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THE STRUCTURE AND COMPOSITION

OF THE

KAUṬILĪYA ARTHAŚĀSTRA

by

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ABSTRACT

Chapter 1 summarizes the debate over the age and authorship of
the Arthaśāstra and proposes to test the common assumption
that it is the work of a single author.

Chapter 2 analyzes the five versions of the story of Candragupta
and Cāṇakya or Kauṭilya and finds that the Jain version best
preserves the original legend, being closely paralleled by
the Pali; that the Kashmirian version is late, and the Mudrā-
rākṣasa largely fictive; that the Classical version, while
betraying its Indian origin, gives uncertain testimony as to
the content of the original legend; and that Cāṇakya is an
historical figure.

Chapter 3 finds, in the structure of the Arthaśāstra, a priori
grounds for supposing a composite authorship; summarizes
some previous studies of authorship using statistical methods;
and reports the results of a pilot study of the Arthaśāstra
which throws doubt on the assumption of a unique author.

Chapter 4 examines the distribution of certain words in Sanskrit
works of known authorship, and having found that eva, evam,
ca, tatra and vā are safe discriminators of authorship,
examines their distribution in the Arthaśāstra. Books 2, 3
and 7 of the Arthaśāstra, by this test, are homogeneous within
themselves but are the work of three different authors. The
affiliations of the shorter books are discussed.

Chapter 5 inquires whether sentence-length and compound-length
may be used to discriminate between different authors, and
finds the former unacceptable but the latter promising.

Chapter 6 examines Arthaśāstra passages used by Bhāruci and Medhā-
tithi in their commentaries on Manu and finds in the latter's
reference to an Adhyakṣapracāra a possible predecessor of the
Arthaśāstra.

Chapter 7 reviews the conclusions as to the composition of the
Arthaśāstra in the light of a statistical study of Vātsyā-
yana's Kāmasūtra and briefly comments on the date and author-
ity of the Arthaśāstra.

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set me on the problem of the relations of the <u>Arthaśāstra</u>,
Bhāruci and Medhātithi, though arriving at conclusions antagon-
istic to his, in the light of the Bhāruci text which, unfortun-
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the other from college, historians both: Dr. Theodore N. Savides
and Professor Robert H. Irrmann; nor without remembering the name

which does not appear on the pages which follow, but whose excellent qualifications in both statistics and indology brought about a most fruitful and, for me, inspiring combination of the two, and whose untimely death has deprived me of a hoped-for source of criticism and guidance; I mean, of course, Professor D.D. Kosambi.

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I would gladly go on passing out bouquets to those who have helped me over the years, but an end must be made, and I do so with a general thanks to those unnamed. And so, enough; "For Monday comes when none may kiss."

Thomas R. Trautmann

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABBREVIATIONS

Arth.	Arthaśāstra (Kangle's edition, unless otherwise indicated).
Bhār.	Bhāruci's commentary, Manuśāstra-Vivaraṇa on Manusmṛti (MS).
CHI	Cambridge History of India, vol. 1, reprint, 1962.
Derrett	J. Duncan M. Derrett: "A Newly-discovered Contact between Arthaśāstra and Dharmaśāstra: the Role of Bhārucin", ZDMG 115, 1965, p. 134 ff.
DPPN	G.P. Malalasekera: Dictionary of Pāli Proper Names.
Ghar.	Manusmṛti with the Bhāṣya of Bhaṭṭa Medhātithi, ed. J.R. Gharpure.
IHQ	Indian Historical Quarterly.
JA	Journal Asiatique.
JAOS	Journal of the American Oriental Society.
Jha	Manu-Smṛti with the 'Manubhāṣya' of Medhātithi, vol. 2, ed. Ganganatha Jha.
Jha (Notes)	Ganganatha Jha: Manu-Smṛti: Notes. Part I: Textual.

Jolly-Schmidt	The Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya, ed. J. Jolly and R. Schmidt.
JRAS	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.
Kam.	Kāmasūtra of Vātsyāyana (Dāmodara Sāstri's ed.).
Kangle, Part 1	The Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra, Part I, A Critical Edition with a Glossary, ed. R.P. Kangle.
Kangle, Part 2	Ibid., Part II, An English Translation with Critical and Explanatory Notes.
Kangle, Part 3	Ibid., Part III, A Study.
*Keith	A. Barriedale Keith: A History of Sanskrit Literature.
KN	Kāmandakīya Nītisāra (T. Ganapati Sastri's ed.).
KSS	Kathāsaritsāgara of Somadeva (ed. of Durgaprasad et al.).
Lacôte	Félix Lacôte: Essai sur Guṇāḍhya et la Bṛhatkathā.
Mand.	Mānava Dharma Śāstra. Institutes of Manu, With the Commentaries of Medhātithi..., ed. Vishvanath Narayan Mandalik.
MBV	Mahābodhivaṃsa (PTS ed.).

Medh.	Medhātithi's commentary, _Manubhāṣya_, on the _Manusmṛti_.
Meyer	_Das Altindische Buch von Welt und Staatsleben Das Arthaçāstra des Kauṭilya_, trans. J.J. Meyer.
MṬ	_Mahāvaṃsa Ṭīkā (Vaṃsatthappakāsinī_, PTS ed.).
MV	_Mahāvaṃsa_ (PTS ed.).
O.S.	_Oriental Series_.
PHAI	Hemachandra Raychaudhuri: _Political History of Ancient India_, 6th ed.
PP	_Pariśiṣṭaparvan_ of Hemacandra (_Sthavirāvalī-carita_, Jacobi's 2nd ed.).
PTS	Pali Text Society.
PTS Dict.	T.W. Rhys Davids and William Stede: _The Pali Text Society's Pali-English Dictionary_.
SBE	_Sacred Books of the East_.
Schlingloff	Dieter Schlingloff: "Arthaśāstra-Studien", _Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Süd- und Ostasiens_, _9_, 1965, p. 1 ff.
SKPAW	_Sitzungsberichte der königliche preussische Akademie der Wissenschaften_.
S.S.	_Sanskrit Series_.

TSS	Trivandrum Sanskrit Series.
ZDMG	Zeitschrift der deutschen morganländischen Gesellschaft.
ZII	Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik.

1   CHAPTER 1:   KAUṬILYA AND THE ARTHAŚĀSTRA

It is now just over 60 years since an anonymous pandit
handed over a manuscript of the Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra to R.
Shamasastry, chief librarian of the Mysore Government Oriental
Library, Madras. The world of scholarship is greatly indebted
to Shamasastry for having recognized the importance of this text;
for having published by installments an English translation of
the text in Indian Antiquary and the Mysore Review between 1905
and 1909; for having published the text in 1909, going into
further editions in 1919, 1924, and, since his death, in 1960;
and for having completed and published an English translation in
1915 which has gone into six editions.

Since Shamasastry's editio princeps several editions of the
text have appeared: In 1923-4 a new edition with extensive notes
by Julius Jolly and Richard Schmidt appeared in the Punjab Sanskrit
Series, based on a copy of a manuscript in Malayalam script
acquired by the Staatsbibliothek of Munich. In 1924-5 a three
volume edition, based chiefly on the original of the Munich manus-
cript of the Jolly-Schmidt edition, with Sanskrit commentary by
MM. T. Ganapati Sastri, was published in the Trivandrum Sanskrit
Series. The monumental German translation of J.J. Meyer belongs
to the same period (six parts, 1925-6), as do the three volumes
of Kauṭalīya Studien by Bernhard Breloer (1927-34).

Since the Second World War there have been two events of
the first importance for the textual study of the Arthaśāstra:

the discovery of the only known northern manuscript of the text
(in Devanagari) at Patan Bhandar in Gujarat, published by Muni
Jina Vijay in 1959; and the appearance in 1960 of a critical edition
of the text, the work of Professor R. P. Kangle. Kangle's edition,
taking account of all the manuscripts and commentaries now avail-
able, and executed with a thoroughness and accuracy sometimes
wanting in previous editions, has put the study of the text on
an altogether firmer footing than it has had hitherto, and will
not be substantially improved upon until more manuscripts turn
up, if then. It has been followed by an annotated English trans-
lation (1963) which, drawing as it does on some five decades of
research on the Arthaśāstra by Indian and Western scholars, has
already become the standard, and by a study (1965) which provides
an excellent survey of the Arthaśāstra and a summary of research
on it.

The bulk of scholarly literature that has grown up round
the Arthaśāstra since its rediscovery gives some measure of the
interest and even excitement it has aroused. Kangle lists 10
different publications containing the text and commentaries, not
counting further editions; 19 translations into 13 languages,
including English, German, Italian and Russian (the rest being
Indian languages); 11 books devoted solely to various aspects of
the Arthaśāstra, one of these being Breloer's three volumes; 45
books dealing in part with the Arthaśāstra, including the literature
on ancient Indian political thought and institutions which its
publication inspired; and 96 articles on particular points of

Arthaśāstra scholarship.[1] Since the publication of Shamasastry's edition in 1909 an average of almost two articles of importance and rather more than one book concerned in part or in whole with the Arthaśāstra has appeared every year.

It is not difficult to account for the interest generated and the attention received by the Arthaśāstra. The main indological concerns of the 19th century, philology apart, had been myth, religion and philosophy. The picture of a changeless India, its inhabitants preoccupied with meditation and metaphysical speculation, neither experiencing history nor writing it, prevailed; and no one was able to gainsay the remark of Max Müller that "The Hindu enters this world as a stranger; all his thoughts are directed to another world; he takes no part even where he is driven to act; and when he sacrifices his life, it is but to be delivered from it."[2] The rediscovery of the Arthaśāstra proved a corrective to this notion, and within two decades over a dozen Indian scholars, and a few Western, had written books on ancient Indian political theory and institutions as if in direct response to Max Müller's dictum. None of these works or those which have subsequently appeared could have been written had the Arthaśāstra remained unknown.

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1. Kangle, Part 3, p. 285 ff.

2. A History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature, p. 18.

The growth of scholarly interest in ancient Indian politics and history itself had causes, of which the most fruitful for Arthaśāstra studies was the nationalist movement of India. Hermann Jacobi, writing in the Sitzungsberichte der königliche preussische Akademie der Wissenschaften in 1912 (an article which gained an Indian public when it was translated and published in Indian Antiquary for 1918), called Kauṭilya 'the Indian Bismark'. A.B. Keith, the Scots indologist and constitutional lawyer, writing two years after the outbreak of the First World War, was decidedly not taken by the comparison;[1] but the expression found a receptive audience in India, and enjoyed a considerable vogue in scholarly literature. Nationalist aspirations seemed somehow fortified when the existence of ancient empires and schools of political theory was shown. On the other hand, to Vincent Smith, for whom the lesson of history was that India was most blessed when under a strong imperial rule, the Arthaśāstra told a different moral.[2] Nationalism, a powerful stimulant but often a baleful influence on scholarship, has doubtless relaxed its hold on

1. Keith, JRAS, 1916, p. 131: "Kauṭilya was not Bismark, and India is not Germany."

2. See Johannes Voigt's excellent article on the Arthaśāstra and the nationalist movement, "Nationalist Interpretations of Arthaśāstra in Indian Historical Writing," St. Antony's Papers, no. 18, South Asian Affairs no. 2, 1966.

Arthaśāstra studies since Independence, though not entirely.[1]
Given the popular reputation of Cāṇakya or Kauṭilya, its suppos-
itious author, as a machiavel, the new name for the diplomatic
quarter in New Delhi, 'Chanakyapuri', may be regarded as somewhat
equivocal; but we believe the motive behind the choice was patriotic.

To a large extent the reasons for the scholarly stir about
the Arthaśāstra may be found in the work itself. It holds a
special position as the earliest extant work of its kind, to
which all later arthaśāstras are indebted; and besides its primacy
in time, it is more extensive and fully worked out than any of
its successors. It is, in its legal portions, an important source
for the study of dharmaśāstra. Most importantly, it is a rich
store of information on numerous aspects of ancient Indian life.
In the judgement of Moritz Winternitz, "The Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra
is a unique work, which throws more light on the cultural environ-
ment and actual life in ancient India than any other work of
Indian literature."[2]

Winternitz goes on to say, "This book moreover would be of
truly incalculable value if, as previous scholars have accepted,
it really had as its author the minister of the famous king

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1. Prof. Gautam N. Dwivedi observes, "Patriotic sentiment favours
at least a respectable antiquity for K(auṭilya)." Agra University
Extension Lectures, Agra, 1966, p. 8.

2. Geschichte der indischen Litteratur, vol. 3, p. 517.

Candragupta Maurya and were it to be regarded as a work of the fourth century B.C. It would in that case be the first and only firmly dated product of Indian literature and culture from so early a time."[1] When a peasant finds an ancient coin and sells it in a distant bazaar, half the information it could yield to a numismatist is destroyed; similarly, when a piece of literature cannot be dated within limits suitable to his purpose, its value to the historian is greatly diminished. It is over the dating of the Arthaśāstra and its ascription to Kauṭilya (alias Cāṇakya, alias Viṣṇugupta) that the fiercest controversies have raged. What is the basis of this ascription, and what reason is there to doubt it?

There are four passages in the work itself which make the ascription. At the end of the very first chapter (1.1.19) we read, "Easy to learn and understand, precise in doctrine, sense and word, free from prolixity of text, thus has this treatise been composed by Kauṭilya." At the end of the work we are told, "This science has been composed by him, who, in resentment, quickly regenerated the science and the weapon and the earth that was under the control of the Nanda kings." (15.1.73). There follows, after the colophon, a verse (marked as a later addition in Kangle's

1. Idem.

text) which says, "Seeing the manifold errors of the writers
of commentaries on scientific treatises, Viṣṇugupta (i.e. Kauṭilya)
himself composed the sūtra as well as the bhāṣya." Finally, the
chapter on edicts ends with the statement, "After going through
all the sciences in detail and after observing the practice (in
such matters), Kauṭilya has made these rules about edicts for the
sake of kings" (2.10.63). There are, in addition, numerous places
in which the opinion of Kauṭilya is given, oftenest in retort to
the quoted opinions of predecessors, with the expression iti
Kauṭilyaḥ, 'thus says Kauṭilya' or neti Kauṭilyaḥ, 'Not so, says
Kauṭilya'. Only one Kauṭilya is known to literature, of whom
the Purāṇas say, "A brahmin, Kauṭilya, will uproot them all (the
Nandas) and, after they have enjoyed the earth one hundred years,
it will pass to the Mauryas. Kauṭilya will anoint Candragupta
as king in the realm."[1] Clearly, the initial presumption must
be that this is the author of the Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra.

Why then has this ascription been challenged? To begin with,
the passages mentioned are not sufficient testimony in support
of Kauṭilya's authorship. All are terminal verses, of a sort
easily added in later times. Kangle is almost certainly right in
regarding one of them, the very last verse of the work, as such

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1. F.E. Pargiter's ed., pp. 26-8, trans. (with slight alterations)
pp. 69-70.

an addition, because it is in a metre otherwise unknown to the
work (āryā), because it follows the final colophon and because
it is the unique instance of the personal name Viṣṇugupta rather
than the gotra name Kauṭilya in the Arthaśāstra. The expression
iti Kauṭilyaḥ (neti Kauṭilyaḥ), if anything, gives weight to the
view that the Arthaśāstra is the work of a later hand quoting the
opinions of a venerated predecessor, to judge by parallel expressions
in other works.

Objections to the ascription of the Arthaśāstra to Kauṭilya
have been many and detailed; we shall mention only the more salient.
The agreement between the Arthaśāstra and the Megasthenes fragments,
a major source for the Mauryan period, is nowhere very good or
detailed and, while the Arthaśāstra has been of aid in elucidating
the Aśokan inscriptions, few strong points of agreement on matters
specific to the age have emerged.[1] The Arthaśāstra presumes the
use of Sanskrit in royal edicts in any case, and Sanskrit inscrip-
tions do not become general in northern India until the Gupta
period.[2] The book contains no reference to the Mauryans or their
capital Pāṭaliputra and seems to presume a number of small states
struggling for hegemony rather than a large empire.[3] Its geograph-

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1. See especially O. Stein: Megasthenes und Kauṭilya, Vienna,
1921, passim.

2. Stein, ZII 6, 1928, p. 45 ff.

3. E.g. Jolly in Jolly-Schmidt, p. 42.

ical horizons are broader than seems likely for the Mauryan period,
and a number of place-names in the second book are probably late:
Cīna for China (2.11.114) is thought to have originated only after
the Tsin or Chin dynasty extended its dominion over the whole of
China in the late third century B.C.; whereas Tāmraparṇi in the
Aśokan edicts refer to Ceylon, in the Arthaśāstra it refers to a
river in South India (2.11.2), Ceylon being here called Pārasamudra
(2.11.28-59), while the Periplus of the Erythrean Sea refers to
Ceylon as Palaesimundu, "formerly called Taprobane";[1] coral from
Alakanda must be the Mediterranean red coral of Egyptian Alexandria
which Pliny remarks was as highly prized in India as were pearls
in Rome, the trade with Rome scarcely dateable before the first
century A.D.; Hārahūraka (2.25.25) and Prājjūṇaka (v.l. Prāgghū-
ṇaka, 3.18.8) probably refer to the Hūṇas, Huns, not known in India
before the late fourth century A.D.[1] Greek loanwords have been
pointed out, the most notable being suruṅgā, 'underground passage,
tunnel', to be derived from Greek $\sigma \upsilon \rho \iota \gamma \xi$, first noted in
Polybius, c. 180 B.C.[2] The legal portions of the Arthaśāstra
(Books 3 and 4) show many correspondences with passages in the
Yājñavalkya Smṛti and it is asserted that the Arthaśāstra is more
likely to have borrowed from the dharmaśāstra than vice-versa;

1. For a summary of the arguments, see Gautam N. Dwivedi, XXVI
Congress of Orientalists, 1964, and Agra University Extension
Lectures, Lecture 2, Agra, 1966.

2. Stein, ZII 3, 1925, p. 280 ff., English abstract by Winternitz,
in IHQ 1, 1925, p. 429 ff.

Jolly argues, indeed, that the śāstras of artha and kāma were developed later than the dharmaśāstras, under the influence of the trivarga scheme.[1] The strong affinity of Vātsyāyana's Kāma-sūtra to the Arthaśāstra shows that no long interval separates the two, and though the Kāmasūtra cannot be firmly dated, it is usually assigned to the fourth century A.D.[2] No work antedating the Christian era mentions Kauṭilya as author or unmistakably quotes from the Arthaśāstra; indeed, the earliest such works (the Pañcatantra and Āryaśūra's Jātakamālā) are probably of the Gupta period or at most just previous.

To all of these arguments, objections have been raised. The testimony of Megasthenes, for instance, is fragmentary, in part fabulous, and, on several points of detail, such as the six boards of five governing the military, highly dubious. The Artha-śāstra deals in typical situations, and so its lack of reference to the specificities of the Mauryan empire signifies nothing. The arguments from geographical data and the supposed presence of Greek loanwords are more or less vulnerable to criticism. The dependence of arthaśāstra on dharmaśāstra has been questioned on the basis of an attractive alternative theory, according to which the eighteen titles of law and the theory of royal administration originated in royal, arthaśāstra circles and was incorporated into

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1. Jolly-Schmidt, pp. 12-21.

2. Ibid., pp. 24-30.

the dharma smṛtis as vyavahāra and rājadharma, together with

material on brahmanical (ritual) law from the older dharma sūtras.

In addition to such criticisms, those who support the

ascription to Kauṭilya of the Arthaśāstra add more positive arguments

in favour of their view by identifying archaisms in the text.

These may be stylistic or linguistic (gerunds in -tva in compound

verbs, Prakritisms, archaic terms), or they may deal with points

of law (the Arthaśāstra permits widow remarriage and divorce on

grounds of incompatability) or matters such as coinage (the Artha-

śāstra appears to be speaking of punch-mark coins, certainly not

the Greek portrait coins or the dīnāras of Roman provenance or

inspiration.

The debate continues. After six decades of scholarship

there has been no general agreement on the date or authorship of

the Arthaśāstra or even on any of the major points at issue. Some

seven centuries, from the time of Candragupta Maurya through the

fourth century A.D., separate the opposite poles of this debate.

The only point on which there has been a large measure of agreement,

tacit or express, is that the Arthaśāstra, though drawing on older

works, has a single author. Jolly, no proponent of the traditional

ascription of the Arthaśāstra, has said, "The arrangement of the

subject-matter is very careful and a rare unity of plan and structure

pervades the whole work, with an exact table of contents at the

beginning, a list of particular devices used at the end, and many

cross-references being scattered through the body of the work to

which may be added the 32 references to previous chapters in the

last <u>Adhikaraṇa</u>."[1] "The whole work... is likely to have been composed by a single person, probably a Pandit belonging to a school of Polity and law...."[2] More recently Louis Renou , referring to the way in which the text is enclosed between the table of contents in the first chapter and the <u>Tantrayukti</u> or analysis of rhetorical figures in the final chapter, has said, "This enclosure attests the wish of Kauṭilya to compose a work which was coherent, closed to all additions, very advanced, in sum, from former treatises which in general possessed neither introduction nor conclusion and seemed to have been made up of successive layers. In short, it confirms the presence of an author."[3] Professor Renou has elaborated his meaning in a note: "While it is a strongly composed work, revealing the presence of a single author, the <u>Kauṭilīya</u> has had to integrate materials of earlier provenance, as the archaisms of vocabulary and language reveal...It does not follow that a passage has been composed in a certain period (under the Mauryans, let us say), nor that the work had undergone a second, amplified edition very much later:

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1. Introduction to Jolly-Schmidt, p. 5.

2. <u>Ibid.</u>, p. 44.

3. "Sur la forme de quelques textes sanskrits", <u>JA</u> <u>249</u>, 1961, p. 184.

that is undemonstrable and perfectly improbable."[1]

Not only has unity of authorship been assumed, but inferences about the author's personality have been made from the text, and compared with the traditions concerning Kauṭilya. Jacobi, elucidating the verse which follows the final colophon of the Arthaśāstra, mentioned above, said, "The sense of Kauṭilya's words very probably is that he is vexed over the narrow-mindedness of his predecessors, and that he has without a moment's hesitation (āśu) thrown overboard their dogmatism: it implies the sense of contempt in which the 'Professors' are held by the statesman, which even Bismark was at no pains to conceal." This is further illustrated in the 'polemical' portions of the work. "The agreement obtaining between the words of Kauṭilya and the character of his work, and the personality that characterises them would be difficult to understand, if those were not the very words of the author."[2]

Kangle writes of the 'polemical' portions in a similar vein:

> We do not have in this work a mere juxtaposition of the
> views of different authorities including the one claiming
> to be the author of the entire work, but almost invariably
> a resolute assertion, in a controversial tone, of this
> person's opinion against those of others which are rejec-
> ted as unacceptable. This reflects a rather unusual temp-
> erament in an author, implying impatience with the opinions
> which the author considers to be wrong and an eagerness
> to assert his own opinions in their place. Such indeed,
> was, according to tradition, the temperament of Kauṭilya,
> who, in his intolerance of injustice and wrong, is said
> to have destroyed the ruling Nanda dynasty and placed
> his own protégé on the throne in their place. 3

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1. Ibid., p. 194 n. 6.

2. Jacobi, SPKAW, 1912, pp. 847-8; trans. IA 47, 1918, p. 194.

3. Kangle, Part 3, p. 102.

It is not our purpose to review each point of controversy over the age and authorship of the <u>Kauṭilīya</u> <u>Arthaśāstra</u>, thus prolonging a debate so long barren of consensus. The prospects of reaching anything like universal agreement, of finding compelling arguments along the lines the debate has proceeded so far seem faint. Perhaps the assumption of unique authorship, so widely held, requires investigation. Perhaps the complex structure of controversy built up over six decades rests on inadequate foundations. Certainly further progress will not be made through the further elaboration of arguments conceived for the most part in the 1910's and the 1920's.

In this thesis we address ourselves only to those problems to the resolution of which we believe we can contribute. Much has been said about the legend of Cāṇakya, but its literary history has not been systematically studied, and this, with certain conclusions about its historicity, forms the subject of our second chapter. The central chapters (3-5) present the results of a stylistic analysis of the prose portions of the <u>Arthaśāstra</u>, to determine whether the assumption of unique authorship is justified. Chapter 6 deals with the relation of the <u>Arthaśāstra</u> and two commentaries on Manu, the <u>Vivaraṇa</u> of Bhāruci and the <u>Manubhāṣya</u> of Medhātithi, which has a bearing on the question of the sources of the <u>Arthaśāstra</u>. The final chapter summarizes the results of our researches and takes a fresh look at the date and authorship of the <u>Kauṭilīya</u> <u>Arthaśāstra</u>.

CHAPTER 2: THE CĀṆAKYA-CANDRAGUPTA-KATHĀ

To say that the Arthaśāstra is ascribed to an historical character is to strain the term 'historical'. Rather, Kauṭilya, or Cāṇakya as he is more generally called, is a figure of legends which assign him an historical role; the historicity of the person, and much more so of his role, is a matter of some doubt. This question must be considered prior to the question of the ascription of the Arthaśāstra, and can easily be separated from it. For to legend he is known as Cāṇakya, while in his character as author of an arthaśāstra he is generally referred to by his gotra name, Kauṭilya. It is true that of the four Indian versions of the legend, the Mudrārākṣasa refers to 'Kauṭilya the cunning',[1] but this derives from its author's knowledge of letters, not legend. The only important exception to this generalization is the Purāṇas, which very briefly summarize Cāṇakya's career.[2] The purpose of this chapter, then, is to study what legend tells us of Cāṇakya; in a later chapter we shall consider what literature tells us of Kauṭilya.

The legends concerning Cāṇakya are preserved to us in works which for the most part must be dated during or after the Gupta

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1. Kauṭilyaḥkuṭilamatiḥ, 1.7.

2. See above, ch. 1.

empire and thus are separated from the times to which they
refer by many centuries, in some cases by more than a millenium.
Nevertheless two versions which can be presumed to be indepen-
dent show sufficient similarity to permit us to posit the existence
of a popular cycle of tales concerning Nanda, Cāṇakya and Candra-
gupta, a 'Cāṇakya-Candragupta-Kathā', from which these and other
versions were drawn. These two versions, the Pali and the Jain,
will be analysed first, followed by a consideration of the Kash-
mirian version, as preserved by Somadeva and Kṣemendra, and then
the Mudrārākṣasa of Viśākhadatta and its ancillary literature.
Next we will give a summary of our conclusions regarding these
four versions and the contents of the primitive Cāṇakya-Candra-
gupta-Kathā. Then we shall examine the Classical version which
is at once the earliest notice and the most garbled telling of
the legend. Finally we shall attempt to assess the historicity
of the story.

The Pali Version

Neither Cāṇakya nor Candragupta are known to the earliest
work of the Ceylonese chronicle literature that remains to us,
the Dīpavaṃsa, but they are mentioned in the Mahāvaṃsa and the
legend is given in some detail in the commentary thereto, the
Vaṃsatthappakāsinī or Mahāvaṃsa Ṭīkā as we shall henceforth refer
to it.

The story of the origin of the nine Nandas need not detain us.[1] Suffice it to say the nine were brothers, that the eldest, born of obscure family in the marchland, was captured by robbers and soon became their chief. The eight brothers joined the band and the eldest, dissatisfied with the mean business of plunder, led them against Pāṭaliputta and captured the sovreignty. The nine ruled in succession for a total of twenty-two years. Their names are given in the Mahābodhivaṃsa.[2]

Only the youngest of the nine, Dhanananda, is named in the Mahāvaṃsa Ṭīkā and his story forms part of the Cāṇakya-Candragupta-Kathā.[3] He received his name ('the Wealthy Nanda' or 'delighting in riches') because he had become rich through hoarding wealth. After his anointment he was overcome with avarice (macchariya-); and when he had amassed 80 crores he secreted them in a hole in a rock in the Ganges. By taxing hides, lac, trees, minerals and so forth[4] he amassed a similar fortune and hid it as before: and

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1. Commy. on MV 5.14,15; MṬ 177.24-179.26.

2. P. 98: Uggasena-, Panduka-, Paṇḍugati-, Bhūtapāla-, Raṭṭhapāla-, Govindasāṇaka-, Dasasiddhaka-, Kevaṭṭa-, and Dhana-nanda.

3. MṬ 179.27-180.10.

4. camma-jatu-rukkha-pāsāṇa-pavattāpana-karaṇādīhi: ?'by (taxes) on hides, lac (or resins), trees, minerals (or stones) and (licensing) the opening of shops (āpana) and occupations'. Skt. karaṇa takes the sense 'traditional occupation of a caste'.

hence his name.

Then come two verses from the Mahāvaṃsa:[1] "When filled with bitter hate, he had slain the ninth Nanda, Dhanananda, the brahmin Cāṇakya anointed him called Candagutta, born a khattiya of the Moriyas, possessed of the royal splendour, as king of Jambudīpa." In the gloss the Ṭīkā gives two explanations of the name Moriya. According to the first, "the splendour of the city in which they were raised gave them great joy (modāpi), and changing the letter 'd' to 'r' the word became Moriya; khattiya refers to their 'ancestral vocation'.[2]

According to the second, the Moriyas were a branch of the Sākiyas who, during the Buddha's lifetime, were all but exterminated by Viḍūḍabha (the son of king Pasenadi of Kosala whom the Sākiyans had grievously insulted). The Moriyas managed to escape to Himavant, where they built a well-walled city surrounded by a moat in a delightful place abounding in forests and rivers. The tiles of the buildings were a blue, the shade of a peacock's neck, which attracted the birds, and the city became filled with the cries of peacocks (mora).

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1. MV 5.16-17: Moriyānaṃ khattiyānaṃ vaṃsajātaṃ sirīdharaṃ /

Candagutto ti paññātaṃ Cāṇakko brāhmaṇo tato //

navanaṃ Dhananandaṃ taṃ ghātetvā caṇḍakodhavā /

sakale Jambudīpasmiṃ rajje samabhisiñci so //

Translation adapted from that of Wilhelm Geiger (PTS), London, 1912.

2. MT 180.16 ff.: Moriyānan ti: attānaṃ nagarasiriyā modāpīti, ettha sañjātā ti, da-kārassa ca ra-kāraṃ katvā Moriyā ti; laddha-vohārānaṃ khattiyānan ti attho.

Henceforth this people became known throughout Jambudīpa as
Moriyas. This is a transparent attempt to link the family of
the Buddha, the Sākiyas, with that of Aśoka, the Moriyas.

Following the gloss the <u>Cāṇakya-Candragupta-Kathā</u> proper
begins.[1] But before relating the tale it is well to warn the
reader that we are going to find in it inconsistencies which have
an important bearing on the question of its affiliation to the
Jain version.

Cāṇakka was a native of Takkasilā, the son of a brahmin,
learned in the three <u>Vedas</u> and in <u>Mantras</u>, skilled in political
expedients (<u>upāyakusalo</u>), deceitful, a politician (<u>nītipuriso</u>).
After his father's death he supported his mother. The opinion
became generally accepted that he bore the marks of one deserving
of the royal umbrella, and on learning this his mother began to
wail, for kings have no love for anyone, and she feared he would
become king and neglect her. When he heard this Cāṇakka asked
her where she thought this mark of royalty resided, and she told
him it was his canine teeth; so out of filial piety he broke the
teeth and continued to care for his mother. And he was plagued
by all manner of human afflictions, not only broken teeth, but
also ugliness, crooked[1] feet, and the like.

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1. MŢ 181.12-186.26.

2. <u>vaṅka</u>: an allusion to the name Kauṭilya? "The Dhtp 5 gives
"koṭilya" as meaning of <u>vank</u>", <u>PTS</u> Dict., s.v. <u>vanka</u>.

One day he went to Pupphapura to take part in a disputation,
for Dhanananda had given up his obsession for stowing away riches
and the vice of avarice (-macchera-) had yielded place to the
virtue of liberality. The king had constructed an almshouse and
had arranged gifts for a crore of brahmins and a hundred thousand
novices. When the almsgiving had begun Cāṇakka entered and sat
down among the brahmins. When the king entered, accompanied by
a large retinue, he was offended to see Cāṇakka seated amongst
the brahmins of the assembly and ordered, "Throw this ugly brahmin
out of here, and do not let him in again," in spite of the remon-
strances of his alms-official. The king's men could not bring
themselves to tell Cāṇakka to leave. He did so of his own accord,
but not without wryly observing, "Kings are difficult indeed to
sit on (i.e. to deal with)".[1] He broke his sacred thread, dashed
his drinking pot against the threshold[2] and cursed the king:
"May there be no welfare for Nandin to the four ends of the earth."[3]

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1. MT 182.26: rājāno nāma durāsadā hontī ti. The v.l. kuddho
would be better than the duṭṭho of the same line as a gloss for
Cāṇakka's attribute caṇḍakodhavā in MV 5.17.

2. Indakhīlam: the threshold was the foundation stone, its laying
attended with mantras; to kick or stamp on it brought bad luck to
the house.

3. imāya ca cāturantāya paṭhaviyā Nandino vaḍḍhi nāma mā hotū ti.

The king angrily cried, "Capture the slave, capture him!" But Cāṇakka foiled his pursuers by adopting the guise of an Ājīvaka and went unnoticed in the palace precincts of the king himself, and the search was given up as fruitless.

Cāṇakka gained the friendship of Pabbata, the son of Dhana-nanda, whom he filled with ambitions to sieze the throne and with the help of a signet ring which the prince got from his mother, fled the palace through a secret trapdoor to the Viñjhā forest. There, by a method the details of which are not given, he made eight kahāpaṇas out of every one and thus amassed 80 crores, which he hid. Searching about for another worthy to be king he came upon the youthful Candagutta of the Moriyas.

Candagutta's story is then related. His mother was chief queen of the Moriya king. She was pregnant when her king was killed by a usurping vassal and had to flee to Pupphapura. There she was delivered of a son but the devatās, by their magic power, caused her to abandon him in a pot near the gate of a corral. There the devatās caused a bull named Canda to stand guard over the infant, as the bull had stood over the young Ghosaka.[1] And as Ghosaka had been taken home by a cowherd, so, too, a cowherd found this baby and, taking a liking to him, brought him home. On his naming day he called him Candagutta because he had been protected (gutta) by the bull Canda.

1. An allusion to a story which is preserved in the Dhammapada Commentary, 1.174 ff.

Candagutta was adopted and taken home by a hunter, a
friend of the cowherd. One day while tending the cattle the
boys of the village played king: Candagutta was chosen king,
some were made vassals, others ministers, still others robbers.
The robbers were caught and brought before Candagutta, who ordered
that their hands and feet be cut off. An axe was improvised and
their feet cut off. The king then said, "May they be rejoined"
and the feet were miraculously restored to the legs. Cāṇakka saw
this deed, astonished. He took the boy to the village and gave
his foster-father 1000 <u>kahāpaṇas</u> with a promise to teach the lad
a trade, and bore him off.

To both Candagutta and Pabbata, Cāṇakka gave a golden amulet
worth a hundred thousand on a woolen thread, to be worn around
the neck. Once while Pabbata was sleeping the others called out
to him, and he prophesied in his sleep: "Of the two, Prince
Pabbata will be abandoned and Candagutta will soon be highest
king in Jambudīpa." On another occasion Cāṇakka wished to test
the youths, so while Candagutta slept he ordered Pabbata to remove
his woolen thread without breaking it or waking the owner, which
Pabbata was unable to do. When Candagutta was set the problem,
however, he solved it after the manner of Alexander and the Gordian
knot: he cut off Pabbata's head, and Cāṇakka was not the man to
be displeased at this. By the end of Candagutta's seven years'
training, when he had reached manhood, Cāṇakka had found much in
his protégé of which to be satisfied, and so he dug up the treasure

he had hidden long ago and levied an army with it which he presented to Candagutta.

They invaded the kingdom but were badly beaten by the populace and were forced to fly. The army disbanded and Cāṇakka and Candagutta returned disguised to the kingdom to scout things out. While wandering about they listened to the conversations of the people. At a certain village they overheard a woman scolding her son, to whom she had given a cake, when he asked for another after he had eaten the middle and thrown away the edges: "This boy acts just like Candagutta trying to get the throne." "How so?" the boy asked. "You, love, eat the middle of the cake and throw away the outside just as Candagutta, eager for kingdom, neglected to subdue the border villages and attacked the villages in the kingdom itself straightaway. So the villagers and others rose up and surrounded him and destroyed his forces. That was his mistake."

Cāṇakka and the young prince took this to heart, and again raised an army. They subdued the countryside starting from the borders until they reached Pāṭaliputta, which they took, and slew Dhanananda.

Before Candagutta was anointed Cāṇakka ordered a certain fisherman to find the place where Dhanananda had hidden his great wealth. When in a month he had done so, Cāṇakka killed the poor fellow and anointed Candagutta.

There follow four verses of the Mahāvaṃsa,[1] a statement of

1. MV 5.18-21.

sources which we shall discuss presently, and the remainder of
the Cāṇakya-Candragupta-Kathā.[1]

Cāṇakka ordered a certain jaṭila named Paṇiyatappa to rid
the kingdom of robbers (or rebels) which he soon did.

He then took steps to render the king immune to poison by
mixing small doses of it in his food, without the king's knowledge.
One day the chief queen (daughter of Candagutta's maternal uncle)
who was due to give birth in seven days' time, ate with Candagutta,
and Cāṇakka arrived just in time to see the king giving her a
morsel from his own plate. Judging the queen was as good as dead
but hoping to save the unborn child, he cut off her head and slit
open her belly with a sword to remove the foetus. He put it in
the belly of a freshly-killed goat, replacing it with a new one
for each of seven days, after which the boy was 'born' and named
Bindusāra on account of being spotted with drops (bindu) of goat's
blood. Cāṇakka then drops out of the narrative and is heard of
no more.

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Let us see how far back we can trace these stories.

The Mahāvaṃsa or 'Great Chronicle' and its commentary deal
with the history of Ceylon, both ecclesiastical and political,

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1. MṬ 187.5-188.12.

from the visit to the island of the Tathāgata to the time of
king Mahāsena who reigned in c. A.D. 325-52;[1] the kings of
Magadha are included only for their bearing on the early history
of Buddhism. Little is known of the author of the Mahāvaṃsa, a
certain Mahānāma, and estimates of its date vary between the
fifth and sixth centuries A.D.[2] The author of the Mahāvaṃsa
Ṭīkā is unknown and the date of its composition is set as late
as A.D. 1000 - 1250[3] or as early as the sixth or seventh centuries
A.D.[4] This wide divergence in dating depends on whether one holds
with Geiger, that the author knew the Mahābodhivaṃsa, or with
Malalasekera, that the parallel passages in the two works are the
result of the Mahāvaṃsa Ṭīkā drawing on an earlier version of the
Mahābodhivaṃsa in Old Sinhalese, of which the extant work is a
Pali translation. Apart from this, Malalasekera argues for an
earlier date from the fact that the Mahāvaṃsa Ṭīkā drew upon Old
Sinhalese chronicles which were the basis for the Mahāvaṃsa and
which were superseded by that work; hence the Ṭīkā must have been
written shortly after the Mahāvaṃsa, because these Sinhalese works

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1. Geiger's date in MV trans. p. xxxviii.

2. G.P. Malalasekera, The Pali Literature of Ceylon, pp. 139-40;
Geiger, op. cit., p. xii.

3. Geiger, op. cit., p. xi.

4. Malalasekera, op. cit., pp. 142-4; but in his edition of MT
he ascribes it to the eighth or ninth centuries A.D., pp. civ-cix.

probably disappeared soon after.

It is these Old Sinhalese chronicles which we must now consider. Mahāvaṃsa 1.1-4 says that it followed the Mahāvaṃsa compiled by the ancients and from the Ṭīkā we learn that this earlier work was in prose with Pali verses interspersed, and that Mahānāma's chronicle was a translation into Māgadhī (i.e. Pali) verse, preserving the content but improving the style.[1] This lost work is generally referred to simply as Aṭṭhakathā;[2] it had the character of the medieval chronciles of European monasteries, and was a part of the Old Sinhalese commentataries on the Tipiṭaka, also called Aṭṭhakathā, whether integrated with or independent from them. The latter were drawn upon and superseded by Buddhaghosa's Pali commentaries on the Canon; and Malalasekera aptly remarks, '...the Mahā-vaṃsa bore to the Sinhalese vaṃsatthakathā exactly the same relation as Buddhaghosa's commentaries did to the scriptural atthakathā.'[3] The Sinhalese commentaries according to tradition were begun by Mahinda, who introduced Buddhism to Ceylon under Aśoka, and both commentary and chronicle are particularly associated with the Mahāvihāra of Anurādhapura, the ancient

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1. Malalasekera, MṬ, pp. lvi-lxi.

2. Also Sīhalaṭṭhakathā or Sīhalaṭṭhakathā Mahāvaṃsa, and probably the same are Mahāvaṃsaṭṭhakathā and Porāṇaṭṭhakathā.

3. Pali Literature of Ceylon, p. 144.

capital. The Mahāvihāra is said to have been built by Devānam-
piya Tissa, Mahinda's patron,[1] and the compilation of the chron-
icles probably continued to the time of Mahāsena when the persecu-
tions of the king caused the monks to leave the monastery and
brought about its demolition in order to provide building material
for the Abhayagirivihāra, with an account of which the Mahāvaṃsa
closes.

These chronicles composed in the Mahāvihāra then, were
probably added to year by year from contemporary events and the
tales of visiting monks and pilgrims, and from this heterogeneous
collection monographs may have been compiled on single topics such
as the story of the Bodhi Tree, the foundation of the Thūpas and
the deeds of Duṭṭhagāmaṇī.[2] From the material in these chronicles
the Dīpavaṃsa, the Mahāvaṃsa, the Mahāvaṃsa Ṭīkā, the Mahābodhi-
vaṃsa and the historical introduction to Buddhaghosa's commentary
on the Vinaya, the Samantapāsādikā, mainly drew.

The Mahāvaṃsa Ṭīkā has other sources besides, of which we
need only concern ourselves here with the Uttaravihāraṭṭhakathā,
the chronicles compiled by the monks of the Uttaravihāra, more
commonly called the Abhayagirivihāra. This monastery was founded

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1. MV 15.

2. Malalasekera, MT, p. lx.

by Vaṭṭagāmaṇi Abhaya after his restoration (29-17 B.C.)[1],
"when two hundred and seventeen years ten months and ten days
had passed since the founding of the Mahāvihāra,"[2] on the site
where the Tittharāma of the Jains (Nigaṇṭhas) had stood,[3] outside
the north, uttara, gate of Anurādhapura. Mahātissa became its
abbot, and as he grew in the royal favour the influence of the
Mahāvihāra declined until, as if the ghost of heresy hovering
about the site had been reanimated, the monks of the Abhayagirivi-
hāra fell away from the true faith and broke off relations with
the Mahāvihāra.[4]

There are several bits of evidence which suggest that the
doctrines entertained by the monks of the Abhayagirivihāra not
only diverged from those of the Mahāvihāra, but that they were
Mahāyanist in tendency. None of these is unequivocal, and the
canon of the Abhayagirivihāra appears to have been substantially
the Pali Tipiṭaka of the Mahāvihāra which we know. However that
may be, in the course of a long existence from the end of the
first century B.C. to the end of the twelfth century A.D., during

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1. Geiger, MV trans., p. xxxvii.

2. MV, 33.80.

3. MV, 33.42, 83.

4. MV, 33.95 ff. See the discussion in Étienne Lamotte, Histoire
du Bouddhisme indien, pp. 406-7, and see André Bareau, Les sectes
bouddhiques du Petit Véhicule, ch. 30: "Les Abhayagirivāsin ou
Dhammarucika."

which it at times overshadowed its rival, the Abhayagirivihāra was in more or less constant communication with various monasteries of the Sub-continent with whose doctrines the hierarchy of the Mahāvihāra was out of sympathy.

The Mahāvaṃsa Ṭīkā emanates from the Mahāvihāra, and draws freely on its Aṭṭhakathā. But it has drawn as well on the Aṭṭhakathā of the Uttaragiri- or Abhayagirivihāra, chiefly for materials on Indian history, which in some cases differed from those in the Mahāvihāra's Aṭṭhakathā, and in others were not to be found in the latter. The two diverge, for example, in the details of the kings from Mahāsammata to the Buddha; and the Abhayagirivihāra supplies stories of Susunāga, of the nine Nandas, and of Cāṇakka and Candagutta which are not found in the other chronicle. The chronicles of the two monasteries were undoubtedly much the same, since the monks of Abhayagirivihāra were drawn in the first place from the Mahāvihāra. It is probable that divergence of traditions came about quite naturally through faulty transmission of one species or another; but the stories not found in the Mahāvihāra chronicles must have come from outside Ceylon, hence from the Sub-continent, sometime after the founding of the Abhayagirivihāra in the last quarter of the first century B.C.

It would seem that the nine Nandas, Cāṇakya and Candragupta were known to the chronicles of both monasteries, although the Mahāvaṃsa Ṭīkā chiefly draws upon that of Abhayagirivihāra for its narrative. In its gloss on Mahāvaṃsa 5.14 it states that the names of the ten sons of Kālāsoka are preserved in the (Mahāvihāra)

Atthakathā, and it is from that source that the Mahābodhivaṃsa
no doubt also drew them.[1] This makes it probable that, in spite
of the fact that the Ṭīkā ascribes the story of the origin of the
nine Nandas to the Uttaravihāraṭṭhakathā, at least the names of
the nine, since they are preserved in the Mahābodhivaṃsa[2], were
also preserved in the Mahāvihāra chronicles. The Ṭīkā professes,
moreover, to abridge the Abhayagirivihāra account, and tell only
what does not conflict with the orthodox tradtion.[3] When we come
to the Cāṇakya-Candragupta-Kathā proper, we are told, "Both the
subjects of the anointment of Candagutta and the time previous
to it are told in all detail in the Uttaravihāraṭṭhakathā. Those
who wish may look them up there.[4] We have presented only the
most important matter which is immediately taleworthy and does
not conflict with the orthodox tradition. There,(in the Uttara-
vihāraṭṭhakathā), moreover, the story of Cāṇakka and the story
of the taking of Candagutta by the cowherd and so forth differ.

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1. MBV, p. 98: Budhhasena, Koraṇḍavaṇṇa, Maṅgura, Sabbañjaha,
Jālika, Ubhaka, Sañjaya, Korabya, Nandivaddhana and Pañcamaka.
2. See above.
3. ...tesaṃ navannaṃ uppattikamañ ca Uttaravihāraṭṭhakathāyaṃ
vuttaṃ. Mayam pi saṅkhepena tesaṃ uppathimattaṃ samayāvirodhamattaṃ
kathayāma.
4. I

The rest we have presented as told in the (Mahāvihāra's) Aṭṭha-
kathā."[1] Thus while it is not necessary to suppose that the
nine Nandas, Cāṇakya and Candragupta were entirely unknown to
the Mahāvihāra chronicles, the details therein must have been
very meagre; for the Ṭīkā's author clearly hesitated to draw
upon what in his eyes was a heretic tradition, and we must assume
he has done so only for stories and episodes unknown to the Mahā-
vihāra.

The inconsistencies in the story as we have it are unlikely
to have arisen through differences in the accounts contained in
the two monasteries, for as we have seen the Mahāvihāra preserved
little more than a mention of it, and the Ṭīkā's author professed
to tell nothing at variance with the orthodox Mahāvihāra tradition.
Abridgement accounts for some inconsistencies. Probably the Uttara-
vihāraṭṭhakathā, for example, explained the method whereby Cāṇakka
made eight kahāpaṇas out of one, and it may be due to carelessness
on the part of the author of the Mahāvaṃsa Ṭīkā that the boy 'king'
Candagutta orders the 'robbers' hands and feet cut off, while
actually only their feet are cut off and restored.

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1. MṬ 187.5 ff.: yo Candaguttassa abhisiñcitakālo ca anabhisiñ-
citakālo ca tesaṃ ubbhinnaṃ adhikāro ca, so sabbākārena Uttaravihāraṭ-
ṭhakathāyaṃ vutto. atthiken'etaṃ oloketvā gahetabbo. mayam pana
accantaṃ kathetabbaṃ samayāvirodhaṃ mukhamattam eva dassayimha.
ettha pi Cāṇakkassa adhikāro ca Candaguttassa dhanagopena gahitā ti
ādi adhikāro ca viseso. itaraṃ Aṭṭhakathāyam eva vuttaṃ dassayimhāti.
The pana gopena of most MSS. would be preferable to dhanagopena.

But, making allowances for anomalies arising from abridgement
and reworking by the author of the Mahāvaṃsa Ṭīkā, the story gives
on closer inspection, the appearance of a number of disparate anec-
dotes collected and arranged in chronological sequence without
having been made wholly consistent, and this accords with the
Ṭīkā's testimony that even within the Uttaravihāraṭṭhakathā there
were various stories of Cāṇakka and Candagutta. An excellent
example of this is the story of the breaking of the teeth: Cāṇakka
himself breaks them, moved by his mother's fears that he will
become king and neglect her; yet in the very next episode he leaves
for Pupphapura, and his poor mother is never again heard of. Indeed
after the flight from the Nanda's palace, he goes about looking for
someone else "worthy of the royal umbrella", that is, he intends to
be a power behind the throne--so much for his mother's fears. The
anecdote is a perfectly good one in itself, but it does not agree
with the rest of the story.

Again, consider Dhanananda's avarice: Cāṇakka is drawn to the
capital attracted by the king's generosity, and the commentator
(we take it that it is he who speaks here) is constrained to explain
that Dhanananda has changed his ways and is no longer avaricious.
The use of both the alternate forms, macchariya and macchera in the
two places probably points to a change in sources,[1] though, of

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1. MṬ 179.29, 181.32.

course, both anecdotes could have been preserved in the chronicles of the same monastery. Another alternation, that between the forms P̄ṭaliputta and Pupphapura, may have a similar explanation; the use of both in the Mahāvaṃsa can be attributed to metrical reasons which do not hold for the Ṭīkā.[1] A third is of undoubted significance: Cāṇakka's curse is laid on Nandin while everywhere else the form is Nanda, Dhanananda.

Etymologizing tales are rarely necessary to the narratives they accompany, and the etymologing of the name Moriya is no exception to this. The explanation of the name Candagutta, however, actually harms the economy of the narrative by requiring a double adoption: he is found by the cowherd who loves him as a son[2] and gives him his name, but is then adopted by a hunter. The rather lame etymology of Candagutta, 'protected by (the bull named) Canda'

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1. If this alternation has any significance, it would be necessary to show why 'Pupphapura' occurs in MṬ 181.10 (gloss) and .30 (linking sentence probably from the MṬ's author) while the MṬ's author elsewhere prefers the form 'Pāṭaliputta', 198.26 (against the Pupphapura of MV 5.39) and 199.21 (gloss). The other passages for Pāṭaliputta are MṬ 179.21 (nine Nandas), and 186.25 (killing of Dhanananda) and for Pupphapura, 183.25 (Moriya queen).

2. puttasinehaṃ uppādetvā, 184.1.

is explicitly fashioned on the story of Ghosaka which required that he be found by a cowherd, and was evidently inserted into the familiar story of the abandonment of a royal babe and his adoption by the rustic, in this case a hunter, who finds him.

These inconsistencies are, we think, sufficient to vouch for the anecdotal character of the Cāṇakya-Candragupta-Kathā as it was preserved in the chronicles of the Abhayagirivihāra and as they have been preserved for us, in more or less connected sequence, by the Mahāvaṃsa Ṭīkā. This catalogue of faults is, however, not yet complete, and can only be made so by comparing the Pali version of the story with the Jain, to which we now turn. Before doing so it only remains to add that this rather harsh critique of the Pali sources in no way detracts from the value of the Mahāvaṃsa Ṭīkā or the pleasure we have derived from its stories.

The Jain Version

The Jain version of the Cāṇakya-Candragupta-Kathā is found in several of the exegetical and commentatorial works of the Śvetambara canon, but it is convenient to deal in the first place with the legend as presented in Hemacandra's narrative of the Jain elders posterior to Mahāvira, Sthavirāvalīcarita, also called the Pariśiṣṭaparvan or 'appendix' to his long Sanskrit poem on the lives of the sixty-three eminent figures of Jain hagiology,

the Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacarita.[1]

Cāṇakya was born to the brahmin Caṇin and his wife Caṇeśvarī, both pious Jains (śrāvaka), in Caṇaka, a village in the Golla district. He was born with a complete set of teeth, which the monks explained as an omen that he would become a king; but his father, fearing the pride of kingship would lead him to perdition, ground down his son's teeth, whereupon the monks foretold that he would be 'a king concealed behind an image', a power behind the throne (bimbāntarito rājā). Cāṇakya became a śrāvaka proficient in all the sciences and married a brahmin girl of good family. Once, when attending the marriage of her brother, her relatives teased her on account of her poverty. This spurred her husband to go to Pāṭaliputra, to the court of King Nanda, who, he had heard, was liberal to brahmins. When he entered he went straight-away to the king's seat and sat down. Nanda's son, entering with the king, saw the brahmin tread on the king's shadow and sit down. A slavegirl graciously offered Cāṇakya another seat, but he merely put his drinking pot on it; on the third he set his staff, on the fourth, his rosary and on the fifth his sacred thread. The dāsī in exasperation kicked him from his seat. This roused Cāṇakya to a fury, and he vowed: "I will uproot Nanda, together with his treasure and his servants, his friends and his sons, his army and

1. Sthavirālīcarita or Pariśiṣṭaparvan (2nd ed.) ed. Hermann Jacobi. Cited as PP. The story is found at PP 8.194 to the end of the sarga.

his chariots, as a great wind uproots a tree."[1] With this he
fled the capital.

Remembering he was to be a 'king concealed behind an image'
he went looking for one worthy of kingship. He came upon a village
where dwelt the wardens of the king's peacocks (mayūrapoṣaka).
The chief's daughter was pregnant and had a craving (dohada) to
drink the moon.[2] Cāṇakya agreed to satisfy this craving on condi-
tion that the child should belong to him. He took the girl to a
shed on a full-moon night and had her drink a bowl of milk in
which the moon was reflected through a window; as she drank, his
confederates slowly drew a blind over the window. Her craving
was satisfied, and the child was born, a boy, who was named Candra-
gupta. Thus his name ('protected by the moon') is accounted for
by the dohada story; and the surname Maurya is accounted for by
making him son of a mayūrapoṣakā. Cāṇakya, with the object of
amassing gold, resumed his wanderings, seeking those proficient
in alchemy (dhātuvādaviśāradān).

Candragupta as a boy was recognized as king by his playmates.
Cāṇakya, returning to the village one day, saw the boy-king, whom
he did not recognize, and in order to test him asked for a gift.

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1. PP 8.225: sakośabhṛtyaṃ sasuhṛtputraṃ sabalavāhanam /
Nandam unmūlayiṣyāmi mahāvāyur iva drumam //
2. The dohada motif is discussed by Maurice Bloomfield in JAOS, 1920,
pp. 1 ff. and by N. M. Penzer, The Ocean of Story, Appendix III, p. 221
ff.

