Structure of the *Rājadharma* Section in the *Yājñavalkya-smṛti* (i. 309 – 368)

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The *Rājadharma* section (i. 309 – 368) of the *Yājñavalkya-smṛti* (abbr. YS) may not attract much attention of the reader, for it consists, as has been pointed out, mostly of literal borrowings and adaptations from earlier sources such as the *Manu-smṛti* (MS) and the *Arthasastra* (AŚ). The same applies to some extent to the whole YS, but the *Rājadharma* section, in my view, is marked by this feature more than any other part of the text. Probably because of this feature, this section was ignored even by the Purāṇas that quoted extensively from this text.


for the other topics.\(^3\) From another point of view, however, we must recognize, for the very reason, a special value in this section. Since we can analyze the structure of this section without much problem by comparing with outside-sources, this section will prove a good sample for understanding the method and intention of the author in composing his text. This is the reason why we pay particular attention to the Rājadharma section of the YS in this article. Careful analysis of its structure, I hope, will give us a clearer understanding of the actual relationship of the YS with the Arthaśāstra, especially with the extant Kautilya's Arthaśāstra (KAŚ), than has been discussed by various scholars through their comparison of individual passages.\(^4\)

Reference to the Rājadharma,\(^5\) king's duties and occupations, is not absent in the Dharmasūtras,\(^6\) but we must wait until the MS to see a full discussion of it in the Dharmaśāstra. The whole seventh and

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3 I do not agree with Losch in thinking that the Rājadharma section is a later interpolation. It is quite hard to believe that the author (or compiler) of the YS, who made a model of the MS, totally ignored Rājadharma, such a prominent part of the MS, in his text. My view is: the section, being a part of the original YS, was ignored by the Paurāṇikas because they had, in their part, a more advanced theory of Rājadharma. I plant to show in a separate article through comparison of Manu and the MBh on Rājadharma that the theory of divine king and his conducts did not originally belong to the domain of the Dharmaśāstra but was produced and developed among the Aitihāsika-Paurāṇikas.

4 On the history of this argument, see R. P. Kangle's article (Nagpur 1965). 240–242. For the abbreviations of the Sanskrit texts, see the end of this article.

5 The word is not used in the Dharmasūtras except 4 cases in BauDhS. In the MBh the word concentrates on Book xii — Book i (3 times), ii(1), iii(1), v(5), vi(1), vii(1), xi(1), xii(56) [75%] xiii(2), xix(1), xv(2); rājadharmaṇyam KAŚ iii,16,19. Compare with an over-all distribution of ksatra-/ksātra-dharma in the MBh: i(6), ii(4), iii(12), iv(2), v(28), vi(14), vii(24), viii(7), ix(14), x(10), xi (3), xii(43) [22%], xiii(8), xiv(12), xv(6), xvii(4), (also ksatriyadharmma 4 times in the whole MBh.); three times, including one ksatriyadharmma in MS; none in KAŚ.

part of the ninth chapter of it are dedicated to the description of various topics of Rājadharmā. We can also include the eighth chapter (Vyavahāra) between the two under the subject of Rājadharmā in a wider sense of it.

The seventh chapter of the MS on Rājadharmā may be roughly divided into two parts: vss. 1–35 and the rest. The first part is devoted to the declaration of king's divine status. Here the king is elevated to the status equal to the gods and regarded, like Viśnu's Avatāra, as a god in the human form created from the eight Lokapālas to save the good and punish the evil. After thus proclaiming the majesty of a king, the author of the MS describes king's ethics, administration, politics, military actions and strategies in the second or main part of the chapter (vss. 36–226).

The description is arranged as if it form a one-day drama, beginning with the morning of the king (vs. vii. 37. Restated in vii. 145) and ending with his sleep after the evening meal and entertainment (vii. 225). What he does next is, as is described in vii. 145 (cf. vii. 37, viii. 1–3), to get up early in the morning, perform morning rituals and duties, and go to the court to handle legal cases brought by the people. The seventh chapter is thus organized as introduction to the eighth chapter of Vyavahāra. It is quite evident that the purpose of the seventh chapter lies in founding king's authority as a basis of judicial proceedings described in the succeeding chapters.

Interestingly, correspondence of the YS with the MS begins at the end of the first part of the seventh chapter. In other words, glorification of kingship is omitted from the head of the Rājadharmā.

7 Cf. KAŚ i. 19. 21–24, 9–10; MS vii. 225, 145–146; YS i. 327 a–c, 331 cd–333.
section in the YS. One may hold from this opening that the author or compiler of the YS relied in his composition on the Arthaśāstra, which shows little interest in the king's divinity. This is not a baseless idea. In the following pages we will see that the KAŚ exerted its influence on almost the whole structure of the Rājadharma section of the YS.

Correspondence between the YS and the KAŚ has already been pointed out by Jolly, Meyer, Losch, Kangle and others. In this article we focus our attention on the Rājadharma section and make a more careful analysis of the parallel passages in order to understand the structure of this section and the nature of the Yājñavalkya Smṛti as a whole.

Unlike the MS, the Rājadharma section begins with the description of an ideal king in the YS (309 - 310).

\[\text{ i. 309 ab mahotsāh}^{10} \text{ sthūlalakaśah}^{11} \text{ kṛtajño}^{12} \text{ vrddhasevītā}^{13} / \]

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8 The only passage I have noticed in the KAŚ on the divine origin of a king is i. 13. 5 māṭṣyanāyāḥbhībhūtāḥ praṇā manum vaivasvatam rājānam cakrire. But this phrase occurs not as Kautilya's but as the words of a secret agent.

9 Cf. above note 2.

10 Utsāha 'mental energy,' 'fighting spirit' in contrast to prabhāva 'material strength.' Cf. KAŚ ix. 1, 2–9.

11 M bahudeyarthadarsi ; Nilakantha on MBh xii. 19 bahuprada ; Stenzler (& PW) kenntnissreich oder freigebig. But I simply take it literally as 'having a huge target,' that is, 'ambitious.' This word appears in various forms: sthūlalakṣa YS, KAŚ vi. 1, 3, VDhP ii. 3, 2; sthūlalaksitā AP 239. 4, KNS viii. 7; sthūlalakṣya MBh 12. 56, 19, 112, 28, MP 220, 29, VDhP ii. 65, 30, KNS iv. 8; sthautalakṣya MS vii. 211; cf. also laksyajña ŚL (Dharmakośa, 4/3, 172).

The initials B, M, A in the notes respectively mean Bā lakridā, Mitākṣarā, and Aparārka.

12 On the meaning of kṛtajña, see MBh v. 33, 18 yasya kṛtyam na jānanti mantram vā mantritam pare, kṛtam evāṣya jānanti sa vai pāṇḍita ucyate; also ibid. v. 44, 7, xii. 98, 17, 109, 19; ViS xxx. 47; VDhP iii. 370 (kṛtajñatāgunanirāpana) (information partly from my friend, Prof. T. Goto).

13 This is the reading of B. M & A, on the other hand, have sevakah. I have preferred the former reading because the latter does not occur in the MBh and other related texts: vrddhasevī MBh ii. 50, 13, iii. 254, 12, v. 30, 14, 52, 11, xii. 281, 23, xii. 11, 9, KAŚ vii. 3, 66, MS vii. 38, ViS iii. 77; vrddhasevī AP 239, 3, KNS iv. 6; vrddhasevītām KNS vii. 7; vrddhasevītā MBh iii. 261, 3; vrddhasevītāh MBh i. 45, 14, vrddhānam . . . upāstiā Rām ii. 2, 22. Respect to the elders is further stressed in NS xviii. 32, MP 215, 51–52, VDhP ii. 65, 43–44.
Translation: “Of great spirit, ambitious, grateful, attentive to the seniors, trained [in the Ānvikṣiki, etc.], having guts, of a good descent, speaking truth, pure, quick in action, endowed with good memory, attended by worthy people, righteous, firm in devotion, intelligent, brave, and knowing esoteric teaching...”

As has been mentioned by others, this passage has its source in

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14 'Prompt in action.' Cf. MP 220. 29cd-30ab (VDhp ii. 65. 31): adirgahsutraś ca bhavet sarvakarmasū pārthivah, dirgahsūtrasaṁ nrpatē kāmahānīṁ dhruvaṁ bhavet.

15 'Having a good memory.' Cf. MBh xiii. 103. 25a-d sa (=Nahusa) tu tais tāṁ pradānaiś ca tapobhir niyamais tathā, patito 'pi mahārājāṁ bhūtale smṛtimāṁ abhūt.

16 M & A read aksudroparūsas. B preserves the correct reading aksudraparīṣat. Cf. KAŚ vi. 1. 3 (aksudraparīṣat); also AP 239. 3 (aksudraparīṣat), KNS iv. 7 (aksudraparīṣat), ibid. viii. 11 (akṛṣraparīṣat). Meyer, however, is inclined to take aksudro'paruśako for the original wording. Cf. op. cit. p. 184.

17 This is the reading of B, found also in VDhp ii. 3. 3. Cf. drīṣhabhaktitā (AP 239. 4, KNS iv. 7), bhaktijnatvam (KNS viii. 9). M & A, on the other hand, give a new reading 'vyasanaś caiva. The reading of B appears to me a corruption of the original drīṣhabuddhi−(KAŚ).

18 Rahasya probably means the Upanisads. Cf. MS ii. 140,165, xi. 262.

19 The Bālakridā often presents the correct reading. Correction based on the B reading is marked with an underline in the text. The reason is explained in the footnote.

I do not agree with Losch in thinking that the Purānic parallels preserve better readings. (Cf. op. cit. [Leipzig 1927], LVIII–LIX.) He failed to notice that "correct readings in the Purānas" are supported in general by the Bālakridā. On the other hand, the readings peculiar to the Purānas are often a product of Purānic emendation or corruption. His text, mechanically reconstructed from the Purānas, therefore is a mess full of unreliable readings. In any case, this point does not concern our Rājadharma section which has no parallel in the Purānas.

20 For similar expressions see further Rām ii. 2. 20–22; AP 239. 2cd-6, VDhp ii. 3. 1–3; KNS iv. 6–8, viii. 7–11. Cf. also ViS iii. 75f., MP 220; Meyer, op. cit., p. 290.

21 Cf. Meyer, op. cit., p. 402f.; Losch, op. cit., xxvii; Kangle, article (Nagpur 1965), p. 240. Meyer considers that the YS sometimes shows the older reading than that of the KAŚ, admitting the former as a whole is younger than the latter. But I have met no example to support his argument, so far as the Rājadharma section is concerned.
KAŚ vi.1.3 mahākulīno daivabuddhisattvasampanno vrddhadarśī dhārmikah satyavāg avisamvādakah krtajñah sthūlalakśo mahotsāhō dirghāsūtrah sakyasāmantō drdhabuddhir aksudraparīsatko vinayakāma ity ābhigānīkā gunāh and partly agrees with the beginning verses (vii. 37–39) of the main part of MS, Chapter Seven. (N. B. In the quotation the identical or a similar phrase is marked with an underline and a word related in meaning with a dot–line.)

After defining the ideal king at the outset, the author then enters into the description of various topics concerning Rājadharma. First, he talks on the education of a king, selection of ministers, council with them, and appointment of a Purohita and the Rtvij priests, which, we must note, are all among the topics belonging to the first chapter of the KAŚ. The verses consist of the elements taken from the MS, along the order of description in it, and from the KAŚ.

