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**THE  
PUNJAB SANSKRIT SERIES**

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No I

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1921



\* बार्हस्पत्य सूत्रम् \*

अर्थात्

॥ बार्हस्पत्य अर्थशास्त्रम् ॥  
BRIHASPATI SUTRA

OK

THE SCIENCE OF POLITICS ACCORDING TO THE SCHOOL  
OF BRIHASPATI  
LDITKL) WITH  
AN INTRODUCTION AND ENGLISH TRANSLATION  
BY  
DE F W THOMAS, M A,  
LIBHAKIAN, INDIA OFHCL LIBRARY, LONDON

THE DEVANAGAR1 TEXT

IRIPA KM) FROM

HIS EDIRION(IN ROMAN SCRIPT),

WITH

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS AND INDEXES

BY

PT BHAGAVAD DATTA, B A,

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॥ ओ३म् ॥

विश्वानि देव सवितर्दुरितानि परासुव । यद्गर्द्रं तन्न आसुव ॥

## INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

### 1 ANTIQUITY OF ARYAN POLITY

The Aithishilstias have been in existence in Aiyivaita is a sepuals liteiatmc from very eaily times The supeiiionty of D h a i m a a s over AithslkUtias is lefened to m tlu Simiti astuled to *Yitfnatalkya* m the following shloka -

स्मृतोर्विरोधे न्यायस्तु बलवान्व्यवहारतः ।

अर्थशास्त्रात्तु बलवद्दर्मशास्त्रमिति स्थितिः ॥२।२१॥

The same is said in the *Bharatya Purāna* as quoted in the *Apuṅka* -

स्मृत्यर्थेन विरोधे तु अर्थशास्त्रस्य बाधनम् ॥

*Arundel Smith* also remarks in the same way —

धर्मशास्त्रार्थशास्त्राभ्यामविरोधेन यत्रतः ।

संपश्यमानो निपुण व्यवहारगति नयेत् ॥

यत्र विप्रतिपत्तिः स्याद्दर्मशास्त्रार्थशास्त्रयोः ।

अर्थशास्त्रोक्तमुत्सृज्य धर्मशास्त्रोक्तमाचरेत् ॥१।३७।३६॥

In his well-known Aithashasti i, *KtmUlya* not later than 31d centuiy B V) sa}s that a hteiaturu bcanng this title was extant in his days, and that he compiled histicatise aftei seeing the woiksof his piedecessois. His words aie —

पृथिव्या लाभे पालने च यावन्सर्थशास्त्राणि पूर्वाचार्यैः

प्रस्थापितानि प्रायश्स्तानि संहृत्यैकमिदमर्थशास्त्रं कृतम् ।

Not only Rautilja, but also works anterior to him refer to this history. In *Caianaiyuha* the forty-month *unhishta* of the *Athan xaieda* we read —

तत्र ऋग्वेदस्यार्थशास्त्रमुपवेदः ।

ब्रह्मवेदस्यायुर्वेदोपवेदः ।

अभित्कारकार्यशास्त्रमित्युच्यते ॥ १ ॥

This second view that the Aithashastia is the part of Rigveda is first found in the *Cai anax yfiha* ascribed to *Shaunala*

वेदानामुपवेदाश्चत्वारो भवन्ति ।

अथर्ववेदस्य 'अर्थशास्त्रम्' । ( चतुर्थः खण्डः ) ।

It is clear then that Aithashastia claims a great part in the history of Samskrit literature

BJUHASPATI AND his ALTHABHASIKA

*Pancatantra* ( *textus sumpluio* ) 1. the collection of *AD* *eidmg* to *Di 1* *Ileitel* ) has a *ieicienceto a niti axim* of *Biihaspati*

मुकूलं विष्णुगुप्तस्य मित्राग्निर्भागवस्य च ।

बृहस्पतेरविश्वासो नीतिसन्धिस्त्रिधा स्थितः ॥२॥४१॥

Bhoja in his *Yulihatyatai u* (11th century AD) *hile refeimg* to the *niti liteiature* says —

Compare with this the teaching of Mahabharata -

विश्वासयेत्पराश्चैव निश्चसेच्च न कस्यचित् ।

पुत्रेष्वपि हि राजेन्द्र विश्वासो न प्रशस्यते ॥

अविश्वासो नरेन्द्राणां गुह्य परममुच्यते ॥महा०शा०८५॥३३॥४॥

नीतिबृहस्पतिप्रोक्ता तथैवौशनसीपरा ।

उभयोरभिरुद्वात्र निरूप्या नीतिरुत्तमा ॥ १,२

Ashvaghoshi in his *Baaha* (*Junta* (about First century A D) his remark about Buhaspiti —

यद्राजशास्त्रं भृगुराङ्गिरा वा न चरुर्भुशकराट्टपी तौ ।

तयोः मुतौ तौ च ससर्जतुस्नात् । तलेन शुक्रश्च बृहस्पतिश्च ॥ १४६ ॥

The well-known *lunhasuU as* of Vatsayana not only refer to Buhaspiti as the compiler of an Aithashastya but state that he lived about the beginning of the Christian era. The whole account runs thus —

प्रजापतिर्हि प्रजाः सृष्ट्वा तासां स्थितिनिबन्धनं त्रिवर्गस्य  
साधनमध्यायानां शतसहस्रेणाग्रे प्रोवाच ॥५॥

तस्यैकदेशिकं मनुः स्यात्तु धर्माधिकारिकं पृथक्चकार ॥६॥

बृहस्पतिरर्थानधिकारिकम् ॥ ७ ॥

Bhasa also refers to a Bahaspitya Aithashastya in his *Pratimda Natata* —

रावणः—“ काश्यपगोत्रोऽस्मि साङ्गोपाङ्ग वेदमधीये, मानवीय  
धर्मशास्त्रं, माहेश्वरं योगशास्त्रं, वार्हस्पत्यमर्थशास्त्रं, मेधातिथेर्न्याय-  
शास्त्रं, प्राचेतस श्राद्धकल्पं च ।” प्रतिमा नाटक p, 79

The Mahabhaiata has the following to say on this point —

नीति बृहस्पतिप्रोक्ता भ्रातृन्मेऽग्राहयत्पुरा । वन० ३२।६१॥

So we know that the Bahaspitya Shastya is of great antiquity in the history of Aryan literature.

### III THE ORIGINAL WORK OF BRIHASPATI

The question now arises, as to whether the original work of Buhaspiti was composed in verse or

or in the mixed style,, No doubt some stitia literature along with *gkthk* and othei works, was extant even before the time of the compilation of the IMhmanas because the Shatapithi BtAhmana (**सुत्रायनुद्याख्यानामि का० १४ अ० ७ ब्रा० ३ क० ११**) alludes to it, but it is not sure whether it had come into vogue at times as caily as those of Swayamhhava Manu and Buhaspati, the preceptor of India

#### IV MANAVA DHARMA HASTBA

Scholars like Max Mullei and Buhler held that the DharmasMstra of Manu was originally a com} osition m the mixed style of stitrasand bhlokas Buhlei tned his best to put forward this thcoiy with Mich proofjs as he could gather One of his stiongcest poofs w, " a passage **मातर्ध सुत्रमुदाहरन्ति** which he found in tha Dhaim ashastia Now it is sme that theongmal work of Manu- had passed thioughthe hand? of several editois, s for example Bhrigu,Narada etc ,when it reched the compiler of VasDh and that a caina of the Krihna Yajui Veda namely the Manava had also come into exibitnee It is, ther forer, quite clear that a school of the Manavas lad come into existence even befoie the Sid cntuiy B C The Arthashdstra of Kautilja lefeis to a certain authoi of this very school The views of the Manavas represented in thisAithashdstra diffti widely fiom the Smntiof Manu. It is, theiefoie, evident that the school coppsted of authors who differed greatly It was this great difference which troubled Buhler very much when he could find no leasonas to why the teachings of the Sm- ti diffeied from the Manava grihya Stitia The whole of sutia literature of the MUnava school came into existence after the Manava caraahad been established, and fcenee

we can safely conclude that the original Smṛiti of Manu was purely in verse

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

Ajuna Dharmaśāstra (c. 4th century BC) has two verses which are only a Pāṇini version with some change of words of the text of Manu Smṛiti

अभिवादनशीलस्य नित्यवृद्धो-  
पसेविन । चत्वारि तस्य वर्धन्त  
आयुर्विद्या यशोवत्स्र ॥११२२॥  
न तेन वृद्धो भवति येनास्य  
पलित शिर । यो वै युवाप्यधीयान-  
स्त देवा स्यविर विदु ॥११५६॥

अभिव दनशीलस्त नित्य वद्धाप-  
चायिनो । चत्वारो धम्मा उद्धमि  
आयु वगणो सुख वल ॥११२२॥  
न तेन घेरो ह्योति येनऽपस्त  
फलितं शिर । परिपको वयो तस्त  
मोघजिगणोति वृषति ॥११५६॥

Kautilya Aithasīastī also as referred to on pages 101-03 and 190 of his "Lectures on the Ancient History of India" by Shri R Bhandarkar has two verses of Manu Smṛiti with slight changes only

नास्य छिद्रं परो विद्याद्विद्या-  
च्छिद्रं परस्य तु । गृहेत्कूर्मं इवाङ्गानि  
रक्षेद्विवरमात्मन ॥७११०५॥

नास्य गुह्यं परे विद्युद्विद्यु-  
विद्यात्परस्य च । गृहेत्कूर्मं इवाङ्गानि  
यत्स्याद्विवृतमात्मन ॥ कौ० पृ० २६

\* Read here the note of MAX Muller on page 33 of Vol, X Part of SBE

सब्रसरेण पतति पतितेन सहा-  
चरन् । या जनाध्यापनसौनाम्न तु  
यानासनाशनात् ॥११॥१८०#॥

सब्रसरेण पतति पतितेन समा-  
चरन् । या जनाध्यापनासीमासैद्या-  
न्योऽपि समाचरन् ॥ कौ०पृ०२१-६†

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

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

\* Vasishth: 1 22 , Baudhnyana II 1 85 and Vishnu

† My friend Padit Nanak Chandra B A informs me that Maskn and Haradatta on Gautama Dharmasutra have got the first half of this verse on the name of Kanva They both give समाचरन् in place of सहाचरन्, Haradatta at the same time quotes the full verso from Manu also with the words इति मानवम् There also the first half of the verse has समाचरन् and the second half has exactly the same words as in the present day Manu,

श्रूयते मनुना गीतो श्लोको चारित्र वत्सलो ।  
गृहीतौ धर्मकुशलैस्तथा चारितं हरे ॥ ३१ ॥  
राजभिर्घृतदण्डास्तु कृत्वा पापानि मानवाः ।  
निर्मलाः स्वर्गमायान्ति सन्तः सुकृतिनो यथा ॥ ३२ ॥  
ज्ञासनाद्वा विमोक्षाद्वा स्तेनः स्तेयाद्रिमुच्यते ।  
राजा त्वशासन्य स्य तद्वामोति किल्बिषम ॥ ३३ ॥

The verse 32nd is Manusmṛiti VIII 38, and  
verse 33rd is Manu VIII 316

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

#### V THE SMRITI OF BRIHASPATI

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

1 I hope to discuss this subject in detail at some later  
date.

2 After the above notes were written I read in the  
Madras that Pandit Jaideva Vidyānākar of the Gurukul  
Knānāpur is busy with this work and will shortly bring out  
this useful collection.

## VI KAUTILYA AND BRIHASPATI.

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

## VII THE BARHASPATYA SUTRAM AND ITS DATE

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

• Pandit J. R. Deva in the Vedic Magazine already referred to says that the work is posterior to Kalidasa, for the reason that in his Meghaduta Kalidasa refers to Kankhal alone, while Hardwar or Grnrdra which is a Sharva tirtha of a recent origin is not at all mentioned by him. This Gangadvara is mentioned in Bahaspatya sutra III. 122. Hence the work is anterior to the recognition of Hardwar as a sacred place.

## VIII A BARHASPATYA SAMHITA,

There is another treatise connected with the name of Buhaspatu. It is the Barhaspatya Samhita. We find it often quoted in the **गजबद्धय प्रकरण** of **लेख्यप्रकाश** of **धीरमित्रादय**. It is in the form of a dialogue between Nahusha and Bnhasptr. The work is in the mixed style of prose and verse. This Samhita also, as is apparent from the numerous quotations in the above mentioned work, bears no connection with the present su. ras.

## IX WAS BRIHASPAH A CARVAKA ?

No doubt, there was a great atheistic logician Bnhaspiti by name but was he the writer on polity? Soundva Sun (10th century A. D.) says in his **Yashastilaka बुधस्पतिनीतय ईश्वदेवमातृका** 13 (Nir-nayasigar 1901) and his commentator Shrutasagar Sun says **बुधस्पतिनीतय इव । यथा बुधस्पतिनीतयश्चाथर्वकशास्त्राणि देव सर्वज्ञादिशेषेण न मन्यन्ते ।** So, according to the commentator the Nitikara Buhaspati was the renowned Caivaka. However, all the previous quotations go against this new Buhaspati the poet, being connected with Manu and others of the theistic school, was certainly a theistic Sotradeva and his commentator confuse the two Bnhaspatis.

There have been thus three eminent persons at least known by the name Buhaspati in the literary history of Bharata. The first and the most well-known was Buhaspati, the writer on polity, secondly Buhaspati, the Garvaka logician, and thirdly the person who wrote the samhita.

