधलोभमोहमदमात्सर्यरूपः तेन रहितः। वेदशास्त्रपरोऽभ्यास-तत्परः। अत एव शुचिः स्वाध्यायरूपतपसा शुद्धः। तपो हि स्वाध्याय इति श्रुतेः (तै.उप. १.९.१) ।।१४।।

He, the pure one, who is devoid of the six enemies, engaged in understanding the Vedas and scriptures, should go to the assembly adorned with (the royal insignia) when the dawn has passed. (14)

उच्चासनस्थो नृपतीः राज्यतन्त्रं विचारयेत्।
धर्मासने समारोप्य विप्रं सुज्ञं पुरोहितम्।।१५।।

व्याख्या - धर्मासने धर्मविचारार्थं क्लृप्तस्वद्वितीयासने।।१५।।

Seated on a high seat, the king should look into the administration of the kingdom after appointing a scholarly brāhmaṇa priest on the seat of a judge. (15)

जातिमात्रोपजीवी वा कामं स्याद्ब्राह्मणब्रुवः।
धर्मप्रवक्ता नृपते न तु शूद्रः कथञ्चन।।१६।।

व्याख्या - ब्राह्मणेतरस्य धर्म नियन्तृत्वे निषेधमाह - जातीति। जातिमात्रोपजीवी जातिमात्रेण जीवन् अकृतवेदशास्त्राध्ययनपूर्वकसत्क्रियः। अत एव ब्राह्मणब्रुवः अधमब्राह्मणः। वा शब्दस्समुच्चये। धर्मप्रवक्ता भवेत्। किं पुनस्सद्ब्राह्मण इति भावः।।१६।।

A so-called brāhmaṇa who has never studied the Vedas may administer justice; but in any case, a śūdra can never perform this function. (16)

यस्य शूद्रस्तु कुरुते राज्ञो धर्मविवेचनम्।
तस्य सीदति तद्राष्ट्रं पङ्के गौरिव पश्यतः।।१७।।

व्याख्या - धर्मविवेचनं धर्मविचारः। पश्यतः पश्यन्तं राजानमनादृत्येत्यर्थः। पङ्के कर्दमे ह्रदे गौरिव सीदति नश्यति।।१७।।

If the king entrusts the execution of *dharma*, that is, legal matters to a śūdra, his nation falls like a cow into the mud in his very presence. (17)

मौलाञ्छास्त्रविदश्शूरांल्लब्धलक्षान् कुलोद्भवान्।
सचिवान् सप्त चाष्टौ वा कुर्वीत सुपरीक्षकान्।।१८।।

व्याख्या - मातापितृपितामहान्। शास्त्रविदो नीतिशास्त्रज्ञान्। शस्त्रविद् इति पाठान्तरम्। लब्धलक्षान्विचक्षणान्। कुलोद्भवान् कुलीनान्। सुपरीक्षकांल्लोकमर्यादापरीक्षातत्परान्। सचिवानापत्सहायार्थक्लृप्तमूलबलनायकान्।।१८।।

He should appoint seven or eight ministers, after proper examination, due to their heredity, who are well-versed in scriptures, brave, who can shoot their targets perfectly and who are born in good families. (18)

सुमन्त्रिणः प्रकुर्वीत द्वौ वा त्रीन्न्यायवादिनः।
तैस्सार्धं चिन्तयेदर्थान् प्रजाहितपरो नृपः।।१९।।

व्याख्या - न्यायवादिनो राज्यतन्त्रवक्तॄन्।।१९।।

The king should appoint two or three counsellors who know the law well and then discuss the different issues of the state with them keeping in mind the welfare of the subjects. (19)

द्वारपालान् पृष्ठगोपान् सभानेतॄनथाश्रवान् ।
समाज्ञाप्य विधानेन सावधानमना भवेत्।।२०।।

व्याख्या - सभानेतॄन् सभ्यमर्यादाव्यवस्थापनाधिकृतान्। आश्रवानाज्ञाचालकान्। वचने स्थित आश्रव इत्यमरः (३.१.२४) । विधानेन प्रामुख्येन।।२०।।

Being alert, he must direct by proper commands the doorkeepers, the body-guards behind him, and the leaders as well as the members of the assembly. (20)

दूतं चैव प्रकुर्वीत सर्वशास्त्रविशारदम्।
इङ्गिताकारचेष्टाज्ञं शुचिं लालाटिकं हितम्।।२१।।

व्याख्या - दूतं सन्देशहरणनायकम्। इङ्गितं पराभिप्रायः। आकारोऽभिप्रायसूचकमुखिवकासादिः। आकारस्तिङ्ग इङ्गितमित्यमरः (३.२.१५) । चेष्टा हस्तभ्रूचलनादिः। ताः जानातीति इङ्गिताकारचेष्टाज्ञः। तं लालाटिकं प्रभुभारदर्शिनम्। हितं राजहितङ्करम्।।२१।।

And then he should appoint an ambassador, who is skilled in all scriptures, can read the gestures and what is hidden in the mind of others, is pure, able to project the authority and even inclined towards the welfare of the king. (21)

धर्मशास्त्रानुसारेण सामात्यस्सपुरोहितः।
व्यवहारान्नृपः पश्येद्विद्वद्भिर्ब्राह्मणैस्सह।।२२।।

व्याख्या - धर्मशास्त्रानुसारेण धर्मनियामकव्यवहारकाण्डरीत्या। सपुरोहितः धर्माधिकारिब्राह्मणसहितः। व्यवहारानन्यवरोधेन स्वसम्बन्धितया कथनरूपान्। तेषामनेकविधत्वं व्यवहारनीतिबहुवचनस्वारस्यात्। नृप इत्यनेन क्षत्रियमात्रस्यायं न धर्मः किन्तु प्रजापालनेऽधिकृतस्याऽन्यस्यापीति

दर्शितम्। विद्वद्भिर्वेदशास्त्राभिज्ञैर्ब्राह्मणैस्सहेति तृतीयानिर्देशात्तेषामप्राधान्यम्। सहयुक्तेऽप्रधानमिति स्मरणात्। अतश्चादर्शनेऽन्यथा दर्शने च स दोषो राज्ञ एव न ब्राह्मणानाम्।।२२।।

The king should examine the legal matters in accordance with the law and customs (Dharmaśāstras) with the assistance of the ministers, *purohita* and the wise brāhmaṇas. (22)

सेनाकर्म समालोक्य भृतिं तेभ्यो विधाय च।
दीनान्धकृपणानाञ्च वृत्तिं सम्यग्विचार्य च।।२३।।

व्याख्या - वृत्तिं जीवनम्।

He should examine the activities of the army and check the payment and other details of their wages, as well as take care of the livelihood of the poor, the blind and the dependents. (23)

आयव्यये च विज्ञायायत्यभ्युदयं तदा ।
कृषीवलानां कृत्वा तु योगक्षेमौ च जीवनम्।।२४।।

व्याख्या - आयमादायम्। व्ययं व्रयम्। आयत्यभ्युदयमुत्तरकाललाभानुकूलकृत्यम्। उत्तरः काल आयतिरित्यमरः (२.८.२९)। कृषीवलानां कृष्या जीवनकर्तृणाम्। योगक्षेमौ। अप्राप्तस्य प्राप्तिर्योगः। स्थितस्य संरक्षणं क्षेमः। तौ कृत्वेत्यर्थः।

He should look into the state income, expenditure and economic growth, and also the acquisition, preservation as well as livelihood of the farmers. (24)

दुर्भिक्षव्यसनोपेतान्विदित्वा तु परोक्षतः ।
तेभ्यः प्रदाय स्वद्रव्यं यथायोग्यं विवर्ध्य तान्।।२५।।

व्याख्या - परोक्षतस्तद्वचनं विना स्वचारमुखेनेत्यर्थः। तेभ्यो दुर्भिक्षव्यसनयुक्तेभ्यः। कृषीवलेभ्यः स्वद्रव्यं प्रदाय न्यासविधिना दत्वा। तत्रापि यथायोग्यं दानं निस्वेभ्योऽधिकद्रव्यदानम्। स्वद्रव्यस्य हान्यापत्तेरित्यर्थः।

On knowing indirectly about those afflicted by famine and calamities, he should disburse money from his own funds and look after them with concern. (25)

स्वद्रव्यमाहरेत्तेभ्यस्सुपुष्टेभ्यस्समाहितः।
अवधेः पत्रिकां तेभ्यो लेखयित्वा स्वहस्ततः।।२६।।

व्याख्या - स्वहस्ततो लेखयित्वा तद्धस्तांचह्नवतां कृत्वा।

23d - D_1 - 'विधाय (for 'विचार्य)

He should take money for his own funds from those who are rich and then make them sign an agreement for it with a time period directly. (26)

उन्मोच्य चाधिकारिभ्यो भयात् क्षुद्रान् स्वयं नृपः।
पारितोषिकवस्त्राणि तेषां दत्त्वा यथाविधि।।२७।।

व्याख्या - अधिकारिभ्यो जनपदाधिकृतेभ्यः। भीतान् क्षुद्रान् दुर्बलान्। पारितोषिकवस्त्राणि तेषां स्वोपरिसन्तोषजननार्थम्।।२७।।

The king himself should free his subjects from the terror of his officials, give them awards and clothes properly. (27)

वाचा तान् भीषयित्वा तु हृदयार्द्रो महीपतिः।
व्यवस्थां विदधन्नेभ्यस्सामदानविचक्षणः।।२८।।

व्याख्या - वाचा वाङ्मात्रेण। न तु कार्यतः। हृदयार्द्रः हृदये दयया युतः। एभ्यो नीवृज्जनेभ्यः। व्यवस्थामनेन प्रकारेण युष्मान् परिपालयामीति वाक्प्रामाण्यरूपान् सामदानविचक्षणः सामदानप्रचारनिपुणस्सन् विदधन्। कर्ता भूयादित्यर्थः।

(Then, though being) soft at heart, the king should frighten them (i.e. officers) by speech (i.e. by harsh words) and should also care for them with skilful (implementation of) *sāma* and *dāna*. (28)

चरितानि विचार्यैवं चारेभ्यश्चाधिकारिणाम्।
दुष्टानां शिक्षणं कुर्याद्दण्डनीतिप्रवर्तकः।।२९।।

व्याख्या - अधिकारिणां तत्तदुद्योगनियमितानाम्। चरितानि दुष्टादुष्टकृत्यानि। दुष्टानामविहितशत्रूणां शिक्षणम्। अग्रे दुष्कृत्यनिरासकशिक्षादण्डः। शिक्षणम्। नीतिप्रवर्तको नीतिशास्त्रचालकः।

He — (being) the one who implements *nīti* — should get news of the actions of officials from his spies and punish the evil ones. (29)

यत्र श्यामो लोहिताक्षो दण्डश्चरति पापहा।
प्रजास्तत्र न मुह्यन्ति नेता चेत्साधु पश्यति।।३०।।

व्याख्या - दण्डदेवतास्वरूपमाह यत्रेत्यादिना। नेता राजा साधु पश्यति सम्यक् दण्डं प्रचारयति चेदित्यर्थः।।३०।।

(For) where the dark, red-eyed and destroyer of sin moves, the subjects do not get infatuated and the leader examines justly. (30)

अकालक्रयविक्रेयकर्तृणां स्वार्थकामिनाम्।
प्रजाभ्यो दायहर्तृणां स्वामिकार्यविघातिनाम्।।३१।।

29ab- Pri. Edn.$_2$, D_1, T_1 - The whole line is चारेभ्यश्चाधिकारिणां चरितानि विचार्य च।

प्रजोद्वेजनकर्तृणामुग्रदण्डेन दुःखतः।
गोदेवब्राह्मणस्वानां हर्तृणां लोभदोषतः।।३२।।

राजाज्ञाप्रतिबन्दीनां राजद्रोहपरात्मनाम्।
स्वराजचरिताख्यानकर्तृणां शत्रुराजके।।३३।।

सेतुभेदकराणाञ्च चोरमोचनकारिणाम्।
राजस्वे च प्रमत्तानां राजकोशापहारिणाम्।।३४।।

स्वाधीनादिकृतानां तु वेतनार्धं प्रगृह्यताम्।
स्वयोधभेदकर्तृणामभिचाररतात्मनाम्।।३५।।

अपलापप्रसक्तानां स्ववाक्ये राजसन्निधौ।
राजस्वेऽन्यत्वकर्तृणां तटाकारामघातिनाम्।।३६।।

शिक्षणार्थं चरा योज्यास्तेभ्यो विज्ञाय तत्त्वतः।
तेषां व्यतिक्रमं पश्चाच्छिक्षयेन्नीतिमार्गतः।।३७।।

अधिकारप्रच्यवैश्च कारागाराधिवासनैः।
निगडालम्बनैश्चैव राष्ट्रनिष्कासनैस्तथा।।३८।।

सर्वस्वहरणैश्चैव नीचकृत्यप्रचोदनैः।
प्रावरेणैकवस्त्रेण चतुष्पथनिवेशनैः।।३९।।

परिवर्तनाधिकारैश्च कायक्लेशोपपादकैः।
मृद्वाहैश्च कशाघातैर्विरूपकरणैस्तथा।।४०।।

एतैरन्यैर्यथाशास्त्रं शिक्षयेदधिकारिणः।
राज्ञा तु शिक्षितान् दृष्ट्वा ये हसेयुश्च तानपि।।४१।।

व्याख्या - अकाले स्वराज्याननुकूलसमये। क्रयो धान्यादिकं दत्त्वा द्रव्यग्रहणम्। विक्रयो राजद्रव्यं दत्वा धान्यादिक्रयं दत्वा धान्यादिग्रहणम्। तत्तकर्तृणाम् । स्वार्थकामिनां अकाले राजधान्यादिक्रयं स्वयं कुर्वतामित्यर्थः। दायहर्तृणां गुप्तद्रव्यहारिणाम्।।३१।।

दुःखतः अन्तः स्वस्य द्रव्याद्यदानदुःखवशात्।।३२।।

राज्ञां द्रोहोऽनिष्टचिन्तनम्। तत्र परः आसक्तः आत्मा चित्तं येषाम्। स्वराजा स्वस्वामि।

4(a)b- T_1 - अधिकारव्यत्ययेश्च' (for 'नाधिकारेश्च कायक्लेशोप')

4(c - Pri. Edn.$_1$ - करा' (for कशा')

तस्य यानि चरितानि किञ्चिदन्यायव्यवहारदर्शनादीनि। तेषामाख्यानं कुर्वन्तीति तादृशाः। तेषाम् । शत्रुराजके तत्समूहे।।३३।।

सेतुभेदकराणां मर्यादाविच्छेदनकराणां अथवा नद्यादिसेतुव्यापादिनाम्। राजकोशपूरणार्थं प्रजाभ्यो गृहीतस्वाधीनकल्पकोशस्थद्रव्यहारिणाम्।।३४।।

स्वाधीनाधिकृतानाम्। कृतं यद्वेतनं तन्मध्येऽर्धवेतनग्राहिणाम्। आभिचाररतात्मनाम्। कृत्रिमकृत्याद्युत्पादनाग्निविप्रयोगादिरूपकृत्यासक्तचित्तानाम्।।३५।।

राजस्वे ग्रामादावन्यत्वकर्तृणां राज्ञ इदं न भवतीति। अपि त्वन्यस्येत्यन्यस्वामिनं प्रदर्शियत्वा गूढं तस्मात् द्रव्यग्राहिणमित्यर्थः।।३६।।

तेभ्यश्चरेभ्यः।।३७।।

शिक्षाप्रकारमाह - अधिकारप्रच्यवैश्चेत्यादिना। अधिकारेण प्रच्यवैः। निष्कासनैः। कारागारेषु। कारा स्याद्बन्धनालय इत्यमरः (२.८.११९)। अगारशब्दः वैलक्षण्यद्योतकः। अधिवासनैर्विन्यासैः। निगडानां पादबन्धनानाम्। आलम्बनैरसज्जनैः राष्ट्रनिष्कासनैः स्वदेशान्निर्वासनैः। पुरुषभेदविवक्षया बहुवचनप्रयोगः।।३८।।

नीचकृत्यप्रचोदनैर्दौवारिकाद्याज्ञायां प्रेरणैः। प्रावारेण कटिबद्धेनेकेनैव वस्त्रेण। सहचतुष्पथे नगरमध्ये वीथ्यां निवेशनैः। आसायम्। प्रावारस्स्यात्कटितट इति मेदिनी (?)।।३९।।

परिवर्तनाधिकारैरधिकारविनिमयैरित्यर्थः। मृदां मृत्तिकानां वाहैः सालादिबन्धनार्थवहनैः।।४०।।

राज्ञापराधानुसारेण शिक्षितान्प्राप्ताशिक्षान्। राजहेलनार्थं येऽपहसन्ति तानपि शिक्षयेदिति पूर्वेणान्वयः। इदं शिक्षणं लोके स्वगुरुत्वसम्पादनार्थमिति ज्ञेयम्।।४१।।

Those selfish ones who carry on transactions of trade (at the time harmful for the state), steal the wealth of the people, harm the duties of the king, (31)

Create agitation among the people by severe punishment out of misery, take away the cows, deities and possessions of the brāhmaṇas out of greed, (32)

Who violate the order of the king and also betray him, who inform the rival king of the deeds of his own king, (33)

Who violate the social norms, who aim to release the thieves, destroy the reverence and adversely affect the royal treasury, (34)

Who take away portions of others' wages, who create rift amidst their own warriors, who are engaged in evil practices (that harm the nation), (35)

Who contradict his own words before the king, who are involved in showing the ownership of things of those other than the king and who destroy water reservoirs, rest houses and other public means, (36)

Employing spies to learn about them and then on knowing about their exact crimes he should punish and teach (lesson to) them in accordance with righteousness, (37)

By taking away their authority, by imprisonment, putting them in chains, banishing them from the kingdom, (38)

Seizing all the property of those who are instigated by the orders of door-keepers and others, by parading them on the crossroads (of the city) in a single piece of loin-cloth, (39)

Changing the authority, physically agonizing, making them carry clay (for building rampart and other purposes), whipping, deforming, — (40)

By these and other means, in accordance with the scriptures, the officials should be punished, and those who laugh at the punished ones should also be similarly treated. (41)

राज्ञोऽपहासनिन्दे च राजदारान् हसन्ति ये।
नीवृज्जनाममार्गस्थान् ज्ञात्वा संशिक्षयेन्नृपः।।४२।।

व्याख्या - राज्ञोऽपहासस्तत्सभायां स्थित्वा दन्तभ्रूदर्शनपूर्वकोपहासः। तन्निन्दाञ्च ये कुर्वन्तीति शेषः। राजदारान् राजावरोधवधूजनान्। नीवृति देशे ये जनाः तान् मार्गस्थान् दुर्मार्गस्थान्। स्वस्वधर्मस्थापनया शिक्षयेदित्यर्थः।।४२।।

The king should know and then teach a lesson to those who laugh at or censure him, the royal women and also those who deviate from the ethical principles. (42)

मृदुर्हि राजा सततं लघुर्भवति सर्वशः।
तीक्ष्णाच्चोद्विजते लोकस्तस्मादुभयमाचरेत्।।४३।।

व्याख्या - मृदुर्लघुः अल्पतरशिक्षापरः। अलघुभृत्यैरपि परिभूतः तर्हि उग्रदण्डवता भवितव्यमित्याशङ्क्य नेत्याह। तीक्ष्णादिति। उद्विजते बिभेति। तस्मात्कारणात्। उभयं कालविशेषमृदुत्वं तदन्यकाले चोग्रत्वं च सेव्यमिति भावः।।४३।।