22 Svarandhragoptā is a hapax legomenon in our texts [listed at the end of this article]. Cf. the following expressions — MBh ii.16.5 (svarandhāvarane sthitāh), xii.57.14 (samvrtaranāh), xv.10.14 svarandhram pararanthram ca svesu caiva paresu ca, upalakṣayitavyam te nityam eva yuddhisthira, v.10.32 (randhrāνvēṣi), xiii. 2.79 (randhrāνvēṣi); MS vii.105 nāsyā cchidram paro vidiyād vidiyāc cchidram parasya tu, guhēt kūrma ivēngāni rakṣed vivaramāntah=MP 215.67, VDhP, ii. 65.59. Cf. further MBh xii.84.46, 138.7–8, 24; KAŚ i.15.60; MS vii.102cd; KNS iv.15., xiii.7, etc.

On ānvikṣikī see KAŚ i.2.10–11 sāmkhyam yogo lokāyatam cety ānvikṣikī; dharmadharmaṁ trayyām arthānarthau vārttāyām navāpanayanu dandanītyām balābale catāśām hetubhir ānvikṣamānā lokasyopakaroti... and i.2.12cd āśrayaḥ sarvadharmaṁ śaśved ānvikṣikī matā.

23 Dandanīta is described in KAŚ i.4.3 ānvikṣikītrayāvārttānām yogakṣemāsādhano dandah, tasya nītir dandanīthī, alabdhabalabharthā labdhaparīkṣanī raksitavivardhanī vrddhasya śīrthc pratiśādani ca.

24 Vārttā is defined in KAŚ i.4.1 kṛṣipāśupālye vanijyā ca vārttā, dhānyapaśuḥhiranyakupavistāpradānād aupakārikaḥ. Cf. also KNS ii.14.
Let us look carefully at each verses and their parallels in outside-sources. Vs. 311 ("The king, who guards his own vulnerable points and is trained in philosophy, politics, economics and Vedic study") is based on KAŚ i.2.1, which lists these four sciences as the subjects of royal education. On this topic our author cleverly follows the KAS, avoiding the younger list of five sciences in the MS with ātmavidyā, introduced under the influence of Vedānta philosophy (vi.43 trayvidyebhyas trayiṁ
vidyād danānditīṁ ca śāsvattīṁ, ānvīksīkīṁ cātmavidyāṁ vārtārambhāṁ ca lokatāḥ).
The first line of 312ab ("He should appoint ministers who are intelligent, native, steadfast and pure.") is a copy of MS vii.60ab anyān api prakurvitā śucin prājñān avasthitān. \(^{33}\) Śthirān of the YS is apparently a paraphrase of avasthitān in the MS. Maulān\(^ {34}\) indicates an influence from MS vii. 54 maulān chāstra-viḍiḍaḥ sūrāml labdhalaksan kulodbhavan, sacivān sapta cāṣṭau vā prakurvīta parikṣitān.

312c is almost identical with MS vii.56a tāiḥ sārdham cintayen nityam. A clumsy expression of 312cd ("He should deliberate on his business with them or with one Brahmin [or] afterwards by himself.") must be the result of incorporating alternative views expressed in KĀŚ i.15.34 ("He should hold consultations with three or four councillors." [Kangle tr.])\(^ {35}\) and in 41 ("However, in conformity with the place, time and work to be done, he should deliberate with one or two, or alone by himself, according to [their and his own] competence." [Kangle tr.]).\(^ {36}\)

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\(^{33}\) Cf. also KĀŚ i.7. 9bcd cakram ekaṃ na vartate, kurvīta sacivāṃms tasmāt teṣām ca śrūṇyāna matam.

On the qualities of ministers or king's associates, cf. MBh xii.57.23-25 (sahāya), xii.81.29 (amātya), 84.21-22 (mantrin), xv.9.14 (amātya) (ab=ii.5.33ab), 9.20 (mantrin); KĀŚ i.9.1 (amātya); AP 239.11-15ab (saciva); Viś iii. 71 (sahāya); MP 215. 2-7 (sahāya) (cf. VDHp ii.24.2-6) (vs. 3 almost identical with MBh xii.81.1). MP 215. 76-78ab (sahāya) (VDHp ii.24.47cd-49). AP 218.4 (mantrin); KNS iv.25 (saciva), 28-31 (mantrin).

\(^{34}\) Maula—'native' 'of the capital' (from mula 'capital'. Cf. KĀŚ vii.2.14, 3.33, 8. 5, etc.), also 'aboriginal,' 'indigenous,' 'hereditary.' Originally a military term? In meaning it partly overlaps the words such as pitrpaṭāmaḥ-(MBh i.5.33, xv. 9.14; KĀŚ i.8.16) and svadeśaja-(MBh xii.84.17). The KĀŚ often uses this word for 'regular army' in contradistinction to the enemy-troup, allied forces, mercenary troup, etc. Cf. KĀŚ ii.33.8 sa maulabhṛtaṇiṁitrāmīrātāvibalānām sārphalgutām vidyati; also ibid. vii.8.27, ix.2.1, 2, 3, 14, x.1.7, xii.1.28. In the MBh this word occurs with this meaning only in a later Parvan (xv.12.7, 8). Cf. also Nikkaṇṭha (kulācāra) on MBh xii.121.49.

\(^{35}\) mantrabhis trihiṣi caturbhīr vā saha mantrayeta.

Similarly, neither many nor one minister is recommended in MBh i.5.19; MP 220.37cd=AP 225.18cd. Cf. MP 235.10ab, VDHp 2.151.20cd.

\(^{36}\) i.15.41 deśakahālakāryavaśena tv ekena saha dīvābhyaṃ eko vā yathāsāmārthayam mantrayeta. Only one minister is said sufficient if he is excellent in MBh ii.5.26, xii.81.25; also AP 225.20cd, VDHp ii.151.20cd.

Kauṭilya further recommends a consultation with ministers individually and simultaneously (i.15.43). Cf. also MS vii.57; AP 225.19ab.
The first Pāda of 313 ("He should appoint a Purohita") is identical with MS vii. 78a purohitam ca kurvita but the rest of it ("who knows astrology, is outstanding [in regard to lineage and character] and versed in politics and the Atharvāṅgirasa") comes from KAŚ i. 9. 9 purohitam uditoditakulaśīlam sānge vede daive nimitte daṅdanityām cābhivinitam āpadām daivamānusīnām atharvabhir upāyaiś ca pratikartāram kurvita. Abhivinitam is rendered into kusalam in our text. Strange compound uditoditakulaśīlam (KAŚ), is a good example of the author's abnormal style of contraction.

Vs. 314 ("He should select the Rtvij priests for the sake of the Śrauta and Smārtta rituals and perform sacrifices rich in donation according to the rules.") is a paraphrase of MS vii. 78 b–79 ab vrnyād eva cartvijah, te'śya grhaṇi karmāṇi kuryur vaitānikāṇi ca; yajeta rāja krutabhir vividhair āptadaksinaih. Pāda b is identical with MS vii. 78b, but grhaṇi karmāṇi... vaitānikāṇi in MS vii. 78 cd is changed into a rare compound śrauta-smārtakriyā in our text.

In association with sacrifices mentioned in 314, the author then refers to the merit of gift to the Brahmīns.

i.315 ab bhogāṃś ca dadyād vasūṇi vividhāṇi ca /

i.315 cd akṣayō'yaṃ nidhi rājām yad vipreśūpapāditam //

i.316 ab askannam avyatham caiva prāyaścittair adūsitam /

i.316 cd agneh sakāśad90 viprāgnau hutam śreṣṭham40 ihocytes //

38 Contrary to our general idea, śrautasmārtta– is not a popular expression. In our texts it appears, besides this passage, only in YS ii. 69 (M&A), BS (Vyavahāra) v. 38 (p. 56) (śrautasmārtakriyāyuktāḥ), and ibid. i(Samskāra), 265 (p. 288). Cf. also YS iii. 49 (B&A. śravatam smārttam in M.)
39 "From or than the Agni." On this usage of sakāśa– see Speijer, Sanskrit Syntax, 189(p. 136). However, there is no example of this usage in the MBh. Our author again uses this word in a similar way in iii. 67 (sakāśad atmanah).
40 Epic superative of the comparative use. Cf. varistha– in MS 7. 84; Speijer, SS, p. 188.
Vs. 315 ("He should give enjoyments and various goods to the Brahmins. Imperishable is this deposit of kings consigned to the Brahmins.") consists of two lines derived from different parts of the MS, i.e., vii.79cd dharmārtham caiva viprebhyya dadyād bhogān dhanāni ca and vii.82cd nrpānām aksayo hy esa nidhir brāhmaṇ'bhādhīyate.41

Vs. 316 ("The offering in the mouth of a Brahmin, not spilt nor wavering, is said in this world to be superior to the Agni[hotra].") is again a paraphrase of MS vii.84 na skandate na vyathate na vinaśyati kārhit, varistham agnihotrebhyya brāhmanasya mukhe hutam.42 I could not identify the source of the unique expression prāyaścittair adūsitam (316 b) in the earlier texts.43

The next verse (317) contains a famous maxim of the Arthāśāstra, which is stated as follows in the KĀŚ — . . . daṇḍanitir alabdhābhārthā labdhaparirakṣanī rakṣitavivardhanī vṛddhasya tīrthe pratipādanī ca "(The means of ensuring the pursuit of philosophy, the three Vedas and economics is the Rod [wielded by the king]; its administration constitutes) the science of politics, having for its purpose the acquisition of [things] not pos-

41 Cf. also MS vii.83, YS ii.34 ab, Viṣ iii.56.
42 This MS verse goes back to VasDhS xxx. 6-7 athāpy udāharanti, pāti trāti ca dātāram ātmanam caiva kilbīṣaṭ, vedendhanasamṛddhesu hutam vipramukhaṅgisu: na skandate na vyathate nainam adhyāpatec ca yat, varistham agnihotrāḥ brāhmanasya mukhe hutam (na... adhyāpatec "nor assails" Bühler) and the latter again to ŚB i.1.4.3 . . . tasmād adhyavahananam adhipesanam bhavatī asaknam havir asad iti tad evātra tandulo vā piśam vā skandāt tad yañē yañāḥ pratitishhād iti... Cf. ŚB i.3.16, ii.1.4.27; also ii.2.2.2, xiv.4.1.8.

Donation to the Brahmins is compared to a sacrifice into their mouth in MBh xii.329.8 (satapathe hi brāhmanam bhavati...). Cf. also MBh xii.87.29, 124.37, 226.29, xiii.62.10, 148.36; MS iii.98; VDhP ii.32.20-21. The Brahmin, who thus receives the gift in his mouth is called nidhipa 'protector of a deposit.' See, e.g., MBh xiv.64.10 (nidhipa), VasDhS ii.9 (nidhipa) (fr. the Samhitopanisad Br.3, Burnell's ed., 29-32. Cf. also Nir. ii.4.), MS ii.115 (nidhipa), Viṣ xxix.10 (nidhipa).