## X PARALLFL PASSAGES

- (१) आत्मवान् राजा १।१ | आत्मवान् नृप । कामन्दकी  
नीतिसार २।३६
- (२) काष्ठीकामिधान पाषण्डी २।१३ | पाषण्डी । नीतिवाक्यामृत पृ० ८२  
On this the commentary says  
काष्ठीकादि पाषण्डिनम् ।  
अर्थेनार्थोपाजनम् । नी० वा० अमृत  
पृ० ११६
- (३) अर्थमर्थेन २।४६
- (४) गुरुवचनमलङ्कनीयम् २।७३ | गुरुवचनमनुलङ्कनीयम् । नी० वा०  
अमृत पृ० ४४
- (५) अष्टादशतीर्थानि निरूपयेत् ३।२२ | “सेनापतिर्गणको राजश्रेष्ठी  
दण्डाधिपो मन्त्री महत्तरो बल-  
वत्तरश्चत्वारो वशाश्च तुरङ्गबल  
पुरोहितोऽमात्यो महामाहात्यश्चे-  
त्यष्टादश राज्ञां तीर्था भवन्ति ।”  
quoted by श्रुतसागरसूरि  
on p 91 of यशस्तिखक  
Nnnayasagar edition
- ( ६) ब्रह्मो मुहूर्ते उत्थानम् । धर्म-  
मर्धञ्च चिन्तयेत् २।४।१। | A common saying of the  
Dhaimashastras Cf Manu  
IV 92
- (७) गजोऽगजेनेव ६।६ | गजेन गजवन्धनमिव । नी० वा०  
अमृत पृ० ११६
- ( ८) धनमूला जगत् ६।१० | “धनमार्जय काकुत्स्थ धन  
मूलामिदं जगत्” ।  
quoted by Ramchandia  
Budhendra on नीतिशतक 31  
(Niraayasagar edition 1917)

These sutras of Brihaspati were originally published in LE MUSEON Troisieme Sene—Tome 1 No 2, 16 Mars 1916. The text printed there, was in the Raman script. To this, Dr F W Thomas had attached his valuable introduction and translation. By the kind permission of the publishers—The University Press Cambridge—of that journal, through Professor Balkrishna M A, the editor of the Vedic Magazine, was able to publish this material in his journal for the month of October 1920. The devanagari text of the sutras printed in the Vedic Magazine was prepared by me. During its preparation I was thinking if the text with the introduction and translation of Dr F W Thomas could be preserved in a book form. Even Professor Balkrishna desired the same. This became soon practicable, when the publishers of the present edition undertook this task.

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

DAYANANDA ANGLO VEDIC }  
 COLLEGE, LAHORE } BHAGAVAD DATTA  
 Dacca, 1920 }

been favoured with a perusal of proof-sheets I was able to draw attention (J R A S pp 440-71) to the extreme importance of the work. In 1911-12 Professor Jacobson in two very valuable papers (*Kultur-Sprache und Lite*) *at*ur historisches aus dem Kautiliya and *Ubm die Echtheit des Kautiliya* in the Beilm Academy *Sitzungsberichte*, 1911, pp 954-973, 1912, pp 832-849) discussed the bearings of the work upon the Indian literary and linguistic history and argued forcibly for its authenticity. We have also to take note of interesting discussions of the work by Prof Jolly, *Lexikalisches aus dem Arthashastra* (*Indogermantische Forschungen*, xxxi, pp 204-10.), *Kollektaneen zum Kautiliya Arthashastra* (*Z D M G*, 1914, pp. 345-359.), Dr Johannes Hertel, *Literarische aus dem Kautiliyashashtra* (*Vienna Oriental Journal*, xxiv, pp 416-422.), and Dr Jarl vanCharpentier, *En Indus handboch i statsla a fran 300 f kr (No) diskidskr ift*, 1913, pp 353-369), Narendia Nath Law, *Studies in Ancient Hindu Polity (Based on the Arthashastra of Kautiliya)* (vol i London, etc, 1914) and a partial commentary compiled by Dr I Sorabji, as a pupil of Prof Jolly, and published at Allahabad in 1914. A revised translation by Pandit Shama Shastri is now passing through the press. The information contained in the *Arthashastra* is still far from exhausted, and the interest in it may be expected continually to increase.

As Prof Jacobson has mentioned, Canakya frequently quotes his predecessors, both schools and individuals, the style often assuming almost the form of a discussion, and it is clear that in (say) the fifth and fourth

centuries B C the subject of royal policy was a recognized topic. The schools are the Manavas, Barhaspatyas, Aushanastas, Ambhtyas (no doubt, of Taxila) and Parasharas, and the individuals Bharadvaja, Vishalaksha, Pishuna, Kaunpadanta, Vatavyadhi and Bahudantf-putra. It is, therefore, of interest to find that in the account of the science occurring in the Mahabharata (cited by Prof Jacobi, 1911, p 973)\* some of these names occur. There we are told that the founder of the science was Brahamma himself, whose work was abridged by Shiva in a treatise entitled *Vaishalaksha*, and then further abridged in succession by Indra, who compiled the *Bahudantaka*, Barhaspati the *Bar haspatya*, and Kavi (Ushanas), the (Aushanasa) treatise of which the last-mentioned is named along with those of Manu, Indra, Bharadvija, and Gamashiras in another passage of the same book (c 58, 2-3), also in 1 98, 36 and elsewhere in the literature (e.g. *śukra auskanasa* in the *Jdnakihamna*, x 26).

† एतत्ते राजधर्माणां नवनीतं युधिष्ठिर ।

बृहस्पतिर्हि भगवान्नायं धर्मं प्रशंसति ॥ १ ॥

विशालाक्षश्च भगवान्काव्यश्चैव महातपाः ।

सहस्राक्षो महेन्द्रश्च तथा प्राचेतसो मनुः ॥ २ ॥

भरद्वाजश्च भगवोस्तथा गौरश्विरा मुनिः ।

राजज्ञानं प्रसेतारो ब्राह्मणा ब्रह्मवादिनः ॥ ३ ॥ श्र० अ० ५७

\* Also cited by Dr G Oppert in his *Weapons, At my Organisation And Political Mamma of the Ancient Hindus*, 1880, p 85 B Datta.

have introduced here the original shlohas for the benefit of the reader B Datta,

तानुवाच सुरान्सर्वान्स्वयंभूर्भगवोस्ततः ।

श्रेयोऽहं चिन्तयिष्यामि व्यतुवोभीः सुरोत्तमाः ॥ २८ ॥

ततोऽध्यायसहस्राणां शतं चक्रे स्वबुद्धिजम् ।

यत्र धर्मस्तथैवार्थः कामश्चैवानुवर्णितः ॥ २९ ॥

संचित्तेषु ततः शास्त्रं महास्त्रं ब्रह्मणा कृतम् ॥ ३० ॥

वैशालाक्षमितिं प्रोक्तं तदिन्द्रः प्रत्यपद्यत ।

दक्षाध्यायसहस्राणि सुब्रह्मण्यो महातपाः ॥ ३० ॥

मघवानपि तच्छास्त्रं देवात्प्राप्य महेश्वरात् ।

प्रजानां हितमन्विच्छन्संचित्तेषु पुरंदरः ॥ ३१ ॥

सहस्रैः पञ्चभिस्तात यदुक्तं बाहुदन्तकम् ।

अध्यायानां सहस्रैस्तु त्रिभिरेव बृहस्पतिः ।

संचित्तेषु श्वरो बुद्ध्या बार्हस्पत्यं यदुच्यते ॥ ३२ ॥

अध्यायानां सहस्रेण काव्यः संक्षेपमब्रवीत् ।

तच्छास्त्रमितमज्ञो योगाचार्यो महायज्ञाः ॥ ३३ ॥ शा० अ० ५८

To complete this brief sketch we should mention the *Shuhi aniti*, no very early work, which has several times (by Oppelt at Madras in 1882, by Jiv kianda Vidyasagara at Calcutta, 1892 etc etc) been edited in India and is now accessible in translation (by Prof Benoy Kumari Sankar in *Saved Hooks of the Hindu* Allahabad, 1914)

The *Agni-purana* has also a section devoted to the subject, which is, further, fully represented in the *Manava Dharma-sastra*, as well as in the *Mahabharata*. We need not mention the later and minor treatises in Sanskrit literature.

The Niti literature of Buina is of a different character. In the Tibetan, however, where we find also quasi-independent works on government, there are translations of Sanskrit texts in verse ascribed (1) to Masuraksha and (2) to Nagaruaa. The Javanese has, besides a professed translation of the *Kamcmdaki Nttisdra a*, also some minor tracts, perhaps representing the late moral anthology which bears the name of Canakya.

If the short text which is here edited were representative of the ancient *Bar haspatya* doctrine, it would have a considerable interest. Unfortunately, this is far from being the case. It professes, indeed, like the *linhaspati Smnti*, to be dictated to India by his Puiohita. But what follows is a brief and strangely disjointed exposition of the subject. Its date, as it stands, seems from an apparent mention of the Yadvas of Devagni to be brought down at least to the twelfth century A. D. It refers, in passages which, however, may be suspected of interpolation (see notes to II 8-35, III 8-16, 33-7, 119-33), to the sects of the Shaivas, Vaisnavas, and Shaktas and names their sacred domains (*kshetras*) some of which may not be ancient. It does not seem to contain the matter indicated by the citations in the *Arthashastra* of Kautilya (pp. 6, 29, 63, 177, 102 of the edition). It displays some grammatical peculiarities, e.g. neuters for masculines (which may sometimes be explained as accusatives obscured by the elliptical *sutra* style and vice versa), accusative after *vi-shvas* (which, however, occurs elsewhere), and even the forms *samgrahat* (which should perhaps be *samgrahayet*, as the correct *samgrahatyat* occurs several times) and *dayat*

(old subjunctive of *dir*, see Lexx ) Finally, it presents some confusions (eg I 36,11 34,V 17), probably due to the MSS, and one strange word *kusumdnta*, which, though it can hardly be for MusalmAn, might conceivably be a roundabout expression for Palla\ā (or *pallava=vita*)

It is not, however, the case that nothing can be said on the other side Apart from the suspected interpolations, the tone and style, and even the disjointed and miscellaneous character of the work, produce a sense of antiquity • it is hard to conceive of such a treatise being deliberately compiled by persons acquainted with the *Nitisara* of Kamandakt and the *Shukr aniti* Some of the expressions, e g *atibhedayet* (i 52), *alarnhdi ayet* (iv 10), are in the old *Ai thashdtra* style, as are the proverbial expressions (e g I 29, 100, ii 11, v 13, iv 12) The name *Tishya*, as applied to the fourth, or Kali, age, recurs in the *Mahdbhar ata* and *Hantamsha* A connection with the Bihhaspatyas may be seen in the restriction of the royal sciences to one, namely *dandaniti* (Arthashastra,p 6), although they add *var tta* (which again is represented in our text by *fa ishtgor ahshabdmjydni*, II 4, of Arthashastra, p 8, *fa ishipashupalye banijya ca vartta*,). The importance attached to the Lokayta and Bauddha doctrines also points to the same direction The term *Kapahka*, as applied to adherents of the *Kdmashdstra*, requires explanation, but some Shaiva sects e.g the Pashupatas encourage erotic ideas

Upon the whole we should perhaps not be mistaken in maintaining that the text *does*, though rather remotely, derive from the ancient *Barhaspatya* system We might compare it with such treatises as the existent *Vedhngas*

or with the *Athatvaveda Panrishihtas*, which contain undoubtedly ancient matter along with strange lexicographical and grammatical features (eg *homayet* and even *namaskar et*, see the edition by Negelem and Boiling, Leipzig 1909-10, index) They belong to the backwaters of priestly studies pitseived in Southern India, when the general interest was transfened to such subjects as Nyaya, Vedanta, law, and grammar

A Ms of the work seems to be recoi ded as in private possession In South India (see Oppert's 'List,' vol 1 No 4642)\* This Ms has not been procuiable, but by the kindness of Prof Raligacnarya, late Cuiator of the Government Onental MSS Library in Madras, I have been favouied with a Devanagari copy of another MS, which is undei his charge Upon this (M) I have based the text, recording the slight vanants of the Royal Asiatic Society's Whish MS (W—noted in Winternitz's catalogue under No 160(3), p 219) Both originals are in Grantha chaiacter, and they denve not remotely from a common source<sup>1</sup> The punctuation follows almost invariably the Madias copy the numbering of the *Suit as* has been added

As the treatise is definitely a *Sutra*, a commentary must have been designed Does a copy exist, perhaps under Oppert's i No 6061 *Bdrhaspatya-suti a-tika* (no longer traceable) ? It might contain something

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

1 Whether this common source was the actual Madras MS.

interesting, more especially as it is not quite clear that the text in its six *adhyayas* is complete<sup>2</sup>

I hope shortly to be in possession of a *Niti-sutra* ascribed to Canakya. \*

or not, I am unable to determine it with the Grantha character is proved by the confusions between *e* and *At* (v 15), *au* and *n* (read as *n* III 118, IV 38, v 22), *m* and *A* (I 5, II 8, 18, III 76, 81, 92, v 11), *ka* and *tt* (in 122), *g* and *bh* (III 67), *c* and *v* (HI 26-7), and *p* (II 39), *ne* and *v* (II 73, III 23, 87, 102;), *j* and *bh* (II 33), *ndr* and *nd* (in 41), *nd* and *ndh* (II 43), *t* and *m* (v 26), *n* and *r* (I 7, nu and *nizt* I 54), *p* and *v* (v 27), *lr* and *li* (II 9) *vra* and *vir* (v 26).

