A GENERAL INTRODUCTION TO THE MANUSAMHITA:

The Manusamhita is one of the most important books on Brahmanical sacred Law. While this work occupies a position of exceptional significance by way of providing ample data for a study of the cultural fabric of the early Indian society, it also continues to work as an indispensable authority on questions relating to Hindu religious, customs and conventions and Hindu Law till today. This important work is also usually referred to with two other names, i.e., Manava-Dharmasstra and Manusmrti.

The word smrti may generally be used to mean all the orthodox non-vedic compositions. But in a restricted sense, however, smrti stands for Dharma-sstra. As such, the other two titles of Manusamhita mentioned:

1. This title is often written with two words as Manu samhita. See Sinker, The Laws of Manu, p. CVIII, quoted by Ashokanath Shastri, vide Manusmrti, Chapter VII. Introduction, p. 12).

2. The colophons to the different chapters usually run as follows:

"iti manave dharmasstra bhuguprotay smhiti samhitayam prathamo' tasya", etc. Of the modern authorities Jayaswal, for instance, refers to the work in question with this title. (Vide Hindu Polity, p. 2241.)

3. The title is given as Manu-Smrti (with two words separated by a hyphen) to Jolly and by Ganganath Jha. (See Bibliography). It is given as Manu Smrti (in two words/a hyphen) by MM. P.V. Kane (Vide, HDS, Vol. I, p. 110, quoted by Ashikanath Shastri, op.cit.). It is given as Manusmrti by M.M. Sinha (Vide The Development of Indian Polity, p. 10) and by H. Boswul (Vide HIFI, p. 586).

above are synonymous. The word sāṁhitā means a compilation, and since it occurs in such titles as Rgvedasāṁhitā, it carries the flavour of a sacred book. Thus the title Manu sāṁhitā implies that it is a compilation of the sacred doctrines propounded by Manu.

The Manu sāṁhitā contains 2705 verses, and all of them are in the Anushtha metre. These verses are distributed over twelve Adhyāyas or chapters of varying lengths. 5

As implied by the title Manu is the author of this book. But it is recounted in the first chapter that once the great sages requested Manu to explain to them the code of conduct pertaining to all the Varnas. 6 In reply Manu first described the process of the creation of the universe. In course of this primordial creation Brāhma divided his own body into two parts, one being a male and the other a female. 6a From this couple was born a person known as Vīraṇa, who with the power of tapaṇa (= penance) created Manu. Subsequently Manu also, with a view to propagating the human race, created with the power of ṇāma, ten nāharpighas (= great sages) including one who is called Bṛguna. 7 In the very initial stage of the creation Brāhma also created a śāstra (= authoritative work) on dharma (= law) and imparted the contents of the same to Manu. Manu, on his own part, imparted the śāstra to the ten nāharpighas created by him. Manu after relating this account about the origin of the śāstra informed the

5. Adhyāya VI is the shortest with 97 verses, while Adhyāya VIII is the longest with 420 verses.
6. MS. I. 1-2
6a. MS. I. 32-
7. MS. I. 32-35.
sages who approached him, that Bhrgu would now make known to the sages the 
sastra as he learnt from Manu.8

From the verses MS.1.60 and MS. I.119 it may be gathered that the 
present text of the Manusaahita has been re-told by Bhrgu, exactly in 
the same words as those of Manu.9 In the beginning of the fifth chapter 
of the Manusaahita there is again an occasion to refer to Bhrgu as trans-
mitting the contents of the sastra to the sages. But lest we should forget 
that Manu was the original authority, we are reminded here of Bhrgu's rela-
tionship with Manu with the epithet ainava, i.e., a son of Manu.10 But what-
ever be the relationship between Manu and Bhrgu, the fact remains that both 
of them are mythological figures, as warranted by the Manusaahita itself, 
and as such we have to concede that this work was also composed at a histo-
rically traceable point of time by some human authority, whom we would also 
like to refer to as Manu on the strength of the references made by the 
traditional literature.