43 Among later texts, only VDhP 2.32.20-21 (prāyaścittair vivarjitaṁ) indicates influence from this verse.
sessed, the preservation of [things] possessed, the augmentation of [things] preserved and the bestowal of [things] augmented on a worthy recipient." [Kangle tr.] (i. 4. 3)

i. 317 ab alabdham ihed dharmena labdham yatnena pālayet /
i. 317 cd pālitam vardhayen nityam44 vrddham pātresu niksipet //

This verse ("One should try to get in a righteous manner what he has not obtained, protect the obtained with effort, always make the protected augment, and consign the augmented to proper recipients") is an almost literal reproduction of MS vii. 99 alabdham caiva lipseta labdham rakṣet prayatnatah, raksitam vardhayec caiva vrddham pātresu niksipet. The same expression appears again in MS vii. 101 in a slightly different form: alabdham icched dandena labdham raksed aveksayā, raksitam vardhayed vrddhyā vrddham pātresu niksipet.45

Then the author, to our surprise, begins to talk on legal documents in the next passage.

i. 318 ab dattvā bhūmiṃ nibandham46 vā kṛtvā lekhyam47 tu kārayet /48

44 Nītyam (B) is the correct reading, since Niti promotes not only Vṛddhi but also all the four activities mentioned in this verse. See KAS i.4.3 below.
45 Further MBh i.156.19, iii.27.18-19, xii.59.57, 70.29. Cf. xii.95.2-3, 138.5; MS ix.251; AP 238.2; KNS i.18, xiii.57. Cf. Meyer, op. cit., p.140.
46 Kautilya frequently uses the word nibandha and its derivatives, particularly in ii. 7 (on the office of records): i.1.5, ii.2.11, 7.1-2 (nibandhapustaka), 3, 34; ii.7.31 (nibandhaka 'official recorder'); ii.27.10, 29.11, 35.1 (nibandhayet 'he should cause to write down a nibandha'). According to Kane (HDhŚ, Vol.III, p. 575, fn.1082), nibandha means 'a periodic payment or allowance in cash or kind permanently granted by a king, etc.' The word again appears in YS ii.121 bhūr yā pitāmahapattā nibandho dravyam eva vā, tatra syāt sadṛṣam svāmyam pituḥ putrasya caiva hi.
47 'Written document,' one of the three judicial means of proof. Cf. VasDhŚ xvi.10 (likhita), NS i.65 (likhita), YS ii.22 (likhita), etc.
48 Cf. ViŚ iii.81 brāhmaṇeḥhyaś ca bhuvam pratipaḍayet.
This sentence I would translate: “After giving a land or making a periodic payment [to the Brahmins] (?), the king should cause to make a legal document so that a miserly king of the future may have a clear understanding [of the case]. Causing to scribe on a cloth or a copper-plate [the names of] one’s own [three immediately preceding] ancestors and [of] himself, the amount of donation, and the account of [conditions for] grant and confiscation, the king should cause to prepare a lasting decree furnished with his own seal, signature and the time.”

49 This is the reading of B. M&A read āgāmibhadranpati—‘a happy king of the future.’ The latter reading, I suppose, is a later emendation of āgāmiṣudranpati—‘a miserly king of the future,’ which sounds blasphemous.

50 This is the reading of B. Cf. also YS ii.93 (svahastaparicihnitaṃ). It runs -mudraparicihnitaḥ in M&A. I have preferred the former reading because paricihnitaḥ is a normal expression for ‘marked’ in the MBh(iii.176.49, 181.19, xiii.34.25, 41.21).

51 This verse is borrowed by the Viṣṇu (iii.82) yesam ca pratipadayet tesam svavamsyan bhuvah parīmaṇaṃ dānacchedopavaraṇanam ca pate tāmrapatte vā likhitam svamudrāṅkitam cāgāminparīvatijāpanārtham dadyāt. Cf. also BS (Vyavahara) vi.20-25, ibid i(Samskāra), 507–510 dattāv bhāmyādikam rāja tāmrapaṭṭeḥHAV pate, śasanaṃ kārayed dharmyam śthānāvamsyādīsamuyataṃ;...sastivarsahasrasāni dānacchedaphalam likhet; svamudrāvarsamāśārdhadhinādhyāksāksarāṃvitaṃ, evamvidham rāja-krtam śasanaṃ samudāhṛtam.

52 B reads as in the text. M&A have dānacchedo-. Dānaccheda ‘(conditions of) grant and confiscation’? On the reading of B cf. MBh xii.118.19 (dānacchede svayamkāri “independent in donation and confiscation”) and KAŚ ii.1.8–10 karadebhyāḥ krtksetrayā aiḥaparūṣikāṇih pravyacchet, akṛtāni karitrbhyo nādeyāni, akṛṣṭām acchhyādeyābhvāḥ pravyacchet ‘He should allot to tax-payers arable fields for life. Unarable fields should not be taken away from those who are making them arable. He should take away (fields) from those who do not till them and give them to others’ (Kangle tr.); also ibid. viii.5.25c (acchedanād adānād vā). However, some Smrtis show the other reading. See above note 51. Cf. Bühler’s note on Viṣṇu iii.82 “an implication against him who should appropriate the donation to himself”; Stenzler: “die genaue Angabe der Grenze der Gabe.”

53 Cf. YS ii.89, 92.

While all the Dharmasūtras, except VasDhS xvi. 10, 14, 15, and the MS are silent on legal documents, the KAŚ abounds in expressions on written documents, official recorder, and the department of records and in fact has a special section on the office of records in ii. 7. We have good reason to believe that legal document was originally a topic of the Arthaśāstra and that it later became a subject of stronger concern inside the tradition of the Dharmaśāstra under the influence of the AŚ. Our Smṛti, which provides a section for this topic (ii. 84–94), must have taken the initiative in the growth of this interest among the scholars of the Dharmaśāstra. In other words, the YS, in my view, played a role of intermediator, standing on the side of the Dharmaśāstra, between the traditions of Dharma and Artha. We may recall in this connection that the author shows his special concern about the conflict of authority between the two traditions. Presumably land-donation to the Brahmins, etc., recommended in KAŚ ii. 1. 7, invited the author of such situation to make a comment on legal documents in this place. This assumption seems supported by the fact that grant and confiscation [of land], that is, dāna and āccheda (YS i. 320), are discussed in the immediately succeeding paragraphs of the KAŚ (ii. 1. 8-10).

55 Similarly, written documents are repeatedly referred to in the Brhaspati-, the Kātyāyana-, and the Nāradasmṛti (particularly in the Mātrakā as well as in the first and the thirteenth chapter).

56 Cf. YS ii. 21. Similarly NS (Mātrakā) i. 33. Legal documents are treated also in NS i. 114–126. Chronological relationship between the YS and the NS is a delicate question, which needs for solution a careful analysis of discussions on Vyavahāra in the two texts. For now, I have an impression that the NS, which existed before the YS and influenced it, was recognized as a Smṛti(sacred text) after the YS was completed.

On the different interpretations of the word arthaśāstra among the commentators of the Dharmaśāstra, see Hazra op. cit. (1964).
With 318-320 therefore the author has left the first chapter and entered the second of the KAŚ. Note that the topics in the next passage (construction of settlements and forts and appointment of the heads of various departments) belong to the second chapter of the KAŚ. A careful reader will notice that the author returns to the earlier part of the passage (construction of settlements and forts and appointment of the heads of various departments) in the seventh chapter of the MS to pick up material for these topics.

i. 321 ab ramyam paśavyam svājīvyam\textsuperscript{57} jāṅgalam\textsuperscript{58} deśam āvaset\textsuperscript{59} / \textsuperscript{60}

i. 321 cd tatra durgāṇi kurvita janakośātmaguptaye //

i. 322 ab tatra tatra ca niṣṇātān\textsuperscript{61} adhyaksān kuśalān śucin\textsuperscript{62} /

i. 322 cd prakuryād āyakarmāntavyayakarmasu\textsuperscript{63} codyatān //

The first line of 321 ("One should inhabit an arid area, which is pleasant, fit for cattle, and very comfortable to live.") is an abridgement of MS vii. 69 jāṅgalam sasyasampannam āryaprāyam anāvilam, ramyam ānatasāmantam

\textsuperscript{57} svājīvyam B (cf. MS vii.69), ājīyam M&A. Ājīya- as simplex does not occur in the MBh.

\textsuperscript{58} In the MBh Kurujāṅgala ordinarily means Kuruksetra but it is also used in the sense of a 'land of barbarians' (iii.49.19). On the Jāṅgala vs Apūpa, see Francis Zimmermann, \textit{La jungle et le fumet des viandes} (Paris 1982) (information from my colleague, Prof. A. Akamatsu).

\textsuperscript{59} āvaset M&A, āśrayet B.

\textsuperscript{60} Cf. MBh xii.87.6-10; KAŚ ii.3.1f., Meyer \textit{op. cit.} p.212.

\textsuperscript{61} 'Professional,' 'skilled,' 'versed.' Cf. MBh i.94.20 (astreṣu); ii.5.31 (āngeṣu); ii.30.46 (sarvavidyāṣu); iii.193.5 (vidyāṣu); iii.110.30 (sārvatra); xii.192.5 (vedeṣu); xii.224.60, 229.22, 261.1, 229.22, 262.1 (śabdabrahmanī).

\textsuperscript{62} Cf. above note 25.

\textsuperscript{63} Strange compound āyakarmāntavyayakarmasu, \textit{hapax legomenon} of course, is, in my assumption, due to the metrical contraction of ākara- to āya-. Probably the author originally intended to say ākarakarmāntavyayakarmasu ‘in the offices of mine, factory and expenditure.’ Cf. ākarakarmānta- (KAŚ ii.1.19), ākarakarmānte (MS vii.62 c).

\textsuperscript{64} Cf. MBh xii.69.28, xv.9.14; KAŚ i.10.15, 13.21, ii.7.4, ii.9.1-2; ViS iii.7.16-21; AP 239.44. Description of \textit{adhyakṣas} is found in MP 215.11-14 (almost identical with VDhP ii.24.11-42), GP i.112.4-10, AP 220.1-16.

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svājitvyaṁ desaṁ āvaseṭ. 65 Paśavyaṁ (321 a) must be meant as equivalent to saṣyasāmpannam in the MS. The KAS discusses the construction of settlements in the beginning of the second chapter (ii. 1 - 2). 66

321 cd ("There he should construct forts for the sake of protecting the people, treasury and himself.") has no literal correspondence in the earlier texts. But there is little doubt that the author had in mind MS vii. 70 - 73 67 and KAS ii.3.1. 68

Vs. 322 ("And he should appoint superintendents who are professional, skillful, pure, and intent on the offices of income, factory, and expenditure at respective places.") partly agrees in phraseology with MS vii.81 adhyākṣaṁ vividhān kuryāt tatra tatra vipaścitaḥ, teṣya sarvāṇy avekṣeran nrṇāṁ kāryāṇi kurvatāṁ. 69 In the corresponding passage of the KAS (ii.1.4) we find the names of the heads of local offices — aṣṭaṣatagrāmyaḥ madhye sthāṇīya, catuḥṣatagrāmyaḥ dronamukham, dviṣatagrāmyaḥ kārvatikam, daśa agrāṃ samgrahena samgrahanam sthāpayet "He should establish a sthāṇīya in the middle of eight hundred villages, a dronamukha

65 For the later developments of this verse, see the following — ViS iii. 4 - 5 (vaiśyaśūdra-prāyaya); MP 217. 1 - 5 (VDhp ii. 26.1 - 5), VDhp iii.323. 14 cd-15 ab (vaiśyaśūdrajanaprāyaya), AP 222.1-3 (vaiśyasūdrajanaprāyaya), 239.24-27 (śūdra kāraṇvanikaprayaya). Cf. KNS 4.54-56. Only the ViS and the VDhp, reading paśavyaṁ, show influence from the YS. Note that āryaprāyaya (MS) is changed into vaiśyaśūdra-prāyaya and the like in these texts under the influence of KAS ii.1.1-2 (śūdra kāraṇvanikaprayaya).