Verily the king should always be gentle in punishing; for, people fear him who is harsh; therefore, (knowing time and place) he should be both gentle and severe. (43)

राजानं प्रथमं विन्देत्ततो भार्यां ततो धनम्।
राजन्यसति लोकेऽस्मिन्कुतो भार्या कुतो धनम्।।४४।।

42a - T_1 - राजोप' (for राज्ञोऽप')

42b - D_1 - 'धारा' (for 'दारा')

43b - T_1 - सर्वतः (for सर्वशः)

44d - Pri. $Edn._2$, D_1, T_1 - धनंकृतः (for कुतो धनम्)

व्याख्या - राजन्वति प्रदेशे प्रजाभिःस्थेयमित्याह राजानमिति। प्रथमं मुख्यतया विन्देत्सम्पादयेत्। ततो भार्या धनञ्च स्वकीयत्वेन विद्यादित्यर्थः अस्मिन् लोके प्रपञ्चे राजन्यसति असत्पुरुषे सति भार्या च धनञ्च कुतः। नाराजके जनपदे भार्या वा वर्तते वश इत्यादि रामायणवचनात् (२.१६.६६) ।।४४।।

One should obtain a good king (i.e. settle in his kingdom) as the priority, then wife and thereafter wealth; (for), when there is no king in this world, how can one have wife and so the wealth? (44)

आयानुकूलं कुर्वीरन् भृत्या राजहितैषिणः।
पश्चान्निवेदयेयुस्तदन्यथा दण्डभागिनः।।४५।।

व्याख्या - राजहितैषिणो भृत्या आयानुकूलमापूर्वप्राप्त्यनुसारिकर्म स्वयं राजाज्ञां विना स्वतन्त्रं कुर्वीरन्। कर्तुं शास्त्रसम्मताः। पश्चात्कर्म कृत्वा निवेदयेयुः। पत्रद्वारा स्वयं वापि ज्ञापयेयुरिति भावः। अन्यथा राज्ञोऽनुकूलकृत्याकरणे दण्डभागिनो दण्डार्हाः।।४५।।

The officials who wish well for the king should carry out their duties independently but in consonance with the requirements of their offices, and then should report to him; otherwise they invite punishment. (45)

ग्रामस्याधिपतिः कार्यो दशग्रामाधिपस्तथा।
विंशतीशश्शतेशश्च सहस्रेशो नृपेण तु।।४६।।

व्याख्या - राज्यपालनक्रममाह ग्रामस्येति। नृपेणाधिराजेन स्वेन।।४६।।

The king may appoint the heads of one, ten, twenty, 100 and 1,000 villages (in the form of the hierarchy of administration). (46)

ग्रामीयान् ग्रामदोषांश्च ग्रामिकः परिपालयेत् ।
तानाचक्षेत दशिने दशको विंशतीश्वरे।।४७।।

विंशतीशश्च तत्सर्वं वृत्तं जानपदे जने।
ग्रामाणां शतपालाय सर्वं वै विनिवेदयेत्।।४८।।

व्याख्या - ग्रामीयान् ग्रामे भवान् परिपालयेत्। लक्षणया विचारयेदित्यर्थः।।४७।।

जनापदेशविद्यमानकाले।।४८।।

The issues related to the village may be looked into by its leader; then (if not settled) by the head of ten villages, thereafter by the head of twenty villages. (47)

The head of twenty villages may then report all that happened to the head of 100 villages. (48)

48d - T_1 - सर्वतो (for सर्वं वै)

यानि ग्रामिकभोज्यानि ग्रामिकस्तान्युपाश्नुते।
हिरण्यधान्यभागेन यतो राष्ट्रीयकस्स्मृतः।।४९।।

व्याख्या - ग्रामीयको ग्रामीययोगक्षेमाधिकृतः। यानि ग्रामिकभोज्यानि तानि हिरण्यांशधान्यांशग्रहणेन तानि हिरण्यधान्यादीन्युपाश्नुते। भोक्तुमर्हति। तदेव तस्य जीवनमित्यर्थः। यतो राष्ट्रीयकः कुलक्रमेण तद्रक्षकः।।४९।।

As the head of the village protects it (by heredity) and serves the country, he receives a portion of gold and crop from that village as his wage. (49)

दशी तेन विभक्तव्यो विंशतीशस्तथा स्मृतः।
ग्रामं ग्रामशताध्यक्षो भोक्तुमर्हति सत्कृतः।।५०।।

व्याख्या - दशी दशग्रामाधिपः तेन दशग्रामीयधनधान्येन विभक्तव्यो विभाग प्रापणीयः। पोषणीय इति यावत्। विंशतीशो विंशतिग्रामाधिपोऽपि तथा। तादृशजीवनवान्। ग्रामशताध्यक्षस्य जीवनमाह - ग्राममिति। ग्रामं पर्वशतोत्पादकम्। एकग्रामजन्यपर्वान्या। सत्कृतो ग्रामवासिभिरिति शेषः।।५०।।

(Similarly) the heads of the ten and twenty villages respectively earn the livelihood from one-tenth portion of revenue of their respective villages they govern, which is to be paid to the king; while the head of the 100 villages deserves the portion to be paid equal to one *parva*. (50)

शाखानगरमर्हस्तु सहस्रपतिरुत्तमम्।
दिक्पालासनयोग्योऽसौ शतादिग्रामनायकः।।५१।।

व्याख्या - सहस्रग्रामपतेर्वेतनमाह शाखानगरमिति। शाखानगरं नाम प्रधाननगरे स्थलसङ्को-चेनावरणाद्बहिर्बद्धघोषविशेषः। तच्छाखानगरं वेशो वेश्याजनसमाश्रय इत्यमरः (२.२.२)। शाखानगरन्तु त्रिंशत्पर्वसम्पादकम्। ते शतग्राममाधिकृत्य सहस्रान्तनायकाः। दिक्पालासनयोग्याः अष्टवर्णकहसन्तिकादिवराकीनिर्मितसोपाधानोपवेशयोग्याः। दिक्पालांशवता राज्ञा निर्दिष्टं यद्वरासनम्। दिग्वर्णचित्रितं राज्ञां दिक्पालासनमुच्यते।। इति नीतिविवेके (?) ।।५१।।

The most efficient head of 1,000 villages deserves the livelihood equal to *parva* of the suburb (of the city which yields 300 *parva*s). This head of 100 and more villages deserves to be appointed as the post of the guardian of the directions. (51)

तेषां यद्ग्रामकृत्यं स्याद्राष्ट्रकृत्यञ्च यद्भवेत्।
धर्मज्ञस्सचिवः कश्चित्तदपेक्षेदतन्द्रितः।।५२।।

52d - T_1 - °वेक्षेद° (for °पेक्षेद°)

व्याख्या - अतन्द्रितः आलस्यशून्यः। कश्चिद्विलक्षणस्सचिवः। राजसमीपवर्तीति राष्ट्राधिकार-कृत्यम् अपेक्षेत्।।५२।।

Of these officers with reference to the villages as well as the cities, one who is righteous and alert can be appointed to the office of the minister. (52)

नगरे नगरे च स्यादेकस्सर्वार्थचिन्तकः।
उच्चस्थानो घोररूपो नक्षत्राणामिव ग्रहः।।५३।।

व्याख्या - सर्वार्थचिन्तकस्सर्वाधिकारी। घोररूपस्सर्वनिग्राहकाकृतिमान्। ग्रहश्चन्द्रः।।५३।।

Every city should have a superintending officer to take care of all its matters; he occupies such a high position that he should govern sternly like the moon who reigns the constellations. (53)

स च तान् संपरिक्रमेत्सर्वामेव सदा कृती।
तेषां वृत्तिं हि गणयेत्सम्यग्राष्ट्रैस्स्वचारकैः।।५४।।

व्याख्या - स प्रधाननगरनीचैर्विद्यमाननगराधिकृतः। तान् जनपदान्। संपरिक्रमेत्सम्यक् सञ्चरेदित्यर्थः। तेषां तद्देशवासिनाम्। वृत्तिं मर्यादाम्।।५४।।

He should personally supervise it by moving in the regions of the capital (and) always being alert. He should accurately estimate the income of the residents therein through his spies who move everywhere. (54)

जिघांसव पापकामाः परस्वादायिनश्शठाः।
तत्तद्रक्षास्वधिकृतास्तेभ्यो रक्षेदिमाः प्रजाः।।५५।।

व्याख्या - अधिकृता अधिकारिणः। पूर्वार्धबोधितगुणकाः मदान्धा भवन्तीति प्रसिद्धिः। तस्माद्रक्ष्या इत्यर्थः।।५५।।

He should protect the subjects from those officers placed in the administration, especially from those who are cruel, evil, greedy and rogues. (55)

उच्चावचाः कराः न्याया पूर्वराज्ञां युधिष्ठिर।
यथा यथा न हीयेयुस्तथा कुर्यान्महीपतिः।।५६।।

व्याख्या - कराः बलयः।।५६।।

O king — you who are steady in war! The king should levy taxes — whether high or low, but are fair — as was done by his predecessors in such a way that the people do not suffer. (56)

56b - T_1 - नराधिपाः (for युधिष्ठिर)

ब्राह्मणेभ्यो नाददीत शुल्कं राजा तथा करम्।
न ब्राह्मणधनस्वामी कदाचित्स्यान्नराधिपः।।५७।।

व्याख्या - शुल्कं घट्टादिषु नूतनवस्त्रधान्यकैशेयाद्याहरणनिमित्तकद्रव्यम्। घटादिदेयं शुल्कोऽस्त्रीत्यमरः (२.८.७७) ।।५७।।

The king should not charge duty or tax on the brāhmaṇas; never may the king be the lord of the brāhmaṇas. (57)

आयं तु विपुलं कुर्याद्व्ययं कुर्यात्सुसूक्ष्मकम्।
नीवृद्यात्रां तथा भूपो लोकानुग्रहकृत्स्वयम्।।५८।।

व्याख्या - आयामागतिम्। विपुलं महान्तम्। व्ययं स्वहस्ताद्व्ययम्। सुसूक्ष्मकम्। पादेनैकेन सेनायाः पादार्धेन स्वजीवनम्। तद्धनार्धाद्धर्मकृत्यं कोशपूर्तिस्तृतीयतः। तुरीयार्धं पृथक् स्थाप्य शेषार्धन्तु यथैच्छिकम्। राजा त्वेवं हि विभजन् चिरमैश्वर्यमश्नुते। इति स्मृत्यनुरोधात्कुर्यादित्यर्थः। नीवृद्यात्रा देशसञ्चारः। स्वयं लोकानुग्रहकृत् सन् कुर्यादित्यन्वयः। प्रतिवर्षसञ्चारेण बहुवृत्तान्तज्ञाने सति तत्तज्जीवनधर्मपालनं भवतीत्यर्थः।।५८।।

The king should generate a great income and incur least expenditures; he should himself move amongst the people for their welfare. (58)

बन्धयेच्च तटाकानि सरांसि स्वगृहाणि च।
श्रेणीवृक्षांस्तथारामान्गोपयेच्च सुमार्गकृत्।।५९।।

व्याख्या - स्वगृहाणि तत्तन्नगरविद्यमानानि। श्रेणीवृक्षान्राजमार्गेषूभयपार्श्वयोः श्रेण्याकारतया विद्यमानपादपान्। सुमार्गकृन्निम्नोतसमीकरणेन, जलमार्गबन्धनेन, गुल्मस्थापनपूर्वकं होराद्युपद्रवपरिहारेण च सम्यङ्मार्गकर्त्रा भवितव्यमित्यर्थः।।५९।।

He should build water reservoirs, lakes and houses, plant rows of trees, build rest houses and even roads. (59)

सम्मानञ्चैव कुर्वीत विद्यावृद्धद्विजातिषु।
अवमत्यादिभिर्दण्डैर्विप्रान्विद्यासु योजयेत्।।६०।।

व्याख्या - विद्यया स्वस्वकुलोचितवेदशास्त्राद्यभ्यासेन। या वृद्धाः। उत्तमा द्विजातयः। ब्राह्मणाः। तासु सम्मानं स्वसन्मुखागमनेन पूर्वजीवनादधिकम्। वस्त्रभूषणदानादिरूपम्। विप्रानधीतवेदशास्त्रादिकान्।।६०।।

Moreover, he should honour scholars, the twice-born, as well as direct the brāhmaṇas in studies by punishment if they have not been doing so. (60)

अलब्धमीहेद्धर्मेण लब्धं यत्नेन पालयेत्।
पालितं वर्धयेन्नित्यं वृद्धं पात्रेषु निक्षिपेत्।।६१।।

व्याख्या - अलब्धं शत्रुराज्यस्वर्गादिकम्। धर्मेण राज्यपालनतपःकरणरूपेण। वृद्धमैश्वर्यम्। पात्रेषु सत्पात्रेषु। योग्यभाजनयोः पात्रमित्यमरः (३.३.१७९) ।।६१।।

He should achieve the unachieved wealth righteously, protect it with efforts, always increase the protected wealth and place it in proper hands. (61)

भोगञ्च दद्याद्विप्रेभ्यो वसूनि विविधानि च।
अक्षयोऽयं निधि राज्ञां यद्विप्रेषूपपादनम्।।६२।।

व्याख्या - अक्षयो जन्मान्तरोपयोगितया क्षयरहितः।।६२।।

He should give away luxuries to the brāhmaṇas and also various types of wealth; (for), this matter, namely, giving away gifts to the brāhmaṇas brings unlimited riches to the kings. (62)

दत्त्वा भूमिनिबन्धं वा कृत्वा लेख्यन्तु कारयेत्।
आगामिभद्रनृपतिपरिज्ञानाय पार्थिवः।।६३।।

व्याख्या - निबन्धं पौरश्रेणिभिर्वाप्यमानदेवब्राह्मणजीवनं कृत्वा कारयित्वा चेत्यर्थः। आगामिनो ये भद्रनृपतयः धार्मिका राजानः तेषां परिज्ञानायावबोधनाय। भद्रपदाद्दुष्टैः राजभिः न चाल्यत इति ध्वनितम्।।६३।।

The king should give land to them and put it on record for the knowledge about the same to the succeeding kings. (63)

दत्वा भूम्यादिकं राजा ताम्रपट्टेऽथवा पटे।
शासनं कारयेद्धर्मं स्थानवंशादिसंयुतम्।।६४।।

व्याख्या - धर्म धर्मसूचकम्।।६४।।

By giving land and other things by writing on a copper plate or on a letter (of cloth), the king should carry out administration righteously in compliance with place, dynasty and other factors. (64)

स्वदत्ताद् द्विगुणं पुण्यं परदत्तानुपालनम्।
परदत्तापहारेण स्वदत्तं निष्फलं भवेत्।।६५।।

व्याख्या - स्वदत्तवत्परदत्तपालनं परमो धर्म इत्याह। स्वदत्तादिति। परदत्तापहारे धर्महानिरपीत्याह - परदत्तापहारेणेति। उत्कटधर्मः धर्मं नाशयतीति भावः।।६५।।

By looking after what is given by others he earns double merit than giving away himself; while taking away what is given by others, he nullifies what one gives away to others. (65)

पूर्वं राजकृता या तु मर्यादा जनजीविका।
तां न च व्यंसयेद्राजा नाशयन्निन्दितो भवेत्।।६६।।

व्याख्या - जनजीविका जनजीवनयोग्या। न च व्यंसयेत् नैव गमयेदित्यर्थः। तदपहारे हानिमाह- निन्दितो भवेदिति। "यावल्लोकेष्वकीर्तिस्सयात्तावन्नरकमश्नुते। यावत्कीर्तिर्मनुष्यस्य तावत्स्वर्गे महीयते" इत्यनुशासनिकभारतवचनात् (वनपर्व १३१.३.१) ।।६६।।

The king should not nullify the wages that have been fixed by the earlier kings, or else he will be censured. (66)

व्याख्या - विजयहेतुभूतमन्त्रो राज्ञामत्यावश्यक इत्याह मन्त्र इति -

मन्त्रो विजयमूलं हि राज्ञां भवति नित्यदा।
अतस्तु मन्त्रिभिर्मन्त्रं सह राजा विचिन्तयेत्।।६७।।

व्याख्या - नित्यदा निरन्तरम्। निरन्तरमन्त्रप्रस्तावे राज्ञां बहुकार्यवत्त्व निमित्तम्।।६७।।

Deliberation regarding policy is always the root of victory for the kings; therefore, he should always contemplate upon the matters with the ministers. (67)

गिरिपृष्ठं समारुह्य प्रासादं वा रहो गतः।
अरण्ये निश्शलाके वा मन्त्रयेत्पृथिवीपतिः।।६८।।

व्याख्या - मन्त्रस्थानान्याह - गिरिपृष्ठमित्यादिना। निश्शलाके व्याघ्रादिभयरहिते। जन्तोर्भीतिश्शलाका स्यादिति मेदिनी (?)।।६८।।

The king should discuss with them either on a mountain place, or a secret place, a forest or a place where there is no fear of any creatures. (68)

निस्तम्भे निर्गवाक्षे च निर्भित्त्यन्तरसंश्रये।
प्रासादाग्रेऽप्यरण्ये ह मन्त्रयेत् सावधानतः।।६९।।

व्याख्या - निर्भत्त्यंतरसंश्रये अन्तस्तिर्यग्भित्तिरहिते। सावधानतोऽप्रमादात्। मंत्रस्थानस्य मन्त्रिव्यतिरिक्तप्राकृतजनराहित्यारूपगुणासत्वे बुद्धिस्थैर्यदातृत्वं न संघटत इति तत्तद्विशेषणयोगः।।६९।।

The confidential counsel should be conducted with alertness in a place that has no pillars, balconies, walls, hiding place, or even in a forest. (69)

व्याख्या - मन्त्रगुप्तेः प्रयोजनमाह - यस्येत्यादि -

यस्य मन्त्रं न जानन्ति समागम्य पृथग्जनाः।
स चिरं पृथिवीं भुङ्क्ते कोशहीनोऽपि पार्थिवः।।७०।।

व्याख्या - पृथग्जनाः प्राकृताः प्राकृतश्च पृथग्जन इत्यमरः(?)। कोशहीनोऽपीत्यनेन मन्त्रस्य कोशादिसम्पादकहेतुत्वमपि दर्शितम्।।७०।।

68a - Pri. Edn. - समागत्य (for समारुह्य)

69c - T - वा (for ह)

A king whose counsel cannot be known by different people can enjoy the earth for a long time. (70)

जडान्धमूकबधिरान् काणशौण्डाधमानपि।
स्त्रीम्लेच्छव्याधितव्यङ्गान् मन्त्रकाले विसर्जयेत्।।७१।।

व्याख्या - जडा अज्ञाः। अन्धाः जात्यन्धाः। मूका निर्वाचः। बधिराः श्रोत्रेन्द्रियसार्मथ्यहीनाः। काणा एकनेत्रहीनाः। शौण्डा मत्ताः। अधमाः सङ्करजातीयाः। म्लेच्छा अप्रयोगकर्तारः। तुरुष्कादय इत्यन्ये। व्याधिताः श्वासखासादिदीर्घरोगिणः। व्यङ्गाः पौगण्डानि। विकलाङ्गस्तु पौगण्ड [पोगण्डः] इत्यमरः (२.६.४६)। एतेषां प्रविभेत्तारमिति। मन्त्रगोगोपनविषये वणिङ्माघः (२.२९) -

मन्त्रो योध इवाधीरः सर्वांगैस्संवृतैरपि।
चिरं न सहते स्थातुं परेभ्यो भेदशङ्कयेति।।

He should avoid the presence of the dull, dumb, deaf, one-eyed, eunuch, lowly, woman, *mlecchas*, diseased and invalid. (71)