The traditional Indian literature contains references to a large number 
of personalities named Manu. Moreover, the same Manu is also often referred 
to with various names or epithets. Hence, for avoiding confusion it may be 
noted here that the name Manu is specially applied to 14 successive proge-
nitors and sovereigns of the earth, who create and support the creation in

8. MS. I. 58-59
9. tatas tathā sa tenāhto mahārājir samunā bhṛguḥ .
tam abravīd rāja sarnān prītātmā śrūyatāmī : (MS.I.60) 
yathādām uktaṃ sastraṃ purā prato manur mayā .
tathādām yūyam apyadya matsakāsān nibodhata : (MS. I. 119,
10. sa tān uvāca dharmatā mahārājir mahān manavo bhṛguḥ . (MS.V.2A)
cf. also MS.VII.2A.
successive Manvantaras (= periods or ages presided over by successive Manus). The first of these 14 Manus was the author of the Manusmiśita.
The six successive Manus coming after the first one are named in MB. I. 62. The seventh Manus, called Vaivasvata Manus or Śakyavrata Manus is regarded as the progenitor of the present race of living beings and as the presiding sovereign of the current Manvantara. This very Vaivasvata Manus is referred to as the first human king in places like MB. VII.48; MB. AII. 67.3.1 ff. and MB. XII.122.43. The first Manus the original author of the Manusmiśita is repeatedly referred to as Manus or Svyāmbara Manus or Svyāmbara or Prācetas Manus or Prācetas and rarely also as Manus rajāpati, 11 and as Manus Maitreya-agarbha. 12

Kantilya in five places of his Arthasastra refers to a 'school of Arthasastra founded by Manus' with the term manavah. 13 It will, however, be more convenient to discuss the identity of this founder of a school of Arthasastra and the author of the extent Manusmiśita at a later part of the present dissertation.

CONTENTS OF THE MANUSMIŚITA:

The contents of the Manusmiśita happened to be related to the great

11. In Vājasaneyī Sambhūti, XII.46 Manus is identified with Prajāpati (with the expression prajāpataye manava evaḥ) presumably because of being the prordial father of the human race.

12. MB. III.19A.

13. Arthasastra, I.2; I.15; II.7; III.11; III.17.
sages because of their desire to know about the dharma of all the varnas. Accordingly this sastra contains precepts concerning the duties of the brāhmanas and other varnas, the good effects and bad effects of the various deeds performed by the four varnas as well as the śrāpas, i.e., customs and conventions, morally and socially congenial for the respective varnas. Verses VS. 1.111 to VS. 1.118 speak about the various subjects dealt with in the Manusmṛti.

A chapterwise synopsis of the contents of the Manusmṛti may be given as follows:

Chapter I : Origin of the universe, creation of the varnas, purpose of the treatise and the contents thereof in brief.

Chapter II : The authorities of dharma, process of initiation of a child of a dvijāti, duties of the initiated during the period of brahmacharya.

14. MS. I.2
15. VS. I.102
16. VS. I.107
17. A brāhmaṇa or a kṣatriya or a vaśya is called a dvijaṭi because of having two births (= īṭī), one by usual birth and one by initiation. A sūdra is called śaktaṭi because of having only one birth (= īṭī) i.e., by birth only, cf. VS.I.4. The word īṭī is used in the sense of birth also in VS. II.146.
Chapter III: Duties and responsibilities of a householder in the second stage of life called grhaasthârasrama, types of marriage, attitude towards women, performance of pancajayâna,\footnote{18} details about śraddha.

Chapter IV: The proper professions of a brâhmana, more about pancajayâna, more about aeâras and avoidable bad aeâras pertaining to the day to day life.

Chapter V: More on aeâras, things recommended and prohibited as food, process of purification for various types of impurities, status of women.

Chapter VI: Details about the code of conduct recommended for the vanaprasthârasrama and the sannyâsasrama, ethical principles common to all the aeâras.

Chapter VII: Râjadharma, i.e., duties and responsibilities of a king and the art of statecraft.