66 bhūtāpārvam abhūtāpārvam va janapadāṃ paraśāpavāhanena svadesābhishya-vamanena va nīveṣayet, śūdrakārākaprayaya kulaśatāvaram paṅca kulaśataparam grāmam kroṣadvikroṣastamānam anyonyāraksam nīveṣayet.

67 dhanvadurgam mahidurgam abdurgam vārksam eva va, nrđurgam giridurgam va samāśīrtya vāset puram.

68 caṭur-tiṣṇā janapadāntāṃ sāmparāyikāṃ daivakṛtyam durgam kārṇeyam, antardvīpam sthalam ca nimāvaruddham audakam, prāṣṭaram guhām va pārvatam, nirudaka-stambham irrṇām va dhanvam, khaṇḍānodaṅkam stambgaṇahanam va tanadurgam.

Cf. also BS (Vyavahāra) i.28; ViS iii. 6 ; MP 217. 6 - 7 (cf. VDhp ii. 26.6 - 7), AP 222.4 - 5, 239.28 - 29, VDhp iii. 323.15 cd-16; KNS iv.57 - 60.

69 Cf. also KAS ii.7. 4 uttamamadhyamāvareṣu ca karmasu tajjaṭhitam adhyākṣam kuryāt... and ibid. ii.9. 1 amātyasampadopetāḥ sarvādhyākṣaḥ śaktitāḥ karmasu niyojyāḥ.
in the middle of four hundred villages, a *kārvatika* in the middle of two hundred villages, [and] a *samgrahaṇa* in a group of ten villages." [Kangle tr.] 70

The author then talks on the Dharmayuddha (‘righteous war,’ ‘fair play’) in the next passage (323–326). There is no parallel for this passage in the KAŚ, naturally because the Arthaśāstra does not have the idea of Dharmayuddha. It does use the word *kūtayuddha* (x.3.2), but the word is not an antonym of Dharmayuddha as in the Epic and the Dharmaśāstras but of Prakāśayuddha (‘open fighting’). The topic of Dharmayuddha was so familiar to the Dharmaśtrās that the author thought it indispensable for his description of Rājadharma and put it here in relation to MS vii.87–93.72

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70 Cf. MS vii.114–115.
71 Cf. below notes 74, 75, 81, and 82.
72 Cf. MS vii.87–98.
73 Cf. MBh iii.195.31, xii.25.32–33, 26.34, 32.8 ef, etc., MS viii.303. MP 215.61, VDhP 2.65, 53, AP 222.10 cd, 225.24.
74 No flight recommended in a gamble or on the battle-field in MBh ii.44.18 cd, 52.16 cd, 53.13 ab, 61.9 ab, iv.36.26, v.76.14, 151.25, 164.29, 186.21–22, vi.61.16, vii.16.39, 157.3, ix.4.17, xii.55.17, etc.; BauDhS i.10.18.9, GauDhS ii.1.15–16 (x.15, 16), MS x.119.
75 ‘With non-deceptive weapons’ in MBh vii.164.11–12, xii.96.11; BauDhS i.10.18.10.
76 ‘Heaven as reward for the brave fighter who died in the battle-field’ in MBh ii.20.15, iv.64.25, v.40.24, 125.15, vi.24.37, 84.42, 113.13, vii.48.34, viii.27.93, ix.6.11, 29.11, 31.25, 53, xi.2.9.11, xii.25.32–33, 99.43, 101.38, xiii.128.52, xiv.53.21; cf. MBh iii.51.16 (ayam loko’ksayas tesām), xiii.131.43 (dvijo bhavet); MS ix.253. There are still numerous passages concerning Dharma-yuddha in the MBh.

The reward of heaven is loudly announced by commanders and bards to soldiers in the battle-field. Cf. KAŚ x.3.28, 30, 31, 43; also ViS iii.44 (nāsti rājñām samare tanutyāgasadṛśo dharmah).
Vs. 323 ("For the kings there is no virtue superior to [this deed, namely]: goods won in a battle are offered to the Brahmins and assurance of safety always to the people.") is a paraphrase of MS vii.88 samgrāmesv anivartitvam prajānām caiva pālanam, śuṣrūsā brāhmaṇānām ca rājñām śreyaskaram param.\(^8\) Samgrāmesv anivartitvam (MS) is implied in Pāda b (rāṣa) and expressed in bhagneśv avinivartinam in 325b. 'Protection of the people' (MS) is rendered to 'assurance of safety to the people' and 'obedience to the Brahmins' in our text.

The next verse (324) is an abridgement of MS vii.89–90 āhavesu mitho 'nyonyam jighāmsanto mahīksitah, yudhyamānāḥ param śaktyā svargam yānty aparāṁmukhāḥ; na kūtāir āyudhair hanyād yudhyamāno rane ripūn, na karnibhir nāpi digdhair nāgnijvalitatejanaih. Awkward expression due to excessive abridgement of the original is a style pecu-

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77 Cf. MBh xii.22.3 (‘superior to many sacrifices’), 99.12 (samgrāmayajñha–), 99.13 (yuddhayajñadhitkāraṣṭha–); MS v.98. Battle-field is compared with a sacrificial-ground in MBh xii.99.15f.; similarly in ĀpDhS x.25.2 (ātmayāpā).

78 This is the reading of B. M&A, on the other hand, have vipalāyaṁ, probably influenced by the preceding avinivartinām.

79 For the motif ‘depriving the merit of the other(s),’ see MBh xii.288.10–11; VasDhS viii.6, MS iii.100. Cf. also below YS i.335.

80 This is the reading of B. M&A have preksanaka–. Preksaka is a regular word for ‘viewer (in the battle-field)’ in the MBh. See MBh i.96.30, 125.29, 181.2, iii.21.26, iv.55.6, v.179.21, 196.19, vi.19.14, 42.23, 58.20, vii.119.14, viii.17.75, 63.26, ix.20.11, 22.42, 31.24, 56.12. preksanaka– does not occur in the MBh.

81 People whose slaughter is prohibited in MBh iii.19.13–14, vi.103.72–73, vii.118.8, 170.39, x.5, 9–10, 8.117, xi.10.8, xii.97.3, 99.47, xiv.77.10. Cf. further MBh x.8.101, Rām vii.12.20; BauDhS i.10.18.11, ĀpDhS ii.5.10.11; AP 236.57 cd–58 ab.

82 MS vii.88 from the source of MP 215.61 (VDhp ii.65.53), AP 225.24. Cf. also AP 222.10 cd; GauDhS ii.1.15–16.
liar to the YS. This verse is syntactically odd without yudhyamānāḥ: "Those who are killed [fighting] for the sake of land by means of non-deceptive weapons, without showing his back, will go to heaven just as the Yogins."

The first line of 325 is another example of strange sentence, which can hardly be translated without additional words: "The ranks of those who will not retreat [in the battle-field] while [his allies are] shattered are equal to [those obtainable through] a sacrifice." There is no exact parallel of this hemistich in the MS. As the source we may probably cite ĀpDhS x. 26. 2 brāhmaṇásvāṇy apajīṣamāṇo rājā yo hanyate tam ātman ātmayūpo yajñōnantadaksīna iti. The compound kratutulya, which occurs again in YS i.36093 and nowhere else in the earlier texts to my knowledge, appears to me a creation of our author.

In the second line of 325 ("A king receives the merit of those who are killed running away.") the author picks up only MS vii.95 out of the pair-expression (vii. 94 - 95) yas tu bhītah parāvrttah samgrāme hanyate paraih, bhartur yad duṣkrtam kimcī tat svaṃ pratipadyate; yac cāsya sukrtam kimcid amutrārtham upārjitam, bharta tat sarvam ādatte parāvrttahatasya tu. Consequently, receiving a sin of a dead soldier (vii.94), the more important part, has fallen out of the text.

Vs. 326 ("One should not kill such a man as says "I am yours," is coward, weaponless, wrestling with others, has ceased to fight or is watching a fight.") is a forced abridgement of MS vii.91 - 93: na ca hanyāḥ sthalārūdhham na klībam na kṛtaṁjalam, na muktakesam nāsinām na tavāsmi vādinam; na suptaṁ na visamnāṁ na nagnāṁ na nirāyudham, ayudhyamānāṁ paśvantam na parena samāgatam; nāyudhavyasanaprāptam nārtam nāti-
pariksatam, na bhūtam na parāvrttam satām dharmam anusmāran. In our text the first two verses are condensed into one and the last is forsaken.

King’s daily schedule is the topic of the next passage (327–333), which was inserted here in association with MS vii.145 referring to the morning of a king. We have noted above that the seventh chapter of the MS, except the beginning part (1–35), is characterized by the framework, in which the description of Rājadharma goes on like a one-day drama of a king. The author now removes this setting from the MS and treats king’s daily routine independently from the other topics just as in KAŚ i.19.

84 This is the reading of B&A. Nikṣip- usually means in the Epic (passim) ‘to put off what one wears and place it in or on something.’
85 buddhva B, buddhyā M&A.
86 sadaram B, sādarān M&A.
87 Naiśeṣikāni ‘furnitures’ also in YS i.210. In the MBh the word appears only twice. Nilakantha: sopakaranam grham (on MBh vii.55. 23), grhopaskaram sayyādi (on xiii.57. 33).
88 tathā śrotiyāṇām B, followed by A; tataḥ śrotiyēbhyo M.
Quite in the same way as the KAŚ, our author follows the
daily routine of a king along the sixteen divisions of a day.\(^8^9\) The
first series describes his schedule during the eight divisions of the day-
time — 327ab (“Getting up and taking measures for defence, he should himself
look over income and expenditure.”) corresponds with KAŚ i.19.9 [the first divi-
sion] (tatra pūrveyāstabhāge raksāvidhānam āgavyayau ca śrnyayā); 327c (“Then
looking into judicial cases”) with i.19.10 [second] (dvitīye paurojānapadāṇām kāryāni
paśyet);\(^9^0\) 327d (“and bathing, he may have meals as he likes.”) with i.19.11
[third] (tritīye snānahojanam seveta śrādhyāyam ca kurvita);\(^9^1\) 328ab (“Then he should
place gold brought by his employee in a store-room.”) with i.19.12 [fourth] (caturti
hiranyapratigratham adhyaksāms ca kurvita); 328cd (“Then he should see spies and send
messengers after consulting ministers.”) with i.19.13 [fifth] (pāṇcama mantriparīsadā
pattrasampresanena mantrayeta, cāraguhayodhanyāni ca budhyeta); 329ab (“Then he
should engage in recreation or [hold a council] with ministers.”) with i.19.14 [sixth]
(saṣṭhe svairavihāram mantram vā seveta); 329c (“After reviewing his armies.”) with
i.19.15 [seventh] (caṣṭamaḥ hastyaśvarathāyaudhyāyam paśyet); 329d (“he should deliberate
with the commander-in-chief.”) with i.19.16 [eighth] (aṣṭame senāpatīsaṁkho vikramam
cintayet); and 330a (“Worshipping evening twilight,”) with i.19.17 [Samdhya] (pra-
tiṣṭhitē hani samdhyaṁ uṣāśīta).