व्याख्या - मन्त्रोपयुक्तप्रमेयानाह उपायानित्यादिना -

उपायांश्चतुरो युञ्ज्यात्षड्गुणानुहयांश्च त्रीन् ।
तिस्रः शक्तीश्च सिद्धीश्च मन्त्रयेन्मन्त्रिभिः सह।।७२।।

व्याख्या - उपायान्विभजते - सामेत्यादिना।

He should employ the four means of success against the enemies, the six measures of war, foreign policy and three consequences, and also discuss them with the ministers, the three powers and their success. (72)

साम दानं च भेदश्च दण्डश्चेति चतुर्विधः।
उपायस्सर्वकृत्येषु प्रयोज्यो बुद्धिजीविभिः।।७३।।

व्याख्या - प्रथमोद्दिष्टं साम विभजते - सामेति ।

The fourfold measures of success against the enemies (*upāyas*), namely, dissension, negotiation, bribery and open assault should be utilized in all tasks by intelligent men. (73)

साम पञ्चविधं ज्ञेयं परानुसरणं तथा।
परस्परोपकारश्च तदीयगुणकीर्तनम्।।७४।।

बन्धुत्वज्ञापनं स्वात्मसमर्पणमितीव च।
एवं पञ्चविधं ज्ञात्वा समासव्यासतस्सुखी।।७५।।

71d - Pri .Edn.$_1$ - विवर्जयेत् (for विसर्जयेत्)

व्याख्या - स्वात्मसमर्पणं भवदीयोऽहमिति वाचात्मसमर्पणम्। समासव्यासतस्सामान्यतो विशेषतश्चेत्यर्थः। सुखी राज्यसुखवान् भवतीत्यर्थः।।७४-७५।।

Sāma should be known to be of five types — following the rival, mutually obliging, appreciating his virtues, (74)

Acknowledging kinship and surrendering of the self. Knowing this to be fivefold in brief, one becomes happy. (75)

दानं पञ्चविधं प्राहुः स्वधनस्य समर्पणम्।
अन्यद्रव्यग्रहामोदोऽपूर्ववस्तुप्रदानकम्।।७६।।

व्याख्या - अन्यद्रव्यस्य ग्रहे ग्रहणतन्त्र आमोदः अनुमोदनम्। अपूर्ववस्तुप्रदानमिभिभेदः।।७६।।

They say *dāna* (bribery) to be of five types — surrendering of one's wealth, taking other's wealth, giving away an exclusive thing as gift, (76)

परद्रव्यप्रेरणञ्च ऋणमोचनमेव च।
स्वदौर्बल्ये प्रयोगोऽस्य शत्रुपक्षे स्वयं विधिः।।७७।।

व्याख्या - परद्रव्यप्रेरणं शत्रुद्रव्यग्रहणविषये प्रोत्साहनमित्यर्थः। दानप्रयोगकालमाह - स्वदौर्बल्य इति। दानं कुत इत्यत्राह - शत्रुपक्षे। रिपोरधने इत्यर्थः।।७७।।

Inspiring to grab the rival's wealth, getting released from the debt — these should be employed when one is weak, while it is obligatory with regard to the enemy. (77)

व्याख्या - तृतीयमुपायं विभजते भेद इति -

भेदस्त्रिधान्यतरस्नेहसंपादनं पुरा ।
परस्परं मित्रभेदस्तथा सन्तर्जनं परम्।।७८।।

व्याख्या - एकेन स्नेहसम्पादनं पुरा प्राथमिक इत्यर्थः। परस्परं मित्रभेदः अन्योन्यमित्रत्व-च्यावनमुपजापेन। परं तृतीयमित्यर्थः।।७८।।

Creating faction among the enemy can be of three types — gaining the third party's affection at the outset, then creating estrangement mutually between friends and thereafter threatening the enemy. (78)

व्याख्या - चतुर्थमुपायं विभजते दण्ड इति -

दण्डस्त्रिधार्थहरणं परिकलेशस्तथैव च।
देहसंशिक्षणञ्चेति दण्डभेदाः प्रकीर्तिताः।।७९।।

व्याख्या - परिक्लेशस्तुदनम्।।७९।।

Open attack (*daṇḍa*) again is of three kinds — forcibly taking away the enemy's wealth, torture and physical affliction; these are the types of *daṇḍa* that are well known. (79)

व्याख्या - सन्धिविग्रहयानासनद्वैधीभावसमाश्रयाख्यषड्गुणेषु सन्धेर्द्वैविध्यमाह तदात्वेति -

तदात्वायतिसंयुक्तः सन्धिर्ज्ञेयो द्विलक्षणः।
राज्ञा कृतश्च कार्यार्थमकाले काल एव वा।।८०।।

व्याख्या - तदात्वसन्धिः। उत्तरकालसंयुक्तसन्धिश्चेतिद्विलक्षणः द्विप्रकारः। कार्यार्थं जयार्थम्।।८०।।

Peace (*sandhi*) is known to be of two types; it is entered into by the king for achieving his aim (i.e. supremacy) at proper time. (80)

अमित्रे चैव विकृते द्विविधो विग्रहः स्मृतः।
एकाकी वाच्यैककारिकार्ये प्राप्ते यदृच्छया ।।८१।।

व्याख्या - अमित्रे विकृते शत्रौ विकारं प्रापिते सति तदा अकाले वर्षादिकाले शरत्काले वा विग्रहः कार्यः। तथा चाकालविग्रहः कालविग्रहश्चेति द्विप्रकारः विग्रहः। विरोध इति न दण्डेन पौनरुक्त्यम्। यानस्य द्वैविध्यमाह - एकाकीति एकाकीवाचकमुद्दिश्यैकका[री] तदन्यस्वाभिलषितविधायकम् इदमेव सन्धाय यानम्।। (८१) ।।

(Similarly) when the enemy acts abnormally, then twofold war (*vigraha*) is to be resorted to (whether the time for it is improper or proper). Making peace either alone or (*sandhi*) with some king and their being together can be made instantly. (81)

सम्भूय चैव मित्रेण द्विविधं यानमुच्यते।
क्षीणस्य चैव क्रमशो दैवात्पूर्वकृतेन वा।।८२।।

मित्रस्य चानुरोधेन द्विविधं कृतमासनम्।
बलस्य स्वामिनश्चैव स्थितिकार्यस्य सिद्धये।।८३।।

व्याख्या - मित्रानुरोधेनासनञ्चेति द्विविधम्। कार्यस्य सिद्धये कालसहकृतजयाय।।८२, ८३।।

Along with the ally there is twofold way of marching (*yāna*) on a king who is weakened gradually either by his misfortune or by his deeds. (82)

Abiding by the suggestion of a friend is the twofold way of staying quiet (*āsana*) – for strengthening the self and for the fulfilment of the task (i.e. victory). (83)

द्विविधं कीर्त्यते द्वैधं तद्गुणागुणवेदिभिः।
यदावगतन्यूनत्वमाधिक्यं ध्रुवमात्मनः।।८४।।

व्याख्या - द्वैधं द्वैधीभावः। शत्रुन्यूनत्वकृतः आत्माधिक्यकृतश्चेति द्विप्रकारः द्वैधीभावः।।८४।।

81a - Pri. Edn.$_2$, D$_1$, T$_1$ - मित्रेण (for अमित्रे)

84b - T$_1$ - वैरिणो (for तद्गुणा°)

The dual policy (*dvaidhībhāva*) is said to be twofold by those who know its benefits and otherwise — creating inferior position of the enemy and establishing superiority of the self. (84)

अर्थसम्पीडनार्थञ्च पीड्यमानस्य शत्रुभिः।
साधुभिर्व्यपदेशार्थो द्विविधस्तु समाश्रयः।८५।।

व्याख्या - अर्थसम्पीडनार्थः शत्रुपीडनजन्यव्यपदेशार्थः। व्यवहारर्थोऽर्थसम्पीडनार्थः। साधुभिर्व्यवहारार्थश्चेति समाश्रयो द्विविधः।।८५।।

For the purpose of harming the economy, seeking shelter (*samāśraya*) is known to be twofold by the wise, — agonizing the enemy in all ways and benefiting the good ones. (85)

क्षयस्स्थानञ्च वृद्धिश्चेत्युदयस्त्रिविधस्स्मृतः।
प्रभुमन्त्रोत्साहभेदाच्छक्तिस्तु त्रिविधा मता।।८६।

तत्साध्यसिद्ध्यस्तिस्रः तेषु भेदा बहुस्मृताः।
एतद्धि नीतिसर्वस्वं भूप किं विस्तरेण ते।।८७।।

एवं सर्वमिदं राजा सह सम्मन्त्र्य मन्त्रिभिः।
मध्याह्नेऽर्थागमं कृत्वा भोक्तुमन्तःपुरं व्रजेत्।।८८।।

व्याख्या - एवं पूर्वोक्तसामादिकमिदं मन्त्रिभिस्सह सम्मन्त्र्य अर्थगमञ्च कृत्वा मध्याह्ने सति भोक्तुमन्तःपुरं व्रजेदित्यन्वयः।।८८।।

Kṣaya (fall), *sthāna* (stability) and *vṛdhi* (rise) — thus the rise (of the king) is supposed to be threefold; *śakti* (strength) is believed to be threefold — *prabhu* (power, control), *mantra* (sounsel) and *utsāha* (energy). (86)

Sidhi (achievement) materialised by the latter are of three types with their several sub-varieties. O king, this is *nīti* (polity) in its fullness imparted to you; what can be elaborated further? (87)

The king should discuss all these with his ministers as also the income of the state and then at noon, should go to the harem for lunch. (88)

सुपरीक्षितमन्नाज्ये अद्यान्मन्त्रैर्विषापहैः।
भुक्त्वा स विहरेच्चैव स्त्रीभिरन्तःपुरे सह।।८९।।

व्याख्या - विषापहैर्मन्त्रैस्सुपरीक्षितं निर्दोषीकृतम्। अन्नाज्यं अन्नञ्चाज्यञ्चेति अन्नसहितमाज्यमित्यर्थः। केवलसमाहारो वा। अद्यात् भक्षयेत्। संविहरेत् आलापादिना सन्तोषयेन्नतु संभोगादिनेत्यर्थः। दिवास्वापमैथुनयोः धर्मशास्त्रविरोधादिति भावः।।८९।।

He should eat his meals after poison is properly removed by *mantras* (charms) meant for the same; thereafter he should relax with his women in the harem. (89)

धर्मशास्त्रपुराणानि ह्यपराह्ने समभ्यसेत्।
सन्ध्याञ्चोपास्य विधिवदग्निं हुत्वा समाहितः।।९०।।
भुक्त्वा भागवतं शास्त्रं पठित्वा ध्यानसंयुतः।
संविशेच्च यथाकालमुत्तिष्ठेद्विगतक्लमः।।।९१।।

व्याख्या - सन्ध्यामुपास्य सन्ध्याकाले जाते सतीति शेषः। भुक्त्वा "कालयोर्भोजन"-मित्यापस्तम्बवचन(?)रीत्या रात्रौ भुक्त्वा भगवत्प्रतिपादकं शास्त्रं पठित्वा। अनन्तरं भगवद्ध्यानसंयुतस्सन् संविशेत्। स्वपेत् विहरेद्वा। यथाकालमपररात्रौ विगतक्लमो गतपरिश्रमः।।९०, ९१।।

In the later half of the day after the study of Dharmaśāstras and Purāṇas, he should perform the auspicious evening rituals and offer oblations to the sacrificial fire. (90)

Thereafter he should study with concentration scriptures for spirituality, after which he should sleep. He should then wake up at the proper time (at dawn) being free of all fatigue. (91)

व्याख्या - एवंवृत्तस्येत्यादिना नीत्याभ्यासप्रयोजनं वक्ति -

एवंवृत्तस्य नृपतेर्नीतिमार्गानुसारिणः।
धर्मार्थकाममोक्षश्च सिध्येयुर्नात्र सशंयः।।९२।।
पृथुमेवं प्रशास्यैवं ब्रह्मा लोकगुरुः स्वयम्।
तत्रैवान्तर्दधे देवो दैवतैस्सहितस्तथा।।९३।।

व्याख्या - अन्तर्दधे अदर्शनं गतः।।९२, ९३।।

A king who lives this way following the path of ethical polity would undoubtedly achieve *dharma, artha, kāma* and *mokṣa*. (92)

After imparting instruction to Pṛthu in this manner, Lord Brahmā — the preceptor of the worlds — disappeared along with the gods from there. (93)

वैन्योऽपि तत्तथा चक्रे ब्रह्मप्रोक्तं पुरातनम्।
भुक्त्वा ससागरामुर्वीं अन्ते ब्रह्म जगाम ह ।।९४।।

व्याख्या - ब्रह्म आनन्दो ब्रह्मेति व्यजानादिति श्रुत्या शाश्वतमानन्दं प्राप।।९४।।

93d - T_1 - 'स्तदा (for 'स्तथा)

Vainya (Pṛthu) too followed those ancient instructions as imparted by Brahmā, enjoyed the earth girdled with oceans and finally merged into *Brahman*. (94)

व्याख्या - प्रकृतप्रश्नसमाधानं निगमयति पारीक्षितेति -

पारीक्षितत्वमप्येवं कृत्वा सौख्यं भजिष्यसि।
ख्यातिञ्च लोके संस्थाप्य परां गतिमवाप्स्यसि।।९५।।

व्याख्या - हे पारीक्षित परीक्षित्पुत्र जनमेजय। ख्यातिं कीर्तिम्। ख्यातिः कीर्तौ प्रसिद्धौ चेति मेदिनी (?) ।।९५।।

O son of Parīkṣita! You too shall be happy following this and establishing your fame in the world shall obtain *summum bonum*. (95)

यावत्कीर्तिर्मनुष्यस्य लोकेषु विचरिष्यति।
तावद्वर्षसहस्राणि ब्रह्मलोके महीयते।।९६।।

व्याख्या - इह कीर्तिमतः उत्तमलोकप्राप्तिरित्यत्र धर्मशास्त्रवचनमुदाहरति यावदिति। महीयते स्थित्वा प्रकाशते।।९६।।

In this way you shall obtain fame and name in the three worlds, and then you shall enjoy the world of Brahmā for 1,000 years. (96)

पठेच्च य इदं काव्यं शृणुयाद्वा समाहितः।
ब्राह्मणः क्षत्रियो राजा विशेषेण नराधिप।।९७।।

वैश्यो वा शूद्रजातीयः स्त्रियो राजपरिग्रहाः।
ते कीर्तिमन्तो भूत्वेह परत्रगतिमाप्नुयुः।।९८।।

व्याख्या - अस्य काव्यस्य पठनश्रवणादौ शिष्टप्रवृत्तये फलं दर्शयति। पठेदित्यादिना। विशेषेण राजा पठेत्। तस्यैव नीतिप्रवर्तकत्वादिति भावः। हे नराधिप।।९७।।

स्त्रियो राजपरिग्रहा राजभार्याः। अन्यस्त्रीणां नीतौ प्रयोजनाभावात्। राजपरिग्रहा इति स्त्रीविशेषणम् इत्यन्ये। परगतिमत्त्वे कीर्तिमत्वं निमित्तम्।।९८।।

O lord of men! He who may study this work or listen to it with attention, may he be a brāhmaṇa, a kṣatriya and especially a king, (97)

Or even a vaiśya, a śūdra or the royal women, they shall attain fame here and shall get the highest goal in the next world. (98)

नीतिशास्त्रमिदं प्रोक्तं मया ते जनमेजय ।
संक्षेपेण गमिष्यामि यत्र व्यासो गुरुर्मम।।९९।।

95b - Pri. Edn.$_1$, D$_1$- भविष्यसि (for भजिष्यसि)

After 95. T$_1$ ins. श्रीगणेश

व्याख्या - स्वगमने राजानुमतिं पृच्छति - नीतिशास्त्रमित्यादिना।।९९।।

O Janamejaya, I have briefly imparted to you this science on polity. Now I shall go where my *guru* Vyāsa is. (99)

वैशम्पायन इत्युक्त्वा तत्रैव स जगाम ह।
पारीक्षितोऽपि मुमुदे सुनीत्या पालयन् प्रजाः।।१००।।

व्याख्या - तमेव व्यासमुद्दिश्यैव वैशम्पायनः। पारीक्षितोऽपि जनमेजयोऽपि। सुनीत्या प्रजाः पालयन् मुमुदे सन्तोषेण स्थितवानित्यन्वयः।।१००।।

Saying thus, Vaiśampāyana went off; while the son of Parīkṣita happily looked after his subjects following this polity. (100)

।। इति वैशम्पायननीतिप्रकाशिकायां राजव्यापारकथनं नामाष्टमस्सर्गः।।
।। नीतिप्रकाशिका समाप्ता।।

।। इति श्रीसीतारामकृतायां नीतिप्रकाशिकातत्त्वविवृतावष्टमस्सर्गः।।
।। नीतिप्रकाशिकातत्त्वविवृतिः समाप्ता।

Here Ends the Eighth Canto of the Nītiprakāśikā of Vaiśampāyana Titled "Narration of the Duties of the King".

Here Ends the Eighth Canto of the Tattvavivṛti of Sītārāma.