The boy stoutly told Cāṇakya he might take the herd of cows
nearby, because no one would presume to disobey his order.
Cāṇakya was pleased at this display of power and, learning who
the boy was and promising him kingship, took him off to lay siege
to Pāṭaliputra with troops hired by the wealth he had acquired
by alchemy. The attempted invasion was easily repulsed and the
two were forced to flee. They were about to be overtaken by a
pursuivant when they came upon a lake. Cāṇakya dismounted and
assumed the posture of an ascetic in deep meditation, ordering
Candragupta to jump into the lake. The soldier came up and asked
the 'ascetic' where Candragupta was, to which Cānakya replied by
pointing to the water; and while the soldier was throwing off his
armour Cāṇakya decapitated him with the soldier's own sword. Con-
tinuing their flight Cāṇakya asked Candragupta what he had thought
when he pointed him out to the soldier; Candragupta said he thought
his master would know best, and Cāṇakya inferred that Candragupta
would remain under his influence as king. A second pursuivant was
similarly outwitted when Cāṇakya chased away a washerman and resumed
his work. To allay Candragupta's hunger he slit open the belly of
a brahmin who had just eaten and fed his protégé with the contents.

Entering a village in search of food, Cāṇakya overhead a
mother scolding her child, who had stuck his finger in the middle
of a bowl of hot gruel and got burnt, for being a big a fool as
Cāṇakya. He asked her what she meant; she replied that the child
had stuck his finger in the middle rather than starting from the
edge, which was cooler, just as Cāṇakya had struck at the capital

before securing the surrounding regions. Taking this to heart
Cāṇakya went off to secure the allegiance of Parvataka, king of
Himavatkūṭa, to whom he offered half Nanda's dominions if they
were successful.

One town raised a stubborn resistance. Cāṇakya entered it
disguised as a Śaiva mendicant, and 'foretold' that the siege
would last as long as the idols of the Seven Mothers remained in
the temple. The credulous people removed them and the forces
withdrew at Cāṇakya's order, but returned to take the town by
surprise when the people were celebrating their 'deliverance'.
When the countryside was subdued they took Pāṭaliputra and Nanda
was allowed to go into exile with as many goods as he could carry
on one cart. As Nanda was driving off he met Candragupta on the
road, and his daughter instantly fell in love with the new ruler,
and chose him as husband by svayaṃvara. As she climbed off the
heavily laden cart nine spokes of the wheel broke. Cāṇakya inter-
preted this omen to mean that Candragupta's dynasty would last for
nine generations.

Parvataka fell in love with a girl whom, unbeknown to him,
Nanda had fed on poison from birth (viṣakanyā). Cāṇakya approved
his desire to marry. During the marriage ceremony, when he clasped
her hand before the sacred fire, Parvataka was stricken from contact
with the poisonous sweat which she exuded; and Cāṇakya prevented
Candragupta from calling the physicians with the timely observation
that he who owns half a kingdom and does not kill his partner is
himself killed. So Candragupta became the sole ruler of Nanda's

former realm, 155 years after Mahāvīra's <u>nirvāṇa</u>.

Those of Nanda's men who remained in the kingdom were harassing the people. Cāṇakya discovered a weaver who, whenever he found roaches in some part of his house, immediately set fire to it; him he put in charge of the suppression of rebels, which was soon accomplished.

Cāṇakya paid off an old grudge against a village where he had once been refused food by issuing them an order capable of two interpretations, and burnt the village to the ground on the pretext of punishing disobedience.

To fill the treasury Cāṇakya took to gambling, staking eight <u>dīnāras</u> against one, using loaded dice. He also invited wealthy merchants to his home and plied them with wine; he took to boasting to them of his wealth, and when the merchants followed suit, Cāṇakya used this information to increase the king's treasury.

During a twelve year famine, two Jain neophytes made themselves invisible by rubbing their eyes with a magic ointment and ate off the king's plate. Cāṇakya strewed the palace floor with fine powder in which footprints appeared during the meal. Cāṇakya saw through the trick and ordered that thick smoke be made in the diningroom at the next meal, which caused the neophytes' eyes to water, and when the ointment was washed off by their tears they became visible. Cāṇakya complained about the young monks' behaviour to Ācārya Susthita who, however, blamed the laity for neglecting the duty of charity. And so Cāṇakya gave liberal alms henceforth.

Cāṇakya proved to Candragupta that the heretic teachers he

patronized were frauds, given to sensual pleasures, by strewing the floor of a part of the palace near the women's apartments with fine powder, and leaving the teachers there before bringing them to the king to discourse upon their doctrines; their footprints showed that they had sneaked to the window of the women's apartments to peep. The same test was applied to Jain monks the next day, but they remained seated the whole time. Candragupta made them his spiritual counsellors.

On Cāṇakya's order Candragupta's food was mixed with increasing doses of poison to make him completely immune to it. Queen Durdharā, who was pregnant, one day dined with the king and was almost instantaneously killed by the poison. Cāṇakya at once ripped open the queen's belly and extracted the foetus, a son, who had already been touched by a drop (bindu) of the poison and was therefore called Bindusāra. Cāṇakya anointed him king when Candragupta died by samādhi.

Another minister, Subandhu, was jealous of Cāṇakya's ascendency and turned Bindusāra against Cāṇakya by telling him that he had killed the queen. Cāṇakya fell from favour and turned his mind to supramundane things; but he resolved that his enemy should get his due reward for his pains. Accordingly he pronounced mantras over a perfume which he placed in a casket together with a note, and retired to a dunghill to starve himself to death. Bindusāra had meanwhile learned the truth of his mother's death, and was very angry with Subandhu. The latter promised to conciliate Cāṇakya and approached him ostensibly with that purpose, but left a glowing

coal in the dunghill, and Cāṇakya went up in flames.

But Cāṇakya's revenge was accomplished:[1] Subandhu entered Cāṇakya's house, hoping to find hoarded treasure. He opened the casket containing the rich perfume, which he breathed. He then read the note: whoever breathes this perfume must become an ascetic, least he die. Subandhu chose the former alternative.

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The similarity of this story to the Pali version will have been noticed, but it needs to be shown that where the Jain version differs it is almost always superior.

In the first place the contradiction of Cāṇakya's breaking of his teeth out of filial piety and then leaving his mother does not arise in the Jain version where it is his father who grinds them down from concern for his soul. There is no particular reason why teeth should be a royal omen anyway: what is remarkable is that, like Richard III, Cāṇakya was born with a full set, a detail lacking in the Pali version. The prophesy, after the grinding of the teeth, that he will be a 'king concealed behind an image', provides the motivation for his search for another worthy to be king, after his flight from Nanda, the search being mentioned in both versions; nor has this prophecy, which the Mahā-vaṃsa Ṭīkā lacks, dropped out of the Pali version through abridge-

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1. PP 9.1 ff.

ment.[1]

In the Pali version Cāṇakya merely takes a seat among many in the almshouse: his ugliness, a result of the breaking of his teeth, is enough to throw the Nanda into a passion. In the Jain story he offers the king two excellent reasons to fly into a rage: he steps on the king's shadow and sits on his throne and then, piling insult on insult, puts his belongings on adjoining seats.

There is perhaps not much to choose between the two versions when we come to the etymologizing stories concerning Candragupta Maurya. The moon in the dohada motif does not 'protect' Candragupta and the story of the bull Canda is inept. The Jain story is probably inserted, as the Pali one was, since after satisfying the dohada and acquiring the boy, Cāṇakya leaves in search of a teacher of alchemy, and returns to find that the boy, whom he does not recognize, shows signs of royal worth; here the Pali version which does not involve Cāṇakya in Candragupta's birth is better. There is, again, little to choose between the two versions of the 'boy-king'; but the Pali version, with its appeal to the supernatural, is perhaps later. Probably Cāṇakya's making eight coins from one in the Pali version is due to alchemy (dhātuvāda),

1. so pana pitari mate mātuposako ti ca rājachattāramahāpuñño ti ca loke sambhāvito ahosi. And after breaking out his teeth: Evam so mātuposako ti loke sambhāvito ahosi, with no mention of his royal worth (MṬ 181.16-17, 27).

the Jain version supplying the answer.

The Jain version excels the Pali in its telling of the 'unconsciously given advice' motif: in the Pali the boy eats the centre of the cake and throws away the edges, while in the Jain, the boy sticks his finger in the middle of a bowl of gruel and gets burnt; this and the advice he is given exactly correspond to the campaign of Cāṇakya and Candragupta.

The Pabbata of the Pali version only serves to secure Cāṇakka's escape from the palace, after which he is discarded. Although he lingers on after the finding of Candragutta, Cāṇakka was already looking for 'another worthy of the royal umbrella' after the flight: from this it is clear that Pabbata is not the man, and the 'test' is superfluous in his case as in that of Candagutta, who has already shown signs of a royal future in his childish games. By contrast Hemacandra's Parvataka is as his name should indicate, a hill-king of Himavaṭkūṭa, rather than Nanda's son. An alliance with him is most fitting as Cāṇakya has just seen that he must subdue the border regions before taking the capital, and once victorious he is discarded in a way worthy of Cāṇakya's reputation.

The story of Nanda's hidden wealth and the search for it is lacking in the Jain version, which therefore does not present Nanda as avaricious on the one hand and generous on the other. The Pali version of the pacification of the country-side is very cryptic, and it is possible that its source made the choice of a jaṭila to accomplish it seem more appropriate. But the Jain

version provides us with an appropriate agent in the person of a weaver who carries his zeal in destroying roaches to extraordinary lengths, and explains, moreover, that the 'robbers' are the remaining adherents of Nanda.

The anecdote of Bindusāra's birth is the one etymologyzing story which the two versions have in common, and they are so close as to leave little basis for choice.

There is little that is specifically Jain in the story. True, Cāṇakya and his parents are made out to be adherents of Jainism, and Candragupta and Cāṇakya are both said to have ended their days in the manner of Jain ascetics, though involuntarily in the case of the latter. That Candragupta was attracted to Jainsim may well be true: in Jain legend he occupies the place of Aśoka in Buddhist. Then there are the two anecdotes of monkish misdemeanors which do not serve to advance the story.

The remainder of the stories found in the Pariśiṣṭa Parvan but not in the Pali works are also loosely attached to the thread of the narrative and can be considered inessential. Such is the case in the episode where Nanda's daughter, smitten by love for Candragupta, gets off the cart to mount his chariot and in so doing nine spokes of the cartwheel are broken, signifying a duration of nine generations for the new dynasty. Prognistications of this sort would seem to be obligatory in describing the rise to power of the founder of a line of kings. Of the first Nizam of Hyderabad, it was said that when at his coronation he gave a mere seven chappatis to a mendicant holy man for his blessing, the holy man foretold that

as many Nizams would reign, a prophecy which has been realised.[1]
But this episode in our story serves further to legitimize the
usurper Candragupta by marrying him to a Nanda princess, an end
which other versions achieve by making Candragupta a son or grand-
son of the Nanda.

The mocking of Cāṇakya's wife for her poverty, since it
provides motivation for his going to the court of Nanda, may be
an exception to this. It is possible, too, that Cāṇakya's rivalry
with Subandhu formed part of the original Cāṇakya-Candragupta-Kathā,
since this finds mention in Pali literature: from Dhammapāla's
commentary on the Theragāthā we learn that the thera Tekicchakāni
was the son of the brahmin Subhandhu. This Subandhu displayed
wisdom in deeds and skilfulness in means; and Cāṇakka, out of
jealousy and a fear that Subandhu would surpass him at court, got
Candagutta to throw the poor man into prison, whereupon his son
fled and took holy orders.[2] Subandhu does not figure in Cāṇakka's
demise as remembered in the Saṃsthāraka and other edifying Jain
collections on the deaths of famous men, according to which, though
a wicked man, he died by voluntary starvation in the approved Jain

1. Taya Zinkin in The Guardian, 25 February, 1967.

2. Paramatthā Dīpanī (Theragāthā Aṭṭhakathā), commy. on TG 6.2
(commy. vss. 381-6), p. 163.

manner,[1] but this is understandable.

In composing the Pariśiṣṭa Parvan Hemacandra drew chiefly on what has been called the kathānaka literature, legends and anecdotes concerning the deeds of Jain patriarchs and famous men, which are preserved in the cūrṇis and ṭīkās attached to the canonical sūtras and niryuktis.[2] The Cāṇakya-Candragupta-Kathā from the birth of Cāṇakya to the filling of the treasury is preserved in Prakrit in the Uttarādhyāyana Ṭīkā[3] and the Cūrṇi and Ṭīkā on the Āvaśyaka Niryukti;[4] of the remainder of the stories, which, as we have seen, are only loosely connected to the main narrative, "many details can be traced in the Āvaśyaka-, Uttarādhyayana- and

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1. Pāḍaliputtammi pure Cāṇakko nāma vissuo āsī savvārambhaniyutto iṅgiṇīmaraṇaṃ aha nivanno /

Quoted in An Illustrated Ardha-Magadhi Dictionary, s.v. Cāṇakko; the passage is given as Saṃsthārakaprakīrṇa 73, Piṇḍaniryukti 500 and Bhaktapratyākhyānaprakīrṇa 162.

2. See Jacobi, PP, p. v ff. The other source of the PP is the Prakrit poem Vasudevahiṇḍi on Vasudeva, Kṛṣṇa and the like.

3. UT 3.1 printed in PP, p/ 336 ff. Prakrit prose interspersed with Prakrit and Sanskrit verses.

4. ĀN 9.64.38, Jacobi, PP, p. ix. I have not been able to ascertain whether this story is identical to the above.

other Kathānakas."[1]

The Sthavirāvalīcarita was composed sometime between A.D. 1159 and 1172.[2] Its source, the Kathānaka literature, belongs to a period beginning with the end of the first century A.D. and ending with Haribhadra, c. A.D. 750.[3] The antiquity of the Jaina Siddhānta and its exegetical literature is a subject of much controversy, as tradition has it that the canon was first fixed at the Council of Pāṭaliputra in Candragupta Maurya's time, but only set down in writing at the Council of Valabhī in the 5th-6th century A.D., i.e. 980 years after the nirvāṇa of Mahāvīra.[4] It is generally agreed that at least some of the canon must have been in written form from early times, but the opinions vary as to how accurately the present canon represents that of the Council of Pāṭaliputra. However, there is general agreement that the Kathānaka literature is old; and Haribhadra, who wrote a Sanskrit ṭīkā on the Āvaśyaka and other sūtras and niryuktis, relied on ancient Prakrit commentaries, and "retained the narratives (Kathānakas) in their original Prakrit form."[5]

It might be asked whether the greater coherence and consistency of the Jain version of the Cāṇakya-Candragupta-Kathā has been on

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1. Jacobi, PP, p. ix.

2. Bühler's reckoning in Jacobi, op. cit., p. xxv.

3. Ibid., p. vii.

4. See M. Winternitz, History of Indian Literature, vol. 2, pp. 431-2.

5. Ibid., p. 481.

imposed on it by Hemacandra, binding together diverse anecdotes much as the author of the <u>Mahāvamsa</u> <u>Tīkā</u> did. Hemacandra was, after all, a veteran storyteller by the time he began the <u>Pariśiṣṭa</u> <u>Parvan</u>. But in the first place the bulk of the story is preserved in connected form in Hemacandra's Prakrit source, and in the second, it can be shown by comparison of the two that he is here as elsewhere true to the essentials of his original, casting it into a more polished and smoothly flowing narrative and filling it out with description and dialogue. By way of illustration we refer to one of the choicest episodes, where the <u>dāsī</u> asks Cānkaya to take another seat. This is the Prakrit version:

> The slave-girl spoke: "Sir, take the second seat."
> "Be it so." On the second seat he puts his water-pot;
> likewise on the third his staff; on the fourth his rosary;
> on the fifth his sacred thread. "Impudent!" she said,
> and expelled him. He became angry and says to her...1

This is what Hemacandra makes of the scene:

> Cāṇakya was politely addressed by a certain slave-
> girl of the king: "Take thou this second seat, Oh twice-
> born." "My water-pot shall stay here," he said, placed

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1. <u>PP</u> p. 337. The English scarcely does justice to the compression of the original: <u>bhaṇio dāsīe</u>. <u>bhayavaṃ bīye āsaṇe nivesāhi</u>. <u>evaṃ hou</u>. <u>bitie āsaṇe kuṃḍiyaṃ thavei</u>. <u>evaṃ taīe daṃḍayaṃ</u>. <u>catïtthe gaṇettiyaṃ</u>. <u>paṃcame jaṇovaīyaṃ</u>. <u>dhiṭṭho tti nicchūḍho</u>. <u>padosam āvaṇo</u>. <u>aṇayā ya bhaṇaī</u>.

the water-pot there and did not leave the first
seat. Likewise he obstructed the third with his
staff, the fourth with his rosary and the fifth
with his sacred thread. The slave-girl saw this.
"Oh, impudent! He does not leave the first seat;
on the contrary, he obstructs the other seats as
well. What sort of a brahmin is this impudent
fellow?" and, kicking Cāṇakya, ejected him. Cāṇakya
flew into a rage like a snake beaten with a stick,
and in full view of everyone made this vow....

The repetitions of Hemacandra ("water-pot here", "water-pot

there") are perhaps lapses occasioned by fatigue after the 34,000

ślokas of the Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacarita; but there is no denying

that the flat Prakrit version has been enlivened.

It might further be argued that this merely displaces the

problem one step back without solving it. But if the Prakrit

version is coherent and self-consistent, that is the only literary

merit it has. When the episodes of a story disengage themselves

from each other and are transmitted as anecdotes they suffer alter-

ations which make them discordant when reunited, as we have argued

has happened in the Mahāvaṃsa Ṭīkā with regard to the Cāṇakya-

Candragupta-Kathā. But when the story is transmitted as a whole

it may well undergo changes but the integrity of the whole is

preserved and tends to conserve the original features. For these

reasons we are inclined to consider the Jain version not only the

better but the older of the two.

The Kashmirian Version

Two works, Somadeva's Kathāsaritsāgara[1] and Kṣemendra's
Bṛhatkathāmañjari[2], retell the Cāṇakya-Candragupta-Kathā as it
was presented in an earlier Kashmirian version of the lost
Bṛhatkathā of Guṇāḍhya. Our story here is merely an episode of
the tale of Vararuci, which in turn forms a part (though indeed
a dispensible part as we shall see) of the legend of how Guṇāḍhya
came to write his Bṛhatkathā.

Vararuci (who is identified with Kātyāyana, the grammarian)
and his two fellow-pupils, Indradatta and Vyāḍi, journey to king
Nanda at Ayodhyā to ask for a crore of dīnāras as fee for their
guru Varṣa. When they arrive Nanda has just died; but Indradatta
manages by yoga to slip into Nanda's body and reanimate it, and
grants Vararuci's petition. The minister Śakaṭāla guesses the
true state of affairs and has Indradatta's abandoned body burnt,
thus permanently imprisoning him in Nanda's; but 'Yogananda',
fearing Śakaṭāla's revenge, casts him in a dungeon, together with
his hundred sons and gives them rations sufficient only for one;
the sons give all the food to their father, so that he may live
to take revenge, and starve to death. Yogananda takes Vararuci

1. Vss. 1.5.108-25; trans., p. 55 ff.
2. Vss. 2.213-18.

as his minister. In the course of time Yogananda's character
deteriorates and Vararuci quits the court for the forest to
become an ascetic; Śakaṭāla is restored to his office but secretly
thinks of revenge. Vararuci learns of the fate of Yogananda and
the accomplishment of Śakaṭāla's revenge from a brahmin recently
come from Ayodhyā.

One day Śakaṭāla happened upon a brahmin, Cāṇakya, digging
up the earth in his path and on inquiry learned that he was rooting
up some darbha grass because it had pricked his foot. Śakaṭāla
decided that one so resolute in satisfying his anger was the man
through whom to destroy Yogananda. He invited Cāṇakya to preside
over the king's śrāddha, occupying the seat of honour, for a fee
of 100,000 dīnāras. Śakaṭāla lodged Cāṇakya in his own house and
secured the king's approval of the priest; but when the feast day
arrived and Cāṇakya assumed his seat at the head of the assembled
company, another brahmin, Subandhu, grudged him the honour.
Śakaṭāla referred the matter to Yogananda who awarded Subandhu the
seat rightfully belonging to Cāṇakya; Śakaṭāla, who told him the
king's decision, told him also that he, Śakaṭāla, was not to
blame. Cāṇakya blazed up in anger and unbound his top-knot,
solemnly vowing that Yogananda would be destroyed within seven
days, and until that came about his hair would remain unbound.
He escaped Yogananda's wrath by fleeing to Śakaṭāla's house unnot-
iced, and there, with materials supplied by Śakaṭāla, performed
a magic rite which caused Yogananda a burning fever which killed
him on the seventh day. Śakaṭāla then had Yogananda's son,

Hiraṇyagupta, put to death, and established instead Candragupta, a son of the true Nanda, in the kingship; he made Cāṇakya, 'equal in ability to Bṛhaspati', the new king's *purohita*; and considering his vengeance complete and weighed down by sorrow for his sons, killed by Yogananda, he retired to a forest to practice austerities.

Kṣemendra, the indefatigable abridger of the Mahābhārata and Rāmāyaṇa, gives us a cramped and crabbed telling of the story which is so brief it can be quoted in full:

> At my (Vararuci's) request he explained: "After you left, the king and his son were destroyed by the craft of Śakaṭāla. He saw in the path *kuśa* grass uprooted on account of anger at the wounding of a foot; and purposefully (invited) the wrathful brahmin to the king's *śrāddha*. This unendurable man, Cāṇakya by name, with loosened top-knot, was ushered in and seated at the foot of the assembly. Śakaṭāla told him, 'You are despised by the king,' and he blazed up at these words. Cāṇakya then (went) in secret to Śakaṭāla's house. He performed magic; and the king, together with his son, was thereby killed, after seven days. Then, while the fame of Yogananda yet remained, Candragupta, son of the previous Nanda, was established in sovereignty by the energetic Cāṇakya. Thus burning within through hatred Śakaṭāla having ruined the king and his following, went with wisdom to the forest and did penance."

Three Sanskrit versions of the lost Bṛhatkathā of Guṇāḍhya, written in the 'demons' language' Paiśāci, are extant: the Nepalese Bṛhatkathāślokasaṃgraha of Budhasvāmin and the two Kashmirian versions of Somadeva and Kṣemendra which derive from the

lost B̥rhatkathāsaritsāgara[1] in late Prakrit.[2] Of Budhasvāmin
nothing is known, and his date is judged to be about the eighth
or ninth centuries A.D.[3] Kṣemendra's work belongs to the second
quarter of the eleventh century[4] and thus antedates Somadeva's,
which is assigned to the third or fourth quarter;[5] from this it
follows that the Kṣemendra's extremely cryptic version must be
based on the Prakrit original and not on Somadeva's work.

A comparison of the Kashmirian and Nepalese versions shows
that Somadeva preserved most of the contents of his original in

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1. Félix Lacôte: Essai sur Guṇāḍhya et la B̥rhatkathā, Paris,
1908, p. 65. Cited as Lacôte.

2. Lacôte: Apabhraṃśa (p. 65); Prakrit (p. 123).

3. Lacôte, p. 147.

4. Lacôte, p. 145: his Bhāratamañjari is known to have been
composed in 1037, his Daśavatāracarita in 1066; the other two
mañjaris, on the Rāmāyana and the B̥rhatkathā, are then early
productions closer to the former date (Bühler).

5. Loc. cit.: Somadeva, according to the praśasti with which
the work opens, wrote for the pleasure of Sūryavatī, mother of
king Kalaśa and grandmother of Harṣa. Since Kalaśa is there
called king but Harṣa merely śrī, the work must have been composed
between the accession of Kalaśa and the death of Sūryavatī (who
died before Harṣa's accession), i.e. 1063-4 to 1081 or 1082
(Bühler).

rearrangement, while Kṣemendra compressed it drastically
(though he preserved some material not in Somadeva) but adhered
to the confused order of the original. It further shows that the
legend of Guṇāḍhya, and therefore the Cāṇakya episode it contains,
was found in the Kashmirian Bṛhatkathāsaritsāgara but not in the
Nepalese version nor, it follows, in the original Bṛhatkathā.
Finally, it is very probable that Vararuci's story and all it
contains (including the Cāṇakya episode) is a late addition to the
Guṇādhya legend. Let us consider the evidence for this conclusion.

Although the Nepalese Bṛhatkathāślokasaṃgraha lacks the
legend of Guṇāḍhya, there is a Nepalese version of the legend in
the Nepālamāhātmya,[1] which differs in omitting the tale of Vararuci,
with its Cāṇakya episode. Internal analysis of the legend shows
the Nepalese version to be the older. In the Kashmirian version
Śiva relates to Pārvatī a long story about the vidyādharas, but
it is overheard by the gaṇa Puṣpadanta who is foolish enough to
tell it to his wife. Pārvatī learns this from her and in her
anger lays a curse on Puṣpadanta to the effect that he must become
a human, Vararuci, in Kauśāmbī; likewise the gaṇa Mālayavat, for

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1. Chh. 27-9, text in Lacôte, p. 291 ff. There is also a third
Kashmirian version, Rājanaka Jayaratha's Haracaritacintāmaṇi,
which, however, is based on Somadeva and Kṣemendra: Lacôte, p. 61.

his temerity in interceding on Puṣpadanta's behalf, becomes
Guṇāḍhya of Supratiṣṭhita in Pratiṣṭhāna. The curse is to be
lifted when Puṣpadanta-Vararuci tells the tale to the piśāca
Kāṇabhūti in the Vindhyās (who, as if things were not complicated
enough, is a yakṣa suffering under a curse from Kubera), and when
Mālayavat-Guṇāḍhya receives the story from Kaṇabhūti and publishes
it to the world. And so it fell out. Vararuci, after leaving
Yogananda's court passes on the story to Kāṇabhūti, and Guṇāḍhya,
who had become minister to king Sātavāhana and who, as a result
of losing a wager, yielded his post to a rival, Śarvavarman (who
had succeeded in teaching the king Sanskrit in six months), had
forsworn the use of Sanskrit, Prakrit or the vernaculars, hears
the tale in Paiśācī from Kāṇabhūti. Eventually a part of the
tale is published by king Sātavāhana, who composes the Kathāpīṭha,
containing the Guṇāḍhya legend, by way of introduction. This,
then, is the Bṛhatkathā. In the Nepalese version the transmission
of the story is much more direct: a bee, Bhṛṅgin, overhears Śiva's
tale and is reborn as Guṇāḍhya at Mathurā; he becomes paṇḍit to
king Madana of Ujjain but loses his office to Śarvavarman (omitting
the business of the wager) and at the advice of the ṛṣi Pulastya,
writes the tale in Paiśācī. Lacôte concludes with justice that
the tale of Vararuci "is a whole, perfectly distinct from the
story of Guṇāḍhya" which could not originally have been part of
it: there is no point of contact between Vararuci and Guṇāḍhya
save through an intermediary, the piśāca Kāṇabhūti, who is himself

superfluous to the legend.[1]

The story of Vararuci is loosely affiliated to the Jain story of the ninth Nanda as told by Hemacandra, where the rivalry of the minister Sakaṭāla and the poet, philosopher and grammarian Vararuci is described.[2] But the differences are enormous. In the Jain version it is not Sakaṭāla, for example, who is imprisoned with his sons, but Kalpaka, minister to the first Nanda; there is no Yogananda, and Sakaṭāla, who does indeed fall out of favour with his king, does not live to carry out his revenge, but soon dies and passes on his office to his son. As for the Kashmirian Cāṇakya episode, it agrees with the Jain only in the circumstances of Cāṇakya's curse, and even there only distantly. Cāṇakya's rivalry with Subandhu, moreover, properly belongs to the period after Candragupta's anointment.

The material is lacking to account fully for these great differences. What can be discerned, however, is that we are presented here not so much with the Cāṇakya-Candragupta-Kathā as with a tale which would better be titled "Sakaṭāla's Revenge". Cāṇakya's resolve to root up the darbha grass because it had pricked his foot, as a hyperbolic illustration of his irascibility, is successful, but it belongs to a story in which the dominating figure of Cāṇakya has shrunk to that of an unwitting tool in Sakaṭ-

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1. Lacôte, pp. 31-2.

2. PP 8.

āla's hands, much as the weaver who exterminates roaches in the Jain version is the tool of Cāṇakya. It is not indeed Cāṇakya here who is "equal in ability to Bṛhaspati", guru of the gods and author of an arthaśāstra, but Śakaṭāla. It is difficult to see why Śakaṭāla should here have become so important that the Cāṇakya-Candragupta-Kathā has become a pendant to the story of Nanda and Śakaṭāla. But if we approach the story from the direction of the Guṇāḍhya legend, we can see that once Vararuci is brought in, his rivalry with Śakaṭāla, known to folk-lore, must be incorporated too, and that Śakaṭāla must be a dominating figure. Thus is Cāṇakya made to serve the needs of the story.

But why was Vararuci brought in in the first place? For grammar's sake. The two features of the Kashmirian Guṇāḍhya legend lacking in the Nepalese version, that is, the story of Vararuci and the wager, serve the greater glory of grammar. Vararuci, also known as Kātyāyana, is identified with the author of the Varttikās or Pāṇini, and indeed Pāṇini's grammar is revealed to him on account of his severe penances in the Kashmirian story; to him are also ascribed a Prakrit grammar, the Prākṛtaprakāśa; the fourth book of the Kātantra and the Liṅgānuśāsana; the Vāraruca-saṃgraha; a lexicon; the Vedic Puṣpasūtra and, in addition to these grammatical works, a Vārarucakāvya mentioned in Patañjali.[1] In the legend one of Vararuci's fellow-pupils is Vyāḍi, author of a

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1. A.B. Keith, A History of Sanskrit Literature, p. 427.

lost Vyāḍisaṃgraha on Pāṇini,[1] and they and their _guru_ Varṣa

are mentioned by Rājaśekhara as composers of grammatical _śāstras_.[2]

To Śarvavarman is ascribed the <u>Kātantra</u> by which he is enabled to

teach king **Sātavāhana** Sanskrit in six months and so win his wager

with Guṇāḍhya; the <u>Kātantra</u> was very influential in Kaśmir.[3]

Finally Guṇāḍhya himself was, if not a grammarian, certainly a

renowned author in Prakrit. "En accouplant les deux légendes, on

obtenait un cycle de contes qui englobait les **plus** célèbre gram-

mariens, manière d'épopée bien fait pour flatter les pédants,

glorification des héros de la grammaire!"[4]

 Thus the <u>Cāṇakya-Candragupta-Kathā</u>, a late arrival to its

vehicle, has suffered distortions due to the special interests

of the Kashmirian legend of Guṇāḍhya, so that it has been changed

almost out of all recognition from its original form.

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1. Mentioned in Patañjali. Keith, p. 426.

2. Keith, p. 339.

3. Keith, p. 431.

4. Lacôte, p. 32.

The Mudrārākṣasa and Its Ancillary Literature

Mudrārākṣasa, or 'The Signet-ring of Rākṣasa' is the title of the only extant drama of Viśākhadatta.[1] It is in seven acts, and depicts the conciliation of Rākṣasa, the hereditary minister of the Nandas, by Cāṇakya, the cunning minister of Candragupta Maurya, whom Cāṇakya had raised to the throne of Pāṭaliputra after engineering the destruction of the Nanda dynasty. Lying in the background of the action of the drama are the military operations of Malayaketu and his coalition of barbarian chiefs against Pāṭaliputra and Candragupta's army; but the foreground is dominated by the strife between Rākṣasa and Cāṇakya, in which Cāṇakya succeeds in defeating Malayaketu's advance not by force but by keeness of intellect and craftiness of policy, and in this he is shown a good practitioner of the dicta of arthaśāstra, where devious stratagems are advocated in preference to the use of force, which is of uncertain outcome. It is consistent with this that the princes of the play are only of secondary importance: the intended invasion of Pāṭaliputra never materializes and Candragupta is the humble pupil of Cāṇakya, much as Malayaketu is mere putty in the hands of Rākṣasa, which he shapes to his purposes, until Cāṇakya intervenes. In the prologue the angry Cāṇakya enters with his

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1. Mudrārākṣasa by Viśākhadatta, ed. Alfred Hillebrandt. See also the trans. by H.H. Wilson, Select Specimens of the Theatre of the Hindus, vol. 2, p. 137 ff.

top-knot undone,[1] an allusion to his vow to destroy the Nandas;
only at the end of the last act does he bind up his hair in
token that the vow had been fulfilled. When the play opens the
Nandas have already been annihilated, but their minister Rākṣasa
has escaped, to whom we must now understand the vow extends:
"While Rākṣasa is at large, is Nanda's line truly uprooted or
Candragupta's fortunes made secure?"[2]

The events preceeding the opening of the play are sketched
to Rākṣasa by one of his agents, Virādhagupta, in the second act:
Cāṇakya had allied Candragupta with Parvateśvara (Parvata, Parvataka),
a mountain king, against Nanda. They led their victorious forces,
which included Sakas, Yavanas, Kirātas, Kāmbojas, Pārasīkas and
Bāhlīkas, against Kusumapura (Pāṭaliputra). Rākṣasa left the
capital after the Nandas had been destroyed to raise the resistance,
and sent a 'poison maid' (viṣakanyā) to assasinate Candragupta;
but, as we learn in Cāṇakya's first soliloquy in Act 1,[3] the
latter deflected the plan and got Parvata killed instead and the
blame fixed on Rākṣasa into the bargain. Parvata's son, Malayaketu,
knows the truth about his father's death and has fled to Rākṣasa's
camp with Bhāgurāyaṇa, who poses as a friend but is in fact a tool
of Cāṇakya. Returning to Virādhagupta's narrative in Act II we
further learn that Cāṇakya had persuaded Vairodhaka, brother of

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1. p. 4: tataḥ praviśati muktāṃ śikhāṃ parāmṛśan sakopaś Cāṇakyaḥ.
2. p. 7: agṛhīte Rākṣase kim utkhātaṃ Nandavaṃśasya kiṃ vā
sthairyam utpāditaṃ Candraguptalakṣmyāḥ ?
3. pp. 8-9.

Parvata, that his death was the doing of Rākṣasa, and as a consequence Vairodhaka and Candragupta were reconciled and a division of Nanda's empire agreed upon. Cāṇakya, knowing the chief architect to be faithful to Rākṣasa, ordered him to prepare a triumphal arch for Candragupta's progress to the palace, which was to be held at midnight, ostensibly for astrological reasons. He had Vairodhaka lead the procession, heavily decked with robes and jewels and mounted on Candragupta's elephant, attended by Candragupta's bodyguards. Rākṣasa's agents arranged that the temporary arch fell on Vairodhaka, whom they mistook for Candra-gupta, and in this way he, too, was eliminated and his death ascribed to Rākṣasa. Returning once again to Cāṇakya's soliloquy in Act I, we learn that Malayaketu with Rākṣasa's guidance seeks to avenge his father's death, and in this project has got the aid of a great army of barbarian kings[1] and later[2] the foremost of these are specified as Citravarman of the Kaulūtas (i.e. Kūlu); Nṛsiṃha of the Malayas; Puṣkarākṣa of the Kāśmīras; Siṃdhuṣeṇa of the Saindhavas (i.e. Sindh); and Meghākṣa of the Pārasīkas (i.e. Persia). In Act V Rākṣasa, detailing the disposition of the troops, adds to this list the Khaśas, Magadhans, Gandhārans, Cedis, Śakas, Yavanas and Hūṇas:[3] some, at least, of these had been

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1. p. 6: <u>mahatā</u> <u>mlecchārājabalena</u>.

2. pp. 21-2.

3. p. 142.

allied with Candragupta under Parvata.

The play itself proceeds as follows: In Act I an agent informs Cāṇakya that there remain in Pāṭaliputra three persons sympathetic to Rākṣasa: the Jain monk Jīvasiddhin (who in truth is another of Cāṇakya's many agents), the scribe Śakaṭadāsa, and the head of the jeweller's guild Candanadāsa. The last-named harbours Rākṣasa's wife; and Cāṇakya's agent has recovered her husband's signet-ring, which she dropped unawares. Cāṇakya then writes a letter to Malayaketu, in very vague terms, warning him of the treachery of his barbarian allies, has it copied by the unsuspecting scribe, Śakaṭadāsa, and seals it with Rākṣasa's ring. He orders the supposed monk Jīvasiddhin to be 'banished'; arrests Candanadāsa; and orders Śakaṭadāsa to be impaled, but arranges for an agent posing as the scribe's friend to rescue him and take him to Rākṣasa. At the end of the act we find that several of Candragupta's princes have fled to Malayaketu's camp; but this is merely part of the strategy of the wily Cāṇakya.

The second act takes place in Rākṣasa's house. A servant brings the minister a present of jewels from Malayaketu. His agent, Virādhagupta, apprises him of the failure of several attempts on Candragupta's life: Vairodhaka has mistakenly been killed by the assassins intended for Candragupta; Cāṇakya has foiled a poisoning attempt by his shrewd observation; bravos concealed in an underground passage leading to the king's bedroom were discovered from a trail of ants carrying fragments of a meal, coming through a wall, and the bravos were burnt to death; and so Cāṇakya

has foiled each plan in turn. The scribe, Śakaṭadāsa, arrives accompanied by his 'rescuer' Siddhārthaka. The latter presents Rākṣasa with a signet-ring which he claims to have found at Candanadāsa's doorstep; it is, of course, the minister's own ring, and as a reward Siddhārthaka is given some of Rākṣasa's jewels, orginally presented him by Malayaketu. At the close of the act a merchant arrives selling jewels. The unsuspecting Rākṣasa is pleased with them, and purchases them.

Act III takes place in Candragupta's palace in Pāṭaliputra. The business of the act is for Cāṇakya and Candragupta to feign anger with each other for the benefit of Rākṣasa's agents, who are in the court disguised as musicians. The occasion is the preparations for the festival of the autumnal full moon (Kaumudī-mahotsava), which Candragupta has ordered and Cāṇakya has forbidden on account of Malayaketu's approaching invasion. Candragupta, in a show of pique at the overruling of his command, pretends to dismiss Cāṇakya from office and in so doing he suggests that Rākṣasa is the better minister. Rākṣasa's spies leave, convinced that the two have parted company forever.

In Act IV we are again at Rākṣasa's house. The minister suffers from a violent headache and fatigue from sleeplessness over his projects. Malayaketu approaches, conversing with Bhāgurā-yaṇa, one of Candragupta's seemingly disaffected princes, who suggests to the king that the other princes' distrust of Rākṣasa is due to his hatred more toward Cāṇakya than toward Candragupta;

they feel, Bhāgurāyaṇa insinuates, that once Cāṇakya were discarded, Rākṣasa might be tempted to cast his lot with Candragupta, since he is the hereditary Nanda minister and Candragupta is a son of Nanda by a lesser queen. Before entering Rākṣasa's house they hear the messenger report that Candragupta has dismissed his minister and praised the superior merits of Rākṣasa, and Malaya-ketu's suspicions are fully aroused. Nevertheless he departs to prepare for an immediate march on Pāṭaliputra before it is too late. Rākṣasa then consults a Jain monk—none other than Jīva-siddhin, Cāṇakya's agent—to determine whether the time is auspicious for beginning military operations. The monk assures him that, albeit it is a full-moon day, as the other signs are propitious, only a lunar eclipse would prohibit the undertaking.

Malayaketu's camp is the scene of the ensuing act. The seeming monk Jīvasiddhin convinces Malayaketu that it was Rākṣasa who had his father murdered, not Cāṇakya; but Bhāgurāyaṇa prevails on him to leave Rākṣasa unharmed while the invasion lasts. Then Siddhārthaka, the 'rescuer' of the scribe Śakaṭadāsa, is caught with the letter which Cāṇakya has devised, bearing Rākṣasa's seal, copied in the scribe's hand, and addressed to Candragupta. The burden of the letter is that the five mleccha princes can be bought off with promises of land and wealth; and Rākṣasa, the 'writer', wishes for himself only Cāṇakya's exile and the ministerial office. As Siddhārthaka wears the jewels Rākṣasa had given him. Malayaketu is convinced that he is really the minister's agent and that he is guilty of treachery. Rākṣasa is summoned. He arrives

wearing the jewels which earlier he had purchased from the travelling merchant; they are in fact the jewels of Parvata, Malayaketu's dead father, and are recognized as such. The upshot is that Rākṣasa is dismissed and the five barbarian kings put to death: those who coveted land by being buried beneath a mountain of it; those who coveted elephants and wealth by being trampled by elephants.

Act VI reverts to Pāṭaliputra; we learn that Malayaketu's allies have left him in disgust at his brutal treatment of the five mleccha kings, and that the plan of invasion has been dropped; Rākṣasa has fled to the capital, but not unobserved by Cāṇakya's numerous spies; and Cāṇakya himself has publicly been 'reinstated' in Candragupta's favour. Enter Rākṣasa, who learns through one of his arch-enemy's agents, posing as a friend of the jeweller Candanadāsa, that this last is about to be executed for refusing to yield Rākṣasa's wife and children to the state. Rākṣasa hastens to the execution grounds determined to give himself up in exchange for his noble friend's life. This he does in Act VII, the final act of the play. Cāṇakya, victorious at last, forces Rākṣasa to accept his own ministerial dagger (śastra) for Candanadāsa's freedom. Malayaketu has been captured by the seemingly disaffected princes; and Rākṣasa extracts a pardon for him from Candragupta. His vow now fulfilled, Cāṇakya at last binds up his hair and retires from public life. Candanadāsa is freed and his goods restored. At the very end of the play Cāṇakya gives this benediction:

"Once the Support of Creatures, the Earth,
encompassed by **destruction**, clung to the tusk of
the Self-Born Viṣṇu who had assumed the form of a
might boar; now she, set atremble by the barbari-
ans, (flies) to the stout arms of the **true** king.
May His Majesty King Candragupta long protect
relatives, servants and Earth!" 1

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There is very little in the drama by which one can arrive

at a date to which to ascribe it, but J. Charpentier has fixed on

this final passage, taking it to be addressed to the reigning

monarch for whom the play was written, and sees in it an exhorta-

tion to protect the realm against the threat of barbarian invasion

from the northwest, in particular by the Hūṇas.[2] He specifies

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1. vārāhīm ātmayones tanum atanubalām āsthitasyānurūpāṃ

    yasya prāk potrakoṭiṃ pralayaparigatā śiśriye bhūtadhātrī /

    mlecchair udvejyamānā bhujayugam adhunā pīvaraṃ rājabhūrteḥ

    sa śrīmad bandhubhṛtyaś ciram avatu mahīṃ pārthivaś Candraguptaḥ //

    (7.29, p. 202)

Wilson, op. cit., pp. 251-2, puts the speech in Rākṣasa's mouth.

2. JRAS 1923, p. 585 ff. Wilson (op. cit., vol. 2, p. 251) wrote,
"This allusion to Mlechchas is corroborative of the Drama's being
written in the eleventh or twelfth century, when the Patan princes
were pressing upon the Hindu sovereignties." Jacobi ascribed it to
2 December, A.D. 860, on astronomical data and a (now known to be
corrupt) reading of Avantivarman for Candragupta in the final verse.

that monarch as Skanda Gupta, who in fact did repel the Hūṇas'
onslaught. A number of scholars have preferred the reign of
Candra Gupta II Vikramāditya, the namesake of Candragupta Maurya
of the play, which is all the more fitting when it is remembered
that Viśākhadatta is said to have written another drama, Devī-
Candragupta, dealing with the expulsion of the Śakas of Ujjain by
the Gupta king.[1] The difficulty is that the Hūṇas were not menac-
ing India at so early a date, two generations previous to Skanda
Gupta. But if, as is the generally accepted view, we take Kālidāsa
to be contemporary with Candra Gupta II, we can at least say the
Hūṇas were known at that time, for the great poet places them on
the Vaṅkṣu (Oxus) in the Raghuvaṃśa. Viśākhadatta may merely have
added these Hūṇas to the list of peoples threatening Gupta power,
while their chief contemporary rivals were the Śakas.

But whether the play is a Gupta or post-Gupta composition,
it is its affiliation with other versions of the Cāṇakya-Candra-
gupta-Kathā which chiefly concerns us. And here it is of cardinal
importance to remember that, unlike the other versions, the Mudrā-
rākṣasa was composed for a limited and highly sophisticated audience
whose members we must suppose to have been thoroughly familiar
with arthaśāstra through their education and with intrigue through
experience; and it is arthaśāstra and intrigue, not the charming

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1. Konow, Speyer and Hillebrandt in Sten Konow, Das indische Drama,
p. 70 ff.; K.P. Jayaswal in IA 1913, p. 265 ff; Sastry in IHQ 7,
p. 163 ff.; rejoinder by Charpentier in ibid., p. 629.

tales of popular legend, which form the substance of the Mudrā-rākṣasa. No doubt its setting is drawn from legend, and it belongs to that class of plays called nāṭaka, the subject of which, according to the Sāhityadarpana, should be mythological or historical.[1] But the Daśarūpaka admits of fictitious or partly fictitious and partly traditional nāṭakas,[2] and the Mudrārākṣasa is of this latter sort. The problem, then, is to separate what is legendary from what is fictitious--fictitious, that is, in the sense of being a conscious product of the artistic imagination.

Three motifs in the events which preceed the opening of the play are found in the other literature and are easily recognized as traditional, Cāṇakya's vow, the alliance with Parvata, and Candragupta's paternity. As to the vow, Cāṇakya's wrath is everywhere referred to, the untying of the top-knot is found in the Kashmirian version, but the extension of the vow to include Rākṣasa's capture is an invention to serve the requirements of the play. Similarly the alliance of Candragupta with the hill-king Parvata against Nanda, and his subsequent 'accidental' death in the embrace of the poison-maiden is traditional, and supports the Jain version as against the Pali. But Parvata's brother Vairodhaka, the agreement to divide the kingdom, and his assasination are all inventions

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1. Wilson, op. cit., vol. 1, p. xxiv.

2. Idem.

by the simple process of dittography: the Parvata episode has
been told twice over, and both times the result is that Rākṣasa
gets the blame. Finally it is briefly mentioned that Candragupta
is a son of Nanda, and so has some claim to legitimacy in his
seizure of power. This is legend, but probably late legend, as
it is otherwise found only in the Kashmirian version and the
literature ancillary to the Mudrārākṣasa.

It is not possible to decide whether the main theme of the
play, the conflict of the ministers, has any legendary basis. The
name Rākṣasa is unknown to the other versions, nor do any of them
bring Cāṇakya into collision with Nanda's minister; the Kashmirian
version, on the contrary, have the two working hand in glove,
Nanda's minister Śakaṭāla in this case being the hand. On the
other hand the conflict of ministers is a popular theme, and it
is possible that Cāṇakya's rivalry with Subandhu of the Jain and
Pali versions has somehow been displaced so that Subandhu becomes
minister to Nanda under the name Rākṣasa. The Kashmirian version
would then represent a half-way house in such a displacement.

The composition of the barbarian host is also problematical.
But the mention of the Hūṇas is a grave anachronism, and whether
one believes with Charpentier that it is purposeful (i.e. fictional),
as relating to circumstances contemporary with the play's first
performance, or embodying a received tradition, it has no historical
significance whatsoever. The earliest form of the story on which
Viśākhadatta based his play knew only one ally, Parvata, and again
by a sort of dittography, this time repeated over and over, all

the known varieties of barbarians have been confederated to make
the threatened clash louder and more magnificent. One would
be hard put to think of a barbarian people who had been overlooked--
the Chinese perhaps?--some manuscripts include them. We are
reminded of the host assembled at Kurukṣetra (in which Cīnas and
Hūṇas also occur). Nor could they have come, in Indian historical
experience, from any other direction but the northwest. If, then,
the troop lists are a part of legend, the legend used was in a
late form; if fiction, it is of no use in the study of legend,
much less of history. What remains of the Mudrārākṣasa is, we
contend, fiction.

<p style="text-align:center">*   *   *</p>

Not only has the Mudrārākṣasa attracted sufficient interest
through the centuries to ensure its survival to the present day,
but a fair amount of literature has grown up around it, not only
proper commentaries with line-by-line glosses and Sanskrit 'shadow'
(chāyā) for the speeches in Prakrit, but also more or less indepen-
dent works dealing with the story of Nanda, Cāṇakya and Candragupta
previous to the events of the play. The commentaries generally
summarize events leading up to the action of the play in 'prefaces',
pūrvapīṭhikās, and we may conjecture that these prefaces, because
of the inherent interest of their contents and because the Cāṇakya-
Candragupta-Kathā proper deals with the events leading up to Candra-
gupta's anointment, before the beginning of the play, gave rise to
independent works containing no commentatorial material. We shall

briefly note two such independent works, the prose Mudrārākṣasa-
pūrvasaṃkathānaka of Anantaśarman[1] and Ravinartaka's Cāṇakyakathā
in verse.[2]

In Anantaśarman's work the Nanda Sudhanvan reigns at Pāṭali-
putra with Śakatara as his chief minister, and Rākṣasa as another
of his ministers. When the Nanda dies, an ascetic enters the
dead body by magical means and bestows liberal alms on his pupils.
But Rākṣasa is suspicious of his master's new generosity and dis-
covers the ascetic's lifeless body, which he burns, thus imprison-
ing the imposter in Nanda's body, and takes up service with King
Parvataka (Parvateśvara). Śakatara secretly kills the Nanda on
a hunting expedition when he reads an incription prophesying that
Lakṣmī would abandon either the king or the minister, and the heir,
Ugradhanvan, is installed on the throne. The new king, however,

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1. Ed. Dasharatha Sharma (Ganga O.S. no. 3), containing as an
appendix the "still later perhaps and certainly much balder in
style" anonymous Mudrārākṣasanāṭakapūrvapīṭhikā, the contents
of which are similar to Anantaśarman's work.

2. Ed. with Bengali trans. by Satish Churn Law (Calcutta O.S.
no. 6), based on a manuscript from the library of the Rajah of
Cochin. Wilson, op. cit., p. 141 ff., has translated a similar
Sanskrit work from a manuscript in Malayalam characters.

discovers the murder of his 'father' and throws Śakatara together
with his hundred sons into prison, with rations sufficient only
for one. The father and sons decide to give all the food to
Vikatara, the youngest, who promises to avenge their deaths.
Vikatara is released, and Rākṣasa returns as chief minister.
Vikatara one day happens upon a wrathful brahmin, Cāṇakya, who
is energetically trying to destroy all the kuśa grass in the
world because his father had been wounded by kuśa and died. He
thinks Cāṇakya a suitable tool for his revenge and invites him
to chair the king's śrāddha. When the king sees him in the seat
of honour he turns him out, and Cāṇakya unbinds his top-knot,
vowing not to tie it up again until the Nanda dynasty is destroyed.
Candragupta, here presented as a son of the late king, joins forces
with Cāṇakya and Parvataka, and they take Pāṭaliputra and vanquish
the Nandas.

The entire story is very similar to that in Somadeva's
Kathāsaritsāgara. Most of the motifs can be traced to the original
Kashmirian version, to which Anantaśarman's work must stand in
close relation, probably via the Kathāsaritsāgara itself. Thus
the minister Śakatara (Śakaṭāla), the Yogananda episode with the
burning of the imposter's body, the imprisonment of the minister
and his sons with rations sufficient for one (though here the
youngest son survives rather than the father), the wounding by
grass, the vow and the unbinding of the hair are held in common.
The alliance with Parvataka comes direct from the Mudrārākṣasa,

but Rākṣasa, who is a double for Śakaṭāla of the Kashmirian
version in the burning of the imposter's corpse, and whose role
as a minister of Parvataka accords badly with the Mudrārākṣasa,
plays a role which Anantaśarman has perhaps invented for him in
the absense of any traditions about him. The prophecy of Lakṣmī
is of unknown origin.

In Ravinartaka's Cāṇakyakathā Nanda is given two wives, one
a kṣatriya and the other a śūdra. The śūdra queen, Murā, gives
birth to a boy who is named Maurya, but the high-born queen gives
birth to a lump of flesh, which the minister cuts into nine pieces,
putting each into a jar, whence nine sons are born. The nine sons
reign in rotation, a year at a time, determining the order by lots;
Maurya becomes commander-in-chief of the army. The nine brothers
become jealous of Maurya's continual power while they have to wait
their turn for the kingship; so they cast him and his hundred sons
into prison with rations for one. They give their rations to the
youngest, Candragupta, who promises revenge. The king of Siṃhala
(Ceylon) sends the Nandas a cage containing a lion with instructions
to make the lion run out without opening the cage. The nine Nandas
are nonplussed, and fetch Candragupta out of confinement to solve
the riddle. He perceives that the lion is of wax, and pokes a red-
hot iron rod into it, whereupon the lion melts and runs out of its
cage. Candragupta's opportunity for revenge comes when he meets
the wrathful Cāṇakya uprooting the grass which had pierced his toe.
He invites the brahmin to preside over the śrāddha where he is
turned out of his seat of honour by the Nandas, and, unloosening

his top-knot, vows to accomplish their destruction.

The similarity of this southern work to the Kashmirian version is very tenuous, but we may remark that of the four main versions discussed, only the Kashmirian contains the 'wounding by grass' motif, so a relationship may exist. The nine sons from a lump of flesh may derive from the story of Gāndhārī in the Mahā-bhārata; the sources of the wax lion episode is unknown.

The Primitive Cāṇakya-Candragupta-Kathā

Let us briefly recapitulate what we have said with regard to the Indian versions of the Cāṇakya-Candragupta-Kathā before looking at the Classical version.

Of the four versions the Pali and Jain are very close in content and because of this, since we have no reason to suppose one is borrowed from the other, we conclude that they drew independently from an early version of the Cāṇakya-Candragupta-Kathā. These versions, then, may have originated in Magadha, or at any rate, in eastern India or the Midlands, and cannot be regarded as indigenous to Gujarat and Ceylon. The Pali version, on internal evidence, is the reunion of separately transmitted episodes or anecdotes, while the Jain was handed down more or less as a whole, and this would tend to conserve its original features and its consistency. The Jain version is by an large superior to the Pali, both as a story and as a guide to the primitive form of the Cāṇakya-Candragupta-Kathā.

The Kashmirian version cannot be traced to early times, nor can its origin be traced outside Kashmir. The story is here distorted

to suit the special needs of its vehicle, the story of Vararuci, in which it is preserved as a mere anecdote. The story of Vararuci's rivalry with Nanda's minister Śakaṭāla is fairly old and not restricted to Kashmir since Jain sources preserve a version of it. Taking the Vararuci story in an earlier form, the Kashmirian version adds the Yogananda motif and relates his downfall in the episode of "Śakaṭāla's Revenge" which is our Cāṇakya-Candragupta-Kathā with the emphasis displaced from Cāṇakya to Śakaṭāla. This change of emphasis shows among other things that the motif of Cānakya destroying the grass because it has wounded his foot is not original to the Cāṇakya-Candragupta-Kathā because it requires that Cānakya be the instrument of someone else's revenge. Finally, because Vararuci was known as a great scholar and poet, and in particular as the author of a Prakrit grammar, his story was inserted into the legend of Guṇāḍhya, another renowned figure of Prakrit letters, with further alterations, by making Vararuci a gaṇa suffering under a curse.