Next comes the account of king's occupations in the eight divi-
sions of the night-time — 330b (“he should listen to secret information of his
agents”) agrees with i.19.18 [the first] (prathame rātrībhāge gūḍhapurusān paśyet);
330 cd (“He should enjoy meals with songs and dances and engage in study.”) with i.
19.19 [second] (dvitīye snānahojanam kurvita śrādhyāyam ca);\(^9^2\) 331ab (“He should

\(^8^9\) Daily schedule of a king is also described in AP 235 (Pratyāhnikarājakarma) and
VDhp ii.151 (Ājasrika).
\(^9^0\) Cf. MS viii. 1–3.
\(^9^1\) Cf. MS vii. 145.
go to bed and wake up to the sound of musical instruments.") with i. 19. 20 [third to fifth] (trīye tūryaghosena samviśtaḥ caturthapancamaṇau śavyataḥ); 331 cd (“After awakening he should ponder over sciences as well as over all the work to be done.”) with i. 19. 21 [sixth] (saṣṭhe tūryaghosena pratibuddhaḥ śāstram itikartavyatām ca cintayet); 93 332 ab (“Then he should dispatch carefully secret agents to his own [country] as well as others”) with i. 19. 22 [seventh] (saptame mantram adhyāśtu gūḍhapurusāṃś ca presayet); and finally 332cd–333 (“Being greeted with blessings by the Ṛtvij priests, preceptor and chaplain, he should see his astrologers and physicians and give [them] cow, gold and land; similarly furnitures and houses to the learned Brahmins.”) with i. 19. 23 [eighth] (aṣṭame rtvijācāryapurohitasvastayanāni pratigṛhṇyāt, cikītsakamāhānasikamauḥārtikāṃ ca paśvet). Then the king proceeds, the KAŚ (i. 19. 24) adds, to the assembly–hall after going around a cow with her calf and a bull.94 The two texts thus agree with each other not only in arrangement but also in contents and partly even in phraseology. A close agreement like this is a good evidence for the fact that the author knew the AŚ in a form closest to the extant Kauṭiliya–arthaśāstra. In this regard, I fully accept Kangle’s view that the Kauṭiliya’s Arthaśāstra itself was the source of the YS and not vice versa.95 I also agree with him in rejecting the idea of a common source for the two texts, considering that the YS has nothing to add to the description in the KAŚ.

With this passage, extracted from KAŚ i. 19 and placed here in association with MS vii. 145, the author stops reproducing the MS verses which run parallel in subject to the second chapter of the KAŚ.

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93 Awakening, worship and council in MBh xv. 9. 11.
94 savatsām dhenum vṛṣabham ca pradakṣiṇekṛtyopasthānam gacchet.
95 See op. cit., pp. 246, 252.
The author then skips the third chapter of the KAS on Vyavahāra, which he will discuss, on the model of the MS, separately in the next chapter, and enters the fourth of it on kāntakaśodhana. The next ten verses (334-343) concern the merit of protecting the people (prajāpālana), the most important duty of a king. A text of secular tactics and shrewd strategies, the KAS naturally has no chapter called prajapalana. Instead, it has the fourth chapter entitled kāntakaśodhana ‘weeding thorns,’ which may be regarded as virtually equivalent to the prajāpālana of the Dharmaśāstra. It is probably for this correspondence that the author put prajapalana in this place. The material of this passage comes from the seventh and the eighth chapters of the MS, particularly from the section of Steya in the latter.

98 Cf. MBh v.130.11 (=xii.76.6) (caturtham tasya dharmasya...vindati), viii.30.27 (sadbhāgahartā), 63 (sadbhāgahartā), 64 (raksita punyabhāg), xii.73.20 (caturtham...bhāgam sa vindati), 76.7 (caturthabhāk), xiii.128.47 (nirdīṣṭaphalabhokta); GauDhS ii.2.11 (xi.10) (dharmasya hy amśabhāg), MS vii.144 (nirdīṣṭaphalabhokta), viii.304 (dharmasadbhāg), 305 (sadbhāgabhāg), xi.23 (dharmasadbhāgam), ViS iii.28 (sāsthamśabhāk); also MBh iii.193.12 (pālana hi mohān dharmah), xii.18.38 (iśṭāmi lokān avāpsyāmo), 72.29 (bhunkte phalam divi); cf. also xii.76.8 (caturtham tasya pāpasya...vindati), 89.17 (bhunkte...pāpasya caturthabhāgam).
99 Cf. AP 223.12ab (VDHp ii.61.29ab); also ĀpDhS ii.9.25.15 (taskarabhayam na vidyate), 10.26.6 (taskarebhyo rakṣyam). The word kāyaṣthā does not appear in the MBh.
The beginning verse of this passage (334 “The king should be tolerant of the Brahmins, honest with friends, relentless towards enemies, and like a father to servant-groups and for the people.”) is a paraphrase of MS vii.32 (cf. ViS iii. 96) svarāṣṭre nyāyavṛttatāḥ syād bhrāsadandaś ca śatruṣu, suhṛsva ajihmah snigdhesu brāhmanesu ksamānvitah. 103

The first line of 335 (“Duly protecting [the people], he receives one-sixth of their merit”) corresponds with viii.304 ab sarvato dharmasadbhāgo rājño bhavati raksataḥ. The second line (“since protection of the people is superior to all the donations.”) might be associated with MS viii.306 raksan dharmaṇa bhūtāni rājā vadhyāṁś ca ghātayan, yajate’har ahar yajñāḥ sahasraśatadaksinaiḥ.

100 Utkoca-, a rare word, is used in MBh xii.14.18, 56.51, ViS v.181, lviii.10. It also appears in the different forms: MBh vii.51.31 (utkocinām), KAŚ iv.4.10, MS ix.258 (utkocaka-), NS xix. 2 (utkotaka-!).

101 saddānāmānasatkāraṇ B, saddānāmānasatkāraṇ A, saddānāmānasatkāraṇ M. I have separated sa- from dāna-.

102 Awkward sentense without the antecedent of yasmin.

103 Cf. MBh xii.76.5 (mrtyur ivāriṣu), 120.10 (mrjavan syat svayuthyesu). KAŚ iv.3.43 (pītevānugrhitā), xiv.3.88 (upahanyād amitrāms taḥ svajanam cābhīpālayet); MS vii.80 (pitṛvan nṛṣu). Cf. MBh xii.138.64, 66; Meyer op. cit. p.140.

--- 23 ---
The next verse 336 (He should protect people suffering from rogues, thieves, the wicked, dacoits, etc., particularly from the writers-caste.) is not found in the earlier texts. This verse, apparently the author's composition, may be roughly compared in contents with MS viii. 267–420, in which various types of wrong-doers are treated. Of special interest about this verse is the author's allusion to a corruption prevailing among the Kayasthas, writers-caste, of his time.

Vs. 337 (“Half of any sin his people may commit without being protected goes to the king, because he collects taxes [from them in return for protection].”) must be a paraphrase of MS viii. 307–308 ye’raksan balim ādattē karam ṣulκam ca pārthiḥvah, pratibhāgam ca dandam ca sa sadyo narakam vrajet; araksitāram rājānam balisadbhāgahārīnām, tam āhuh sarvalokasya samagramalahārakam. Instead of ‘the whole’ (MS) the author says that a king receives a half of the sin committed by his subjects if they are not protected by him.

As source of vs. 338 (“Inspecting the behavior of those who are appointed to the districts by means of secret agents, he should honor the well-behaved and kill the opposite.”) we may possibly refer to MS vii. 122cd teśām vṛttam parinayet samyag rāstresu taccaraiḥ and viii. 311ab nigrahena hi ṗaṭānāṁ sādhūnāṁ samgrahena ca.
Of vs. 339 the first line ("He should banish those who live on bribery after stripping of their wealth.") agrees with MS vii. 124 ye kāryikebhyo'ṛtham eva grññīyuh pāpacetasah, tesām sarvasvam ādāya rājā kuryat pravāsanam\textsuperscript{108} and the second ("He should always let the learned Brahmins to live [treating them] with gift, respect and care.") with MS vii. 133–135.\textsuperscript{109}

Vs. 340 ("The king, who enriches his own treasury in a wrong way [with the wealth acquired] from his country, will soon lose his prosperity and perish together with his relatives.") has its source in MS vii. 111 mohād rājā svarāstram yah karsayat anaveksayā, so'cirād bhraśyate rājyāj jīvitāc ca sabāndhavah.\textsuperscript{110}

I have been unable to find a parallel in the earlier texts of the interesting expression in 341 ("The fire produced from the heat of people's suffering will not be extinguished without annihilating the king's family and prosperity.").\textsuperscript{111}

Vs. 342 ("Putting an enemy's country under control [in a righteous manner], he obtains all of the same merit that [accrues] to him in protecting his own country.")\textsuperscript{112} and 343 ("Coming under his control, the district should be protected just in accordance with the conduct, custom, and family-rule there.")\textsuperscript{113} correspond to MS vii. 201 jītvā sampūjayed devān brāhmaṇāṁś caiva dhārmikān, pradadyāt pari-

\textsuperscript{108} Cf. KAŚ iv. 4. 10 sa cet tathā kuryād utkocaka iti pravāsyeta.

\textsuperscript{109} mriyamāno'by ādādita na rājā śrotriyāt kāram, na ca kṣuḍāhāsya samsīdeč chtroṭīyā viśaye vasan; yasya rājñās tu viśaye śrotriyāḥ śtādā kiṣṭudā, tasyāpi taś kṣuḍāḥ rāṣṭrām acireṇaīvā śtādā; śrutavītāte viḍitātāvā vṛttim dhamyām prakalpayet, samrakṣet sarvataś caivaś caṁtā putram ivaurasam. Cf. GauDhŚ ii. 1. 9 bibhṛyād brāhmaṇān śrōtriyān.

\textsuperscript{110} Cf. also MS vii. 139 nocchindyād atmano mūlam pāresām cātītrṇayā, urcchindaḥ hy atmano mūlam ātmānam tāṁś ca pūtaye; KAŚ viii. 2. 12, MS vii. 28.

\textsuperscript{111} Cf. MBh xii. 137. 42 na hi vairāgniṁ udāhūtāṁ kṛmaṁ vāpy aparādṛhajām, śāmyaty adagdhvā nṛpatre vinā hy ekataraksaye tāt.

\textsuperscript{112} Cf. MS ix. 251–253.