Colophon - T_1 -।। इति श्रीमन्नीतिप्रकाशिकायां राजव्यापारकथनं नामाष्टमस्सर्गः ।। करकृतमपराधं क्षंतुमर्हन्तु संतः।। श्री गोपालकृष्णाय नमः ।। नीतिप्रकाशिका सेयं सीतारामेण कौतुकात् ।। कल्याणपुर्यां लिखिता परमेश्वरवत्सरे ।।१।।

T_1 - श्रीमन्नीतिप्रकाशिकातत्त्वविवृतौ अष्टमस्सर्गः।।
व्याख्यासूर्येन्दुतुल्याः स्युरस्या यद्यपि मे बुधाः । गृहदीपायतां चेयं तथाप्यर्थविवेचने ।। सीतारामकृतेयमाशु तनुतां मोदं बुधानां रवेर्वारे त्वीश्वरत्सरे तपत्रयोदश्यां समग्रा पुरे । श्रीबेंग्लूर्वाभिधे[ऽ]थ कृष्णनृपतौ रत्नासनार्धाष्ठिते राज्यं शासति चामराजतनये ह्यात्रेयगोत्रोद्भवे ।। श्रीमन्महागणपतये मम गुरवे नमो नमः ।।

D_1 -।। इति श्रीमन्नीतिशास्त्रे नीतिप्रकाशिकायां राजव्यापारकथनं नामाष्टमस्सर्गः ।।

Appendix 1

A List of the Subjects of the Cantos of NP

प्रथमसस्सर्गः (First Canto)	**Nos. of Verses**
मङ्गलाचरणम्ः (Benedictory stanza)	1
उपोद्घातः (Introduction)..	2-10
कलियुगाचारकथनम् (Narration of the conduct of men in Kaliyuga)	11-18
राजशास्त्रस्य पूर्वग्रन्थपरम्परापरिचयः (Introduction to the tradition of *rājaśāstra*)	19-28
धनुर्वेदोपदेशः (Instruction of *DV*)	29-43
शस्त्रास्त्रोत्पत्तिः (Origin of the weapons and missiles)	44-47
धर्मेण प्रजापिरपालनोपदेशः (Instruction to look after the subjects according to *dharma*)	48-56
द्वितीयसस्सर्गः (Second Canto)	
धनुर्वेदस्वरूपनिरूपणम् (Delineation of the form of *DV*)	1-10
धनुर्वेदीयं मतभेदेन चातुर्विध्यकथनम् (Narration of the four limbs or sections of *DV*)	11
पादचतुष्टयस्य प्रत्येकमवान्तरभेदवर्णनम् (Description of each limb or section)	12-41
दधीचिनिकटे देवैः स्वायुधन्यासः (The gods depositing their weapons with Dadhīci)	42-49
तदङ्गात् सवज्रशस्त्राणामुद्गमः (Rebirth of all the weapons and *vajra* from his body)	50-59
धनुर्वेदमाहात्म्यम् (Glorification of *DV*)	60-64
तृतीयस्सर्गः (Third Canto)	
पारीक्षितस्य प्रश्नाः (Janamejaya's questions)	1-3
असिवृत्तान्तकथनम् (Myth of the origin of the sword)	4-35
असेः रहस्यनामानि वृत्तान्तस्य माहात्म्यं च (The secret names of the sword and glorification of the myth)	37-40

चतुर्थस्सर्गः (Fourth Canto)

धनुस्स्वरूपादिकथनम् (The description of the form of the bow,)	1-27
इषुस्वरूपादिकथनम् (of the Arrow)	28-29
भिण्डिवालस्वरूपादिकथनम् (of *bhiṇḍiwāla*)	30-31
शक्तिस्वरूपादिकथनम् (of *śakti*)	32-35
द्रुघणास्वरूपादिकथनम् (of *drughaṇa*)	36-37
तोमरस्वरूपादिकथनम् (of *tomara*)	38-39
नलिकास्वरूपादिकथनम् (of *nalikā*)	40-41
लगुडस्वरूपादिकथनम् (of *laguḍa*)	42-44
पाशस्वरूपादिकथनम् (of *pāśa*)	45-46
चक्रस्वरूपादिकथनम् (of *cakra*)	47-48
दन्तकण्टस्वरूपादिकथनम् (of *dantakaṇṭaka*)	49-50
भुसुण्डीस्वरूपादिकथनम् (of *bhusuṇḍī*)	51-52

पञ्चमस्सर्गः (Fifth Canto)

वज्रलक्षणम् (Characteristics of *vajra,*)	1-6
ईलीलक्षणम् (of *īli*)	7-8
परशुलक्षणम् (of *paraśu*)	9-10
गोशीर्षस्वरूपादिः (of *gośīrṣa*)	111-14
असिधेनुस्वरूपादिः (of *asidhenu*)	1-17
लवित्रस्वरूपादिः (of *lavitra*)	8-19
आस्तरस्वरूपादिः (of *āstara*)	20-21
कुन्तस्वरूपादिः (of *kunta*)	22-23
स्थूणस्वरूपादिः (of *sthūṇa*)	24
प्रासस्वरूपादिः (of *prāsa*)	25-26
पिनाकस्वरूपादिः (of *pināka*)	27-28
गदास्वरूपादिः (of *gadā*)	29-34
मुद्गरस्वरूपादिः (of *mudgara*)	35-36

सीरस्वरूपादिः (of *sīra*) 37

मुसलस्वरूपादिः (of *mūsala*) 38

पट्टिशस्वरूपादिः (of *paṭṭiśa*) 39

मौष्टिकस्वरूपादिः (of *mauṣṭika*) 40-44

परिघस्वरूपादिः (of *parigha*) 45

मयूखीस्वरूपादिः (of *mayūkhī*) 46-47

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Appendix 2

Tribes Mentioned in the NP

Towards the end of the fifth canto *NP* refers to *kūṭayuddha* (war by deceitful means) and the use of unaccepted objects like pouring of hot oil, liquidified jaggery and so on. It says that the use of these objects as weapons will be on increase to take on the enemy by surprise; they will be abundantly used in the Kaliyuga due to the increase in *adharma* (unrighteousness) as this time itself is so (*NP* 5.55). However, the clear advice here is to combat and retaliate using the same means if one is to stand chance against the vicious enemy who does not abide by *dharma*. In this context are mentioned the various tribes that are usually considered to be outside the accepted social fold due to their conduct in war, also being unfair. *NP* (5.56-58) enumerates them as the Hūṇas, Pulindas, Śabaras, Barbaras, Pallavas, Pauṇḍras, Śakas, Mālavas, Koṅkaṇas, Āndhras, Coḷas, Pāṇḍyas, Keraḷas, Mlecchas, Goyonis, Cāṇḍālas, Śvapacas, Māvellakas, Lalitthas, Kirātas and Kukkuras. These tribes are referred as *khala* (rogues, evils) (5.57b), *pāpāḥ* (sinful) (5.58a) and born of mixed castes — a taboo and hence incurring *sāṅkarya-doṣa* (5.58c). The commentary observes here that these tribes follow conduct other than the accepted one and hence they violate *dharma;* they are called here as *vṛṣala*s of low caste or *dharma-lopaka*s.

1. HŪṆAS

The *Mbh* mentions them to be among the Mlecchas in the north (6.10.37). The *Rāmā* does not mention their origin.

Historically they were known in South Asia. They established themselves in Afghanistan by first half of the fifth century CE with Bamiyan as their capital. Their coins refer to them as "Hono". Skandagupta repelled their invasion in CE 455. But they continued to put pressure on the north-west frontiers and invaded north India by the end of the fifth century CE disintegrating the Gupta empire. After the end of the sixth century little is recorded in India about the Hūṇas.

2. PULINDAS

These were also barbarous people of the Kaliyuga also forming a *janapada* in southern parts of India (*Mbh* 12.200.39). They were cruel, rough and fond of fighting (ibid. 8.15.10), ferocious, strong and

firm-fisted people (ibid. 8.51.19) who could not be defeated by anyone except for Arjuna (ibid. 20). They were considered as Mlecchas (ibid. 3.186.29); their kings were sinful and ruled them by *adharma* (ibid. 3.186.29-30). They were degraded to the status of the śūdras from the kṣatriyas for their non-respect for the brāhmaṇas (13.33.20-21). *MatP* 114.46-48 and *VaP* 45.126 also support this. *BhP* 2.4.18 associates them with the Kirātas, Hūṇas and others as seeking protection of Kṛṣṇa.

The Pulindas were a people belonging to the aborigin stock among the Indo-Aryan tribes. It had both southern and western branches. (B.C. Law, chapter XXXVII). In the time of Aśoka, they were a vassal tribe to Magadha. According to Ptolemy, this tribe was located along the Narmadā till Lāṭa in Gujarat. He refers to them as surviving on raw flesh, wild roots and fruits.

3. ŚABARAS

These too were a non-Aryan forest tribe (Law, chapter XXXV). Their earliest mention is found in *AiBr* (7.18) which says that the elder sons of Viśvāmitra were cursed to become progenitors of servile races as Āndhras, Pauṇḍras, Śabaras, Pulindas and Muṭibās. They inhabited the Dakṣiṇāpatha (*MatP* 144.46-48; *VaP* 45.126). The *Mbh* says that they sprung from Nandinī's dung (1.165.35) and also that some kṣatriyas were degraded as this caste due to their disregard for the brāhmaṇas (ibid. 13.35.17-18). They were fierce (ibid. 9.39.20-21). The *Rāmā* refers to Śabarī as Rāma's devotee (3.77.6).

4. BARBARAS

This again was a barbarian tribe with their *janapada* in the north. Law also mentions them to have been located in the northern country (Law, chapter XXI). The *Mbh* considers them to have originated from the foam of Nandinī (1.165.36). Their low social status is due to their disrespect for the brāhmaṇas (ibid. 13.35.17-18). The historians opine that they hailed from the Barbara country near Karachi, Pakistan, in the delta region of the Indus.

5. PALLAVAS

Also called as Pahlavas, theirs was an ancient Indian kingdom in northern India according to the *Mbh* (6.10.68). They are said to have originated from the tail of Nandinī, the cow of Vasiṣṭha (ibid. 1.165.35). Called Mlecchas, they lived near the western ocean (ibid. 2.23.10; 2.29.19) and were very cruel (ibid. 2.29.15).

The *Rāmā* 1.54.2cd refers to the Pahlavas as being originated from the udder of Nandinī and that they had weapons in their hands.

It is interesting to note that the Pallavas themselves trace their origin to Aśvatthāmā. However, the historical, anthropological and linguistic evidence point that the Pallavas were related to the Pārthians. They were also called Pahlavas in Indian literature. The Pahlavas had opposed the performance of the Vedic rituals, but the Pallavas performed them. Gradually they got more and more under the Brāhmanical influence as a part of the political sagacity.

6. ŚAKAS

The Śakas — a race skilled in war — were the Scythians who lived in the eastern part of Central Asia, in the regions of Kazhakastan, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, parts of Afghanistan, Pakistan, Iran, Ukrain and others. Śaka is the Persian term while "Scythian" is the Greek term for this race. Probably they belonged to the Iranian family. They were an old civilized race.

It was one of the several tribes that conquered India from the northwest and established the Indo–Scythian rule. CE 78 is the year of the beginning of the Śaka era that is used by the Indian national calendar. The Śakas find numerous mentions in the Purāṇas, *Mbh*, *Rāmā* and others in Sanskrit literature. Manu (10.43-44) refers to this race along with the Yavanas, Kāmbojas and others as degraded kṣatriyas; while Patañjali at 2.4.10 refers to the Śakas and Yavanas as pure śūdras. Similarly *Mbh* 5.169.20 and *Rāmā* 4.43.12 refer to them as Yavanas, Tuṣāras, Kāmbojas and others as belonging to Uttarāpatha, beyond the Himavat, in the extreme north-west. *Rāmā* refers to them as having been originated from the renal part of Nandinī (1.54.3b).

The *Mbh* describes them to be very strong (8.5.18), frightful (7.68.41), cruel and rough (8.51.18), fond of war and firm-fisted (8.51.19), quick and invincible (7.95.32; 8.5.18).

7. MĀLAVAS

Law, in chapter VIII, on pages 60-65, notes that this people played an important role in the history of ancient India. This tribe maintained its tribal organization from the time of Pāṇini till at least as late as the time of Samudragupta (fourth centuy CE). However, the earliest definite mention of the Mālavas is made in the writings of Alexander's historians who refer to them as Malloi, Malli or Mallai. Pāṇini does not mention them directly, but his *sūtra* 5.3.117 refers

to tribes living by the profession of arms. It is mentioned, however, by Patañjali at 4.1.68.

Law traces the areas of settlement of the Mālavas since the time of Alexander in Punjab, in Rājpūtānā near Koṭā during the reign of Samudragupta, in the regions of Prayāga and Bhilsā on the basis of various evidences from Sanskrit literary (and epigraphical) evidences like the Purāṇas and *Harṣacarita* (chapter VIII, p. 60 fn 2).

The *Mbh* refers to them as brave warriors prepared to sacrifice their lives in wars (ibid. 6.18.14; 7.132.23), great chariot-fighters (ibid. 6.112.107, 111). Their name occurs during the fight at night in the *Mbh* war (ibid. 7.132.23; 7.136.3).

8. KOṄKAṆAS

Law puts these under "Miscellaneous Tribes". He refers to them also as Koṅkaṇas as refered by *MP* 8.22 and *Harivaṁśa* 14.784. The latter mentions them as being defeated and degraded by Sagara. They must have been the people dwelling along the lower strip of the land between the Western Ghāṭs and the region of Koṅkaṇa.

9. ĀNDHRAS

Law (chapter XXXIII) notes about these people saying that the earliest mention of the Āndhra tribe is found in *AiBr* 7.18 along with the Śabaras and Pulindas referred to as *dasyu*s. He refers to Vincent Smith's opinion that the Āndhras were a Dravidian-speaking people originally being a Vindhya tribe between Godāvarī and Kṛṣṇā valleys. The *Rāmā* 4.4.11 connects them with Godāvarī.

The *Mbh* refers to these people often. They are also known as Āndhrakas, as a people and as a *janapada*. The *Mbh* 12.200.39 refers to them as hailing from the south. In 12.200.33, 38-39 this race is supposed to be sinful and leading a life of dogs, crows, ravens and vultures. In the *Mbh* 8.51.19c, Kṛṣṇa refers to them as furious, fond of fighting, strong and firm warriors. They could not be defeated by anyone except Arjuna (ibid. 19-20).

Epigraphical evidences as early as Aśokan era are also referred to where this tribe is mentioned. Law falls back upon Pliny's references (*Indian Antiquary*, 1877, p. 339) which mention this tribe as having a large number of villages and army of 100,000 infantry, 2,000 cavalry and 1,000 elephants.

Further, this is an ancient name used in Sanskrit literature to denote Telugu people. The article on "Telangana and Andhra"

(Wikipedia) notes that *AiBr* refers to them in connection with the sage Viśvāmitra. The sage's sons objected to his adoption of Śunaḥśepa as a son. Hence he exiled them from Āryāvarta and cursed them to mix with the *dasyu* people, namely, Āndhras, Puṇḍras, Śabaras, Muṭibās and Pulindas. They are listed as tribals in the Mauryan empire. Further the first ever description of the Mlecchas is about the non-Aryan Āndhras. They lived on the borders of Āryāvarta .

10. COḶAS

These are a people from the southern part of India in the region of the river Kāverī around Tanjore and Thiruchirapally. The term represented the people and their country since ancient times. The *MP* 57.45, *VP* 45.124 and *MatP* 112.46 mention the Coḷas along with the Pāṇḍyas and Keraḷas.

The *Rāmā* 4.41 refers to Sugrīva sending the monkeys to the country of Coḷas, Pāṇḍyas and Keraḷas in search of Sītā.

11. PĀṆḌYAS

These were vanquished by Sahadeva in his conquests/*digvijaya* (*Mbh* Sahadeva-Parva 2.31.17 in the Sabhā-Parva). In the *Rāmā* 4.41, when Sugrīva sent the monkeys to the south they visited the country of the Pāṇḍyas. In the same way in the *MP* 57.45, *VP* 45.124 and *MatP* 112.46, the Pāṇḍyas are also mentioned.

They were one of the three ancient Tamil kingdoms who ruled the Tamil country (the other two being the Coḷas and Ceras/Keraḷas). However, they are of unknown antiquity, ruling here from pre-historic times until the end of the fifteenth century. After the seventeenth century we do not hear of them. They are mentioned in the Saṅgam literature (*c.* CE 100–200) and in the Greek, Roman and Chinese sources too.

The Pāṇḍyas excelled in trade and literature. They claimed their origin from Śiva and Pārvatī.

12. KERAḶAS

Besides the Coḷas and the Pāṇḍyas, the Keraḷas/Ceras also formed a Tamil kingdom. The *MP* 57.45 reads them as Keraḷas, while *VP* 45.124 and *MatP* 113.46 read it as Keraḷa. They thus formed a people and a *janapada* from the south. They were equipped with swords, nooses, bows and arrows and fight on foot (*Mbh* 8.8.18). They are described as valorous like the elephants in rut (ibid. 8.8.16) and

fierce (ibid. 18). In the *Rāmā* 4.41 Sugrīva directed his monkeys to go to the countries of the Āndhras, Pāṇḍyas, Coḷas and Keraḷas in the south in search of Sītā.

13. MLECCHAS

This is a non-Aryan tribe which is said to have arisen from the pores of the skin of Nandinī according to the *Rāmā* 1.54.3c along with the Hārītas and the Kirātas. The *Mbh* (1.165.36-37) refers to them as having sprung from the foam of Nandinī.

All over the *Mbh* several tribes such as Aṅgas, Āndhras, Ābhīras, Kāmbojas, Utkalas, Kaliṅgas, Kosalas, Pulindas, Madras, Yavanas and others are considered to be Mlecchas. They are supposed to be cruel, harsh (ibid. 3.188.52), lustful and live the laws of the jungle (ibid. 1.79.13). However, as warriors, they were brave (ibid. 8.31.22), strong, fond of battles, fierce and firm-fisted (ibid. 8.51.19; 7.87.17). Being skilled warriors, they never turned their back on the battlefield (ibid. 7.98.23).

14. GOYONIS

No reference to these could be found. Could they have originated from the uterine region of the cow signifying their low status and adverse nature?

15. CĀṆḌĀLAS

This is a tribe and not the lowermost caste in the tradition.

16. ŚVAPACAS

These are a caste or social group that is to be excluded from *śrādhha*. Here he mentions the word as *śvapaca* along with *khala, bhilla* and others (Bulke 1999: 33). The *Atri Smṛti* (80a) refers to them in the sense of a degraded caste.

17. MĀVELLAKAS

These are supposed to be a people among the Saṁśaptakas and were slain by Arjuna as mentioned in the Jayadratha-vadha-parva of the *Mbh* which proves them to be a warring tribe (8.4.47, 50).

18. LALITTHAS

These too are a people who were among the Saṁśaptakas and were crushed by Arjuna in the Jayadratha-vadha-parva of the *Mbh*. Being of firm determination (*Mbh* 7.16.27), they were honoured by the heroes (ibid. 7.66.39).

19. KIRĀTAS

Thęse were a barbarian, non-Aryan hunting mountain tribe possessing a rude culture. The *Mbh* 2.48.8 refers to them as residing on the other side of the Himavat, to the east and around the Brahmaputra. *BP* (2.4.18) suggests that they were outside the Aryan fold and mentions them along with the Hūṇas, Āndhras, Pulindas and other tribes who purified themselves by offering their allegiance to Kr̥ṣṇa.

This tribe was located in the Uttarāpatha or the northern region. Historical evidences also as given by Law support this and states that they had settlements in the eastern regions of Kāmarūpa, Tripurā and Nepāl.

They were a barbarous hunting people of north and among the people who sprang up from the foam of Nandinī, the cow of Vasiṣṭha (*Mbh* 1.165.36; *Rāmā* 1.54.3c).

The Kairāta-Parva of the Vana-Parva (*Mbh*) describes Śiva's fight with Arjuna to test him in the form of a Kirāta.

They are said to have elephants sprung from the race of Āñjana with impenetrable skins, well-trained and adorned with armours of solid gold and resembling Airāvata and coming from northern hills, ridden by fierce robbers of strong limbs, the foremost warriors cased in steel coats of mails. Moreover, they were arrogant while fighting (*Mbh* 7.87.30, 32), rough in battle (ibid. 4.6), of fierce prowess (ibid. 8.51.19) and hostile (ibid. 14.72.24). Bhīṣma refers to them as kṣatriyas degraded due to their non-respect for the brāhmaṇas (ibid. 13.35.18).

20. KUKKURAS

Law refers to them as Kukkuras under the title "Miscellaneous Tribes" (p. 389). The *Mbh* mentions them. Here they are said to be strong (2.17.27) and attached to Kr̥ṣṇa (ibid. 12.82.29). They hailed from a southern *janapada* (ibid. 6.10.68).

However, The *Mbh* (2.48.15-16) also refers to a people named Kukkuras who brought tribute to Yudhiṣṭhira in the Rājasūya sacrifice. Their identity is not known.

All these tribes have been referred to as tribes skilled in war and hence often formed a part of the armies of the warring kings. However, the reference to them as warring tribes/communities using banned modes of war in the main tradition is important. In

such circumstances, resorting to their tactics for counter-attack becomes inevitable also for self-defence. This is permitted by *NP* towards the end of the fifth canto. It can be said that these tribes, chiefly mentioned in the epics and Purāṇas, have been linked with *DV*, besides their being feudatories of the heroes of the epics in the sphere *rājadharma* and allegiance to support the heroes therein.

Appendix 3

Authors and Works Quoted in the Commentary

This Appendix gives a list of several quotations from the authors and works given by Sītārāma in *CTV* in section III. Exact reference numbers of some references, which could not be found, are indicated with a question mark. These numbers are inserted after their quotation. Most of the references are tried to be included.