2 We may here enumerate the chief peculiarities above referred to. Some of them may be due to the archaic *Sutra* style, while some may be due to the peculiarities in *a* may be conjectured to be MS errors, final *n* (Grantha, etc) having been read as *as*. Also double gender in such nouns is common.

(a) neuter for masc

*abhtprayam* (v 9), *artfom* (vi 9), *roctant* (III 57), *itptytM* (iv 43), *kaaham* (iv 36), *kan m l* (II 47), *devil yans* (HI 56), *dharrnam* (II 46), *pfatikirom* (iv 50), *manfratit* (III 8, elsewhere masc different sense?), *molsktm* (II 48); *lobham* (I 22), *vidhim* (iv 49), *shibdam* (iv 33, known elsewhere), *svaram* (iv 17), *vishrya* (III 113?)

(b) compounds with *adi* in various genders, having no obvious concord I 12, 57, 64, 65, 106, II 16, 19, III 15

(c) masc for neuter

*atishadhsh* (III 139), *fohets h* (III 119-122, also neat), *phal h* (III 78), see also III 9

(d) *arj*-for *arj* II 7, 9, 13

(e) *suparihstya* (v 15) and *dnyat* (m 49, 47) aroarch<sup>h</sup>;

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

\* This has now been printed as an appendix to the second edition of Kautilya Arthashastra by Pt Shama Rbasta,

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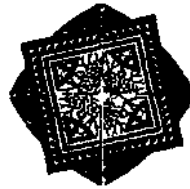
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# शतपथ ब्राह्मणम्

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# अथ बार्हस्पत्यसूत्रम् ।

[ प्रथमोऽध्यायः । ]

बृहस्पतिरथाचार्य इन्द्राय नीतिसर्वस्वमुपदिशति ।

आत्मवान् राजा ॥१॥

आत्मवन्तं मन्त्रिणमापादयेत् ॥२॥

दण्डनीतिरेव विद्या ॥३॥

धर्ममपि लोकत्रिभुङ्गं न कुर्यात् ॥४॥

करोति चेदाशास्येनं बुद्धिमद्भिः ॥५॥

समानैः सेव्यः ॥६॥

स्त्रीबालवृद्धैः सह न वदेद्दर्मनीतिकृत्यानि ॥७॥

ऐन्द्रजालिकं न कुर्यात् ॥८॥

मन्त्रवादोत्सवौ च ॥९॥

ग्रामयविषध्वंसनानि च ॥१०॥

न भस्मधारणम् ॥११॥

f W अशास्येनः। 2 W २। 3. W ०जादिकं। 4 M Erases 11 and inserts it after 12.

आग्निहोत्रवेदपाठादीनि च ॥१२॥

न तीर्थयात्रा ॥१३॥

न राजसेवा च ॥१४॥

न स्त्रीसेवा च ॥१५॥

न म[१.स्व]र्ग्यं पिबेत् ॥१६॥

आत्म्यां न हन्यात् ॥१७॥

नेयं न कुर्यात् ॥१८॥

हु न च स्रगनुलेपौ ॥१९॥

। विषीदेत् ॥२०॥

न चातिकुप्येत् ॥२१॥

अविषये लोभमदानसंज्ञम् ॥२२॥

केदारे बीजानि आपयेत् ॥२३॥

दानं कर्त्तव्यम् ॥२४॥

तदसाहज्याता लोभः ॥२५॥

स्तोयं लोभश्च ॥२६॥

स्वद्रव्यव्ययहेतुः कामः ॥२७॥

गुरुर्वेदमाङ्गनृपादिर्हिसाबुद्धिः क्रोधः ॥२८॥

स्वाक्षिरस्ताडनं च ॥२९॥

5. W ०र्त्त । 6 W ०हेवा । 7 Sic; perhaps a (चर्त्तवेत्) is understood.

बलादिषु च समं शत्रुं युद्धेन हन्वात् ॥३०॥

अन्याभियोर्धी सामानभेदमाद्योपेक्षादिभिः ॥३१॥

मज्जरेः न कुर्यात् ॥३२॥

युगयादिसङ्गं च नाचरेत् ॥३३॥

स्त्रीष्वतिसङ्गादयशो च [ २क ] धिते ॥३४॥

आयुधं क्षीयते ॥३५॥

सूतपरतापपरापवादपातकिसमागमे समन्त्रादानि परस्मिन्ना-  
णि विद्याव्यसनपरिहास्येन ॥३६॥

श्रीशोधोपयोगरिणमूत्रविसर्जनकस्नानदन्तधावनमैथुनोपभोग-  
दैवतपूजापि रहस्येन ॥३७॥

दृथा धर्मध्वजिनं न विश्वसेत् ॥३८॥

निन्देन्न च ॥३९॥

उन्मत्तजडादीन् दृष्ट्वा न हसेत् ॥४०॥

तुल्यशीलवयोभिः क्रीडितव्यं रहस्यं ॥४१॥

गजाश्वक्रीडं व्यक्तं न द्विमूर्तम् ॥४२॥

दृष्येन्न च स्वजातिजीवत्सु ॥४३॥

8 Sic M, W [ ०द्योगं ]. Read ०योधिः । 9 W सामानभेद । 10 W मज्जरे । 11 W -गतेमत्त- the reading and sense are doubtful. 12. W परिः । 13. W श्रीशोधोपयोगः । 14. W स्नान । 15 For accusative after वि-ञ् see Lexica and comp. V, 19 infra . 16. W ०जाश्वक्रीडं । 17 M includit रहस्ये in the next *sūtra*. 18. W ०श्व-रासक्रीडे । 19. M ०द्ये ।

अर्थेनानुरोधेणाभिजन्मनौदार्येण पूर्वैर्भ[२स्व]विष्यैरधिकत्व  
इच्छा कर्त्तव्या ॥४४॥ ---

पूर्वाचरितं धर्ममनुजीविसख्यममात्यज्ञातिसुहृद्दानध्वजान् समं  
पश्येत् ॥४५॥

बहिरन्तर्दण्डदानाधनुजीविषु ॥४६॥

सामभेददानानि मन्त्रिषु ॥४७॥

सामभेददानार्थमायपिरादानि ज्ञातिषु ॥४८॥

अभियमपि वचनं शृणुयात् ॥४९॥

दुर्दिनप्रह्वैषम्यभिजन्मनक्षत्रे गुरुकार्यमाप्तौ न च मङ्गलानि  
सेवेत् ॥५०॥

एकदेशैकरूपिणीमभिजातां स्त्रियं गमयेत् ॥५१॥

अतिभेदयेन्नातिसामं नातिदानं न च स्त्रीषु दण्डो न च  
माथोपेक्षा कर्त्तव्या ॥५२॥

तासु न बहु वदेत् ॥५३॥

शामया[३क]चकस्तुतमागधवन्दिनटनर्तक्युपाध्यायासत्यवाद-  
बहुविटवशिजगोपालवेश्याकुनृपेज्वनृताडम्बरं वक्तव्यः ॥५४॥

संन्यासं नृपवेश्यामन्त्रवादोपजीविषु चिरं न सेवेत् ॥५५॥

20. मेदनामा० । 21. M W कार्थे प्र० । 22. W अयम्.  
M अद्य-य० । 23. M सामयो० । 24. M W insert न । 25. Read.  
सुत for स्तुत । W अर्त्तस्यु० । 26. M अर्त्तु०, W अर्त्तु० । 27. W  
अर्त्तु० । 28. M अर्त्तु० । 29. M संन्यास ।

आत्ममसु सेवेन ॥५६॥

आयस्यादीनति न ॥५७॥

स्त्रीधृतपानसक्ताश्च सेवयेत् ॥५८॥

पञ्च नाडिका इष्टदेवताजपादि पञ्चनाडिकाशामतीक्षायासास्थानम् ॥५९॥

दश नाडिका विधिः पञ्च नाडिकाः स्नानम् ॥६०॥

त्रिनाडिका भोजनम् ॥६१॥

पञ्चनाडिका हास्यक्रीडा स्निग्धैः ॥६२॥

द्विनाडिका सन्ध्या ॥६३॥

सप्त नाडिका नृत्तादयः ॥६४॥

सप्त नाडिका मैथुन[स्व]भोजनादयः ॥६५॥

सप्त नाडिका सृष्टिः ॥६६॥

स्वनियमं कुर्यादप्रमादेन ॥६७॥

अश्वनियामक इव ॥६८॥

शिरःकम्पनास्थानेन स्वागतेन शिष्टताम्बूलदानेन ब्राह्मणोत्तमान् ॥६९॥

दुर्ब्राह्मणं शिरःकम्पनेन न सोपावनमपि ॥७०॥

30, M here inserts नाडिकाः । 31 W सम्पत् ३३. 32 (not वि०) । 33. W दुर्ब्रा० । 34. W कम्पन, M कम्पनेन, वापि सोपावनमपि in the next sutra ।

वादिस्पत्यसूत्रम् ।

समानशु<sup>३५</sup> विश्वेश्वरं वा स्वागतेनासनेन शिरःदण्डेन ताम्बूल-

दानेन हास्यकथया च ॥७१॥

स्मितेन स्वागतेना<sup>३६</sup>स्या<sup>३७</sup>क्षत्रशिकान् ॥७२॥

ईक्ष्णुस्मितेन स्वागतेन शूद्राश्च ॥७३॥

अभीष्टद्रव्यदानेन ब्राह्मणैश्चादीन् ॥७४॥

अन्त्यपाषण्डादीन् वाह्मात्रेणापि न ॥७५॥

कार्यगुरु<sup>३८</sup>[४क]तयाऽनुगच्छेत् ॥७६॥

अल्पं वदेष्व योगं दद्यात् ॥७७॥

वर्षिकापरिग्रहं न कुर्याद्ब्रह्मस्य<sup>३९</sup> ॥७८॥

कर्मकारान्भति योगीनाधि<sup>४०</sup>कार्यमाविचारयेत् ॥७९॥

स्निग्धैः सह समानं वर्येन्मन्त्रित्वे ॥८०॥

अन्त्यजं त्वनन्त्यजातिनम् ॥८१॥

अन्त्यजानां स्वार्थानिषेदकत्वमाज्ञाकर्त्वं च ॥८२॥

तस्मात्तिसालयेत् ॥८३॥

न विश्वसेष ॥८४॥

सर्वं ज्ञात्वा न कुर्यात् ॥८५॥

35 W विद्येऽ । 36 Text corrupt, reading doubtful.  
37. M नम् । 38. W ब्राह्मणैश्चादीन् । 39-39. M includes in the  
next *sūtra*. 40 W कार्यगुरु । 41 M षडया । 42 W स्निग्धैः ।  
43. M W includes रहस्ये in the next *sūtra* 44. Sic ( for  
लोमिष अपि ? ) । 45. W सर्वं । 46. W अन्त्यजः । 47. अन्त्यजः ।

धर्मशुक्तिः घृहयात्राशुक्तिः<sup>४८</sup> कार्यशुक्तिः वेरशुक्तिः यज्ञोभङ्गे सत्यमपि  
नेति वदेत् ॥८६॥

चिकित्सकज्योतिः<sup>४९</sup> [४स्व]षमन्त्रवादिनः संग्रहेत्<sup>५०</sup> दृष्टश्रीलसम्प-  
कान् । ८७॥

सत्यमपि दुःस्वानर्थसाधनमपि न वदेत् ॥८८॥

पञ्चविंशतिवर्षं यावत् क्रीडाविद्यां व्यसनात् कुर्यात् । ८९॥

अत उत्तरमर्थर्जनम् ॥९०॥

आत्मनमनृणी कुर्यात्<sup>५१</sup> ॥९१॥

शृणुवाञ्जायते त्रिभिः कामक्रोधलोभैः<sup>५२</sup> ॥९२॥

शरीरं सर्वदा रक्षेत् ॥९३॥

नित्यकर्म न त्यजेत् ॥९४॥

जनघोषे सति सुद्रकर्म न कुर्यात्<sup>५५</sup> ॥९५॥

नेष्टे न स्थातव्यम् ॥९६॥

दूरपरिहरणीयं गुरुतरमपि तद्राज्यकार्यम्<sup>५६</sup> । ९७॥

कुमुमान्तान् दण्डनायकाजवाप्त सेवेत ॥९८॥

[५क]अल्पदानिः सोढव्या ॥९९॥

48. W ०यात्रा० । 49. W चिकित्साज्यो० । 50. Sic ( for संशुद्धीयात् ) । 51. Sic (omut अति ?) 52. W आत्मनमनात्मनः० । 53. M श्रेष्ठं वा जा० । 54. M W ०क्ष.मे। 55. W omits वः) 56. W पञ्चवा० ।

वर्षा<sup>५८</sup> मातङ्गचोरव्यालसर्पेन्याघ्रकुलं विपिवे<sup>५९</sup> श्मशाने<sup>६०</sup> वसति