\textsuperscript{113} Cf. MBh v. 33. 95 (deśācārāṁ samayān jātīdharmān bhubāsate), xii. 78. 19 (kuladesā- didharmāṁ pārasḥiṣṭānam); KAŚ iii. 7. 40, xiii. 5. 7–8, 24; GauDhŚ ii. 2. 20 (deśajālikulādhammāś cāmāyātīr aviruddhāḥ pramānām), VasDhŚ xix. 7 (deśadharma- jātīkulādhammān), ĀpDhŚ ii. 6. 15. 1 (deśakulādhammān), MS viii. 41 (jātijānapadān dharmān śrenidharmāṁ . . . kuladhammāṁ ca), YS i. 361, ViŚ iii. 42 (paradesāvāptau taddeśadhammān nocchindyāt).
hārāṃś ca khyāpayed abhayāni ca\textsuperscript{114} and 203ab pramāṇāni ca kurvīta teṣām dharmyān yathoditān.

Since the MS talks little of Secret Conduct (yogavṛttā), topic of the fifth chapter of the KAŚ, the author skips this chapter\textsuperscript{115} and proceeds to the next two chapters of the KAŚ (Maṇḍalayoni and Śādgunya). The next passage (344-353) contains a selection of cardinal concepts on diplomacy, military strategies, divine intervention, human effort and the constituent elements of kingdom, discussed in these chapters.

\begin{align*}
\text{i. 344 ab} & \quad \text{mantramūlam yato rājyaṃ at}^{116} \text{ mantram suraksitam /} \\
\text{i. 344 cd} & \quad \text{kuryād yathāsyā na viduḥ karmanām āphalodayāt //} \\
\text{i. 345 ab} & \quad \text{arir mitram udāsino\'nantarás tatparāḥ paraḥ /} \\
\text{i. 345 cd} & \quad \text{kramaśo mandalam cintyam sāmādibhir upakramaih //} \\
\text{i. 346 ab} & \quad \text{upāyāḥ sāma dānāṃ ca bhedo dānās tathaiva ca /} \\
\text{i. 346 cd} & \quad \text{samyakprayuktāḥ sidhyeyur dānās tv agatikā gatiḥ\textsuperscript{117} //} \\
\text{i. 347 ab} & \quad \text{samdhīm ca vigrahaṃ yānām āsanaṃ samśrayaṃ tathā /} \\
\text{i. 347 cd} & \quad \text{dvaidhibhāvam guṇān etān yathāvat parikalpalyet //} \\
\text{i. 348 ab} & \quad \text{yada sasyagunopetām pararastrām tada vrajet /} \\
\text{i. 348 cd} & \quad \text{paraś ca hīna ātmā ca hṛṣṭavāhanapūrusāḥ //} \\
\text{i. 349 ab} & \quad \text{daive puruṣakāre ca dvaye siddhiḥ pratiśthitā\textsuperscript{118} /} \\
\text{i. 349 cd} & \quad \text{tatra daivam abhivyaktaṃ puruṣam paurvadehikam //} \\
\text{i. 350 ab} & \quad \text{kecid daivādd hāthāt kecit kecit\textsuperscript{119} puruṣaṅkaraḥ //} \\
\end{align*}

\textsuperscript{114} Cf. also MS ix. 251 - 253, KAŚ xiii. 5. 3 - 6
\textsuperscript{115} Only 340 might possibly be compared in topic with KAŚ v. 2 (replenishment of treasury).
\textsuperscript{116} This is the reading of B, supported by A. On the other hand, M reads yato rājyaṃ tasmāt.
\textsuperscript{117} Among our texts, the locution agatikā gatiḥ appears only in VDhP i.212. 4 outside this verse.
\textsuperscript{118} This is the reading of B. M&A read karmasiddhir vyavasthitā. Pratiśthitā is the right word in this context. Cf. MBh i.114. 16. v.149. 36, vii.120. 28, 127. 17, 133. 64; also ii. 15. 11 (Jayasya hetuh siddhir hi karma daivam ca samśrītam).  
\textsuperscript{119} B&A read as in the text. It runs svabhāvād vā kālāt in M.
As a source of vs. 344 ("Since the kingdom has council as its foundation, council must be well-guarded so that [the others] may not know it until the result of actions is accomplished.") we may cite MS vii.147-150, particularly 148

\[yasya\ mantram\ na\ jānanti\ samāgamyā prthagjanāh,\ sa\ krīṣnām\ prthivīṃ\ bhuṅkte\ kośahīno'pi\ pārthivah.\]  

Vs. 345 ("Adjacent is an enemy, beyond it is an ally, different from both is a neutral one — [in this way] deliberate upon the world successively by means of approaches such as conciliation, etc.") is just a shortened expression of MS vii.158-159

\[anantaram\ arīn\ vidyād\ arisevinam\ eva\ ca,\ arer\ anantaram\ mitram\ udāsīnāṃ\ tayoh\ param;\ tān\ sarvān\ abhisamādhyāt\ sāmādibhir\ upa-\]
kramaih, vyastais caiva samastais ca pauruṣeṇa nayena ca. 123 Sāmādibhīr
upakramaih124 is identical with MS vii. 159 b.124

The four diplomatic and military strategies (conciliation, gift, dissociation, military action) in 346 (“The strategies . . . will work when properly employed. Military action is the last resort.”) can be derived from MS vii. 198–200

sāmā dānena bhedena samastair athāvā prthak, vijetum prayatetārim
na yuddhena kadācana; anityo vijayo yasmād Draśyate yudhyamānayoḥ,
parājayaś ca samgrāme tasmād yuddham vivarjayet; trayānām apy
upāyānām pūrvoṅtānām asambhave, tathā yudhyeta sampanno vijayeta
ripūn yathā.125 Vs. 346, which disturbs the order of quotation from the MS, was probably inserted here in relation to sāmādibhīr upakramaih in 345 c.

Vs. 347 (“Alliance, hostility, marching, staying quiet, seeking shelter, double dealing—design these [strategies] for merits properly.”) is almost identical with MS vii. 160 samdhir ca vigrahām caiva vāṇam āsanam eva ca, dvaidhībhāvam
samārṣrayam ca sadgunāṁś cintayet sadā.126

123 Since the author simply copied this passage, madhyama ‘middle [country]’ (mentioned in MS vii. 155) has dropped from his text. Similarly only three elements are listed in MBh xii. 59. 43cd (arir mitram udāsina ity), 87. 21 (udāśinārīmitrānām). Madhyama appears in the description of KAŚ vi. 2. 19–22, ViS iii. 38, AP 240. 1–4, KNS viii. 14–20 (for various views on the Maṇḍala see further 21–41). The MBh vii. 28. 9ab (Gitā vi. 9ab), by the way, counts seven types of people (suhrnmitrā-ryudāśināmadhyasthadvesyabandhuṣu, sādhusv api ca pāpeṣu samabuddhir viśyate).

124 Cf. MBh xv. 11. 17 (sāmādibhīr upāyais), 12. 11 (sāmādibhīr upaṇyasya), 17 (sāmādibhīr upakramet); MS vii. 107 (sāmādibhīr upakramaiḥ), AP 226. 5 (sāmādibhīr upāyais).

125 On the upāyas see further MBh ii. 5. 51, xii. 108. 12 ab (sāmādānavibhedanaiḥ), 343. 6 ab; KAŚ i. 13. 25, ii. 10. 47, vii. 14. 11 (also xv. 1. 26), 16. 3, ix. 3. 6, 7. 68, xi. 1. 3, xii. 1. 18; ViS iii. 38; MP 222. 2 (VDP 266. 72.), AP 226. 5cd–6ab, 241. 46, VDP 212. 4, ii. 146. 1; KNS xvii. 3 (saptapāyāḥ prakīrtitāḥ). Most of the Purāṇa passages and the KNS list seven upāyas including upekṣā, māyā, and indriyajāta.

126 Cf. further MBh xii. 69. 65–66; KAŚ vii. 1. 1–12; ViS iii. 39; AP 234. 17, 240. 5, VDP 210. 2, iii. 323. 6.
Discussion on proper times and seasons for marching occupies one section in the KAŚ (ix. 1) and several verses in the MS (vii.171, 176, 181–183). In our text it is reduced to one verse (348 “March when the enemy’s country is in good harvest and when the enemy is deficient while draft animals and men are vigorous on this side.”) of inferior quality derived from MS vii.171 yadā manyeta bhāvena hrstam pustam balam svakam, parasya vīparitam tu gamanīyatamo bhavet.127 Sasyagunopetam (348 a), by the way, indicates that the author knew the discussion in KAŚ ix. 1. 34 –36.

The first line of 349 (“Success depends on the two, [namely:] destiny and human effort.”) has correspondence with MS vii. 205ab sarvam karmedam āyattam vidhāne daivamānuse,128 but I could not identify the source of the second line (“Of them destiny is a manifested human effort of the former life?”). It might possibly have something to do with adṛṣṭakāritaṁ daivam in KAŚ vii. 2. 8.

Vs. 350, which would mean, in the B reading, “Some say aims of men get realized from destiny, others say by accident, [still] others say from human effort; but the primary cause of [the success for]
these [aims] is human effort". In 351 the author uses the simile of Cakra to show the importance of cooperation between destiny and human effort ("Just as a chariot may not move with one wheel, so destiny will not realize without human effort.").

This is a peculiar usage of our text. The same analogy appears in the MBh and the KAŚ but it is used in the different contexts.

Vs. 352 ("Gain of ally is superior to that of gold and land. Therefore make effort to get it; secure the truth intently.") comes from MS vii. 208 hiranyabhūmīsamprāptyā pārthivō na tathādhaṭe, yathā mitraṃ dhruvam labdhvā kṛṣam apy āyatikṣamam. This is a view characteristic of the Dharmaśāstra. The Arthaśāstra, to the contrary, regards land as more important than allied country and gold.

Vs. 353 ("Lord, ministers, people, fort, treasury, punishment and friends — these are the principal elements [of kingdom]. [Therefore] kingdom is called seven-limbed.") is virtually identical with MS ix. 294: svāmyamatyaḥ puram rāstram kośadandanah suḥṛt tathā, sapta prakṛtayo hy etāh saptāṅgam rājyam

129 For a similar argument, cf. e. g. MBh iii. 33.18ab evam hathāc ca daivāc ca svabhāvāt karanās tathā, 30 sarvam eva ṣaṭkaṅkṣēṣaṇāḥ dvidanta uta, puruṣapravartnājām kecit tredham etan nirucyate, 181.32ab kimcīd daivāḥ hathāt kimcīt kimcīd eva svakar- mabhīḥ, xii. 224.50 kecit purusakāraṃ tu prāhuh karnavido janah, daivam ity apare viprāh svabhāvam bhūtacintakāh, 51 pauruṣam karma daivam ca phala-vrītisvabhāvatāh, traya ete prthagbhūtā naśīvakeṁ tu kecaṇa, 230.4 pauruṣam kāranam kecid āhuh karsuṣa mānavah, daivam eke prāṣamsanti svabhāvam cāpāre janah; KAŚ vi. 2. 6-12; MS vii. 205; MP 220. 46 (V DhP ii. 65. 75; AP 225. 33).

130 MBh xiii. 122.13 yad eva dadataḥ punyam tad eva pratiṣṭhataḥ, na hy ekacakram varteta ity evam rṣayo vidvuh. KAŚ i. 7. 9 ab sahāyasādhyam rājatvam cākram ekam na vartate.

131 See KAŚ vii. 9.1 samhitaprayāṇe mitraḥiranyabhūmilabhānām uttarottaro lābhah śreyān. Similarly KNS x. 29.
ucyate. The word jana (janapada), another example of forced abridgement, appears to me a sign of the author's knowledge of KAS vi. 1. 1 svāmyamātyajjanapadamātrāṇi prakṛtayā.