Amarakośa by Amarasiṁha, eleventh century CE

1. *NP* 1.20 — अनुयोग प्रश्नः प्रश्नोऽनुयोगः पृच्छा च । (1.6.10)
2. *NP* 1.20 — पराभिप्रायइङ्गितमित्यमरः । (3.2.75)
3. *NP* 2.56 — स्याच्छरीरास्थि कङ्कालपृष्ठास्थि च कशेरुका इत्युभयत्रामरः । (2.6.69)
4. *NP* 3.17 — उल्का स्यान्निर्गतज्वालेत्यमरः । (1.57.24)
5. *NP* 3.40 — यत्सेनयाऽभिगमनमरौ तदभिषणेनमित्यमरः । (2.8.95)
6. *NP* 4.7 — लस्तकस्तु धनुर्मध्यमित्यमरः । (2.8.85)
7. *NP* 4.23 — अपराद्धपृषत्कोऽसौ लक्ष्याद्यशच्युतसायक इत्यमरः । (2.8.68)
8. *NP* 4.34, 5.40 — त्सरुः खड्गादिमुष्टिः स्यादित्यमरः ।। (2.8.90)
9. *NP* 6.1 — व्यूहस्तु बलविन्यास इत्यमरः ।। (2.8.79)
10. *NP* 6.15 — सर्वाभिसारस्सवैवाधस्सर्वसन्नहनार्थक इत्यमरः ।। (2.8.94)
11. *NP* 6.15 — यात्राप्रव्रजर्नामित्यमरः ।। (2.8.95)
12. *NP* 6.16 — यत्सेनयाभिगमनमरौ तदभिषेणामित्यमरः ।। (2.8.95)
13. *NP* 6.16 — कामं गाम्यनुगामिन इत्यमरः । (2.8.35)
14. *NP* 6.17 — उद्धान्तनिर्मदामित्यमरः । हास्तिकंगजता वृन्द इत्यमरः । (2.8.36)
15. *NP* 6.19 — वीतन्त्वसारमित्यमरः । (2.8.43)
16. *NP* 6.23 — षण्डो वर्षवरस्तुल्यावित्यमरः । (2.8.9)
17. *NP* 6.21 — असौ पुण्यरथश्वक्रायनं न समराय यत् । (2.8.51)
18. *NP* 6.21 — प्रक्रिया त्वधिकारः स्यादित्यमरः । (2.8.31)
19. *NP* 6.22 — मन्थरान् मन्दगामिनः मन्दगामी तु मन्थर इत्यमरः ।। (2.8.72)
20. *NP* 6.25 — वरूथिनी बलं सैन्यमित्यमरः ।। (2.8.78)

21. *NP* 6.28 — सितः कर्कश (?) इत्यमरः ।। (2.8.46)
22. *NP* 6.28 — सन्नद्धो व्यूहकङ्कटः इत्यमरः . (2.8.65)
23. *NP* 6.29 — त्रिष्वाश्वीनं यदश्वेन दिनेनैकेन गम्यते इत्यमरः ।। (1.4.17)
24. *NP* 6.30 — शस्त्रजीवी काण्डपृष्ठः इत्यमरः ।। (2.8.66)
25. *NP* 6.30 — मुर्मुरस्तु तुषाङ्गारः इत्यमरः ।। (?)
— [धान्यत्वचि तुषः पुमान् — अमर 2.9.22]
26. *NP* 6.32 — प्राभृतन्तु प्रवेशनम् । उपायनमुपग्राह्यमुपहारस्तयोपदे इत्यमरः ।। (2.8.27)
27. *NP* 6.40 — दूष्याद्यं वस्त्रवेश्मनीत्यमरः । (2.6.12)
28. *NP* 6.46 — खलिका तु खलीनोऽस्त्री इत्यमरः ।। (2.8.49)
29. *NP* 6.46 — पल्याणं स्यात्पल्ययनमित्यमरः । (?)
30. *NP* 6.46 — चामरन्तु प्रकीर्णकमित्यमरः । (2.8.31)
31. *NP* 6.46 — शीर्षण्यन्तु शिरस्त्रेऽथ इत्यमरः । (2.6.98)
32. *NP* 6.46 — उरश्छदः कङ्कटक इत्यमरः । (2.8.64)
33. *NP* 3.25 — आविद्धं कुटिल भुग्नमत्यमरः । (3.1.71)
34. *NP* 6.47 — यवसं तृणमर्जुनमित्यमरः ।। (2.4.167)
35. *NP* 6.52 — स्त्रियामारकूटः इत्यमरः । (2.9.97)
— टङ्कः पाषाणहारकः इत्यमरः (2.90.34)
36. *NP* 6.53 — आरा चर्मप्रभेदिकेत्यमरः । (2.10.34)
37. *NP* 6.46 — अश्वादेस्ताडनी कशेत्यमरः ।। (2.10.31)
38. *NP* 6.46 — विश्वर्द्रुमृगयाकुशल इत्यमरः ।। (2.10.22)
39. *NP* 6.46 — वागुरा मृगबन्धिनी इत्यमरः ।। (2.10.26)
40. *NP* 6.53 — बडिशः मत्स्यबन्धनमित्यमरः ।। (1.10.16)
41. *NP* 6.57 — पतद्ग्राह पतद्ग्रह इत्यमरः ।। (2.6.139)
42. *NP* 6.72 — अपदानं कर्मवृत्तानित्यमरः ।। (?)
43. *NP* 6.85 — समुत्पिकञ्जिका भृशमाकुलेत्यमरः । (2.8.99)
44. *NP* 6.24 — स्पशान चरान् आसधश्चरः स्पशः इत्यमरः ।
45. *NP* 6.52 — टङ्कान् पाषणभेदान् टङ्कः पाषणदारक इत्यमरः ।
46. *NP* 4.14 — विध्यं शख्यं लक्ष्यञ्चेत्यमरः । (2.8.86)
47. *NP* 4.14 — संशप्तकस्तु समयात्संग्रामादनिवर्तिनः इत्यमरः ।। (2.8.98)
48. *NP* 4.14 — सा वीराशंसन युद्धभूमिर्यातिभयप्रदा इत्यमरः ।। (2.8.100)
49. *NP* 6.86 — कान्दिशीको भयाद्भुतः इत्यमरः ।। (3.1.42)
50. *NP* 6.86 — लोहभिसारोभिसारोऽस्त्रभृता राज्ञां नीराजनबिधिरित्यमरः । (2.8.94)

51. *NP* 6.107 — भृतयो भर्म वेतनमित्यमरः ।। (2.10.38)
52. *NP* 6.111 — विधा विधौ प्रकोरचेत्यमरः ।। (3.3.101)
53. *NP* 7.2 — शताङ्गस्स्यन्दनो रथ इत्यमरः । (2.8.51)
54. *NP* 7.2 — हयसैन्धवसप्तय इत्यमरः । (2.9.42)
55. *NP* 7.14 — आर्यका मारिषाः वासुगर्यस्तु मारिषः इत्यमरः । (1.7.14)
56. *NP* 7.16 — इभः स्तम्भेरमः पद्मी इत्यमरः ।। (2.8.35)
57. *NP* 7.21 — मङ्गलानन्तरारम्भप्रश्नकात्स्न्र्येष्वथो अथ इत्यमरः ।। (3.3.247)
58. *NP* 7.39 — अधिभर्नायको नेता इत्यमरः ।। (3.1.11)
59. *NP* 7.63 — स्यात्सन्देशहरो दूत इत्यमरः ।। (2.8.16)
60. *NP* 8.20 — वचने स्थित आश्रव इत्यमरः ।। (3.3.24)
61. *NP* 8.21 — आकारस्त्विङ्ग इत्यमरः ।। (3.2.15)
62. *NP* 8.26 — उत्तरकालः आयति इत्यमरः । (2.8.29)
63. *NP* 8.41 — कारा स्याद्बन्धनालय इत्यमरः । (2.8.119)
64. *NP* 8.51 — शाखानगर वेशो वेश्याजनसमाश्रय इत्यमरः ।। (2.2.2)
65. *NP* 8.57 — घट्टादिदेयं शुल्कोऽस्त्री त्यमरः ।। (2.8.77)
66. NP 8.61 — योग्यभाजनयोः पात्रमित्यमरः ।। (3.3.179)
67. NP 8.70 — प्राकृतश्च पृथग्जन इत्यमरः ।। (2.10.60)
68. NP 8.71 — विकलाङ्गस्तु पौगण्डः [पोगण्डः] इत्यमरः ।। (2.6.46)

Āpastamba Smṛti (pre-Pāṇinian)

NP 8.91 — कालयोर्भोजनम् - आपस्तम्बवचनरीत्या रात्रौ भुक्त्वा भगवत्प्रातिपादकं शास्त्रं पठित्वा । (?)

Abhidhānaratnamālā Halāyudha (middle of tenth century CE)

NP 1.51 — यौनौ जलावतारे च मन्त्र्याद्यष्टादशस्वपि ।
पुष्पक्षेत्रे तथा पात्रे तीर्थं स्यादृर्शनेष्वपि ।।
(पञ्च-अनेकार्थककाण्डम् पृष्ठ 98)

Bhāravi (early sixth century CE)

NP 2.22 — पुण्यकर्मा दक्षो व दक्षिणश्च सः इति भारविः । (?)

Dvirūpakośa — ascribed to Puruṣottama — Puruṣottamadeva? or by Śrī Harṣa in the second half of twelfth century CE

NP 5.47 — प्रतिघातं प्रतघातमिति द्विरूपकारः । (?)

Daṇḍin (seventh century CE)

NP 6.87 — गोशब्दः क्रोशवाचीति दण्डी ।। (?)

Kālidāsa (first century BCE to fourth century CE)

NP 1.29 — क्षतात्किल त्रायत इत्युदग्रः क्षत्रस्य शब्दो नृवरेषु रूढः इति ।। (Raghuvaṁśa 2.53)

Kāmandakīya Nītisāra (CE 400–600)

1. *NP* 1.49 — इति षाड्गुण्यमन्ये तु द्वैगुण्यमभिचक्षते ।
यानासने विग्रहस्य रूपं सदृभिः प्रकीर्तितम् ।। (11.16.35)
2. *NP* 1.49 — बलिनोर्द्विषतोर्मध्ये वाचात्मनं समर्पयत् ।
द्वैधीभावेन वर्तेत काक्सिवदलक्षितः ।। (11.16.23)
3. *NP* 1.49 — बालो वृद्धो दीर्घरोगी तथा ज्ञातिबहिष्कृतः ।
भीरुका भीरुजनो लुब्धजनस्तथा ।। (9.14.24)
4. *NP* 1.49 — विरक्तप्रकृतिश्चैव विषयेष्वतिसक्तिमान् ।
अनेकचित्तमन्त्रस्य देवब्राह्मणनिन्दकः ।। (9.14.25)
5. *NP* 1.49 — दैवोपहतकश्चैव दैवचिन्तकएव च ।
दुर्भिक्षव्यसनोपेतो बलव्यसनसङ्कुलः ।। (6.14.26)
6. *NP* 1.49 — अदेशस्थो बहुरिपुर्युक्तः कालेन यञ्च सः ।
सत्यधर्मव्यपतेश्च विंशतिः पुरुषा अमी।। (9.14.27)
7. *NP* 1.49 — एतैः सन्धि न कुर्वीत विगृह्णीयात् तु केवलम् ।
एते विगृह्यमाणा हि ध्रुवं याति रिपोर्वशम् ।। (9.14.28)
8. *NP* 1.53 — अमात्यराष्ट्रदुर्गाणि कोशो दण्डश्च पञ्चमः ।
एताः प्रकृतयस्यज्ञैर्वजिणीषोरुदाहृताः ।। (8.12.4)
9. *NP* 1.53 — सम्पन्नस्तु प्रकृतिभिर्महोत्साहः कृतश्रमः ।
जेतुमेषणशीलश्च विजिगीषुरिति स्मृतः ।। (8.12.6)
10. *NP* 1.53 — अरिर्मित्रमरेर्मित्रं मित्रमित्रमतः परमः ।
मित्रारिमित्रमत्रं च विजिगीषोः पुरः स्मृता ।।(8.12.16)
11. *NP* 1.53 — हुताशनो जल व्याधिर्दुर्भिक्षं मरणं तथा ।
इति पञ्चविधं दैवं व्यसनं मानुषं परम् ।। (14.21.22)

Keśava the author of Nānārthārṇavasaṁkṣepa (twelfth-thirteenth century CE)

1. *NP* 5.46 — फलिका नेत्रविदलग्रथितघातवारिणी इति केशवः । (?)
2. *NP* 5.48 — शतघ्नी च चर्तुहस्ता लोहकण्ठसकञ्चिता यष्टिरिति केशवः।(?)
3. *NP* 5.48 — कालयसञ्चाश्मसारो दृषदभेदिसुलोहकमिति केशवः ।।(?)
4. *NP* 5.52 — चूर्णः क्षोदे च पिष्टे च शकलो पांसुकल्पयो योः लोहाभिसारिके चैव पुष्पधूपे च कथ्यत इति केशवः । (?)

Mahābhārata

1. *NP* 5.41 — वैष्णवं समपादञ्च वैशाखं मण्डलन्तथा ।
प्रत्यालीढमनालीढं स्थानान्येतानि षण्णटणाम् ।।
(Droṇaparva 43.93)

2. *NP* 5.41 — एकपदप्रचारणे चारीसंज्ञं तु मण्डलम् ।
द्विपादक्रमणं यत्र करणाख्यं तु मण्डलम् ।।
(Āraṇyakaparva 86.17)

3. *NP* 5.41 — करणानाञ्च संयोगात्खण्डमण्डलमीरितम ।
खण्डैस्त्रिभिश्चतुर्भिर्वा महामण्डलमुच्यते ।।
(Udyogaparva 168.7)

4. *NP* 8.66 — यावल्लोकेष्वकीर्तिस्स्यात्तावन्नाकारक्रमश्नुते ।
यावत्कीर्तिर्मनुष्यस्य तावत्स्वर्गे महीयते ।
(Vanaparva 131.31)

Mahodadhisāra (tenth century CE — *Śaka Saṁvat* 1127–1205)

1. *NP* 1.18 — यजुर्वेदस्योपवेदो धनुर्वेद उदाहृतः ।
ऋचोपवेद आयुस्स्यात्साम्नो गान्धर्व उच्यते ।। (?)

2. *NP* 1.18 — अथर्वणस्य भरतमिति वेदोपवेदकाः ।
खड्गाविद्यादिकं यत्तु धनुर्वेदाङ्गकं हि तद् ।। (?)

Mantramahodadhi (?)

स्वमुक्तास्त्रस्वायत्तीकरणं मुष्टिरुच्यते ।
परोन्मुक्तास्त्रशमनमुपसंहार ईरति ।। (?)

Māgha (latter half of the seventh century CE)

NP 8.71 — मन्त्रगोपनविषये वणिङ्माघःमन्त्रो योध इवाधीरः
सर्वाङ्गैस्संवृतैरपि । चिरं न स्थातुं परेभ्यो भेदशङ्कयेः ।।
(2.29)

Manu Smṛti

1. *NP* 5.58 — वृषो हि भगवान् धर्मस्तस्य यः कुरुते ह्यलम् ।
वृषलं तं विदुर्देवास्तस्माद्धर्मं न लोपयेत् ।। (8.16)

2. *NP* 8.22 — अदण्ड्यान् दण्डयेद्राजा दण्डयाश्चैवाप्यदण्डयन् ।
अयशो महदाप्नोति नरकञ्चाधिगच्छति ।। (8.128)

Nītiviveka by Karuṇāśaṅkara (Date - ?)

1. *NP* 6.51 — रणे भाविनि घोरे तु सेव्यं तत् क्षात्रियैर्द्रुतम् नीतिविवेकः । (?)

2. *NP* 8.51 — दिक्पालांशवाता राज्ञा निर्दष्टं दिग्वर्णांचित्रितं राज्ञां
दिक्पालासनमुच्यते इति नीतिविवेकः । (?)

Nārada Smṛti (CE 100–400)

NP 1.49 — वक्ता प्रगल्भो मेधावी स्मृतिमात्रयवित्कविः ।
परावरविभागज्ञः प्रमाणकृतनिश्चयः ।। (?)

Nibandhanakāra

(Mm. Kane, vol. 1, part 2, page 1271 refers to Nibandhanakāra as being mentioned in *Sarsvatīvilāsa* of the first quarter of sixteenth century.)

NP 6.88 — स्वप्रियन्तु भृशं श्रुत्वा दृष्ट्वा वा दीयते च यत् ।
पारितोषिकरिकथं तत् पूर्णपात्रं वदन्ति हि ।। (?)

Nirukta (about 800–500 BCE)

NP 2.1 — सङ्ख्या परार्धपर्यन्ता तदयं साङ्ख्य उच्यते ।
अयनं तस्य यस्मात् तत् ब्रह्मा साङ्ख्यायनस्स्मृतः ।। (?)

Nānārthśabdakośa or Medinīkośa (Medinikśāra between CE 1200 and 1275)

1. *NP* 3.26 — पाशः पादो मुष्टिर्विमिश्रणम् इति मेदिनी ।। (?)
2. *NP* 4.23 — शस्त्राभ्यासस्तु योग्यस्यात् इति मेदिनी ।। (p. 116, śl 49)
3. *NP* 4.29 — इषुस्थूलसमाविति मेदिनी ।। (?)
4. *NP* 5.28 — पिनाकोऽस्त्री रुद्रचापे पांसूवर्षत्रिशूलयः इति मेदिनी ।
(कान्त वर्गः 120)
5. *NP* 5.28 — कांस्यकङ्कणका तत्तु झल्लीवलयसंमितम् इति च मेदिनी
कांस्यं वाद्यान्तरे पानपात्रे स्यात् तैजसान्तरे ।। (यान्तवर्गः 11)
6. *NP* 6.15 — प्रसारस्त्वग्रतो व्याप्तिरिति मेदिनी ।। (?)
7. *NP* 6.25 — सेनामुरवस्तु नासीरमिति मेदिनी ।। (?)
8. *NP* 6.48 — अश्वादिपादक्षायां लोहचन्द्रक ईरति इति मेदिनी
लोहोऽस्त्रीशस्त्रकेलौहे जाङ्गके सर्वतैजसे ।। (हान्त वर्गः 8)
9. *NP* 6.68 — पादसञ्चारयोग्यो यस्त्वपसारः प्रकीर्तितः इति मेदिनी । (?)
10. *NP* 6.89 — (गुञ्जाष्टविंशतिमितमहारजतमुद्रिका । वर्व स्यान्निष्कमित्यन्ये ।)
तामेवाहुस्सुवर्णकमिति मेदिनी । (?)
11. *NP* 8.61 — प्रावारस्स्यात्करितर इति मेदिनी । (?)
12. *NP* 8.68 — जन्तोर्भीतिश्शलाका स्यादिति मेदिनी ।। (?)
13. *NP* 8.95 — ख्यातिः कीर्तौ प्रसिद्धौ चेति मेदिनी ।। (?)

Parāśara Smṛti 1.4 mentions Parāśara among the ancient Smṛtis

1. *NP* 7.44 — द्वाविमौ पुरुषौ लोकेसूर्यमण्डलभैदिनौ ।
परिव्रांड्योगयुक्तश्च रणे चाभिमुखो वृत इति ।।
पराशरोक्तेः । (3.32)

Quotations from other works of Nītiśāstra of Bhārgava (?)