Viśākhadatta has also distorted the Cāṇakya-Candragupta-Kathā in the Mudrārākṣasa, but for different reasons. His play is a consciously artistic creation and as such freely has recourse to invention. Besides, the play opens after the events of the Cāṇakya-Candragupta-Kathā proper have taken place, its theme being rather the application of the rules of arthaśāstra in intrigue. It preserves little of the original story, but where it does (Parvataka and the poison-maiden) it gives independent confirmation of the superiority of the Jain version to the Pali. Its ancillary litera-

ture is of little value in determining the original form of the Cāṇakya-Candragupta-Kathā, though a thorough study of this literature and of current folk-tales might be revealing.

The minimum elements of the primitive Cāṇakya-Candragupta-Kathā can then be listed as follow:

1. Breaking of the Teeth. The brahmin Cāṇakya was born with a complete set of teeth, which was interpreted as an omen that he would become king. His father, out of regard for his salvation, grinds them down. It is prophesied that he will rule through another. As he grows up he learns all the brahmanical lore (he must be a learned brahmin to be able to expect a gift from the Nanda).

2. Teasing of the Wife; Her relatives teased Cāṇakya's wife for her poverty. Cāṇakya learns this and sets out for the court of Nanda, noted for his generosity. (This is somewhat doubtful since the Pali version lacks it.)

3. Ejection from the Assembly. Cāṇakya arrogantly sits on Nanda's seat in the assembly. Nanda, insulted, roughly orders him expelled. Cāṇakya, in anger, vows Nanda's destruction, and flees. (The untying of the top-knot may be original.)

4. Cāṇakya's Wanderings. In the course of his wanderings his plans for revenge mature in two ways: he learns alchemy, by which he amasses a fortune to hire mercenary troops, and, looking for a puppet king (in keeping with the prophecy), he finds Candragupta Maurya, a boy playing 'king', who shows promise when put to a test. (Etymologizing stories were easily inserted here when the need for them came to be felt.)

5. <u>Unconsciously Given Advice</u>. Cāṇakya and his protégé
lead their troops against the centre of the kingdom (or against
Nanda's capital) and are defeated. The army disbands. Wandering
incognito they overhear a woman scolding her son for being as big
a fool as Cāṇakya: he has put his finger in the middle of a bowl
of gruel and burnt it, rather than starting from the cooler edges,
just as Cāṇakya has attacked the centre without first subduing
the hinterland.

6. <u>Parvata</u>. Acting on this advice Cāṇakya concludes a pact
with Parvata, a hill-king, promising him half the kingdom. The
allies succeed but Cāṇakya arranges (or does not prevent) the
death of Parvata by the embrace of a poison-maiden. Candragupta
is anointed.

7. <u>Pacification of the Kingdom</u>. The next logical step is
to rid the kingdom of the remaining elements loyal to Nanda. For
this Cāṇakya enlists the services of a fanatical weaver whose
suitability for the job is illustrated when Cāṇakya sees him set
fire to the roach-infested parts of his house.

8. <u>Bindusāra</u>. Cāṇakya, to make Candragupta immune to poison
puts increasing doses of it in his food. His pregnant queen eats
from his plate. Cāṇakya slits open the queen's belly with a knife
and thus saves the heir, who is named Bindusāra because a drop of
poison or goat's blood from the carcass in which he is kept until
'birth' touches him. (This is somewhat doubtful, but is common to
the Jain and Pali versions, and contributes to the story of Cāṇakya's
downfall.)

9. <u>Rivalry</u> <u>with</u> <u>Subandhu</u>. That stories of a rivalry with Subandhu leading to Cāṇakya's death belong to the original <u>Cāṇakya-Candragupta-Kathā</u> is quite likely, though their content cannot be determined since the Pali sources give only meagre details which show no agreement with the Jain.

The Classical Version

It has been usual to regard Classical notices of Nanda and Candragupta as deriving from contemporary eye-witness accounts, and thus as having a character altogether different from, as well as independent of, the Indian legends we have been discussing. But this is by no means the case. Four of the five Alexander-historians, Diodorus, Curtius, Justin in his epitome of Trogus and Plutarch (the 'good' Arrian being the fifth), preserve material which in the case of Nanda is probably derived from Indian legend, and in the case of Candragupta is certainly so.

In these accounts Nanda appears as Agrammes (Curtius) or Xandrames (Diodorus). Whether Agrammes represents Ugra, Ugrasena, Augrasainya[1], or Agrama[2], or Xandrames, Candramas[3], or some other

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1. <u>PHAI</u>, p. 233. Uggasena (Ugrasena) is the name of the first Nanda in <u>MBV</u> (see above); his descendants would have the patronymic Augrasainya.

2. Christian Lassen, <u>Indische</u> <u>Alterthunskunde</u>, vol. 2, 2nd. ed., p. 210, fn. 2.

3. J.W. M'Crindle: <u>The</u> <u>Invasion</u> <u>of</u> <u>India</u> <u>by</u> <u>Alexander</u> <u>the</u> <u>Great</u>, London, 1893, p. 409.

name, it is not necessary to decide: it is clear that he is a
predecessor of Candragupta and contemporary with Alexander, that
is, a Nanda. Diodorus and Curtius give the story in great detail.[1]

King Phegeus (Phegelas, in some manuscripts of Curtius)
described to Alexander the country beyond the Beas: first there
is a desert which takes twelve (or eleven) days to cross; beyond
is the Ganges, which Diodorus gives as 32 stadia broad; and on the
further side of the river are the Praisioi and Gandaridai (Gangar-
idae and Prasii) whose king Xandrames (Agrammes) has a standing
army of 20,000 horse, 200,000 foot, 2000 chariots and 4000 (3000)
elephants. Alexander treated this intelligence with some scepti-
cism and referred it to Porus, who verified it and added that this
king was held in contempt by his subjects, as he was the son of
a barber who had become the paramour of the queen. The reigning
king was assassinated by this woman (or by the barber who, under
the pretense of acting as guardian to the royal children, usurped
the throne and murdered the princes). Diodorus is not clear as
to whether this barber actually reigned, but we may take it from
Curtius that he did so. It is here, partly as a result of these
reports, that Alexander's men refused to advance further into India.

In Plutarch's compressed account the mutiny takes place after
the battle with Porus when the army balks at Alexander's intention

1. Diodorus 17.93; Curtius 9.2. Where the details in Curtius
differ they are put in brackets.

to cross the Ganges, and the forces of the Gandaritai and Praisiai on the opposite bank have been swollen to 80,000 horse, 200,000 foot, 8000 chariots and 6000 elephants, in contrast to the 20,000 foot and 2000 horse of Alexander.[1] We are clearly dealing with the same story here: Plutarch makes the Ganges 32 stadia broad; he recognizes that the forces on the further bank are enormous, but interjects that they are not exaggerated, for not long afterwards Androkottos (Candragupta) "made a present to Seleucus of five hundred elephants, and with an army of six hundred thousand men overran and subdued all India"; and has Androkottos refer to the hatred and contempt in which his predecessor was held by the subjects, "for his baseness and low birth." Justin has Alexander defeat the Praesidae and Gangaridae among others, before reaching the Cuphites (Beas?) where the enemy awaiting him has 200,000 cavalry, whereupon his men beg him to go no further, an impossibly garbled account of the same tale.[2]

The fundamental difficulty in accepting this story as histor-ical is its impossible geography. If there is a desert to cross on the eastward march, Phegeus belongs on the lower Indus, and it is no longer a mere eleven or twelve days to the Ganges, nor is

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1. Life of Alexander, ch. 62, Bernadotte Perrin's trans. Note that Plutarch does not precisely say what scholars have sometime attributed to him, that Alexander had reached the Ganges. See Schachermeyr, cited below.

2. 12.8.

Pāṭaliputra on the opposite bank. If it is eleven or twelve

days from the Beas, the upper Ganges must be intended, and while

the sway of Magadha may already have been established in that

region, there is in any case no desert to cross. If, finally,

Pāṭaliputra is to be approached from the north bank, having crossed

the upper Ganges, it will take much longer to reach and again

there is no desert to be traversed. This is the fundamental

difficulty, but there are others.

Could we trace the Phegeus story with certainty to one of

the members of Alexander's expedition its credibility in spite of

its weak geography would be greatly enhanced. But we cannot. The

five extant historians wrote three hundred to five hundred years

after the events they describe had taken place. If we are not

mistaken, there is a fair measure of agreement nowadays that Diod-

orus and Curtius consulted a common source for those parts of Alex-

ander's progress through India where they show close agreement,

as in the Phegeus episode; that Diodorus' principle source on India

for Book 17 is Cleitarchus; that Cleitarchus did not accompany

Alexander's expedition, but drew on the histories of Onesicritus,

Nearchus and others, perhaps including Aristobulus, who did.[1] None

of the named fragments of these primary historians mentions Phegeus.

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1. See, e.g., Lionel Pearson: The Lost Histories of Alexander the

Great, p. 224, and ff. But each of these statements except the

first has its opponents. W.W. Tarn, Alexander the Great, vol. 2,

section F: Aristobulus the main source of Diod. Bk. 17; Wells, intro.

to Pliny, Hist. Nat., vol. 2 (Loeb): Cleitarchus accompanied Alexander.

The story perhaps derives from Cleitarchus' book, but beyond that we cannot go. Some scholars consider it possible that Cleitarchus made it up.[1]

Further difficulties are found in Arrian, the best of the five historians. He knows nothing of Phegeus, but has something quite different to say: report had it that the land beyond the Beas was fertile, not desert; that its populace was brave in war, and ruled by an aristocracy, that is, in Indian terms, a _gaṇa_ or _saṅgha_, not the kingdom, _rājya_, of Nanda; that this aristocracy governed with moderation; and, what most worked upon the imaginations of the Macedonians, that it had a great number of exceedingly large and fierce elephants.[2] Arrian's Alexander intended to reach the Ganges and the Eastern Sea,[3] a matter on which we shall have more to say later on. Nor was Porus on hand to corroborate Phegeus' intelligence, for he had been sent back to garrison the cities which had surrendered before Alexander reached the Beas.[4]

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1. Fritz Schachermeyr: "Alexander und die Ganges-Länder", ch. 7, in _Alexander the Great: The Main Problems_, ed. G.T. Griffith; see also Tarn, _ibid._, app. 14.

2. _Anabasis_ 5.25. Strabo 15.1 states that the country across the Hypanis (Beas) is very fertile, that little of accuracy is known of it, and that the government is aristocratic, consisting of 5000 councillors, each of whom provides the state with an elephant.

3. _Anabasis_ 5.26.

4. _Anabasis_ 5.24.

There are many instances of a fundamental disagreement among the Alexander-historians over Alexander's itinerary, a disagreement which begins in 327 B.C. and ends some time in the following year, when Alexander was on, or setting out for, the lower Indus. It seems that the royal Journal for that period did not survive the expedition with the result that, unfortunate for historians of India, the accounts of the Punjab are very discrepant.[1] Consider, as another instance, the disagreement over the location of Sopeithes, who in Diodorus and Curtius, is king of the territory immediately before Phegeus', of which, luckily, the materials for a resolution are available. Strabo[2] remarks that some put the Cathaeans and Sopeithes, one of their kings, between the Hydaspes and Acesines (Jhelum and Chenab), some beyond the Acesines and Hyarotis (Chenab and Ravi). The first case corresponds to Sopeithes' position in

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1. Charles Alexander Robinson, Jr.: The Ephemerides of Alexander's Expedition. Robinson attributes the beginning of this disagreement to the arrest of Callisthenes, through whose history, it follows, the Journal for the first part of Alexander's expedition was preserved for later historians. The disagreement itself is attributed to the burning of Eumenes' papers (i.e. the Journal) mentioned in Plutarch's Life of Eumenes. The Journal for the remainder of the expedition was probably published by Strattis of Olynthus after Alexander's death.

2. 15.1.30.

Arrian,[1] and second in Diodorus[2] and Curtius.[3] Strabo further says that in Sopeithes' kingdom there is a mountain of salt sufficient for the whole of India, whether on the authority of Onesicritus who very probably had something to say of Sopeithes,[4] or some other such as Aristobulus, who certainly did.[5] The mountain of salt settles the matter: Sopeithes' kingdom must have included the Salt Range between the Jhelum and Indus, some miles downriver from Jhelum city where the battle with Poros is supposed to have taken place, in agreement with Arrian.

From this it might be supposed that Phegeus, too, has been transposed, and that he belongs somewhat further along the river

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1. *Anabasis* 6.2.

2. 17.91, 92.

3. 9.1.

4. Strabo 15.1.30 = Onesicritus F 21 (FGH 134), but "wie weit das exzerpt aus O geht, ist nicht zu sagen", etc., (Jacoby, commentary). Cleitarchus knows of the mountain of salt (FGH 137 F 28 = Strabo 5.2.6). Sopeithes in Diodorus and Curtius is probably Onescicritus via Cleitarchus.

5. FGH 139 F 40 = Plutarch *Pro Nob.* 19 on the dogs (of Sopeithes).

from Sopeithes. But this is out of the question. Phegeus would have to go much further south, on the Indus, to find the Rajasthan Desert to the east of him. His intelligence concerning the east could hold little interest for an Alexander who was now bent on determining once and for all whether the Indus was the upper course of the Nile or whether it emptied into Ocean. But above all, such information given at such a place would lack the dramatic sequel which the mutiny provides, which in turn would impress it upon the minds of the members of the expedition who wrote the first histories. It is anyhow likely that some of the information Phegeus is made to impart was known to Alexander before he reached the Beas.

Let us try to reconstruct what happened. We must, first of all, steel ourselves against the subtle wiles of Tarn's dialectic and assert that in all probability Alexander had heard of the existence of the Ganges and had presumed from what he heard that it emptied its waters into Ocean, before he set out eastward from the Jhelum.[1] For centuries India from the Punjab to the Gangetic

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1. Tarn, op. cit. In the following three paragraphs (and else-where) we have made use of Schachermeyr's excellent article cited above.

Valley had been a single culture area with numerous cities and plenty of contact from one end to the other. In Taxila especially Alexander could have got the information he needed. Not only were traders from the Ganges attracted by this important emporium between India and Persia, but princes and scholars went there for study, because the region was renowned for the purity of its speech. Geographic and political information on the Gangetic valley, then, was to be found in Taxila; and it is unthinkable that a man of Alexander's ambitions and interests would not have sought it out, or could not get it for want of good interpreters. This information must have included, at a minimum, the fact that the Ganges flowed into the sea, which Alexander took to be 'Ocean'; something about the Nanda as the dominant power and perhaps his capital, Pāṭaliputra; and probably the name Prasioi (Prācyāḥ, 'Easterners') by which the Greeks henceforth referred to the Magadhans.[1]

This is in accord with the fact that Alexander's progress from the Jhelum to the Beas was no small excursion but a full-scale expedition in which the main body of the army accompanied him.[2]

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1. Whether the name Gangaridai was known to Alexander, on the other hand, is very problematical. In Megasthenes it refers to inhabitants of what is now Bengal, but elsewhere they are bracketed with the Prasioi. The name has no recorded Sanskrit equivalent.

2. See Schachermeyr for proof.

His goal was the eastern edge of the world, or in any case a
distant one, else the army would have no reason to revolt, as
they most certainly did.

So far, Alexander's knowlédge of the Ganges and his resolve
to reach it is a matter of a priori considerations and inference
only. But Arrian[1] has Alexander say in the course of his harangue
to the mutinous soldiers on the Beas that the Ganges and the Eastern
Sea are not far away (an understatement suited to the occasion),
that this Eastern Sea was connected with the Hyrcanian (Caspian),
and the Hyrcanian with the Persian and Indian Gulfs, since Ocean
encircled the earth. It is clear that Alexander wished to explore
the Indus, to decide whether it flowed into Ocean or into the Nile;
but his doubt on the matter made the Ganges the better means by
which to settle the problem of Ocean.

To the best of our knowledge, then, Alexander had determined
to reach the Ganges long before he reached the Beas; and it follows
from this that Phegeus is represented as having told him what he
already knew, at least in large part. What Alexander needed to
know was the nature of the peoples immediately across the Beas.
This is what a local chief would be best informed about; and this,
we believe, with Arrian, is what Alexander learned on the banks of
the Beas. The reports of a well-governed people, brave in war and
possessed of elephants sufficed to spark the mutiny among the war-

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1. _Anabasis_ 5.26.

weary troops and officers.

Even if the words with which he is credited were not his, there is some reason to believe that Phegeus himself is not ficti- tious. In the first place historians, however bad, are not in the habit of creating characters, especially characters with names, out of thin air. In the second, the name itself seems to, corres- pond to a Sanskrit Bhaga or Bhagala, attested in the Ganapātha, a work not too distant in time and probably composed in the Punjab.[1]

We now come to what Phegeus and Porus said. We have argued that they did not say it; we would argue further that it is not a Greek invention, for it has an Indian ring to it. To an Indian, an army had to have four 'limbs', infantry, cavalry, chariots and elephants, to be an army. It was a matter of definition; long after chariots disappeared from the battlefield, 'army' was catur- anga,[2] four-limbed, as in the Indian game of 'chess', which is the same word. The Greeks had indeed observed that the Indian army contained chariots, but the battle of the Jhelum left them profoundly indifferent to them, so indifferent that Pliny regularly lists the numbers of foot, horse, and elephant of the princes of

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1. Bāhvādi. The variant Phegelas or Phegelis is found in some MSS. of Curtius. See Sylvain Lévi in JA 15, 1890, "Notes sur l'Inde à l'epoque d'Alexandre", p. 239. But the Greeks have probably not observed Lévi's 'lois de transcription' with such precision as his article suggests.

2. There is a 16th cent. nīti text entitled Hari-Hara-Caturanga.

India, but passes over the chariots in silence.[1] Somehow these limbs have escaped amputation in Diodorus, Curtius and Plutarch; had Trogus' history not been condensed by Justin, we might have found the four limbs there, too.

Another element provides a possible point of contact with Indian legends, the Nanda's barber-father, found also in Hemacandra.[2] Raychaudhuri raises various objections against seeing agreement here: Hemacandra's Nanda is the son of a barber and a common courtezan, _ganikā_, not a queen; he becomes king without their intervention; and he is the first of the nine Nandas, not the last, Alexander's contemporary.[3] The first point is minor, and indeed given the low reputation of the Nandas, it is easy to see how his mother might be downgraded with the passage of time from queen to courtezan; but it is somewhat ungallant to describe a _ganikā_, known for her beauty, character and decorum, and her skill in the 64 arts,

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1. Pliny, _Hist_. _Nat_. 6.21.8-23.11, cf. Solin. 52.6-17. Neither Pliny nor Solinus ennumerate chariots, so that their source is unlikely to have mentioned them, while on the other hand, his Indian informants undoubtedly did. Schwanbeck regarded these passages as Megasthenes fragments (see M'Crindle's trans., F 56 and 56B), though Müller and Jacobi did not.

2. _PP_ 6.231-2.

3. _PHAI_ p. 232.

rewarded by kings and praised by the noble, the highest represen-
tative of her class,[1] as 'common'. The second and third points
must be taken together. The Indian sources are in complete dis-
accord on the number of generations the nine Nandas are to be
spread over. Hemacandra says they ruled in succession as father
to son,[2] but relates stories only of the first and the last; the
Mahāvaṃsa Ṭīkā similarly relates stories only of the first and the
last, but makes the nine Nandas brothers[3] while the Purāṇas take
a middle course, dividing them into Mahāpadma and his eight sons.[4]
Bad as they are, the Purāṇas are least likely to be entirely false,
and agree with the Classical version in giving the Nandas two gene-
rations. Given these conflicting traditions we cannot be certain
how distant from Alexander the first Nanda was, but it is reasonable
to suppose that the Greeks, hearing this legend of a predecessor
of Candragupta, whom they knew to have come to power after Alex-
ander's departure, made him a contemporary. It remains true that
the Classical accounts make the first Nanda to rule a barber,
while Hemacandra makes him the son of a barber. But with the confu-
sion in the matter of generations and weighed against the striking

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1. Kāmasūtra 1.3.20-1; 6.6.54.

2. PP 8.2.

3. MṬ 5.179.

4. Pargiter, loc. cit.

agreement of the barber-father motif, this detail must be considered of lesser importance. If there is one note of agreement in the Indian traditions concerning the first Nanda, it is that he was of obscure, even śūdra origin, and in Indian society a barber ranks low indeed.

The Phegeus episode, then, is not historical as it stands, nor is it Greek invention. Perhaps we can get closer to the true state of affairs if we separate Porus' testimony from Phegeus'; for Porus would have known something of Nanda and as a member of the old Vedic aristocracy of the Punjab, as his name (Pūru, Paurava) indicates, he would quite naturally have held in contempt the upstart Magadhan dynasty. Thus Porus could have told Alexander something of the sort, though not at this juncture, and the silence of Arrian is in that case somewhat surprising. But it may be that Plutarch holds the answer when he says that Candragupta "often said" that Alexander could easily have conquered Magadha, since the king, Nanda that is, was hated and despised for his evil disposition and mean origin.[1] The barber-father business sounds as natural in the mouth of Candragupta the usurper as in that of Porus the man 'of family', and the story could have been transmitted westward in Seleucid times by one of the ambassadors. But taken as a whole, the Phegeus episode is a later contruction as the garbled geography,

1. Life of Alexander, ch. 62.

impossible in Seleucid times, shows. It is an attempt with the aid of hindsight and legend to heighten the drama of the mutiny on the Beas.

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In the story of Candragupta's rise to power we are on firmer ground. Here it is Justin who gives the fullest account, in his section on Seleucus:[1]

> (II) After the division of the Macedonian empire among the companions (of Alexander, Seleucus) carried on many wars in the east. First he took Babylon; then, his strength increased by this success, he subdued the Bactrians. (III) He then passed over into India (II) which after Alexander's death, as if it had shaken the yoke of servitude from its neck, had slain his prefects. The author of this freedom was Sandrocottus, but after the victory the title of freedom changed to servitude; since, having seized the throne he oppressed with servitude the very people whom he had freed from foreign domination. (I) This man was of mean origin, but was prompted to aspire to royal power by the divine will. For when he had offended king Nandrus by his impudence, and was ordered by the king to be slain, he sought safety in the swiftness of his feet. When from fatigue he lay down and fell asleep, a lion of enormous size approached the slumberer and, having licked from him the freely flowing sweat and gently waking him, left him. This prodigy first inspired in him hope of royal power and gathering together (a band of) robbers[2] he instigated the Indians

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1. 15.4.10-21.

2. Not 'mercenaries' (PHAI p. 265, fn. 2), since latro in that sense is ante-classical, being found in Ennius (died 169 B.C.) and Plautus (died 184 B.C.), but not later (Lewis and Short); while Trogus must be later than 20 B.C. (Tarn, Alex., vol. 2, p. 126).

to a new sovereignty. (II) Thereafter (deinde),
when he was preparing for war against Alexander's
prefects, a wild elephant of great bulk came up
to him of its own accord and as if tamed to gentle-
ness took him on its back and became his leader in
war and conspicuous in the battlefield. (I) Having
thus acquired the throne (II) Sandrocottus was in
possession of India when Seleucus was laying the
foundations of his future greatness. (III) Seleucus
having made a treaty with him and composing his
affairs in the east, went to war with Antigonus.

Plutarch merely mentions that Androcottus, as a youth, saw
Alexander, and afterwards frequently said that Alexander could
easily have conquered the country because the king (Nanda) was
despised, etc.[1]

That Candragupta offended 'Nandrus' and not Alexander (as
the older editions read) is quite certain. The honour of this
discovery goes to Alfred von Gutschmid, who made it over a hundred
years ago.[2] Gutschmid found that where Bongarsius' edition (Paris,
1581) read <u>procacitate</u> <u>sua</u> <u>Alexandrum</u>, the variants given were
(1) <u>procacitate</u> <u>Talenauandrum</u>, (2) <u>procacetade</u> <u>sua</u> <u>nandrum</u> and
(3) <u>procate</u> <u>tale</u> <u>sua</u> <u>nandrum</u>, from which he inferred an original
<u>procacitale</u> (s)ua nandrum. Referring the matter to J. Jeep, who,
at the time, was preparing an edition of Justin for Teubner, he
learned that four of the five good manuscripts read 'Nandrum', and
of the five worse manuscripts one read 'Nandrum', a second had

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1. Cited above.

2. "König Nanda von Magadha in 15ten Buche der Historien des
Pompejus Trogus", <u>Rheinisches Museum für Philologie</u> 12, 1857, p.
261 ff.

'Alexandrum' in the margin, a third had it in the text, a fourth had mandrū and a fifth taleuandrum. 'Nandrum' subsequently appeared as the preferred reading in Jeep's edition[1] and again in the 1935 Teubner edition of Otto Seel, wherein three classes of texts totaling seventeen different manuscripts read 'Nandrum', 'Alexandrum' being noted for one manuscript and a siglum representing "codices deteriores aut aliquot aut singuli". But we dwell on the matter because the opinion has got abroad that the reading 'Nandrum' is merely an emendation of modern editors, due to a rather cross remark once made by so influential a scholar as Hemachandra Raychaudhuri.[2]

We have inserted Roman numerals in the text of our translation of the Justin passage to indicate three spans of time: (I) from the birth of Candragupta to his overthrow of Nanda, (II) from the death of Alexander (324 B.C.) to Seleucus' capture of Babylon,(312 B.C.) and beyond, to the time (III) of his crossing into India (305 B.C.?), his pact with Candragupta and war with Antigonus which terminated at Ipsus in 301 B.C. The first two spans may overlap somewhat, that is, the passage gives us no reason to believe that

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1. Editio minor, Leipzig, 1872.

2. IC 2, 1935-6, p. 558, and to the same effect, PHAI, p. 265, fn. 1: "Such conjectural emendations by modern editors often mislead students who have no access to original sources and make the confusion regarding the early career of Chandragupta worse confounded."

the overthrow of Nanda was accomplished before or after Alexander's death.

Let us take Justin's testimony in chronological order. (I) He mentions Candragupta's low birth, his flight from Nanda, his encounter with the lion, his collecting a band of brigands. What follows is awkwardly worded, but nevertheless clear in meaning: Indos ad novitatem regni sollicitavit, that is, in place of the old regnum of Nandrus Rex, he established a new regnum of his own, or in other words, he "instigated the Indians to overthrow the existing government" as M'Crindle had it.[1] It is implied that he succeeded in this, for the story now enters a new scene marked by deinde.[2] (II) Candragupta, then, was saluted by a wild elephant in an auspicious manner, and went to war with Alexander's prefects, killed them, and liberated the Indians (of the Punjab) from Macedonian rule, completing the conquest, in all likelihood, by the time Seleucus took Babylon. (III) Some time after, Seleucus went into India, but made a pact with Candragupta and withdrew to make war

1. Op. cit., p. 328. Prof. D.J.A. Ross points out that a parallel to this unusual phrase would be novae rês, 'revolution', 'constitutional change' in novei rebus studere.

2. So Gutschmid, op. cit.

on Antigonus.[1]

A good deal of controversy has arisen over the question
whether in Justin Candragupta first takes the throne of Magadha
and then attacks the Punjab, or whether he gains the Magadhan
throne from the Punjab by virtue of his successes there. In this
connection we must consider the ingenious argument of N.K. Bhatta-
sali, that after collecting a band of robbers Candragupta cannot
yet have become king, for the elephant-omen which follows signifies
that he _is_ _to_ _be_ a king, not that he already _is_ one; thus the
conquest of Magadha must follow that of the Punjab.[2] The Matter

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1. Tarn, _The_ _Greeks_ _in_ _Bactria_ _and_ _India_, pp. 46-7, has drawn an
incredible amount of misinformation from this passage. Parvataka
was not Porus (see below); Justin does not say that "Candragupta
got his kingdom at the time when Seleucus was laying the foundations
of his future greatness", but that having got the throne Candragupta
"was possessing India" (the position of _Sandrocottus_ shows that _ea_
tempestate goes with _Indiam_ _possidebat_; Tarn achieved his interpreta-
tion at the cost of straining the word-order and the sense and tense
of _possidebat_); The Jain dating of Candragupta's accession (312 or
313 B.C.) is unlikely to be exact because it is expressed in terms of
the Vikrama era, which was not yet in existence, let alone known
by that name, or in terms of the nirvāṇa of the Mahāvīra, for the
date of which traditions vary by 60 years. For two other remarks on
this remarkable paragraph, see below.

2. "Mauryya (sic) Chronology and Connected Problems", _JRAS_ 1932,
p. 273 ff.

can be settled if we concentrate on the question of whose was the kingship by seizing which Candragupta became king.

Now in the main Justin speaks as if Candragupta became king as a result of a victory over Alexander's prefects, and this is only natural from a Greek or Roman point of view. He states that "having seized the throne he (Candragupta) oppressed with servitude the very people whom he had freed from foreign domination"; the regnum here is clearly that of Alexander's men, for the populum of the regnum is the people of the Punjab under foreign domination, not the Magadhan people under Nanda's rule. Justin goes on to say that Candragupta "was prompted to aspire to royal power by the divine will" and elaborates by giving two omens: the flight from Nandrus, leading to the lion-omen which "first (primum) inspired in him hope of royal power", followed by preparation for war against the prefects of Alexander and the elephant-omen. "Having thus acquired the throne" would at first seem to refer to the whole of this action, and were it the case that Candragupta fled from Alexandrus Rex, we could only conclude that Justin has Candragupta acquire the throne by wresting it from Alexander's successors, without reference to the throne of Magadha. Yet as we have seen, Alexandrum regem is merely a lectio facilior for Nandrum regem, and it is against Nanda's sovereignty that Candragupta "instigated the Indians to a new sovereignty."[1]

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1. Bhattasali is in error when he says "the existing government" refers to the "Greek" government, since the term is M'Crindle's, not Justin's, while ad novitatem regni must refer, by contrast, to Nandrum regnum.

The conclusion seems inescapable that according to Justin's
testimony Candragupta became king, king of Magadha, that is, by
overthrowing the Nanda, and again that he became king of all India,
by virtue of a victory over Alexander's prefects. Were it the case
that Justin regarded the seizure of Nanda's throne as the sole test
of kingship, but meant to imply that the seizure took place after
the war with Alexander's prefects, his opening statements would no
longer make sense. The duplication of royal omens probably means
that we are here dealing with two separate stories combined into
one narrative, the beginning of the second marked by deinde.

That the royal omens which befall Candragupta--the lion which
licks his sweat while he is asleep and the elephant which takes him
on its back--that these are Indian legends has been recognized before,
though without very full documentation.[1] The lion as a royal beast
is well-illustrated by the Aśokan pillars; the throne is regularly
called siṃhāsa, 'lion-seat'; and lions coupling with princesses

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1. Lassen, op. cit., p. 207, fn. 3: "Dass diese dichterischen
Ausschmückungen Indischen Ursprungs sind, ergiebt sich sicher daraus,
dass eine Löwe, der als König der Thiere galt und mit dessen Namen
die Krieger Sinha oder Löwen genannt werden, so wie ein Elephant,
der als besonders den Königen und Kriegern zuhöriges Thier betrachtet
wurde, in dieser Erzählung auftreten." More vaguely M'Crindle, op.
cit., p. 406: the omens "reflect the true spirit of oriental romance,
and were no doubt derived from native traditions which somehow
found their way to the west."

to procreate kings are found in the legends of Vijaya[1] and Sātavāhana.[2]
The other element, waking to sovereignty, is found in the story of
the auspicious chariot which comes upon the sleeping Bodhisattva,
which we shall describe presently, and the motif common in Indian
hagiology, in which a cobra spreads its hood over a sleeping man,
signifying that he is to become a saint or a king, is somewhat
similar. Thus the elements of the lion-omen can be paralleled,
though we are unable to provide a parallel for the ensemble. It
should be remarked that the lion is equally a Persian and Hellenistic
royal beast,[3] and lions are more frequent in stories west of the
Indus than east, so that until an exact parallel is found there
must be some doubt as to its provenance. But not very much; a
story of Candragupta and Nanda in Latin literature must necessarily
have an Indian source.

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1. MV 6.8-9.

2. KSS.

3. The Aśokan lion-capitals are of Persian inspiration; Philip
of Macedon dreams he has fixed a seal bearing the image of a lion
on his pregnant queen's womb, which means that she will give birth
to a lion-like son, Plutarch, Life of Alexander, ch. 2.

For the elephant-omen we have reasonably good parallels,
for it is a variant of the very common and well-defined motif of
"choosing a king by divine will"[1] of which the fullest form can
be illustrated from Hemacandra's story of the first Nanda:[2]

The Nanda, as we have seen, was the son of a courtezan and a
barber. He had a dream that his entrails surrounded the city, and
told this to a learned brahmin, who, perceiving it to be a royal
omen, married his daughter to him, adorned him and led him in a
marriage procession around the city. At the same time king Udāyin
died leaving no heirs; so his counsellors anointed the five instru-
ments of divine will,[3] the royal elephant, the royal horse, the

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1. See N.M. Penzer, KSS, p. 175 ff., and especially Franklin Edger-
ton, "Pañcadivyādhivāsa or Choosing a King by Divine Will" in JAOS
33, 1913, p. 158 ff. for full discussion and references. See also
Stith Thompson: Motif Index of Folk Literature, and Stith Thompson
and Jonas Balys: Motif and Type Index of the Oral Tales of India,
entries H171, "King selected by elephant's bowing to him"; N683,
"Stranger accidently chosen king. Picked up by sacred elephant";
and T63, "Princess's husband selected by elephant bowing to him".
References in Thompson and Balys are very numerous, and the tales
come from all parts of the Sub-continent.

2. PP 6.231-43.

3. 6.236: pañcadhivyāny abhiṣiktāni mantribhih; more usually the
instruments are 'imbued' (adhivāsitāni) with divine power, Edgerton,
loc. cit.

umbrella, the water pot and the two chowries. These instruments began wandering about the king's household, but then left the palace and came upon Nanda's procession. The elephant trumpeted loudly, anointed Nanda with the contents of the water-pot and lifted him up on to its neck; the horse neighed "as if pronouncing a benediction"; the umbrella opened over him "like a lotus at dawn"; and the chowries began to shake "as if dancing"; whereupon he was made king.

This motif, common in ancient literature and in modern folk tales from Kashmir to Ceylon, admits of several variations: the number of 'divine instruments' may be only three or even one, typically the elephant, sometimes the horse. The elephant may place a garland on the new king's neck.[1] Or it may simply lift the man onto its back without sprinkling him with the waters of consecration, as in the Kathāsaritsāgara story where in a certain city it was the settled custom that on the death of the king the citizens would set an auspicious elephant to wander, and whosoever the elephant lifted to its back was anointed king. The man so chosen in the story was a partial incarnation of the Bodhisattva.[2] The new king is generally of humble origin and he may be sleeping when he is found. This last element is found in a story in the

1. Vikramacarita story 14, in the Southern and Metrical Rescensions, cited by Edgerton, ibid., p. 159.

2. KSS 10.9.23-4, trans. vol. 5, p. 155.

Kathākoṣa;[1] and in the Jātakas, when the king dies without heirs, the chariot of state, loaded with the five royal insignia and yoked to four lotus-coloured horses, is sprinkled by the house-priest and, attended by the fourfold army and followed by musicians, comes upon the sleeping Bodhisattva, who at first turns over on his other side, but finally accepts office.[2]

The fact that the elephant in Justin's story picks Candra-gupta up and puts him on its back recalls these selection stories; but the fact that the elephant was wild, but approached Candra-gupta "as if tamed to gentleness" suggests that the story may also have been influenced by that of Nālāgiri.[3] This was the name of a fierce elephant from the royal stables of Ajātaśatru, whom Devadatta

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1. Tawney's trans., p. 4.

2. The phussa- or maṅgala-ratha motif in Jāt. 378, 445, 529 and especially 539. Similarly the idol is regarded as being 'asleep' until the installation, by awakening songs and dances, it is 'imbued' with divinity (adhivāsya). So Varāhamihira's Bṛhatsaṃhitā 60.15 quoted in Edgerton, ibid., p. 165: suptām (sc. pratimām) sunṛtyagītair jāgarakaiḥ samyag evam adhivāsya, daivajñapradiṣṭe kāle saṃsthāpanaṃ kuryāt. This is the sense of the adhivāsana ceremonies daily performed in the great South Indian temples, which begins with the playing of music and exhortations to the god to awake.

3. DPPN sv. Nālāgiri.

caused to be intoxicated and set upon the path of the Buddha.
When the elephant was bearing down upon him, a woman dropped her
child in terror at the Buddha's feet; and as the elephant was about
to attack it, the Buddha spoke to him, suffusing him with love,
and stroked his head. Nālāgiri, overcome, sank to his knees and
learned the dharma from the Buddha. In this way was the wild
elephant "tamed to gentleness". Here, too, an exact parallel to
Justin's story has yet to be found, but the existing parallels are
sufficiently close to permit no doubt as to the Indian origin of
the classical tale.

We may note in passing that Tarn assigns a passage from
Plutarch which is of undoubted Indian provenance to the same source
from which the Justin extract we have been discussing has come:
"But when a certain man named Menander, who had been a good king
of the Bactrians, died in camp, the cities celebrated his funeral
as usual in other respects, but in respect to his remains they put
forth rival claims and only with difficulty came to terms, agreeing
that they should divide the ashes equally and go away and should
erect monuments to him in all their cities."[1] Menander was of

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1. Moralia 821 D, E, trans. Harold North Fowler. Tarn, op. cit.,
pp. 45-50: 'Trogus' source'.

course a king of India, not Bactria, and the quarrel about who
should have his ashes, their division amongst several cities, and
the raising of stūpas over them is a replica of the story of the
Buddha's funeral. Here, then, is another clear instance of Indian
legend in Classical literature, in this case from the cycle of
legends which gave birth to the Milinda Pañha and Menander's posthum-
ous fame throughout Buddhist lands.[1] Thus about the beginning of
the Christian era fragments of the Cāṇakya-Candragupta-Kathā and
also of a Milinda-Kathā reached the West.

Finally we must briefly look at Plutarch's testimony that
Candragupta, when a mere youth, met Alexander. Such a story, if
true, cannot be of Greek origin; the members of Alexander's expedi-
tion would not have remembered an obscure Indian youth. It could
have come from an Indian source, even from Candragupta himself; or
it could be a Greek fabrication, to bring Alexander into contact
with the greatest Indian king known to the Greeks, much as Plutarch,
in the same passage (and this is undoubtedly invention), says that

1. It is of course unnecessary to suppose (Tarn, op. cit., p. 47)
that 'Trogus' source' knew the story of the Mahāparinibbāna Sutta
and that stūpas were raised to dead cakravartins, unless 'Trogus'
source' was the Indian with whom the legend began.--Since in the
course of this section we have had several occasions to differ from
Tarn, perhaps this is the appropriate place to record our admiration
for his writings, which, while at times misleading, at times madden-
ing, we have always found stimulating.

even to the present day the kings of the Praisiai (of whom Candra-
gupta had been one) cross the river to make offerings "in the Hel-
lenic fashion" on the twelve altars Alexander had erected to mark
the limit of his eastward advance. We believe the story is false.
It could be true; but to see in this doubtful meeting the source of
Candragupta's vision of empire is in the same spirit as, and only a
little more credible than, Plutarch's stretcher about the altars.[1]

The earliest dateable fragments of the Cāṇakya-Candragupta-
Kathā, then, are preserved in Classical literature. The question
arises whether we can infer anything from these fragments about the
original form of the Kathā, more primitive than that we have arrived
at by a comparison of Indian literary sources. What, to take the
most striking example, are we to make of the fact that Cāṇakya is
not known in Classical literature, and that Justin ascribes to Candra-
gupta what the extant Indian versions ascribe to his minister--
for Cāṇakya did offend Nanda by his impudence, Nanda did order him
killed, or rather captured, in the Mahāvaṃsa Ṭīkā, and the brahmin
did "seek safety in the swiftness of his feet". May we conclude that
Cāṇakya was unknown to early legend and is a later invention to
whom were ascribed certain of Candragupta's exploits in the earlier
form? Or has Trogus made one character out of two?

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1. George MacDonald in CHI, p. 386; Charles Alexander Robinson, Jr.:
Alexander the Great, p. 173. Taken rather differently in PHAI, p. 268.

We believe it would be most unwise to infer anything from the silence of the Classical texts. Not only are the passages we have been considering brief and secondary (we would especially like to know what Trogus himself said), but they are foreign as well, so that the chances for the survival of characters who were otherwise unknown and episodes which were unintelligible to the Classical authors were small. Where some agreement is to be found between an Indian and a Classical story, as in the story of Nanda's barber-father, and the fact that Diodorus and Curtius on the one hand and the Purāṇas on the other divide the Nandas into two generations, they reinforce each other; but where there is no corroboration from Indian sources, for example as to whether the lion-omen is original and central to the Kathā, we have no basis for judgement, and the mere priority of the extant Classical sources is of little consequence. With the elephant-omen we are in a better position, for at least we have enough material with which to construct a theory, namely that the Greeks have transferred the motif from the story of the Nanda to Candragupta, the Magadhan king best known to them. For Nanda's baseness and tyranny are well known both to Classical and Indian literature, and when in Justin we find these characteristics attributed to Candragupta, together with the elephant-omen proper to Nanda, we may at least suspect that distinct elements of Indian legend have coalesced to make them compact and portable for their long journey westward.

The Cāṇakya of History

A good deal of ancient Indian history seems to have been written on the principle that when good sources are lacking, bad sources become good. Consider the proposed identification of Porus of the Alexander-historians with the Parvata(ka) of the Indian sources. This identification is made on the grounds that the Mudrārākṣasa places Parvataka in the Northwest, giving him Yavana or Greek allies (ignoring the Śakas, Hūṇas and their ilk); the Pali and Jain versions are said to substantiate this to the extent of sharing a tradition of attack from the edges of Nanda's domain (the bowl of gruel!). But, as we have argued, the troop lists of the Mudrārākṣasa show a proliferation of barbarians, which is itself a sign of lateness (in addition to the anachronisms) and these are quite naturally, if not designedly, drawn from those in the Northwest. Not only do the Jain and Pali accounts fail to corroborate this detail, they contradict it; according to the Jain version, Parvata was king of Himavaⵔtkūṭa, which should be vaguely north, not the Punjab, and the Pali apparently makes the campaign begin from the Vindhyās (Viñjhāṭavi).[1] Yet the tale that

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1. Cāṇakka and Pabbata fly to the Viñjhāṭavi; thence Cāṇakka and Candagutta attack Nanda; when their army is broken they wander through the janapada and start afresh on the edge of the kingdom. The place is not specified.

Porus helped Candragupta, while it is not explicitly fostered today, still survives under the surface of historical writing, not only in the most commonly accepted date of Candragupta's accession, 321 B.C., but even that of the Buddha's <u>Parinirvāṇa</u>, 483 B.C., derived from it with the aid of the Ceylonese traditions. Actually the Ceylonese tradition dates the Buddha quite independently in 486 or 485, giving Candragupta a date of c. 324 B.C., a fact too seldom recognized.[1] It is much more likely that Candragupta seized Magadha first, before advancing on the Punjab which, in the wake of Alexander's death and with the growing power of Magadha, was falling into anarchy.

There are other sources from which to reconstruct the history of Candragupta's reign, especially the fragmentary account of Megasthenes, however difficult to interpret, and brief passages such as

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1. We refer to the 'Dotted Record' which is a Ceylonese document in China, not an independent Chinese dating. P.H.L. Eggermont: <u>The Chronology of the Reign of Asoka Moriya</u>, ch. 6, scrutinized the Record, but fails to take sufficient account of its Ceylonese origin, or to recognize that Geiger's date of 483 B.C. for the Buddha is approximate only, resting on the (also approximate) date of 321 for Candragupta. See now W. Pachow, "A Study of the Dotted Record", <u>JAOS</u> <u>85</u>, 1965, p. 342 ff. for some further ambiguities in the testimony. The claims for the Dotted Record are not, of course, historical, but it shows the existence of a Ceylonese tradition for the date, which otherwise would be a matter of inference only.

Pliny's, to the effect that Seleucus ceded Gedrosia, Arachosia, Paropamisadae and Aria to Candragupta, with which Tarn has dealt so harshly and recent archeology so kindly. But there is nothing exterior to the Cāṇakya-Candragupta-Kathā, we would argue, which provides the story of Candragupta's rise to power with the independent support it so badly needs.

The idea that the attack on Nanda began on the frontier, even the idea that a preliminary attempt on the heartland was repulsed, could well be historical, since they can be told without recourse to the 'bowl of gruel' story, while the 'bowl of gruel' story cannot stand without them, and might therefore be seen as a later development in the career of the Kathā. But given the charming but preposterous story of the gruel and the vague, descriptive name of Parvata, the hill-king, we can only adopt a cautious course and say, it may have been. The Cāṇakya-Candragupta-Kathā provides evidence. What we need is something more like proof.

The entire legend can, of course, be called in question. Scepticism, however, is a poor substitute for criticism. For in a legend such as this, concerned with historical figures, apparently of early origin and of great duration and geographical scope, it is more economical to suppose that it has a basis in fact than that it is a pure product of the imagination. No doubt it has the character of folklore and has suffered the common fate of folklore in its transmission. But we believe it provides sufficient grounds to believe that Cāṇakya is as historical a figure as Nanda or Candragupta. His name, unlike Parvata's, gives us no reason to doubt

this,[1] and although as hero of the story his role vis-à-vis Candragupta is no doubt exaggerated, it must have been a prominent one to have become current in folk literature. To doubt Cāṇakya's existence places a greater strain on the imagination: some other origin for the stories of him would have to be found.

Quite another matter, however, is the question of Kauṭilya and the Arthaśāstra.

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1. From caṇaka, 'chick pea', in PP.

CHAPTER 3: THE ARTHASASTRA AND THE STATISTICAL METHOD IN
           AUTHORSHIP PROBLEMS

Content and Style

The opening chapter of the Arthasastra is a table of
contents, giving a complete list of the topics contained in
each book and a reckoning of the total number of books, chapters,
topics and slokas in the entire work. The remainder of Book 1
contains a definition of arthasastra in its relation to other
works, a discussion of ministers, royal agents and princes, and
rules for the king's personal life. Book 2, entitled Adhyakṣapra-
cāra ('Activity of the Overseers') is much the longest and most
important in the entire work; it deals in great detail with all
subjects of the internal administration of the kingdom. Book 3,
one of the longer ones, is a systematic exposition of the law,
while Book 4, concerned with the detection and punishment of
crime, also contains a good deal of legal material. Book 5 is a
miscellany which concludes the discussion of the internal affairs
of the kingdom: secret punishment and replenishing the treasury
by dubious means; the salaries of the king's men; the conduct
proper to servants and courtiers; and the steps the minister
should take when the king dies to secure the integrity of the king-
dom. The sixth book introduces foreign affairs in two short chap-
ters, leading to the long Book 7 on the six measures of foreign
policy (ṣāḍguṇya). Book 8 interrupts the scheme somewhat by
discussing the vices which kings must avoid, together with

calamities of the various elements of the state. Book 9 discusses marching to war: the proper times, the types of troops, the dangers, etc., and Book 10 takes up the subject of war itself: camps, battlegrounds, battle-arrays. The eleventh book is very short, consisting of a single chapter on means by which the king should undermine the tribal states. Book 12 advises the weaker king on how to deal with his enemies, by assassination, instigation, fire, poison and trickery. Book 13 describes the taking of a fort and the pacification of newly conquered lands. Book 14 contains spells, potions and occult means generally by which the enemy may be deceived and his troops harmed, and one's own troops protected, very much in the spirit of the Atharvavedic lore. The final book (Tantrayukti) analyses the types of rhetorical figures used in the Arthaśāstra into 32 types, such as indication, analogy, implication, and the like, quoting passages from the body of the work in illustration of each of these. Similar analyses may be found in the medical saṃhitās of Caraka and Suśruta.

The language of the text shows some archaisms:[1] gerunds in -tva of compound verbs in the causative, potential passive participles used in an active sense, and words or senses for known words which if they cannot with confidence be called archaic, are, in any case, peculiar, and some of them remain obscure. There is a good number of words hitherto known only from the

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1. See Kangle, Part 3, pp. 38-9; J. Jolly, Indo-Germanische Forschungen, 31, 1912-13, p. 204 ff.

lexicons, and these "illustrate the connexion of the Arthaśāstra with the popular language, and may indicate a later rather than an earlier date" for it.[1] There are some Prakritisms and deśi words.

Cross-references within the Arthaśāstra are fairly numerous and heighten the economy and sense of unity of the text. Typically a subject dismissed with an expression ending in vyākhyātaḥ (e.g. 2.29.34), indicating that the subject is to be understood by extension of the preceeding. More rarely references are made to later parts of the book using vyākhyāsyāmaḥ (e.g. 7.14.11). Reference is sometimes made to other topics or books by title (e.g. 5.6.15, 17, 22), sometimes not (6.1.7, 9). References to other topics or books tend to increase in frequency as one progresses through the text.

One of the most striking characteristics of the Arthaśāstra is the frequency and manner with which earlier authorities are cited.[2] These authorities may be the schools of the śāstra, individual teachers, or the teachers (ācāryāḥ) generally. In 25 places opinions are cited which are attributed to the schools: Bārhaspatyas, Auśanasas, Mānavas, Pārāśaras and Āmbhīyas. In 28 places the views of individual teachers are given, and the order

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1. T. Burrow, JRAS, 1967, p. 40.

2. See H. Jacobi, SKPAW, 1912, p. 832 ff.; Kangle, Part 3, p. 42 ff.; and above all, F. Wilhelm, Politische Polemiken im Staatslehrbuch des Kauṭalya.

of citation is generally the same, though the whole list of
authorities may not be cited on any one occasion: Bhāradvāja,
Viśālākṣa, Piśuna, Kauṇapadanta, Vātavyādhi, Bāhudantīputra.
Except for the Pārāśaras who are usually cited after Viśālākṣa
amongst the individual teachers, the two classes of authorities
are not quoted together. Finally, in 59 cases the opinions of the
ācāryas are quoted, twice those of eke and once apare. Usually
one or a number of authorities within a group are cited, followed
by neti Kauṭilyaḥ and the concluding view. The opinions of the
schools are stated dogmatically without justification or discussion.
Occasionally the individual teachers are made to refute the opinion
of the teacher just quoted (1.8, 1.15, 1.17). In the third chapter
of Book 8 there is a very intricate scheme of debate in which
Kauṭilya refutes singly the opinions of the individual teachers
as to the relative gravity of a pair of vices, giving arguments
in favour of the better and against the worse, treating thus the
first two, then the second and third, then the third and fourth of
the list of lust-born vices. The scholarly debates which emerge
have an air of artificiality about them, and Wilhelm has shown
that the style and vocabulary of the individual teacher's opinions
are uniform with that of the rest of the text.[1] Sometimes the
view of an individual teacher or of the ācāryas is quoted without
rebuttal, and sometimes an opinion is followed by iti Kauṭilyaḥ,

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1. Wilhelm, p. 10 et passim.

even where no opposing views have previously been cited.

Structure

The text of the Arthaśāstra is broken up into 15 books
(adhikaraṇas), 150 chapters (adhyāyas, literally 'lessons'), and
180 topics (prakaraṇas).[1]

Each book deals with a different subject, and has a title
which is named in the table of contents (1.1) and in the colophons
at the end of each chapter. They are numbered one to fifteen in
the table of contents and the colophons. The books vary greatly
in length, and may contain only one chapter and topic.

Chapters are numbered serially from the beginning of each
book; they have no titles, and they vary considerably in length.
Each chapter ends with at least one śloka, typically a summarizing
or a memorial verse (kārikā); where the argument of the prose is
continued in the concluding verses, the very last verse or two
is generally of the summarizing kind. Verses occasionally appear
within the prose portion of the text, and some of these internal
verses occur in the citations of earlier authorities. There are
a few triṣṭubhs and jagatīs in Book 2 and a few hypermetric or

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1. See Kangle, Part 3, p. 25 ff.; L. Renou, "Sur la forme de
quelques textes Sanskrits", JA 249, 1961, p. 183 ff.

otherwise irregular *ślokas* are met with, chiefly in Book 14.
Only once (10.3.29) are verses introduced with a standard
formula, in this case *apīha ślokau bhavataḥ*. Each chapter ends
with a colophon giving the title and number of the book, the
title of the topic or topics and the number of the chapter,
reckoned both from the beginning of the book and from the begin-
ning of the entire text.

The text is further divided into topics by subject matter.
In general the topics contain a single, well defined subject.
They may be very short, often dismissing a subject in a single
sentence by reference to preceeding discussion. Where a chapter
contains more than one topic, the end of the first topic is often
marked by a simple *iti* or an expression in *iti* (e.g. 1.18.12
where the end of the topic entitled *aparuddhavṛttam* is announced
by *ity aparuddhavṛttam*) or some other device such as a nominal
construction with *iti/tu* defining the end of one topic and the
beginning of the next (e.g. 3.16.28-9: *ity asvāmivikrayaḥ/
svasvāmisaṃbandhas tu* ...). Some of the endings are unmarked and
difficult to identify. Topics have no colophons of their own,
and are not numbered in the chapter colophons.

This triple division of the text of the Arthaśāstra
contains a number of anomalies which call for explanation. The
chief of these is that the chapter and topic boundaries overlap.
At the one extreme topic 116, *mitra-hiraṇyabhūmi-karma-sandhayaḥ*,
'Pacts for Securing an Ally, Money, Land and an Undertaking', is
spread over four chapters (7,9-12) by dividing it into sub-topics

(<u>mitrasandhi</u> and <u>hiraṇyasandhi</u>, <u>bhūmisandhi</u>, <u>anavasitasandhi</u> and <u>karmasandhi</u>); at the other extreme five topics (103-7) are fitted into a single chapter (7.4). Occasionally a single chapter contains part of a topic and the whole of the next (e.g. 1.12 containing part of topic 7 and the whole of 8).

The scheme of books and topics is quite clear and rational, being based on subject matter, but it is difficult to see on what principle the division into chapters was made. Certainly it was not subject matter, for then there would be no need to duplicate the scheme of topics, nor, for instance, would the offices of the superintendent of passports and of the superintendent of pastures have been lumped in one chapter (2.34, topics 52, 53). One would presume the object to have been to group topics into 'lessons' of equal length, so nearly as that is possible without disturbing too much the integrity of the topics. But if so, it is difficult to account for such things as the spreading of topic 1 over three short chapters (1.2 -4) totalling 35 <u>sūtras</u> on the one hand, and the failure to subdivide 2.12, topic 30, the longest chapter of the text at 117 <u>sūtras</u>, into two or more chapters, as elsewhere has been done.

There is one remaining anomaly. The first chapter of the <u>Arthaśāstra</u> is unique in containing no topic. One of the manuscripts (the Devanāgari) gives it a title in the colophon, <u>prakar-aṇādhikaraṇasamuddeśa</u>, although no other chapter has a title, only the books and topics; and yet it is clear from the fact that according both to the statement in 1.1.18 and from a count

in the text itself that there are the right number of topics,
180, without considering chapter 1.1 to contain a topic.

When we turn to two works which are heavily indebted to
this text, so much so that we can call them heirs of the Artha-
śāstra, we find the scheme of internal divisions has been ration-
alized. The Nītisāra of Kāmandaka draws from the Arthaśāstra
more by the way of content than of form; Vātsyāyana's Kāmasūtra
closely follows its form but is naturally different in content.