तस्मात्परमनागसां ज्ञातिवैरं न कर्तव्यम् ॥१००॥

एकामिषश्चानवत्<sup>६०</sup> राज्योपप्लवे<sup>६१</sup> तद्राज्यक्षेत्रम् ॥१०१॥

नीतिः किल नदीतीरतरुवत् ॥१०२॥

तभेहितव्यम् ॥१०३॥

भूतद्रोहिणः कुसुमान्तादयः ॥१०४॥

यशोवीर्यायुःश्रीरतिकसामन्तसेवा<sup>६२</sup> ॥१०५॥

कामक्रोधमदमात्सर्षपैशुन्यादीन् कार्येव ॥१०६॥

अरिः<sup>६३</sup> शुभशीलो<sup>६४</sup> मित्रम् ॥१०७॥

सुहृत्सु शुभशीलः<sup>६५</sup> शत्रुः ॥१०८॥

चन्द्रादित्ययोरेकरुचित्वाञ्च<sup>६६</sup> [ ५२ ] ऋशुत्वम् ॥१०९॥

यादि चेन्न स्थितिलयोः ॥११०॥

ज्ञातिषु यत्र वैरं तत्कुलद्वयमामूलं नश्यति ॥१११॥

यः क्षात्रं दण्डनीतिं परित्यजत्यनर्थकः शलभा इव वह्निं

मविशत्यज्ञानात्, इत्याह भगवानाचार्यः सुरेन्द्रगुरुः ॥११२॥

इति बार्हस्पत्यसूत्रे प्रथमोऽध्यायः ॥

57 W मातङ्गचोरव्यालसर्पेन्याघ्रकुलं । 58 MW कुले । 59 W श्मशाने । 60 See (see note to trans.) 61. M राज्यं च । 62. M श्रीरतिकसामन्तं, W श्रीरति कुसमान्तं. Read श्रियोहृति ऋशुत्वम्. 63. M W अरिः । 64 MW शुभं शील । 65 ०शील । 66 M omits इव ।

## [ द्वितीयोऽध्यायः । ]

गुणवतो राज्यम् ॥१॥

विद्यागुणोऽर्थगुणः सहायगुणाश्च ॥२॥

स्वकुलरञ्जन च चारित्ररक्षणम् ॥३॥

कृषिगौरक्षबाणिज्यानि ॥४॥

सर्वथा लौकायतिकमेव शास्त्रमर्थसाधनकाले ॥५॥

कापालिकमेव कामसाधने ॥६॥

आर्हतं धर्मं ॥७॥

[६क] लौकायतिकमसेनार्थं त्त्रिंशं नश्यति तत् ॥८॥

कापालिकार्हतशौद्धाश्च ॥९॥

एतेषु तिष्ठन् शलभवद्भिवत् ॥१०॥

फलानि श्रोत्रसलिलकल्पानि ॥११॥

अविद्यायुक्तः पुरुषार्थं साधयितुं धर्मयुक्ते यदिच्छति तदा

लौकायतिकाभिधानपाषण्डी ॥१२॥

यदा चण्डाल उदारसुरामंसादिकमेच्छुस्तदा कापालिका-

भिधानपाषण्डी ॥१३॥

1. W सा० । 2. M Sic; W ०मलेनार्थः correct reading doubtful ( अर्थेनार्थं ? ) 13 W कापालिक० । 4. W चद्. Read चद् ? 5. W ०आभिधान० ।

यदा सन्ध्योपसनाद्यभिहोत्रादि परित्यज्याहिसार्धमेच्छुः तदा

क्षपणकपा[ ६ख ]षण्डी ॥१४॥

यदा वेदोक्तकर्म ज्ञानं च सर्वेश्वरं शिवं विष्णुं श्रियमपि परित्य-  
ज्य सर्वं शून्यमिति वदति तदा बौद्धाभिधानपाषण्डी ॥१५॥

वृथा धर्मं वदत्यर्थसाधनं लौकायनिकः पितृडादयश्चोर इति  
च ॥१६॥

सर्वमर्थार्थं करोत्यभिहोत्रसन्ध्याजपादीन् ॥१७॥

स्वदोषं गृहितु कामात्तं वेदं पठति ॥१८॥

अभिहोत्रादीन् करोति ॥१९॥

सुरापानार्थमाहिलामेहनार्थं करोति ॥२०॥

विष्णवालयः सुरापानिन इति काण्वलिकाः ॥२१॥

धर्मा[७क]र्थं मलयिण्डधारणाद्धर्मं वदति क्षपणकः ॥२२॥

त्रिवादय इति वदति क्षपणकः ॥२३॥

परापवादार्थं वेदशास्त्रधर्मादीन् पठति ॥२४॥

सर्वाभिन्दति ॥२५॥

मेश्वरविष्णवादीनपि ॥२६॥

सोऽप्यज्ञानार्थं धर्मं वदति ॥२७॥

6 M W ०सनाद् । 7 W शिषा, M W षदन्ति । 8 M W  
Sic (read शौर्यम् ?) 9 M Sic (read ०त् ० or र्थे ?) 10 M W  
०मेनार्थम् । 11. M सुरापानि । 12. W omits वेद । 13 W ०र्थ ।

वदनार्थं परान् स्तौति स बौद्धः ॥२८॥

लौकायतिको मृतो भवत्यर्थकामधर्ममोक्षविहीनो नारकी च ॥२९॥

कुले च तत्कुलं तत्पुत्रपौत्रान्तरे विनश्यति ॥३०॥

कापालो स्वग्रामगृहस्वजनेः परित्यक्तः सर्वलोकनिन्दितो

नारकी भवति ॥३१॥

तस्मिन्काल ए[७ख]त्र कुलं विनश्यति ॥३२॥

क्षपणकः स्वकुलग्रामवासिभिर्निन्दितो भवति त्रिकुलं<sup>१६</sup> विनश्यति ॥३३॥

बौद्धसंचितं कुलं पुत्रपौत्रकाले वा विनश्यति सुदुष्टो नारकी ॥३४॥

एवंपाषण्डिसंपर्कं मनसाऽपि न कुर्यात् ॥३५॥

सुव्यवस्थितमन्त्रेण परच्छिद्रहानिना धार्मिकेण राज्यं परि-<sup>२०</sup>पालयितुं न शक्यते ॥३६॥

ऐश्वर्यमदमत्तेन सलोभमानिना संचितं विनश्यति ॥३७॥

कार्यं निश्चित्य विषयाननुभवति यः स उत्तममर्थं साध-<sup>२२</sup>यति ॥३८॥

चेष्टया कार्यं [८ क] हान्यर्थपरं इति धर्मवानिति लोकैर्यथा न<sup>२३</sup> ज्ञायते तथा कर्तव्यम् ॥३९॥

14 M W त । 15 W स्वगृहग्राम । 16 W जीयति ।  
17 W सति कुलम् । 18 M W बौद्धः । 19 W ०पकं । 20 W  
सुव्यवस्थितं । 21 M हानिना । 22, W ०नां । 23 W ०चर ।

ईश्वर इव चन्द्रादित्याविव ॥४०॥

स्वामिचित्तानुवृत्तिभिर्मत्स्यैक्यकारकमैव मन्त्रम् ॥४१॥

मन्त्रिगणा स्वामिनोऽभिमतमुत्सृज्य कार्यं वक्तव्यम् ॥४२॥

नीतेः फलं धर्मार्थकामावाप्तिः ॥४३॥

धर्मेषु कामार्थो परीक्ष्यौ ॥४४॥

धर्म धर्मेषु ॥४५॥

अर्थमर्थेन ॥४६॥

कामं कामेन ॥४७॥

मोक्षं मोक्षेण ॥४८॥

गुरुज्ञासनं कार्यमेव विरु[द्व]द्ध धर्मेषापि षण्डवविवाह  
इव, अर्जुनस्य संन्यास इव, व्यासविधवागमनमिव, कर्षो-  
त्पादनमिव, राममातृवधमिवेत्यादि ॥४९॥

नीतिवियुक्तः पुत्र इव शत्रुः ॥५०॥

बालं दुष्टं साहसिकमज्ञातज्ञास्त्रमन्त्रे प्रवेशयेत् ॥५१॥

मृदा दुराचारास्तीक्ष्णा आत्मबुद्धयः क्षिप्रक्रुद्धा बाला  
मन्त्रयोग्या न ॥५२॥

24 M इव for इव । 25 W मत्स्यैक्ये, M म्मि मत्स्यैक्ये ।

26 W कर्षोत्पादनार्थे । 27 W म्मामिति । 28 Sc. परीक्षयेत्  
and so with the accusatives in *sūtras* 46-8, 29. Text  
corrupt, W म्महास्त्रमन्त्रेण. Read म्महास्त्रं मन्त्रेण ?

सर्वरत्नान्यपि दीयन्तां स्वकार्यजीवयशोरक्षणे ॥५३॥

मन्त्रकाले न कोपयेत् ॥५४॥

धर्मप्रधानं पुरुषा[ऽक]र्था न ॥५५॥

अधर्मेण भुज्यमानं सुखमसुहृत् ॥५६॥

स्थितिर्वर्धनम् ॥५७॥

अपथ्यभोजनो मृत्युपीतिकर इव सत्यव्रतः शास्त्रेषु निष्ठितः

पुरुषः सागरमपि शोषयेत् ॥५८॥

क्रुद्धो यदि हतपौरुषास्त्रस्ता भवन्ति ॥५९॥

एक एव बहून् दुर्जनो नाशयति ॥६०॥

पौरुषे निष्ठितो देवो ॥६१॥

यस्य स्वदाररतिः यस्यात्मदमने शक्तिस्तेन सदृशो न ॥६२॥

सज्जनो न भयाद् व्यतिवर्तते ॥६३॥

तस्मिन्काले हितमवक्तव्यमवाक्यज्ञैः सुहृद्भिः ॥६४॥

उत्सिक्तहृदयं धर्मे चलि[ऽस्व]तगौरवमजितात्मानं शान्तिं

नोत्सहेत् ॥६५॥

दारुणकर्मभिः श्रान्तमज्ञाननिद्रया सुप्तं धर्मवाक्यानिशैः शीतै-

र्वालिशं प्रबोधयेत् ॥६६॥

30 M W पुरुषार्थान् । 31 M W स्थिति । 32 W दुर्जनाच्चा० । 33 M निष्ठिते देवो यस्य, W देवो यस्य No interpunction in either case. 34 W अन्ते । 35 M शान्तम् ।

दुर्जनमध्ये सूर्यधत् प्रकाशते मुजनः<sup>३६</sup> ॥६७॥  
 अधर्मव्यवास्थितान्यायवृत्तेन वारयेत् ॥६८॥  
 अधर्मं नार्जयेत् ॥६९॥  
 अकीर्तिं नार्जयेत् ॥७०॥  
 न मारयेत् ॥७१॥  
 बोला निवार्यतां<sup>३७</sup> धर्मपाठाङ्कुशेन गज इव ॥७२॥  
 गुरुवचनमलङ्घनीयं नयानुगतं<sup>३९</sup> चेत् ॥७३॥  
 गुरुमपि नीतिवियुक्तं निरासयेत् ॥७४॥  
 गुरुराहेति ॥७५॥

इति बार्हस्पत्यसूत्रे द्विती[१०क]योऽध्याय ॥

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36 W सुधर्म । 37 M ०स्थिता । 38 M ०सामधर्० ।  
 39 W गतञ्चे ।

## [ तृतीयोऽध्यायः । ]

जितक्लेशस्य पौरुषम् ॥१॥

देशान्तरवासेन जितक्लेशो भवति ॥२॥

सर्वबलकालदेशसामप्रकृतिसहायामवयसां ज्ञानं कार्यम् ॥३॥

उपवासादिसहिष्णुत्व च ॥४॥

सुमन्धवासान् कोशान् कुर्यात् ॥५॥

बहुवादं मधुरमेव कुर्यात् ॥६॥

समबुद्धीन् मणीन् सर्वान् सदा राधयेत् ॥७॥

नवानि मन्त्राणि विद्यात् ॥८॥

त्रिविधानि शाक्ता वैष्णवा<sup>२</sup> शैवानि तत्[१०ख]प्रभिन्नानि ॥९॥

मोक्षपुर्या<sup>१</sup> द्वारं त्रयम् ॥१०॥

शाक्ता वैष्णवाः शैवाः ॥११॥

पोतयानमार्गवच्छाक्तम् ॥१२॥

महापथवद्वैष्णावम् ॥१३॥

केवलप्रधानिकमश्वरथयानवत् ॥१४॥

1 W ०द्धि, W read समबुद्धीन् । 2 Sic M W 3 W here inserts च । 4 M ०पूर्वान् । 5 W om शाक्तं and sūtras

सौकायतिकत्तपणकबौद्धादि बहुशारदुलदुष्टसृगाकीर्णशून्या-  
टवीगुहामार्गवत् ॥१५॥

एतन् निरूप्येकमाश्रयेत् ॥१६॥

ज्योतिर्नाथस्थितं सदा निरूपयेत् ॥१७॥

षातुर्वर्ण्यं रत्नेषु ॥१८॥

श्रीषधानि सेवेत च ॥१९॥

बसवर्णतेजोमदबुद्धिशौर्यदयार्धनानि दोषधातुसमानि ॥२०॥

शानमानाभङ्गारविद्याभिः सिद्धिं लभेत ॥२१॥

अष्टादश तीर्थानि निरूपयेत् ॥२२॥

षट् प्रकृतयस्तीर्थं शत्रुमित्रोदासीना[११क]श्च ॥२३॥

अन्तः शत्रुरन्तर्भिन्नोऽन्तरुदासीन इति तेऽप्यनुजीविसस्वि-

मुद्ददश्च ॥२४॥

भार्यापुत्रबान्धवाश्च ॥२५॥

अन्येऽपि देवालयनृत्तयागभूमिसन्ध्यावापीचतुष्पथपाषण-

दालयापण्यशालविद्यापाठदेशस्वलूरीशालीचन्द्रदर्शनाद्युत्सववे-

ध्यायुहसमुद्रतीरयतिसंनिधिराज्यसन्धिसुराविक्रयस्थानपा-

न्यनिवासाश्च ॥२६, २७॥

6. W अत्रवेत् । 7. M W असमानि । 8. W अस्ते तीर्था  
 10. M मित्रोदासां च । 10. W संक० । 11. W here inserts  
 च । 12. W अष्टयाश्च । 13. W पादेश । 14. W omits च ।  
 15. M W अष्ट । 16. W च । 17. W पन्था ।