1. *NP* 1.49 — देशो दुर्गं रथो हस्ती वाजी योधाधिकारिणः ।
अन्तः पुरान्तगणना शास्त्रलेख्यधनासना ।
परीक्ष्य ह्यधिपातेषां चतुर्दश नरैश्वरैः ।। (?)
2. *NP* 1.51 — मन्त्री पुरोहितश्चैव युवराजश्च भूपतिः ।
पञ्चमो द्वारपालश्च षष्ठोऽन्तर्वंशिकस्तथा ।। (?)
कारागाराधिकारी च द्रव्यसञ्चयकृत्तथा ।
कृत्याकृत्येषु चार्थानां नवमो विनियोजकः ।। (?)
अदेष्टा नगराध्यक्षः कार्यनिर्माणकृत्तथा ।
धर्माध्यक्ष सभाध्यक्षो दण्डपालस्त्रिपञ्चमः ।। (?)
षोडशो दुर्गपालश्च तथा राष्ट्रान्तपालकः ।
अटवीपालकान्तानि तीर्थान्यष्टादशैव तु ।। (?)
चारैर्विचारयेतीर्थानात्मनश्च परस्य च ।
पाषण्डादीनवज्ञतानन्योन्यमितरेष्वपि ।
मन्त्रि युवराजश्च हित्वा स्वेषु पुरोहितम् ।। इति ।। (?)

Rāmāyaṇa

1. *NP* 1.49 — द्वियोनी सन्धिविग्रहाविति । (2.29.65 a)
2. *NP* 1.49 — नास्तिक्यमनृतं क्रोधं प्रमादं दीर्घसूत्रताम् ।
अदर्शनं ज्ञानवतामालस्यं पञ्चवृत्तिताम् ।। (2.94.56)
3. *NP* 1.49 — एकचिन्तमर्थामनर्थज्ञैश्च मन्त्रणम् ।
निश्चितानामनारम्भं मन्त्रस्यापरिरक्षणम् ।। (2.94.57)
4. *NP* 1.49 — मङ्गलस्याप्रयोगं च प्रत्युत्थानं च सर्वशः ।
कच्चित्त्वं वर्जयस्योतान्राजदोषांञ्चतुर्दश ।। (2.94.58)
5. *NP* 8.44 — नाराजके जनपदे भार्या वा वर्तते वशे ।। (2.16.66 cd)

Śaunaka

1. *NP* 1.49 — पाणिने जैमिनेश्चैव व्यासस्य कपिलस्य च
कणादस्याक्षपादस्य शास्त्रषट्कमुदाहृतमिति ।।

2. *NP* 7.33 — पुत्रो भ्राताथ दौहित्रो राज्ञा यो राज्यचिन्तकः ।
स्वेन स्वकृत्येऽधिकृतो युवराजं हि तु विदुः इति ।। (?)

Taittirīya Upaniṣad (Kṛṣṇa Yajurveda)

NP 8/4 — तपो हि स्वाध्यायः तपश्च स्वाध्यायप्रवचने च । (1.9.1)

Trikāṇḍaśeṣa or Amaraśeṣa by Purusottamadeva between CE 1050–1200

NP 5.48 — चतुष्काधिकविंशत्या स्वङ्गुलैर्हस्तकल्पना ।
सहस्रैरष्टभिः ख्यातं हस्तकैः क्रोशमानकम् ।। (?)

Viśvakośa by Parameśvara Bhaṭṭa — (?)

NP 5.45 — योगभेदत्स्यान्मुद्गरोऽर्गलघातयोरिति विश्वः ।। (?)

Vaijayanti-kośa (?)

1. *NP* 5.45 — चतुर्हस्तरतालमात्रः इति वैजयन्ती ।। (?)
2. *NP* 5.48 — शतघ्नी च चतुर्हस्ता लोहकण्टकिनी गदा इति - । (?)
3. *NP* 6.64 — धान्यादेर्वीरुधः प्राप्तिः आसारस्तु सुहृद्बलम् । (?)
प्रसारस्तृकाष्ठादेः प्रवेश इति कथ्यते। (?)

Appendix 4

An Alphabetical List of Verses

	Canto Verse		Canto Verse
अ		अनीकिन्याश्च कार्या वै	6.76
अकालक्रयविक्रेय°	8.31	अनुयानापसरणे	6.65
अकेदारा कृतश्चभ्रा	6.70	अनेकवल्गिताकार°	2.4
अक्षौहिणीनां पतयः	6.74	अन्येषु वा साहसेषु	6.101
अक्षौहिणीपतिवधे	6.90	अपङ्काः शङ्कुरहिताः	6.69
अक्षौहिण्याः पतिं हत्वा	6.93	अपलापप्रसक्तानां	8.36
अक्षौहिण्यामेकविंश°	7.27	असिमण्डलसंवीतं	5.5
अगूढविभवा यस्य	8.8	अभिद्रवणमाप्लावं	5.43
अग्रे नागान् रथान् पश्चात्	6.12	अभिषेणनमन्विच्छन्	6.16
अङ्गुलिद्वयविस्तीर्णा	5.16	अमुक्तप्रथमं वज्रं	5.1
अथ मां शरणं प्राप्ता	2.46	अमुक्ता विंशतिरिमे	2.21
अथ लब्धवरा मत्तः	2.48	अयं तृतीयपादः स्यात्	2.39
अथ व्यूहान् प्रवक्ष्यामि	6.1	अरिषड्वर्गरहितः	8.14
अथ सैन्यं प्रवक्ष्यामि	7.1	अर्थसम्पीडनार्थं च	8.85
अथ स्वात्मानमन्वीक्ष्य	1.51	अर्धचन्द्रकटद्वारः	6.7
अथाददां धनुर्वेदम्	2.47	अलब्धमीहेद्धर्मेण	8.61
अधर्मवृद्ध्या चैतानि	5.55	अविचाल्यं च सूक्ष्मं च	4.15
अधिकारप्रच्यवैश्च	8.83	अवृक्षस्थूलपाषाणा°	6. 68
अधिपाः प्रतिसेनायाः	6.82	अष्टादशसहस्राणि	7. 28
असाध्यतैव	1.15	अष्टाभिर्लोकपालानां	8.3
अनीकिनी चमूश्चैव	6.91	असम्मतः षड्विधः स्यात्	6.8
अनीकिनीपहा यावत्	6.94	असिः पूर्वं मया सृष्टः	1.43
अनीकिन्यां द्वे सहस्रे	7.23	असिचर्मचरांश्चैव	6.27

	Canto Verse
असिधेनुः समाख्याता	5.15
असेरष्टौ हि नामानि	3.36
असेश्च पूजा कर्तव्या	3.38
अहमेव ऋषिश्चास्य	2.8
आ	
आकर्णं तु समाकृष्य	4.13
आकर्षश्च विकर्षश्च	5.26
आघातं च प्रतीघातं	5.47
आजानेयांश्च जवनान्	6.28
आत्मानं परमं मन्ये	1.39
आदानं चैव संधानं	2.15
आदौ प्रणवमुच्चार्य	2.6
आयं तु विपुलं कुर्यात्	8.58
आयव्यये च विज्ञाय	8.24
आयानुकूलं कुर्वीरन्	8.45
नायुधव्यसनं प्राप्तं	7.48
आयुधापेक्षिणं श्रुत्वा	2.49
आयुधेम्यो वरः खड्गः	3.8
आरा उपनहश्चैवा°	6.53
आविद्धं च प्रविद्धं च	5.34
आश्रयांश्च महर्षीणां	6.37
आश्विनं वप्रसहितं	6.29
आसन् हिरण्मया दर्भाः	1.32
आस्तरो ग्रन्थिपादः स्यात्	5.20
आहवेषु मिथः शूराः	7.44
इ	
इङ्गितं ते मया ज्ञातं	1.20
इतश्चानुदिनं धर्मः	1.11
इति तद्वचनं श्रुत्वा	1.19
इति पृष्टस्तु पृथुना	4.3
इत्थंविधाभिस्तु भटान्	6.111
इत्युक्तवन्तं राजानं	1.7
इत्युक्तवानन्ददुग्धाब्धौ	1.40
इत्येतत् कथितं वत्स	2.62
इत्येतत् कथितं वत्स	5.59
इत्येवमनुशास्यैनं	1.57
इन्द्रियाणां जये योगं	8.13
इमां च पृथिवीं सर्वां	1.35
इषुनीलबृहद्देहः	4.28
ई	
ईली हस्तद्वयोत्सेधा	5.7
उ	
उच्चावचाः कराः न्यायाः	8.56
उच्चासनस्थो नृपतिः	8.15
उत्थानं विनिवृत्तिश्च	4.39
उत्थायापररात्रेषु	8.9
उदरम्भरिता स्वार्थः	1.16
उड्डीनमवडीनं च	5.23
उन्नामनं प्रपातश्च	4.27
उन्मोच्य चाधिकारिभ्य°	8.27
उपजप्यानुपजयेत्	7.58
उपन्यस्तमपन्यस्तं	5.44
उपलोत्क्षेपकं चापं	4.22
उपविष्टे मुनौ तस्मिन्	1.8

	Canto Verse
उपसंहाररहितं	2.13
उपायांश्चतुरो युञ्ज्यात्	8.72
उभौ तौ नृपतिः कुर्यात्	6.56
उरः कक्षौ च पक्षौ च	6.11
ऊ	
ऊर्जस्वलांश्च जङ्घालान्	4.24
ऊर्जस्वलान् सांयुगीनान्	6.17
ए	
एकत्रिंशच्च कङ्काला°	2.56
एकमेव दहत्यग्निः	8.6
एकविंशतिलक्षाणि	7.25
एकविंशत्सहस्राणि	7.24
एकस्यै रथिकायाथ	7.36
एकस्यैकस्य चाश्वस्य	7.8
एकस्यैकस्य नागस्य	7.7
एकाशीतिसहस्रास्तु	7.16
एको रथो गजश्चैकः	7.5
एको रथो दश गजाः	7.9
एतन्मन्त्रं प्रवक्ष्यामि	7.5
एतानक्षौहिणीसंस्थान्	7.31
एतानि वल्गितान्याहुः	4.20
एतानि विकृतिं यान्ति	5.51
एते चान्ये च बहवः	3.10
एते सेनाविशेषा वै	7.4
एतैरन्यैर्यथाशास्त्रं	8.41
एवंवृत्तस्य नृपतेः	8.92
एवं सर्वमिदं राजा	8.88
क	
कङ्कालास्त्रं मौसलास्त्रं	2.35
कथं तेषामियं नीतिः	1.18
कथान्तरमथासाद्य	1.9
कथेयं कथिता तुभ्यम्	3.39
कर्मान्तिकान् यष्टिधरान्	6.34
कांस्यकायो लोहशीर्षः	5.28
कान्दिशीके स्वसैन्ये तु	6.86
कालरात्रिनिकाशं तत्	5.4
काव्यास्तु तत्समालोड्य	1.26
कुन्तस्त्वयोमयाङ्गः स्यात्	5.22
कूटयुद्धसहायानि	5.53
कृत्तिकास्तस्य नक्षत्रं	3.35
कृत्वा ज्येष्ठानुसारेण	6.80
कृत्वा सुशिल्पिनः प्राज्ञान्	6.43
कोटिसूर्यप्रतीकाशं	5.3
कोशागारायुधागार°	6.67
कोष्ठगारायुधागार°	6.62
क्रमादर्धांशहान्यसेन	6.92
क्रौञ्चास्त्रं हयशीर्षं च	2.24
क्षयस्थानं च वृद्धिश्च	8.86
ख	
खड्गः कदा हि जनितः	3.2
ग	
गजं व गजासादिं च	6.97
गजयन्तुस्सारथेश्च	7.40
गजांश्चाग्रे प्रेषयेच्च	6.14

	Canto Verse
गजानां सप्तलक्षाणि	7.21
गणाख्ये शताङ्गनां	7.13
गतप्रत्यागताक्षेपाः	3.27
गतवाहनयोधानां	6.45
गदामुद्गरसीरा च	2.20
गदा वल्गितवत्येषा	5.49
गदा शैक्यायसमयी	5.29
गव्यूतिमात्रे यो व्यूहः	6.87
गिरिपृष्ठं समारुह्य	8.68
गुप्तिकर्म समादिश्य	6.41
गुल्मांश्च स्थापयेदाप्तान्	7.56
गुल्मे नव रथाः प्रोक्तां	7.12
गोधोपासङ्गकवच°	4.25
गोमुखं ब्रह्महत्यापि	2.54
गोमूत्रिका हंसिका च	6.6
गोशीर्षं गोशिरः प्रख्यं	5.11
ग्रथनं भ्रामणं चैव	4.48
ग्रहणं ध्मापनं चैव	4.41
ग्रामस्याधिपतिः कार्य°	8.46
ग्रामीयान् ग्रामदोषांश्च	8.47
च	
चक्रं तु कुण्डलाकारं	4.47
चक्राणि लोहपट्टांश्च	6.49
चचार विविधान् मार्गान्	3.23
चतसृ गतयस्तस्य	4.44
चतुश्चत्वारिंशदेते	2.37
चतुष्पाच्च धनुर्वेदः	1.38
चतुष्पाच्च धनुर्वेदो	2.1
चम्वा सप्तशतं चैक°	7.20
चारेभ्यश्चाधिकारीणां	8.29
चालनं धूननं चैव	5.6
ज	
जडान्धमूकबधिरान्	8.71
जयायाश्च च कुशाश्चाद्यत्	4.10
जया लब्धवरा मत्तः	1.46
जातिमात्रोपजीवी वा	8.16
जिगीषवोऽरीन् राजानः	3.40
जिघांसवः पापकामाः	8.55
जृम्भकावरणाश्चैव	2.34
जैत्रध्वजपताकं च	6.25
ज्याधनुर्वर्मशस्त्राणि	6.47
त	
ततस्तु भगवान् रुद्रः	3.29
ततस्त्वृषभकेतोः स	3.21
तत्तत्कार्यानुसारेण	6.13
तत्तत्कार्यानुसारेण	7.43
तत्राद्यं मतमालम्ब्य	2.16
तत्रावान्तरभेदांश्च	4.7
तत्साध्यसिद्धयस्तिस्रः	8.87
तथा पुष्यरथांश्चैव	6.21
तथा भूमिप्रदेशज्ञान्	6.35
तथा व्यसनिनं शत्रुं	1.53
तदा त्वायतिसंयुक्तः	8.80

	Canto Verse
तदाप्रभृति लोका वै	2.55
तदा हिमवतः श्रृङ्गे°	3.11
तमायान्तमृषिं श्रुत्वा	1.4
तमुद्धृत्य महादेवः	3.22
तल्लक्षणोद्देशमात्रं	1.29
तस्मिन्नुत्पतमाने च	3.16
तस्य देवस्य यद्रूपं	4.4
तस्य प्रसादे पद्मा श्रीः	8.7
तादृशानेव स्वीयांस्तु	7.59
तानन्यान् गुणान्	1.36
तिरश्चीनगतान्येव	5.42
तिर्यगूर्ध्वप्रचरणे	3.28
तीक्ष्णस्वभावाद्गर्वाच्च	2.58
तुरङ्गाणां सहस्राणि	7.18
ते तस्य वचनं श्रुत्वा	2. 53
तेन संस्तम्भिता ह्यापः	1.34
तेभ्योऽतिगच्छेद्विनयं	8.12
तेषां प्राणान्तिको दण्डः	7.63
तेषां यद्ग्रामकृत्यं स्यात्	8.52
तोमरः काष्ठकायः स्यात्	4.38
तोलनं भ्रामणं चैव	4.35
त्रयश्च चत्वारिंशच्च	7.17
त्रिचत्वारिंशच्च लसं°	7.19
त्रिभ्रामणं विसर्गश्च	4.31
त्वमप्येतमसि मत्तः	3.34
त्सरुणा गुरुणा नद्द°	5.19
त्सरुपादस्सशिखरो	5.10

द	Canto Verse
दंष्ट्राकरालवदनं	4.9
दण्डचक्रं धर्मचक्रं	2.22
दण्डभोगोऽसंहताश्च	6.3
दण्डव्यूहेन सेनां तु	7.53
दण्डस्त्रिधार्थहरणं	8.79
दत्वा भूमिनिबन्धं वा	8.63
दत्वा भूम्यादिकं राजा	8.64
दद्यात् प्रहृष्टो नियुतं	6.89
दधीचिपृष्ठास्थिजन्यं	5.2
दधीचिरपि तान् हत्वा	2.45
दन्तकण्टकनामा तु	4.49
दन्तकायो दृढाङ्गश्च	4.43
दशी तेने विभक्तव्यः	8.50
दानं पञ्चविधं प्राहुः	8.76
दाम्पत्येऽभिरुचिर्हेतुः	1.13
दिवसे दिवसे संज्ञाः	6.77
दिवसे दिवसे सेनां	6.83
दिष्ट्या ते बुद्धिरुत्पन्ना	1.42
दुर्भिक्षव्यसनोपेतान्	8.25
दूतं चैव प्रकुर्वीत	8.21
दूष्याणि च नरेन्द्राणां	6.40
दृढनाभोऽलक्ष्यलक्ष्य	2.30
दृढमष्टाङ्गसंयुक्ता	1.6
देवोपयोगिनं देहं	2.52
देवं हृदि दृढं ध्यात्वा	8.10
द्रुघणस्त्यायसाङ्गः स्यात्	4.36

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द्वात्रिंशत्करणानि स्युः	3.24
द्वात्रिंशत्करणानि स्युः	6.58
द्वात्रिंशदायुधानीति	4.2
द्वात्रिंशद्वर्णकमनुं	2.9
द्वारपालान् पृष्ठगोपान्	8.20
द्वितीयसैन्ययायित्वं	6.62
द्विविधं कीर्त्यते द्वैधं	8.84
द्वे कोटी चैव लक्षाणां	7.29
द्वे चार्बुदे च कोटिश्च	7.30
ध	
धनुराद्यायुधव्यक्तौ	1.44
धनुरिपुर्भिण्डिवाल	2.17
धनुर्वेदविदं त्वां तु	2.61
धनुर्वेदविधानेन	4.11
धनुर्वेदविशेषज्ञाः	2.43
धनुर्वेदस्य माहात्म्यात्	2.60
धनुर्वेदस्योपदेशं	2.63
धनुस्स्वरूपमाख्यास्ये	4.6
धन्योऽस्म्यनुगृहीतोऽस्मि	1.6
धर्मानाभो महानाभः	2.31
धर्मशास्त्रपुराणानि	8.90
धर्मशास्त्रानुसारेण	8.22
धर्मसेतुमतिक्रान्तान्	3.32
धृत्वा यात्रामारभस्व	1.54
न	
न कूटैरायुधैर्हन्यात्	7.45
नगरे नगरे च स्यात्	8.53
न प्रसुप्तं न प्रणतं	7.47
नभोऽग्निज्वालयोद्भास्य	3.13
न मुखे त्रिणिनं हन्यात्	7.49
नलिका ऋजुदेहा स्यात्	4.40
न हन्याद्वृक्षमारूढं	7.46
नागा दश रथस्यास्य	7.6
नागास्त्रं गारुडास्त्रं च	2.27
नामापि तस्य राजेति	1.31
नित्यकर्म समाप्याथ	8.11
निस्तंभे निर्गवाक्षे च	8.69
नीतिशास्त्रमिदं प्रोक्तं	8.99
नीलोत्पलसवर्णं तत्	3.14
नीललोहितवर्णं तत्	5.12
प	
पञ्चविंशत्सहस्राणि	1.24
पट्टिशः पुंप्रमाणः स्यात्	5.39
पठेच्च य इदं काव्यं	8.97
पतद्ग्राह्यं गन्धतैलं	6.54
पत्तिः सेनामुखं गुल्म°	7.3
पत्तेः सेनामुखस्यापि	6.75
पत्त्यङ्गैस्त्रिगुणैः सर्वे	7.10
पत्त्याद्यङ्गपतीनष्टौ	6.80
पत्त्याद्यङ्गे ध्वजपटाः	7.32
पदातये सुवर्णानां	8.39
पदातीनां सहस्रस्य	7.38
परम्परा तु का तस्य	3.3
परद्रव्ये प्रेरणं च	8.77