The Nītisāra opens by invoking Viṣṇu (1.1), then Viṣṇu-
gupta (1.2-6), "who, resembling Śaktidhara Skanda, by his power
and the power of his counsel brought the earth to that moon
among men, Candragupta" and "who extracted the glorious ambrosia
of nītiśāstra from the ocean of arthaśāstra. This abridgement,"
it continues, "preserving the sense, (has been made) out of love
for the kingly science from the system of him who, of keen intel-
lect, fathomed the depths of the sciences".[1] The Nītisāra (unlike
the Arthaśāstra) is a wholly metrical work, containing some 1224
verses, or about a quarter of the extent of the Arthaśāstra as
we now have it. Book 1 of the Arthaśāstra, apart from the table
of contents (1.1), is best preserved in the Nītisāra; Books 2,
3 and 4 are almost entirely passed over, in spite of the fact
that Book 4--Kaṇṭakaśodhana-- shares its title with Nītisāra 6,
topic 15. Books 5 to 10 are represented in whole or part in the
Nītisāra but very little if anything of Books 11 to 15. The

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1. darśanāt tasya suddṛśo vidyānāṃ pāradṛśvanaḥ /
rājavidyāpriyatayā saṅkṣiptagranthaṃ arthavat //   1.7

Arthaśāstra material is often much compressed but there is additional material from the Epics and from other arthaśāstras, including the quoted views of authorities which cannot be traced in the Arthaśāstra.[1] Yet, perhaps 70% of the Nītisāra derives directly or indirectly from the Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra.

The Nītisāra is divided into chapters (sargas) andttopics prakaraṇas). Colophons occur at the ends of chapters.[2] There are 20 chapters and 36 topics; a chapter may contain as few as one and as many as six topics, but topics are never spread over more than one chapter. The body of the chapter is in ślokas, with verses in ornate metres at the end (there are a few exceptions), generally of the summarizing kind; a few verses in these metres are sometimes found in the body of the chapter. Thus while Kāmandaka departs considerably from the form of the Arthaśāstra, it is possible to see formal analogies, and a simplification and rationalization of the scheme of textual divisions.

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1. 5.88   Bṛhaspati   8.28   Viśālākṣa

   8.5   Bṛhaspati   8.39   Pārāśara

   8.20   Maya   9.57   Bharadvāja

   8.21   Puloma   9.60   Bṛhaspati

   8.22   Uśanas   10.18 Bāhudantisuta

   8.23   Maya or Maharṣi   10.19 Mānavas

   8.24   Mānavas   11.39 Bṛhaspati

2. In Ganapati Sastri's ed., there are topic colophons in lighter type.

The <u>Kāmasūtra</u> of Vātsyāyana shows great stylistic affinities to the <u>Arthaśāstra</u>.[1] The opinions of earlier authorities are quoted, then rebutted, in the <u>Arthaśāstra</u> manner. Though the content is, of course, much different, the <u>Kāmasūtra</u> uses enough of the rarer terms of its predecessor that a translator ignores the <u>Arthaśāstra</u> at his peril. <u>Kāmasūtra</u> 5.5.8, for example, tells us how the <u>sūtrādhyakṣa</u> should approach widows, unprotected women and women who have left their homes. K. Ranga-swami Iyengar translates <u>sūtrādhyakṣa</u> as 'law officer'.[2] But the topic of the <u>Arthaśāstra</u> (2.23, topic 40) devoted to this functionary makes it clear that he is a superintendent of yarns, in charge of the king's looms, employing widows and other sorts of women who are cast adrift and who otherwise would be without protection and work. It thus becomes clear who the <u>sūtrādhyakṣa</u> is and how he has access to these women. Some of the expressions characteristic of the <u>Arthaśāstra</u> recur here, as <u>samānaṃ pūrveṇa</u>, 'and so on, exactly as before', and constructions with <u>vyākhyātaḥ</u>.

Of interest to us is that the <u>Kāmasūtra</u> preserves the three-fold divisions of its text into <u>adhikaraṇas</u>, <u>adhyāyas</u> and <u>prakar-aṇas</u>, or books, chapters and topics, with the usual features such as titles only for books and topics, memorial verses and colophons only at the ends of chapters, as in the <u>Nītisāra</u>.

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1. See Shamasastry's translation of <u>Arth</u>., 6th ed., Preface, pp. xi-xii; F. Wilhelm, "Arthaśāstra und Kāmasūtra".

2. Lahore, 1921.

But each chapter consists of one or more topics; a topic is never parcelled out amongst several chapters, and chapter size does not vary so enormously as in the Arthaśāstra. There are, no doubt, formal differences between the two works. The Kāmasūtra has no Tantrayukti at the end, and though it has a first chapter containing a table of contents, it differs in listing the number of chapters and topics in each book, and in giving a geneology of the śāstra. The opening chapters of the two works are similar in giving a reckoning of the total number of books, chapters, topics and ślokas (units of 32 syllables each) in the respective works and in opening the table of contents with identical expressions: tasyāyāṃ prakaraṇādhikaraṇasamuddeśaḥ (Arth. 1.1.2, Kam. 1.1.19f.). They differ again, however, in that the first chapter of the Arthaśāstra contains no topic (and, in all but one manuscript, no title) while the first chapter of the Kāmasūtra is also the first topic, entitled precisely: prakaraṇādhikaraṇasamuddeśa. Thus the anomalies in the structure of the Arthaśāstra have been resolved in the Kāmasūtra.

The anomalies of the Arthaśāstra's scheme of chapters and topics has only seldom been remarked upon. Winternitz did so in a footnote and concluded that the division into chapters seems to be the work of a later redactor.[1] Keith drew the same conclu-

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1. Geschichte der indischen Litteratur vol. 3, p. 510, n.1: "In dem Buch selbst ist aber jeder Hauptabschnitt in eine Anzahl Kapitel (adhyāya) eingeteilt, die nur teilweise mit den Prakaraṇas zusammenfallen. Es scheint, dass diese Adhyāya-Einteilung das Werk einer späteren Redaction ist."

sion,[1] but Kangle drew none.[2] Renou, sensible to the implica-
tion that if the division into chapters was a secondary develop-
ment, the verses terminal to the chapters must be regarded as
"a foreign corpus adjoined to a received text", found that "ordin-
arily they are of no use to the argumentation and certain formal
indices show that the end of the prose coincides with the end of
the reasoning. Nevertheless certain compact groups of verses
have their utility in perfecting a doctrine; and, what is more
telling, there are several signs indicating that there is a
continuity in sense between the prose and the verse." He concluded,
"The question cannot be resolved without nuances."[3]

No doubt there are nuances. Nevertheless we hold that
there is excellent reason to regard the division into chapters,
the terminal verses, the entirety of Arthaśāstra 1.1 with its
table of contents and its ennumeration of book, chapter, topic
and śloka totals and, since it refers to the first chapter, Book
15 (Tantrayukti), as the work of a later, tidying and organizing
hand, reworking a text already divided by books and topics, and
already possessing an adequate introduction in Arthaśāstra 1.2.

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1. History of Sanskrit Literature (2nd. ed., Oxford, 1941), p. 452:
"There is the possibility that this division (into adhyāyas) is
secondary, possibly also the verses which mark it out."

2. Kangle, Part 3, pp. 25-6.

3. Renou, op. cit., pp. 185-6, paras. 2, 3.

When one considers the significance of the anomalies of the work's structure, beside the clear structure of the Nītisāra and above all of the Kāmasūtra, one can say not merely that the heirs of the Arthaśāstra have rationalized its organization in their own works, but that no single author would himself be likely to create such anomalies.

Once it is accepted that the division into chapters is secondary, it follows that the terminal verses and colophons must also be secondary, for they would have no place in a work divided by topics. The occasional usefulness of the verses to the argument of the prose, or occasional continuity with the prose scarcely weighs against their usual lack of utility and continuity in this. Then, the first chapter of the book could not have been completed, and need not have been composed before this reorganization, since the following chapter (1.2) forms a suitable introduction to a pre-existing work, and the table of contents and enumeration of books, etc., presuppose a finished work. Finally, if 1.1 as a whole is the work of a later redactor, it follows that Book 15 is as well, since in quoting 1.1.1, 3 (15.1.5, 6) it presupposes a finished opening chapter. In particular this organizing hand must be the author of 1.1.18: "The enumeration of this treatise amounts to fifteen Books, one hundred and fifty Chapters, one hundred and eighty Topics and six thousand ślokas." This reorganization must have taken place before Vātsyāyana, whose work duplicates its every feature (except the Tantrayukti), including the passage just quoted,

which finds a correspondence in Kāmasūtra 1.1.88, which says

the work contains 7 books, 36 chapters, 64 topics and 1250

ślokas.[1] The commentary on the Kāmasūtra suggests that these

numbers are not arbitrary: there are 64 topics, for example,

because there are 64 kālas or arts of the courtezan. And this

gives us a clue to two of the anomalies of the Arthaśāstra

structure; for, given the desire to redivide the work in chapters

or lessons of reasonable size, the desire to achieve significant,

round numbers of chapters and topics may have compromised the

principle of (roughly) equal size and the first chapter was then

not made a topic so as not to exceed the figure of 180 topics.

To this organizing hand must also be ascribed the opening

passage of the Arthaśāstra (1.1.1):

> pṛthivyā lābhe pālane ca yāvanty arthaśāstrāni
> pūrvācāryaiḥ prasthāpitāni prāyaśas tāni saṃhrtyaikam
> idam Arthaśāstram kṛtam.

Kangle translates thus:

> This single (treatise on the) Science of Politics
> has been prepared mostly by bringing together (the
> teachings of) as many treatises on the Science of
> Politics as have been composed by ancient teachers
> for the acquisition and protection of the earth.

> The phrase 'the teachings of' is a gratuitous emendation

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1. And before Daṇḍin who says (Daśak. p. 131, 11.10-12): adhīṣva

tāvad daṇḍanītim. iyam idānīm ācārya-Viṣṇuguptena Mauryārthe

ṣaḍbhiḥ ślokasahasraiḥ saṃkṣiptā. "Learn, therefore, the science

of politics. Now this has been abridged in six thousand ślokas

by the teacher Viṣṇugupta for the Maurya."

which interprets the passage in a way which the bare wording of it does not warrant. On the other hand Kangle is probably right in taking the gerund samhṛtya in the sense of 'having brought together, collected', though the sense 'having condensed' cannot be ruled out since Daṇḍin, equating it with samkṣip-, 'abridge' takes it so.[1] In any case, many arthaśāstras of previous (not necessarily 'ancient') teachers were brought together or condensed, to make a single Arthaśāstra. This could be understood in two ways: either the contents, the 'teachings' of these arthaśāstras were digested and a new arthaśāstra composed; in this case we could not deny the composer the style of 'author'. Or, these arthaśāstras, understood as monographs, have been brought together (or perhaps condensed) between two covers to form a single comprehensive work. We assert that the second best fits the meaning of the words, without the aid of emendation.

This theory of the composition of the Arthaśāstra then, ascribes to the organizing hand we have inferred this task of selecting and assembling previous works into a larger Arthaśāstra; and since the verses were added (though not in every case composed) by him, it further involves that this organiser—or rather, composer—called himself Kauṭilya (1.1.19, 2.10.63, 15.1.73) whether rightly or wrongly.

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1. See the preceeding footnote. Kāmandaka calls his a samkṣip-tagrantha (1.7).

It may be objected that the various observable features of style, the 'polemics', the cross-references, the peculiar expressions and terms, which pervade the work and give it its appearance of unity, could not have been found in independent works; and it must be conceded that a certain amount of reworking and even original writing to provide linkages between the independent works is probable in this theory. But the various stylistic features which have so far been mentioned are not evenly spread throughout the work. There are no citations of earlier authorities in Books 4, 6, 11, 13 and 14, for example, and only one in Book 5 and two in Book 2,[1] while Book 8 is overloaded with them. It is difficult to see how the theory thus outlined could be verified by appeal to traditional methods of stylistic analysis. But another method exists--the statistical.

The Statistical Method in Authorship Problems

Some thirty years ago G. Udney Yule in inaugurated the statistical study of authorship problems with a paper entitled: "On Sentence-length as a Statistical Characteristic of Style in Prose: With Application to two Cases of Disputed Authorship."[2] This paper was Yule's first attempt to resolve by statistical means the problem of the authorship of De Imitatio Christi as

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1. Kangle, Part 3, p. 53.

2. Biometrika 20, 1939, p. 363 ff.

between Thomas à Kempis and the Sorbonne theologian Félix Gerson.
The method consisted in comparing the sentence-length distribu-
tions within the work with those in the known writings of Thomas
and Gerson and to assign authorship where the agreement was
close; the second attempt consisted of a comparison off the size
of noun vocabularies in the three, and resulted in a book entitled
The Statistical Study of Literary Vocabulary.[1] In this book
Yule proposed a characteristic of vocabulary size, K, which is
independent of the size of the text under investigation.

Since Yule's work appeared, a number of authorship studies
employing statistical methods have been made. William C. Wake
has been the most active in divising means of using sentence-
length distributions as discriminators of authorship, and has
done further work in comparing noun vocabularies.[2] Wake's work
on the Hippocratic Corpus enabled him to define a group of works
in the Corpus emanating from one hand which on other grounds can
reasonably be identified with Hippocrates. Of particular interest
to historians of India is Alvar Ellegard's study of the Junius
letters, which Ellegarde was able to show were written by Sir
Philip Francis, member of the Council for Bengal and instrumental

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1. Cambridge, 1944.

2. Greek Medicine in the 5th and 6th Centuries B.C., MSc.
Dissertation, London, 1946; The Corpus Hippocraticum, Ph.D.
Thesis, London, 1951.

in securing the impeachment of Warren Hastings.[1] Ellegarde rejected the sentence-length test and the K-test as having insufficient discriminating power to distinguish the author of the Junius letters from all possible candidates. Instead he confined his attention to those preferences of word and expression which we usually think of as constituting an author's peculiar vocabulary or style. The Junian material was read through and a tentative list of distinctively Junian words and expressions ('plus-words') was drawn up, and a million word sample (109 text items by 98 different authors, including all Uunian candidates, all contemporary) was read through and a list of words and expressions distinctive of them but not of Junius was drawn up. Preliminary testing showed Sir Philip Francis was linguistically the best candidate, so a 231,300 word text mass of his was also read. Four hundred eighty-five items of the original list were then registered on charts, according to where they occured in Junius, Francis, and the million-word sample. The items were grouped according to their distinctiveness-ration, i.e. the percentage of occurences in Junius divided by the percentage of occurences in the million word sample, giving Junius plus-words (distinctiveness ratio 1+) and minus-words (between 1 and 0). Alternatives (burden/burthen, has/hath, farther/further) were separately treated. Francis fell within the 'Junian range' in each 'distinctiveness group'; he was the only writer to do so,

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1. _Who was Junius?_, Stockholm, 1962, and _A Statistical Method for Determining Authorship: The Junius Letters, 1769-1772_, Göteborg, 1962. The first is more historical, the second, statistical.

though some others fell within it in some of the groups. The probability of more than one author having all the Junian characteristics thus defined was calculated at one in 462,000. If it is accepted that Francis belonged to that .01% of the population of Britain who wrote like Junius, then the bag containing Junius and Francis must be reduced to 300 for the identification to be made at the 99% level of confidence. "Francis, as well as Junius was among the public audience who heard Lord Chatham's speeches in the House of Lords on the Middlesex election, as well as on the Faulkland Islands, in 1770. That fact in itself is enough to place them both in the same group of at most a few hundred persons."[1]

Ellegard's method, while most admirable in its workings, is unlikely to have many imitators, because it requires large masses of text, because it is extremely laborious, and because easier approaches have been found. Ellegard says, "The words most frequently used in the larguage--articles, prepositions, conjunctions, and pronouns, as well as the commonest verbs, nouns, adjectives and adverbs, are necessarily about _equally_ frequent in all texts, whoever the author. And this means in effect that the large majority of the positively or negatively distictive words will belong to the frequency ranges below 0.0001, or one per ten thousand."[2] By and large, therefore, the most frequent

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1. A _Statistical_ Method _for_ _Determining_ _Authorship_, p. 63.

2. _Ibid._, pp. 15-16.

words--making up perhaps 80% of any normal text--will be of little use for identification purposes."[1]

Subsequent studies have shown, however, that there can be great differences in the frequency of common words between different authors, that indeed it is the "utterly mundane high-frequency function words" which prove the best discriminators.[2] And besides the obvious advantage that high-frequency words have in yielding a sufficient number of occurences for statistical use from smaller samples, such words are the least affected by the subject-matter under discussion, being distributed more or less evenly from one work to another within the corpus of a single author regardless of context.

A study of this sort which deserves to become a classic was made by Frederick Mosteller and David L. Wallace in which the authorship bf the disputed Federalist papers was decided between Madison and Hamilton.[3] Discriminators were chosen from a 'screening set' of texts, half of them written by Madison and

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1. Ibid., p. 18.

2. Mosteller and Wallace, (below, n. 3), p. 304.

3. "Inference in an Authorship Problem" in J. of the American Statistical Association 58, 1963, p. 275 ff. Methods of Inference Applied to the Federalist, Reading, Mass., forthcoming.

half by Hamilton, words such as an, of, upon, which had markedly different rates of occurrence in the two authors. These words were weighted according to their discriminating power, and grouped; their performance was then observed in a 'calibrating set' of texts from both authors, to observe and correct the effects of selection and weighting. Finally the disputed papers were examined and scores assigned according to the occurrence of the discriminators in them. The main part of Mosteller and Wallace's study was based on Bayes' Theorem, and is at once more powerful and unfortunately less comprehensible to the scholars most interested in the Federalist Papers as documents.

Of more direct relevance to our own work, because it deals with authors for which no outside works exist, is the study of the Pauline Epistles, by the Rev. A.Q. Morton.[1] Morton's problem was to separate the Pauline Epistles from the non-Pauline. His chief method was to compare the distributions of kai, en, autos, einai and de (occurrences per sentence) in the various Epistles by the chi-square test, together with sentence-length statistics. He found that Romans, 1st and 2nd Corinthians and Galatians can be regarded as homogeneous and, on other grounds, as Pauline, but no other Epistle with the possible exception of Philemon, which is too short to reach a decision.

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1. "The Authorship of Greek Prose", J. of the Royal Statistical Society, Series A 128, 1965, p. 169ff.

The only studies of this sort which have so far been made in Sanskrit texts are those of Prof. R. Morton Smith on the stories of Ambā, Nala and Śakuntalā in the Mahābhārata.[1] Smith explored a number of possible tests by which to separate the various hands in these stories: the vipulā pattern and vipulā: pathyā ratio; the ratio of vocatives which refer to characters within the story to those which refer to the listener; the frequency of the different forms in the past tense; the frequency of suppressed asti, gerunds, absolutes and participles; the kinds of nominal compounds; and the frequencies of particles such as atha, api, eva. Smith's studies, useful as they are, suffer from a lack of verification of the supposed tests in material of known authorship, and from a lack of significance testing to help decide which differences are merely due to sampling variation and which are due to differences of authorship.

A Pilot Study of the Arthaśāstra

When we were first attracted to the problem of the authorship of the Arthaśāstra, the studies of Morton and of Smith came to our attention. We decided to make a simple pilot study to find

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1. "The Story of Ambā in the Mahābhārata", Adyar Library Bulletin 19, 1955; "The Story of Nala in the Mahābhārata", J. of the Oriental Institute, Baroda 9, 1960, p. 357 ff.; "The Story of Śakuntalā in the Mahābhārata", J. of the Bihar Research Society 46, 1960, p. 163 ff.

whether the statistical method could here be applied.

We drew up a list of particles. First ca ('and') on the anology of kai, which had proved so useful in Morton's work on the Epistles; then a list derived from Smith's Nala article; atha, api, eva, evam, tatas, tathā, tadā, tu, hi; finally vā ('or'), which in going through the text we quickly found to be of high frequency.

Two samples of 300 sentences each were taken from the second book of the Arthaśāstra, starting from the first sūtra, the second sample beginning where the first left off (Samples 2-I and 2-II). The third sample, of the same size, was taken from Book 7, which seemed to us very different in character from Book 2. A fourth came from Book 9, Book 7 being not quite long enough to yield two samples. Only the prose portions were included in the samples; verses were passed over, even where they occurred within the prose body of the text.

In Table 3.1 we give total occurrences for the 11 particles in the four samples.

Table 3.1

Total occurrences of particles in four samples from the Arthaśāstra.

Sample	atha	api	eva	evam	ca	tatas	tathā	tadā	tu	vā	hi	total
2-I	0	3	5	1	102	5	0	0	1	54	6	177
2-II	0	1	9	3	111	4	2	0	0	73	1	204
7	0	16	11	12	65	1	0	8	16	182	32	343
9	2	6	9	6	71	11	1	3	7	135	21	272

Most of the particles have a fairly low frequency, with the brilliant exceptions of ca and vā; atha, tathā and tadā are so rare as to be of little use in samples of this size. Amongst the remainder, there is a fair measure of agreement between the figures for samples 2-I and 2-II on the one hand and between 7 and 9 on the other, and something of a difference between the two pairs, except for eva where the two pairs overlap, and tatas where 7 and 9 differ by 10 occurrences, the samples from Book 2 falling in between. Samples 7 and 9 use considerably more of the particles listed than 2-I and 2-II. A striking difference between the two pairs of samples is the fact that 2-I and II use more ca's than vā's while the reverse holds for samples 7 and 9.

Table 3.2

Ca : vā ratio in four samples from the Arthaśāstra.

Sample	ca : vā
2-I	1.9 : 1
2-II	1.5 : 1
7	.36: 1
9	.53: 1

A more detailed picture of the treatment of the two particles with the highest frequency, ca and vā, can be got by considering the number of occurrences per sentence. In Table 3.3 we give the figures for ca, in Table 3.4, those for vā.

Table 3.3

Occurrences of ca per sentence in four samples from the Artha-śāstra. In sample 2-I there are 209 sentences containing no ca's, 81 sentences containing 1 ca, etc.

Occurrences	Sample			
	2-I	2-II	7	9
0	209	200	253	246
1	81	90	32	41
2	9	9	12	9
3	1	1	3	4

It will be seen that samples 2-I and 2-II conform to each other very closely, that 7 and 9 are much alike and that the two pairs differ markedly from each other, 7 and 9 dropping more abruptly between no occurrences and one, and presenting a slightly thicker tail.

Table 3.4

Occurrences of _vā_ in four samples from the Arthaśāstra.

Occurrences	Sample 2-I	2-II	7	9
0	258	237	192	214
1	36	54	74	61
2	2	8	19	15
3	2	1	7	4
4	2	-	3	2
5	-	-	2	1
6	-	-	1	2
7	-	-	-	1
8	-	-	-	-
9	-	-	1	-
10	-	-	-	-
11	-	-	-	-
12	-	-	1	-

Considering the distribution for _vā_, again the agreement between 2-I and 2-II is good (though not so close as was the case with _ca_); that between 7 and 9 is good; and the divergence between the two pairs is striking. In particular 7 and 9 (especially 7 with its sentence containing no less that 12 _vā_'s) have much longer tails.

The question arises whether the differences between the two pairs of samples is significant of anything other than sampling variation, whether they are not merely due to chance, as we like to say. Everyone will concur that, given a bowl containing those marbles so beloved of statisticians, of which 10% are blue and the rest white, one would not in every case draw precisely one blue marble in every handful of 10 taken when blindfolded. At the same time, the probability of drawing 8, 9 or 10 blues is rather small, and the probability of drawing, say 10 blues in three successive tries is so remote as to make us regard it as a highly significant departure from our expectations, such that we would be well advised to see whether the marbles are well mixed between tries, and whether the blindfold is securely tied. Significance testing is just this measuring of the probability of the departure from the expected of observed values.

These probabilities tell us the likelihood of so large a divergence or larger occurring through sampling variations and form a continuum from 100% (in the case of perfect agreement between observations and expectation) to 0% (in the case of perfect disagreement). We cannot say dogmatically at what level of prob-ability a divergence must be regarded as 'significant' in this sense, of course; but for practical reasons we must fix such a level, and it is usual to regard the 5% level (that is, a divergence between observed and expected values such that it could occur through sampling variation in one out of 20 or more cases) as 'probably significant', the 1% level (one out of a hundred cases)

as 'significant', and the .1% level (one out of a thousand or more cases) as 'highly significant'.

A significance test of great versatility is the chi-square. (X^2) test. Let us suppose that our four samples are drawn from a single statistical population and that the divergence between the observed distributions of ca is due simply to sampling variation. The expected values will then lie between the four samples, and since the samples are of equal size, the expectation can be calculated by taking simple averages of the rows, as in Table 3.5.[1]

Table 3.5

Observed and expected values for ca in the Arthaśāstra.

| | Sample | | | | |
Occurrences	2-I	2-II	7	9	Expectation
0	209	200	253	246	227
1	81	90	32	41	61
2+	10	10	15	13	12

The chi-square test tends to exaggerate the divergence where the expectation is very small, say below 5 for any cell of the

1. Where samples are of different sizes the expectation is calculated by finding row and column totals, and the grand total; the expectation for each cell of the table is found by multiplying its proper row and column total, and dividing by the grand total.

table, and so we have had to pool the figures for 2 and 3 occurrences per sentence, thus making the comparison somewhat less detailed.

Chi-square is **given** as

$$x^2 = \sum \frac{(O - E)^2}{E} \; ,$$

or the sum of all quantities obtained by squaring the differences between the observation and the expectation, and dividing by the expectation. For example, sample 2-I has 209 sentences containing no _ca_'s, which is the observed value, or 'observation'. The expectation is 227 sentences containing no _ca_'s. Substituting in the above equation we get:

$$\frac{(O - E)^2}{E} = \frac{(209 - 227)^2}{227} = \frac{324}{227} = 1.4 \text{ approximately.}$$

Computing in this way for each of the values in Table 3.5 and summing the results we find that chi-square has a value of 51.4. The next step is to determine the number of 'degrees of freedom' (d.f.). We find that the 12 values of Table 3.5 are arranged in three rows and four columns. We then multiply one less than the number of columns (4 columns - 1 = 3) by one less than the number of rows (3 rows - 1 = 2) to find the number of degrees of freedom (2 x 3 = 6 d.f.). It is then necessary to consult tables of chi-square to evaluate the result.[1] There we find that at six degrees

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1. E.g. those in _Biometrika Tables for Statisticians_, vol. 1, ed. E.S. Pearson and H.O. Hartley.

of freedom, chi-square is 22.5 at the .1% level. With the calculated value of chi-square at 51.4 greatly exceeding the .1% level, we can say that the probability that the differences between the samples is merely sampling variation is extremely small, such as would occur less than one out of a thousand cases, or, in other words, that the differences are highly significant. We conclude that the samples do not come from the same population.

Now let us look at the two samples from Book 2. Assuming that they came from the same population, observation and expectation are as in the following table:

Table 3.6

Observed and expected values for ca in the Arthaśāstra.

| Occurrences | Sample | | Expectation |
	2-I	2-II	
0	209	200	204.5
1	81	90	85.5
2+	10	10	10

$$x^2 = .67; \quad d.f. = 2$$

Entering the results in tables of chi-square we find that it falls somewhere between the 50% and 75% levels, i.e. random variations of this magnitude could be expected to occur in over fifty out of a hundred cases. The result is therefore non-significant. It is important to note that a non-significant result does

not prove the hypothesis that the two samples come from a single population; it merely means it is not disproven, or in other words, that we have no reason to doubt the hypothesis on the basis of the available data.

The samples from Books 7 and 9 are also very close to each other.

Table 3.7

Observed and expected values for ca in the Arthaśāstra.

Occurrences	Sample 7	Sample 9	Expectation
0	253	246	249.5
1	32	41	36.5
2+	15	13	14

$$X^2 = 1.35 \; ; \quad d.f. = 2$$

This result is almost precisely at the 50% level ($X^2 = 1.386$).[1] Our hypothesis that the two samples come from a single population has not been disproved.

The chi-square test yields similar results when applied to the figures for vā. Observation and expectation for samples 2-I

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1. It may help the reader to evaluate X^2 by inspection if he remembers that X^2 and d.f. are roughly equal at the 50% level, and that the probability diminishes as X^2 exceeds d.f.

and 2-II are these:

Table 3.8

Observed and expected values for va̱ in the Arthaśāstra.

Occurrences	Sample 2-I	2-II	Expectation
0	258	237	247.5
1	36	54	45
2+	6	9	7.5

$$X^2 = 5.09 \; ; \; d.f. = 2$$

The result falls between the 10% ($X^2 = 4.6$) and 5% ($X^2 = 6.0$) levels; hence the differences between the values for 2-I and 2-II are such as could occur in one out of 10 to 20 cases, were they from the same statistical population. We may take it that there is no reason to doubt the hypothesis.

For the samples from Books 7 and 9 the figures are given in Table 3.9.

Table 3.9

Observed and expected values for _vā_ in the _Arthaśāstra_.

Occurrences	Sample 7	Sample 9	Expectation
0	192	214	203
1	74	61	67.5
2	19	15	17
3	7	4	5.5
4+	8	6	7

$$x^2 = 4.02 \; ; \quad d.f. = 4$$

This result, lying between the 50% level $(x^2 = 3.6)$ and the 25% level $(x^2 = 5.4)$, is non-significant. The longer tails of the distributions for _vā_ in these two samples permit us a more detailed comparison, and hence a more exacting test.

Taking all four samples together the figures are as follows:

Table 3.10

Observed and expected values for vā in the Arthaśāstra.

Occurrences	Sample				Expectation
	2-I	2-II	7	9	
0	258	237	192	214	225.25
1	36	54	72	61	56.25
2	2	8	19	15	11
3+	4	1	15	10	7.5

$$x^2 = 55.3 ; \quad d.f. = 9$$

Differences of this magnitude in a single population are practically beyond the pale of possibility. For at nine degrees of freedom, in one out of a thousand or more cases a value of 27.9 for chi-square would result; how much rarer a result of 55.3 would occur may be imagined. And the results for ca and vā taken together must surely be proof enough that a great disparity exists between Books 2 on the one hand and Books 7 and 9 on the other, that the Arthaśāstra is not a homogeneous work.

Strategy

In performing this pilot study we had assumed that the source of divergence was difference in authorship. And this is a reasonable assumption to make. If the statistical method will work in Latin, Greek, and English, we may presume it will work in Sanskrit; and ca and vā are just the "utterly mundane, high-

frequency function words" which have shown themselves so useful in other, similar studies. Nevertheless, this assumption cannot pass untested, for there are other possible sources of significant divergence, of which the most serious is context. Books 2 and 7 of the _Arthaśāstra_ are very different in content, after all, and though it may seem probable that an author uses _ca_, let us say, at a given rate regardless of the context, the matter must be verified in texts of known authorship, covering a variety of subjects.

Though the assumption that a given word is a good discriminator of authorship can be tested, it cannot be proved, but only disproved. No matter how much control material we use, a non-significant result always has the character of a verdict of 'not-guilty', not a proof of innocence. The conclusion we finally reach on the structure and composition of the _Arthaśāstra_, then, are always subject to further verification and, perhaps, disproof.

It should further be borne in mind that even where we have a competent discriminator, a non-significant result for two works by no means proves common authorship; for it will often turn out that two authors will have similar rates for some words just as a great number of people, probably the greater part of the world's population, will answer to the description, "brown eyes and black hair'. If two works show non-significant differences for a number of characteristics, the presumption of common authorship is strengthened. But again, it can only be disproved, never proven.

Our strategy will be to draw up a sizeable list of potential discriminators; to test them for homogeneity within works of known authorship, and for differences between authors; and to see whether we are justified in seeing more than one hand at work in the prose sections of the <u>Kautilīya Arthaśāstra</u>. We want also to determine whether sentence-length is a useful discriminator in Sanskrit, as it has proved on occasion in English and Greek. Finally, since Sanksrit makes frequent recourse to lengthy compounds, we want to see whether compound-length is a characteristic which can distinguish one author's work from another's. With this variety of approaches, our theory of the composition of the <u>Artha-śāstra</u> can be put to the test.

CHAPTER 4: WORDS AS DISCRIMINATORS

In the classical form of an authorship problem the choosing
of words which are good discriminators of authorship is greatly
simplified. In that form, a text is ascribed variously to two
or more writers for which we have other works, more or less exten-
sive, whose ascription is not in question. Undoubted works of
the candidates form the control material from which to select
words which are (1) of high frequency and (2) of even distribution
within authors but (3) of different rates of distribution between
authors.

In the Arthaśāstra problem, however, things are much different.
All its authors, if there are more than one, must be assumed to
have left no other surviving works, and thus we must look else-
where for control material. Let us see how that affects the search
for good discriminators, according to the three criteria we have
named. The requirement that the word be of high frequency is of
increasing importance the smaller are the texts under study.
Since we will wish to treat the authorship of each book of the
Arthaśāstra separately, evidently we want words of the highest
frequency. Without examining word frequencies in the Arthaśāstra
itself, and thus jeopardizing the independence of our selection
of words, we can easily find high-frequency words in a complete
word-index to a representative Sanskrit work. But the requirement
of high frequency needs qualification: we are looking for words
which occur at high frequencies in one author, but low in another,

and to restrict ourselves to high-frequency words from an outside
work may deny us the use of some words which are rare in that
outside work but abundant in the text we wish to study. This
difficulty does not arise in the classical form of the problem,
since the control material includes writings from the authors of
the disputed text. As for us, we can never be sure that words
occurring at high rates in the <u>Arthaśāstra</u> are not eliminated on
account of their rarity in the control material. This difficulty
cannot be overcome; it must be lived with.

The second criterion of a good discriminator is that it be
evenly distributed within an author's work. Here the form of our
problem offers us no disadvantages over the classical form; at
the same time, we can never prove the proposition that a given
word is always evenly distributed within authors, regardless of
context, and other possibly disturbing factors. We can, from a
preliminary word list, eliminate those which are unevenly distrib-
uted in any one of as many authors as we include in our control
material, and have confidence in the residue corresponding to
the size of that control material, but there must always remain
a doubt, however small, that in some author or some text these
words may not be evenly distributed. This, however, is the status
of any scientific proposition: it has not been disproved in exper-
iment, but the critic can always seek to do so.

Finally, a good discriminator must occur at different rates
in different authors. Clearly, to establish a small difference in
rates, the disputed text must be large, and this is not the case

with the books of the Arthaśāstra; hence we will want words with very different rates in different authors. The non-occurrence of such a word in one work may be of great importance, if it occurs at a high rate in another (we give an example below). But here the student of an authorship problem in its classical form has the great advantage that he can determine the rates for a given word for the two or so candidates from the control material, and assess words for their discriminating ability, so that suitable words may be selected and weighted according to their usefulness in the problem at hand. In our form of the problem the best we can hope from our control material is some idea of the relative value of different discriminators; we cannot assign weights, and we select what appear to be good discriminators, and hope that they prove effective in the problem at hand.

This catalogue of difficulties suggests that a fair measure of luck, as well as a great deal of careful work, is essential to the successful outcome of an authorship problem of our sort. For what is a good discriminator on some occasions is poor on another. Colour of eyes is a poor discriminator of men: a great number share the same colour, just as a fair number must share rates identical or indistinguishable from each other for the use of a certain word. (We may hope to improve the position by using several discriminators in combination.) It also suggests a plan of procedure: the drawing up of a preliminary word-list; the elimination from that list of words which prove to be unevenly distributed in control material; and a rough assessment of discrim-

inating ability between the various words of the control material.
Let us cross our fingers and proceed.

The Preliminary List

Although no studies of this sort had previously been made
on Sanskrit works, we were not entirely at sea in drawing up a
preliminary list of words. Studies by Mosteller and Wallace in
English prose suggested that it is the "utterly mundane high-
frequency function words" which prove the best discriminators;[1]
studies in Greek offered in kai an anology to Sanskrit ca; and
our own preliminary skirmish with the Arthaśāstra added vā. We
had, besides, in Pathak and Chitrao's word-index to Patañjali's
great grammatical work, Mahābhāṣya, what must be a rarity for any
work in any language, an absolutely complete word-index.[2] Every

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1. Loc. cit.

2. Pt. Shridharashastri Pathak and Pt. Siddheshvarashastri Chitrao:
Word Index to Patañjali's Vyākaraṇa Mahābhāṣya. A sentence from the
Forward (p. 2) by V.G. Paranjpe seemed to have been written for us:
"The Index, even in those portions which appear to be useless, would
furnish very useful data to the student...who wants to study the
frequency of the common words of the language like api, evam, or ca
or of the different verbs, or of the prepositions which accompany
them." Shamasastry's Index Verborum to the Published Texts of the
Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra omits the very words which interest us.

word, however commonplace, is given a page-line reference to
Kielhorn's edition. Where the word occurs more than once on the
same line, the reference is repeated as many times. A spot-check
failed to reveal any errors in the index; indeed where there at
first appeared to be discrepancies the fault was in every case ours.

Another consideration in drawing up the preliminary list was
the need to limit it to a manageable length, in search of that
accuracy which Pathak and Chitrao have so admirably achieved.
How long a list is manageable? We found that about thirty words
are a safe limit, for that allows columns running the width of
foolscap mark-sheets of sufficient breadth to avoid the danger of
entering words in the wrong column when tabulating 'by hand', and
is about as many words as one can keep watch for simultaneously
when entering the mark-sheets or preparing texts for the electronic
computer to make the collection of data. No doubt a good number
more would have been eminently desirable, but bitter experience
has repeatedly impressed us with the difficulty of achieving accurate
counts of even so few words, and we thought it better to strive to
build solidly than grandly.

What sort of words? Indeclinables, for their high frequency
and probable independence of context, certainly; nouns, for the
opposite reasons, certainly not. Verbs offer the possibility of
examining the use of compound verbs, suppressed **asti** and the like,
but they seemed to hold out much less hope than indeclinables, and
promised only to complicate the process of collecting the data,
with attendant dangers to accuracy. Pronouns were given up only

with much regret, for a variety of reasons, of which the decisive one was the desire to keep the scheme as simple as possible.[1] We restricted our list, then, to indeclinable particles.

No single clear criterion by which to choose the words presented itself. Some were chosen by leafing through the word-index to spot the high-frequency words by the number of entries; many, by hunch, a frail but necessary guide in the absense of any other; and some, the correlatives (yatas...yāvat), for completeness' sake (they proved worthless later on).

We give in Table 4.1 a list of some words in Patañjali arranged in order of frequency, including all the 32 words of our preliminary list preceeded by their number in Sanskrit alphabetical order, as well as four pronouns and one noun (śabda) for the sake of comparison. We estimate the word-index, and hence the Mahābhaṣya, contains 278,000 words, based on the average number of words in a spread sample of forty columns multiplied by the number of columns in the word-index. It will be seen that iti, the commonest word of the Mahābhaṣya, occurs five or six times a hundred words, and few have rates higher than 1%.

No doubt the preliminary list thus arrived at is imperfect. The word tarhi is of high frequency in Patañjali, but it was excluded on the belief that this was idiosyncratic, a decision

1. A subsidiary one was a doubt that pronouns are less free from context than particles. Surely their rates must differ according to genre, e.g., as between narrative and expository writing.

Table 4.1

Some word frequencies in Patañjali. Words included in the preliminary list are preceded by a code number.

	Word	occurrences	frequency
5.	iti	15778	.0568
19.	na	9466	.0341
11.	ca	6993	.0252
	tat (all forms)	5851	.0210
	idam (all forms)	4360	.0157
4.	api	4316	.0155
	etat (all forms)	4106	.0148
8.	eva	3086	.0111
9.	evam	2331	.00838
7.	iha	2105	.00757
29.	vā (with athavā)	2073	.00746
2.	atra	1960	.00705
25.	yathā	1688	.00607
32.	hi	1625	.00585
14.	tatra	1506	.00542
3.	atha (with athavā)	1411	.00508
22.	punar	1306	.00470
27.	yadi	1139	.00410
20.	nanu	617	.00222
	śabda	607	.00218
18.	tu	543	.00195
17.	tāvat	524	.00188
12.	cet	517	.00186
13.	tatas	475	.00171
	adas (all forms)	427	.00154
1.	atas	315	.00113
24.	yatra	313	.00113
10.	khalu	297	.00107
21.	nāma	286	.00103
15.	tathā	256	.000921
26.	yadā	237	.000853
16.	tadā	209	.000752
30.	vai	134	.000482
28.	yāvat	119	.000428
6.	iva	104	.000374
23.	yatas	45	.000162
31.	ha	16	.0000576

we have never come to regret. On the other hand, _katham_, of moderate frequency (five out of a thousand in Patañjali) was excluded by oversight. The correlatives could have been profitably replaced by some of the commoner pronouns. But for better or ill a decision had to be taken.

Now the _Mahābhāṣya_ is, of course, a commentary, and it is the purpose of commentaries to explain the text to which they are attached, in this case Pāṇini's _Aṣṭādhyāyī_. Because they are not 'pure', that is, because the text of the original conditions and 'contaminates' the commentary, we did not expect to find the words of our list to be evenly distributed throughout the _Mahā-bhāṣya_. But because we had recorded for each word the number of occurrences in the commentary on the _Pratyāhāra Sūtras_ and each of the eight chapters of Pāṇini, it was a simple matter to determine the discrepancy between observed and expected values by the chi-square test. Taking Kielhorn's edition, the number of lines of commentary in each chapter were counted and then divided by the total number of lines to arrive at the proportions of the whole work represented by each chapter. These proportions multiplied by the total occurrences of a word gave the expected number of occurrences for each word.

The result abundantly confirmed our doubts. Of the 32 words of our list, only seven showed non-significant[1] deviations from

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1. 'Non-significant' here and throughout means a probability greater than 5%.

the expected values, none of them words of very high frequency:

atas, tatas, tathā, nanu, yatra, yadi, yāvat; while 18 were

significant at .1%. The only satisfaction gained from the exer-

cise was the fact that the noun śabda ('sound', 'word') had the

highest value of chi-square of all the words, an astronomical

920.3, as compared with 144.2 for ca, the runner-up, both at 8

degrees of freedom. Of the pronouns only etat was non-significant,

the other three being significant at .1%. The performance of

three words is shown in Table 4.2.[1]

Table 4.2

Distribution of three words in Patañjali's Mahābhāṣya.
P = Pratyāhāra Sūtras; there are 8 degrees of freedom in each case.

proportion	chapter								
	P	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
of total work	.0339	.2551	.1057	.1309	.0929	.0684	.1627	.0828	.0672
yadi									
observed	44	296	110	147	116	75	176	94	81
expected	39	291	120	149	106	78	185	94	77

$$x^2 = 3.60$$

	P	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
ca									
observed	289	2080	729	1000	626	484	952	458	375
expected	237	1784	739	915	650	478	1138	579	470

$$x^2 = 144.2{***}$$

	P	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
śabda									
observed	147	219	69	57	14	31	39	18	13
expected	21	155	64	80	56	42	99	50	41

$$x^2 = 920.3{***}$$

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1. It is of little interest to reproduce the full table; figures
may easily be recovered from Pathak and Chitrao.

Such then is our preliminary list of words. We must now test them for homogeneity in original works.

Control Material: Metrical Works

In analyzing prose texts we are faced with the dilemma whether to gather our data in the form of occurrences of words per sentence, and so have two variables (occurrence of words and sentence length) which may show some correlation, or, on the contrary, to divide the text up into blocks of even length and record the occurrences of each word in each block. On the face of it the second is preferable, but the greater difficulty in collecting data in that form--it can scarcely be done without recourse to the computer--has to be weighed against it.

This decision was deferred by resorting in the first instance to metrical works. These texts were all in _ślokas_, that is, were already divided into blocks, or sentences if you like, of equal length. A second factor leading to this course was the large number of texts in _ślokas_: we believed a contribution to authorship studies in metrical texts could thereby be made. Finally it is much simpler to collect data from metrical works, since this can be done directly onto mark-sheets, while for prose texts it was necessary to prepare a skeleton text for the computer, which then did the collection. Inaccuracies can be made in mark-sheets, but this can equally occur in preparing and punching a text for the computer, which moreover takes a good deal of time. In the

end, the use of metrical texts had an unexpected bearing on the choice of prose texts.

We wanted, then, texts which were entirely in *ślokas*; which were not commentaries; the single authorship of which we were reasonably assured; of a fair length, to allow us an adequate test of homogeneity within works; and for which satisfactory editions existed. It is very difficult to adhere rigorously to all of these conditions, especially the last, and we shall have more to say on the problem of dealing with badly edited texts.

Three metrical texts were selected. Kalhaṇa's *Rājataraṅgiṇī*[1] was chosen for its all-round excellence, especially its length, and the opportunity it afforded of contrasting its distribution of particles with that of its continuator, Jonarāja.[2] For something more akin to the *Arthaśāstra* in range and subject-matter, we chose the Mānasollāsa ascribed to Someśvara III Cālukya, though perhaps written by one of his *paṇḍits*.[3] Samples were in every case of 300

1. Kalhaṇa's Rājataraṅgiṇī or Chronicle of the Kings of Kashmir, ed. M.A. Stein, vol. 1, Sanskrit Text with Critical Notes, Bombay, 1892. Stein's translation (2 vols., Westminster, 1900) was helpful.

2. The Rājataraṅgiṇī of Kalhaṇa, ed. Durgāprasāda, son of Vrajalāla, vol. 3, containing the supplements to the work of Jonarāja, Śrīvara and Prājyabhaṭṭa, ed. P. Peterson (Bombay S.S. no. LIV) Bombay, 1896.

3. Mānasollāsa of King Someśvara, ed. G.K. Shrigondekar; 3 vols., (Gaekwad's O.S. nos. 28, 84, 139), Baroda, 1925, 1939, 1961.

ślokas; where ornate metres intruded, they were passed over.
Except for the second, each book (taraṅga) of Kalhaṇa provided
a sample, starting with the first śloka of each book. The text
of Jonarāja has no divisions, containing about 1500 ślokas
numbered from beginning to end without interruption. Three
samples were taken, beginning with the verses numbered 2, 500,
and 1000. The five books (vimśatis, 'scores') of the Mānasollāsa
yielded four samples, Book 1 being too short.

Mark sheets were prepared by drawing a grid of 32 columns
running the breadth of a foolscap sheet and 15 rows the length.
The columns were rubricated with the words of our preliminary
list. A stencil was cut to this pattern and some 300 mark-sheets
thus reproduced. Each śloka of each sample was assigned a row,
and the figures for the occurrences of words were entered in the
appropriate cells of the grid. We found it reasonable to do an
hour and a half of such marking a day, first thing in the morning.
Two hours were difficult, and in three, words were overlooked,
columns began to change places, and the work had to be done over.
Thus for getting on two months these mark sheets were our daily
portion. In spite of all precautions, such is the nature of
tedious work, that errors have probably crept in unnoticed; but
we believe that they are not so great or so unevenly distributed
as to significantly affect the result.

We present in Appendix Tables 1 and 2 the distribution of
the words of our preliminary list in the 4200 ślokas or perhaps
70,000 words of text examined in this way. We reserve comment on

them for the present, except to say that serious difficulties appeared in Kalhaṇa due to the presence of large amounts of dialogue in some books, which had important consequences in our choice of prose material. Kalhaṇa will be fully discussed at the end of this chapter.

Control Material: Prose Works

Our original plan had been to use the works of Bāṇa for control material. The stability of rates for words could then be examined not only within and between the Harṣacarita and the Kādambarī, but tested for their ability to distinguish Bāṇa's prose from that of his son Bhūṣaṇa Bhaṭṭa or Bhaṭṭa Pulina, who, in writing the concluding portion of the unfinished Kādambarī, strove no doubt to imitate his father's style. Daṇḍin would furnish a similar opportunity as between the genuine portions of the Daśakumāracarita and one or other of its later supplements. But the evidence from Kalhaṇa, alluded to in the foregoing and fully discussed in the final section, to the effect that dialogue has an upsetting effect on the rates of words, made us abandon this otherwise excellent plan. While ways of overcoming this difficulty may be devised, or other statistical tests unaffected by the presence of dialogue may be found, it seemed the course of wisdom to confine oneself to expository prose.

The works chosen were Somadeva Sūri's Nītivākyāmṛta,[1]

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1. 2 vols. with anon. commentary, ed. Śrīmat Paṇḍita Pannālāla Sonī (Māṇikacandra Digambara Jaina Granthamāla nos. 22 and 34), Bombay, Saṃvat 1979, 1989. Vol. 2 contains important corrections to the first,

an arthaśāstra heavily indebted to the Kauṭilīya, and Gaṅgeśa's
important treatise on logic, Tattvacintāmaṇi.[1] Samples of 300
sentences each were taken. The Nītivākyāmṛta was found to con-
tain 1519 sentences in the edition used, so that the last 19 were
discarded, giving five samples; three samples were taken from
Gaṅgeśa's work, from the beginning of Books (khaṇḍas) 1, 2 and 4,
Book 3 being too short. In all, this amounted to about 20,000
words of text (10,042 for Somadeva, 10,222 for Gaṅgeśa, reflecting
the much longer sentences of the latter).

Our original intention had been to prepare the texts in
full for the computer, so that they might be of use to anyone
wishing to prepare word-indexes of these works and of the Artha-
śāstra. But the complications this plan involved, leading to an
enormous amout of additional labour which would only bear fruit
in a hypothetical future, persuaded us that the plan would delay
the work in hand so much and impose on aur almost unaided efforts
so great a burden as to be impractical. Therefore, with considerable
regret, we took counsel in the maxim, varam adyaḥ kapotaḥ śvo
mayūrāt, 'better a pigeon today than a peacock tomorrow', and
prepared a skeleton text of the samples.

Since were were interested in the words outside our list of
32 anly as counters in drawing up tables of sentence-length and
the like, and not at all in their identity or semantic content,
such words were replaced by an 'X'. Nominal compounds were repres-
ented as a string of contiguous X's corresponding to the number of
members in a compound, to enable us to study the usefulness of

1. Ed. Pt. Kāmākhyānātha Tarkavāgīśa (Bibl. Ind. N.S. nos. 512, etc.),
Calcutta, 1888-1901.

compound-length as a test of authorship. (Proper names were
not counted as compounds.) The words of the preliminary list
were represented as upper case without diacriticals. Thus a
sentence of the skeleton text might look like this:

XX X API NA X X X.

This represents N_ītivākyāmṛta 24.14:

dhana-hīne Kāmadeve 'pi na prītiṃ badhnanti veśyāḥ.
"Courtezans have no affection for a pauper, be he the God
of Love himself."

The skeleton allows us to find that the sentence contains seven
words, one of which is a two-member compound, and two of which
are words of our list. When patterns of holes corresponding to
the characters of the skeleton text are punched in paper tape,
the text is in a form which enables the computer to collect the
data and arrange it in tables.

Use of the computer allowed us to gather data on our prelim-
inary list in two ways and thus base our choice of method on a
comparison of the two: occurrences per sentence and, what would
in itself by impracticable unaided by computer, occurrences per
block of 20 words. In the second method the computer itself
divided up the text into lengths of 20 words, artificial 'sentences'
of equal length. Any remainder after the text was so divided was
ignored, involving a wastage of nine words on average at the end
of each sample, and accounting for occasional discrepancies between

the total number of particles in a given sample as counted by sentences on the one hand, and by 20-word blocks on the other.

The 20-word block method proved the more suitable in two ways. In the first place there is a small but undoubted positive correlation between occurrence of particle and length of sentence. Contingency tables for the occurrence of ca in the five samples of Somadeva and the three of Gaṅgeśa may be found in Table 4.3.

Table 4.3

Sentence-length and occurrence of ca in Somadeva and Gaṅgeśa.

(a) Somadeva

Sentence-length (words)	Ca (occurrences)			
	0	1	2	3
1-	584	36	--	--
6-	602	122	4	1
11-	71	46	2	-
16-	8	8	3	1
21-	4	2	1	--
26-	2	--	1	--
31-	1	--	--	--
36-	--	--	--	--
41-	--	--	--	--
46-	--	--	--	--
51-	--	--	--	--
56 - 61.	-	--	1	--

Table 4.3

Sentence length and occurrence of ca in Somadeva and Gaṅgeśa.

(b) Gaṅgeśa

Sentence-length (words)	Ca (occurrences)					
	0	1	2	3	4	5
1-	215	33	-	-	-	-
6-	149	104	4	-	-	-
11-	98	80	20	2	-	-
16-	27	27	14	3	-	-
21-	21	20	7	2	1	-
26-	9	8	11	3	1	-
31-	1	3	5	6	1	-
36-	3	2	2	1	2	-
41-	-	-	5	2	-	1
46-	-	1	1	-	-	-
51-	-	2	-	-	1	-
56-	-	-	-	-	-	-
61-66.	-	-	2	-	-	-

The correlation coefficient for Somadeva is .341 and .552 for Gaṅgeśa, where a value between 0 and 1 indicates positive correlation. Both these proved extremely significant by Student's t-test (t = 14.0, d.f. = 1498 for Somadeva; t = 19.9, d.f. = 898 for Gaṅgeśa), extremely significant, that is, of a weak correlation, for only a small amount of the variability of the values on

the tables must be ascribed to correlation. The results of an analysis of variance are given in Table 4.4.

Table 4.4

Correlation of ca and sentence-length.

	mean	total variance	regression variance	residual variance
Somadeva				
ca	.163	.160	.019	.141
sentence-length	6.695	13.1	1.5	11.6
Gaṅgeśa				
ca	.564	.633	.193	.440
sentence-length	11.359	85.4	26.1	59.3

This result is no more than one would expect. But sentence-length itself proved extremely variable in Gaṅgeśa, from one sample to the next.

In Table 4.5 we give the sentence-length distribution for the various samples of Somadeva and Gaṅgeśa; it will immediately be apparent that an enormous difference exists between Gaṅgeśa, Book 1, and the two other books. To explain this we need look no farther than to the editor of the text. It is clear to anyone who glances at the text that the wider spacing of the daṇḍas in Books 2 and 3 signifies no change in the natural periods of the

Table 4.5

Sentence-length in Somadeva and Gaṅgeśa, samples of 300 sentences each.

(a) Somadeva

Sentence-length (words)	Sample				
	1	2	3	4	5
1–	139	154	107	121	99
6–	137	124	161	147	160
11–	22	16	24	27	30
16–	—	5	5	3	7
21–	1	—	3	1	2
26–	—	1	—	1	1
31–	1	—	—	—	—
36–	—	—	—	—	—
41–	—	—	—	—	—
46–	—	—	—	—	—
51–	—	—	—	—	—
56 – 61.	—	—	—	—	1

(b) Gaṅgeśa

Sentence-length (words)	1	2	4
1–	108	65	75
6–	103	70	84
11–	59	74	67
16–	17	33	21
21–	9	22	20
26–	1	15	16
31–	3	8	5
36–	—	5	5
41–	—	3	5
46–	—	1	1
51–	—	2	1
56–	—	—	—
61 – 66.	—	2	—

author. The facts presented in Table 4.5 are more revealing of the history of punctuation in printed Sanskrit texts and the failure of editors than of the sentence-length distribution of ancient authors in Sanskrit. (We deal with this matter fully elsewhere.)