ष्टङ्कारवेषं कुर्यात् ॥२८॥  
 पुरद्वारे सर्वनिरोधनं कार्थ्यम् ॥२९॥  
 सर्वाभ निशेष[११स्व]येच्च ॥३०॥  
 इतिहासपुराणानि मानयेत् ॥३१॥  
 तत् पाकांश्च ॥३२॥  
 शान्तागमांश्च ॥३३॥  
 वैखानसागमांश्च ॥३४॥  
 सांख्यांश्च ॥३५॥  
 शैवांश्च ॥३६॥  
 सर्वानपि स्वाध्यायं कुर्यात् कारयेत् ॥३७॥  
 ब्राह्मणं न हन्याद्दोषदुष्टमपि ॥३८॥  
 निर्दयस्य दया कर्तव्या ॥३९॥  
 ग्रामणीन् सम्भावयेत् ॥४०॥  
 नगरेन्द्रांश्च ॥४१॥  
 दुर्बलमपि साम कुर्यात् ॥४२॥  
 दानेन बहु ॥४३॥  
 न स्वल्पञ्च ॥४४॥  
 नोत्तमेषु गुणबाहुल्यक्रमेण ॥४५॥

18 W सर्वम् । 19 W omits न । 20. W अन्तः ।  
 21 W नृ । (for म्नां) । 22 W अपि स कु ।

अक्षैर्दीव्यात् <sup>२३</sup> ॥४६॥

नैव दीव्यात् <sup>२४</sup> ॥४७॥

सर्पादीन् हन्यात् ॥४८॥

उत्तमाभानामन्त्रसिद्धान् [१२क] विद्याबहुलान् द्विजान् मान-  
येत् ॥४९॥

अन्यराष्ट्रजान् द्विजान् क्षत्रवन्धून् कुमारसामन्तादीनात्मवत्  
सम्भावयेद्गो <sup>२४</sup> जनाञ्छादनादिभिः ॥५०॥

क्षरहागतं सर्वपातकयुक्तमापि <sup>२५</sup> रक्षेत् ॥५१॥

दृष्टनिग्रहं कुर्यात् ॥५२॥

शिष्टपरिपालनञ्च ॥५३॥

ग्रामं न बाधेत् ॥५४॥

नगरञ्च ॥५५॥

देवालयाणि च ॥५६॥

आसवाणि <sup>२६</sup> सेवयेत् ॥५७॥

अग्निं न ॥५८॥

मांसानि च ॥५९॥

घृणा कार्या ॥६०॥

23 W सि० I 24 Sic M W. 25 W मन्त्र० | 26 M  
interpunctuates here and not after ०वादिभिः | 27 W  
सर्वपात० I 28 Sic W M (for ०वान् ?)

बौद्धादयो न ॥६१॥

अग्राणा न ॥६२॥

मत्तकाशिन्यः सेव्याः ॥६३॥

पञ्चाशत्कोटियोजना पृथिवी ॥६४॥

सप्तद्वीपवती च ॥६५॥

सप्तसमुद्रावृता च ॥६६॥

कर्मभोगाति<sup>३६</sup>[१२स्व]भोगदिव्यभृङ्गारसिद्धकैबल्या इति द्वीपा-  
भिधानाः ॥६७॥

मध्यः कर्मभूमिः ॥६८॥

तन्मध्ये मेरोराजम्बु<sup>३०</sup>ः ॥६९॥

तत्रोत्तरे हिमवान् ॥७०॥

तस्य दक्षिणे नवसाहस्री भूः ॥७१॥

तत्र दक्षिणासौ<sup>३१</sup> भारतः स्वयङ्कः ॥७२॥

तत्र साक्षाद्दर्माधर्मफलाः सिध्यन्ति ॥७३॥

तत्र दण्डनीतिः ॥७४॥

पूर्वभारतीयैः षडित्यः भविष्यैर्धर्ममानैश्च चातुर्वर्षिकैश्च ॥७५॥

दण्डनीत्या भगवान् भानुर्नृपतिः<sup>३२</sup> ॥७६॥

29. W omits मा । 30 Corrupt, readmg donbful

31 W ०न्थो I32.W ०र्ति ।

वायुश्च सर्वे<sup>१</sup> देवाश्च ॥७७॥

जन्तवश्च ॥७८॥

सहस्रयोजना बदरिकासेत्वन्ता ॥७९॥

द्वारकादिपुरुषोत्तम[१३क]सालग्रामान्ता सप्तशतयोजना<sup>१४</sup> ॥८०॥

तत्रापि रैवतक<sup>१५</sup> विन्ध्यसहस्रकुमारमलयश्रीपर्वतपारिवात्राः सप्त-  
कुलाचलाः<sup>१६</sup> ॥८१॥

गङ्गासरस्वतीकालिन्दीगोदावरीकावेरीताम्रपर्णीघृतमाला[:]  
कुलनद्यश्च ॥८२॥

अष्टादश विषयाश्च ॥८३॥

अष्टादश सागरा नृपाः ॥८४॥

अष्टादश पार्वतीयाः ॥८५॥

रामसृष्टिश्चत्वारिंशच्छतं दक्षिणोत्तरे आसन्नं द्वादश विश्वा-  
मित्रसृष्टिरेकादश ॥८६॥

नेपालं<sup>१८</sup> चतुःशतम् ॥८७॥

पूर्वसमुद्रतोरे बरुक्षतःसमुद्रान्तमष्टयोज[१३ख]ना ॥८८॥

पञ्चशतद्वितयमुत्तरसाटं पूर्वसाटश्च ॥८९॥

काशीपाञ्चालद्वितयमधीतिः ॥९०॥

33. W सर्वे I 34. W ०नां । 35 W omits च 136 W  
०नां । 37 ०नां । 38 M omits च; Whas ०नां ।

केकयसृजय<sup>३९</sup> षष्टिः ॥६१॥

मात्स्यमागधं<sup>४०</sup> शतम्<sup>४१</sup> ॥६२॥

मालवशकुन्तमशीतिः ॥६३॥

कोसलावन्तिःषष्टिः ॥६४॥

सैत्र<sup>४२</sup> वैदर्भाद्वितीयं शताद्वितीयम् ॥६५॥

वंदेहकौरव<sup>४३</sup> शतम् ॥६६॥

काम्बोजदर्शाणमशीतिः ॥६७॥

एते महाविषयाः ॥६८॥

एते खलु चतुरश्राः ॥६९॥

आरट्टबाह्लीकौ<sup>४४</sup> दक्षिणोत्तरतः<sup>४५</sup> शतमात्रौ पूर्वपश्चाद् द्वा-  
दशौ ॥१००॥

शाकसौराष्ट्री चतुरश्रौ चत्वारिंशत् ॥१०१॥

अङ्गवङ्गकलिङ्गा[१४क]ःशतमात्राश्चतुरश्राश्च<sup>४६</sup> ॥१०२॥

काश्मीरहृणाम्बुष्टिसिन्धवः<sup>४७</sup> शतमात्राश्चतुरश्राश्च ॥१०३॥

किरात<sup>४८</sup> नैबीरबोलपाण्ड्या उत्तरे दक्षिणे स्थिताः शतम्

परं षष्टिमात्राः<sup>४९</sup> ॥१०४॥

39. W ०व । 40. W मात्स्य० । 41 W ०त । 42. Sec.  
B W ०व । 44. W ०द्विः । 45. W ०त्तरः । 46 W ०पश्चा ।  
7. W ०व । 48. W काश्मीरहृणाम्बुष्टिसिन्ध० । 49 W किरात० ।  
D W ०त्रा ।

यादवकाञ्चीविषयं चत्वारिशच्छतमानम् ॥१०५॥

एते उपविषयाः ॥१०६॥

सप्तकोङ्कणाश्चतुःशतमात्रा द्वादश षट्पदाष्टौच ॥१०७॥

एते अनुपाः ॥१०८॥

सखादौ चत्वारो गिरिविषयाः ॥१०९॥

श्रीपर्वते द्वयम् ॥११०॥

रवतक एकः ॥१११॥

विन्ध्ये पञ्च ॥११२॥

कुमारे एकम् ॥११३॥

[१४ स्व]महेन्द्रे त्रयम् ॥११४॥

पारियात्रे त्रयम् ॥११५॥

सर्वे दक्षिणोत्तरतः पञ्चाशन्मात्राः पूर्वतःपश्चात् पञ्च-  
योजनाः समाः ॥११६॥

म्लेच्छे यवनविषयाः पार्वतीयाः ॥११७॥

ग्रामनगरोद्यानादिभिरसंकृताः पुण्यक्षेत्रादिभिश्च ॥११८॥

अष्ट वैष्णवक्षेत्राः ॥११९॥

51 W omits श्री । 52. W ०य । 53 W स्त० । 54. W च  
वटहीच । 55 W आनु० । 56 W एकाः, M एका । 57 W  
वक्ष्ण० । 58. W ग्रामोह से० । 59 Sic (Masc) here and in  
the sūtras 122, 125 60 W ०जन्तं स्त्रि० ।

षड्रिकासालग्रामपुरुषोत्तमद्वारकाविलवाचसानन्तसिंह श्री-  
रङ्गाः ॥१२०॥

अष्टौ शैवाः ॥१२१॥

अविमुक्त[ क ]गङ्गाद्वारशिवक्षेत्रामेयमुनाशिवसरम्भतीमन्थ-  
शार्दूलगजक्षेत्राः ॥१२२॥

शाक्ता अ[१५ क]ष्टौ च ॥१२३॥

†ओष्धीण<sup>६३</sup> जालपूर्णकामकोल्लश्रीशैलकाञ्चीमहेन्द्राः ॥१२४॥

एते महाक्षेत्राः ॥१२५॥

सर्वसिद्धिकराश्च ॥१२६॥

बन्ध्याश्च<sup>६५</sup> ॥१२७॥

विन्ध्ये निसं वसति दुर्गा भद्रकाली च ॥१२८॥

कुमारे कुमारे वसति निसं ॥१२९॥

सखे गणपतिः ॥१३०॥

रैवतके<sup>६७</sup> शास्ता ॥१३१॥

महेन्द्रे गरुडः ॥१३२॥

पारियात्रे क्षेत्रपालः ॥१३३॥

कर्मभूमौ भारते मनुष्यैर्बहवो देवाः ॥१३४॥

61 W अविमुक्तसगङ्गा० । 62 W षा (masc. as in 110) 63 W दक्षदी० । 64 Sic (masc.) 65 Sic (for बन्ध्याश्च १) 66 M वसतिर् । 67 W रैवते ।