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परराष्ट्रार्जितं द्रव्यं	6.103	प्रतिग्रहे वासयेच्च	6.23
परशुः सूक्ष्मयष्टिः स्यात्	5.9	प्रतिप्रयाणं भृत्यानां	6.100
परावृत्तं सन्निवृत्त°	5.33	प्रत्यग्रे कर्माणि कृते	6.88
परिघो वर्तुलाकारः	5.45	प्रत्यालीढकमालीढं	4.24
परिमोक्षं प्रहराणां	5.32	प्रदक्षिणञ्च शैध्र्यं च	4.26
परिवर्तनाधिकारैश्च	8.40	प्रदरो दृढकः सत्यः	6.4
पारीक्षित त्वमप्येवं	8.95	प्रदेयानि तु योधानां	6.44
पारीक्षित महाबुद्धिः	2.64	प्रभूतजलकाष्ठानि	6.42
पलायितं सायुधं तु	6.95	प्रयाणपूर्वयायित्वं	6.59
पलायितं स्वभृतिकं	6.96	प्रयोगकोटीरयुतः	2.3
पल्याणानि खलीनानि	6.46	प्रविभागो न राष्ट्राणां	1.33
पादावकर्षसन्धाने	3.26	प्रसारणं वेष्टनं च	4.46
पाद्यमर्घ्यं तथा गां च	1.5	प्रस्वापनप्रशमने	2.25
पापा ह्येते कथं धर्मं	5.58	प्राचेतसमनुश्चापि	1.25
पाशस्सुसूक्ष्मावयवः	4.45	प्रासस्तु सप्तहस्तः स्यात्	5.25
पित्र्यस्सौमनसश्चैव	2.33	प्रेषयित्वा नयेत् सेनां	6.36
पिनाकस्तु त्रिशीर्षः	5.2	ब	
पुरोगानुचरांश्चैव	6.22	बद्धगोधाङ्गुलीत्राणः	4.23
पूरणं स्फारणञ्चेवे°	4.19	बन्धयेच्च तटाकानि	8.59
पूर्वराजकृता या तु	8.66	बन्धुत्वज्ञापनं स्वात्म°	8.75
पूर्वं वक्ष्यामि मुक्तानां	4.5	बहूदयान् प्रात्ययिकान्	6.31
पृष्ठ्यान् वृषानश्वतरीन्	6.50	बालोऽपि नावमन्तव्यः	8.5
पृथुग्रीवं सूक्ष्मशिरः	4.18	बाहून्नतस्सुत्सरुश्च	4.50
पृथुग्रीवं प्रशास्यैव	8.93	बिभीपिकाविघातश्च	6.60
पृथुर्वैन्यः प्रजा रक्षन्	1.29	भुसुण्डी तु बृहद्ग्रन्थि°	4.51
पेतुरुल्का दिवो घोरा	3.17	बृहत्सरुर्दूरगमा	4.34
प्रजोद्वेजनकर्तृणां	8.32	ब्राह्मणश्च ततो दृष्ट्वा	1.37

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ब्रह्मा महेश्वरः स्कन्दः	1.21
ब्राह्मणेभ्यो नाददीत	8.57
भ	
भटेभ्यश्चैव वस्त्राणि	6.102
भवानष्टादशान्येषु	1.52
भिण्डिवालस्तु वक्राङ्गः	4.30
भुंक्त्वा भागवतं शास्त्रं	4.91
भुसुण्डीति द्वादशैते	2.18
भूभृद्भेदश्चाविचाल्यं	4.16
भृतिश्चातिरथे देया	7.34
भृशाश्वो मानसः पुत्रः	1.34
भेदस्त्रिधान्यतरस्नेह°	8.78
भोगं च दद्याद्विप्रेभ्यः	8.62
भ्रान्तमुद्भ्रान्तमाविद्धं	3.25
भ्रामणं कर्षणं चैव	5.21
भ्रामणं क्षेपणं चेति	4. 29
म	
मण्डलानि विचित्राणि	5.31
मण्डलानि विचित्राणि	5.41
मत्सकाशाद्धनुर्वेदं	1.48
मदङ्गात्तानुपादाय	2.51
मदोत्कटांश्च कलभान्	6.18
मधुरानूपरे देशे	6.38
मधुसार्शीविषघटा	5.54
मन्त्रो विजयमूलं हि	8.67
मन्दरं पर्वतश्रेष्ठं	2.44
मयूखी कृतयष्टिः स्यात्	5.46
मर्दनीयतरुश्रेष्ठं	6.71
महर्षिसुरगन्धर्वा	3.18
महेन्द्रो लोकपालेभ्यः	3.31
मां रक्ष रक्षेत्युच्चार्य	2.7
मार्गशीर्षे शुभे मासि	7.51
मित्रस्य चानुरोधेन	8.83
अमित्रे चैव विकृते	8.81
मिश्रणं स्फोटनं वीथीं°	4.27
मुक्तं चैव ह्यमुक्तं च	2.11
मुक्तं बाणादि विज्ञेयं	2.12
मुक्तामुक्तपदोक्तानि	5.50
मुद्गरः सूक्ष्मपादः स्यात्	5.35
मुनिगौरशिरश्चापि	1.27
मुष्टिग्रहः परिक्षेपः	5.14
मृष्टयग्रग्रहणं चैव	5.17
मुसलस्त्यक्षिशीर्षेभ्यां	6.38
मूलप्रतिग्रहं कृत्वा	6.32
मृतानां जीवतां चापि	6.107
मृदुर्हि राजा सततं	8.43
मौलान् शास्त्रविदः	8.18
मौष्टिकं सुत्सरु ज्ञेयं	5.40
म्लेच्छा गोयोनयश्चान्ये	5.52
य	
यन्त्राणि लोहसीसानां	5.52
यज्ञं ह्यकरवं तत्र	3.12
यतः शंका भवेत् भीतः	7.55
यतो भवेत् भयं शत्रोः	8.54

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यत्र श्यामो लोहिताक्षः	8.30
यथा हि गर्भिणी हित्वा	8.2
यदा मुञ्चेच्छरं विध्येत्	4.14
यद्यदङ्गश्रितं चास्थि°	2.57
यवसान्नोदकधनानि	7.57
यस्त्वमात्योऽनुकूलः स्यात्	6.84
यस्य मन्त्रं न जानन्ति	8.70
यादृक् सैन्याधिपत्ये तु	6.79
यस्य शूद्रस्तु कुरुते	8.17
यानि ग्रामिकभोज्यानि	8.49
यापनं घूर्णनं चेति	4.52
यावत्कीर्तिर्मनुष्यस्य	8.96
युद्धकाले ह्यनुप्राप्ते	7.60
युद्धे स्वार्थं मृता ये च	6.106
युवराजाय वर्वाणां	7.33
योगन्धरः सनिद्रश्च	2.32
यो दण्ड्यान् मोचयेद्राजा	7.64
योधेपु रथिकान् कुर्यात्	4.55
र	
रक्ताक्षं क्रूरनिर्ह्रादं	3.15
रक्षणार्थाय लोकस्य	3.16
रक्षोगजादिदेहानां	4.17
रक्षोदेवमनुष्याणां	6.10
रज्जून् शङ्कून् शङ्कुरोपान्	6.48
रथाक्षमात्रकाया च	5.30
शार्ङ्गिकं त्रिणतं प्रोक्तं	4.21
राजधर्माः कथाग्रर्वे	1.10
राजधर्मान् प्रवक्ष्यामि	8.1
राजाज्ञाप्रतिबन्दीनां	8.33
राजानं प्रथमं विन्देत्	8.44
राज्ञा नियमितांस्त्यक्त्वा	6.81
राज्ञोऽपहासनिन्दे च	8.42
ल	
लक्ष्यस्य प्रतिसन्धानं	4.18
लक्षाध्यायाङ्गगौ	1.23
लगुडः सूक्ष्मपादः स्यात्	4.42
लवित्रं भुग्नकायं स्यात्	5.48
लालाटिकश्चेङ्गितज्ञः	6.73
लिङ्गमेवाश्रमख्यातौ	1.14
लोकनाथ नमस्तेऽस्तु	3.1
व	
वक्ष्यामि चोपसंहारान्	2.28
वज्रं खड्गो धनुश्चक्रं	2.2
वज्रमीली च परशुः	2.19
वनदिग्मार्गविज्ञानं	6.64
वराकीश्चैव तरुजाः	6.52
वाचा तान् भीषयित्वा तु	8.28
वामाङ्गुष्ठं तदुदरे	4.12
वाराहो मकरव्यूहः	6.9
वार्तिकाधिपतेश्चापि	7.41
वाहिन्यां स्यन्दनाः प्रोक्तां	7.15
विंशतीशश्च तत्सर्वं	8.48
वित्तमेव कलौ नृणां	1.12
विद्रावयेच्छत्रुगुल्मान्	6.39

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विभीषिकां विघातं च	6.60	शत्रुसैन्यात् कुञ्जरं वा	6.99
विमलस्तीक्ष्णधारश्च	3.20	शत्रूणामभिरोधश्च	6.63
विविधानि च वाद्यानि	6.51	शत्रूणामुपघातार्थं°	6.109
विशालो विजयस्सूची°	6.5	शरासनधरांश्चैव	3.7
विशीर्णे कार्मुके राजन्	3.6	शस्त्रं च प्रत्यस्त्रे	2.14
विष्णुचक्रं वज्रमस्त्रं	2.40	शस्त्राणि लोके द्वात्रिंशत्	2.59
विष्णुर्मरीचये प्रादात्	3.30	शाखानगरमर्हस्तु	8.51
वीतमन्तः पुरं चैव	6.19	शिक्षणार्थं च ये योज्याः	8.37
वृतो राजगुणैष्ड्भि°	1.49	शिखरी धर्मपाश्च	2.23
वेतनं रथिकायाथ	7.35	शिथिलानि च शस्त्राणि	6.105
वेदव्यासश्च भगवान्	1.22	शूद्रप्रायेषु वर्णेषु	1.47
वेनपुत्र प्रवक्ष्यामि	3.5	श्रृणु चाप्यपरं भूयः	2.42
वैन्योऽपि तत्तथा चक्रे	8.94	शोधनं कूपतीर्थानां	6.66
वैशम्पायन इत्युक्त्वा	8.100	श्रीगर्भो विजयश्चैव	3.37
वैशम्पायननामा तु	1.3	श्रीमत्तक्षशिलायां तु	1.2
वैश्यो वा शूद्रजातीयः	8.98	श्रीमद्गजाननं	1.1
व्याजेन युध्यतां चैव	7.61	**ष**	
व्यादितास्यातिनीला च	4.33	षष्टिनागसहस्राणि	1.35
श		**स**	
शक्तिर्हस्तद्वयोत्सेधो	4.32	संपातं समुदीर्णं च	5.8
शतघ्नी कण्टकयुता	5.48	संभूय चैव मित्रेण	8.82
शतत्रयाध्यायवर्ती	1.27	संवर्तं मौसलं सत्यं	2.26
शताङ्गनाभिमानां च	7.2	संहारान्नाम दुर्धर्षान्	1.47
शत्रुपत्त्यश्वरोधश्च	6.61	सकाण्डपृष्ठं सजलं	6.30
शत्रुपु स्वीयमार्गांश्च	7.62	सङ्ग्रामाभिमुखाः कृन्ता	6.108
शत्रुसेनाविभेत्तारं	6.110	स च तान् संपरिक्रामेत्	8.54
शत्रुसेविनि मित्रे च	7.52	स तथेति प्रतिश्रुत्य	3.33

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स तद्वचः समाकर्ण्य	3.4	सुमन्त्रिणः प्रकुर्वीत	8.19
सत्कृत्य मनवे दत्तं	5.13	सेतुभेदकराणां च	8.34
सत्यं सत्यं पुनः सत्यं	2.10	सेनाकर्म समालोक्य	8.23
सत्यवान् सत्यकीर्तिश्च	2.29	सेनामुखे तु गुणिताः	7.11
सत्यवान् सर्वदमनः	2.36	सेनायाः भृतिदात्रे च	7.42
सत्सरुर्वर्तुलो नीलः	5.36	सैनिकान् परिधिस्थांश्च	6.33
सन्धिविग्रहतत्त्वज्ञः	1.49	सोऽग्निर्भवति वायुश्च	8.4
सन्मानं चैव कुर्वीत	8.60	सौविदल्लान् वर्षवरान्	6.20
सप्तकोट्यश्च चैकोन°	7.22	स्थूणस्तु रक्तदेहः स्यात्	5.24
सप्तविंशतिसाहस्रः	7.14	स्वदत्तात् द्विगुणं पुण्यं	8.65
सप्ताशीतिं च लक्षाणां	7.26	स्वद्रव्यमाहरेत् तेम्यः	8.26
समुत्पिञ्जे स्वसैन्ये च	6.85	स्वमूलं तु दृढं कृत्वा	1.55
सर्वमोचननामा तु	2.38	स्वयम्भोर्वचनं श्रुत्वा	4.1
सर्वसेनाधिपः कार्यः	6.72	स्वाशक्त्युपचयं ज्ञात्वा	6.2
सर्वस्वहरणैश्चैव	8.39	स्वाज्ञासञ्चरणार्थाय	6.78
सर्वाभिसारसहितः	6.15	स्वाधीनादिकृतानां तु	8.35
सर्वाश्चापती राज्ञः	7.37	स्वान्यसंहारकाभावान्	2.41
साधनान्यस्थिभूतानि	2.50	ह	
साम दानं च भेदं च	8.73	हन्यमानस्य यत्किञ्चित्	7.50
साम पञ्चविधं ज्ञेयं	8.74	हयं वा शकटीं वापि	6.104
सारथ्ये च गजस्कन्धे	6.57	हयारूढवरं हत्वा	6.98
सीरो द्विवक्त्रो विशिखोः	5.37	हिरण्यकशिपुश्चैव	3.9
सुपरीक्षितमन्त्राज्यं	8.80	हूणाः पुलिन्दा शवराः	5.56

Appendix 5

Glossarial Index

Aṣṭādhyāyavatī Nīti	– 1.1c	– The concise and the last form of *Nītiprakāśikā*.
astra (astrāṇi)	– 1.18d, 1.38c, 1.43d, 1.46d, 2.3d, 2.14a, 5.31c	– Missile used with *mantra* of specific deity.
amukta	– 2.12b, 2.12d, 2.16b, 2.21a, 2.21c, 2.34c, 5.1a, 5.49c, 5.50a	– One of the four categories of weapons, namely, the weapons that are not released.
asimaṇḍala	– 5.5a	– *Vajra* called so when surrounded by a circle of swords.
asidhenu	– 5.15a	– A dagger.
āstara	– 2.19c, 5.20a	– A goad.
Āndhra	– 5.56c	– A tribe — see Appendix 3.
aindracakra	– 2.22c	– The discus of Indra. *Anukta* type of weapon.
alakṣya	– 2.30a	– A missile which could not be seen in its flight.
akṣauhiṇī	– 6.74a, 6.80b, 6.90a, 6.93a, 7.1d, 7.3d, 7.10d, 7.26d, 7.27a, 9.74a,	– The largest unit of the army.
ātyantikān	– 6.24c	– Those who can move freely amongst the enemy.
aśvarīḥ	– 6.50a	– Mules.
ārakūṭa	– 6.52c	– Brass implements.
ārā	– 6.53a	– An awl.
aśvārūḍha	– 6.55c	– Horsemen.
aśvakarma	– 6.65c	– Work to be achieved by the cavalry.
anugāminaḥ	– 6.16d	– Volunteers.
asidhenu	– 5.27a	– A dagger, see *asidhenukā*.

āsana	– 8.83	– Staying quiet.
aṣṭāṅgasaṁ-yuktā camū	– 1.55ab	– Eightfold army — of elephants, cavalry, warriors, infaṇtry, artisans, spies, regional and the main units.
aṣṭakarmāṇi	– 1.50cd	– The eightfold duties of statecraft, namely, trade, commerce and others.
ariṣaḍvarga	– 8.18a	– The group of six enemies of man, especially of the king here. They are passion, anger, greed, infatuation, pride and jealousy.
āyavyaye	– 8.24a	– Accounts of income and expenditure.
bālān	– 6.18a	– Five-year old elephants.
bala	– 5.1c, 6.1c, 6.25d, 6.36c, 6.40d, 6.58c, 6.77d, 7.54d	– See *sainya, senā, camūḥ.*
bhadrāsana	– 6.21b	– The auspicious seat (a) offered by Janamejaya to Vaisampāyana, and (b) in the chariot. It is also a synonymn for throne.
bheda	– 8.73b, 8.78c	– Bribery.
bhṛtī	– 8.23b	– Salary.
bhāga	– 8.49c	– The portion of the income the agriculture to be given to the king.
bhadrapīṭham	– 1.8b	– The octagonal and auspicious seat meant for the sages who come as guests. See bhadrāsana.
Bhṛśāśva	– 1.44a	– A sage and father of all the weapons born of Jayā and Suprabhā. See Kṛśāśva.
baḍiśa	– 6.54b	– A fish hook used as a weapon in *kūṭa-yuddha.*
bhṛtidātṛ	– 7.42a	– The controller of defence accounts who gives salary to the army.
bibhīṣikā	– 6.60a	– Appliances made of artificial wood.
bhusuṇḍī or *musuṇḍī*	– 2.18a	– A mythical weapon.
brahmaśīrṣa	– 2.22d	– A missile having the head as that of Brahmā.
Barbara	– 5.56b	– A barbarian tribe — see Appendix 2.
bhiṇḍipāla or *bhiṇḍīvāla*	– 2.17a	– A form of spear.
bhaṭa	– 7.42b, 7.43c, 7.49c	– See also *bhaṭāḥ.*
cāpa	– 6.47c	– See *dhanuḥ.*
camūḥ	– 1.44b	– Army, see *Bala.*

cāra	– 8.29b	– Spy.
caturdasadoṣāḥ	– 1.49d	– The fourteen weaknesses or vices of the king known or *rājadoṣas*.
caturvidhabalā camū	– 1.55c	– The army with four divisions, namely, infantry, cavalry, chariots and elephants.
caturupāyān	– 8.72a	– The four means of success against the enemies, namely, *sāma, dāna, bheda*, and *daṇḍa*
catuṣpāt	– 2.1a, 11-14	– Adjective of DV these are *mukta, amukta, muktā–mukta* and *mantra-mukta*, see 2.11 to 14.
Coḷa	– 5.56d	– A tribe — see Appendix 2.
Cāṇḍāla	– 5.57b	– A tribe — see Appendix 2.
cakram	– 2.2b, 2.17d	– A disc.
Dhanurveda (DV)	– 1.18c, 1.38a, 1.41b, 1.46c, 1.47a, 2.1a, 2.13b, 2.14c, 2.18c, 2.31b, 2.41b, 2.43a, 2.47a, 2.60a, 2.61a, 2.63a	– Science of weaponry, military science.
dhanuḥ	– 1.43a, 2.2a, 2.17a, 2.60	– Bow.
Dadhīci	– 5.1a, 2.43c, 2.45a, 2.58b	– A mythical sage in whose bones the weapons of the gods were assimilated and were later made from.
dantakaṇṭaka	– 2.17d	– A tooth-shaped weapon.
daṇḍacakram	– 2.22a	– A mythical and *amukta* type of weapon.
dharmacakram	– 2.22a	– The discus of *dharma*.
dharmanābha	– 2.31a	– A missile named "sacred navel".
dharmapāśa	– 2.23b	– The noose of *dharma*.
daśākṣa	– 2.30c	– A missile with ten openings.
daśaśīrṣa	– 2.30d	– A ten-headed missile.
dṛḍhanābha	– 2.30a	– *Upasaṁhārāstra*.
dhṛtirmālī	– 2.32c	– A supporting type of *upasaṁhārāstra*.
daṇḍa	– 6.3a, 6.5d, 6.22ab, 8.2ab, 7.4a, 7.63a, 7.64a, 7.64b, 8.23b, 8.30b, 8.45b, 8.60c, 8.73b, 8.79d	– Army/military, punishment, coercire force