The results of this can be disastrous on our study of word-distributions, if we base our calculations on occurrences per sentence. We illustrate this in Table 4.6, where the distribution of ca in sentences as given in the text contrasted with its distribution in 20-word blocks. The discrepancies of the first distribution prove extremely significant by the chi-square test. Those of the second distribution, however, are non-significant. What the first actually measures is the discrepancies in sentence-length.

Table 4.6

Distribution of ca in three samples of Gaṅgeśa's Tattvacintāmaṇi, (a) by sentences, (b) by 20-word blocks. Thus in Book 1, there are 194 sentences with no ca's, 93 with one ca, etc.; and 44 blocks of 20 words with no ca's, 50 with one ca, etc. Note that in (b) the samples are of unequal length.

(a) sentences

	Book 1	2	4	Book 1	2	4
0	194	153	176	44	64	62
1	93	102	85	50	85	77
2	11	31	29	25	38	33
3	2	9	8	7	13	8
4	-	4	2	-	3	2
5+	-	1	-	-	-	-
	300	300	300	126	203	182

$x^2 = 25.3$***
d.f. = 6

$x^2 = 1.63$
d.f. = 6

For these reasons we ignore the distribution of words in sentences in favour of 20-word blocks. One important effect of this is that the samples are no longer of equal length, so that it becomes difficult to interpret them by inspection. But this in no way affects our calculations. The data for Somadeva and Gaṅgeśa may be found in Appendix Table 3.

Testing the Preliminary List

We are now in a position to examine whether the words of our list are evenly distributed within the authors comprising our control material, and to do this we use the chi-square test. This test is of greqt versatility and simplicity. One of its greatest advantages is that it can be applied without first determining the form of the distribution being tested, whether normal, binomial, Poisson or negative binomial, if there is a simple way of calculating the expected values which correspond to the hypothesis one wishes to test. At the same time it has its limitations, and the one which raises practical issues for us is that it tends to exaggerate the significance of variability in small numbers. We therefore follow the usual practice of considering a cell of a contingency table as below the testable level where its expectation is less than five. We then resort to pooling, adding together the cells of our table from the bottom upwards, until an expectation greater than five is achieved. Where pooling is not possible, we regard the data as being below testable level. Pooling is resorted to only to the extent that it is necessary, for the less

pooling, the more detailed the distribution, and the test is thereby more exacting; the number of degrees of freedom is a guide to this. Finally, Yates' correction is applied to 2 x 2 contingency tables, to reduce the error due to the fact that the distribution is discrete. Significance at the 5% level is indicated with an asterisk; at the 1% level with two asterisks; and at the .1% level with three.

Table 4.7 gives the result of these calculations for four authors of the control material (Kalhaṇa is separately dealt with). Seven words failed to occur at testable level in any of these authors (iha, tāvat, yatas, yadā, yāvat, vai, ha); a further ten occurred at testable level in only one author (atas, atra, khalu, cet, tadā, nanu, nāma, punar, yathā, yadi). Clearly these are not suitable for inclusion on the final list; even where, in the second group, non-significant results are achieved, they cannot be regarded as having been given an adequate test. The correlatives yatas...yāvat as a class are unsuitable for this reason, and, in the case of yatra, there is a highly significant result. Choosing the words which appear at the testable level in at least three of the authors, and have no significant results, our list of 32 is reduced to five: eva, evam, ca, tatra and vā.

Since each of the chi-square results for authors in Table 4.7 is independent of the others for the same word, we may add the results to get an over-all measure of reliability. Indeed it is highly important to do so, for a series of high but non-significant results might, when added, prove significant. This is done in the last column of Table 4.7. The five words eva,

Table 4.7

Chi-square results for the distribution of words within authors.

		Jon.	Mān.	Som.	Gaṅg.	Total
1.	atas					
	X^2	–	–	–	.32	.32
	d.f.	–	–	–	2	2
2.	atra					
	X^2	–	–	–	6.68*	6.68*
	d.f.	–	–	–	2	2
3.	atha					
	X^2	5.25	–	–	1.85	7.10
	d.f.	2	–	–	2	4
4.	api					
	X^2	6.61*	3.22	4.62	3.47	17.92
	d.f.	2	3	8	4	17
5.	iti					
	X^2	7.21*	2.30	7.26	21.54***	28.31*
	d.f.	2	3	4	6	15
6.	iva					
	X^2	2.49	24.15***	13.98**	3.13	43.75***
	d.f.	4	3	4	2	13
7.	iha					
	X^2	–	–	–	–	–
	d.f.	–	–	–	–	–
8.	eva					
	X^2	2.96	2.59	1.37	6.19	13.11
	d.f.	2	3	4	4	13
9.	evam					
	X^2	0.89	2.27	–	3.43	6.59
	d.f.	2	3	–	2	7
10.	khalu					
	X^2	–	–	20.92***	–	20.92***
	d.f.	–	–	4	–	4

	Jon.	Mān.	Som.	Gaṅg.	total
11. ca					
x^2	2.91	10.73	7.31	1.63	22.58
d.f.	2	9	8	6	25
12. cet					
x^2	–	–	–	3.81	3.81
d.f.	–	–	–	2	2
13. tatas					
x^2	0.43	20.20***	–	–	20.63***
d.f.	2	3	–	–	5
14. tatra					
x^2	2.69	4.08	–	2.33	9.10
d.f.	2	3	–	2	7
15. tathā					
x^2	2.28	5.24	–	8.26*	15.78*
d.f.	2	3	–	2	7
16. tadā					
x^2	0.06	–	–	–	0.06
d.f.	2	–	–	–	2
17. tāvat					
x^2	–	–	–	–	–
d.f.	–	–	–	–	–
18. tu					
x^2	2.93	13.58***	–	.33	16.84*
d.f.	2	3	–	2	7
19. na					
x^2	8.30	1.70	30.39**	12.44	52.83***
d.f.	4	3	12	6	25
20. nanu					
x^2	–	–	–	5.41	5.41
d.f.	–	–	–	2	2
21. nāma					
x^2	–	–	2.00	–	2.00
d.f.	–	–	4	–	4
22. punar					
x^2	–	–	.38	–	.38
d.f.	–	–	4	–	4

	Jon.	Mān.	Som.	Gaṅg.	total
23. <u>yatas</u>					
X^2	–	–	–	–	–
d.f.	–	–	–	–	–
24. <u>yatra</u>					
X^2	–	–	19.45***	.17	19.62**
d.f.	–	–	4	2	6
25. <u>yathā</u>					
X^2	–	–	–	6.56*	6.56*
d.f.	–	–	–	2	2
26. <u>yadā</u>					
X^2	–	–	–	–	–
d.f.	–	–	–	–	–
27. <u>yadi</u>					
X^2	–	–	–	.64	.64
d.f.	–	–	–	2	2
28. <u>yāvat</u>					
X^2	–	–	–	–	–
d.f.	–	–	–	–	–
29. <u>vā</u>					
X^2	2.28	1.95	5.75	.18	10.16
d.f.	2	3	4	2	11
30. <u>vai</u>					
X^2	–	–	–	–	–
d.f.	–	–	–	–	–
31. <u>ha</u>					
X^2	–	–	–	–	–
d.f.	–	–	–	–	–
32. <u>hi</u>					
X^2	2.06	–	7.26	24.63***	33.95***
d.f.	2	–	4	2	8

<u>evam</u>, <u>ca</u>, <u>tatra</u>, and <u>vā</u> all give non-significant totals. <u>Api</u> although giving a result significant at 5% in Jonarāja, has a non-significant total for chi-square; yet it would be wrong to ignore that warning and include it in the short list on the basis of the total. Better to prune the doubtful words.

Generally speaking, the greater number of degrees of freedom, the more exacting the test, and the more useful the discriminator is likely to be, since it must occur at high frequencies to achieve a high number of degrees of freedom. The words of our short list have a minimum of seven degrees of freedom, and we would expect <u>evam</u> and <u>tatra</u> to prove the least effective discriminators, and <u>ca</u> the best.

Let us see how these words performed in Kalhaṇa.

Particles in Kalhaṇa

Doubts about the usefulness of Kalhaṇa for our study arose in the course of entering the mark-sheets for the <u>Rājataraṅgiṇī</u>; we gained the distinct impression that the passages of dialogue contained rather more particles than the narrative portions. If it were true that these words were distributed at one rate in narrative and at another in dialogue, we could only hope to find homogeneity if each of our samples contained equal amounts of dialogue, which was not the case. Inspection of the distributions (Appendix Table 1) show that Book 3 usually has the highest number of observations and longer tails to the distributions than the others, and to a lesser extent this was true of Book 4 also. As

a rough guide we counted the number of ślokas containing
dialogue and compared them with the total number of particles
of all kinds in both narrative and dialogue, as shown in Table 4.8.

Table 4.8

Dialogue and particles in Kalhaṇa's Rājataraṅgiṇī.

	Bk. 1	3	4	5	6	7	8
ślokas containing dialogue	39	135	90	36	38	11	27
total no. of particles in 300 ślokas	322	435	384	267	319	276	373

Books 3 and 4 do indeed have the highest proportion of
dialogue and the largest number of particles, while Books 5
and 7 have the lowest, although 7 ought to show less particles
than 5.

When chi-square was computed for Kalhaṇa, the results
showed a disappointingly high proportion of significant results,
eight out of sixteen, and we decided to remove the dialogue
portions and recalculate for the remainder. 'Dialogue' is rather
widely defined, to be on the safe side. All direct speech is
included under that term, whether spoken to another or not, and
thoughts in the form of direct speech (such as are, or could be
concluded with iti) were also included. Quotations from previous
writers, however, are allowed as narrative, unless in direct speech
and are anyway so few as to have little effect. If the śloka

contained any dialogue in that sense, however little, it was excised.

In computing chi-square we were faced with the problem that some of the particles fall below testable level when dialogue is removed from the samples. The calculations were made in spite of this, but it must be remembered that such results are rather unreliable and tend to exaggerate the significance of divergence from the expectation. The results may be found in Table 4.9, together with the totals for the other four authors, and for the five together.

We do not expect an improvement in every word of our list by the removal of dialogue, since our previous results show some of the words to be unstable, and others are insufficiently tested. Comparison of columns (a) and (b) of Table 4.9 show the improvements are more or less evenly matched by disimprovements. Taking the five words which previous testing suggested should have regular distributions, two show a marginal increase in the value for chi-square when dialogue is removed (eva, evam), one shows a small decrease (ca), and the remaining two show a substantial decrease (tatra, vā). Tatra and vā, which had significant results became non-significant when dialogue is removed.

Table 4.9

X^2 results for Kalhaṇa, (a) with and (b) without dialogue, with totals for Jonarāja, **Mānasollāsa**, Somadeva and Gaṅgeśa (c). Totals of columns (b) and (c) are found in (d). Only words occurring at testable level in (a) are given. Figures in column (b) enclosed in brackets indicate occurrences fell below the proper testable level.

	(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)
3. atha				
X^2	42.58***	62.47***	7.10	69.57***
d.f.	6	6	4	10
4. api				
X^2	32.63***	26.39***	17.92	44.31**
d.f.	12	6	.7	23
5. iti				
X^2	31.64***	26.99***	28.32*	55.31***
d.f.	6	6	15	21
6. iva				
X^2	16.52*	20.19**	43.75***	63.94***
d.f.	6	6	13	19
8. eva				
X^2	10.12	10.89	13.11	24.00
d.f.	6	6	13	19
9. evam				
X^2	1.62	(1.81)	6.59	8.40
d.f.	6	6	7	13
11. ca				
X^2	7.36	5.80	22.59	28.39
d.f.	6	6	25	31
13. tatas				
X^2	6.82	9.87	20.62***	30.49**
d.f.	6	6	5	11

	(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)
14. <u>tatra</u>				
x^2	16.42*	7.82	9.10	16.92
d.f.	6	6	7	13
15. <u>tathā</u>				
x^2	10.58	(11.82)	15.78*	27.60*
d.f.	6	6	7	13
16. <u>tadā</u>				
x^2	13.62*	(12.57*)	.061	12.63
d.f.	6	6	2	8
18. <u>tu</u>				
x^2	5.66	7.11	16.84*	23.95*
d.f.	6	6	7	13
19. <u>na</u>				
x^2	35.25***	30.43***	52.84***	83.27***
d.f.	6	6	25	31
22. <u>punar</u>				
x^2	9.97	(10.73)	.380	11.11
d.f.	6	6	4	10
25. <u>yathā</u>				
x^2	4.07	(4.47)	6.56*	11.03
d.f.	6	6	2	8
29. <u>vā</u>				
x^2	17.49**	(8.18)	10.16	18.24
d.f.	6	6	11	17

Excursus: A Test of Authorship for Narrative Verse

This discovery of the upsetting effect of dialogue in Kalhaṇa is a disappointing one. Simple excision of dialogue leaves a mutilated text, and it is doubtful whether it would be proper to adopt this as a standard procedure. Moreover in works with large amounts of dialogue the tests would become unworkable, as the discriminators would occur at only very low levels. This would scarcely be of importance if only a handful of narrative works in ślokas existed. But we need only cite the Epics and Purāṇas to show that such works are many and important in Sanskrit literature. The purpose of this excursus is to show that other methods of examining narrative works in ślokas, little affected by the presence of dialogue, exist.

It is well known that different contemporary authors, and authors of different ages, often differ considerably in their choice of metre in the second pāda of the śloka. The preferred choice is everywhere the pathyā form ($^{•}$ - - $^{•}_{-}$), and the four vipulās are the variants mainly resorted to ($^{•}$ $^{•}$ $^{•}$ $^{•}_{-}$;   - $^{•}$ $^{•}$ $^{•}_{-}$;   -, - - $^{•}_{-}$;   - $^{•}$- $^{•}_{-}$). The fourth vipulā almost entirely disappears in the classical authors while it is well-represented in the older strata of the Mahābhārata. There is a tendency too for the proportion of vipulās to pathyās to diminish in the course of time, but there are exceptions to this. There are more exceptions to the preference for the third over the second vipulā attributed to classical authors. The chi-square test is a means of judging the

significance of divergence between distributions of <u>pathyās</u> and
<u>vipulās</u> tabulated for different texts, and by taking account of
the over-all shape of the distribution it allows us to avoid
sepabate calculations for the vipulā ratios (all <u>vipulās</u> : <u>pathyās</u>)
and <u>vipulā</u> preferences (e.g. second to third <u>vipulā</u>) with which
the literature on the subject is laced.

Of the five classical poets, Kālidāsa, Bhāravi, Kumāradāsa,
Māgha, and Bilhaṇa, suppose their works had come to us anonymously.
Woubd we find significant divergences between the two works of
Kālidāsa, <u>Raghuvaṃśa</u> and <u>Kumārasaṃbhava</u>? And, if not, would we
be able to distinguish the five authors from each other? Table
4.10 shows the answer is yes--almost.

The result for the two Kālidāsa works admittedly borders
the 5% level of significance, perhaps attributable to changes in
style with the passage of time. Between the five authors the
<u>śloka</u> proves itself an efficient discriminator, except that it
fails to distinguish Kālidāsa and Bhāravi from Bilhaṇa.

These failures are instructive. In the absense of signif-
icance testing one would be tempted to say that Kālidāsa prefers
the third <u>vipulā</u> to the second, and Bilhaṇa the reverse; or that
Bilhaṇa prefers the first to the third while Kālidāsa treats them
alike. Neither conclusion is warranted by the available data: we
can only say that they do not differ significantly from each other.
Bhāravi and Bilhaṇa have so few <u>vipulās</u>, we had to pool them, forming
a 2 x 2 table, in effect, testing the <u>vipula</u>-ratio, with one degree
of freedom, a procedure which was adequate to distinguish two other

Table 4.10

The śloka as discriminator. The fourth vipulā, occurring once only, was dropped in testing. Where one of the vipulās had occurrences below the testable level, all three vipulās were pooled and contrasted with the pathyā verses.

	Kālidāsa						
	Raghuv.	Kumāras.	total	Bhāravi	Kumāradāsa	Māgha	Bilhaṇ
pathyā	1019	276	1295	225	414	339	391
vipulā I	32	14	46	15	8	47	20
II	18	9	27	8	1	44	10
III	27	14	41	2	1	34	7
IV	0	1	1	0	0	0	0

	x^2	d.f.
Kālidāsa: Raghuvaṃśa & Kumārasambhava	7.72	3
Kālidāsa & Bhāravi	9.71*	3
Kālidāsa & Kumāradāsa	17.5***	3
Kālidāsa & Māgha	117.1***	3
Kālidāsa & Bilhaṇa	4.15	3
Bhāravi & Kumāradāsa	17.1***	1
Bhāravi & Māgha	31.6***	3
Bhāravi & Bilhaṇa	.205	1
Kumāradāsa & Māgha	105.7***	3
Kumāradāsa & Bilhaṇa	15.0***	1
Māgha & Bilhaṇa	52.4***	3

Source: A. Berriedale Keith: A History of Sanskrit Literature, Oxford, 1928, p. 108 (Kālidāsa); pp. 115-6 (Bhāravi's Kirātārjunīya); p. 123 (Kumāradāsa's Jānakīkaraṇa); p. 131 (Magha's Śiśupālavadha); p. 157 (Bilhaṇa's Vikramāṅkadevacarita).

pairs of authors, but not this.

The distribution of <u>pathyā</u> and <u>vipulā</u> is clearly useful in authorship discrimination, provided account is taken of upsetting factors,[1] and the distributions are subject to significance testing.

Discriminating Powers of Particles

To examine the ability of our five particles to distinguish different authors, we first total the distributions within each author, so that within-author variability is eliminated from our test for between-author variability. These totals may be found in Appendix Table 4.

Taking the three metrical works, the result of comparing them in pairs is set out in Table 4.11.

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1. E. Washburn Hopkins has a discussion of these factors in <u>The Great Epic of India</u>, pp. 220-39.

Table 4.11

Discriminating power of particles in three metrical works.

	Kal. & Jon.	Kal. & Mān.	Jon. & Mān.
eva			
x^2	1.98	1.03	3.11
d.f.	1	2	1
evam			
x^2	.01	7.81***	5.95*
d.f.	1	1	1
ca			
x^2	2.90	121.95***	103.29***
d.f.	2	3	3
tatra			
x^2	.10	6.15*	3.14
d.f.	1	1	1
vā			
x^2	1.43	31.47**	10.60**
d.f.	1	2	2

Our tests easily distinguish the Mānasollāsa from Kalhaṇa and Jonarāja. It is, of course, a very different work from the other two, and the tests fail to distinguish the author of the Rājataraṅgiṇī from its continuator. Evidently Jonarāja has succeeded in emulating his predecessor's style in this respect, though it must be remembered that dialogue has been removed from Kalhaṇa before computing chi-square. Still, it is preferable that our tests should sometimes fail to distinguish different authors than that they should mislead us into finding differences in authorship where they do not really exist, and such is the case with the words

of our short list.

Turning to the two prose works, all except _vā_ indicate a highly significant difference in distribution.

Table 4.12

Somadeva and Gaṅgeśa

	x^2	d.f.
eva	115.42***	3
evam	47.25***	1
_ca_	95.63***	3
tatra	57.65***	2
_vā_	1.35	2

The case of _evam_ is instructive, for it does not occur at all in Somadeva, so that we may reject the ascription to Somadeva of any work containing a high proportion of that word. Gaṅgeśa has altogether 55 occurrences in the material used.

Taking metrical and prose works together, _ca_ appears to be the best discriminator, followed by _evam_, _tatra_, _vā_, and _eva_. This may not hold in other cases, however, since we cannot predict in what respect two unknown authors will show the greatest differences.

Testing the Arthaśāstra

In testing the homogeneity of the Arthaśāstra by means of
the five discriminators derived from our examination of the control
material we will wish to treat the books (adhikaraṇas) as if they
were independent treatises in the first instance. Thus, each
sample shall consist of not more than one book. Next, the verses
with which each chapter ends and which occasionally intrude into
the body of the prose must be removed, since distributions of the
discriminators are undoubtedly different as between prose and
verse, and memorial verses are anyway apt to be derivative. Thirdly,
the first chapter of Book 1 must be removed from the remainder, and
considered together with Book 15. The correctness of this procedure
will be obvious when we remember that Arthaśāstra 1.1 contains a
'table of contents' and a reckoning of the number of books, chapters,
topics and 'ślokas' contained in the entire work, and this must
have been the last addition to the Arthaśāstra, if additions there
were, while there is no reason to presuppose that it is integral
to the remainder of Book 1. It is best, therefore, to treat Book
1.2ff. as if it were composed independently from its first chapter.
As for Book 15, since in illustrating the various types of argument
employed it refers to and therefore presupposes the existence of
the entire work, it, too, must be part of the final layer, assuming
there are strata of different age. Finally, since in the table of
contents in 1.1, Book 15 is referred to, and itself refers to 1.1
in two of its illustrations (15.1.5, 7), it is reasonable to suppose
that 1.1 and Book 15 were composed by one person. Unfortunately

these two are too short for statistical analysis, and even if they were not, it may be doubted whether it would be appropriate to study distributions of words in texts of such a special character. It is important, however, to disengage 1.1 from the remainder of Book 1, before testing the latter.

These considerations give us 14 samples, each comprising one of the 14 books. But three of the books, the second, third and seventh, are long enough to permit them to be divided up into two or more samples, and to test for homogeneity within books before comparing one book with another. It is convenient to divide each of these books into samples containing an equal number of sentences, which make them os somewhat different length when measured in terms of 20-word blocks, with the wastage of about 9 words at the end of samples which is unavoidable in following this method. Book 2 is thus divided into four samples, and Books 3 and 7 into two each, samples in every case amounting to 295 sentences or more.

The distributions for the five words may be found in Appendix Tables 5 (dealing with the three long books) and 6 (all books).

Books 2, 3 and 7

The results of testing within Books 2, 3 and 7 are set out in Table 4.13.

Table 4.13

Chi-square results within three books of the Arthaśāstra.

	Book 2	Book 3	Book 7
eva			
x^2	3.98	.00	.12
d.f.	3	1	1
evam			
x^2	—	—	.00
d.f.	—	—	1
ca			
x^2	8.67	3.49	3.26
d.f.	9	3	2
tatra			
x^2	—	—	—
d.f.	—	—	—
vā			
x^2	8.91	.33	15.57**
d.f.	6	3	4

Evam and tatra are of little use because of their low rate of occurrence. Books 2 and 3 give us no reason to suppose that they are not homogeneous within themselves. The only significant result is that for vā between the two halves of Books 7, which shows a divergence which would arise through sampling of a randomly distributed characteristic in somewhat less than one case in two hundred. This is rather puzzling since the other discriminators are non-significant, and if the variability of vā reflects a change in authorship, we should expect some of the discriminators

to show significant divergences, too; nor does the content of Book 7 arouse suspicions of contamination. The actual distributions are as under.

Table 4.14

Distribution of **vā** in 20-word blocks in **Arthaśāstra**, Book 7.

vā (occurrences)	Bk. 7a	Bk. 7b
0	36	52
1	44	35
2	28	18
3	22	6
4	4	9
5	1	-

In computing chi-square the cells for no occurrences per 20-word block contribute about 5, and those for three occurrences about 7 toward the total of 15.57, reflecting the fewer blocks with no occurrences and the greater number with three in the first half of the book. **Vā** occurs at the very high rate of 7% in the first sample, but drops to some 5% in the second; yet it remains the commonest word in the book, exceeding its rates in Books 2 and 3 (3 and 4%). Typical of the style of Book 7 is the construction 'Yadi vā paśyet...vā...vā...' ('Or if he were to find that this is the situation, or that, or that...') or cognate expressions in which a series of different circumstances are described, followed

by a recommended course of action in the optative, which leads
to clusters of vā's in a single sūtra. An extreme case is 7.1.32,
in which 12 vā's occur in a single sentence. That the use of
this construction tends to fall off, or becomes less extravagant
of vā's as the book progresses, may have nothing to do with author-
ship. We incline to regard this as one of those 'outrageous
events' which the statistician is bound to meet from time to time,
and to place more confidence in the unity of the book itself and
the homogeneous distributions of the other discriminators. "A
crow lights under a plam tree; a palm fruit falls." Not all contin-
gencies are casually related, nor all unusual events significant.

Turning now to between-book variability, we lump the figures
within books to eliminate within-book variability and test for
significance between pairs. There are no grounds on which we can
decide whether the 'true' distribution of vā for the author of
Book 7 is better approximated by the first or the second half,
but once it is agreed that we have here to do with only a single
author, the true distribution ought to fall between the two
extremes and lumping should give us an improved estimate of the
population distribution. (Consult Appendix Table 2 for the figures.)

Chi-square results are given in the following table.

Table 4.15

Chi-square results between three books of the Arthaśāstra, by pairs.

	Bks. 2 & 3	2 & 7	3 & 7
eva			
x^2	10.43**	1.53	2.73
d.f.	1	1	1
evam			
x^2	-	2.60	4.85*
d.f.	-	1	1
ca			
x^2	28.65***	74.17***	9.60*
d.f.	4	4	3
tatra			
x^2	.59	.00	.25
d.f.	1	1	1
vā			
x^2	13.26**	46.93**	12.41*
d.f.	3	4	4

The variability between books is of altogether a different order from within-book variability. In spite of the poor discriminating ability of three of the words (eva, evam, tatra), the overall picture is one of great divergence between the three books. Even that between Books 3 and 7, which may, at first, appear modest, is very considerable when one considers how unlikely it is that several events, themselves unlikely, should coincide. If it were permissible to add the chi-square results for the different words (as it is not, since the words are not quite independent of each other), the probability would be of the order of one

out of a thousand cases. This may be a higher probability than that expressed in the _mahārṇava-yuga-cchidra-kūrma-grīvārpaṇa-nyāya_, the chance that a tortoise (which is said to surface once in a hundred years) would put his head through a yoke floating about on the ocean, but it nevertheless represents a degree of certainty enormously greater than that with which the historian of ancient India usually contents himself.

We conclude from this that three hands are discernible in the _Arthaśāstra_: one of them responsible for Book 2, dealing with the internal administration of the kingdom, one responsible for Book 3, a kind of _dharma-smṛti_ dealing with law, and the third responsible for Book 7, concerning the struggle for power between states. That the divergences noted are not due to subject-matter we believe we have already demonstrated.

The Remaining Books

What of the remaining books? We give in Table 4.16 the chi-square results when each of Books 2, 3 and 7 are compared with each of the others. One of the problems besetting the inter-pretation of these results is that of sample size, for it is likely that while words may be evenly distributed in large samples, this is not true in detail, so that the author's characteristic pattern cannot emerge when the sample is small. A sample of 2000 words, or 100 20-word blocks, should surely be sufficient; less than 1000 may be too few. Apart from the three long books, only Books 1, 4 and 9 contain more than 2000 words, with Book 5 just under this

figure at 1860 words. Books 6 and 10 with 420 and 440 words are on the other hand probably too short for us to reach any firm conclusion about their affiliation with other books, and Book 14, with just over a thousand , is perhaps a border-line case.

Looking first at Book 2, the chi-square results offer grave objections to linking it with any other book except for Book 8 (where the results for $v\bar{a}$ borders on significance at 5%) and Book 1, where the divergences are non-significant except for evam, with a probability of perhaps three cases in a hundred. Both Books 1 and 8 yield highly significant results when compared with Books 3 and 7, and, on the principle that it is preferable not to multiply sources beyond need, we could initially consider Books 1, 2 and 8 as forming the work of a single author.

Turning now to the affiliations of Book 3, it appears that Book 4 belongs to it, since both Books 2 and 7 reject it. Book 5 shows a slightly significant divergence in respect of $v\bar{a}$ when compared with Book 3, and the same for eva and ca, when compared with Book 7, though it clearly cannot be grouped with Book 2. Books 6 and 11 are too short to reach any conclusion, also perhaps Book 14. Of the rest, objections to grouping Book 3 with any other appear in every case but Book 10.

As for Book 7, it stands apart from Books 1, 2, 3, 4 and perhaps 5. The result for the short Book 6 must be indecisive. Book 8, strangely, is rejected. Book 9 probably belongs to it, and Book 10 may do so, in spite of a slightly significant result for $v\bar{a}$.

Table 4.16

Chi-square results comparing each of Artha$\acute{s}\bar{a}$stra Books 2, 3 and 7 with the remaining Books.

(a) Book 2:

	Bk. 1	4	5	6	8	9
eva						
x^2	.00	5.05*	16.02***	—	—	.13
d.f.	1	1	1	—	—	1
evam						
x^2	4.37*	—	—	—	—	—
d.f.	1	—	—	—	—	—
ca						
x^2	4.80	24.02***	15.41**	9.70**	2.20	37.12***
d.f.	4	3	3	3	3	3
tatra						
x^2	.00	7.90	—	—	.87	.46
d.f.	1	1	—	—	1	1
vā						
x^2	6.07	24.42***	37.65***	.00	5.63	27.86***
d.f.	3	3	3	1	2	3

	Bk. 10	11	12	13	14
eva					
x^2	—	—	—	1.34	—
d.f.	—	—	—	1	—
evam					
x^2	—	—	—	—	—
d.f.	—	—	—	—	—
ca					
x^2	14.68**	12.67**	19.75***	24.77***	32.16***
d.f.	3	4	3	3	3
tatra					
x^2	—	—	—	—	—
d.f.	—	—	—	—	—
vā					
x^2	1.80	13.43**	66.18***	43.24***	2.41
d.f.	2	2	3	3	2

Table 4.16

(b) Book 3

	Bk. 1	4	5	6	8	9
eva						
x^2	5.74*	.13	1.17	--	2.93	3.02
d.f.	1	1	1	--	1	1
evam						
x^2	6.78**	--	--	--	--	--
d.f.	1	--	--	--	--	--
ca						
x^2	11.32**	2.83	4.19	1.62	5.11	5.43
d.f.	3	3	3	2	3	3
tatra						
x^2	.41	--	--	--	--	1.87
d.f.	1	--	--	--	--	1
vā						
x^2	24.97***	5.26	11.13*	1.33	16.57***	10.90*
d.f.	3	3	3	1	2	3

	Bk. 10	11.	12	13	14
eva					
x^2	1.03	--	3.40	.53	1.34
d.f.	1	--	1	1	1
evam					
x^2	--	--	--	--	--
d.f.	--	--	--	--	--
ca					
x^2	.44	1.63	1.30	13.21**	7.99*
d.f.	2	2	2	3	2
tatra					
x^2	--	--	--	--	--
d.f.	--	--	--	--	--
vā					
x^2	1.56	7.82*	32.75***	18.77***	.29
d.f.	2	2	3	3	2

Table 4.16

(c) Book 7:

	Bk. 1	4	5	6	8	9
eva						
x^2	.85	.82	5.87*	–	.35	.11
d.f.	1	1	1	–	1	1
evam						
x^2	.16	1.99	1.32	–	–	.60
d.f.	1	1	1	–	–	1
ca						
x^2	32.82***	12.68**	6.07*	.01	16.04***	5.86
d.f.	3	2	2	1	2	3
tatra						
x^2	.00	–	–	–	–	.58
d.f.	1	–	–	–	–	1
vā						
x^2	45.15***	1.25	1.23	5.19*	32.33***	4.37
d.f.		4	3	2	3	4

	Bk. 10	11	12	13	14
eva					
x^2	.00	–	.63	.02	–
d.f.	1	–	1	1	–
evam					
x^2	–	–	–	–	–
d.f.	–	–	–	–	–
ca					
x^2	3.36	.00	.21	14.68**	4.91
d.f.	2	1	2	3	2
tatra					
x^2	–	–	–	–	–
d.f.	–	–	–	–	–
vā					
x^2	8.63*	4.24	14.90**	6.62	5.25
d.f.	3	2	4	3	3

Books 12 and 13 are rejected by each of Books 2, 3 and 7, and may well form a group of their own, representing a fourth hand in the Arthaśāstra.

To summarize the results: The separate authorship of Books 2, 3 and 7 is well established. When it comes to grouping the remaining books around those three, the interpretation of the results becomes less obvious. It is conceivable that Books 1 and 2 belong together, both from the statistical results as well as from the fact of their contiguity and the similarity of subject matter. To add Book 8 to that group, however, would make less sense since it is neither contiguous nor is it obvious that its subject (vices or calamities) fits in well with the first two (ministers and overseers). It is stylistically unique in the extent to which it employs the polemical technique, which is rare is Book 1 and almost absent from Book 2. Books 3 and 4 (law and crime) clearly form the core of a second group, to which Book 5 ('secret conduct') might logically be added. Book 6 would perhaps be put in a third group with Book 7, to which it serves as a preface, but could also for the same reason be a later composition added by the compiler. The third group, then, whose general subject is interstate relations, would consist of Books 7, 9 and 10. Books 12 and 13 form a fourth group of miscellaneous subjects under the heading of interstate relations, to which one would be inclined to add Books 11 and 14.

CHAPTER 5:   SENTENCE-LENGTH AND COMPOUND-LENGTH

Sentence-length

One feels that length of sentence characterizes the style of a writer. This author prefers the immediacy of short, staccato sentences; that author, the polished and languid style of long periods with frequent appositions, subordinate clauses, and parenthetical phrases. Sentence-length is, moreover, easily measured (or so it seems, at first glance), and the studies of Yule, Wake and Morton[1] provided reason to believe that it could be a useful test of authorship in Sanskrit. We decided to investigate the matter.

Sentence-length distributions characteristically form a unimodal curve, positively skew, often with a long, thin tail. Their shape can be summarized (following Yule) by calculating the first quartile (Q_1), a measure of short sentences; the median, a measure of the central tendency; the third quartile (Q_3), measure of the longer sentences; and the ninth decile (D_9), a measure of the longest sentences. (Yule also gives the interquartile distance, $Q_1 - Q_3$, as a measure of the central spread.) We give these quantiles for sentence-length distributions in Somadeva in Table 5.1.

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1.   Cited above, ch. 3.

Table 5.1

Quantiles of the sentence-length distributions in Somadeva in words.

	Sample 1	2	3	4	5
Q_1	3.20	2.93	4.00	3.60	4.28
Median	5.91	5.37	6.93	6.82	7.09
Q_3	8.64	8.36	8.66	9.03	9.44
D_9	10.48	10.17	10.91	10.87	12.33

Since the methods for calculating these quantiles is only approximate, and that of calculating their standard errors is even more so, they do not form a very satisfactory basis for significance testing. Yet they serve to illustrate the considerable divergence which exists between Sample 2 at one extreme and Sample 5 at the other, in every part of the distributions.

Grouped sentence-length distributions for Somadeva (as well as Gangeśa) have been given in Table 4.5, above. Calculating for chi-square from this table yields a highly significant result, well beyond the .1% level ($X^2 = 35.09$ at 12 d.f.).

This result is confirmed by comparison of means and variances. (These have been calculated from the ungrouped data.)

Table 5.2

Means and variances for sentence-length distributions in Somadeva.
n = number of sentences.

	Sample 1	2	3	4	5
n	300	300	300	300	300
mean	6.17	6.14	7.10	6.74	7.29
variance	11.22	9.93	10.59	10.04	19.24

Standard error of the difference in means (σ w) is given by:

$$\sigma_w = \sqrt{\frac{S_i^2}{i} + \frac{S_j^2}{j}}$$

where S^2 is the variance, n the size of sample, and the subscripts
i, j denote the two different samples. Calculating for the two
extremes, Samples 2 and 5, we find the standard error of the differ-
ence is .312, with a difference in means of 1.15, or 3.69 standard
errors. Referring this to tables of the areas of the normal curve,
we find a probability of slightly more than .0001 or one case in
10,000 of so great a difference arising through sampling variation.
Computing the variance ratio, F, where

$$F = \frac{\text{greater variance estimate}}{\text{lesser variance estimate}}$$

we achieve a highly significant value at 1.95 (d.f. = 299, 299).
By all the tests we conclude that sentence-length distributions

in Somadeva can by no means be regarded as homogeneous.

Turning to Gaṅgeśa, the quantiles are given in the following table:

Table 5.3

Quantiles of the sentence-length distributions in Gaṅgeśa.

	Book 1	2	4
Q_1	3.97	6.21	5.50
Median	7.54	11.53	9.96
Q_3	11.69	17.92	15.43
D_9	15.50	27.50	26.44

As we have previously remarked, there is a large difference between the distribution for Book 1, and those for Books 2 and 4. Chi-square for all three books is highly significant at 58.23 with 12 degrees of freedom.

Means and variances are given in Table 5.4.

Table 5.4

Means and variances for sentence-length distributions in Gaṅgeśa.

	Book 1	2	4
n	300	300	300
mean	8.52	13.67	12.42
variance	33.64	110.04	93.70

For Books 1 and 2 the means lie 3.09 standard errors apart, a highly significant divergence; and the F-test shows a highly significant divergence in the variances of the two books (F = 3.27, d.f. = 299, 299).

Agreement between Books 2 and 4, on the other hand, is fairly good. The chi-square result for the grouped sentence-length distributions of Table 4.5 is 5.89 at 8 degrees of freedom. The means for the two books are 1.5 standard errors distant which, at about the 7% level is not too bad. The variance ratio is also non-significant (F = 1.17).

This should serve as a warning against too facile an acceptance of sentence-length as a test of authorship in ancient texts. For it would be absurd to conclude that Samples 2 and 5 of Somadeva, for instance, have different authors, or that the author of Gaṅgeśa Book 1, is different from the author of Books 2 and 4.

To determine the lengths of sentences we have simply counted the number of words between daṇḍas. Now the use of the daṇḍa in verse was regularized before its use in prose, if indeed it can ever be said to have regularized in prose. The Girnar rescension of the Aśokan edicts employ daṇḍas very haphazardly, to separate phrases, but not throughout in the Gupta inscriptions daṇḍas are fully established in verse and common but not obligatory in prose.[1]

1. See Georg Bühler, Indische Palaeographie, trans. Fleet, in IA 33, Appendix.

A glance through Sircar's <u>Select Inscriptions</u> shows that a modern
editor's view of where the <u>daṇḍas</u> belong often conflict with the
person—whether the <u>praśastikāra</u> or the engraver—responsible for
the <u>daṇḍas</u> in epigraphs. The judgement of two different editors
may diverge to a considerable extent: Kangle's text of the <u>Artha-
śāstra</u>, for example, contains about 22% fewer <u>daṇḍas</u> than does
the Jolly-Schmidt edition.[1] Even the work of one editor may show
inconsistencies from one end of a text to the other, and it is
to this, coupled with the inconsistencies introduced by copyists
and allowed to stand, that the divergences in sentence-length
distributions noted in Somadeva and Gaṅgeśa are most probably to
be attributed. If one consults the printed text of Gaṅgeśa, for
instance, one will find that in Book 1 where a hypothetical construc-
tion beginning with <u>cet</u> is rebutted with <u>na</u>, that <u>na</u> is more often
than not regarded as a one-word sentence with <u>daṇḍas</u> either side;
whereas in Book 2 and the later books it is often treated as a
phrase and enclosed in commas. Thus the <u>daṇḍas</u> in Gaṅgeśa do not
accurately reflect the natural periods of the prose; rather, they
mask it.

_____

1. Kangle, Part 3, p. 21: about 5370 '<u>sūtras</u>' in his text, 6880
in Jolly-Schmidt, including verses, where the position of the
<u>daṇḍas</u> is fixed by useage, so that the difference in the prose
is even greater than calculated.

The danda was the only mark of punctuation available to
ancient Indian writers and so was called to serve a variety of
purposes besides ending sentences. In the printed texts which
have appeared in thelast two centuries, a few of the roman punc-
tuation marks have been admitted with the wholly noble intent of
making them easier to read. The unfortunate result for our type
of study is that practices have not become standard, either with
regard to the number of permitted marks, or their permitted func-
tions. If the danda were confined to the functions of the full-
stop and were intelligently inserted by editors, the sentence-
length test would be much easier to apply.

This does not wholly eliminate the problem, however, for
even in classical texts which have been the subject of critical
editorial attention for many generations, the practices of different
editors may still show considerable divergence. In modern texts
where we can be confident that the punctuation is the work of the
author and not of copyists or editors, we have personal idosyncracy
to cope with; only the foolhardy or the mad would attempt a study
of sentence-length distributions in Tristram Shandy, for example.
In all studies of sentence-length, in any language, then, what
constitutes a sentence must be given careful thought; and in many,
editorial decisions will have to be made while making the counts
or preparing the text for computer. This is unfortunate since it
requires greater attention and time, and subjects the outcome of a
sentence-length study to the skill and honesty of the scholar doing
the counting, but it cannot be avoided.

We do not pursue sentence-length further, but turn now to compound-length.

Compound-length

It is a matter of common knowledge among indologists that Sanskrit authors differ in the extent to which they use nominal compounds, and especially in the lengths of their compounds. Some authors (and some genres of literature) will favour the crispness and directness of a style which uses only a few, short compounds, and will employ the common compound which scarcely seems a coumpound, but will rarely coin a nonce-compound; others, preferring the ornate and convoluted, will build great compounds as easily as a hot summer's day will pile up cumulous clouds. Sanskrit permits the writer enormous scope for compounding, perhaps more than any other language. And it is only reasonable to presume that if compounding can be measured, it may form a basis on which personal styles may be statistically distinguished.

In compiling tables of compound-length distributions, we have counted the number of separate words or 'members' in each nominal compound; thus each compound has two or more members. We have not distinguished nityasamāsas such as artha-śāstra from those made up for the occasion and never used again; arthaśāstra is entered as a two-member compound along with the rest, though proper names are everywhere treated as simple words. We have analysed each compound into as many component members as it can be made to yield regarding, for example, itihāsa as a three-member

compound consisting of the words _iti_ + _ha_ + _āsa_ after the usual etymology, excepting only _a_-privative and the prefixes of verbal derivatives, and resolving compounds within compounds to their component parts. Compounds were not further classified by type, such as _bahuvrīhi_, etc. If this procedure seems to ride roughshod over many nice grammatical distinctions, it seemed to us the only practical course, at least for a first attempt such as this. To follow any other would be to risk having the counting process get stuck in a morass of indecision.

Compound-length distributions for the five samples from Somadeva and the three from Gaṅgeśa are given in Table 5.5.

Table 5.5

Compound-length distributions in Somadeva and Gaṅgeśa.

(a) Somadeva

Members	Sample 1	2	3	4	5
2	307	326	355	313	435
3	100	76	102	84	97
4	28	30	32	18	26
5	12	12	7	9	13
6	4	4	3	2	7
7	3	4	5	3	8
8	2	3	1	1	-
9	1	1	1	-	-
10	1	2	1	-	1
11	-	-	1	-	1
....					
14	1	-	-	-	-
....					
42	-	1	-	-	-
total	459	459	508	430	588

Table 5.5

(b) Gaṅgeśa

Members	Bk. 1	2	4
2	431	644	602
3	185	323	271
4	70	111	104
5	15	48	46
6	11	29	18
7	6	14	15
8	—	5	4
9	1	6	2
10	—	3	3
11	—	2	1
12	—	1	—
....			
16	—	—	1
total	719	1186	1067

Agreement among the five samples of Somadeva as measured by chi-square is very good (x^2 = 18.00, d.f. = 16); that within Gaṅgeśa is not so good, just reaching the 5% significance level (x^2 = 18.75, d.f. = 10). The improvement over the sentence-length distributions, in any case, is enormous, and we have reason to be encouraged.

Comparison of means and variances, on the other hand, is distinctly discouraging.

Table 5.6

Means and variances for compound-length distributions in Somadeva and Gangeśa.

(a) Somadeva

		n	mean	variance
Sample	1	459	2.57	1.391
	2	459	2.63	4.730
	3	508	2.50	1.120
	4	430	2.41	.716
	5	588	2.46	1.102

(b) Gangeśa

		n	mean	variance
Book	1	719	2.63	.963
	2	1086	2.74	1.798
	4	1067	2.80	1.686

In Somadeva the extremes for both means and variances are represented by Samples 2 and 4. The means of these two samples lie 2.02 standard errors apart with a probability of about 4.5% (for two tails). The variance ratio is highly significant at 6.61 (458, 429 d.f.). For Gangeśa the means of the samples from Books 1 and 4 are 3.12 standard errors distant, with a probability of about two cases in a thousand. The variance

ratio for the two extremes, Books 1 and 2, is again significant, though not so large as that for Somadeva (F = 1.87, d.f. - 1085, 718).

The reason for the differing verdicts of the chi-square test and comparison of means and variances is not far to seek. The compound-length distributions from time to time show outliers at a considerable distance from the body of the distribution, or, in other words, the occasional very long compound makes an appearance. They are in almost every case dvandvas, and one way of eliminating this effect would be simply to exclude all compounds of this type. These outliers increase the means slightly and the variances a great deal. In the second sample from Somadeva, for instance, a single compound of 42 members contributes about 3.4 to the total variance of 4.7. The necessity for pooling where the expectation falls below 5 in chi-square testing damps down and indeed even eliminates the distorting effect of these outliers. In computing chi-square for Somadeva, compounds of six members or more were lumped together, in Gaṅgeśa compounds of seven members or more. It is usually judged that the need to pool and thus foreshorten the tails of distributions, making chi-square a less sensitive test, is a disadvantage; in this case, it is probably an improvement over other tests.

Clearly compound-length cannot be regarded as a safe discriminator without further investigation into its nature and without more testing in control material. We go on to consider compound-length in the Arthaśāstra with the understanding that it is not

to be taken as sure or settled, and must be evaluated in conjunction with the results of other kinds of tests.

The distributions may be found in Appendix Table 7. Taking the three long books first and computing chi-square within and between books we arrive at the results shown in the following table:

Table 5.7

Chi-square results for compound-length distributions within and between Books 2, 3 and 7 of the Arthaśāstra.

	x^2	d.f.
Book 2	33.41*	21
3	3.06	5
7	8.63	4
2 & 3	24.87**	8
2 & 7	32.81***	6
3 & 7	9.14	6

This agrees quite well with the results for word distributions,[1] except that the four samples of Book 2 give a result just at the 5% level, occasioned chiefly by a thick tail in 2a, and comparison of Books 3 and 7 yields a non-significant result. Book 2 in any case is very different from Books 3 and 7, supporting our conclu-

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1. See above, Tables 4.13 and 4.14.

sion of difference in authorship.

The results comparing the long books singly with the remaining ones are given in Table 5.8.

How do these results affect our conclusions as to groups of books within the Arthaśāstra, arrived at on the basis of word distributions?[1] In the first place the possible association of Books 1 and 2 looks less likely in view of a significant result for compound-length, though we may note that again the tail of the distribution is the seat of the trouble, if we may be pardoned the expression. The same cannot be said for the significant difference in compound-length between Books 3 and 4, on other grounds the most hopeful of combinations, though 3 and 5 may be considered homogeneous. There is no change in the conclusions regarding Book 7, and in particular its association with Book 9 is the most thoroughly tested in the Arthaśāstra.

Compound-length may prove to be a useful test of authorship in Sanskrit, but as we say it needs more study.

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1. See above, Table 4.16.

Table 5.8

Chi-square results for compound-length distributions, comparing each of Arthaśāstra Books 2, 3 and 7 with the remaining books.

(a) Book 2:

	Bk. 1	4	5	6	8	9
x^2	20.02**	22.90**	6.92	2.81	16.09*	25.14***
d.f.	7	7	6	3	6	6

	Bk. 10	11	12	13	14
x^2	20.16**	2.11	9.60*	15.23**	32.94***
d.f.	5	3	4	5	5

(b) Book 3:

	Bk. 1	4	5	6	8	9
x^2	13.67*	19.50**	6.87	6.09	8.71	10.81
d.f.	6	6	5	3	5	5

	Bk. 10	11	12	13	14
x^2	19.82**	.24	1.00	19.67**	61.84***
d.f.	5	2	3	5	5

(c) Book 7:

	Bk. 1	4	5	6	8	9
x^2	18.20**	19.64**	10.03*	6.86	7.04	2.69
d.f.	6	6	4	3	4	4

	Bk. 10	11	12	13	14
x^2	20.62***	.37	1.90	20.97***	78.36***
d.f.	4	2	4	4	4

CHAPTER 6: THE ARTHAŚĀSTRA, BHĀRUCI AND MEDHĀTITHI

In 1965 Dr. Dieter Schlingloff published an important study
of the parallel passages in the Arthaśāstra and one of the earliest
extant commentators on Manu, Medhātithi.[1] Schlingloff found altog-
ether 19 passages common to the two texts, which he published in
his article in parallel columns with a wealth of annotation giving
variant readings and parallels in other works, such as the Kāmanda-
kīya Nītisāra and Somadeva's Nītivākyāmṛta, thus completing the
works begun by J. Jolly.[2]

The importance of Schlingloff's study lies not so much in his
conclusions regarding the relative purity of the textual tradition
by which the Arthaśāstra has been handed down to us, the corruptions
to which the text of Medhātithi has been subject, and the improved
readings for Medhātithi which a comparison with the Arthaśāstra
affords, important as these are: it consists rather in the startling

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1. "Arthaśāstra-Studien" in Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde

Süd- und Ostasiens 9, 1965, p. 1 ff.

2. "Kollektaneen zum Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra" (ZDMG 68, 1914, p. 345 ff
69, 1915, p. 369 ff.) gives extensive parallels in various works;
the relation with Medhātithi is noted in "Textkritische Bemerkungen
zum Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra", ZDMG 70, 1916, pp. 547-54; 71, 1917,
pp. 227-39; 414-28; 72, 1918, pp. 209-23.

conclusion he reaches concerning the relation of the two texts,

namely, that Medhātithi has not drawn on the <u>Arthaśāstra</u> itself,

but from an earlier <u>arthaśāstra</u> source on which the author of the

<u>Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra</u> also drew. This proceeds from the assumption

that citations tend to be word for word, or at least, when the

author quotes from memory, he does not alter the sense of his

original, much less contradict it.[1] 'Reworkings' (Bearbeitungen)

such as those of Kāmandaka and Somadeva are explicitly excluded

from the jurisdiction of this assumption. Since, then, in the

passages common to the <u>Arthaśāstra</u> and Medhātithi there are to be

found differences of word order, juxtapositions of ideas, differ-

ences of content and even contradictions, Medhātithi cannot have

drawn from the <u>Arthaśāstra</u> itself, but rather from the tradition

on which the latter depends. The similarities in the passages,

however, show that the <u>Arthaśāstra</u> was constructed of the same

materials.[2] Although he does not say so, we must infer that

Schlingloff views Medhātithi as preserving passages from this

'Arthaśāstra-Quelle' more or less in their original form and the

author of the <u>Kauṭilīya</u> as having changed or reworked them, standing

in a relation to it similar to Kāmandaka or Somadeva's relation to

---

1. Schlingloff, p. 25: "Zitate jedoch pflegen wörtlich zu sein,

oder doch zumindest -- wenn der Autor aus dem Gedächtnis zitiert --

ihrem Sinne nach nicht von dem zitierten Text abzuweichen oder

diesem gar zu widersprechen."

2. Schlingloff, p. 31.

the Arthaśāstra itself.

Not long before Schlingloff's article appeared Professor
J.D.M. Derrett published parallel passages from the Arthaśāstra,
Medhātithi and an earlier commentary on Manu, the Manuśāstravivaraṇa
of Bhāruci, a manuscript of which had recently been discovered in
the University of Travancore, for the text of which Professor
Derrett is preparing an edition and translation.[1] Of the five
passages common to the three texts presented in this paper, four
corresponded to four passages of the 19 published by Schlingloff,
the other one having been overlooked by the latter since it has
inadvertently been omitted from Jha's text of Medhātithi. It
appeared, then, that the picture was somewhat changed, for it is
certain that the Vivaraṇa is earlier than Medhātithi's Manubhāṣya,
and that the text of the Vivaraṇa which we have, fragmentary though
it is (it begins with the concluding parts of Manu, Book 6), is the
same work which Medhātithi had before him and which he often drew
from and sometimes named.[2] But the picture was not greatly altered:
if Medhātithi got some of his arthaśāstra material from Bhāruci,
the bulk of it came from elsewhere, or so it seemed when Schling-

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1. "A Newly-discovered Contact between Arthaśāstra and Dharmaśāstra:
the Role of Bhārucin" in ZDMG 115, 1965, p. 134 ff.

2. Derrett, p. 141, fn. 20: Professor Derrett has collected other
such references which will be included in the notes to the text and
translation, to be published by the Centre du sud-est asiatique,
University of Brussels.

loff appended a note to his article, taking into account the

recently-published information of Derrett in the following stemma:[1]

arthaśāstra-source

Bhāruci ? Kauṭilīya
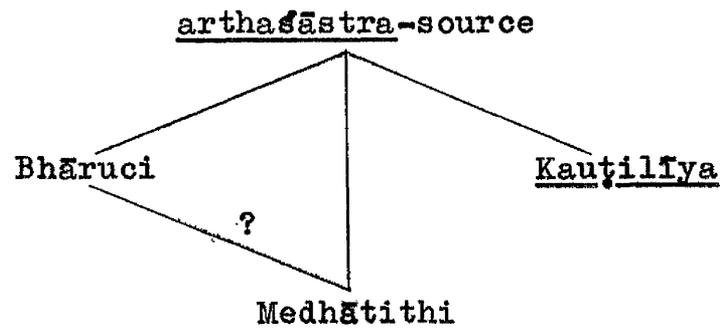
Medhātithi

It seemed to us strange that Medhātithi should draw some of

his arthaśāstra material from Bhāruci, but not all. Accordingly,

and thanks to the kind loan of a Roman transcript of Bhāruci on

Manu, Book 7, by Professor Derrett, we searched for other Arthaśāstra-

Bhāruci-Medhātithi parallels.

The search was simple with the extensive work of Schlingloff

before us; we quickly found that all but six of Schlingloff's Artha-

śāstra-Medhātithi correspondences are also represented in Bhāruci,

and two more which Schlingloff had not found besides. The picture

changes again.

We present below the twenty-one extracts, in order of their

appearance in Bhāruci and Medhātithi. For the Arthaśāstra we use

Kangle's text and his notes thereon in which D represents the

recently discovered Devanāgari manuscript, G_1 that on which Shama-

sastry based his edition, G_2 the transcript of a manuscript used

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1. Schlingloff, p. 38.

for the Jolly-Schmidt edition ($G = G_1$, G_2), M_1 the manuscript chiefly used by Ganapati Sastri for his text according to Kangle ($M = M_1$, M_2, M_3) and T a manuscript in Telegu characters. D is a northern manuscript, the other southern; the various commentaries are given as Cb, Cj, Cn, Cnn, Cp, and Cs, the last being Ganapati Sastri's Śrīmūla; the Jolly-Schmidt edition is referred to as 'p'. For Bhāruci the text is Derrett's Roman transcript of a Devanāgarī copy of the original in Malayālam script. For Medhātithi the text is that of Ganganatha Jha[1] with variants supplied from the editions of V.N. Mandalik (Mand.)[2] and Jagannath R. Gharpure[3] (Ghar.) and Jha's notes on Gharpure's text which preceded his own edition of the text (Jha (Notes)).[4] We have not thought it necessary to improve the readings, sandhi and punctuations of the text, the latter showing how the editor, who appears to have made no serious use of the Arthaśāstra, has occasionally misconstrued his text.