(Cf. also ibid. viii. 1. 5.)

So far we have seen three-quarters (45 verses) of the Rājadharma section. The rest of it differs from these verses in the point that it has no correspondence with the KAS. The author no longer reproduces the MS verses which cover the topics treated in and after the eighth chapter of the KAS. It is hard to imagine that the Arthaśāstra our author had before him had ended with the seventh chapter without description of the topics essential to this text such as war-tactics and secret strategies. The only possible explanation would be that the author no longer found interesting material or indispensable maxiomatic expression in the minute description of marching, camping, attack and destruction of enemy-troups, assassination of army-chiefs, instigation with secret-agents, etc.

After having finished his survey of the KAS, the author again returns to the earlier part of the MS, this time to the first part of the seventh chapter, then moves to the eighth and adds to his text important topics which have been left out of the selection through the filter of the Arthaśāstra. In the following verses we finally find the statement of king's divine authority and the merit of his righteous government. The sentence, however, lacks a lofty style and

132 Cf. MBh xii.69.62cd-63 (janapadaś caiva puram), 308.154ab (puram rāstram); KAS vi.1.1 (janapadadurgā−); vii.1.5 (janapadadurgā−); ViS iii.33 (janapada, rāstrā); MP 220.19 (VDhP ii.65.20cd-21ab), AP 225.11, 239.1; KNS i.16, iv.1, viii.4-5; also MBh xii.57.5a (saptāṅge . . . rājye), 59.51a (saptāṅgasya ca rājasya), 308.154 (saptāṅgaś . . . rājyam), 155a (saptāṅgasyaśya . . . rājasya), 157 (saptāṅgaś cāpi samghātas).
impressive tone of the declaration of the MS. It appears as if the
author only pays respect to Manu by touching upon the prominent
motif of Rājadharma in the MS.

133 This is the reading of B. On the other hand, sa netum nyāyato' sakyo M, sa netum
nyāyatāh sakyo (lubdhenaṅkratuddhinā) A.
134 This is the reading of B. It runs sarvam in M & A. Jagat is frequently construed
with both kṛtsnam and sarvam in the MBh. The latter combination occurs in a
more or less archaic, ritualistic context. In our passage of a secular nature,
kṛtsnam seems to fit in better than sarvam.
135 Lokasvargakīrti- is again a strange compound. Loka- must be originally loke ‘in
this world’ as in MS viii.127 a. The corruption in or before B (loke → lokā)
probably invited a poor emendation of M, followed by A.
136 Cf. MBh xii.86.22-23; ViŚ iii.92; AP 223.9-10; MP 225.2 (VDhP ii.70.2).
137 This is the reading of B & MS. na of A. M & the other MSS of A, if we believe
in the note of the ĀĀS ed., read samāptavara-. Cf. sahasraṣataḥdaksinā- in MBh i.
106.5. iii.88.6. vii.16.23; sahasradaksinā- MBh vii.55.21; and sahasram daksinaḥ
VasDhS xxiv.7, BauDhS iv.4.10 (daksīna).
138 This is a line added to unite the preceding passage with a new introductory
phrase (360 cd) presumably copied from the beginning of the next chapter. See
below p.34.

The first line of 354 ("Obtaining it (i.e. kingdom), he should cause to fall
punishment upon wrong-doers."), apparently a linking phrase for the adjacent

i.354 ab 
   tad avāpya nrpo dāṇḍaṁ durvṛtteṣu nippatayet /

i.354 cd 
   dharmo hi dandarūpena brahmaṇā nirmitaḥ purā //

i.355 ab 
   na sa netum atah133 sakyo lubdhenaṅkratuddhinā /

i.355 cd 
   satyasamādhena śucinā susahāyena dhimatā //

i.356 ab 
   yathāsāstram prayuktah san sadevāsuramānānavaṃ /

i.356 cd 
   jagad ānandayet kṛtsnam134 anyatha tat prakopayet //

i.357 ab 
   adharmadandanam lokasvargakīrti135 vināśanam /

i.357 cd 
   samyak tu dāṇḍanam rājñāḥ svargakīrtijayavaham //136

i.358 ab 
   api bhrātā suṭōrghyo vā śvaśuro mātulo'pi vā /

i.358 cd 
   nādāṇḍo nāma rājño'sti dharmād vicalitāh svakāt //

i.359 ab 
   yo dāṇḍyān dandaiedad rājā samyag vadhyāṃś ca ghātayet /

i.359 cd 
   istam syāt krutubhis tena sahaśrasata137 daksināḥ //

i.360 ab 
   iti samcintya nrpatiḥ krututulyaphalam prthak /138

i.360 cd 
   vyavahārāṃ svayam pasyet sabhyaih parivrto'nvaham //
passages, has no exact parallel in the MS but *dandaṃ durvritteṣu nipātayet* must be a paraphrase of *dandaṃ dandyesu pātayet* in MS viii. 126d. The second line ("Dharma was verily created of yore in the form of Danda by Brahmā.) is evidently based on MS vii. 14 *tasyārthe sarvabhūtānāṁ goptāram dharmam ātmajam, brahmatejomayam dandam asrjat pūrvam īśvarah.*

The first line of 355 ("Therefore it (i. e. Danda) cannot be carried out by a greedy, ignorant one.") is an abridgement of MS vii. 30 *so’sahāyena mūdhaṇa lubdhenakṛtaśuddhini, na śakyo nyāyato netum saktena viṣayeṣu ca.*

355cd–356cd ("When employed according to the scriptures by a truthfull, pure, intelligent person accompanied by associates, it (i. e. Danda) will delight the world including the gods, Asuras and people. Otherwise it will enrage it.") roughly agrees in expression with MS vii. 31 *sucina satyasamdhena yathāśāstrānusārinā, pranetum śakyate dandaḥ susahāyena dhimatā. Sadevasuramanavam (356b) and prakopayet (356d) indicate that this verse is also related to MS vii. 23–24 *devadānavigandharvā rakṣāṃsi patagoragāh, te’pi bhogāya kalpante dandenaiva nipātāh; dusyetuḥ sarvavarnāś ca bhidyēra sarvasetvah, sarvalokaprakopās ca bhaved dandaśya vibhramāt.*

The first line of 357 ("Unrighteous punishment is what ruins fame in this world and heaven.") is almost identical with MS viii. 127ab *adharmaṇaṇaṇaṃ*

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139 Cf. further *dandaṃ dandyesu . . .* in MBh i.58.13, xv.10. 2 ; also MS vii.20, YS i.368, Viṣ i.iii.91.

140 Cf. MBh ii.60.31 *(dharmasutaś ca rājā),* xii.15.35 *(dandaṃ vidhātṛa vihitv),* 22. 11 *(indro vai brāhmaṇah prutah),* 90.8 *(brāhma kṣatram athāsrjat),* 122.14 *(dharmasyātmā),* 24 *(ātmānaṃ . . . dandam asrjad),* 282.10 *(dhātāṣrjat putram evaṃ prajānāṃ dhārane ratam)* ; KAŚ i.13. 5. A story on the origin of a king in MBh xii.59.13f., 12. 73. 6–7 ; birth of Danda and Niti in xii.122. 14f.


loke yaśogham kīrtināśanam. As regards the second line ("On the other hand, proper punishment by a king brings about victory and fame in heaven.")

Vs. 358 ("There is nobody, even if brother, son, venerable, father-in-law, maternal uncle, who does not become object of punishment, if he deviates from his own righteous path (dharma).") is based on MS viii. 335 pitācāryah suhṛn mātā bhāryā putraḥ purohitah, nādandyo nāma rājno'sti yah svadharme na tisthati. but father, teacher, friend, mother, wife, and Purohita are replaced with brother, son, venerable, father-in-law, maternal uncle in our text.

Vs. 359 ("Sacrifices with tens of thousands of donations are as it were performed by the king, who punishes punishable and kills those to be killed.") virtually agrees with MS viii. 306 rakṣan dharmena bhūtāni rājā vadhyaṁś ca ghātayan, yajate'har ahār yajñaiḥ sahasraśatadaksinaih.

Vs. 360 ("Thus thinking of the result equal to the sacrifice, the king should see himself judicial matters one by one surrounded by judges every day.") attracts our special attention, because we find a similar expression at the beginning of the next chapter of the YS (ii. lab vyavahārān nrpaḥ paśyed vidvad-bhir brāhmaṇaiḥ saha) and of the eighth chapter of the MS (viii.1–3 vyavahārān didṛkṣus tu brāhmaṇaiḥ saha pārthivah, mantrajñair mantrībhiṣ caiva vinitaḥ praviṣet sabbhaṁ; tatrāstiṇāḥ sthito vāpi pāṇim udyānya daksinam, vinitavesābharaṇaḥ paśyet kārṇī kāryaṁ; pratyaham deśadrśtaṁ ca śāstradrśtaṁ ca hetubhiḥ, aṣṭādaśasu mārgesa niboddhaṁ prthak prthak). In all likelihood the Rājadharmaka section ended with 359 in the original YS. This assumption is supported

143 Further MS vii. 27, viii. 128 (cf. MP 227. 216, VDhP ii. 72.199 c–f).
144 MBh xii. 121. 57; ViS iii. 94; MP 225. 5 (VDhP ii. 70.5); but MBh xii. 56. 22 (adandyaś . . . vipraḥ), 69 (adandyatvam ca viprānām), 114 (adandyā me dvijāś), KAS iii. 4. 19 (handhur adandyaḥ!).
145 Cf. also MS viii. 303 abhayasya hi yo dātā sa pāyuḥ satatam nrpaḥ, satram hi vardhate tasya sadaivābhayaḍaksinam.
by the fact that the passage after 360 handles topics closely related to the Vyavahāra of the next chapter.

Let us make a quick survey of the remaining passage. The first verse (361) concerns the fundamental principle or ultimate purpose of king’s governership (“The king should lead to the right path local groups, castes, guilds, assemblies and districts which have deviated from their own duties (svadharma”).

In the next four verses (362–365), the value of Niśka and Pana, monitary units of silver- and bronze-coin, is fixed through equa­tion with various standards of weight beginning with Trasareṇu. Except a slight variation, this passage corresponds with MS viii.132–137.

Vs. 366 states three types of penalty laid down according to the amount of Pana defined in 362–365. In the YS, the lowest fine equals 270 Pana, the middle 540, and the highest 1080. This ratio is a slightly modified version of the system in the MS (viii.138) that prescribes 250 Pana as the lowest, 500 as the middle, and 1000 as the highest fine. The system of the MS is followed by the AP (227.4cd–5ab), the VDhP (ii.72.5) and even by the ViS (iv.14), which usually shows a closer agreement with the YS. The BS follows the

146 Cf. MS viii.41.
147 On the definition of kula, sreni, and gana, see Lariviere’s note on his translation of NS (Mārkā) i.7. I have used his translations for these words. It leaves some doubt whether the YS originally had 361 in this place, for the verse appears before ii.33 (M) in B in a corrupt (?) form: kulāni jātayah śronyo gamān janapadān api, svadharmāc calitān rājā vintya sthāpayat pathi.
148 In the MS four Suvarnas equal one Pala; our text says four or five Suvarnas are equal to it. Again in our text, one Śatamāna, equal to ten Dharanas, is defined as one Pala. Cf. further KAŚ ii.19.1f., ii.20.1f.; Caraka (Kalpasthāna) xii.105, Suśruta (Cikitsāsthāna) xxxi.7; ViS iv.1–13; AP 227.1cd–4ab (=VDhP ii.72.2–4), VDhP i.4.1–5.
MS in the ratio but calls the unit Kārśāpana (Vyavahāra viii.11).