धुरामुरयत्तराक्षसभूतभ्रेतविनायककूश्माण्डा विकृताननाः

॥१३५॥

निरुद्धा भारवेषाः ॥१३६॥

सौम्यभैरवा योगिन्यश्च नागाश्च[१५ स्व]मानवैः सह रूपरमा

प्रसंख्याताः संचरन्ति ॥१३७॥

मानवैः कृतपालनाश्च ॥१३८॥

तस्मिन्मृतमया श्रौषथाः<sup>४८</sup> सन्ति ॥१३९॥

अत्र युगसंख्या कृतभ्रेताद्वापरतिष्याश्च<sup>४९</sup> ॥१४०॥

छन्दे ज्ञानिनः ॥१४१॥

दण्डनीतिकोविदाः<sup>५०</sup> ॥१४२॥

वेत्तायां कर्मिणः नीतिविश्वारदाः ॥१४३॥

द्वापरे तान्त्रिकानुसारा घनारसाश्च<sup>५१</sup> ॥१४४॥

नीतिकोविदाश्च ॥१४५॥

त्रिष्वे पादे ज्ञानकर्मा<sup>५२</sup> घना दण्डनीतिकोविदा नराः ॥१४६॥

तदुच्चरं विरुद्धधर्मवर्षावेषा दण्डनीतिवर्जिताः ॥१४७॥

पश्यन्ति मजा अनृतवादतत्पराश्चेत्साह[१६ क]आम्भार्यः<sup>५३</sup>

॥१४८॥

इति बार्हस्पत्यसूत्रे सूतीषोऽध्यायः ॥

६६. Sic (masc.) 63. W ०द्वापरि १ : 0 W here inserts  
 ६७. Sic (read om ?) 72. Sic (read om ?) 73. सर्वाः १

## [ चतुर्थोऽध्यायः । ]

ब्राह्मे मुहूर्ते उत्थानम् ॥१॥

धर्ममर्थञ्च चिन्तयेत् ॥२॥

कुक्कुटशब्दं शुभम् ॥३॥

गजादिदर्शनञ्च ॥४॥

गजशब्दमङ्गलस्तुतिवेदपाठनञ्च ॥५॥

देवतापुण्यकथा च ॥६॥

राजन्यस्मरणञ्च ॥७॥

नेत्राञ्जनञ्च ॥८॥

आदर्शदर्शनञ्च ॥९॥

अलङ्कारयेत् ॥१०॥

ताम्बूलचर्वणं च ॥११॥

कर्पूरचन्दनागरुधूपञ्च ॥१२॥

शाङ्गकाहलविषाण<sup>२</sup>च्छिन्नवेणुवीणातन्त्री मृदङ्गपणवाः ॥१३॥

तुर्यघोषाञ्च ॥१४॥

दिव्यममदादर्शनं च ॥१५॥

[१६ स्व]मागधभिजषद्ज च ॥१६॥

1 W कुक्कुटे शब्दम् (Sic neut) 2 M ०निषाण० ।  
3 M W ०तद्वही० । 4 W ०वन् ।

जातिस्वरं च ॥१७॥

सर्पिषि सितपुष्पाणि ॥१८॥

मन्त्रतृप्तो बह्विः शतार्चिर्विष्णुलिङ्गधूमयुक्तो भवति ॥१९॥

तदशुभं गवां संदर्शनम् ॥२०॥

गृध्रसंदर्शनं च ॥२१॥

सन्ध्याज्वलनं च ॥२२॥

विरुद्धशिवारुतं च ॥२३॥

ऋष्यादसृगाणां शब्दो ग्रामपुरद्वारे वा श्रूयते ॥२४॥

देवताप्रतिमास्वेद<sup>५</sup> च यस्मिन्हश्यते तत्र प्रायश्चित्तमन्यत्र  
यानमेव प्रतिकारो नास्ति ॥२५॥

श्रवश्यनिरूपणीयान्येतानि कर्माणि ॥२६॥

मन्त्रमू[१७ क]लो विजयः ॥२७॥

भिविधाः पुरुषाः उत्तमाधममध्यमाः ॥२८॥

मन्त्रेऽपि ॥२९॥

बन्धुभिर्बान्धवैरितैर्बहुश्रुतैर्धीरैः सह यत् कर्मारभते तदु-  
त्तमम् ॥३०॥

धर्मद्विषिर्धे<sup>६</sup> गुरौ भक्तिश्च ॥३१॥

अर्थपरैः सह मन्त्रापित्वा य आरभते स उत्तमः ॥३२॥

5 W ०धमश्च। 6. W ०सेदश्च। 7 W ०ली। 8. W अश्वत्थनिः।  
9. W मन्त्रो। 10 W here inserts देव। 11 W अश्व०।

गुणदोषागमं निश्चित्य मौर्ख्यबाहुल्याद् य आरभते सो-  
ऽधमः ॥३३॥

एकमत्येन दण्डनीतिनेत्रेण धीरैर्मन्त्रिभिर्योग्यः स  
उत्तमः ॥३४॥

पूर्वं बहुबुद्धयः पश्चादेकमतयो भवन्ति यत्र स मध्यमः ॥३५॥

[१७स्व]पत्रकलहम्भर्त्सनं च एकस्य धर्म एकस्वार्थे स्त्रोधात्  
दृष्टैः सह एकस्य रुदितमेकस्यक्रोधो यस्मिन् सोऽधमः ॥३६॥

पूर्वं स्वामिना कार्यनिवेदनम् ॥३७॥

पुनर्वचसा कर्मणा मनसाजलिना दण्डप्रत्यायेन प्रयागुस्त्वं  
स्वामिनमभिवन्दयेत् ॥३८॥

दृष्टो वैश्रवणो वाचस्पतिर्वा यस्यान्न नाभुञ्जते तं कन्देत् ॥३९॥

यत्पुनर्यथाक्रममेकैकस्य मतं श्रोतव्यम् ॥४०॥

स्वामिनं प्रसाद्य कार्यं कल्पयितव्यम् ॥४१॥

पूर्वं स्वामि[१८क]गुणं संकीर्त्य स्वामिदोषं परदोषं च  
मध्यस्थदोषं च मन्त्रायित्वा पुनः स्वामिगुणसंस्वापनं  
कुर्यात् ॥४२॥

12 M मौर्ख्यात् बाहुलाद्या, W मौर्ख्या बाहुलाद्या । 13 Sic (neut) 14 W मद्यन्तम् । 15 M ०ज्ञामौ, see introduction, notes at the end. 16 M वस्वां ना । 17-17. W omits.

पुनः कार्याण्युपायानि<sup>१८</sup> निरूप्य स्वामिनं प्रसाद्य कार्यं कल्प-  
यितव्यम् ॥४३॥

प्रमत्तेष्वभियुक्तेषु<sup>१९</sup> दैवोपहतेषु च न सिध्यन्ति विक्रमाः ॥४४॥

अप्रमत्तं धर्मज्ञं<sup>१९</sup> जितेन्द्रियं विजिगीषु बलिषु जातकोपं दुराधर्षं  
प्रति विक्रमो न कार्यः<sup>२०</sup> ॥४५॥

शास्त्रवित् कथं कार्यं न प्रजानातीति न वदेत्<sup>२१</sup> ॥४६॥

बलिष्ठान् शत्रून् कामादीन् ये जयन्ति ते सर्वानरीजयन्ति ॥४७॥

[१८त्व] पूर्वमुपकारं न कार्येत् ॥४८॥

उपकारं<sup>२२</sup> नियतं कुर्याच्च ॥४९॥

नाभाविव्यसनं पूर्वं ज्ञात्वा व्यसनप्रतीकारं<sup>२३</sup> कार्यमिति गुरु-  
राह ॥५०॥

इति बार्हस्पत्यस्मृते चतुर्थोऽध्यायः ।

18 Sic (neut) M W 19 W ०३ । 20 W ०४ । 21  
M interpunctuates not here, but after शत्रून् । 22 W omits  
त । 23 Sic (neut.)

## [पञ्चमोऽध्यायः ।]

चत्वार उपायाः ॥१॥

त्रयश्च ॥२॥

मायोपेक्षा<sup>१</sup> बधश्च ॥३॥

सूरीषु<sup>२</sup> साम ॥४॥

शङ्कितेषु सामभेदौ ॥५॥

लुब्धेषु सामदानभेदाः ॥६॥

कष्टेषु सामभेददानमायोपेक्षावधाः ॥७॥

साम पूर्वं प्रयोक्तव्यम् ॥८॥

[१-६क] मनसोऽभिप्राय<sup>३</sup> वाचः प्रीतिकर्म च ॥९॥

ज्ञातीना ज्ञातयो व्यसने हृष्यन्ति ॥१०॥

ज्ञातिं ज्ञातयः प्रच्छन्नहृदयाः क्रूरा उपद्रवन्ति ॥११॥

सर्वभयेषु ज्ञातिभयं घोरम् ॥१२॥

गोषु पयः ब्राह्मणे कोपश्च<sup>४</sup> ॥१३॥

स्त्रीषु चापल दूरत्वं ज्ञातिषु सौहृदं पत्रजलचिन्दुवत् ॥१४॥

हितं गुरुजनवाक्यं शास्त्रचोदितं च ये न शृण्वन्ति कालचो-

दितम् तस्मात् तान् सुपरिहृत्यान्यत्र वसेत् ॥१५॥

1 W ०शश्च । 2 W ०म । 3 See ( neut ) 4 W ०ज्यां ।  
5 W स्त । 6 W तपश्च । 7 W पत्रपत्र० । 8 M एकं

लोकविरुद्धं नाचरेत् ॥१६॥

मन्त्र[<sup>१</sup> ६ स्व]विद्यागुणपदमेषु ग्रहान् बान्धवान् कुसलादन्यत्र

न कार्यं व्यसनानि च<sup>१०</sup> ॥१७॥

दुर्जनं परिहृत्य वक्तव्यं विद्यायुक्तोऽपि गृहाहिरिव<sup>११</sup> ॥१८॥

अनुपन्नादागतं न विश्वसेत् ॥१९॥

गुणतः संगृह्णीयात्<sup>१२</sup> ॥२०॥

भावैः परीक्षयेत् ॥२१॥

वीर्यसारैः सह सामं ज्ञायते बुद्धिमविज्ञाने सहसा परीक्ष<sup>१३</sup>

[२० क]येत् ॥२२॥

शक्तिर्ज्ञातुं शक्यते । २३॥

मसञ्जो न ॥२४॥

अज्ञाङ्गितमार्तिः] स्वस्थः ॥२५॥

अज्ञोपनम्य बान्धादयोऽपि विदुषवन्ति हि तम्<sup>१५</sup> ॥२६॥<sup>१६</sup>

9. W मन्त्रमवि० । 10. Text corrupt in this *Sūtra* ?

11. गृहाहिरि । 12. W here inserts दोषो न निरूप्य संगृह्णीयात् ।

13-13 W वीर्यसहसाभा Read वीरोऽसारैः सहसा न ?  
For अ and अँ ( अओ ) see introduction's end 14 ते ।

15. W विज्ञ० । 16 M तत् ।

स्वकुलस्य विनाशं ज्ञात्वा बुद्धिर्माँस्तत्र शत्रुपक्षमपि न युक्त-  
माश्रयेत् ॥२७॥

हृदये यथावच्छुभाशुभं पूर्वं उदोते न दुष्टाचारः सर्वत्र  
कारयेत् ॥२८॥

चपला न बहुमान्याः ॥२९॥

इत्याहाचार्यो बृहस्पतिः ॥३०॥

इति बार्हस्पत्यसूत्रे पञ्चमोऽध्याय ।

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17 •ज्ञस्यापि न० । 18 Read नययुक्तम् ? 19. w उदयति ।

## [ षष्ठोऽध्यायः । ]

[२० स्व]देशकालयोग्य कर्म नयानयौ च वेदयेत् ॥१॥

बिपरीतं न वेदवीर्यदर्पेण ॥२॥

द्वितानि निरूपयेत् ॥३॥

नमो मन्त्रिभिर्निरूप्य कार्यते ॥४॥

बुद्धिजीवनैरमात्यैः सह कार्यमकार्यं च निरूपयेत् ॥५॥

आहितं विकारं यस्य प्रतिभाति स मन्त्रयोग्यः ॥६॥

अर्थमार्जयेत् ॥७॥

यस्यार्थराशिरस्ति तस्य मित्राणि धर्मश्च विद्या च गुणविक्रमो  
च बुद्धिश्च ॥८॥

अधनेना[२१ क]र्धमार्जयितुं न शक्यते गजोऽगजेनेव ॥९॥

धनमूलं जगत् ॥१०॥

सर्वाणि तत्र सन्ति ॥११॥

निर्धनो मृतश्चण्डालश्च ॥१२॥

एवं धर्ममूलं च विद्यामार्जयेत् ॥१३॥

विद्यामूलं जगत् ॥१४॥

विद्या पुनः सर्वमित्ताह गुरुः ॥१५॥

इति बार्हस्पत्यस्मृतौ षष्ठोऽध्यायः ।

## BRIHASPATI SUTRA

Now the the Brispat Suti a

Now Bnhaspati,\* the Preceptor, expounds to India the Whole Substance of Policy,

### I (PERSONAL CONDUCT)

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

\*Concerning Bnhaspatr as founder of *the Science of Policy* see tho Introduction,

3 On tha question of the king's sciences soo *Arthaihwtra*, & 1.

6 On this question of choice of ministers etc, see *Arthahiutra, cc4-5 ntso 80 infra*.

10 On poison in the palace see *Arthashastra, C.17*.

12 Also not sacrifice [*agmhota*] Veda-icading;  
**and** so fwth

13 Not proccasions to sacred places

14 Also not service of a king

15 Nor service of women

16 He should not dunk intoxicants

17 Noi slay a Brahman

18 Nor practise theft,

19 Nor much indulge m gailands and unguents

20 He should not be dejected,

21 Nor over wrathful,

22 What is called nonliving is giced on a wrong  
occasion,

23 In a (true) freld he should have seed sown

24 Giving should be practised

25 Aversion ther efrom is greed

26 Theft is also greed

27 Pleasare is a cause of expenditure of means,

28 A will to huit gin us, gods, wise men, kings,  
and sojfoith is angei,

29 And it is a smiting of one's own head

30 An enemy equal, in forces and so forth he  
should slay in war,

31 Other addersincs [*or* If attacking others,  
then] by conciliation, gifts, dissension, pietendcd  
**ignoring, and so on,**

**32 He should not have sordid dress,**

22 Text and translation uncertain More intelligible  
would be *atishaye danam* 'giving on a wrong occasion is  
alled non-giving'

31 I translate *anyabhayodhanah*

32 Sc he should never bo in *deshababile*,

33 And ho should not practise over-mduigeura  
in hunting

34 From over attachment to women ill-repute  
grows,

35 And vitality wastes.

36 In association with those guilty of ganung,  
provoking others, abusing others, the weaknesses of  
others { are exposed) along with the words of *matras*  
in learned or firvolous play (?).