1. Manu-Smṛti with the 'Manubhāṣya' of Medhātithi (Bibl. Ind. no. 256), vol. 2, Calcutta, 1939. Jha's translation appeared earlier than the text (vol. 3, pt. 2, Calcutta, 1924).

2. Mānava-Dharma-Śāstra with the Commentaries of Medhātithi, Sarvajñanārāyaṇa, Kullūka, Rāghavānanda, Nandana and Rāmachandra, Bombay, 1886.

3. Collection of Hindu Law Texts, no. 9, 1920.

4. Manu-Smṛti: Notes. Part 1: Textual, Calcutta, 1924.

Only those variants in the Arthaśāstra and Medhātithi which throw
some light on the relations of the texts are cited. We occasion-
ally cite parallels from the Kāmandakīya Nītisāra (KN) and its
commentator Śaṅkarārya from the edition of T. Ganapati Sastri[1] and
Somadeva's Nītivākyāmṛta (NV) from that of Pt. Pannālāla Sonī[2] with
variants, where pertinent, from Jolly's "Kollektaneen".[3]

We must say at once that in annotating these passages we
have made full use of Schlingloff's excellent notes, and have
adopted his method of arrangement. At the same time, bringing
Bhāruci into the comparison has meant that some variants which had
been of no interest in comparing the two texts became relevant
when considering the inter-relations of the three, and so the
whole ground had to be gone over. A few new passages from Kāman-
daka and Somadeva have also been supplied.

1. TSS, no. 14, Trivandrum 1912.

2. Māṇikacandra-Digambara-Jaina-Granthamālā, no. 22, Bombay,
Saṃvat 1979 (A.D. 1923). Improved readings are contained in a
second volume (no. 34 of the series, Saṃvat 1989, A.D. 1933).
References are to the first volume unless otherwise stated.

3. Cited above.

1. The Four Vices Born of Lust (Schlingloff 19; Derrett I)

Drink (negative)[1]

(Kauṭilya: Drink worse than women)

(Manu: Drink worse than gambling)

Arth. 8.3	Bhār. 7.52 (pānadyūtayoḥ pānaṃ garīyaḥ /)	Medh. 7.52 (pānadyūtayoḥ pānaṃ garīyaḥ /)
1.a. pānasampat--samjñānāśo 'nunmattasyonmattatvam apretasya pretatvaṃ kaupīnadarśanaṃ śruta-prajñāprāṇavittamitra-hāniḥ sadbhir viyogo 'narthasaṃyogas tantrī-gītanaipuṇyeṣu cārtha-ghneṣu prasaṅga iti /61/	tatra hi saṃjñāpraṇā-śaḥ/ anunmattasyonmat-tatva (lacuna)sya pret-atvaṃ śrutaprajñāpra-hāṇaṃ mitrahāniḥ sadbh-ir viyogaḥ asadbhiś ca prayogaḥ/ gītādiṣu cārthasvapneṣu prasaṅ-gaḥ/ rahasyamantrapra-kāśaṃ madavegeneti pānadoṣaḥ/	tatra hi saṃjñāpranāśaḥ anunmattasyonmattatvam, apretasya pretatvaṃ kaupīnaprakāśanaṃ, śru-taprajñāprahāṇaṃ, mitrahāniḥ, sadbhir viyogaḥ, asadbhiś ca samprayogaḥ, gītādiṣv śrthaghneṣu prasaṅgaḥ, ratamantraprakāśanaṃ ca, mānino 'py upahās-yatā, gambhīraprakṛter api yatkiñcanavāditā madavegeneti, pānadoṣāḥ

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1. Cf. KN 15.60-2: vamanaṃ vihvalatvaṃ ca saṃjñānāśo vivastratā/ bahvabaddhapralāpitvam akasmād vyasanaṃ muhuḥ// prāṇaglāniḥ suhṛnnāśa prajñāśrutamatibrahmaḥ/ sadbhir viyogo 'sadbhiś ca saṃyogo 'narthyasaṃ gamaḥ// skhalanaṃ vepathus tandrī nitāntaṃ strīniveṣanam/ ity ādi pānavyasanam atyantaṃ sadvigarhitam//

Gambling (positive)

(Piśuna: Hunting is
worse than gambling.)

b. dyūte tu jitam evākṣa-   dyūte jitam evākṣavidu-   dyūte tu jitam evāk-
viduṣā yathā Jayatsena-   ṣā anakṣajñasyāpi   ṣaviduṣā, anakṣaj-
Duryodhanābhyām iti /   pākṣikaḥ parājayaḥ /   ñasyāpi pākṣikaḥ
/41/   parājayaḥ/

Gambling (negative)[2]

(Kauṭilya: Gambling worse
than hunting)

c.   (dyūtastrīvyasanayoś   (strīdyūtavyasanayor
                ca dyūtaṃ garīyaḥ/   dyūtavyasanaṃ
                                      garīyaḥ/

tad eva vijitadravyam   yena tadaiva jitadrav-   yena tad eva jitaṃ
āmiṣaṃ vairānubandhaś   yaḥ tasyāpi bhavati   dravyaṃ tasyāpi viṣa
ca[3]/ 44/

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1. Cf. KN 15.46, 49: arthanāśakriyāvaśyaṃ nityaṃ vairānubandhitā/
saty apy arthe nirāśatvam asaty api ca sāśatā// gūhanaṃ mūtraśakṛto
kṣutpipāsopapīḍanam/ ity ādīṃs tantrakuśalā dyūtadoṣān pracakṣate//
NV (2) 16.10-13: dyūtāsaktasya kim apy akṛtyaṃ nāsti/ mātary api hi
mṛtāyāṃ dīvyaty eva kitavaḥ/ piśunaḥ sarveṣām aviśvāsaṃ janayati/
divāsvāpaḥ guptavyādhivyālānām utthāpanadaṇḍaḥ sakalakāryāntarāyaś ca/
3. Kangle: "GMT vairabandhaś ca, (Cn)." Bhār., Medh. agree with
Kangle's text.

sato 'rthasya viprati-
pattir asastaś cārjanam
apratibhuktanāśo mūtra-
puriṣadhāraṇabubhukṣā-
dibhiś ca vyādhilābha
iti dyūtadoṣāḥ[5]/ 45/

(Kauṇapadanta: Gambling
worse than women)

sātatyena hi niśi
pradīpe mātari ca
mṛtāyāṃ dīvyaty eva
kitavaḥ/ 48/ kṛcchre
ca pratipṛṣṭaḥ kupyati/
/49/

tathā tannimitto
vairānubandhaḥ/ jayaḥ
sādhāraṇaḥ kevalaḥ
parājayaḥ anubhakta-
nāśaḥ/
mūtrapurīṣavegadhāraṇāc
ca śarīratantraśaithil-
yaṃ vyādhinidānam āseva-
nena kṣudrādibhiś ca
pīḍātiśayena/ mātary
api ca mṛtāyāṃ dīvyaty
eva/ kitavaḥ kṛcchre-
ṣu ca pṛcchyamānaḥ
suhṛdbhir api kupyatīti
dyūtadoṣāḥ/

bhavati/[4]
tathā ca tannimitto
vairānubandhaḥ jayaḥ
sādhāraṇaḥ kevalaṃ
parājayaḥ, bhuktanā-
śaḥ/ mūtrapurīṣave-
gadhāraṇāc ca śarīre
śaithilyaṃ vyādhini-
dānam eva/ tena
kṣudrādibhiḥ svapī-
ḍātiśayāt/ mātary
api ca mṛtāyāṃ
dīvyaty eva/ kṛtakṛ-
yeṣu ca na suhṛdbhir
api kṛṣyate/ taptā-
yasapiṇḍavat paradra-
āṇi pariharato na
pratyayate ca/
kṣudhite durgate
'nnādyupapattyupekṣā
viṣayatā sarvaguṇas-
aṃpannasyāpi tṛṇavad
avajñāyate/ iti
dyūtadoṣāḥ/

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4. Ghar. v.l., Jha (<u>Notes</u>): viṣī bhavati, "as in N(andana)."

5. Kangle: "G₁T dyūtadoṣaḥ." Bhār., Medh. agree with Kangle's text.

Women   (positive)

(Kauṇapadanta: Gambling

worse than women)

d. strīvyasane tu[6] snāna-   strīvyasane tv apatyo-   strīvyasane tv apaty
pratikarmabhojanabhūmiṣu   tpattiḥ pratikarmabho-   otpattiḥ pratikarma-
bhavaty eva dharmārtha-   janabhūyiṣṭham anusava-   bhojanabhūyiṣṭhānu-
pariprasnaḥ/ 50/ sakyā   naṃ dharmārthaparigra-   bhavanaṃ dharmārtha-
ca strī rājahite niyok-   haḥ/ saktā ca strī   partigrahaḥ/ sakyā
tum, upāṃsudaṇḍena   rājahite niyoktum   ca strī rājahite
vyādhinā vā vyāvartay-   apavāhayituṃ vā/   niyoktum apavāhayi-
itum avasrāvayituṃ vā   tuṃ vā/
iti/ 51/

(Kauṭilya: Drink

worse than women)

strīvyasane bhavaty

apatyotpattir ātmarak-

ṣaṇaṃ cāntardāreṣu,

viparyayo vā bāhyeṣu

agamyeṣu sarvocchit-

tiḥ/ 59/

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6. Kangle: "GT strīvyasaneṣu tu." Bhār., Medh. agree with Kangle's

text.

Women   (negative)[7]

(Kauṭilya: Women worse
than gambling)

	(strīmṛgavyasanayoḥ strīvyasanaṃ garīyaḥ/)	(strīmṛgayāvyasanayoḥ strīvyasanaṃ garīyaḥ/)
adarśanaṃ kāryanirvedaḥ[8] kālātipātanād[9] anartho dharmalopaś[10] ca tantradaurbalyaṃ pānānubandhaś[11] ceti/ /54/	adarśanaṃ kāryāṇāṃ strīvyasanāsaṅgeṣu rājakāryeṣu nirvedaḥ/ kālātipātanaṃ/ dharmalopaḥ/ pānadoṣānubandhaḥ/ arthaghneṣu ca nṛttādiṣu prasaṅga iti/	adarśanaṃ kāryāṇāṃ , strīvyasanasaṃgena rājakāryeṣu ca nirvedaḥ, kālātipātanaṃ, dharmalopaḥ, pānadoṣānubandhaḥ, arthaghneṣu cānṛtādiṣu prasaṅga iti/

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7. Cf. <u>KN</u> 15.56:   kālātipātaḥ kāryāṇāṃ dharmārthaparipīḍanam/
nityābhyantaravartitvāt sādhuprakṛtikopanam//

8. Kangle: "G₂T om. kāryanivedaḥ." Bhār., Medh. support Kangle's
text.

9. Kangle: "T kāryātipāta-." Bhār. and Medh. agree with Kangle's
text.

10. Kangle: "GMT —danarthadharmalopaś ca (em.)."

11. Kangle: "T vāsānubandhaḥ." Bhār. and Medh. agree with Kangle's
text.

Hunting   (positive)[12]

(Kauṭilya: Dice

worse than hunting)

f. mṛgayāyāṃ tu vyāyāmaḥ   mṛgayāyāṃ tu vyāyāma-   mṛgayāyāṃ tu vyāyā-

śleṣmaptttamedaḥsveda-   pittaśleṣmavadhaḥ   maḥ pittaśleṣmaban-

nāśaś cale sthite[13] ca   svedādināśaḥ/ cale sthi-   dhaḥ, medādināśaḥ,

kāye lakṣaparicayaḥ   re ca kāye lakṣaparica-   cale sthire vā kāye[14]

kopabhayasthāneṣu ca   yaḥ/ praharaṇavaiśāra-   lakṣyaparicayaḥ,[15]

mṛgāṇāṃ cittajñānam   dyopajananena āsanapari-   praharaṇe[16] vaiśārad:

anityayānam ceti/ 46/   cayaś ceti/   yopajananaṃ grāmya-

                                          janaparijayaś ceti/

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12. Cf. KN 15.26: jitaśramatvaṃ vyāyāma āmamedaḥkephakṣayaḥ/

calasthireṣu lakṣeṣu bāṇasiddhir anuttamā// (See Schlingloff for

copious references.)

13. Kangle: "T sthire." Bhār., Medh. KN agree with T

against Kangle's text.

14. So Jha (Notes), "as in S(arvajñanārāyaṇa)." Mand., Ghar. kāle.

15. Mand. lakṣaparicayaḥ, Ghar. lakṣaḥ paricayaḥ.

16. Mand. praharaṇaṃ.

2. The Ideal Minister[17] (Schlingloff 9)

Arth. 1.9	Bhār. 7.54	Medh. 7.54
jānapado 'bhijātaḥ svavagrahaḥ kṛtaśilpaś cakṣuṣmān prājño dhārayi- ṣṇur dakṣo vāgmī pragal- ghaḥ pratipattimān utsā- haprabhāvayuktaḥ kleśa- sahaḥ śucir maitro dṛḍhabhaktiḥ śīlabalāro- gyasattvayuktaḥ[19] stam- bhacāpallahīnaḥ[20] sampri- yo vairāṇām akartety amātyasampat/ 1/	tad yathā prājñaḥ suvigrahaḥ dhārayiṣṇur dakṣo vāgmī pragalbhaḥ pratipattimān utsāhapra- bhāvaguṇayuktaḥ kleśasa- haḥ śucir maitraḥ śīla- balārogyayuktastambhacā- palahīno vairā (lacuna)	tad yathā prājñaḥ dṛḍhakārī dhārayiṣ- ṇur dakṣaḥ vāgmī prabalaḥ pratipatti- mān utsāhaprabhāva- yuktaḥ kleśasahaḥ śucir dānaśīlaḥ yogyasatvayuktaḥ[18] stambhacāpalahīnaḥ priyo vairiṇām akarteti.

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17. Cf. KN 4.27-30: svavagraho jānapadaḥ kulaśīlabalānvitaḥ/ vāgmī pragalbhaś cakṣuṣmān utsāhī pratipattimān// stambhacāpalahīnaś ca maitraḥ kleśasahaḥ śuciḥ/ satyasattvadhṛtisthairyaⵑprabhāvārogya- saṃyutaḥ// kṛtaśilpaś ca dakṣaś ca prajñāvān dhāraṇānvitaḥ/ dṛḍhabhaktir akarttā ca vairāṇāṃ sacivo bhavet// smṛtis tatparatār- theṣu vitarko jñānaniścayaḥ/ dṛḍhatā mantraguptiś ca mantrisampat prakīrtitā//

18. Mand. -yuktastambha-.

19. Kangle: "GM -sattvasaṃyuktaḥ". Medh. and, partly, Bhār. agree with Kangle's text.

20. Kangle: "GM -cāpalyavaijitaḥ". Bhār., Medh., KN agree with Kangle

3. Four Tests for a Minister[21] (Schlingloff 14; Derrett III)

Arth. 1.10	Bhār. 7.54	Medh. 7.54
a. mantripurohitasakhaḥ sāmānyeṣv adhikaraṇeṣu sthāpayitvāmātyān upadhābhiḥ śodhayet/1 /	(lacuna) parīkṣocyate/	...dharmārthakāma-bhayopadhābhiḥ/ seyaṃ parīkṣocyate/

b(1)

Arth. 1.10	Bhār. 7.54	Medh. 7.54
purohitam ayājyayājanā-dhyāpane niyuktam amṛṣyamāṇaṃ rājāvak-ṣipet/ 2/ sa sattri-bhiḥ śapathapūrvam ekaikam amātyam upajā-payet--'adhārmiko 'yaṃ rājā, sādhu dhārmikam anyam asya tatkulīnam aparuddhaṃ[24] kulyam ekapragrahaṃ sāmantam	purohitaḥ svalpe kārye rājñā vyājenākṣiptaḥ amṛṣyamāṇaḥ saśapatham ekaikam amātyam upaja-pet/ adhārmiko 'yaṃ rājā/ sādhu dhārmikam ekaṃ kulīnam avaruddham ekapragraham asāmantam āṭavikaṃ vā pratipāda-yāmaḥ/ anyebyaś ca mantribhya etad rocate/	purohitaḥ/svakārye[22] rājñā vyājenādhikṣip-taḥ bahunā 'rthasaṃ-pradānenāptapuruṣair ekaikam amātyam upaj-pet rājavināśāya--'etac ca sarvamantri-bho[23] rocate, atha kathaṃ bhavate' iti pratyākhyāne 'dharmo-padhāśuddhaḥ'/[25]

21. Quoted by Śaṅkarārya on KN 4.26.

22. Mand. Ghar., svalpakārye.

23. Mand., Ghar. sarvaṃ mantribhyo.

24. Kangle: "GM avaruddhaṃ;" also Śaṅkarārya. Bhār. agrees with GM, Śaṅkarārya against Kangle's text.

25. Mand. arthopadhāśuddhaḥ.

āṭavikam aupapādikaṃ bhavatas tu katham iti/

vā pratipādayāmaḥ, pratyākhyāte dharmopadhā-

sarveṣām etad rocate śuddhaḥ/

kathaṃ vā tava' iti/ 3/

pratyākhyāne śuciḥ/

iti dharmopadhā/ 4/

(2) senāpatir asatpragra- senāpatir asatpratigra- senāpatiḥ kenacid

heṇāvakṣiptaḥ sattri- heṇāvakṣipto rājñā apadeśena[26] pūrvavad

bhir ekaikam amātyam sarvapratyakṣaṃ bahunā adhikṣiptaḥ[27] bahunā

upajāpayet lobhanī- 'rthasampradānenāpta- ca sampradānenāpta-

yenārthena rājavinā- puruṣair ekaikam amāty- puruṣair ekaikam

śāya,[28] 'sarveṣām etad am upajaped rājavinā- amātyam[29] upajapet

rocate, kathaṃ vā tava' śāya/ etac ca sarvaman- rājavināśāya-etac

iti/ 5/ pratyākhyāne tribhyo rocate 'tha ca sarvamantribhyo

śuciḥ/ ity arthopadhā kathaṃ bhavata iti/ rocate, atha kathaṃ

/6/ pratyākhyāte 'rthopadhā- bhavate'[30] iti

śuddhaḥ/ pratyākhyāne[31] artho-

padhāśuddhaḥ[32]

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26. Ghar. upadeśena.

27. Ghar. avakṣiptaḥ.

28. Kangle: "G$_1$ -vināśanāya." Bhār., Medh. agree with Kangle's text.

29. Ghar. ekaikamātyam.

30. Ghar. bhavata.

31. Ghar. ity ākhyāne.

32. Jha (text) gives this passage twice, the first time as dharmopadhā

it is missing in Mand ., who gives the preceeding as arthopadhā.

(3) parivrājikā labdhaviś-
vāsāntaḥpure kṛtasatkā-
rā mahāmātram ekaikam
upajapet--'rājamahiṣī
tvāṃ kāmayate kṛtasamā-
gamopāyā, mahān arthaś
ca te bhaviṣyati' iti/7/
pratyākhyāne śuciḥ/
iti[34] kāmopadhā/ 8/

parivrājikāntaḥpure
labdhaviśvāsā ekaikam
amātyam upajaped rāja-
mahiṣī bhavataṃ kāmaya-
te tatkṛtasamāgamopāy-
āco

parivrājikā antaḥ-
pure[33] labdhaviśvāsā
ekaikam amātyam
upajapet--'sā rāja-
mahiṣī bhavantaṃ
kāmayate kṛtasamā-
gamopāyeti' pratyā-
khyāne 'kāmopadhā-
śuddhaḥ'/

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33. Mand., Ghar. parivrajikāntaḥpure.

34. Kangle: "-yā mahānarthaś ca ... sucir iti missing in D."
Medh. agrees with D against Kangle's text.

(4)   prahavaṇanimittam eko   ptapuruṣaḥ kaścid amāty-   rājaprayuktā eva

      'mātyaḥ sarvān amātyān   yeṣu mantram avaśrā-   kecit puruṣāḥ pravā-

      āvāhayet/ 9/   tenodvege-   vayed imaṃ pravādam   dam[35] āviṣkuryuḥ,

      na rājā tān avarundhyāt/   upaśrutya bhavatāṃ   'kṛtasamayair amātya

      10/ kāpaṭikāś cātra   nigraho rājñā dhṛta iti/   rājā hanyata' iti/

      pūrvāvarudhas teṣām   teṣām eva cānyatamaḥ   upalabdhapravādaḥ[36]

      arthamānāvakṣiptam ekai-   kṛtasaṃvitkaḥ pratyekaṃ   purohitasyāptaḥ

      kam amātyam upajapet--   tān rājāpatyeṣūtsāhayet/   kaścid amātyeṣu

      'asatpravṛtto 'yaṃ rājā,   tatra ye pratyācakṣate   mantraṃ śrāvayet--

      sādhu enaṃ hatvānyaṃ   te bhayopadhāśuddhāḥ/   'imaṃ pravādam upaś-

      pratipādayāmaḥ, sarveṣām   rutya bhavatāṃ nigra

      etad rocate, kathaṃ vā   rājñā kriyata' iti/

      tava' iti/ 11/   pratyākhyāne   teṣām eva cānyatamaḥ

      śuciḥ/ iti bhayopadhā   pūrvam eva kṛtasaṃ-

              /12/   vitkaḥ pratyekaṃ

                                                              rājāmātyeṣūtsāhayet/

                                                              tatra ye pratyācakṣa

                                                              te te 'bhayopadhāśud

                                                              dhāḥ'/

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35.   Mand., Ghar. pramādam.

36.   Mand., Ghar. -pramādaḥ.

4. <u>The Ideal Kingdom</u>[37] (Schlingloff 10)

Arth. 6.1	Bhār. 7.56	Medh. 7.56
(svāmyamātyajanapada- durgakośadaṇḍamitrāṇi prakṛtayaḥ) /1/	(...sthānaṃ .../ tat punaś caturvidhaṃ/ daṇḍakośapurarāṣṭrāṇi/)	(...sthānam/ tac caturvidham, daṇḍa- kośapurarāṣṭrāṇi/)

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37. Cf. <u>KN</u> 4.49-54: sasyākaravatī paṇyakhanidravyasamanvitā/
gohitā bhūrisalilā puṇyair janapadair vṛtā// ramyā sakuñjaravanā
vāristhalapathānvitā/ adevamātṛkā ceti śasyate bhūr vibhūtaye//
saśarkoroṣapāṣāṇā sāṭavī nityataskarā/ rūkṣā sakaṇṭakavanā savyālā
ceti bhūr abhūḥ// svājīvo bhūguṇair yuktaḥ sānūpaḥ parvatāśrayaḥ/
śūdrakāruvanikprāyo mahārambhakṛṣīvalaḥ// sānurāgo ripudveṣī
pīḍākarasahaḥ pṛthuḥ/ nānādeśyaiḥ samākīrṇo dhārmikaḥ paśumān
dhanī// īdṛg janapadaḥ śasto mūrkhavyasanināyakaḥ/ taṃ varddhayet
prayatnena tasmāt sarvaṃ pravarttate//.

(tatra daṇḍo hastyaśva-
rathapadātayaḥ/ teṣāṃ
pratikarmapoṣaṇarakṣaṇā-
di cintyaṃ/ tathā kośa-
sya hemarūpyabāhulyam
āyavyayarakṣaṇāni ca
cintyāni/)

(tatra daṇḍo hastyaś
varathapadātayaḥ/
teṣāṃ pratikarma
poṣaṇarakṣaṇādi
cintyam[38]/ na hy
asamādhānaṃ pradhā-
nam/ tathā[39] kośasya
hemarūpyabāhulyaṃ
pracurarūpyatā ayavy
ayalakṣaṇaṃ ca/ kośa
ya yani nyāyasthānān
tāni na vyayitavyāni
na vilambanīyāni
bhṛtyānām/)

madhye cānte ca sthāna-
vān ātmadhāraṇaḥ para-
dhāraṇaś cāpadi svārak-
ṣaḥ svājīvaḥ śatrudveṣī
śakyasāmantaḥ paṅkapā-
ṣāṇoṣaraviṣamakaṇṭakaś-
reṇīvyālamṛgāṭavīhīnaḥ
kāntaḥ sītākhanidravya-
hastivanavān gavyaḥ
pauruṣeyo guptagocaraḥ
paśumān adevamātṛko

tathā rāṣṭrasya deśapa-
ryāyasya svājīvya
ātmasādhāraṇaḥ parasyā-
dhāraṇo na ca durārak-
ṣyaḥ/ paśalyaḥ śatruṣ
(lacuna) akṣī sītāprayo
guptagocaraḥ/ paśumān
adevamātṛkaḥ/ āpadi
daṇḍakarasaha ity evam
ādi cintyaṃ/

tathā rāṣṭrasya deśa
paryāyasya svājīva
ātmasaṃdhāraṇaṃ
parasaṃdhāraṇena
nadīvṛkṣāḥ paśavaḥ
śatrudveṣākrāntaprā-
yaḥ guptigocaraḥ
paśumān adevamātṛkaḥ
āpadi ca daṇḍakara-
graha ity evam ādi.

---

38. Mand., Ghar. cintyapratikarma (?).

39. Mand., Ghar. ca yathā.

vāristhalapathābhyām

upetaḥ sāracitrabahupaṇyo

daṇḍakarasahaḥ karmaśīla-

karṣako 'bāliśasvāmy

avaravarṇaprāyo[40] bhak-

taśucimanuṣya iti janapada-

saṃpat/ 8/

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40. Kangle: "daṇḍakara-...-varṇaprāyo missing in T." Bhār,

Medh. attest daṇḍakara-.

5. Pacification of Recently Conquered Lands (Schlingloff 17)

Arth. 13.5	Bhār. 7.56	Medh. 7.56

a. (labdhapraśamanam)[41] sarvadevatāśramapujanaṃ ca vidyāvākyadharmaśūra-puruṣāṇāṃ ca bhūmidravya-dānaparihārān kārayet, sarvabandhanamokṣaṇam anugrahaṃ dīnānāthavyā-dhitānāṃ ca/ 11/

labdhapraśamanāni devāśramadyāvatāṃ dhār-mikāṇāṃ ca śūrāṇāṃ ca dānamānābhyā yogaḥ ucitānāṃ cābhyanujñā-naṃ sarvabandhanamokṣaḥ/ anugraho dīnānāthavyādh-itān

labdhapraśamanaṃ ca devatāśramavidyāva-tāṃ[42] dhārmikānāṃ ca mānadānatyāgā-yogaḥ uditānāṃ[43] cābhyanujñānaṃ sarva bandhanamokṣaḥ/ anugraho dīnavyādhi-tānām/

b. cātumāsyeṣv ardhamāsi-kam aghātam, paurṇamā-sīṣu ca cāturātrikam, rājadeśanakṣatreṣv aikarātrikam/ 12/ yoni-bālavadhaṃ puṃstvopaghā-taṃ ca pratiṣedhayet/13/

utsāhānāṃ cāpūrvāṇāṃ pra(lacuna)

utsavānāṃ cāpūrvā-ṇāṃ pravarttanam/ pravṛttānām anuvṛtti:

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41. Kangle: "G₁ sarvatāśrama-, T sarvatrāśrama." Bhār., Medh. support Kangle's text.

42. Mand. samvidyāvatām; Ghar. devatāsamaṃ vidyāvatām.

43. So Jha (Notes) after N(andana); Mand., Ghar. avitānām.

c. yac ca kośadaṇḍopaghāta-kam[44] adharmiṣṭhaṃ vā caritraṃ[45] manyeta tad apanīya dharmyavyavahāraṃ[46] sthāpayet /14/

(lacuna) daṇḍoghātakar-mādharmikaṃ vā cāritraṃ tad apanīya dharma-vyavahārārthaṃ sthā-payet /

yac ca kośadaṇḍopā-dhikam adhārmika-caritraṃ tad apanīya dharmavyavahārān sthāpayet /

d. caritram akṛtaṃ

dharmyaṃ

kṛtaṃ cānyaiḥ

pravartayet/

pravartayen na

cādharmyaṃ

kṛtaṃ cānyair

nivartayet //24//

āha ca:
adharmacāritram

akṛta(lacuna)

kṛtaṃ cānyaiḥ

(lacuna)

adharmacāritram

akṛtam anyasya

kṛtaṃ vānyaiḥ

pravarttayet /

na

vādharma

kṛtaṃ cānyair

nivartayed iti /

44. Kangle: "GMT -ghātikam, (em.)".

45. Kangle: "M cāritraṃ". Bhār. agrees with M, Medh. with Kangle's text.

46. Kangle: "GMT dharmavyava-, (Cs)". Bhār., Medh. agree with the MSS. against Kangle's text and Ganapati Sastri's commentary.

6. The Construction of the Fort (Schlingloff 5)

Arth. 2.3	Bhār. 7.70	Medh. 7.70
vaprasyopari prākāraṃ	prākāreṇa veṣṭitaṃ	uktaprakāreṇa dvi-
viṣkambhadviguṇotse-	viṣkambhadviguṇotse-	guṇotsedhenaiṣṭakena
dham aiṣṭakaṃ dvādaśa-	dhenaiṣṭikena śailena	śailena dvādaśa-
hastād ūrdhvam ojaṃ	vā dvādaśahastocchri-	hastād ūrdhvam uddha
yugmaṃ vā ā catur-	tena tālamūlena kapi-	tena tālamūlena kapi
viṃśatihastād iti	śīrṣatācitāgreṇa dṛḍha-	śīrṣacitāgreṇa
kārayet, rathacaryā-	vapreṇa pariṣkṛtaṃ	dṛḍhapraṇālyā
saṃcāraṃ tālamūlaṃ	mahīdurgaṃ...	parikṛtaṃ dhanur-
murajakaiḥ kapiśīrṣa-		durgam/
kaiś cācitāgram /7/		
pṛthuśilāsaṃhataṃ vā		
śailaṃ kārayet, na tv		
eva kāṣṭhamayam /8/		

7. The Four Groups of Seducible Parties[47] (Schlingloff 11)

Arth. 1.14	Bhār. 7.104	Medh. 7.104
(1) saṃśrutyārthān vipra-labdhaḥ, tulyakāriṇoḥ[48] śilpe vopakāre vā[49] vimānitaḥ, vallabhāva-ruddhaḥ,[50] samāhūya parājitaḥ, pravāsopa-taptaḥ, kṛtvā vyayam alabdhakāryaḥ, svadhar-mād dāyādyād voparuddhaḥ, mānādhikārābhyāṃ bhraṣṭaḥ,	tatra vipralabdhās tulyakāriṇaḥ śilpe copacāre ca vimānitā vallabhovaruddhaḥ pravāsitabandhuḥ ma (lacuna)	tatra yena kṛtaṃ śilpaṃ kiṃcid upa-kāro vā darśitaḥ, tau vipralabhyete prasādane niyojyete avamanyete vā/ tad artho 'pi tat-samānaḥ śilpopakārī krudhyati, nāsyās-madīyaṃ śilpam

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47. Cf. _Pañcatantra_ (F. Edgerton, _The Pañcatantra Reconstructed_, Vol. 1, p. 40): uktaṃ ca: sammānitavimānitāḥ, pratyākhyātāḥ, kruddhāḥ, lubdhāḥ, parikṣīṇāḥ svayam upagatāś (chadmanā pravārayituṃ śakyāḥ). atyantāsvakārābhinyastāḥ, samāhūya parājitāḥ, tulyakāriṇaḥ, śilpopa-kāre vimānitāḥ, pravāsopataptāḥ, tulyair antarhitāḥ pratyāhṛtamānāḥ tathā 'tyāhṛtavyavahārāḥ tatkulīnaśaṃsavaḥ samavāye ca svadharmān na calanti, samantāc copadhākṛtyās ta iti.

48. Kangle: "D tattulyakāriṇaḥ, G₂ tulyādhikāriṇoḥ".

49. Kangle: "D śilpe copakāre ca". Bhār. supports D against Kangle's text.

50. Kangle: "D vallabhāparuddhaḥ". Bhār. supports Kangle's text.

kulyair antarhitaḥ,
prasabhābhimṛṣṭa-
strīkaḥ, kārābhinyas-
taḥ, paroktadaṇḍitaḥ,
mithyācāravāritaḥ,
sarvasvam āhāritaḥ, [52]
bandhanaparikliṣṭaḥ,
pravāsitabandhuḥ--
iti kruddhavargaḥ /2/

taḥ sakulyair antarhi-
taḥ sarvasvahārita ity
evam ādi kruddha-
vargaḥ /

upakāro vopayujyate/
tādṛśā upajāpasahā
bhavanti / tathā
vāllabhyenopagṛhītaḥ
paścān mānādhikārā-
bhyāṃ bhraṣṭaḥ, pra-
vāsitabandhutadval-
labhaḥ[51] prasabham
abhipūjya svīkṛtaḥ,
sakulyair antarhitaḥ
sarvasvam āhāritas
tatsamānakarmavidyo
'nyaḥ pūjyate so
'vadhīryate ity evam
ādiḥ kruddhaḥ /

---

51. Mand. pravāsitabandhus tad-.

52. Shama Sastri sarvasam āhārito. Bhār. supports, Medh. agrees
with, Kangle's text.

(2) svayam upahataḥ
viprakṛtaḥ, pāpakarmā-
bhikhyātaḥ, tulyadoṣa-
daṇḍenodvignaḥ, paryā-
ttabhūmiḥ, daṇḍeno-
panataḥ, sarvādhikara-
ṇasthaḥ sahasopacitār-
thaḥ,[55] tatkulīnopā-
śaṃsuḥ, pradviṣṭo rājñā,
rājadveṣī ca-- iti
bhītavargaḥ /3/

pāpakarmā tulyadoṣaḥ
daṇḍodvignaḥ anantara-
bhūmidaṇḍopanatasarvā-
dhikaraṇasthaḥ sahaso-
pacitārtha ity evam
ādi bhītavargaḥ /

kenacit kṛtaṃ pai-
śunyaṃ tatsamāna-
doṣebhyo daṇḍitaṃ
aṃtarbhramadaṇḍa-
pātāḥ sarvādhikāra-
sthāḥ sahasopacit-
ārthā[53] ity ādi
lubdhavargaḥ /[54]

(3) parikṣīṇaḥ, anyātta-
svaḥ, kadaryaḥ, vyasa-
nī,[56] atyāhitavyavahāraś
ca-- iti lubdhavargaḥ
/4/

taṭaryo vyasaṭ ity
evam ādi lubdha-
vargaḥ /

parikṣīṇaḥ kadaryo
vyasanī bahu ṛṇa
ity ādir bhīta-
vargaḥ /[57]

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53. Mand. daṇḍinaḥ taṃ sarvādhikārasthāḥ sahasopapātitārtha.

54. Jha (__Notes__): "for lubdhavargaḥ read bhītavargaḥ as in N(andana)".

55. Kangle: "G_2M sāhasopacitārthaḥ". Bhār., Medh. agree with Kangle's text.

56. Kangle: "D kadaryo mūlaharasthādātviko vyasani". Medh., and apparently Bhār., agree with Kangle's text.

57. Jha (__Notes__): "for bhītavargaḥ read lubdhavargaḥ as in N(andana)".

(4) ātmasaṃbhāvitaḥ, ātmasambhāvitaḥ ātmasaṃbhāvitaḥ

    mānakāmaḥ, śatrupūjā- śatrupūjāmarṣito nīcair śatrupūjām arthitaḥ

    marṣitaḥ, nīcair upahatas tīkṣṇaḥ sāha- nīcair upahataḥ

    upahataḥ, tīkṣṇaḥ, siko bhogenāsan- tīkṣṇaḥ sāhasiko

    sāhasikaḥ, bhogenā- tuṣṭa ity evam ādir bhogenāsaṃtuṣṭa[58]

    saṃtuṣṭaḥ-- iti mānivargaḥ / ity evam ādir

    mānivargaḥ /5/ avamānitavargaḥ /

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58. Mand. śatrupūjārcanarathaḥ tīkṣṇasāhasiko homenāsaṃtuṣṭa ity.

8. **Five-fold Counsel**[59] (Derrett IV)

. Arth. 1.15	Bhār. 7.147	Medh. 7.146
a.	pañcāṅgaṃ mantrayeta/	mantrapañcāṅgaṃ
		darśayiṣyate/
	tad yathā	imāny aṅgāni
(1) karmaṇām ārambhopāyaḥ	karmārambhopāyaḥ	karmaṇām ārambhopāya
(2) puruṣadravyasampad[60]	puruṣadravyasampad	puruṣadravyasaṃpat
(3) deśakālavibhāgo[61]	deśakālavibhāgaḥ	deśakālavibhāgaḥ
(4) vinipātapratīkāraḥ	vinipātapratīkāraḥ	vinipātapratīkāraḥ
(5) kāryasiddhir	kāryasiddhir iti/	kāryasiddhir iti/

iti pañcāṅgo mantraḥ

/42/[62]

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59. The Medh. passage is found in Maṇḍ. 7.147 (om. mantrapañcāṅgam darśayiṣyate) and Ghar. 7.148 (mantrapañcāṅgam darśayiṣyate in 7.147), om. in Jha's text but present in his trans. at 7.146. Cf. <u>Pañcatantra</u> (Edgerton, <u>op. cit.</u>) 1.467: śāstre cā 'bhihitaḥ pañcāṅgo mantraḥ, tad yathā: karmaṇām ārambhopāyaḥ, puruṣadravyasaṃpat, deśakālavibhāgaḥ, vinipātapratīkāraḥ, kāryasiddhiś ce 'ti; and <u>NV</u> 10.25: karmaṇām ārambhopāyaḥ puruṣadravyasampad deśakālavibhāgo vinipātapratīkāraḥ kāryasiddhiś ceti paṃcāṃgo mantraḥ/.

60. Kangle: "G_2 -dravyasaṃbandhadeśa-." Bhār., Medh. agree with Kangle's text.

61. Kangle: "D -vibhāgau."

62. Quoted by Śaṅkarārya on <u>KN</u> 12.36.

b. tān ekaikaśaḥ pṛcchet   tān ekaikaśaḥ pṛcchet   athavā prārthanākāla
    samastāṃś ca/ 43/   samastāṃś ca/ hetubhiḥ   nātipātayet tatra
    hetubhiś caiṣāṃ mati-   sarveṣāṃ matipravivekaṃ   dīrgho mantraḥ syāt,
    pravivekān vidyāt[63]/44/   vidyād/ avāptārthaḥ/   na teṣāṃ brūyāt,
    avāptārthaḥ kālaṃ   kālaṃ nātipātayen na ca   guptamantraś ca syāt
    nātikrāmayet[64]/ 45/   dīrghamantraḥ syāt/ na
    na[65] dīrghakālaṃ mantra-   ca teṣāṃ pratyakṣaman-
    yeta, na teṣāṃ pakṣīyair[66] traṃ mantrayet yeṣāṃ
    yeṣām apakuryāt/ 46/   apakuryāt/ guptamantraś
    tasmād rakṣen mantram/ 12/   ca syāt/

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63. Kangle: "p hetubhiś caikaikaṃ mataṃ praviśed vidvān." Bhār.
supports Kangle's text against Jolly-Schmidt.

64. Kangle: "D krāmet."

65. Kangle: "GM ca teṣāṃ (M_2 na ca)." Bhār. agrees with M_2.

66. Kangle: "G_1M_3 pakṣair, G_2 ca rakṣed, M_1 pamakṣyer, M_2 parakṣyair
M_2vl. pakṣyair, p ca rakṣed."

9. Betrayal of Counsel by Animals[67] (Schlingloff 3)

Arth. 1.15

taduddeśaḥ saṃvṛtaḥ kathā-
nām aniḥsrāvī pakṣibhir
apy anālokyaḥ syāt/ 3/
śrūyate hi śukasārikābhir
mantro bhinnaḥ, śvabhir apy
anyaiś ca tiryagyonibhir
iti/ 4/

Medh. 7.149

yat kiṃcit prāṇijā-
taṃ tan mantrayamāṇo
viśodhayet/ tataḥ
pradeśād apaśodhayet
mantrabhedāśaṅkayā/
tiryagyoniṣu ca
śukasārikādayo 'pi
mantraṃ bhindanti/

---

67. Cf. NV 10.32-3: anāyukto maṃtrakāle na tiṣṭhet/ tathā ca
śrūyate (Jolly: śrūyate hi) śukasārikābhyām anyaiś ca tiryagbhir
maṃtrabhedaḥ/

10. The Training of Princes[68] (Schlingloff 7)

Arth. 1.17	Bhār. 7.152	Medh. 7.152
a. mahādoṣam abuddhabodhanam iti Kauṭilyaḥ/ 30/ navaṃ hi dravyaṃ yena yenārthajātenopadihyate tat tad ācūṣati/ 31/ evam ayaṃ navabuddhir yad yad ucyate tat tac chāstropadeśam ivābhijānāti/ 32/ tasmād dharmyam arthyaṃ[70] cāsyopadiśen nādharmyam anarthyaṃ ca/ 33/ sattriṇas tv enaṃ 'tava smaḥ' iti vadantaḥ pālayeyuḥ/ 34/	...tava vayam ity evaṃ vādibhiḥ satribhir dharman arthañ ca grāhayitavyaṃ/ navaṃ hi dravyaṃ yena yenārthajātenopadiśyate tat tad evācūṣati/ evam ayaṃ na buddhir yad yad ucyate tat tat pratipadyate.	tava vayam ity evam ādibhir dharmam arthaṃ ca te grāhayitavyāḥ/ navaṃ hi dravyaṃ yenārthajātenopadiśyate tat tadā dūṣayati/ evaṃ asaṃskṛtabuddhayo yad yad ucyate[69] ta[...] tat prathamaṃ gṛhnan[...] ti/ yadi asadbhiḥ saṃsṛjyante tadā ta[...] svabhāvas teṣāṃ prāpnoti/ te ca duḥ[...] saṃskāropadigdhāḥ na[...] śakyante vyasanebho[...] nivartayitum.

68. Cf. NV 5.70-1: gurujanaśīlam anusaranti prāyeṇa śiṣyāḥ/ naveṣu mṛdbhājeṣu lagnaḥ saṃskāro brahmaṇāpy anyathā kartuṃ na śakyate/

69. Mand., Ghar. ucyante.

70. Kangle: "D dharmyam arthaṃ, GM dharmam artham, (em.).--GM nādharmam anarthaṃ." Bhār., Medh. agree with the MSS. against Kangle's emendation.

uktaṃ ca—'nīlīrakt⟨
vāsasi kuṃkumāṃgarā·
go durādheyaḥ'/

b. virāgaṃ vedayeyuḥ/ 40/ vyasanebhyaś cainam tasmāt te nityam
priyam ekaputraṃ badhnī- upāyato nivartayeyur anuśāsanīyāḥ/ tatr⟨
yāt/ 41/ bahuputraḥ iti nityānuśāsanāc ca pi ye guṇavantas tā⟨
pratyantam anyaviṣayaṃ kālena guṇasampannaṃ vardhayet/ itarānī·
vā preṣayed yatra gar- yauvarājye sthāpayet/ ṣat saṃvibhajet/
bhaḥ paṇyaṃ ḍimbho vā nirguṇān anyān praty- jeṣṭhaṃ mahāguṇam
na bhavet/ 42/ ātmasaṃ- anteṣu nikṣipet/ amatsaraṃ yauvarājy⟨
pannaṃ saināpatye yauva- 'bhiṣiṃcet/
rājye vā sthāpayet/ 43/

11. <u>The</u> <u>Assasination</u> <u>of</u> <u>Kings</u>[71] (Schlingloff 15; Derrett V)

<u>Arth</u>. 1.20	Bhār. 7.153	Medh. 7.153
a. kakṣyāntareṣv[72] antarvaṃśikasainyaṃ tiṣṭhet /13/ antargṛhagataḥ sthavirastrīpariśuddhāṃ devīṃ paśyet[73]/ 14/	kakṣyāntareṣv antarvaṃśikasaiyādhiṣṭhito 'ntaḥpuraṃ praviśet/ tatra sthavirastrīpariśuddhāṃ devīṃ paśyen nāpariśuddhāṃ	kakṣāntareṣv antarvaṃśikasainyādhiṣṭi- 'ntaḥpuraṃ praviśet, tatra sthavirastrīṃ atiśuddhāṃ devīṃ paripaśyen nāpariśu(dhāṃ

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71. Cf. <u>KN</u> 7.49-54: snātānuliptaḥ surabhiḥ sragvī rucirabhūṣaṇaḥ/ snātāṃ viśuddhavasanāṃ paśyed devīṃ subhūṣaṇām// na ca devīgṛhaṃ gacched ātmīyāt sanniveśanāt/ atyantaṃ vallabho 'smīti visṛambhaṃ strīṣu na vrajet// devīgṛhaṃ gato bhrātā Bhadrasenam amārayat/ mātuḥ śayyāntarālīnaḥ Kārūśaṃ caurasaḥ sutaḥ// lāhān viṣeṇā saṃyojya madhuneti vilomya tam/ devī tu Kāśirājendraṃ nijaghāna rahogatam// viṣadigdhena Sauvīraṃ mekhalāmaṇinā nṛpam/ nūpureṇa ca Vairūpyaṃ Jārūṣyaṃ darpaṇeṇa ca// Veṇyāṃ śastram samādhāya tathā cāpi Vidūratham/ iti vṛttaṃ pariharec chatrau cāpi prayojayet// Different examples in <u>NV</u>. See Schlingloff, p. 29, fn. 104, for numerous parallels.

72. Kangle: "D kakṣā-." Bhār., Medh. agree with Kangle's text.

73. Kangle: "GM paśyet, na kāṃcid abhigacchet."

b.(1) devīgṛhe līno hi[74]   devyā gṛhanilīno hi   devīṃ/ gṛhalīno[75]

   bhrātā Bhadrasenaṃ   bhrātā Candrasenaṃ   hi bhrātā Bhadraseno

   jaghāna,   jaghāna

(2) mātuḥ śayyāntargataś   mātuḥ śayanāntargataṃ   mātuḥ śayanāntargataḥ

   ca putraḥ Kārūṣam/15/   ca putra-Kāruśaṃ   rājānaṃ jaghāna[76]/

                                kupuruṣa-

(3) lājān madhuneti viṣeṇa

   paryasya devī Kāśirājam

(4) viṣadighena nūpurena   viṣadigdhena nūpureṇa   śaṅkhaviṣadigdhena

   Vairantyaṃ,   Vairantaṃ jaghāna/   nūpureṇāvantyaṃ[77]

                                devī jaghāna

(5) mekhalāmaṇinā Sauvīraṃ,   mekhalāmaṇinā Sauvīraṃ   mekhalayā[78]/ Sauvīraṃ

(6) Jālūtham ādarśena,

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74. Kangle: "D nilīno (for līno hi)". Medh. supports Kangle's
text, Bhār. is in between.

75. Mand., Ghar. grahalīno.

76. Mand., Ghar. om. rājānam jaghānaṃ.

77. Schlingloff: "Es scheint sich hier um keinen Schreibfehler,
sondern um eine echte Variante zu handelm; im Harṣacarita, ed. Calcutta
1876, p. 168 findet sich die Namensform Vairājyam Avantidevam (ed.
Bombay 1892, p. 224, 5: Vairantyaṃ Rantidevaṃ); im Kommentar zu Kām.
Nītis.: Avantirājaṃ Vairūpyaṃ."

78. Mand., Ghar. mekhalāyāṃ.

(7)   veṇyāṃ gūḍhaṃ śastraṃ   veṇyāṃ nigūḍhena śastreṇa   veṇyāṃ gūḍhena
      kṛtvā devī Vidūrathaṃ[79]   Vidūrathaṃ/   śastreṇa Vidūrathaṃ/
      jaghāna/ 16/

c.   tasmāt etāny āspadāni   tasmād etāny āpadaḥ   tasmād etāni visraṃ-
      pariharet/ 17/   sthānāni yatnataḥ   bhasthānāni yatnataḥ
                      parīkṣeta/   parīkṣeta/

d.   muṇḍajaṭilakuhaka-   muṇḍajaṭilakuhakapra-   muṇḍajaṭilakuhaka-
      pratisaṃsargaṃ bāhyā-   tisaṃsargaṃ bāhyābhiś   pratisaṃsargaṃ bāhya-
      bhiś ca dāsībhiḥ   ca dāsībhir antaḥpuradā-   dāsībhir antaḥpuradā-
      pratiṣedhayet/ 18/   sīnāṃ pratiṣedhayet/   sīnāṃ pratiṣedhayet/

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79. Kangle: "GM Vidūrathaṃ". Bhār. agrees with GM, Medh. agrees
with Kangle's text.

12. The King's Agents (Schlingloff 16; Derrett VI)

Arth. 1.11-12   Bhār. 7.154   Medh. 7.154

a.   upadhābhiḥ śuddhāmātya-   (lacuna)ñcavargaḥ/   pañcavargaḥ kāpaṭik(
     vargo gūḍhapuruṣān utpā- kāpaṭikodāsthitagṛhapa-   dāsthitagṛhapativai·
     dayet kāpaṭikodāsthita-   tikavaidehakatāpasavya-   dehikatāpasavyañja-
     gṛhapatikavaidehakatāpa- ñcanāḥ/   nāḥ[81]/
     pasavyañjanān[80] sattritī-
     kṣṇarasadabhikṣukīś ca/1/

(1) paramarmajñaḥ pragalbhaś   paramarmajñāḥ pragalbhaś   paramadharmajñāḥ
     chātraḥ[82] kāpaṭikaḥ/ 2/ chātraḥ kāpaṭikaḥ/ tad   pragalbhacchātrāḥ
     tam arthamānābhyāṃ   arthamānābhyām upasaṃ-   'kāpaṭikāḥ'/ tān
     protsāhya[83] mantri   gṛhya mantrī brūyād   arthamānābhyām upas(
     brūyāt--'rājānaṃ māṃ   rājānaṃ māṃ ca pramāṇī-   ṃgṛhya mantrī brūyā·
     ca pramāṇaṃ kṛtvā yasya   kṛtya yatra yad akuśalaṃ --'rājānaṃ māṃ ca

_____

80. Cf. NV 14.8: kāpaṭikodāsthitagṛhapativaidehikatāpasa-.

81. Mand., Ghar. -gṛhapatikavaidehika-.

82. Kangle: "G_1M_3 pragalbhacchātraḥ". Bhār. and NV 14.9 (Bombay
ed.) (paramarmajñaḥ pragalbhaś chātraḥ kāpaṭika) agree with Kangle's
text, Medh. and NV (Jolly) with G_1M_3.

83. Kangle: "GM -mānābhyām utsāhya."

yad akuśalaṃ paśyasi	paśy(lacuna)aṃ tvayeti/	pramānaṃ kṛtvā yatr
tat tadānīm eva pratyā-		yad akuśalaṃ tat
diśa' iti/ 3/		tadānīm evāśrāvyaṃ[8]
		tvayeti'/

(2)

pravrajyāpratyavasitaḥ[85]	pravrajyāyāḥ pratyava-	pravrajyāyāḥ pratya
prajñāśaucayukta udās-	sita udāsthitaḥ sa ca	vasita 'udāsthitaḥ'
thitaḥ/ 4/[86] sa vārttā-	prajñāśaucayuktaḥ/	sa ca prajñāśaucayu
karmapradiṣṭāyāṃ bhūmau	sarvānnapradānasamarth-	taḥ sarvānnapradāna
prabhūtahiraṇyāntevāsī	āyājā prabhūtahiraṇy-	samarthāyāṃ bhūmau
karma kārayet/ 5/	āntevāsinaḥ karma kāra-	prabhūtahiraṇyāyāṃ
karmaphalāc ca sarvapra-	yet/ kṛṣika(lacuna)	dāsakarma kārayet/
vrajitānāṃ grāsācchā-	vasathān pratividadh-	kṛṣikarmaphalaṃ tac
danāvasathān pratividad-	yāt/ teṣāṃ ye vṛttikāmās	ca sarvapravrajitā-
hyāt/ 6/ vṛttikāmāṃś	tān upajapet evam etenai-	nāṃ grāsācchādanā
copajapet--'etenaiva	va vṛttena rājārthaś	vasathān pratividad

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84. Maṇḍ., Ghar. evācchātavyaṃ.

85. Kangle: "D pravrajyāyāḥ pratyavasitaḥ, M₂vl. pravrajyāpratya-
pasṛtaḥ." Bhār., Medh. agree with D against Kangle's text.

86. Cf. NV 14.10: yaṃ kaṃcana samayam āsthāya pratipannācāryā-
bhiṣekaḥ prabhūtāntevāsī prajñātiśayayukto rājaparikalpita vṛttir
udāsthitaḥ/.

veṣeṇa[87] rājārthaś caritavyo bhaktavetanakāle copasthātavyam' iti/7/ sarvapravrajitāś ca svaṃ svaṃ vargam evam[88] upajapeyuḥ/ 8/

caritavyo bhaktavetana- kāle copasthātavyam iti/ sarvapravra (lacu- na)rgaṃ upajapeyuḥ.

hyāt/ teṣāṃ ye vṛttikāmās tān upajaped evam etenaiva vṛttena rājārthaś caritavya / bhaktavetanakāle copasthātavyam iti/ sarvapravrajitāḥ svaṃ svaṃ karmopaja peyuḥ/

(3) karṣako vṛttikṣīṇaḥ prajñāśaucayukto gṛhapatikavyañjanaḥ/9/ sa kṛṣikarmapradiṣṭāyāṃ bhūmau--iti samānaṃ pūrveṇa/ 10/

karṣako vṛttikṣīṇaḥ prajñāśaucayukto gṛha- pativyañjanaḥ sa kṛṣi- karma kuryāt/ yathok- tāyāṃ bhūmāv iti/

karṣako vṛttikṣīṇaḥ prajñāśaucayukto 'gṛhapativyañjanaḥ' sa kṛṣikarma kuryād yathoktāyāṃ bhūmāv iti/

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87. Kangle: "G_1 doṣeṇa." Cf. Meyer, Gesetzbuch und Purāṇa (Indische Forschungen 7), p. 18, n. 2: "So verlockend auch die Leseart veṣeṇa für doṣeṇa sein mag, so scheint doch auch eva auf die Richtigkeit des viel schwierigeren doṣeṇa hinzuweisen."