dūta	– 7.63d, 8.21a	– Ambassador, envoy.
durga	– 6.49b, 6.61b, 6.110b	– Fort — one of the seven constituents of the state for protection against enemies.
dharmāsana	– 8.15c	– The seat of judgement. See *nyāya, vyavahārika, nyāya-vyavasthā*
dāna	– 8.28b, 8.73a, 8.76a	– Gift, bribe.
dikpāla	– 8.59c	– Guardians of the directions.
drughaṇa	– 4.36a	– A kind of a club.
dharmapravaktā	– 8.13c	– The judge as the advocate of justice.
dvārapāla	– 8.20	– The doorkeeper.
dvaidhībhāva	– 8.84	– The dual policy of *sandhi* and then *vigraha.*
dhanurbhedān	– 4.20a	– Different types of bows.
dharma	– 1.7a, 1.11a, 1.12c, 1.16b, 1.17c, 1.42b, 1.44c, 5.58a	– Duty. See *rājadharma.*
gomūtrakāṇi	– 5.41c	– Zig-zag motion.
gulikā	– 5.42b, 5.54c	– Balls of iron or lead, used as weapons to be thrown through machines as in 5.52 or as smoke balls in 5.54.
guḍalālā	– 5.55b	– Molten or liquid jaggery; a weapon used in *kūṭayuddha.*
Goyoni	– 5.57a	– A barbarian tribe — see Appendix 2.
grāmika	– 8.47a	– A village leader.
gāndharvāstra	– 2.24c	– The missile of the *gandharva*s.
garuḍāstra	– 2.27a	– Shooting an arrow while sitting like the bird *garuḍa*/eagle.
gaṇa	– 7.13a, 7.23d	– A mace. An *amukta* type of weapon.
gadā	– 2.2c, 2.20a, 5.29a, 5.49a	For its movements see 5.34.
guḍikā	– 4.45b	– A ball made of iron or lead.
guptikarma	– 6.36b, 41a	– Keeping a close watch for security.
Hūṇa	– 5.56a	– A tribe — see Appendix 2.
hāstikam	– 6.17a	– Tamed elephants.
hayaśīrṣa	– 2.24a	– A horse-head missile.
īṣu	– 2.17a	– The common name for an arrow.
īlī	– 5.7a, 5.8c	– A kind of a sword.
Janamejaya	– 1.2c, 8.99b	– The great grandson of Arjuna, ruler of Takṣaśilā and the recipient of *NP.*

Jayā	– 4.10a	– The daughter of Dakṣa Prajāpati.
jaitradhvajāḥ	– 6.25a	– Carriers of the flag of victory.
jaṅghālāḥ	– 6.16d, 24a	– Fast runners.
janajīvikā	– 8.66b	– Livelihood of the people which is to be taken care of by the king.
Kṛśāśva	– 4.10a	– See Bhṛśāśva.
Kali	– 1.11c, 12a	– The Kaliyuga which leads to the deterioration of ethical and moral values as mentioned in *NP* 1.11-17.
khaḍga	– 3.1c	– A broad sword.
kārmuka	– 3.6a	– A bow.
kaukṣikāḥ	– 6.16c	– Small swordsmen.
karmāntikān	– 6.38a	– Workmen or artisans.
kāṇḍiśīka	– 6.86a	– Fleeting of the army.
kairātakam	– 6.51b	– A kind of a sweet beverage.
khaḍga	– 2.2a, 2.12b, 3.1c, 3.2a 3.3c, 3.4b, 3.24b, 3.30c, 3.33b, 3.36c, 3.39b, 5.6c, 5.8a, 5.39b, 5.50c	– A broad sword. Also called *asi*.
kiṅkiṇī	– 5.46c	– Bells attached to *mayūkhī*.
kūṭayuddha	– 5.53a, 5.55b	– war in which unfair means, weapons and deceit are used.
Koṅkaṇa	– 5.56c	– A tribe — see Appendix 2.
Keraḷa	– 5.56d	– A tribe — see Appendix 2.
krakaca	– 5.54c	– A saw, used as a weapon in *kūṭayuddha*.
Kirāta	– 5.57d	– A tribe — see Appendix 2.
Kukkura	– 5.57d	– A tribe — see Appendix 2.
khalīnāni	– 6.46b	– Bridle-bits.
kālacakram	– 2.22a	– The discus of death.
krauñcāstra	– 2.24a	– The heron-like missile.
karalīra	– 2.33c	– A sword.
kaṅkālāstra	– 2.35a	– The skeleton type of missile.
kapālāstra	– 2.35b	– A missile — shaped like the human skull.
kālapāśaka	– 2.40b	– The noose of death.
krauñcavyūhān	– 6.1b	– A type of a battle array.
lavitra	– 2.19c, 5.18a, 5.19b	– A sickle.

lohaśīrṣa	– 5.27c	– An iron head.
Lalittha	– 5.57c	– A barbarian tribe — see Appendix 2.
laguḍa	– 2.17c	– A cudgel.
lakṣya	– 2.30a	– Target.
lastaka	– 4.7a	– The middle portion of the bow.
lālaṭikaḥ	– 6.73a	– One who watches the forehead of his master, understands his moods and words.
lokasaṁgrahaṇa	– 6.101c	– Reward.
mantrin	– 1.4d	– Minister.
mudgara	– 2.20a, 5.35a, 5.36d	– A hammer. An *amukta* type of weapon.
musalam	– 2.20b, 5.38a	– A pestle. An *amukta* type of weapon.
mauṣṭika	– 5.40a, 5.44b	– A kind of knife. An *amukta* type of weapon.
mayūkhī	– 5.46a, 5.47d	– An *amukta* type of weapon.
mādana	– 2.25c	– The missile that arouses passion.
mānavāstra	– 2.25c	– The missile of Manu.
mausala or ***mūsala***	– 2.26a, 2.36a	– See *musalam*.
mānasa	– 2.26d	– A mental missile.
mahānābha	– 2.31b	– "Big navel" — a type of *upasaṁhārāstra*.
madhuparka	– 1.5b	– The offerings offered to an honoured guest, here, to Vaiśampāyana.
mūlapratigraha	– 6.32a	– The Armed Reserve.
madhuḥ	– 5.54c	– Honey used for war by deceit.
mahāyantrāṇi	– 6.47c	– Big war machines (to scatter away the enemy).
muṇḍānīka	– 6.86b	– Army corps.
mukta	– 2.12a, 2.12b, 2.16b, 2.21c, 2.38c, 5.50a	– One of the four categories of weapons.
Mālava	– 5.56c	– A tribe — see Appendix 2.
Mleccha	– 5.57a	– A tribe — see Appendix 2.
Māvellaka	– 5.57c	– A tribe — see Appendix 2.
modakī	– 2.22d	– Also called *kaumodakī* - the club of Rāma.
Nītiprakāśikā	– 1.1c	– The concise text on polity by Vaiśampāyana narrated to Janamejaya. See *Aṣṭādhyāyatīm Nītim*
nyāya-vyavasthā	– 1.12c	– Judiciary. See *vyāvahārika, nyāya, dharmāsana*.

nyāya	– 1.14c, 8.56a	– Law, justice, see *vyavahāra, dharmāsana, vyāvahāvika, nyāya-vyavasthā.*
nalikā	– 2.17c, 4.40a	– A weapon having a thin straight body with a hollow in the middle. It has iron tube for throwing small arrows.
nandanāstra	– 2.24c	– A joy-producing missile.
nāyana	– 2.25b	– The missile that flings enemy away.
nāgāstra	– 2.27a	– A serpent-shaped missile.
nārāyaṇa	– 2.40c	– The weapon of Nārāyaṇa.
nīti	– 8.29d, 8.37d, 8.87c, 8.92a, 8.99a	– See *rājanīti, nitisāstra.*
nalva	– 4.28a	– Four hundred spans of measurement.
nārāca	– 6.47a	– Iron arrows.
Pṛthu	– 1.29a, 1.37c, 1.40b, 4.1b, 4.3a, 4.49c, 5.12d, 5.34c, 5.40b, 8.93a	– Pṛthu, the son of Vena. An ideal king. A mythological figure.
paraśu	– 2.19a, 5.9a, 5.10b	– A Battle Axe. A weapon of *amukta* category.
padāti	– 5.21b	– A foot-soldier.
parigha	– 5.45a	– An *amukta* type of weapon.
Pulinda	– 5.56a	– A tribe — see Appendix 2.
Pallava	– 5.56b	– A tribe — see Appendix 2.
Pāṇḍya	– 5.56d	– A tribe — see Appendix 2.
Pārṣṇimūla	– 1.53c	– The enemey king behind the *vigījīṣu*
pratyāstra	– 2.14a	– A counter missile.
paramāstra	– 2.14a	– An ultimate missile.
pāśa	– 2.17c	– The noose.
prasvāpana	– 2.25a	– A missile causing extreme pain.
praśamana	– 2.25a	– A soothing missile.
paiśācāstra	– 2.35c	– A infernal missile.
pāśupata	– 2.40c	– The missile of Śiva.
purohita	– 1.4d, 8.15b, 8.22d	– One of the eighteen *tīrthas;* religious and political advisor to the king.
pṛṣṭhagopā	– 8.20a	– The door-keepers.
paṭa	– 8.34b	– A piece of cloth used for documentation purpose.
pināka	– 5.27a	– The bow of Śiva.
potān	– 6.18a	– A ten-year old elephant.

prativeśyakāḥ	– 6.19a	– A small rear-guard — expert riders.
puṣyaratha	– 6.21a	– The state coaches.
palyāṇāni	– 6.46a	– Saddles of horses.
palyayaṅka	– 6.46b	– Stirrups.
hastikarma	– 6.61c	– Blockading by wrong elephants.
pattikarma	– 6.67c	– Work to be achieved by infantry.
pṛghanā	– 6.52d	– Balances.
patadgrāha	– 6.58a	– A spittoon to be carried to the battle field.
pītika	– 6.54b	– Yellow ointment.
pṛṣṭhaviśāradān rājā	– 1.7a, 1.34c, 1.36c, 6.55b	– King, the head of the state. See under *rājadharma*.
rāja-dharma	– 1.1c, 1.18b, 1.20b, 1.27b, 2.61c, 6.10d, 6.58b, 6.60c, 8.1a	– *Nīti*, polity, ethics — Nītiśāstra.
ripu	– 1.40b, 5.16b, 5.17d, 5.44d, 5.49d, 5.51b, 5.53b	– Enemy, see *śatruḥ*.
rājya	– 8.13b, 8.33a, 8.57b	– Kingdom, state.
rājadroha	– 8.33b	– Betrayal to the state.
rājakośa	– 8.34d	– Treasury; one of the seven constituents of the state.
rāṣṭrīyaka	– 8.49d	– The head of the village.
ropakāḥ	– 6.38c	– Tree-planters.
rathakarma	– 6.63c	– Blockade by horses.
śastra	– 1.18d, 1.38c, 1.43c, 1.45b, 2.3d, 2.14a, 2.21c, 2.57c, 2.62c	– Weapon, as against *astra* or missile.
sandhi	– 1.48a	– One of the six measures of foreign policy — a measure of peace.
ṣāḍguṇya	– 1.48c	– Six measures of foreign policy, namely, *sandhi*, *vigraha* and others.
śaiveṣīke	– 2.27b	– *Śaiva* and *Iṣikā*, two missiles.
sunābhaka	– 2.30b	– The weapon with good navel.
śatodara	– 2.30d	– The hundred-belled missile.
sarvadamana	– 2.34c, 2.36a	– All-subduing missile.

senāmukha	– 7.3 ab,	– A unit of the army.
Senāviśeṣa	–	See *sainya.*
śatru	– 1-42b, 4.52a, 5-21c, 6.1b, 6.1d, 6.2c, 6.40c, 6.61a, 6.62d, 6.63a, 6.64d, 6.65c, 6.78c, 6.101a, 6.105b, 6.106b, 6.110a, 7.54a, 7.62a	– Everyone to be combatted at the battle-field. Also see *ripu.*
saptāṅga	– 6.11d	– Seven-limbed state.
sāma	– 8.28d, 8.73a, 8.74a	– Negotiation.
swāmī	– 8.31d, 8.57c	– The first of the seven constituents of the state — the king.
sandhi	– 8.80b	– Peace — one of the six measures of foreign policy.
saciva	– 8.18c	– Ministers.
sumantrin	– 8.19a	– Advisor.
sabhānetā	– 8.20b	– Leader (as well as the members) of the assembly.
senākarma	– 8.23a	– Military functions.
sainyapālāḥ	– 6.77c	– Highly-placed army officers.
śāṇa	– 6.52d	– Grindstone.
sīsagulikā	– 4.45d	– See *gulikā.*
sarjarasa	– 5.53a	– Sap of a tree — used in war by deceit.
Saṁgrāhiṇaḥ	– 6.16c	– Shield-bearers.
sauvidallān	– 6.20a	– Eunuchs.
spaśān	– 6.24c	– Spies.
sāṁyugikān	– 6.17a, 24d	– Men experienced in fighting.
sūtriṇaḥ	– 6.38c	– Surveyors.
setubandhakārāḥ	– 6.38d	– Bridge-makers (engineers).
suśilpinaḥ	– 6.43a	– Clever and good artists/engineers.
saindhava	– 7.2b	– A kind of horse.
sarvārthacintaka	– 8.53b	– The superintending officer taking care of all its matters.
sūkṣamanīti	– 1.20b	– Reference to *daṇḍanīti/rājanīti.*
svadravya	– 8.25c	– The personal fund of the king.
ṣaḍguṇāḥ	– 8.72b	– See *ṣāḍguṇya.*
samāśraya	– 8.85d	– Surrender. One of the six measures of foreign policy.

śataghnī	– 2.2c, 2.20a	– A weapon which *DV* as a personified deity holds in one of the hands.
śikharī	– 2.223a	– The club of Rāma which was given to him by Viśvāmitra.
śuṣkārdra	– 2.23d	– A type of *sopasaṁhārāstra*.
santāpana	– 2.25b	– The tormenting weapon.
saṁvarta	– 2.26a	– The rolling missile.
saura	– 2.26b	– The missile of the sun.
śārcirmālī	– 2.32c	– A missile like a garland.
saumanāstra	– 2.23c	– A floral missile.
saṁhāra	– 2.26d	– A destructive missile.
sthūṇa	– 2.19d, 5.24a	– A club made of thick trunk of bamboo.
sīra	– 2.20a, 5.37a	– A plough.
Śabara	– 5.56b	– A tribe — see Appendix 2.
Śaka	– 5.56b	– A tribe — see Appendix 2.
Śvapaca	– 5.57b	– A tribe — see Appendix 2.
ṭaṅkā	– 6.52c	– The stone-cutter.
tsaru	– 5.5d, 5.7b, 5.10a, 5.15c, 5.19a	– The grip of any weapon.
triśūla	– 5.28b	– A trident, also called *pināka*.
tāmasa	– 2.25d	– A missile that produces darkness.
tvāṣṭra	– 2.26c	– A mythical weapon of Tvaṣṭā.
tuṇḍanābha	– 2.31b	– A type of *upasaṁhārāstra*.
tomara	– 4.38a	– Tomahawk — a weapon with wooden body and a metal-head.
trividha bala	– 1.52d	– *Mantra, kośa* and *bhṛtya* (counsel, treasury and officials) or the three *śaktis*.
tisraḥ śaktiḥ	– 8.72c, 86cd	– Three powers, namely, *prabhu, utsāha* and *mantra*.
tisraḥ siddhiḥ	– 8.72b, 87b	– Three successes as the outcone of *tisraḥ śaktiḥ*.
taptatailam	– 5.53a	– Hot oil — used in war by deceit.
ugravālukā	– 5.53b	– Hot sand, used as a weapon in *kūṭa-yuddha*.
udarambharitā	– 1.16a	– Filling one's stomach, a vice of Kaliyuga.
ūrjasvalān	– 6.17a	– Strongest men.
varākī	– 6.52a	– Wooden vessels.
viśvakadrū	– 6.53c	– The hounds.
veṇū	– 6.53c	– Bamboo sticks.
vāgurā	– 6.53d	– Traps.

vyasana	– 8.25a	– Twofold calamity of the state: (a) created by man due to faulty planning, and (b) brought by nature.
Vāsava	– 1.23d	– Indra.
vīthī	– 4.27a	– Straight movement of a weapon.
vyavahāra	– 8.22c	– Judicial matter. See *nyāya, nyāya-vyavasthā, vyavahārika, dharamāsana.*
vigraha	– 8.81	– War. One of the six measures of foreign policy.
varāsana	– 1.2b	– Throne, see *bhadrāsana.*
varva	– 6.89b	– A currency.
vāhinī	– 6.91b	– A unit of the army.
vārtikāḥ	– 7.41d	– The carriers of news of the enemies.
vīvadhā	– 7.41d	– Bringing and distribution of grains.
Vaiśampāyana	– 1.3a; 8.100a	– A disciple of Veda Vyāsa and the narrator of *NP* to Janamejaya, being the last exponent of Nitiśāstra.
vyāvahārika	– 1.13b	– Judiciary. See *nyāya-vyavasthā, nyāya, dharmāsana.*
vajra	– 2.2a, 2.40a, 2.52b, 5.1a, 5.1c, 5.6d	– The weapon of Indra. Known since the times of *RV*.
Vṛtrāsura	– 5.2c	– The demon Vṛtra, enemy of Indra.
valgitam	– 2.4a', 5.17c, 5.19b, 5.21b, 5.44c, 5.49a,	– Way of wielding a weapon.
varuṇapāśaka	– 2.23b	– The noose of Varuṇa.
vāyavya	– 2.23b	– The missile of Vāyu.
varṣaṇa	– 2.24d	– The rain-producing missile.
vilāpana	– 2.25b	– The wailing missile.
varuṇa	– 2.34c	– The missile of Varuṇa.
viṣṇucakra	– 2.40a	– A discus of Viṣṇu.
vāhinī	– 6.75c, 7.3b, 7.15a	– The unit of the army.
vaiṇava	– 5.22b, 5.25b,	– Bow made of bamboo.
vyūha	– 6.1a, 6.2d, 6.3c, 6.10c, 6.11c, 6.11d, 6.12c, 6.28d 6.63a, 6.67c, 6.87	– A formation of the army in the battle. A battle array.
vṛtti	– 8.23b	– Livelihood.

yogakṣemam	– 8.24d	– Acquisition of what one does not have (*yoga*) and preservation of the acquired thing (*kṣema*). Goals of the state.
yoga	– 8.13b	– Practising *yoga* for the control of the senses, in order to control the state.
yātrā	– 1.53a	– March of the army.
yāna	– 8.82	– March for attack. See *yātrā*.
yantrāṇi	– 5.52a	– Mechanized weapons.
yaṣṭidharān	– 6.34a	– The superintendents of works.

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of Vaiśampāyana

Editor

Urmi S. Shah

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