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

38 A sham professor of virtue he should not trust;

39 Nor censure either,

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

41 His sport in piivate should be with those of  
like character and age,

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

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

44 Desire should be felt for superiority to prede-

36 Rendering conjectural. Are the *mantras* quasi oaths ?

40 So also in the *Shukranih in 280* ' Tho miserable,  
the blind, the dwarf, and the damb aro never to be laughed at,'

42 Contests ef dissimilar animals are here, it seems,  
denounced. Or we might take *rahavye* from 41 and, reading  
*tadvtmuriam*, reader 'Elephant atod horse sports m private  
in public these with other species.' This is less likely.

(4)

*teasors* and successors in respect of wealth, popularity, cobihty, and magnanimity

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

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

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

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

40 To even an unwelcome speech he should hsten

50 In bad weather, when the planets are hostile, at the *nahshatia* of thioc buthdays, and when senous business presents, itself he should not attend to festivities

51 He should attach la himself a wife of the same country, of the same form, and of noble both

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

53 Among them he should not say much..

54 Among village petitioners, panegyrist, bards, minstrels, actors, dancing-women, mstractois, liars, boys, pimps, traders, herdsmen, harlots, mean kings, lie is to be addressed in pompons untruths

49 'Within and without' - sc the capital

50 Three birthdays' perhaps his own, thrt of his fathor, and that of his grandfather,

51 'Of the same form' (*ekurupini*) - perhaps=  
4 of the same ciste (*ekarau*)

55 Association with kings, hailots, soothsayers,  
and dependents he should not indulge in long,

56 He should frequent one whose supeñony is  
in himself,

57 Prospects and so forth [he should regard] not  
o\eimueh

58 Those attached to women, gambling, dunking  
he should not h ve in his sen ice.

59 Duing five *nadtkas* prajer to the divinity  
of his choice, that passed, the audience,

60 During ten *vadika* administration of justice,  
duung five *nadikas* the bath,

61 Duung three *nadikas* the repast,

62 During five *na likas* amusement and play with  
deai ones,

63 Duung two *nadikas* twilight worship,

64 Duung seven *nadikds* nautch and so forth,

65 Duing seieu *nadikas* sexutl intercourse,  
repast, and so forth,

66 During seven *nadikas* sleep

67 He should rale himself without failure of  
vigilance,

68 Like the diver of a horse.

69 High Brahmans[heshoukigreat] with a shake  
of his head, welcome and giving of leavings and betel,

5ft Or his own lord'

59-66 On the disposition of a king's time see *Arthashastre*,  
c 16, and Prof Formicht, *Oh Indtant &c.*, pp 66 sqq *A nadila*  
*m ½muhurta m 24 minutes.*

68 'Shaking of the head' on this as a siga of approval  
see the *pressrgea quetod* by *me* in *Kavindravtenemuceaya*  
*ad v. I.*

70 A mean Brahmau not with a shake of the  
head, even if he brings a present,

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

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

73 Shudras not with a glance or smile nor with  
welcome,

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

73 Low-caste [ Foreign ? ] people and heretics  
not even With an utteiance.

76 Owing to Impoitance of business he may have  
recouise to them,

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

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

70 With woikmen, even m his employ, let him  
not deliberate upon the task

80 With his firends let him choose a like friend  
as councillor,

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

82 Low-boin persons have the caracteirstic of not  
mentioning their own objects and of executing orders.

83 So he should not over-cheirsh them

84 Nor again should he trust them

72 'Audience' I translate *nsihztiena*, bat the textlsoorrupt

78 *VarnxH'partgraha* Read *varntka-paragraha* ?

79 'Even in his employ' so translato *yogmah* ?

85 Knowing all, he need not act

86 Seciecy m legard to light, seciecy in legard to home and going abroad, secrecy in legard to measurles, seciecy m regard to enmities, in failuio of prestige he should deny even the truth

87 Physicians, astioiogeis, soothsajeis he should enteitain, if possessed of conduct and diameter

88 Even the tiuth,if causing grief or misfortune, he should not speak

89 Up to twenty-five )ears he should passionately practise the study of spoit

90 Thencefoi ward acquisition of wealth

91 He should keep himself free from indebtedness

92 Indebted he becoircs by three means, pleasure, anger, and greed

93 And he should continually guard his person

94 He should not neglect the regular rites

95 If there is a popnlar clamour, he may omit a minor nte

96 Upon a lost cause let him not stand,

97 Far to be avorde 1 then is oven a scnous matter of sovergnty

98 He should not fivour new commanders who are *Kusumantas*

99 A slight loss is to be borne

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

98 *Kymmmtas* this word, which recurs in *sutra* 105, is quite mysterious (?=Pallava, or *pellava*, i e *vita* ?).

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

100 The iderv seems to be that of the nursery *rhym*s

thos<sup>3</sup> who m connparuson therewith are raoffetesive feuds of kinsmoa are not to be engaged in.

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

102 Policy truly is like a tne on a liver's bank

103 So he is not to desire [ it ]

104 *Kiisumdntas* and so forth are mimical to ail creatures

105 Piestige, vigout, vitality, gicatjies—these are destroyed by excesive cultivation of kusumantas

106 Desire, anger, conceit, jealousy, hypoency, and so forth he should not encouiage.

107 An enemy of good charactei is a fnend

108 Among friends one of good character isan enemy.

109 Between moon and sun there is hostility by rason of then common bnghness (tastes)

110 Were it not so, they would both stand fast

111 Where there is feud among relatives, thosa two families perish to the loot

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

So spaaks the holy Preoaptor, gmu of the chief of the Gods.

So m the *Brihaspati Stor*\* the First Chapter.

<sup>1</sup> Let **dog** delight &c With *thereding kuk* we should tender 'he dwolts as it were in a family

101 sivnr 'dag' proably mern more oxiety dogs' ofa chva and Pamm iv 2. 48

100 110We might traulate If between sun and meea *there wad notinue , they would not continue*'.

## 11 (DUTIES AND PRINCIPLES)

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

I *Guna* is here used in an untechnical sense ('strong point')

4 The *Arthashastra* mentions ( c 1 ) the three matters (*kreshs*, *phskupalya*, and *bxnyya*) as the components of vartr, or business, one of the studies of a king

5 The *Lokayata* doctrine, along with *Sankhya* and *Yoga*, makes up the triad of philosophy in the *Arthaihutra* ( c 1).

6 Elsewhere the Kapalikas are a Shaiva sect see the St Petersburg lexicon and ref

8-35 These *Sutras*, which seem at variance with the preceding, and which betray a strong sectarian bias, may be suspected of being an interpolation. No. 36 joins on well to No.7.

II 'Ear-water' is thus a synonym of 'water in the ear' (so not 'water in the mouth or only heard of') ?

12 When one charactured by ignorance desires in a matter connected with right to effect a human object, then he is a heietic entitled Lankayatika

13 When a Candala is desons of enjoying fine drmk, fiesh, and so forth, then he is a heretic entitled Kapahkri

14 When abandoning twilight woishop and so forth, sacnfice and so foith, he desires the duty of non-killimg, then he is a Kshapanaka heietic,

15 When, abandoning the rites desenbed in the Veda, and knowledge of them, also Shiva, the Lord of All, Vishnu, and Shu, a man declares that all is word then he is a heretic entitled Baudtha

16 When he declaies light to be vam, a means to gam, he is a Laukavatika, and he declaies that the *pmda* and so on are theft

17 He does all for profit, -saerfice, twilight prayer, and so forth

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

19 He performs sacrifices and so torth

20 He does it with a uew to drinking wine, with a view to inteicomse with women

211 He says Vishnu and the others are wine-drinkers -so the Kapahka

14 *Kshapanaka* =Jzin

15 'Knowledge' read *karmnjtam* 'mass of rites'<sup>1</sup>?

10 *Ptnda* the reference seems to be to the food offered to the dead the custom WAS ridiouled by the followers of Bnhaspata, aft appears from the Ckrtakay or Lokayata, chapter is the *Sarm-darshana-semgrcha*,

22 The Kshapanaka, aiming at right, speaks of right as depending on the bearing of rags and broom :

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

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

25 He reproaches all,

26 Even Maheshvara, viishnu and so forth,

27 He si so speaks of right with a view to eating;

28 For the sake of discussion he piais otheis—this is the Bauddha

29 The Laukatika, when dead, is a denizen of hell, extern to profit, pleasure, light, and lrberton

30 And the same applies to his family , that family perishes within the penod of sons and grandsons

31 The Kapali,abandoncd by his village, household, and relatives, become, a denizen of hell, denounced by all people:

32 And at that \ery time his family perishes

33 The Kshapanaka is denounced by his family, and those who live m the villag-e, and thiee families perish

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

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

36 Even by one whose counsels are well ordered,

22 The "broom" is the brush of twigs which the Jam ascetics carry la order to brush away insects

34 The Sanskrit sentence is here confused: but the meaning is clear

36 [Not] we may, if we prefer, read *adharmikena* This *Sutra* ccaects well with No 7

who discerns the weak points of others, and who is [not One infatuated with the conceit of power, filled with greed a man of virtue, sovereignty cannot be preserved

37 and must so do that by his action he is not known by the pride, loses what has been acquired.

?8 Whoso, after reflecting upon his measures, enjoys himself, he achieves the highest success

39 He me world as 'knowing what todo, bent upon profit,' or as ' a man of righteousness'

40 Like Isbvara, like Moon and Sun

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

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

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

44 Pleasure and advantage are to be tested by right,

45 Right by right;

46 Advantage by advantage ;

47 Pleasure by pleasure ,

48 Liberation of the soul by liberation.

49 Injunction of a guru is to be executed, even when at variance with right, as the marriage of the Pandavas, Aquna's asceticism, Vyasa's intercourse with a widow, the begetting of Kama, Rama's'' punishment of a mother and so on

40 'Like Iahvar\*'. his motives must be inscrutable.

49 The references ate to well-known stones in the

60 Even a son, at variance with policy, is an enemy

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

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

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

54 During counsel he should not not evoke anger

55 Right is the main factor, not personal objects,

56 Happiness unrighteously enjoyed is no friend,

57 Maintenance of position is [ or and ] enhancement.

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

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

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

60 One bad man ruins many

61 Fate depends upon manhood,

51 We translate *mantre na prateshayat*

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

57 I translate *sththr vardhanam* reading'' *sthstwardha-* warn, we might render ' [ he should arm at ] enhancement of *km* actual position<sup>1</sup> or '.. conservation and enhancement'

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

61 A common sentiment of *shulra-ma*, 1.95.-G

62 Whoso loves his own wife and in taming himself has capacity, is without equal

63 A good man tuins not aside thiohgh fear

64 What at that time is proper is not to bespoken by friends not conveisant with matteis of speech

65 One of anogant heart, lost to lespect for right, not self-conti oiled, he could not admonish

66 when exhausted with fughtful acts,' sunk m the sleep of ignorance, he should enlighten the fool with the cool airs of nghteous speeches

67 Among bad *men* a good man shines foith like the sun

68 Those committed to unrighteousness he should check by proper conduct

69 In unrighteousness he should not involve himself

70 In ill-repute he should not molve himself

71 He should not slay

72 Let a fool be lestiamed, like an elephant, with the hook of righteous reading

73 A guru's word is not to be transgiessed, if in accordance with reason

74 Even a guru, if not equipped with policy, he should disregard.

75 A guru says it

So in the *Bnhaspatt Suti a* the Second Chapter

### III ( VIDYA J)

1 Manliness is the quality of one superior to weakness

2 One becomes superior to weakness by residence in other countries

3 Of all powers, tunes, countries, conciliations, nativities, strengths, exercises, ages knowledge is to be acquired

4 Also endurance of fasting and so forth,

5 He should make treasures with fragrances and robes.

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

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

8 He should know new mantias

9 These are threefold Shakta, Vaishnava, Shaiva and their further divisions

10 Entrance to the city of Liberation is by three:

11 Shakta, Vaishnava, Shaiva

12 The Shakta is like a journey in a vessel,

13 The Vaishnava like a high load ,

14 That which believes in *Revala* and *Piadhana* is like a horse chariot,

15 The *Laukayatika*, *Kshapanaka*, *Bauddha* and *go forth* are like a cavernous route through a desolate forest swarming with many tigers and malignant beasts,

9—16 Again apparently a sectarian insertion  
cf *ad II 8*, III 83

14 The is the Shuva system see *Sartadarihana*

16 Havig marked this, let him'have reooune to one

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

18 And let him defend the order of four castes

19 And let him make use of medicines ,

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

21 Let him proem e success by gifts, honours, ornaments, and sciences

22 Let him watch the eighteen *Tirthas*

23 *llrthas* ate the six constituents of royalty, also enerm, fuend, and neutral

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

23 Also wives, sons, and kinsmen

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

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

22 *Tirtha* a technical term in the Science of Policy for the important personalities in the kingdom. The use is some what peculiar in 23,

28 The constituents (*praknti*), as usually enumerated, are king, minister, country, fortress, treasury, army, and friend\* see *Arthashastra*, c 95, and Formichr, op, cat, p. 92.

2? 'Twilight-pools' would be places for perleming twiiht worship.