88. Kangle: "GM om. evaṃ". Bhār. and Medh. agree with GM.

(4) vāṇijako vṛttikṣīṇaḥ prajñāśaucayukto vaidehakavyañjanaḥ/11/ sa vaṇikkarmapradiṣṭāyāṃ bhūmau--iti samānaṃ pūrveṇa/12/

vāṇijiko vṛttikṣīṇaḥ prajñāśaucayukto vaidehakavyañjanaḥ sa vaṇikkarma kuryāt vaṇikpradiṣṭāyāṃ bhūmāv iti samānaṃ pūrveṇa/

vāṇijiko vṛttikṣīṇaḥ prajñāśaucayukto 'vaidehikavyañjanaḥ / sa vaṇikkarma kurāt pradiṣṭāyāṃ bhūmāv iti samānam/

(5) muṇḍo jaṭilo vā vṛttikāmas tāpasavyañjanaḥ /13/ sa nagarābhyāśe prabhūtamuṇḍajaṭilāntevāsī[90] śākaṃ yavamuṣṭiṃ[91] vā māsadvimāsāntaraṃ prakāśam aśnīyāt gūḍham iṣṭam āhāram/14/ vaidehakāntevāsinaś cainaṃ samiddhayogair arcayeyuḥ/15/ śiṣyāś cāsyāvedayeyuḥ--'asau siddhaḥ sāmedhikaḥ'

muṇḍo jaṭilo vā vṛttikāmas tāpasavyañjano nagarabhyāśe prabhūtajaṭilamuṇḍāntevāsī śākaṃ yavasamuṣṭiṃ vā māsadvimāsāntaritaḥ prakāśam aśnīyāt/ dharmavyañjanagūḍhaṃ ca yatheṣṭam āhāraṃ/ tāpasavyañjanāntevāsinaś cainaṃ siddhayogair arcayeyuḥ śiṣyāś cāsyopadiśeyuḥ/ lābhaṃ

muṇḍo jaṭilo vā vṛttikāmaḥ 'tāpasavyañjanaḥ'/ sa nagarābhyāśe[89] prabhūtajaṭilamuṇḍāntevāsī śākaṃ yavamuṣṭiṃ vā māsāntaritaṃ prakāśam aśnīyā dharmavyājena gūḍhaṃ yatheṣṭham āhāraṃ/ tāpasavyañjanāntevāsinaś cainaṃ prasiddhayogair

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89. Mand., Ghar. sannagarā-.

90. Kangle: "DM$_2$vl. prabhūtajaṭilā-."

91. Kangle: "GM yavasamuṣṭiṃ." Bhār. agrees with GM, Medh. with Kangle's text.

iti/16/ samedhāśāstib- hiś cābhigatānām aṅga- vidyayā śiṣyasaṃjñābhiś ca karmāṇy abhijane 'vasitāny ādiśet---alpa- lābham agnidāhaṃ cora- bhayaṃ dūṣyavadhaṃ tuṣ- ṭidānaṃ videśapravṛtti- jñānam, 'idam adya śvo vā bhaviṣyati, idaṃ vā[92] rājā kariṣyati' iti[93]/17/ tasya gūḍ- hāḥ sattriṇaś ca[94] saṃ- pādayeyuḥ[95]/18/	nidānaṃ corabhayaṃ duṣṭavadhabandhanaṃ videśapravṛttim idam adya śvo vā bhaviṣya- tīdaṃ vā rājā kariṣya- tīti/ tad asya sattri- ṇas tatprayuktāḥ sampā- dayeyur/	arthalābham agre śiṣyāś cādiśeyuḥ/ dāhaṃ caurabhayaṃ duṣṭavadhaṃ ca videśapravṛttam, 'idam adya śvo vā bhaviṣ- yatīdaṃ vā rājā kariṣ- yati' iti/ tasya gūḍhamantriṇas tat prayuktāḥ sampādayeyuḥ
b. ye cāpy asambandhino[96] 'vaśyabhartavyās[97] te lakṣaṇam aṅgavidyāṃ jambhakavidyāṃ māyaga-	ye cāsya rājño 'vaśyaṃ bhartavyās te lakṣaṇa- vidyām aṅgavidyāṃ jam- bhakavidyāṃ māyāgatam	ye cāsya rājño vaṃśalakṣaṇavidyāṃ saṃgavidyāṃ jaṃbha- kavidyāṃ māyāgatam

92. Kangle: "G₂M om. vā". Bhār., Medh. agree with Kangle's text.

93. Kangle: "D om. iti". Bhār., Medh. agree with Kangle's text.

94. Kangle: "om. ca". Bhār., Medh. agree with Kangle's text.

95. Kangle: "G₁ saṃvādayeyuḥ". Bhār, Medh. agree with Kangle's text.

96. Kangle: "CbCj cāsya sambandhi-".

97. Kangle: "D -vaśyakartavyās". Bhār. agrees with Kangle's text.

tam āśramadharmaṃ nimittam[98] antaracakram ity adhīyānāḥ sattriṇaḥ, saṃsargavidyaṃ vā/1/	āśramadharmaṃ nimittajñānaṃ cādhīyamānāḥ sattriṇaḥ syuḥ/	āśramadharmaṃ nimittajñānaṃ cādhīyānā mantriṇas

c. tān rājā svaviṣaye mantripurohitasenāpatiyuvarājadauvārikāntarvaṃśikapraśāstṛsamāhartṛsaṃnidhātṛpradeṣṭṛnāyakapauravyāvahārikakārmāntikamantipariṣadadhyakṣadaṇḍadurgāntapālāṭavikeṣu[99] śraddheyadeśaveṣaśilpabhāṣābhijanāpadeśān bhaktitaḥ sāmarthyayogāc cāprasarpayet/6/

tantrājaitāḥ pañcasaṃsthā etair mantribhiḥ saha svaviṣaye paraviṣaye cāvasthāpayet/ mantripurohitasenāpatiyuvarājadauvārikāntarvaṃśikādiṣu śraddheyadeśaveṣaśilpabhāṣāvido janapadopadeśena sattriṇaḥ sañcārayet/	tatra rājā etat pañca saṃsthāyatair mantribhiḥ svaviṣaye 'vasthāpayet/ mantripurohitasenāpatiyuvarājadauvārikāntarveśikādiṣu sadvyapadeśaveṣaśilpabhāṣāvido janapadāpadeśena mantriṇaḥ saṃdhārayet/

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98. Kangle: "DG$_1$ -dharmanimittam." Bhār., Medh. agree with Kangle's text.

99. Kangle: "D -senādhipati-." Bhār., Medh. agree with Kangle's text.

d. sūdārālikasnāpakasaṃ-
vāhakāstarakakalpaka-
prasādhakodakaparicā-
rikā rasadāḥ kubjavā-
manakirātamūkabadhira-
jaḍāndhacchadmāno[100]
naṭanartakagāyanavā-
dakavāgjīvanakuśīla-
vāḥ striyaś cābhyanta-
raṃ cāraṃ vidyuḥ/9/[101]

e. vane vanacarāḥ[102]
kāryāḥ śramaṇāṭavikā-
dayaḥ[103]/ parapravṛt-
tijñānārthāḥ śīghraś
cāraparamparāḥ// 23//

tathā kubjavāmanakirā-
tamūkajaḍabadhirāndha-
chadmano naṭanartakagā-
yanādayaś ca striyaś
cābhyantaracāraṃ vidyuḥ/

vane vanacarāḥ kāryāḥ
śramiṇāṭavikādayaḥ
parapravṛttijñānārthāḥ
śīghraś cāraparamparāḥ/

tathā kubjavāmanaki
ātamūkajaḍabadhi-
rāndhanaṭanarttaka-
gāyanādayaḥ striyaś
cābhyantaracāriṇyo
'ṭavyāṃ

vane carāḥ kāryāḥ
grāme grāmīṇakādaya
/ puruṣavyāpārār-
thāḥ svavyāpārapa-
ramparāḥ//

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100. Kangle: "D -badhirāndhajaḍa-."

101. Cf. KN 13.44: jaḍamūkāndhabadhiracchadmānāḥ paṇḍakās tathā/
kirātavāmanāḥ kubjās tadvidhā ye ca kāravaḥ// and NV 14.8:
-jaḍamūkabadhirāndhacchadmānas, etc.

102. Kangle: "D vane carāḥ."

103. Kangle: "D śravaṇā-."

parasya caite[104] boddha-vyās	parasya caite boddhavyās	parasparaṃ caite boddhavyās
tādṛśair eva tādṛśāḥ/	tādṛśair eva tādṛśāḥ	tādṛśair eva tādṛśāḥ/
cārasaṃcāriṇaḥ saṃsthā gūḍhāś cāgūḍhasaṃjñi-tāḥ[105] //24//	cārasañcāriṇaḥ saṃsthā-gūḍhāś cāgūḍhasaṃjñitaḥ/	vārisaṃcāriṇasthā gūḍhāś ca[106] gūḍhasaṃjñitāḥ /

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104. Kangle: "G₁ caike." Bhār., Medh. agree with Kangle's text.

105. Kangle: "D cāgūḍhasaṃjñakāḥ." Bhār., Medh. agree with Kangle's text.

106. Mand. om. gūḍhāś ca.

13. The Four Elements of the Circle of States

Arth. 6.2		Bhār. 7.155	Medh. 7.155
a. rājā ātmadravyapra- kr̥tisampanno nayasyā- dhiṣṭhānaṃ vijigī- ṣuḥ /13/[109]		tatraiteṣām eva yo rājā prakr̥tisampan- no 'ham evemāṃ pr̥thivīṃ jeṣya ity abhyukṣitā sa viji- gīṣur utsāhaśakti- yogāt /	tatra ca yo[107] rājā prakr̥tisampan- no 'ham evaṃvidhāṃ pr̥thivīṃ vijyeṣye[108] 'bhyutthitaḥ sa vijigīṣuḥ utsāha- śaktiyogāt /
		śatrus trividhaḥ /	śatrus trividhaḥ,
b(1) bhūmyanantaraḥ prakr̥tyamitraḥ,	(2) sahajaḥ		(2) sahajaḥ prākr̥taḥ
(2) tulyābhijanaḥ sahajaḥ,	(3) kr̥trimo		(3) kr̥trimaḥ /
(3) viruddho viro- dhayitā vā kr̥trimaḥ /19/[110]	(1) bhūmyanantara iti /		(1) svabhūmyanantara iti

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107. Mand. tatra eṣa ca; Ghar. tatra eṣa tayo.

108. Mand., Ghar. vijyeṣye.

109. Cf. KN 8.6: sampannas tu prakr̥tibhir mahotsāhaḥ kr̥taśramaḥ / jetum eṣaṇaśīlaś ca vijigīṣur iti smr̥taḥ // NV 29.23: rājātma-daivadravyaprakr̥tisampanno nayavikramayor adhiṣṭhānaṃ vijigīṣuḥ /

110. Cf. NV 29.33-4: samābhijanaḥ sahajaśatruḥ / virādho virādha-yitā vā kr̥tr̥maḥ śatruḥ /

c. arivijigīṣvor   madhyamo 'nayor   madhyamaḥ / anayor
   bhūmyanantaraḥ saṃ-   arivijigīṣvor asaṅ-   arivijigīṣvor asaṃ-
   hatāsaṃhatayor anu-   gatayor nigraha-   hatayor nigrahasam-
   grahasamartho ni-   samarthaḥ /   arthaḥ na saṃhatayor
   grahe cāsaṃhatayor
   madhyamaḥ /21/[111]

d. arivijigīṣumadhyā-   udāsīno 'rivijigī-   udāsīnaḥ, arivijigī-
   nāṃ bahiḥ prakṛti-   ṣumadhyamānām   ṣumadhyamānāṃ asaṃ-
   bhyo balavattaraḥ   asaṃhatānāṃ /   hatānāṃ nigraha-
   saṃhatāsaṃhatānām   samarthaḥ, na tu
   arivijigīṣumadhya-   saṃhatānām /
   mānām anugrahasam-
   artho nigrahe cāsaṃ-
   hatānām udāsīnaḥ
   /22/[112]

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111. Cf. KN 8.18: areś ca vijigīṣoś ca madhyamo bhūmyanantaraḥ /
anugrahe saṃhatayor vyastayor nigrahe prabhuḥ // and NV 29.22.
112. Cf. KN 8.19: maṇḍalād bahir eteṣāṃ udāsīno balādhikaḥ /
anugrahe saṃhatānāṃ vyastānāṃ ca vadhe prabhuḥ // and NV 29.21:
agrataḥ pṛṣṭhataḥ koṇe vā sannikṛṣṭaṃ vā maṇḍale sthito madhyamā-
dīnāṃ vigrahītānāṃ nigrahe saṃhitānām anugrahe samartho 'pi kena
cit kāraṇenānyasmin bhūpau vijigīṣumāṇe ya udāste sa udāsīnaḥ /

14. The Sixfold Policy (Schlingloff 18)

Arth. 7.1	Bhār. 7.160	Medh. 7.160
a(1) tatra paṇabandhaḥ saṃdhiḥ /6/	(1) atra hiraṇyādini-bandhana ubhayānu-grahārthaḥ sandhiḥ/	(1) tatra hiraṇyādidāno-bhayānugrahārthaḥ sandhis
(2) apakāro vigrahaḥ /7/	(2) tadviparīto vigrahaḥ /	(2) tadviparīto vigrahaḥ /
(3) upekṣaṇam āsanam /8/	(4) ekatarābhyuccayo yānam /	(4) ekāntatāgamanam[113] yānam
(4) abhyuccayo yānam /9/	(3) upekṣaṇam āsanaṃ /	(3) upekṣāyāṃ āsanam /
(5) parārpaṇa saṃśrayaḥ /10/[114]	(6) sandhivigrahe (lacuna)	(6) sandhivigrahopādānaṃ dvaidhībhāvaḥ /
(6) saṃdhivigrahopā-dānaṃ dvaidhī-bhāvaḥ /11/	(5) rpaṇaṃ saṃśrayaḥ	(5) parasyātmārpaṇaṃ saṃśrayaḥ /
iti ṣaḍguṇāḥ /12/	etān ṣāṅguṇāṃś cintayet sadā /	ete ṣaḍguṇāḥ /

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113. Mand., Ghar. ekāntata 'py ucyate.

114. Cf. NV 29.43-8: paṇabandhaḥ sandhiḥ / aparādho (Jolly: apakāro) vigrahaḥ / abhyudayo (Jolly: abhyuccayo) yānam / upekṣaṇam āsanam / parasyātmārpaṇaṃ saṃśrayaḥ / ekena saha sandhāyānyena saha vigraha-karaṇam ekenaiva śatrau sandhānapūrvaṃ vigraho dvaidhībhāvaḥ /

Also Utpala on Varāhamihira, Yogayātrā 13.4 (P.V. Kane, ABI 28, 1947, p. 137 n.2): Cāṇikya āha / parārpaṇaṃ saṃśrayaḥ /

b. teṣāṃ yasmin vā guṇe sthitaḥ paśyet 'ihasthaḥ śakṣyāmi durgasetukarmavaṇikpathaśūnyaniveśakhanidravyahastivanakarmāṇy ātmanaḥ pravartayituṃ, parasya caitāni karmāṇy upahantum' iti tam ātiṣṭhet /20/

eteṣāṃ ṣaṇṇāṃ yasmin guṇe vyavasthito manyetāhaṃ śakṣyāmi durgaṃ kārayituṃ hastino bandhayituṃ khaniṃ khānayituṃ vaṇik (lacuna) rayituṃ kaśīn prayojayituṃ dāruvanaṃ chedayituṃ adeyamātrāṇi ca kṣetrāṇi bandhayitum ity evam ādīni / parasya ca vyāhantuṃ vṛddhivighātārthaṃ tadguṇam upeyāt /

eteṣāṃ yasmin guṇe 'vasthito manyetāhaṃ śakṣyāmi durgaṃ kārayituṃ, hastinīr bandhayituṃ , khanīḥ khanayituṃ, vaṇikpathaṃ prayojayituṃ, jatuvanaṃ chedayituṃ, adevamātṛkadeśe kṣetrāṇi bandhayitum ity evam ādīni, parasya vittāni vyāhartuṃ, buddhivighātārthaṃ guṇam upeyāt/

15. Waiting or Marching after Making War or Peace (Schlingloff 13)

Arth. 7.4	Bhār. 7.161	Medh. 7.164
a. atisaṃdhānakāmayor[115] arivijigīṣvor[116] upahantum aśaktayor vigṛhyāsanaṃ saṃdhāya vā /4/	param atisandhātukāmayor arivijigīṣvor upagantum aśaktayoḥ sandhāyāsanaṃ vgṛhya vā	
b(1) yadā vā paśyet 'svadaṇḍair mitrāṭavīdaṇḍair vā samaṃ jyāyāṃsaṃ vā karśayitum utsahe' iti tadā kṛtabāhyābhyantarakṛtyo vigṛhyāsīta /5/	tatra yadā paśyet svabalenotsahe paraṃ karśayitum	svayaṃ vigrahasya kālaḥ yad āvaśyaṃ svabalenotsahate paraṃ karṣayitum

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115. Kangle (on Arth. 7.4.3-4): "GMT upekṣaṇam iti saṃdhāna-, ⌐em. Meyer_⌐." Bhār. supports Meyer's emendation against the MSS.

116. Kangle: "G₁T -kāmayor api viji-". Bhār. agrees with Kangle's text.

(2) yadā vā paśyet
'utsāhayuktā me pra-
kṛtayaḥ saṃhatā vivṛ-
ddhāḥ svakarmāṇy[117]
avyāhatāś cariṣyan-
ti parasya vā karmāṇy
upahaniṣyanti' iti
tadā vigṛhyāsīta /6/

utsāhaya uktāś ca
me prakṛtayaḥ saṃ-
hatā vivṛddhāś ca
svakarmaṇy avyāhatāś
cariṣyanti /

utsāhayuktaḥ, prakṛ-
tayaḥ saṃhatā vivṛ-
ddhāś ca svakarma-
kṛṣyādiphalasaṃpannāḥ
parasyaitāny apaha-
riṣyanti karmāṇi,

(3) yadā vā paśyet
'parasyāpacaritāḥ kṣī-
ṇā lubdhāḥ svacakra-
stenāṭavīvyathitā
vā prakṛtayaḥ svayam
upajāpena vā mām
eṣyanti;...' iti
paravṛddhipratighāt-
ārthaṃ pratāpārthaṃ
ca vigṛhyāsīta /7/

parasya vā prakṛ-
tayo lubdhāḥ kṣīṇāś
ca / yata upajāpena
śakyās tā amī kartum
ity evam ādi / tadā
vigṛhyāsīta /

kṣīṇalabdhaprakṛtiḥ
paraḥ, śakyās tat-
prakṛtaya upajāpen-
ātmīyāḥ karttuṃ, sa
svayaṃ vigrahasya
kālaḥ/

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117. Kangle: "G₂MT svakarmaṇi (for svakarmāṇi)". Bhār. agrees with
G₂MT against Kangle's text.

c. vigṛhyāsanahetu-
prātilomye[118] saṃdhā-
yāsīta /13/

vigṛhyāsanahetvābhāve
sandhāyāsīta /

d(1) vigṛhyāsanahetubhir
abhyuccitaḥ sarvasaṃ-
dohavarjaṃ vigṛhya
yāyāt /14/

parasmād abhyutthitaḥ
sarvasandehavarjaṃ
svarāṣṭre kṛtaprati-
vidhāno vigṛhya yāyāt/

(2) yadā vā paśyet 'vyasanī
paraḥ; prakṛtivyasanaṃ
vā 'sya śeṣaprakṛtibhir
apratikāryam; svacakra-
pīḍitā viraktā vā 'sya
prakṛtayaḥ karśitā nirut-
sāhāḥ parasparād vā
bhinnāḥ śakyā lobhayitum;
agnyudakavyādhimaraka-
durbhikṣanimittam kṣīṇa-
yugyapuruṣanicayarakṣā-
vidhānaḥ paraḥ' iti tadā
vigṛhya yāyāt /15/

vyasane vā parasya
pratikṣaye prakṛtikope
vā /

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118. Kangle: "G₁ -sananetuprāti-, T -sane tu prāti-". Bhār. agrees
with Kangle's text.

(3)yadā vā paśyet 'mitram   ākrandāsārabalād vā /

    ākrandaś ca me śūra-

    vṛddhānuraktaprakṛtiḥ,

    viparītaprakṛtiḥ paraḥ

    pārṣṇigrāhaś cāsāraś ca,

    śakṣyāmi mitreṇāsāram

    ākrandena pārṣṇigrāhaṃ

    vā vigṛhya yātum' iti

    tadā vigṛhya yāyāt /16/

e. viparyaye saṃdhāya   vigṛhyayānahetvābhāve
   yāyāt /18/   tu pārṣṇigrāhaṃ sandhāya
                                yāyāt /

f. yadā vā paśyet 'na   sambhūya vā yātrāphalāṃś-
   śakyam ekena yātum   akṛtasaṃvitka ity evam
   avaśyaṃ ca yātavyam'   ādi samartho vā tv ariṃ
   iti tadā samahīnajyā-   pārṣṇigrāhaṃ ca yugapad
   yobhiḥ sāmavāyikaiḥ   vigṛhya yāyāt /
   sambhūya yāyāt, ekatra
   nirdiṣṭenāṃśena, aneka-
   trānirdiṣṭenāṃśena /19/

16. The Four Types of Deserting and Returning Vassals (Schlingloff 12)

Arth. 7.6

tasyāṃ gatāgataś catur-

vidhaḥ--

a(1) kāraṇād gatāgato,

  (2) viparītaḥ,

  (3) kāraṇād gato 'karaṇād

      āgato

(4) viparītaś ceti /23/

b(1) svāmino doṣeṇa gato guṇen-

      āgataḥ parasya guṇena

      gato doṣenāgata iti

      kāraṇād gatāgataḥ saṃ-

      dheyaḥ /24/

  (2) svadoṣeṇa gatāgato guṇam

      ubhayoḥ parityajya akāra-

      ṇād gatāgataḥ calabuddhir

      asaṃdheyaḥ /25/

Medh. 7.186

sa caturvidhaḥ

kāraṇād gatas tato

viparīta

'kāraṇād āgato

yathā doṣeṇa gataḥ

punar āgato

guṇam ubhayoḥ parityа-

jya / 'kāraṇenāgata

iti yaḥ sa tyājyo

laghubuddhitvād yat-

kiṃcitkārīti / punar

asya pratyayas tu na

kāryaḥ /

(3) svāmino doṣeṇa gataḥ

parasmāt svadoṣenāgata

iti kāraṇād gato 'kāraṇād

āgataḥ tarkayitavyaḥ 'para-

prayuktaḥ svena vā doṣeṇ-

āpakartukāmaḥ, parasyo-

cchettāram amitraṃ me

jñātvā pratighātabhayād

āgataḥ, paraṃ vā māṃ ucchet-

tukāmaṃ parityajyānṛśaṃ-

syād āgataḥ' iti /26/

jñātvā kalyāṇabuddhiṃ

pūjayed, anyathābuddhim

apakṛṣṭaṃ vāsayet /27/

kāraṇād gataḥ 'kāraṇād

āgataḥ[119] yathā svāmi-

doṣeṇa gataḥ paras-

māt[120] svadoṣeṇa gata

iti satkarttavyo yadi

saṅgitvād āgatas tato

grāhyaḥ / atha para-

prayuktas tena vā

doṣeṇāpakarttukāma

iti tato neti /

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119. Mand. om. na kāryaḥ; Ghar. pratyayas tu kāraṇād gataḥ kāraṇā-
gataḥ (v.l. kāraṇa āgataḥ).

120. Mand. parastāt.

(4) svadoṣeṇa gataḥ paradoṣeṇ-

   āgata ity akāraṇād gataḥ

   kāraṇād āgataḥ tarkayitavyaḥ

   'chidraṃ me pūrayiṣyati

   uchito 'yam asya vāsaḥ,

   paratrāsya jano na ramate,

   mitrair me saṃhitaḥ, śatru-

   bhir vigṛhītaḥ, lubdhakrūrād

   āvignaḥ śatrusaṃhitād vā

   parasmāt' iti /28/ jñātvā

   yathābuddhy avasthāpayitavyaḥ

   /29/

17. Marching Order[121] (Schlingloff 6)

Arth. 10.2	Bhār. 7.187	Medh. 7.187
purastān nāyakaḥ, madhye kalatraṃ svāmī ca, pārśvayor aśvā bāhūtsāraḥ, cakrānte-ṣu hastinaḥ prasāra-vṛddhir vā, paścāt senāpatir yāyāt[122] niviśeta /4/	purastān nāyakaḥ paścāt senāpatiḥ svāmī ca madhye pārśvayor hastinaḥ tato 'śvā ity eṣa sāṃgrāmiko yāna-vidhiḥ /	purastād balādhyakṣo madhye rājā paścāt senāpatiḥ, pārśvayor hastinas teṣāṃ samīpe 'śvās tataḥ padātaya ity eṣa sarvataḥ sama-vāyo daṇḍavyūho 'tiryag bhavati /

121. Cf. KN 19.45-7: nāyakaḥ purato yāyāt pravīrapuruṣāvṛtaḥ / madhye kalatraṃ svāmī ca kośaḥ phalgu ca yad balam // pārśvayor ubhayor aśvā aśvānāṃ pārśvayo rathāḥ / rathānāṃ pārśvayor nāgā nāgānāṃ cāṭavībalam // paścāt senāpatiḥ sarvaṃ puraskṛtya kṛtī svayam / yāyāt sannaddhasainyaughaḥ khinnān āśvāsayañ chanaiḥ // Also Caṇḍeśvara, perhaps based on Medhātithi (Rājanīti-Ratnākara, ed. K.P. Jayaswal, Calcutta 1924, p. 39): vyūhamadhye padmavyūhastho rāj agre balādhyakṣaḥ vyūhapaścāt senāniti tatpārśvayor hastinaḥ tatsamīpe vyūhamadhye 'śvāḥ / tatsamīpe vyūhamadhye padātayaḥ /

122. Kangle: "GMT read paścāt senāpatir yāyāt niviśeta after sam-bhāvyā vā gatiḥ (s. 12), (Cs)".

18. <u>Safety of the King in Battle</u>[123] (Schlingloff 2)

Arth. 10.5	Medh. 7.191
	samānatantreṇoktam /
dve śate dhanuṣāṃ	dve śate dhanuṣāṃ
gatvā	gatvā
rājā tiṣṭhet prati-	rājā tiṣṭhet prati-
grahe /[124]	grahaḥ /
bhinnasaṃghātanaṃ	bhinnasaṃghātanārthaṃ
tasmān[125]	tu
na yudhyetāprati-	na yudhyetāprati-
grahaḥ //58//	grahaḥ //

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123. For parallels see J.J. Meyer, op. cit. p. 87.

124. Kangle: "GMT tiṣṭhet pratigrahaḥ, (Cn)". GMT and Medh. agree
with Śaṅkarārya on <u>KN</u> 20.15, -grahaḥ.

125. Śaṅkarārya loc. cit.: bhinnasaṃdhāraṇas tasmān.

19. <u>Human Effort and Fate</u>[126] (Schlingloff 8)

Arth. 6.2

mānuṣaṃ nayāpanayau,

daivam ayānayau /6/

daivamānuṣaṃ hi karma

lokaṃ yāpayati[127] /7/

Medh. 7.205

samānatantre 'pi

'daivaṃ nayānayayor

mānuṣaṃ karma lokaṃ

pālayati' iti /

---

126. Cf. <u>NV</u> 29.3-5: daivaṃ dharmādharmau / mānuṣaṃ nayānayau /

daivaṃ mānuṣaṃ ca karma lokam yāpayati /

127. Kangle: "G$_1$ yāvati, T avati". Shama Sastri pāvati. Jolly,

<u>ZDMG</u> <u>71</u> p. 414: "Vielleicht ist *pālayati zu lesen, nach dem Zitat

dieser Stelle Me(dhātithis) zu VII, 205."

20. The Effects of Poison on Birds[128] (Schlingloff 4)

Arth. 1.20

śukaḥ sārikā bhṛṅgarājo
vā sarpaviṣaśaṅkāyāṃ
krośati /7/ krauñco
viṣābhyāśe mādyati, glā-
yati jīvaṃjīvakaḥ, mriyate
mattakokilaḥ, cakorasyā-
kṣiṇī virajyete /8/

Medh. 7.217

darśanena mriyate yatra
kokilaḥ, glāyati
jīvaṃjīvakaḥ, cakorasyā-
kṣiṇī vinaśyato viṣaṃ
pradarśyāpi, bhavati
muṣkasyāvagrahaḥ
sveda ity ādi /

---

128. Cf. KN 7.11-13: bhṛṅgarājaḥ śukaś caiva sārikā ceti pakṣiṇaḥ /
krośanti bhṛśam udvignā viṣapannagadarśanāt // cakorasya virajyete
nayane viṣadarśanāt / suvyaktaṃ mādyati krauñco mriyate mattakokilaḥ//
jīvañjīvasya ca glānir jāyate viṣadarśanāt / teṣāṃ anyatamenāpi
samaśnīyāt parīkṣitam // and Suśruta, Kalpasthāna 1.30-2: bhinnārcis
tīkṣṇadhūmaś ca na cirāc copaśāmyati / cakorasyākṣivairāgyaṃ
jāyate kṣipram eva tu // dṛṣṭvānnaṃ viṣasaṃsṛṣṭaṃ mriyante jīva-
jīvakāḥ / kokilaḥ svaravaikṛtyaṃ krauñcas tu madam ṛcchati //
hṛṣyen mayūra udvignaḥ krośataḥ śukasārike / haṃsaḥ kṣveḍati
cātyarthaṃ bhṛṅgarājas tu kūjati //

21. <u>Audiences</u> (Schlingloff 1)

Arth. 1.19

sarvam ātyayikaṃ kāryam

śṛṇuyān nātipātayet /

kṛcchrasādhyam ati-

    krāntam

asādhyaṃ vāpi jāyate[129] //30//

Medh. 7.223

yathā cotpāditaṃ kāryaṃ

saṃpaśyen no bhitā-

    payet /

kṛcchrasādhyam ati-

    krāntam

asādhyaṃ vāpi jāyate //

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129. Kangle: "G$_1$ vā vijāyate, G$_2$ vābhijāyate, M vā nijāyate".

Schlingloff's observation that Medhātithi in the majority
of cases supports Kangle's text against the variants survives the
introduction of Bhāruci into the comparison. In some cases both
commentators support one or other of the variants against Kangle's
text,[1] in some cases Bhāruci alone supports the variants,[2] and in
five cases the texts of Bhāruci and Medhātithi conflict, one agree-
ing with Kangle's readings while the other supporting a variant
reading, most of these to be explained as textual corruptions in
one or other of the commentators.[3] Schlingloff is also right in
saying that while Medhātithi attests the reliability of the textual
tradition of the Arthaśāstra, the opposite is the case for Medhā-
tithi himself. Ganganatha Jha has said of his text, "As regards
the readings of the Bhāṣya, it would be a sheer waste of time to
even note the 'readings'. The MSS. are so hopelessly corrupt that
those 'readings' would, in ninety cases out of a hundred, be a mere
jumble of meaningless syllables."[4] Similar circumstances prevailed
it seems, in the 14th century when a northern Indian king had a
jīrṇoddhāra text made because the available manuscripts were faulty.[5]

1. Above, notes 13, 70, 85.

2. Above, notes 24, 49, 65, 116.

3. Above, notes 45, 74, 79, 82, 91.

4. Jha (Notes), p. 1.

5. According to Jha, text vol. 3, pp. i-ii; G. Bühler: The Laws
of Manu, Introd., pp. cxxiv-cxxv.

Schlingloff gives a list of readings which he considers certain
to be scribal errors, but observes, "In many cases one can be in
doubt whether one has before one a true variant or whether a
scribal error has been subsequently improved to the degree that in
its present form it has the appearance of a true variant."[1] It
must remain to an editor of Medhātithi who takes the trouble to
record the variants of many manuscripts, unrewarding as it may seem,
to decide the readings at issue in the foregoing parallels.

The single Bhāruci manuscript is clearly riddled with scribal
errors, not to mention lacunae, but where there are parallels in
the Arthaśāstra and Medhātithi, there need be no doubt as to the
original wording. We list the readings which to us seem required
or at least preferable; for the most part they are guaranteed by
the agreement of the Arthaśāstra and Medhātithi against Bhāruci;
in a few cases they are based upon partial agreement between Bhāruci
and one or the other of the two and the requirements of grammar or
sense.

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1. Schlingloff, p. 23, fn. 89. But in example 10 above (Sch. 7)
-opadiśyate is found both in Bhāruci and Medhātithi and must there-
fore remain against Arthaśāstra -opadihyate (obviously altered
under the influence of chāstrapadiśen and cāsyopadiśen). In 7(2)
and (3) above, lubdha- and bhītavargaḥ should change places and in
13.b(1) prākṛtaḥ should be omitted from Medhātithi.

Preferred Readings in Bhāruci

1.   7.52

   a.   lacuna: -m apreta- (Derr.)

           pretatvaṃ: pretatvaṃ kaupinadarśanam (Derr.)

           cārthasvapneṣu: cārthaghneṣu (Derr.)

   b.   dyūte: dyūte tu

   c.   tadaiva jitadravyaḥ: tad eva jitadravyaṃ

           tasyāpi: tasyāpi āmiṣaṃ (Derr.)

   d.   śaktā: śakyā

   e.   strīmṛga-: strīmṛgayā-

   f.   vyāyāma-: vyāyāmaḥ (Derr.)

           -vadhaḥ: -medaḥ- (Derr.)

           -jananena āsanaparicayaś: -jananaṃ (?) grāmyajanapar-

                                                  icayaś

2.   7.54

         suvigrahaḥ: (?) svavagrahaḥ (personal beauty a

                     quality of the ideal king, but not minister)

         -prabhāvaguṇayuktaḥ: prabhāvayuktaḥ

         -ārogyayukta-: -ārogyasattvayuktaḥ

         cāpalahīno: cāpalahīno saṃpriyo

         lacuna: -ṇāṃ akartety amātyasaṃpat /

3.a.   lacuna: dharmārthakāmabhayopadhābhiḥ / seyaṃ

   b(1)   asāmantam: sāmantam (Derr.)

(1)-(2)   pratyākhyāte: pratyākhyāne (Derr.)

(3)-(4)   tatkṛtasamāgamopāyācoptapuruṣaḥ (haplography);

         tatkṛtasamāgamopāyeti pratyākhyāne kāmopadhā-

         śuddhaḥ / rājaprayuktā eva kecit puruṣāḥ

         pravādam āviṣkuryuḥ, kṛtasamayair amātyai rājā

         hanyata it / upalabdha pravādaḥ purohitasyāp-

         tapuruṣaḥ

(4)   rājāpatyeṣūtsāhayet: rājāmātyeṣūtsāhayet

4.   7.56

         svājīvya: svājīva

         paśalyaḥ śatruṣ (lacuna) akṣī: paśavyaḥ śatrudveṣī

5.a   devāśramadyāvatāṃ: devatāśramavidyāvatāṃ

b-c.   lacuna: pravartanam / pravṛttānām anuvṛttiḥ / yac ca

         kośa-

         -daṇḍoghāta-: daṇḍopaghāta-

d.   the last three feet can be supplied from <u>Arth</u>. 13.5.24,

         but it is difficult to rectify metre and sense

         of the first. Medh. plainly corrupt.

6.   7.70

         -tācitā: -citā

         dvādaśahastocchritena: dvādaśahastād ūrdhvam ucchritena

7.   7.104

(1)   copacāre: copakāre

         ma (lacuna) taḥ: (?) prasabhābhimṛṣṭastrīkaḥ (<u>Arth.</u>)

         or (?) prasabham abhipūjya svīkṛtaḥ (Medh.)

         which, however, appears corrupt.

         sarvasvahārita: sarvasvam āhāritaḥ

(2) -bhūmi-: -bhūmir

-opanata-: -opanataḥ

(3) taṭaryo vyasaṭ (corrupt): parikṣīṇaḥ kadaryo vyasanī

bahvṛṇa

8. 7.147

a(1) karmāram-: karmaṇāṃ āram-

10. 7.152

grāhayitavyam: (?) grāhayitavyāḥ

11. 7.153

b(1) Candrasenam: Bhadrasenam ((Derr.)

(2) śayanāntargataṃ: śayanāntargataś (Derr.)

putra- Kāruśam: putraḥ Kārūśaṃ (Derr. Kārūṣaṃ)

(4) Vairantaṃ: Vairantyaṃ

12. 7.154

a. lacuna: pa-

-vyañcanāḥ: -vyañjanāḥ

(1) tad: tam

pramāṇīkṛtya: pramāṇaṃ kṛtvā

paśy (lacuna) aṃ: paśyasi tat tadānīm evāśrayaṃ (Derr.)

(2) -samarthāyāja: samarthāyāṃ bhūmau

kṛṣika (lacuna) vastān: kṛṣikarmaphalāc ca sarvapra-

vrajitānāṃ grāsācchādanāvasthān (Derr.)

-pravra (lacuna) rgaṃ: -pravrajitāś ca svaṃ svaṃ vargaṃ

(Derr.)

(4) vaṇik: om.

nagarābhyāśe: sa nagarābhyāśe

nidānaṃ: (?) agnidāhaṃ (Derr.)

e. śramiṇā-: śramaṇā

13. 7.115

c. asañyatayor: asaṃhatayor

14. 7.160

a(5)-(6) -vigrahe (lacuna) rpaṇaṃ: -vigrahopādānaṃ dvaidhībhā-

vaḥ / parārpaṇaṃ

b. vaṇik (lacuna) rayituṃ kaṣīn: vaṇikpathaṃ

adeyamātrāṇi: adevamātṛkāṇi

15. 7.161

a. upagantum: upahantum

b.(2) utsāhaya uktāś: utsāhayuktāś

(3) tā amī (corrupt): tatprakṛtayaḥ ātmīyāḥ

c. -hetvābhāve: hetvabhāve

d.(1) abhyutthitaḥ: abhyuccitaḥ

sarvasandeha: sarvasandoha

e.(2) pratikṣaye: (?) prakṛtikṣaye

-hetvābhāve: -hetvabhāve

Commentary

　　We now consider the examples singly to recall Schlingloff's
argument in greater detail and examine the bearing of Bhāruci upon
1　it. --In example (1) the introduction of Bhāruci does not much
change matters, and his text often stands in need of improvement
from the other two. The passage deals with the four vices born
of lust, which the Arthaśāstra gives, in order of increasing gravity,
as hunting, gambling, women and drink, Manu differing in that he
regards gambling as a more serious vice than indulgence in women.
(These categories and exposition of them through discussion of
their relative gravity are quite common in Sankrit literature; see
Schlingloff for a wealth of illustrations.) In their commentaries
on Manu's text, Bhāruci and Medhātithi take these vices in pairs,
giving arguments against the graver of the first two and for the
less grave, proceeding then to the second and third vices with
negative and positive arguments, and so through the list. The
Arthaśāstra also takes the vices in pairs, but the scheme is much
more complex. The false argument is put into the mouth of one of
Kauṭilya's opponents (Piśuna, Kauṇapadanta, Vātavyādhi) thus: 'of
A and B, A is worse', followed by a negative argument for A and a
positive argument for B; this Kauṭilya rejects, giving a negative
argument for B; a positive for A, and so to the next pair. That
we here have to deal with "a free, poetic reworking", scarcely
"based on a set stock of arguments"[1] may be freely granted. That

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1. Schlingloff, p. 33.

the author of the <u>Arthaśāstra</u> composed this passage by expanding
the materials as preserved in Bhāruci and Medhātithi, rather
than the opposite, Schlingloff deduces from the fact that Medhā-
tithi (and Bhāruci) cite the arguments of Kauṭilya's opponents,
and "a commentary could scarcely base its exposition on arguments
which the authority it quoted had rejected as false opinions".[1]
This seems to us a mistaken view of the matter: for Kauṭilya
does not contradict, he is simply not responsible for, the positive
and negative arguments concerning these vices by his opponents;
what he contradicts is their views as to the relative gravity of
them. Thus Somadeva can with good conscience reproduce the argu-
ment of Kauṇapadanta against gambling (above, note 2). We return
to consider the more general argument, that commentators stick to
their sources, at another point.

2, 4,   In regard to the passages concerning the ideal minister (2),
7   the ideal kingdom (4) and the four groups of seducible parties
(7), Schlingloff says they "could be abbreviated citations from
the <u>Kauṭilīya</u>, if Medhātithi had not used an order of ideas
which is not found in the <u>Kauṭilīya</u>."[2] In the first of these
three, Bhāruci's readings are closer to the <u>Arthaśāstra</u> than
Medhātithi, with only one word (<u>suvigrahaḥ</u>, if indeed it corres-
ponds to <u>svavagrahaḥ</u>) out of order. In the second Bhāruci is only

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1. Schlingloff, p. 34.

2. Schlingloff, p. 26.

slightly closer and does indeed alter the ordering, but the
supposed difference from the order of ideas in the Arthaśāstra
almost entirely disappears in the third of these passages. The
juxtaposition of bhīta- and lubdhavarga in Medhātithi (7(2) and
(3)) is clearly a scribal error (or editorial) as Jha's note and
Bhāruci's text show. If in 7(1) it had appeared that Medhātithi
was departing from the order of ideas in the Kauṭilīya, it can
now be seen that he is expanding and altering his source, Bhāruci.
--In considering the four tests of a minister's integrity Medhā-

3. tithi seems to have supplied the description of the 'test of
piety' (3.b(1)) partly from that of the 'test of wealth' (3.b(2)),
perhaps because his text of Bhāruci, who follows the Arthaśāstra
quite closely here, was defective. Schlingloff comments that
Medhātithi agrees with the contents of the first three tests, but
that in the 'test of fear' there is no similarity between the two,
and since Bhāruci and Medhātithi here agree (so far as the former's
damaged text permits us to decide), no new light is thrown on the
problem. But the difference between the Arthaśāstra and Medhātithi
has been exaggerated. The sense of the former is that the king
feigns suspicion of conspiracy against them when his ministers
gather at a party, and imprisons them. An agent previously
'imprisoned' approaches them singly, inviting them to join a plot
to kill the king, insinuating that all the others are agreed. If
the minister rejects the idea, he is loyal. This is a perfectly
good plan, but not well-suited to its title: Bhāruci and Medhātithi

give us a much more appropriately named 'test of fear', according
to which the king has the rumour spread that a combination of
ministers is plotting his death, and agents warn the ministers
that the king will punish them when he hears the rumour; another
agent urges them to take action, and those who refuse are proved
'pure' by the test of fear'. In both of these a 'plot' against
the king is the leading idea, and in both the object of the 'plot'
is to kill the king. That Kauṭilya, in the verses which follow,
states that the *ācāryas* approve the four tests, but gives it as
his own view that the "king must not make himself or the queen
the target in determining the purity of ministers"[1] and thus
proscribes the 'test of fear' set out, and that Medhātithi (and
Bhāruci) expresses a similar sentiment and thus contradicts him-
self,[2] is hardly proof that Medhātithi (or Bhāruci) drew from a
work of one of these teachers, not the *Kauṭilīya*, as Schlingloff

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1. Arth. 1.10.17: *na tv eva kuryād ātmānaṃ devīṃ vā lakṣyam
Īśvaraḥ / śaucahetor amātyānām etat Kauṭilya-darśanam //* and
generally vss. 16-20.

2. Medh. 7.54: *samuditaparīkṣā ca yoktā rājaviṣayā rājāmātyeṣūtsā-
hanam iti, sā na yukteti manyante. eṣa eva hi śuddhibhaved amāty-
ānām. tasmād anyā kācit strī sādhvī prayojyā anyaś ca vināśaviṣaya
udāhāryaḥ.* Cf. Bhār., *loc. cit.*: *iyaṃ parīkṣā rājaviṣayād anyatra.
na tu pūrvavat. itarathā hy etad eva buddhibhede hetuḥ syāt.*

reasons. On the contrary, the fact that the contradiction is found in all three points in the other direction.[1]

Schlingloff regards the passage on the pacification of recently
5. conquered lands (5) as a short chapter with closing verse which the author of the Kauṭilīya has expanded. Labdhapraśamana is indeed the title of a prakaraṇa in the Arthaśāstra, but its appearance in Medhātithi is due to the word labdhapraśamanāni in Manu 8.56, in which form it occurs in Bhāruci and on which the Bhāruci and Medhātithi passages are glosses. As glosses it is hardly reasonable to expect an extended quotation from the Arthaśāstra.

6. --Schlingloff believes that Medhātithi's description of the construction of the fort goes back to a technical work which has not come down to us: "Medhātithi quotes a passage lacking in the Kauṭilīya about a ditch around the fort (dṛḍhapraṇālyā parikṛtam dhanur durgam)."[2] In fact the 'ditch' is an error for Bhāruci's 'rampart' (dṛḍhavapreṇa pariṣkṛtam), corresponding to the vaprasya of the

1. Śaṅkarārya on KN 4.26 reproduces the passage, but not the disclaimer; but it would be absurd to deduce that he was not drawing from the Arthaśāstra.

2. Schlingloff, p. 25.

8. <u>Arthaśāstra</u>.[1] --The passage on the 'five-fold counsel' (8) is missing in Jha's text and was overlooked by Schlingloff. It shows an excellent agreement between the <u>Arthaśāstra</u> and Bhāruci,

9. Medhātithi abbreviating his source. --The betrayal of counsel by animals (9) is, as Schlingloff says, a well-known folklore motif, and Medhātithi (failing Bhāruci here) could have got it most anywhere. --Bhāruci's text is considerably better than his

10. colleague's in the extract on the training of princes (10), and it becomes clear that Medhātithi has both inserted new material into a text from Bhāruci (a) and reworded another (b); the order of ideas in the first part is of course still the opposite

11. of that in the <u>Arthaśāstra</u>. --With regard to the assasination of kings (11), after laying it down that a queen should be inspected by an old woman before the king makes love to her, and giving examples from legend of kings killed in the harem by their queens

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1. Schlingloff rightly observes that <u>dhanurdurga</u> in Medh. represents not 'bow fort' but <u>dhānvanadurga</u>, 'desert fort', or rather, <u>dhanva-</u>, the word which is found in Bhāruci's text of Manu 7.70. Bhāruci, however, did not gloss <u>dhanvadurgaṃ</u>, and the corresponding word has been wrongly inserted into Medh. (...<u>dhanurdurgam mahīdurgam aghādenāśrayanīyena codakena pariveṣṭitam durgam</u>/) as comparison with Bhār. shows (...<u>mahīdurgam</u>/ <u>agādhenānāśrāvaṇīyena codakena pariveṣṭitam abdurgaṃ</u>/). Naturally it is the water-fort, not the earth fort, that is /surrounded by water.

or through their agency (the passage in abbreviated and corrupt form in Bhāruci and Medhātithi), the Arthaśāstra instructs the king to prohibit contact with various undesirable females including slave girls from outside the harem. Schlingloff observes, "In the Kauṭilīya this prohibition is laid on the queen herself, while in Medhātithi (and Bhāruci) we find this addition, that it applies to the concubines of the harem (das weibliche Personal des Frauenhauses)".[1] The Arthaśāstra passage however makes no mention of the "queen herself", and an Indian king is likely to have several queens, devī, from whom the queen might be differentiated with the term mahādevī.[2] But the objection surely must be that in supplying the prohibition of the Arthaśāstra's cryptic text with an object Bhāruci alters the presumed intention of his original only slightly by naming the concubines, with whom the king might be in the same danger.

12.   The Bhāruci and Medhātithi texts on the king's spies (12), which are practically identical, correspond to parts of two chapters in the Arthaśāstra, including two of the concluding verses of the second of these. Manu's verse (7.154) requires the king to reflect on the 'eight-fold business', the 'group of five', on good will and enmity, and the conduct of the maṇḍala. Bhāruci

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1. Schlingloff, p. 29.

2. Kangle's translation presumes that several queens were intended.

(and, quoting him, Medhātithi) has come up with three different explanations of the aṣṭavidhaṃ karma and the various commentators offer two for the pañcavargam. Here we have Bhāruci's version: the 'group of five' consists of five types of agents, which according to the Arthaśāstra are those with fixed dwellings, dealt with in chapter 11, (a). Our Manu-commentators then go on, however, to describe roving spies, sattrins (b) and other material with correspondences in Arthaśāstra 1.12, (c-e). Schlingloff asks why the passage about the sattrins and so forth has been cited (b-e), rather than, with Kullūka and Govindarāja, the defin-ition of the five agents with permanent dwellings alone (a), as called for by the pañcavarga of Manu's text. "The most natural explanation for this is that Medhātithi has quoted in full, including the closing verse, the chapter dealing with agents in his Arthaśāstra-source and that the author of the Kauṭilīya has incorporated just this arthaśāstra-source into his work and has expanded the portion in question."[1] But this in no way solves the problem, which is, why did Bhāruci go beyond this 'group of five' in his comment?--he was not bound to quote his source in full.

13.   In commenting on the following verse in Manu, in which the four elements of the circle of states are named (conqueror, enemy, middle and neutral kings), Bhāruci and, following him, Medhātithi

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1. Schlingloff, p. 30.

have passages corresponding in condensed form to the definition in the Arthaśāstra of the twelve elements of the circle (13). (Schlingloff does not cite these passages.) --In the next

14. example, the six-fold policy (14), Bhāruci takes us slightly closer to the wording of the Arthaśāstra, though the order of the six is altered (as it is in Somadeva). Schlingloff sees striking differences in wording and content in part (b), and believes that a bit of text has been interpolated between the first and second passages in the Kauṭilīya, rather than supposing that Bhāruci here condenses his source.[1] --Medhātithi is capable

15. of condensing and altering his source, Bhāruci, as we see in the extract on waiting or marching after making war or peace (15). The example is instructive. What Schlingloff says is this: "We find (here) differences in content next to verbal correspondences; above all, the discussion in the Kauṭilīya on waiting after making war (vigṛhyāsīta) is particular, while in Medhātithi it refers in general to the three times for making war (vigrahasya kālaḥ)."[2] This is true, but Bhāruci changes the picture enormously. His comment is on Manu 7.161 which, like its immediate predecessor, names the six policies; Bhāruci explains waiting after

1. Schlingloff points out that the list of undertakings goes back to Medhātithi's (and Bhāruci's) gloss, one of three, on the aṣṭavidhaṃ karma of Manu 7.154, a similar list being found in KN 5.77.

2. Schlingloff, p. 28.

making war, waiting after making peace, marching after making war, marching after making peace and confederacy in a manner which we can recognize as an abridgement of the Arthaśāstra discussion, with a verbal correspondence which is respectably close and which at one point offers the only textual support to an emendation, due to Meyer, in the Arthaśāstra (a: see note 115). Medhātithi gives a briefer comment on Manu 7.161, but draws upon Bhāruci's comment elsewhere, namely in dealing with Manu 7.164 on war in season (kāle). The example amply illustrates the effect of a change of context, and the willingness of Medhātithi to condense and alter the sense of his source here demonstrated must throw doubt on the assumption on which Schlingloff's entire argument rests.

16.   The next example (16) is puzzling; the Medhātithi passage, as Schlingloff remarks, is very corrupt and defective, and it is the only longish correspondence between the Arthaśāstra and Medhātithi which is not found in our text of Bhāruci. It deals with the four types of deserting and returning vassals: those who desert and return for good reason (1), those who do so without good reason (2), those who desert for good reason and return without good reason (3), and those who desert without good reason and return for good reason (4). The Arthaśāstra after naming these four classes then describes these in greater detail: In the first case the vassal is to be taken back, in the second, rejected, in the third and fourth cases the decision must depend upon the ground of his defection and return. Schlingloff notes

that in the third case, of the three grounds considered, the second (which Schlingloff regards as not very logical, and which Meyer proposed to change[1]) is missing from Medhātithi. "Also, the differences in wording are here so characteristic that Medhā-tithi cannot himself have simplified the text, but must have used another source."[2] We do not see how so definite a conclusion can be reached about a text so obviously a victim of the jīrṇoddhāra, a text which announces four classes and then only names three, and describes in detail only three--or perhaps two.[3] But even granting that Medhātithi's original wording in b(3) was roughly as we have it, the differences noted rest on the questionable assumption that a commentator takes few liberties with the authority he uses.

17.   In dealing with marching order (17) we see Medhātithi (if his text is here correct) altering the wording and order of ideas of his original. Schlingloff remarks that in the Arthaśāstra the cavalry are on the sides, the elephants on the ends of the army, while in Medhātithi (and Bhāruci) the elephants are on the sides and the cavalry next to them. It is by no means certain, however,

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1. See Kangle, trans., on Arthaśāstra 7.6.26.

2. Schlingloff, p. 27. We abbreviate his discussion considerably.

3. We give the text as arranged and punctuated in Schlingloff, but it may be asked whether in b(1) Medhātithi's yathā doṣeṇa gataḥ punar āgato does not correspond to the Arthaśāstra's svadoṣeṇa gatāgato of b(2).

what the Arthaśāstra means here, or what the correct reading is,[1]
and the Kāmandakīya puts all four 'arms' of the army on the sides,
albeit in different order. --Of the passages concerning the king's
safety in battle (18) and audiences (21), neither of them found
in Bhāruci, Schlingloff rightly remarks, "Self-contained didactic
verses need not have been drafted by the author of the Kauṭilīya
nor have been taken from it by Medhātithi."[2] --The remaining
examples, concerning human effort and fate (19) and the effects
of poison on birds (20), are also absent from Bhāruci, and are
of a sort such that Medhātithi could have found them practically
anywhere.

18,
21

19,
20

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1. See Kangle's long note, trans., Arthaśāstra 10.2.4.
Cakrānteṣu is taken as "rear ends of the army" on the authority
of two commentaries, one of them Ganapati Sastri's; prasāravṛddhi
is carried out by horses (10.4.13); sarvataḥ, coming after
prasāravṛddhir vā is hived off and put in the following sūtra
because it does not accord with the sense adopted for cakrānteṣu;
paścāt...niveśeta is inserted from 10.2.12. In 10.2.5 (sarvataḥ
vanājīvaḥ prasāra), the first word may correspond to the tato of
Bhāruci, the second to the aṭavībalam of KN 19.46 (cf. Meyer's
trans.). But the passage defies translation.

2. Schlingloff, p. 25.

Conclusions

It is plain that by and large Schlingloff's conclusions
concerning Medhātithi apply rather to Bhāruci, for it is unreas-
onable to suppose that Medhātithi and his predecessor got substan-
tially identical material independently of each other. We have
given in our commentary on the parallel passages reasons to doubt
the assumption that commentators usually follow the wording and
sense of the authorities they quote; we will not belabour the
issue, but merely observe that the principal is not a universally
recognized one.[1] It might be argued that as Medhātithi does not
greatly alter Bhāruci (apart from one striking example), the same
must hold for Bhāruci and his source. But Medhātithi was taking

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1. Cf. Derrett's conclusions (based, it is true, on less material):
"Bhār. obviously used a version of Kauṭ. anterior to those known
to some extent from records of surviving manuscript material of
Kauṭilya himself. His numerous deviations from Kauṭ. suit his
purpose as a commentator on Manu; but one striking instance of
a real distortion of Kauṭ. to suit the obviously different scheme
of Manu (the rāja-vyasanas) shows that he was master of his
material...In numerous cases he merely alludes to Kauṭ. or borrows
his vocabulary without copying the passage verbatim, and this too
helps us to recognise where he is deliberately incorporating Kauṭ.
as distinct from merely utilising him and his science." (p. 140)

over material tailor-made for his purposes while Bhāruci drew

upon a different work, outside his śāstra, which he therefore had

to adapt to his peculiar needs.