The system of the NS is somewhat peculiar. This text divides penalty into three types ranging 24–96, 200–500, 500–1000. (xix.37–38) Here one may probably notice an influence from the KAŚ (iii.17.6–10), which divides penalty into five groups with the range of 12–24, 24–48, 48–96, 200–500, and 500–1000 Panas. At any rate, it would suffice for us to observe a wide variation in the penalty-system among the Dharma texts. The variation tells us that the monetary-system, as a matter of course, was subject to constant revision according to the change of age and locality. The text on this system, as a consequence, appears to have been one of the most vulnerable parts of the Hindu codes of law.

The next verse (367) contains statement of four kinds of punishment and their relative strength or order of application (“Admonition (vāgdanda), reproof (dhigdanda), fine (dhanadanda), and corporal chastisement (vadha)—these [punishments] should be applied simultaneously or separately according to the [degree of] crime.”). This verse is based on MS viii.129–130 vāgdandam prathamaṁ kuryaḥ dhigdandam tadanantaram, trtiyam dhanandam tu vadhandaṁ atah param; vadhenaṁ yadā tv etān nigraitum na śaknuyāt, tadaisu sarvam apy etat prayuñjita catustayam.

We now come to the last verse of the Rājadharma section, which makes a request to the king of his careful application of punishment (368) (“Arrange punishment, having ascertained the crime, place, time, power, age, deed, and property [of the criminal].”). The same request is expressed in MS viii.126 in the following form — anubandham pariṇāya deśakālau ca tattvataḥ, sārāparādhau cālokya dandaṁ daṇḍyesu pātayet.

149 This is the order in the reading of B (cf. also MS viii.129, VDhP iii.56.8, BS (Vyavahāra) i.91, ix.11–13, xxix.8.). M & A have dhigdanda before vāgdanda. Cf. MBh xii.259.19–20 (dhigdanda, vāgdanda, adānadanda, vadhanda).
Every topic in this passage (361-368) concerns a principle or standard of some sort for judicial administration, namely, units of court (local group, guild, etc.), monetary system, three grades of penalty, four types of punishment, or the conditions for application of punishment. All these topics must normally be treated in the Vyavahāramāṭrākā of the second chapter. It can hardly be doubted therefore that this passage belonged to the next chapter in the original text. If this assumption is correct, we need to answer why it moved from that chapter to the end of the Rājadharma section. The answer seems to be in the nature of the contents. We have just noted that the monetary-system must have been subject to change according to the ages and localities. The same applies more or less to the other topics of this passage. So in the course of time, a revised text on these principles was written on a new folio and attached to the end of the Rājadharma section. At the same time, a new introduction (360cd) was created for this passage to show the beginning of Vyavahāramāṭrākā. On the other hand, the original text, replaced by the new one, went out of use and soon disappeared from the manuscript. A strange passage in between two introductory phrases (i. 360cd, ii. 1ab), in my view, was thus created in our text.

Now, we summarize in the following synopsis what we have seen so far on the correspondence of our Rājadharma section with the MS and the KAŚ. (*N.B.* The initial (M, K) indicates that the verse is based on the Manusmṛti or Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra. Y means that the verse may probably be a composition of the author of the Yājñavalkyasmṛti. In ambiguous cases, the initials are put in parentheses.)
Parallel passages of the Rājadharmā section (YS) in MS and KAŚ

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YS</th>
<th>MS</th>
<th>KAŚ</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>[Part I]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K</td>
<td>309-310</td>
<td>vi. 1.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K</td>
<td>311</td>
<td>i. 2.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>312ab</td>
<td>vii. 60ab, 54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M(K)</td>
<td>312cd</td>
<td>vii. 56a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KM</td>
<td>313</td>
<td>vii. 78a</td>
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<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>314</td>
<td>vii. 78b–79ab</td>
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<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>315</td>
<td>vii. 79cd, 82cd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>316</td>
<td>vii. 84</td>
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<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>317</td>
<td>vii. 99, 101</td>
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<tr>
<td>Y</td>
<td>318-320</td>
<td>cf. ii. 7, 10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>321ab</td>
<td>vii. 69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(MK)</td>
<td>321cd</td>
<td>cf. vii. 70–73</td>
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<td>M</td>
<td>322</td>
<td>vii. 81</td>
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<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>323</td>
<td>vii. 88</td>
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<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>324</td>
<td>vii. 89–90</td>
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<tr>
<td>(ĀpDhS)</td>
<td>325ab</td>
<td>cf. ii. 1.1–2</td>
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<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>325cd</td>
<td>vii. 95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>326</td>
<td>vii. 91–93</td>
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<tr>
<td>K</td>
<td>327</td>
<td>cf. vii. 145–146</td>
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<td>K</td>
<td>328</td>
<td>cf. vii. 59ab</td>
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<tr>
<td>K</td>
<td>329</td>
<td>i. 19.12–13</td>
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<tr>
<td>K</td>
<td>330</td>
<td>i. 19.14–16</td>
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<tr>
<td>K</td>
<td>331</td>
<td>i. 19.20–21</td>
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<td>K</td>
<td>332</td>
<td>i. 19.22–23</td>
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<tr>
<td>K</td>
<td>333</td>
<td>cf. vii. 145cd</td>
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</table>

KAŚ Chap. III (Vyavahāra) treated separately in YS, Chap. II.

M 334 vii. 32
M 335ab cf. viii. 304ab
M 335cd cf. viii. 306
Y 336 cf. viii. 267–420
(M) 337 cf. viii. 307–8, 316–7 cf. i. 13.6–8
M 338 vii. 122cd, viii. 311ab cf. i. 13.1
M 339ab vii. 124 cf. iv. 4.10
M 339cd vii. 133–135
M 340 vii. 111 cf. viii. 2.12
Y 341

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334–343 for kannaka-sodhana of KAŚ, Chap. IV
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(M)</th>
<th>342</th>
<th>cf. vii. 201</th>
<th>cf. xiii. 5.3-6</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>343</td>
<td>vii. 203ab</td>
<td>cf. v. 2</td>
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**KAŚ Chap. V** on Yogavṛtta skipped in the YS.

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<td>345</td>
<td>vii. 158-159</td>
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<td>346</td>
<td>vii. 198-200</td>
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<td>347</td>
<td>vii. 160</td>
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<td>348</td>
<td>vii. 171</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>349ab</td>
<td>vii. 205ab</td>
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<tr>
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<td>349cd</td>
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<tr>
<td>Y</td>
<td>350</td>
<td>cf. vii. 205</td>
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<tr>
<td>(Y)</td>
<td>351</td>
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<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>352</td>
<td>vii. 208</td>
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<td>M</td>
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<td>ix. 294</td>
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**[Part II]**

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<td>M</td>
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<td>vii. 30</td>
</tr>
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<td>M</td>
<td>355cd-356ab</td>
<td>vii. 31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>356cd</td>
<td>vii. 23-24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>357ab</td>
<td>viii. 127</td>
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<td>357cd</td>
<td>viii. 343</td>
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<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>358</td>
<td>viii. 335</td>
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<td>M</td>
<td>359</td>
<td>viii. 306</td>
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<table>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>360cd(cf. ii. 1)</td>
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**[Part III]**

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<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>362-365</td>
<td>viii. 132-137</td>
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<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>366</td>
<td>viii. 138</td>
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<td>M</td>
<td>367</td>
<td>viii. 129-130</td>
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<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>368</td>
<td>cf. viii. 126</td>
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**YS, Chapter II**

| Y   | 1    | cf. viii. 1 |

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Old introduction
As is indicated in the table, the Rājadharma section of the Yājñavalkyasmṛti is composed of three parts. The first part (with a vertical line on the left side) contains reproduction of the MS verses with sporadic insertion of the KAŚ passages and the author’s own compositions, arranged, in principle, along the division of topics in the KAŚ, Chapter One through Seven. This part forms the main body of the section. The second part concerning king’s divine authority and the religious nature of his administration is a supplement added by the author after he finished his survey of the KAŚ. The third part on the principles or units of judicial administration may very well be a later interpolation from the next chapter.

Material of the Rājadharma section comes mostly from the seventh chapter of the MS. But the outlook of this section is quite different from the MS. The author of the YS toned down king’s divinity, overhauled the *dramatic* framework of Manu and abridged and rearranged material in accordance with the order of the topics in the KAŚ. In short, we can say that the author borrowed *material* from the MS and *framework* from the KAŚ. Our section is thus a result of uniting the texts of two different traditions. The final outcome of it was, as we see in the YS, a total separation of Rājadharma from Vyavahāra, which means the loss of *raison d’être* for Rājadharma as a basis of judicial proceedings.

In the YS we also recognize a drastic change in the nature of the Smṛti literature. Strong influence from the Arthaśāstra transformed the Smṛti, a sacred text, from a constitution-like codes of law to a manual of laws and customs of secular nature. Needless to say, this is not the first time that the Arthaśāstra exerted its influence on the Dharma text. We notice a sign of it already in the
Dharmasūtra, particularly in the final portion of the Āpastamba Dharmasūtra on Rājadharma and Vyavahāra (ii. 10. 25. 1–ii. 29. 15), unless this passage is a later interpolation. The second wave from the Arthasastra is observed in the chapters vii–ix of the MS, in which judicial proceedings are treated in detail within the framework of Rājadharma. The YS is a product of the third wave of influence, stronger than ever, on the Dharmaśāstra from the side of the Arthasastra. From our analysis of the Rājadharma section we may be justified to conclude that this Arthasastra was Kauṭilya’s in the form not very different from the extant text.

[P.S. This article is based on my paper I delivered at our meetings of the research project on the Yajnavalkya Smṛti at the Institute for Research in Humanities, Kyoto University on June 12 & 26, 1992.]

*Sanskrit Texts and Abbreviations*

| KAŚ | Kauṭilya’s Arthasastra (Part I), ed. by R. P. Kangle. Bombay 1969 (2nd ed.). |
| GauDhS | Gautama Dharmasūtra, ĀŚ, no. 61. 1959. |
| BauDhS | Baudhāyana Dharmasūtra, ed. by E. Hultzsch. Leipzig 1922 (2nd ed.). |
| ŚL | Śaṅkhaliṃkhita |
MP Matsyapurāṇa, ĀŚ, no. 54. 1981.
AP Agnipurāṇa, ĀŚ, no. 41. 1957.
GP Garudapurāṇa, KSS, no. 165. 1964.
VDhP Viṣṇudharmottarapurāṇa, Nag Publishers. 1985 (repr.).

[N.B. Referrence to the Rāmāyaṇa and the Śankhalikhita is based on the Dharmakosa. For the other texts I have used my computerized MBh file, the NS file from Prof. Lariviere and the data-bases produced by the members of the research project at the Institute for Research in Humanities, Kyoto University.]