- 28 Let him have festive attire  
29 At the city gate let there be a general stoppage,  
30 However, let him not exclude all  
31 Let him honour *Iihdsas* and *Purdnas*,  
32 And expositions thereof  
33 And the *Shakta* scriptures .  
34 And the *Vaikhansa* scriptures ,  
25 And the *Sankhya*,  
36 And the *Shatva*.  
37 As regards all these, let him perform and  
require the due study,  
38 A Brahman let him not slay, even if infected  
with faults.  
39 To the unmerciful [ no ] mercy should be  
shown,  
40 Let him show respect to village headmen  
41 Also to city magnates.  
42 Let him conciliate even the weak,  
43 By largesse much  
44 Not also with little,  
45 In the case of excellent persons not in the  
order of the plenitude of their merits.  
46 Let him play with dice:  
47 Also [ Or ] let him not play at all  
48 Serpents and so forth let him slay.

32 'Expositions' The word *pzha* would seem to be \*  
synonym for *palte in janapalat, lokapakti* 'teaching the people' r  
see *Shatapitha-Brahmana XI 5 7 1*.

33—7 Thesesutras are perhaps again an  
Introduction and *ad It 8,111 9*.

39 Or 'no mercy (adaya).

49 High Brakrfians, pei footed fry vanous *mantras*  
and rich in knowledge, let him honour

50 Biahmnns ofother *countries*, *Kshatriyas pimces*,  
feudatones, and so foith let him welcome as if they  
were himself with viands, clothing, and so forth

61 A refugee, though qualified by all crimes, let  
him protect

52 Let him check the bad,

53 And protect the learned

54 Let him not oppress a a Village

55 Or a city

56 Or temples

57 Let him m ike use of fermented liquors,

58 Not in excess, however

59 Also flesh food

60 Compassion to life must be shown

61 The Bauddha, wiry and so forth not

62 Nor as regards imperceptible ( cieatures ).

63 Gay ladies are to be used

64 The eaith has a measure of fifty kiores of  
*tfojanas*

65 And it hits semi continents

66 And is gut with seven seas

67 *Kanna, Bhoga, Atbhoga, Divya, Shingdra,*

61 The Buddhists and Jeans especially denounce killing  
in sacrifice

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

fr7 These names, as applied to the seven *dnpas* do net  
seet to occur olsewhere but *Bhrcta Versha* is *karmc-bhumt* in

*Stddha* and *Kawalya* are the designations of the continents

68 The midmost is the Land of Action (*Kar ma*)

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

70 Therein to the north is Himvat

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

72 Therein to the south is Bhaita Khanda

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

74 In relation therto is the administration of punishment

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

76 By administration of punishment the holy San is king;

77 And Wind and all the gods

78 And mortal creatures,

79 From Badanka to [Mma's] Bridge is ft distance of one thousand *yojanas*

80 From Dvirki as far as Purushottama and the

70 'On the north' • This cannot mean on the north of Hera or of Jambadvipe, which would be contrary to the ordinary view. it must, therefore, mean 'starting with the north' of Indis

71 Nine thousand' The usual estimate as in the  
*Pvrena* II 3 2

79 asame estimate is given by the

80 The *Purushattama-hehetre* is in Onssa, and the

Shalagrama is a distance of seven hundred *yojanas*

81 In this area also are the seven Great Mountains, Raivataka, Vindhya, Sahya, Kumara, Malaya, Shrfparvata, Panyatra

82 And the Great Rivers, Ganga, Sarasvati, Kalindf, Godavari, Kaven, Tdmrapaini, Ghiitamala

83 And eighteen counting

84 Eighteer are the niairtime kings

85 And eighteen the lull kings

86 The creation of Rama consists of one hundred and forty (*yojanas* ? ) on the south and north, as far as the Sahya twelve , that of Vishvamitra eleven

87 Nepal one hundred and four

88 On the shore of the eastern sea

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

*shaiagmma-kah* is supposed to be on the river Gandak see Wilson's *Vishnu-P* (inder)

82 'Great Rivers' The word *lulavadi* dees not seem to occur elsewhere On theivanous lists of the chief rivers see Wilson's note, *Yishnu-P* II pp 131-2 The Ghritamala is,doubt« less, Wilson's *Kritams fa*.

86 'The Creation of Rama' and the Creation of Vishvamifca' The Epic story of Vism,mitra's attempt at a rival oreation is well known , but the phrase *Vishvtinitra-srishiti* does not seem to occur in the literature In the tradition of the pandits the ideas quite familiar, *Vishvamtra* being credited (like Ahriman anxmng the Iranians) with the authorship of all faulty orjmsshapen and misbegotten things, such as the mirage.

The application of the numbers in this *sxxtra* ia obscure, la 'as far aa the Sahya'=in twoadth ?

88 The site of the *Varum-tirtha* does not appea? to be known.

80 Each one hundred and five are corthcm Lata,  
And eastern Lata

90 Kashi and the Pancala countiy aie together  
eighty ,

91 Kekaya and Snnjaya are sixty ,

92 The Matsya and Magadha countiy one hund-  
icd ,

93 Mtlava and Shakimta eighty ,

94 Kosala and Avanti sixty ,

95 Saihya and Vidaibha togethei two hundied ,

96 Videha and the Kuru countiy one hundied ,

97 Kl'nboja and D isli arn eighty

9S These are the g' oat countnes

99 These indeed aie four-coineied

100) The Aiatta and Bahlika country are from  
south to north one hunhed, fiom east to westtwehe

101 The Shika and Sutahtia country arc four-  
corneiei and of forty

102 Anga, Vanga, and Kahnga aie of one hund-  
red and four-cornerod

103 Kashmir, the Huna and Ambashtha countnes,  
and Sindh are of one hundied and four-cornered

104 The Kirata, Sauvira, Cola, and Pandya coun-  
tries, situated on north and south are of one hundred  
increased by sixty.

**89 sqq** For other lists of countries and peoples see  
Mahabharata, *Bhishma-parvan*, IV 317-378. *Vvhnnu-Purtna*, II 3,  
Varaha's *Brshat- samhita*, XIV *Garga-samhita* (*Janapada-tyuha* ),

**98** Sbakunta is not elsewhere known at name of a country  
or people.

**108** The Hunas are, doubtlees, those of Hnndesh,

105 The Yadava country and Kaur are of one hundred and forty

106 These are minor countries

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

108 These are on the water

109 On mount Sahaya are four hill countries ,

110 On Shriparvata two,

111 On Raivataka one ,

112 On the Vindhya five ,

113 on Kumara one ,

114 On Mahendra three,

115 On Panyatia three

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

117 In the Mleccha regions are Yavava countries, mountainous

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

119 Eight are the Vaishnava domains ,

120 Badaiika, Shalgrama, Purashottama, Dvaiika, Bilvacria, Ananta, Siraha, Shiranga

121 Eight the Shaiva ,

122 Avimuktaka, Ganga-dvara, Shiva-kshetra,

105 Yadavas Perhaps those of Devagm,

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

119—127 Again an insertion ?

120 Bilvacala . . Smha i Perhaps the Bilvadri and Simbacala of which wahanmyas exist

Rame-Yamuna (?), Shiva-sarasvati, Mavya, Sharduls,  
and Gaja kshetias

123 The Shaktaare also eight;

124 Oghghina Jala, Puina, Kama, Kolla, Shrl-  
ahaiia, Kanci Mahendra,

125 These are the great domains;

126 And effective of ail attainment;

127 Also ineffective [ *or to be worshipped* ]

128 On the Vmdhya dwells perpetually Duigd,  
and Bhadiakali,

129 On Kumara Kutnii dwells perpetually ,

130 On Sahya Ganapati ;

131 On Rnvataka the Teacher,

132 On Mahendia Garnda ,

133 On Pciuydtia Kshetrapala,

134 In the Land of Action, wich is Bharata, the  
gods are many times as numeious as the men.

135 Gods, Demons, Yakshas, Rakshasag, Bhutas,  
Pretas, Vindyakas, Kushmandas, those with distorted  
features

136 What they carry and their dress are deter-  
inmate

137 Friendly or Terrifying, *Yogins* and *Nagas*;  
they, assuming forms at will, consort in counties  
numbers with mankind,

138 And by men they may be protected

130 In that [Bhdrata coun' ry] are ambrosial herbs,

122 Avimuktaka Beunres,

124 Oghghina Ujjam ?

131 The Teacher Brihasp ti

133 Kshetrapala Shiva.

140 At this point the number of the ages, the *Krita*, *Treta Dcapai a*, and *Tishya*

141 In the *Kikta* [ the creatures are ] possessed of knowledge,

142 And versed in the administration of punishment,

143 In the *Treta* they are active and skilled in policy

144 In the *Dapary* aie followeis of *Tantrikas* and of strong tastes,

143 And versed in policy

146 In the *Tashya* quaiter men are strong in knowledga and action, and veised in the adiriinistiahon of prfhishmetit

147 After that they are of diveise rightfulness, colour, and dress, and void of the administration of punishment

148 And the peoples heboid, intent upon false speaking Thus says the Preceptor

So in the *Bi ihaspati Sutea a* the third chapter.

**140 The Mahabhinata also names the Tishya as the**

#### IV ( Omens and Counsel)

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

I The Brshana *muhurta* is the early morning see Weber *faMw Studtm*, x p 296, and *Aitareya Brthmana* IL 15.

4 The Greek writers mention the early *moraing salut* ation of an Indian lung by an elephant (Aehaa, XIII c 22).

12 Or decease of camphor, sandal, and agallchum

21 Also the spectacle of vultures

22 Also a twilight blaze

23 Also the cry of quelling jackals.

24 Of the sound of carmorous beasts is heard at the gate of village or city

25 Where also sweating of images of gods is perceived, there departure to another place is the only appeasement there is no remedy

29 Unavoidably to be observed are these acts

27 Victory is looted in counsel

28 Men are of three kinds, best, worst and middle.

29 In counsel also [ is the same plurality ]

30 That action is best which is undertaken in company with connections, kinsmen, friends, the learned, the thoughtful

31 And, when right is doubtful, devotion to a guru

32 He is best who sets to after taking counsel with men intent on advantage

33 If, after thinking out good and bad results, he sets to through being overcome by folly, he is the worst

34, That counsel is best which is taken unanimously, under the guidance of policy, by wise councillors.

35 Where, at first of diverse opinions, they are afterwards unanimous, that is the middle

23 'Sweating of images' Cf *Hartha-pania*, trans, p 147, also Vefrgil's *et maestum tliacrvrmt templis ebur atraque sudant* (Georg 1 480), and Milton's

'And the chill marble seems to sweat

' While each pebble power foygoos his-wanted seat'

36 Where there is broiling and reproach, one being for right, one for interest, along with women, children, and the aged, tears on the one part, anger on the other, that is the worst

37 First the measure is introduced by the master

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

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

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

41 The measure is to be considered after placating the master

42 Having first extolled the master's strong points, and then weighed his master's weak points, the weak points of the adviseary, and the weak points of the netural, let him agarin lay stress upon the master's strong points.

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

44 With careless, assailed, unfortuniate persons warlike enterprises do not succeed

38 'Rigid prostration' The word *dandapranama* 'prostration with the body str -lglit as a stick' occurs in the *Dashakumara-carita* see the St petensbaig lexicon.

39 Vaisravana and Vrcaspati are apparantly namod as types of king and Brahman Note the negative verb *abhunjate*

42 *Guna* and *dosha* are here untechoical of II 1.

45 Against a not careless, right-knowing person, a master of his senses, a conqueror, one angry against the powerful and hard to assail wailke enterprise is not to be undertaken.

46 " One knowing the *Shastras*, how does he not understand measures?" so let let not say

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

48 Let him not make the first advance in rendering services

49 Also let him certainly icndci seivice

50 As regards an unavoidable disastei, having disceined it in advance, let him piovide lemedy for the disaster

51 So says the Gum,

So in the *Brikmpatt Suti a* the Fourth Chapter

**46 I e lot him not clarm practical infallibly on the ground of leaining**

## V ( *Upayas* )

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

I The four *upayas* are, of course, war, dissection, conciliation, and bribery.

17 Kinsmen, crocodiles among the tortuses of secrets of mantras and sciences, not to act without good omens, and disasters (1)

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

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

20 According to merit let him entertain a people in his service

21 Let him test by their sentiments

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

23 He may be known by his results

24 A composed person not

25 One whose mind is without apprehension is calm

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

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

28 Unflinching in the heart the [ effects of ] former good and evil arise, [ so ] the bad man would not ~~conceal~~ act as such

29 The noble are not to be highly honoured

30 So says the Preceptor, *Bṛhaspati*.

So in the *Bṛhaspati Sūtra* the Fifth Chapter

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

19 Accountage after *vi-śvas*, as in 1 38

Reading *caro' vācrah sahāsa-nā gnyate*

Conceal' vi-śva may, it appears, sometimes have been used.

27 Reading *nayayukt* in The meaning is, however, not clear.

## VI ( *Nayā* )

1 He should ~~not~~ know the action, ~~and~~ to place and time, also policy and impolicy

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

3 Let him observe friendly acts

4 Policy is carried out after examination by councillors

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

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

7 Let him acquire wealth.

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

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

10 In riches is rooted the world.

11 And therein are all things

12 A man without riches is a dead man and

*Candāta*

13 Likewise let him acquire knowledge ~~the~~ of righteousness.

14 In knowledge is rooted the world.

15 Knowledge again is all

16 So says the Guru.

So in the *Bṛhhaspati Sūtra* the Sixth Chapter.

8 Reading *anikṛyan* in place of *vikram*. The sense would seem to be that one who would employ his intelligence in ~~any~~ which he personifies, disliked would be a ~~trustworthy~~ councillor.