We do not wish to give the impression that we regard Schling-
loff's well-argued thesis disproved. It may be the case that

Bhāruci drew upon a text which was a predecessor of the Arthaśāstra

or related to it in some other way, rather than the Arthaśāstra

itself. When heavenly bodies follow trajectories which do not

accord with existing theories, it may be necessary to posit the

existence of an unseen planet or star; but it would be unwise to

do so without a clear necessity. We entirely agree with Schling-

loff's words when he says, "We must stand firm against the tempta-

tion to see in the Arthaśāstra the conception of a single great

statesman."[1] But we must also be careful not to 'discover' the

existence of imaginary lost texts. It is much simpler to regard

the Arthaśāstra as Bhāruci's source, though not his only source in

Book 7, for he also quotes some ślokas, reproduced by Medhātithi,

of the 'Auśanasas'.[2]

Of those Arthaśāstra-Medhātithi correspondences which Bhāruci

lacks, only one, that concerning deserting and returning vassals,

is of some length and importance. It is possible that a correspon-

ding passage has dropped out of Bhāruci; the discovery of more

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1. Schlingloff, p. 37.

2. 7.154 in both commentators.

manuscripts of Bhāruci could help us decide. On the whole, in
any case, the evidence that Medhātithi knew the Kauṭilīya is
slight, while there is other evidence that in addition to Bhāruci
he had another arthaśāstra source. His references—not found in
Bhāruci—to 'those conversant with the books of Cāṇakya and others',[1]
to 'the science of polity, composed by the Auśanasas and others',[2]
to a work, Bārhaspatya, dealing with economics[3] do not take us very
far, nor does the teasing ascription of two non-Bhāruci passages
to a 'similar work' (samānatantra).[4] All the greater, then, is
the importance of the two passages Medhātithi quotes from an
Adhyakṣapracāra, whose title is identical with that of Arthaśāstra,
Book 2.[5] Here, we believe, we are entitled to look for a predeces-
sor to the Arthaśāstra, a work on which the composer of the Artha-
śāstra may have drawn.[6] In this far we are prepared to concede
Schlingloff his point.

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1. 7.43: Cāṇakyādividbhyaḥ

2. 7.2: arthaśāstram Auśanasādipraṇītam

3. 7.42: Bārhaspatyena—vārtā (sic: vārttā); 9.326: Bārhaspatye
vārtā (sic) samupadiṣṭā.

4. Above, examples 18, 19.

5. Medh. 7.61 and 7.81, cited in ch. 7.

6. Schlingloff remarks that the very titles of chapters in the
Arthaśāstra appear to be traditional, with examples, p. 31, fn. 109.

CHAPTER 7: THE AGES OF THE ARTHASĀSTRA

What Does It Mean?

A statistical study of a parallel work, Vātsyāyana's Kāma-
sūtra, will shed light on the nature of the result for the
Arthaśāstra, since Vātsyāyana is much more candid about his
sources than is the Arthaśāstra.

Taking the seven books of the Kāmasūtra, omitting verses
and removing from Book 1 the first chapter with its table of
contents, we find for our five key words the distributions set
out in Appendix Table 8. Books 4 and 7, with 920 and 860 words,
are rather short for testing; but it is not they, but the long-
est books (Books 2 and 6) which contribute most to the great
variability between the seven books which is shown below, Table 7.1.

Table 7.1

Chi-square results for seven books of Vātsyāyana's Kāmasūtra.

	x^2	d.f.
eva	18.09**	6
evam	--	--
ca	54.51***	18
tatra	23.21***	6
vā	18.64**	6

We will not burden the reader with the results of a comparison of each of the 21 different pairs of books: suffice it to state that a pattern emerged which showed that Books 2 and 6, and perhaps Book 7 (though this last was rather short for testing), proved not only distinct from the remaining books but from each other. This leaves us with a homogeneous core consisting of Books 1, 3, 4 and 5.

Table 7.2

Chi-square results in Vātsyāyana's Kāmasūtra. Core = Bks. 1, 3, 4, 5

	Core	Core & 2	Core & 6	Core & 7	2 & 6	2 & 7	6 & 7
eva							
x^2	5.22	8.29	9.85*	7.61	9.56**	.04	6.92**
d.f.	3	4	4	4	1	1	1
evam							
x^2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
d.f.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
ca							
x^2	9.74	36.00***	23.78*	28.63**	1.95	2.27	5.70
d.f.	9	12	12	12	3	2	2
tatra							
x^2	4.21	15.82**	4.35	6.96	7.38**	7.96**	-
d.f.	3	4	4	4	1	1	-
vā							
x^2	4.21	5.71	15.49**	5.71	14.51***	.00	7.04*
d.f.	3	4	4	4	2	1	2

These results are corroborated by the compound-length test.
Compound-length distributions for the prose portions of the seven
books of the <u>Kāmasūtra</u> are given in Appendix Table 9; in Table 7.3
the chi-square results may be found.

Table 7.3

Chi-square results for compound-length distributions in Vātsyāyana's
<u>Kāmasūtra</u>.

	x^2	d.f.
All books	67.35***	18
Core (Bks. 1, 3, 4, 5)	20.74*	9
Core & 2	29.61**	12
Core & 6	36.03***	12
Core & 7	37.62***	12
2 & 6	3.69	3
2 & 7	23.82***	3
6 & 7	32.45***	3

The chi-square result for the homogeneous core (Books 1, 3, 4, 5)
which we proposed above is rather high, bordering on the 1% level
of significance with a chi-square of 20.74 at nine degrees of free-
dom. But this is very unevenly distributed over the contingency
table, from which the calculation was made, over half (11.80) of
the value for chi-square coming from one cell (Book 4, compounds of
five or more members). Books 2 and 6 prove homogeneous in respect

of compound-length, but a difference in authorship is sufficiently well-established by word distributions.

Our conclusion must be, then, that Books 1, 3, 4 and 5 of the Kāmasūtra are by a single author, presumably Vātsyāyana, whose name the work bears. This author was not responsible for Books 2 and 6, and probably not for Book 7, which, however, is too short to reach a firm decision; and these three books, or at least Books 2 and 7, have different authors.

The Kāmasūtra opens with an invocation to Dharma, Artha, and Kāma, "for they are the subjects under discussion in this treatise; and to the ācāryas who have explained them, for (this treatise) is connected therewith,"[1] which the commentary elucidates as meaning that the Kāmasūtra is an abridgement of the treatises of the ācāryas.[2] There follows a geneology of the śāstra: after the creation of beings Prajāpati recited in 100,000 chapters the essence of the 'group of three'; Svāyaṃbhuva Manu separated from this the part dealing with dharma, Bṛhaspati the part dealing with artha, while Nandin, attendant of Mahādeva, recited the Kāmasūtra separately in 1000 chapters. This Auddālaki Śvetaketu abridged (saṃcikṣepa) in 500 chapters, and Bābhravya Pāñcāla in turn abridged Śvetaketu's work to 150 chapters of seven books with titles corres-

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1. Kām. 1.1.1-19. The translation of K. Rangaswami Iyengar in English and the German-Latin translation of Richard Schmidt have been consulted.

2. tat-praṇīta-śāstra-saṃkṣepeṇa hi śāstrasya praṇayanāt.

ponding to those of Vātsyāyana's work. "At the request of the courtezans of Pāṭaliputra, Dattaka separated its sixth book, Vaiśika." In this manner seven separate treatises arose from different teachers:

    (1)   Cārāyaṇa on Sādhāraṇa

    (2)   Suvarṇanābha on Sāmprayogika

    (3)   Ghoṭakamukha on Kanyāsamprayuktaka

    (4)   Gonardīya on Bhāryādikārika

    (5)   Goṇikāputra on Pāradārika

    (6)   Dattaka on Vaiśika

    (7)   Kucumāra on Aupaniṣadika.

"The śāstra, thus composed in parts by many ācāryas, almost became lost. Because the partial śāstras composed by Dattaka, etc. were fragmented, and because of the difficulty of studying that of Bābhravya on account of its bulk, having abridged (them), this Kāmasūtra has been composed (containing) all the topics in a small book."

Thus Vātsyāyana had Bābhravya's treatise and seven monographs before him when he composed his Kāmasūtra. We have in Jain sources independent testimony to the separate existence of two of these monographs: in a sort of index of disapproved works appear the titles Ghoḍa(ya)muham, probably the work of Ghoṭakamukha on Pāradārika (the Arthaśāstra quotes the views of a Ghoṭamukha who may be the same person) and Vesiya, probably the Vaiśika of Dattaka.[1] Vātsyāyana's

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1. The list, which includes Koḍillayam (Kauṭilīyam) but not the Kāmasūtra of Vātsyāyana is found in the Nandīsūtra and Anuyogadvāra. From the Introduction, The Uttarādhyāyanasūtra, ed. Jarl Charpentier, p. 29, after Weber.

method was to abridge; characteristically of ancient Indian authors of scientific treatises, he asks no credit for orginality, but on the contrary, ascribes his knowledge to previous teachers, and ultimately to the Creator himself.

The statistical analysis of the Kāmasūtra shows that in the homogeneous core, Books 1, 3, 4 and 5, Vātsyāyana has succeeded in imposing his own style on the material he has reworked, while for Books 2 and 6, and perhaps the shorter Book 7, he has incorporated the existing monographs of different authors without substantial reworking, at least as concerns style. It is significant that the original of one of these, Book 6, entitled Vaiśika, is singled out for special mention by Vātsyāyana in the passage given above, and was sufficiently well-known to have come to the attention of Jain monks.

The Arthaśāstra devotes only a single passage to describing its relation to its predecessors, namely the opening passage of the work which we have discussed above (Chapter 3): "This single Arthaśāstra has been made for the most part by drawing together (or condensing) as many arthaśāstras as have been composed by previous teachers for the acquisition and protection of the earth " (1.1.1) This statement clearly means that not merely the quoted views of predecessors in the Arthaśāstra, but the bulk of the entire work is to be referred to previous treatises; that the Arthaśāstra (much like the Kāmasūtra) is a compendium of earlier treatises, whether in abridgement or in full.

There are a few scraps of evidence which tend to support the

view that the original of Book 2, the <u>Adhyakṣapracāra</u>, once had a separate existence which extended some time after the composition (or shall we say, compilation) of the <u>Arthaśāstra</u>. In the first place, Vātsyāyana, who certainly knew the <u>Arthaśāstra</u> more or less in its present form, defines <u>artha</u> as the acquisition and increase of learning, land, gold, cattle, corn, household utensils, friends, etc., and advises one to learn it from the <u>Adhyakṣapracāra</u>, those conversant with commercial matters and merchants. The commentator explains, "The <u>Adhyakṣapracāra</u> is a treatise concerning the duties discharged by overseers."[1] The author of this commentary which is called <u>Jayamaṅgalā</u>, himself was no stranger to the <u>Arthaśāstra</u>, since it is probably he who wrote commentaries of the same name not only on the <u>Arthaśāstra</u> but on Kāmandaka's <u>Nītisāra</u> as well.[2] It may not be justified to insist that a separate treatise is here meant, but, in the second place, Medhātithi, who, as we have seen in the previous chapter, also drew from the <u>Arthaśāstra</u> in much its present form in whole or in major part through a predecessor, Bhāruci, quotes two passages from an <u>Adhyakṣapracāra</u> which have no counterparts in the <u>Arthaśāstra</u> or in Bhāruci. The first deals with the qualities of a

1. <u>Kām.</u> 1.2.10: '...<u>adhyakṣāḥ</u> <u>pracaranty anenety Adhyakṣapracāraḥ</u> <u>śāstrem</u>.' Differently Schmidt: "Wie die Aufseher auftreten, das bildet das"Auftreten der Aufseher"", whether because he had different readings before him or because in 1907 he had not seen the <u>Arthaśāstra</u>.

2. G. Harihara Sastri, <u>Arthaśāstra-vyākhyā Jayamaṅgalā</u>, introduction.

good minister (on Manu 7.61):

> uktaṃ cādhyakṣapracāre:
>
> buddhimān, anuraktaś ca yukto, dharmārtha-kovidaḥ/
>
> śucir, dakṣaḥ, kulīnaś ca mantrī yasya sa rājyabhāk//
>
> tasmin nikṣipya kāryāṇi bhogasaṃgī na naśyati/
>
> rāja-vaśya-vidhis tena dānānugrahanair iti//

The second (on Manu 7.81) mentions the overseers of elephants, horses and cattle:

> yathoktaṃ Adhyakṣapracāre:
>
> te adhyakṣāḥ sarvāṇi kāryāṇi avekṣerann anyeṣāṃ nṛṇāṃ
>
> tat sthānopayogināṃ kāryāṇi kurvatāṃ hastyadhyakṣeṇa
>
> hastipakāḥ aśvādhyakṣeṇa turaṅgamādyāḥ gavādhyakṣeṇa
>
> karṣaṇādayaḥ.

The first quotation is particularly interesting in that it deals with mantrins, which are outside the scope of the Adhyakṣapracāra as we now have it: mantrins and amātyas are discussed in Book 1. It is conceivable that the forbear of Book 2 was a work entitled Adhyakṣapracāra dealing with ministers as well as overseers, and that parts of it have contributed to Arthaśāstra Book 1, and parts were lost through abridgement.

We believe, then, that the various hands we have detected in the Arthaśāstra belong to the pūrvācāryas, the previous teachers whose works, in condensed form perhaps, were bound into a single work by a compiler who divided the work into chapters, added the terminal verses, composed the first and last chapters (and possibly one of the three long books), and who may have added other original

material but did not rework his sources to the extent that their
stylistic features were obscured.

The Ages of the Arthaśāstra

It being shown that the Arthaśāstra has not one author but
several, it follows that it is to be referred to not one date but
to as many dates as it has authors. Each separate hand in the work,
each of Books 2, 3, and 7, has its proper age, and each (unless the
compiler authored one of the three long books) precedes the age of
the compilation of the Arthaśāstra.

Our study cannot name any of the hands in the Arthaśāstra, for
presumably these authors left no other works to us which could form
the basis for an identification. We can say with confidence that
Kauṭilya cannot have been the author of the Arthaśāstra as a whole;
but whether he wrote a part, and if so, which part, we cannot decide
without appeal to evidence outside the statistical study we have
conducted. Yet, although the conclusions we have reached contain
no implications for the dating of the Arthaśāstra more specific than
the one that there are several dates, and that the long books need
not have been composed simultaneously, we would close with some
consideration of the ages of the Arthaśāstra in the light of our
findings on the way it was composed.

The date of the compilation of the work must be bounded on one
side by the dates of the books which betray a knowledge of the finished
Arthaśāstra, and on the other by the date of the latest monograph to

be incorporated into it. The earliest works to refer to the Artha-
śāstra are the Pañcatantra, the Kāmasūtra, the Mudrārākṣasa, and
Āryaśūra's Jātakamālā. Hertel originally put the Pañcatantra in
c. 200 B.C., on the basis of the ascription to Kauṭilya of the work
it quotes, but the presence of the word dīnāra (denarius) ensures
that it is at least post-Christian, when the Roman trade became
important; its upper limit is fixed by the Pahlavi translation in
the sixth century A.D.[1] There is little by which the Kāmasūtra may
be dated, except its reference to king Sātavāhana, who accidentally
killed his queen Malayavatī in amorous sport with a pair of scissors,
thought to be Kuntala Sātakarṇi Sātavāhana, c. first century B.C.
Sir R.G. Bhandarkar places Vātsyāyana in the first century A.D.,[2]
Jolly in the fourth.[3] The earliest date to which the Mudrārākṣasa
may be assigned is the reign of Skanda Gupta (beginning of the 5th
century A.D.) or conceivably that of Candra Gupta II (last quarter
of the 4th).[4]

For Āryaśūra we have more precise information since work by
someone of that name was translated into Chinese in A.D. 434, and
this is probably the same as the author of the Jātakamālā, which

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1. Discussion in F. Edgerton, The Pañcatantra Reconstructed, vol.
2, p. 182.

2. Proc. and Trans. of the First Oriental Conference, Poona, vol. 1,
p. 25.

3. Introduction to Jolly-Schmidt, p. 29.

4. See Chapter 2.

makes oblique but certain reference to the <u>Kauṭilīya</u> <u>Arthaśāstra</u>.[1]
E.H. Johnston argues that Āryaśūra should be referred to the 4th
century, and the later limit for the compilation of the <u>Arthaśāstra</u>
to c. A.D. 250; and if the Pali <u>Jātakas</u> can be presumed to refer to
the <u>Kauṭilīya</u> (the evidence is not clear), the reference must have
existed in the original <u>Jātakas</u> from which the later works drew,
and the limit for the <u>Arthaśāstra</u> set back by perhaps a century.
But Aśvaghoṣa, who belongs to the second century A.D., betrays a
knowledge of <u>arthaśāstra</u> but not of the <u>Kauṭilīya</u>, so that the work
cannot be put much earlier.

Let us provisionally accept the date of c. A.D. 250 for the
compilation of the <u>Arthaśāstra</u>. What then is the earlier limit?
The only data within the work yielding fairly firm and precise dates
are the place-names of Book 2.[2] We believe that a date in the second
century or possibly somewhat earlier would be consonant with all the
features of Book 2, including the use of Sanskrit in royal edicts,
the use of punch-mark coins (so long as it was not composed in the
Northwest, where the Indo-Greek portrait coins had rendered them
obsolete), and the rest, given that it incorporates some material
of a greater antiquity. In particular the geographical data would
place no obstacles to such a date (Cīna and the silk-trade with
China, Tāmraparṇi as a river and Pārasamudra as Ceylon, the red

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1. See the excellent article of E.H. Johnston, "Two Studies in the
<u>Arthaśāstra</u> of Kauṭilya" in <u>JRAS</u>, 1929, p. 77 ff.

2. See above, Chapter 3.

coral of Alakanda/Alexandria), save the supposed reference to the
Hūṇas (Hārahūraka, 2.25.25) which could scarcely predate the latter
part of the fourth century. We do not see how mention of the Hūṇas
could be reconciled with the evidence of Āryaśūra; but it may be
observed that to a degree the reference to Alexandria and to the
Hūṇas conflict; for as the Hunnish tide rose the Roman trade with
India died and the Byzantine diminished. The other reference to
the Hūṇas occurs in Book 3 (3.18.8) where the manuscripts read
Prājjūṇaka and one of the commentators gives the reading Prāgghūṇaka,
'Eastern Huns'. Since this people is mentioned with those of Gandhā-
ra in the Northwest, it is reasonable to suppose that the Hūṇas are
indeed meant, though again this ill accords with the testimony of
Āryaśūra.

In any case there is no necessity for so late a date for the
legal books (3 and 4), and good reason to suppose that they antedate
the Yājñavalkya Smṛti, and perhaps the evolution of the Dharma Smṛtis
as a whole.

Book 7 and its affiliates offer no chronological data at all;
the only reason to hesitate from assigning it a very early date is
the degree to which its doctrines have been elaborated. Yet the
maṇḍala doctrine, at least, seems to have been carried further in
other arthaśāstras, to judge from the references to them in the
Kāmandakīya;[1] and some of the typical arthaśāstra categories (the

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1. Chapter 8. See above, Chapter 3.

four-fold army, the concept of <u>bheda</u> or 'sowing dissension') may be found in the Pali canon.

If the <u>Kauṭilīya</u> <u>Arthaśāstra</u> in its present form is not so old as it pretends, the <u>śāstra</u> itself is certainly old, predating the <u>dharma</u> <u>smṛtis</u>.[1] Manu, the earliest of the <u>smṛtis</u>, draws freely on material proper to the older <u>dharma</u> <u>sūtras</u> (except in his first and last chapters, which contain the 'frame', philosophical matters, and the <u>phalastuti</u>). This material is the source for 42 to 55% of chapters 2 to 6 and 10 to 11 (or 50 to 61%, if the <u>Mahābhārata</u> be regarded as a source of Manu); but in chapters 7 through 9 these figures drop to 14 to 22% (or 22 to 29%, including the <u>Mahābhārata</u>). For the figures see Table 7.4.

Chapters 7, 8 and 9 of Manu (to 9.325) form a treatise on <u>rājadharma</u>, of which chapter 7 is chiefly devoted to kingly affairs proper and chapter 8 and the greater part of 9 deal with the eighteen titles of the law which make their appearance first in Manu among the metrical <u>smṛtis</u>. While some of the material in these chapters must of course be original to the composer of the <u>smṛti</u>, it is certain that for some he draws on <u>arthaśāstra</u>. In 7.154, for example, Manu advises the king to reflect on the eight-fold business (<u>aṣṭavidhaṃ</u> <u>karma</u>) and the 'group of five' (<u>pañcavarga</u>) which would be incomprehensible without reference to <u>arthaśāstra</u>; and we have seen

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1. For the argument which follows we are indebted to an idea in Prof. Dwivedi's "The Age of Kauṭilya", p. 15 ff.

Table 7.4

Verses in Manu with correspondences in the dharma sūtras (Gautama, Baudhāyana, Āpastamba and Vasiṣṭha) or in the dharma sūtras and the Mahābhārata (chiefly parvans 1,3,12 and 13).[1] Drawn from the concordance appended to Bühler's translation of Manu (SBE vol. 25).

	Dharma sūtras	Dharma sūtras & Mahābhārata
Manu 1	1.7%	24.4%
Manu 2	53.4%	58.7%
Manu 3	46.9%	52.8%
Manu 4	48.5%	57.3%
Manu 5	47.3%	49.6%
Manu 6	55.7%	60.8%
Manu 7	13.7%	22.1%
Manu 8	21.9%	22.6%
Manu 9	22.3%	29.2%
Manu 10	42.0%	58.0%
Manu 11	45.9%	53.8%
Manu 12	5.6%	8.7%

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1. The gṛhya sūtras could well have been included, but they do not affect the figures much, and the conclusion drawn not at all.

that Bhāruci goes to great lengths to elucidate from arthaśāstra
sources. Bühler himself was sensible to this indebtedness much
before the publication of the Kauṭilīya; for in 7.155-6 where the
four elements of the circle of states are named (middle-most,
conqueror, neutral, foe), he translated: "These (four) constituents
(prakriti. form), briefly (speaking), the foundation of the circle
(of neighbours); besides, eight others are enumerated (in The Insti-
tutes of Polity)[1] and (thus) the (total) is declared to be twelve."
As Manu does not trouble to specify the "eight others" we are
obliged to look for them in arthaśāstra. Even more striking is the
case of the eighteen titles of the law; for here is the very core
of the smṛtis, and yet it is scarcely represented in the older dharma
sūtras. It represents, then, not an evolution from the sūtra rules
with their orientation to brahmanical ritual and custom, but either
the creation of the author of the Manu Smṛti or the adaptation of
material from a different source. And it is at least possible that
the law of transactions (vyavāhara) organized into 18 titles devel-
oped at the court among the king's legal advisors, where, too, the
theory of administration and foreign affairs, in short, the artha-
śāstra, developed.

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1. Our italics.

The Authority of the Arthaśāstra

We have argued that the Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra while composed by a single person, has no one creator. And in this it is no different from any number of ancient Indian scientific treatises, whether the Kāmasūtra, or the Manu Smṛti, or the Caraka Saṃhitā. In the absense of the works of their predecessors it is difficult to assess the achievement of any individual author of antiquity. We believe it true to say that the 'author' of the Arthaśāstra is his predecessors, and that his personality as inferred from the work is a composite picture to which three or four different individuals have contributed, one a nose, another the hair, another the eyes.

To judge the Arthaśāstra the less for being the work of many, however, would be to weigh it in the scales of our own notions of creativity and genius, themselves the creation of Romanticism. What the Arthaśāstra loses by way of individuality it gains by being seen as representative of the best of generations of thinkers. In its impersonal and abstract way it sums up the ancient Indian beliefs about the state with an authority which no individual creation could possess.

APPENDIX: STATISTICAL TABLES

Appendix Table 1

Distribution of particles in Kalhaṇa, in all verses
and omtiing dialogue.

(a) All Verses

1. atas

	Bk.1	3	4	5	6	7	8
0	298	299	299	300	299	300	298
1	2	1	1	—	1	—	2

2. atra

	Bk.1	3	4	5	6	7	8
0	295	298	295	300	298	300	300
1	5	2	5	—	2	—	—

3. atha

	Bk.1	3	4	5	6	7	8
0	278	256	287	285	276	290	286
1	22	44	13	15	24	10	14

Appendix Table 1 ....

4. api

Bk.	1	3	4	5	6	7	8
0	248	254	253	267	264	245	233
1	50	43	38	28	32	53	57
2	1	3	9	5	4	1	9
3	1	-	-	-	-	1	1

5. iti

Bk.	1	3	4	5	6	7	8
0	280	256	275	277	268	292	276
1	19	41	24	20	31	8	23
2	1	3	1	3	1	-	1

6. iva

Bk.	1	3	4	5	6	7	8
0	278	270	258	274	279	282	267
1	21	29	41	23	19	18	32
2	1	1	1	3	2	-	1

7. iha

Bk.	1	3	4	5	6	7	8
0	299	300	300	300	300	298	300
1	1	-	-	-	-	2	-

Appendix Table 1

8. eva

	Bk. 1	3	4	5	6	7	8
0	285	274	273	273	273	286	273
1	14	25	27	27	23	13	25
2	1	1	--	--	4	1	2

9. evam

	Bk. 1	3	4	5	6	7	8
0	293	291	292	293	295	294	294
1	7	9	8	7	5	6	6

10. khalu

	Bk. 1	3	4	5	6	7	8
0	300	299	300	300	300	300	300
1	--	1	--	--	--	--	--

11. ca

	Bk. 1	3	4	5	6	7	8
0	272	253	267	270	267	266	265
1	24	40	25	29	31	26	34
2	4	4	7	1	2	5	1
3	--	3	1	--	--	2	--
4	--	--	--	--	--	1	--

Appendix Table 1 ....

12. cet

	Bk. 1	3	4	5	6	7	8
0	300	298	298	300	299	300	298
1	--	2	2	--	1	--	2

13. tatas

	Bk. 1	3	4	5	6	7	8
0	280	278	274	286	281	273	283
1	20	22	26	14	19	27	16
2	--	--	--	--	--	--	1

14. tatra

	Bk. 1	3	4	5	6	7	8
0	291	289	278	291	293	287	294
1	9	11	21	8	7	13	6
2	--	--	1	1	--	--	--

15. tathā

	Bk. 1	3	4	5	6	7	8
0	295	297	291	294	288	297	291
1	5	3	9	6	12	3	9

Appendix Table 1 ....

16. tadā

	Bk. 1	3	4	5	6	7	8
0	289	296	298	298	292	297	294
1	11	4	2	2	8	3	6

17. tāvat

	Bk. 1	3	4	5	6	7	8
0	299	298	299	297	296	295	299
1	1	2	1	3	4	5	1

18. tu

	Bk. 1	3	4	5	6	7	8
0	290	293	291	293	289	293	285
1	10	7	9	7	10	7	15
2	–	–	–	–	1	–	–

19. na

	Bk. 1	3	4	5	6	7	8
0	271	242	265	277	273	275	250
1	27	49	27	19	24	25	47
2	2	6	4	3	3	–	1
3	–	1	1	1	–	–	2
4	–	1	2	–	–	–	–
5	–	–	1	–	–	–	–
6	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
7	–	1	–	–	–	–	–

Appendix Table 1 ....

20. nanu

	Bk. 1	3	4	5	6	7	8
0	300	300	299	300	300	300	300
1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-

21. nāma

	Bk. 1	3	4	5	6	7	8
0	293	297	295	298	299	293	295
1	7	3	5	2	1	7	5

22. punar

	Bk. 1	3	4	5	6	7	8
0	292	295	295	297	292	287	295
1	8	5	5	2	8	12	4
2	-	-	-	1	-	1	-

23. yatas

	Bk. 1	3	4	5	6	7	8
0	300	299	299	299	299	300	300
1	-	1	1	1	1	-	-

Appendix Table 1 ....

24. yatra

	Bk. 1	3	4	5	6	7	8
0	289	300	294	297	297	299	299
1	11	-	6	2	3	1	1
2	-	-	-	1	-	-	-

25. yathā

	Bk. 1	3	4	5	6	7	8
0	294	294	297	294	293	298	295
1	6	6	3	6	7	2	5

26. yadā

	Bk. 1	3	4	5	6	7	8
0	295	298	299	300	298	300	297
1	5	2	1	-	2	-	3

27. yadi

	Bk. 1	3	4	5	6	7	8
0	296	297	298	300	299	300	299
1	4	3	2	-	1	-	1

Appendix Table 1 ....

28. yāvat

	Bk. 1	3	4	5	6	7	8
0	299	297	299	298	297	297	299
1	1	3	1	2	3	3	1

29. vā

	Bk. 1	3	4	5	6	7	8
0	297	288	292	297	297	299	295
1	3	11	6	3	3	1	5
2	-	1	2	-	-	-	-

30. vai

	Bk. 1	3	4	5	6	7	8
0	300	300	300	299	300	300	300
1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-

31. ha

	Bk. 1	3	4	5	6	7	8
0	298	299	300	300	300	300	300
1	2	1	-	-	-	-	-

Appendix Table 1 ....

32. hi

Bk. 1	3	4	5	6	7	8
0 294	297	294	298	297	298	289
1 6	3	6	2	3	2	11

Appendix Table 1....

(b) Without Dialogue

3. atha

	Bk. 1	3	4	5	6	7	8
0	239	129	199	250	242	279	259
1	22	36	11	14	20	10	14

4. api

	Bk. 1	3	4	5	6	7	8
0	217	140	184	239	232	236	210
1	42	24	21	22	26	51	54
2	1	1	5	3	4	1	8
3	1	--	--	--	--	1	1

5. iti

	Bk. 1	3	4	5	6	7	8
0	248	144	191	246	237	284	256
1	13	21	18	18	25	5	17
2	--	--	1	--	--	--	--

6. iva

	Bk. 1	3	4	5	6	7	8
0	241	145	175	240	241	271	240
1	19	19	34	21	19	18	32
2	1	1	1	3	2	--	1

Appendix Table 1 ....

8. **ava**

	Bk. 1	3	4	5	6	7	8
0	250	153	196	244	238	277	248
1	10	12	14	20	21	11	23
2	1	-	-	-	3	1	2

9. **evam**

	Bk. 1	3	4	5	6	7	8
0	256	161	205	258	259	283	269
1	5	4	5	6	3	6	4

11. **ca**

	Bk. 1	3	4	5	6	7	8
0	237	139	182	238	231	255	243
1	20	22	21	25	30	26	30
2	4	2	6	1	1	5	-
3	-	2	1	-	-	2	-
4	-	-	-	-	-	1	-

13. **tatas**

	Bk. 1	3	4	5	6	7	8
0	242	149	191	251	248	262	259
1	19	16	19	13	14	27	14

Appendix Table 1 ....

14. tatra

	Bk. 1	3	4	5	6	7	8
0	252	157	197	255	256	277	267
1	9	8	13	8	6	12	6
2	-	-	-	1	-	-	-

15. tathā

	Bk. 1	3	4	5	6	7	8
0	258	164	203	259	251	286	267
1	3	1	7	5	11	3	6

16. tadā

	Bk. 1	3	4	5	6	7	8
0	251	163	209	262	255	286	268
1	10	2	1	2	7	3	5

18. tu

	Bk. 1	3	4	5	6	7	8
0	252	163	205	259	256	284	261
1	9	2	5	5	5	5	12
2	-	-	-	-	1	-	-

19. na

	Bk. 1	3	4	5	6	7	8
0	239	142	195	250	238	267	226
1	22	18	12	12	22	22	44
2	—	3	2	2	2	—	1
3	—	1	—	—	—	—	2
4	—	1	—	—	—	—	—
5	—	—	1	—	—	—	—

22. punar

	Bk. 1	3	4	5	6	7	8
0	255	161	208	261	256	276	269
1	6	4	2	2	6	12	3
2	—	—	—	1	—	1	1

25. yathā

	Bk. 1	3	4	5	6	7	8
0	256	164	208	260	256	287	270
1	5	1	2	4	6	2	3

Appendix Table 1 ....

29. vā

	Bk. 1	3	4	5	6	7	8
0	259	160	207	262	259	288	268
1	2	4	2	2	3	1	5
2	--	1	1	--	--	--	--

Appendix Table 2

Distribution of particles in Jonarāja and the Mānasollāsa.

Jonarāja   Mānasollāsa

1. atas

	Sample 1	2	3	Bk. 2	3	4	5
0	298	295	300	300	300	298	300
1	2	5	–	–	–	2	–

2. atra

	Sample 1	2	3	Bk. 1	3	4	5
0	297	300	295	294	300	299	300
1	3	–	4	6	–	1	–
2	–	–	1	–	–	–	–

3. atha

	Sample 1	2	3	Bk. 1	3	4	5
0	259	270	276	297	296	295	297
1	41	30	22	3	4	5	3
2	–	–	2	–	–	–	–

Appendix Table 2 ....

4. api

	Sample 1	2	3		Bk. 2	3	4	5
0	271	256	250		278	287	280	285
1	24	39	48		19	13	20	13
2	5	5	2		2	--	--	2
3	--	--	--		1	--	--	--

5. iti

	Sample 1	2	3		Bk. 2	3	4	5
0	287	273	286		288	292	292	294
1	13	27	13		10	8	8	6
2	--	--	1		2	--	--	--

6. iva

	Sample 1	2	3		Bk. 2	3	4	5
0	251	240	246		298	299	295	284
1	44	52	50		2	1	5	14
2	5	6	3		--	--	--	2
3	--	1	1		--	--	--	--
4	--	1	--		--	--	--	--

7. iha

	Sample 1	2	3		Bk. 2	3	4	5
0	300	300	300		300	300	300	300
1	--	--	--		--	--	--	--

Appendix Table 2 ....

8. eva

	Sample 1	2	3		Bk. 2	3	4	5
0	277	268	279		286	277	279	282
1	23	31	20		12	21	19	17
2	–	1	1		2	2	2	1

9. evam

	Sample 1	2	3		Bk. 2	3	4	5
0	295	296	293		291	285	289	291
1	5	4	7		9	14	11	9
2	–	–	–		–	1	–	–

10. khalu

	Sample 1	2	3		Bk. 2	3	4	5
0	300	300	300		300	300	300	300
1	–	–	–		–	–	–	–

11. ca

	Sample 1	2	3		Bk. 2	3	4	5
0	273	265	277		214	222	230	214
1	22	32	22		60	57	58	67
2	4	3	–		20	15	7	10
3	1	–	–		5	6	5	9
4	–	–	–		–	–	–	–
5	–	–	1		1	–	–	–

Appendix Table 2 ....

12. cet

	Sample 1	2	3	Bk. 2	3	4	5
0	300	299	297	298	298	291	300
1	–	1	3	2	2	8	–
2	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3	–	–	–	–	–	1	–

13. tatas

	Sample 1	2	3	Bk. 2	3	4	5
0	280	278	282	288	266	289	272
1	19	22	17	11	31	11	28
2	1	–	–	1	3	–	–
3	–	–	1	–	–	–	–

14. tatra

	Sample 1	2	3	Bk. 2	3	4	5
0	293	291	286	292	294	298	292
1	7	9	14	8	6	2	8

15. tathā

	Sample 1	2	3	Bk. 2	3	4	5
0	297	292	294	280	272	264	274
1	3	8	6	20	25	34	25
2	–	–	–	–	3	2	1

Appendix Table 2 ....

Jonarāja	Mānasollāsa

16. tadā

	Sample 1	2	3	Bk. 2	3	4	5
0	289	289	288	297	300	299	297
1	10	11	12	3	-	1	3
2	1	-	-	-	-	-	-

17. tāvat

	Sample 1	2	3	Bk. 2	3	4	5
0	295	296	299	298	297	300	300
1	5	4	1	2	3	-	-

18. tu

	Sample 1	2	3	Bk. 2	3	4	5
0	291	283	289	275	267	271	290
1	8	14	11	23	32	26	9
2	1	3	-	2	1	3	1

19. na

	Sample 1	2	3	Bk. 2	3	4	5
0	267	254	266	293	292	295	296
1	25	43	29	7	7	5	3
2	7	3	4	-	-	-	1
3	1	-	-	-	1	-	-
4	-	-	1	-	-	-	-

Appendix Table 2 ....

| | Jonarāja | | | | Mānasollāsa | | | |

20. nanu

	Sample 1	2	3	Bk. 2	3	4	5
0	300	300	298	300	300	300	300
1	--	--	2	--	--	--	--

21. nāma

	Sample 1	2	3	Bk. 2	3	4	5
0	297	300	300	299	298	289	299
1	3	--	--	1	2	11	1

22. punar

	Sample 1	2	3	Bk. 2	3	4	5
0	297	297	294	298	297	295	299
1	2	2	6	1	3	3	1
2	1	1	--	1	--	2	--

23. yatas

	Sample 1	2	3	Bk. 2	3	4	5
0	300	297	300	300	300	297	300
1	--	3	--	--	--	3	--

Appendix Table 2 ....

| Jonarāja | Mānasollāsa |

24. yatra

	Sample 1	2	3		Bk. 2	3	4	5
0	297	299	294		298	299	289	300
1	3	1	6		2	1	10	--
2	--	--	--		--	--	1	--

25. yathā

	Sample 1	2	3		Bk. 2	3	4	5
0	299	295	292		298	295	298	297
1	1	5	8		2	5	2	3

26. yadā

	Sample 1	2	3		Bk. 2	3	4	5
0	299	300	299		300	299	299	298
1	1	--	1		--	1	1	2

27. yadi

	Sample 1	2	3		Bk. 2	3	4	5
0	300	295	300		298	299	298	300
1	--	5	--		2	1	2	--

Appendix Table 2 ....

Jonarāja			Mānasollāsa		

28. yāvat

	Sample 1	2	3	Bk. 2	3	4	5
0	299	300	299	299	289	299	298
1	1	–	1	1	11	1	2

29. vā

	Sample 1	2	3	Bk. 2	3	4	5
0	297	292	294	290	287	287	283
1	3	7	4	6	9	12	12
2	–	1	2	3	3	1	3
3	–	–	–	–	1	–	–
4	–	–	–	–	–	–	2
5	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
6	–	–	–	1	–	–	–

30. vai

	Sample 1	2	3	Bk. 2	3	4	5
0	300	300	300	300	300	300	300
1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–

31. ha

	Sample 1	2	3	Bk. 2	3	4	5
0	300	300	300	300	300	300	300
1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–

Appendix Table 2 ....

	Jonarāja				Mānasollāsa			
32. hi								
	Sample 1	2	3		Bk. 2	3	4	5
0	294	288	291		294	294	297	300
1	6	11	9		6	6	3	--
2	--	1	--		--	--	--	--

Appendix Table 3

Distribution of particles in 20-word blocks in Somadeva and Gaṅgeśa.

1. atas

	Somadeva					Gaṅgeśa		
	Sample 1	2	3	4	5	Bk. 1	2	4
0	92	91	104	101	109	109	180	160
1	—	1	2	—	—	17	23	22
total	92	92	106	101	109	126	203	182

2. atra

	Sample 1	2	3	4	5	Bk. 1	2	4
0	92	92	106	101	108	120	183	157
1	—	—	—	—	1	6	17	19
2	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	6
3	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—

3. atha

	Sample 1	2	3	4	5	Bk. 1	2	4
0	91	92	105	101	109	120	187	166
1	1	—	1	—	—	6	16	16

Appendix Table 3 ....

| | Somadeva | | | | | | Gaṅgeśa | | |

4. api

	Sample 1	2	3	4	5	Bk. 1	2	4
0	53	53	58	61	69	53	105	92
1	29	32	33	31	32	53	68	65
2	9	5	13	8	6	15	26	17
3	1	2	2	1	2	5	4	7
4	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1

5. iti

	Sample 1	2	3	4	5	Bk. 1	2	4
0	81	82	83	89	89	38	73	38
1	8	10	18	11	17	62	92	83
2	3	—	3	1	2	23	32	44
3	—	—	2	—	1	3	6	15
4	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2

6. iva

	Sample 1	2	3	4	5	Bk. 1	2	4
0	70	66	87	92	82	121	198	171
1	18	20	16	9	21	5	5	11
2	4	2	1	—	6	—	—	—
3	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	—
4	—	3	—	—	—	—	—	—
5	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—

7. iha

Sample	1	2	3	4	5	Bk.	1	2	4
0	91	91	106	100	108		122	200	180
1	-	1	-	1	1		4	3	2
2	1	-	-	-	-		-	-	-

8. eva

Sample	1	2	3	4	5	Bk.	1	2	4
0	75	73	90	85	91		62	120	105
1	17	15	16	15	12		45	56	61
2	-	4	-	1	4		14	23	12
3	-	-	-	-	2		4	4	3
4	-	-	-	-	-		1	-	1

9. evam

Sample	1	2	3	4	5	Bk.	1	2	4
0	92	92	106	101	109		116	178	169
1	-	-	-	-	-		9	22	11
2	-	-	-	-	-		1	2	2
3	-	-	-	-	-		-	1	-

Appendix Table 3 ....

Somadeva   Gaṅgeśa

10. khalu

Sample 1	2	3	4	5	Bk. 1	2	4
0	74	82	100	96	105	125	203	182
1	18	10	4	4	3	1	-	-
2	-	-	2	1	1	-	-	-

11. ca

Sample 1	2	3	4	5	Bk. 1	2	4
0	60	57	59	62	67	44	64	62
1	21	30	36	30	36	50	85	77
2	9	5	10	8	6	25	38	33
3	2	-	1	1	-	7	13	8
4	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	2

12. cet

Sample 1	2	3	4	5	Bk. 1	2	4
0	92	91	106	101	108	101	171	139
1	-	1	-	-	-	25	32	40
2	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	3

Appendix Table 3....

	Somadeva					Gaṅgeśa		

13.   tatas

Sample	1	2	3	4	5	Bk.1	2	4
0	91	91	104	101	109	125	200	172
1	1	1	1	-	-	1	2	10
2	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
3	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-

14.   tatra

Sample	1	2	3	4	5	Bk.1	2	4
0	91	90	104	100	104	105	166	159
1	1	2	2	1	5	18	30	22
2	-	-	-	-	-	3	7	1

15.   tathā

Sample	1	2	3	4	5	Bk.1	2	4
0	91	87	103	97	107	100	162	163
1	1	5	3	4	2	25	34	18
2	-	-	-	-	-	1	6	1
3	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-

Appendix Table 3 ....

| | Somadeva | | | | | Gaṅgeśa | | |

16. tadā

	Sample 1	2	3	4	5	Bk. 1	2	4
0	92	91	105	101	109	120	197	176
1	–	1	1	–	–	6	5	6
2	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–

17. tāvat

	Sample 1	2	3	4	5	Bk. 1	2	4
0	92	91	104	101	104	124	199	176
1	–	1	2	–	5	2	4	4
2	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1
3	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1

18. tu

	Sample 1	2	3	4	5	Bk. 1	2	4
0	88	91	101	93	106	93	147	129
1	4	1	5	8	3	30	50	48
2	–	–	–	–	–	3	6	5

Appendix Table 3 ....

Somadeva   Gaṅgeśa

19. na

Sample	1	2	3	4	5	Bk. 1	2	4
0	46	31	50	21	46	32	48	40
1	26	42	30	44	34	46	66	77
2	17	14	20	24	22	28	63	54
3	3	5	4	8	7	19	25	8
4	--	--	2	2	--	1	1	3
5	--	--	--	2	--	--	--	--

20. nanu

Sample	1	2	3	4	5	Bk. 1	2	4
0	92	92	106	101	109	113	195	171
1	--	--	--	--	--	13	8	11

21. nāma

Sample	1	2	3	4	5	Bk. 1	2	4
0	83	86	96	92	103	126	202	182
1	8	4	9	9	6	--	1	--
2	1	2	1	--	--	--	--	--

22. punar

Sample	1	2	3	4	5	Bk. 1	2	4
0	85	85	97	94	102	126	203	182
1	7	7	9	7	7	--	--	--

Appendix Table 3 ....

	Somadeva						Gaṅgeśa		

23. yatas

	Sample 1	2	3	4	5		Bk. 1	2	4
0	86	91	103	101	109		125	203	181
1	6	1	3	—	—		1	—	1

24. yatra

	Sample 1	2	3	4	5		Bk. 1	2	4
0	79	91	101	87	104		121	193	174
1	13	—	5	9	4		3	8	8
2	—	1	—	3	1		2	2	—
3	—	—	—	2	—		—	—	—

25. yathā

	Sample 1	2	3	4	5		Bk. 1	2	4
0	91	87	102	99	107		116	185	177
1	1	5	4	2	2		9	15	5
2	—	—	—	—	—		1	3	—

26. yadā

	Sample 1	2	3	4	5		Bk. 1	2	4
0	92	92	105	101	109		125	202	182
1	—	—	1	—	—		1	1	—

Appendix Table 3 ....

Somadeva   Gaṅgeśa

27. yadi

Sample	1	2	3	4	5	Bk. 1	2	4
0	91	87	105	98	101	191	195	175
1	1	4	1	3	6	6	8	7
2	-	1	-	-	2	1	-	-

28. yāvat

Sample	1	2	3	4	5	Bk. 1	2	4
0	92	91	105	101	104	124	200	181
1	-	1	1	-	4	2	3	1
2	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-

29. vā

Sample	1	2	3	4	5	Bk. 1	2	4
0	72	63	87	76	86	102	161	144
1	19	23	18	16	20	18	33	33
2	-	5	1	8	3	4	8	4
3	-	1	-	1	-	2	1	1
4	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

30. vai

Sample	1	2	3	4	5	Bk. 1	2	4
0	91	91	106	101	109	126	203	182
1	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-

Appendix Table 3 ....

	Somadeva					Gaṅgeśa		

31. ha

Sample	1	2	3	4	5	Bk. 1	2	4
0	70	78	92	90	89	126	203	182
1	21	12	13	10	20	-	-	-
2	1	2	1	1	-	-	-	-

32. hi

Sample	1	2	3	4	5	Bk. 1	2	4
0	70	78	92	90	89	119	159	168
1	21	12	13	10	20	7	42	13
2	1	2	1	1	-	-	2	1

Appendix Table 4

Distribution of five particles in five authors. Figures for Kalhaṇa are without dialogue.

eva

	Kalhaṇa	Jonarāja	Mānasollāsa	Somadeva	Gaṅgeśa
0	1606	824	1124	414	235
1	111	74	69	75	162
2	7	2	7	9	49
3	-	-	-	2	11
4	-	-	-	-	2

evam

	Kalhaṇa	Jonarāja	Mānasollāsa	Somadeva	Gaṅgeśa
0	1691	884	1156	500	463
1	33	16	43	-	42
2	-	-	1	-	5
3	-	-	-	-	1

Appendix Table 4 ....

ca

	Kalhaṇa	Jonarāja	Mānasollāsa	Somadeva	Gaṅgeśa
0	1535	815	880	305	170
1	174	76	242	153	212
2	19	7	52	38	96
3	5	1	25	4	28
4	1	-	-	-	5
5	-	1	1	-	-

tatra

	Kalhaṇa	Jonarāja	Mānasollāsa	Somadeva	Gaṅgeśa
0	1661	870	1176	489	430
1	62	30	24	11	70
2	1	-	-	-	11

vā

	Kalhaṇa	Jonarāja	Mānasollāsa	Somadeva	Gaṅgeśa
0	1703	883	1147	384	407
1	19	14	39	96	84
2	2	3	10	17	16
3	-	-	1	2	4
4	-	-	2	1	-
5	-	-	-	-	-
6	-	-	1	-	-

Appendix Table 5

Distribution of particles in 20-word blocks in three books of the Arthaśāstra.

1. eva

Bk.	2a	2b	2c	2d	3a	3b	7a	7b
0	96	81	77	98	86	105	121	110
1	7	8	5	3	15	18	14	10
2	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
total	103	90	82	101	101	123	135	120

2. evam

Bk.	2a	2b	2c	2d	3a	3b	7a	7b
0	102	89	81	94	99	122	128	113
1	1	1	1	7	2	1	7	7

3. ca

Bk.	2a	2b	2c	2d	3a	3b	7a	7b
0	34	27	23	22	54	51	86	69
1	41	31	25	37	30	43	34	28
2	18	20	19	22	13	21	13	17
3	10	10	8	12	4	5	1	5
4	-	2	7	7	-	3	1	1
5	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-

Appendix Table 5 ....

4. tatra

Bk.	2a	2b	2c	2d	3a	3b	7a	7b
0	91	88	82	99	99	119	131	114
1	9	2	-	2	2	4	4	6
2	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

5. vā

Bk.	2a	2b	2c	2d	3a	3b	7a	7b
0	63	46	45	57	43	50	36	52
1	28	23	24	34	38	46	44	35
2	9	13	9	9	13	16	28	18
3	2	6	4	1	5	9	22	6
4	1	1	-	-	2	1	4	9
5	-	1	-	-	-	1	1	-

Appendix Table 6

Distribution of particles in 20-word blocks in the Arthaśāstra.

1. eva

Bk.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
0	148	352	191	129	74	19	231
1	10	23	33	17	18	2	24
2	--	1	-	2	1	--	-
total	158	376	224	148	93	21	255

2. evam

Bk.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
0	147	366	221	145	84	18	241
1	9	10	3	3	7	3	14
2	--	--	--	--	2	--	--
3	2	--	--	--	-	--	--

3. ca

Bk.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
0	57	106	104	64	46	12	115
1	51	134	73	58	23	7	62
2	27	79	34	22	14	2	30
3	19	40	9	4	8	--	6
4	4	16	3	--	2	--	2
5	--	1	--	--	--	--	--

Appendix Table 6 ....

1. eva

	Bk. 8	9	10	11	12	13	14
0	73	118	61	22	68	75	49
1	4	10	5	-	3	8	4
2	1	-	1	-	1	1	-
total	78	128	67	22	72	84	53

2. evam

	Bk. 8	9	10	11	12	13	14
0	78	124	60	19	68	83	52
1	-	4	7	2	3	1	1
2	-	-	-	1	1	-	-

3. ca

	Bk. 8	9	10	11	12	13	14
0	28	70	33	14	39	46	34
1	27	42	19	5	19	18	16
2	14	9	8	2	10	7	2
3	8	6	4	1	3	10	1
4	1	1	2	-	1	2	-
5	-	-	1	-	-	1	-

Appendix Table 6 ....

4. tatra

Bk. 1	2	3	4	5	6	7
0	151	360	218	146	89	20	245
1	7	13	6	2	4	1	10
2	--	3	--	--	--	--	--

5. vä

Bk. 1	2	3	4	5	6	7
0	105	211	93	56	27	12	88
1	31	109	84	46	32	6	79
2	17	40	29	26	16	1	46
3	2	13	14	15	15	1	28
4	2	2	3	4	1	1	13
5	1	1	1	1	2	--	1

Appendix Table 6 ....

4. tatra

Bk. 8	9	10	11	12	13	14
0	77	120	65	22	69	84	51
1	1	8	2	-	3	-	2

5. vā

Bk. 8	9	10	11	12	13	14
0	51	50	33	3	19	22	24
1	23	32	20	10	13	24	18
2	2	29	11	7	21	26	8
3	2	14	3	1	8	9	3
4	-	3	-	-	7	3	-
5	-	-	-	1	4	-	-

Appendix Table 7

Compound-length distributions in the Arthaśāstra.

(a) Books 2, 3, 7

Members	Bk. 2a	2b	2c	2d	3a	3b	7a	7b
2	475	451	409	582	424	460	464	439
3	130	109	127	131	96	123	97	121
4	57	31	22	52	32	45	32	38
5	20	15	18	23	7	9	9	18
6	13	7	10	14	6	11	3	4
7	8	4	9	12	3	5	2	6
8	7	6	6	5	5	1	2	1
9	2	2	6	5	—	4	—	2
10	3	1	2	6	1	1	—	—
11	1	—	2	—	—	1	—	—
12	2	2	2	1	1	—	1	1
13	2	—	1	—	—	—	—	—
14	—	1	2	—	—	—	—	—
15	1	1	4	2	—	—	—	—
16	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—
17	—	1	—	1	—	—	—	—
18	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
19	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—
20	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—
21	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—
22	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
23	1	—	1	—	—	—	—	—
24	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
25	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	—
26	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
27	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

Appendix Table 7 ....

(b) All Books

Members	Bk. 1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2	535	1917	884	593	330	108	903
3	184	497	219	206	101	33	218
4	47	162	77	54	33	5	70
5	21	76	16	27	9	4	27
6	14	44	17	11	4	1	7
7	7	33	8	12	4	3	8
8	5	24	6	7	2	2	3
9	-	15	4	2	3	1	2
10	3	12	2	-	1	1	-
11	-	3	1	1	1	-	-
12	-	7	1	-	-	-	2
13	-	3	-	-	4	-	-
14	-	3	-	-	-	-	-
15	-	8	-	-	-	-	-
16	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
17	-	2	-	-	-	-	-
18	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
19	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
20	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
21	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
22	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
23	-	2	-	-	-	-	-
24	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
25	-	2	-	-	-	-	-
26	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
27	1	1	-	-	-	-	-
28	-	-	-	1	-	-	-

Appendix Table 7 ....

(b) All Books ....

Members	Bk. 8	9	10	11	12	13	14
2	344	433	263	75	234	272	219
3	114	123	99	21	52	98	89
4	32	29	38	6	17	36	35
5	13	12	14	3	4	16	18
6	6	1	6	1	6	7	14
7	4	5	3	-	2	2	5
8	1	-	2	1	-	3	9
9	2	1	1	-	-	1	6
10	-	1	1	-	-	2	2
11	-	-	-	-	-	2	2
12	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
13	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
14	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
15	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
16	-	-	-	-	-	-	1

Appendix Table 8

Distribution of particles in 20-word blocks in Vātsyāyana's Kāmasūtra.

1. eva

	Bk. 1	2	3	4	5	6	7
0	51	99	70	40	82	100	28
1	13	37	16	4	29	17	15
2	5	9	2	2	3	-	-
3	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
total	69	145	88	46	115	117	43

2. evam

	Bk. 1	2	3	4	5	6	7
0	66	141	83	46	110	115	42
1	3	4	5	-	5	2	1

3. ca

	Bk. 1	2	3	4	5	6	7
0	17	52	17	8	25	41	16
1	21	54	20	14	35	36	20
2	15	25	26	9	36	26	5
3	12	12	17	7	17	9	2
4	4	1	8	7	2	4	-
5	-	1	-	1	-	1	-

Appendix Table 8 ....

4. tatra

	Bk. 1	2	3	4	5	6	7
0	62	107	77	43	95	103	41
1	6	33	7	3	18	13	1
2	1	4	4	-	2	1	1
3	-	1	-	-	-	-	-

5. vā

	Bk. 1	2	3	4	5	6	7
0	46	113	71	34	92	71	34
1	15	26	13	11	18	26	8
2	7	5	3	1	5	14	1
3	1	1	1	-	-	5	-
4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
5	-	-	-	-	-	1	-

Appendix Table 9

Compound-length distributions in the Kāmasūtra.

Members	Bk. 1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2	272	535	254	145	414	421	144
3	62	111	68	35	108	72	38
4	10	25	12	9	21	11	19
5	13	7	2	8	9	3	7
6	1	4	1	4	1	—	4
7	—	1	1	1	2	1	1
8	1	—	1	3	—	—	—
9	2	1	3	—	1	1	1
10	—	—	—	—	—	2	2
11	—	1	—	—	—	3	—
12	—	2	—	1	—	—	—
13	—	—	—	—	—	1	—
14	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
15	1	—	—	—	—	—	1

. . .

20	—	—	—	—	—	1	—
21	—	—	—	—	1	—	—
22	—	—	—	1	—	—	—

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