Chapter VIII: On vyâvahâra, i.e., administration of justice, on 18 vidâdasthânas, i.e., 18 sections of penal laws.

\footnote{18} The term pancajayâna (also called pancamahâjayâna) implies the fivefold obligation of a householder towards teachers, parents and ancestors, gods, living beings other than human beings, and the human community. cf. MS. III.49f.
Chapter II

More on administration of justice with special reference to the relations between men and women, āpaddharma, i.e., exceptions granted in view of unusual situations, dāyabhāga, i.e., succession laws, varieties of sons, action to be taken in respect of the institution of gambling and similar other matters relating to administration.

Chapter I

More on āpaddharma. (Manu recognises only four varnas vis., brāhmaṇa, kṣatriya, vaiśya and südra. A fifth varna other than the said four cannot be discerned. Children born through inter-varga marriages, with few exceptions, are supposed to have a mixed or confused varga and are called varga-sañkaraṇa. The earlier part of this chapter is devoted to the description of the children born through inter-varga marriages. Manu is very particular about the professions assigned to various varnas. Normally a member of a particular varna is not supposed to follow the profession assigned to a varna other than that of his son, but under unusual circumstances some prescribed concessions may be enjoyed as a matter of āpaddharma. The later part of the chapter is devoted to these concessions.)

19. MS. 1.4.
20. cf. MS. I.12
Chapter XI: Persons eligible for receiving gifts given for religious merit, retributions for various bad deeds, classification of sins, expiations recommended for various sins.

Chapter XII: Concept of the three guṇas, theory of rebirth, rebirth in various forms depending on good or bad deeds performed in the present life, superiority of the Vedic religion, superiority of the knowledge of the philosophy of Veda, superiority of the knowledge of the self which leads to final emancipation of the soul.

PLACE OF RAJADHARMA IN THE MANUSANHITA:

The Manusāṁhitā is a dharmaśāstra and it admitted deals with the duties and good conduct of the four varṇas. Yet this treatise appears to be more concerned with the brahmanas and the kṣatriya. The concluding verse of chapter VI shows that the first six chapters are concerned with the brahmanas. Verses MS. VII.1 and MS. IX.225 show that chapter VII, chapter VIII and the larger portion of chapter IX are devoted to the king or the kṣatriya. In comparison to these, very little space is spared for the vaiśya and the śūdra.

---

21. MS. I.107
22. eṣa veśbhiḥto dharma brahmaṁya caturvidkah (MS. VI.274).
23. cf. verses MS. II.326 to MS. II.328. There are, however, casual references to the duties and privileges etc. of vaiśya and śūdra also in other places such as MS. I.127ff.
As the word राजन means king, the term राजधर्म precisely means polity and the duties and responsibilities of a king. But as envisaged by Manu under normal circumstances only a क्षत्रिय could become a king, and as such, whatever is ordained for the क्षत्रिय in a general way should normally apply also to the king. Taking this aspect also into consideration it may be observed that there are matters relating to राजधर्म in almost all the chapters of the ब्राह्मण. Thus, for instance, MS.I.8 speaks about the duties of a क्षत्रिय naming प्रजापालन (i.e., protection of subjects) first. As the क्षत्रिय is a द्रवजी the whole of the second chapter concerned with the initiation of the द्रवजी applies also to the क्षत्रिय.23a as well as to the वैश्य. That is why there are verses recommending at the same breath various types of names,24 various types of मेर्काला (= sacred girdle),25 and various types of दंड (sacred staff)26 etc. for for ब्राह्मण, क्षत्रिय and वैश्य. In the third chapter, which is concerned with the ग्रहस्थायीम, there are recommendations in respect of the varna of the bride to be wedded by a क्षत्रिय,27 and the type of marriage28 to be chosen by a क्षत्रिय. In chapter IV also the superior status of a क्षत्रिय is indicated by stating that one who wants to prosper should not underestimate a क्षत्रिय, a माण and a learned ब्राह्मण.

24. MS.II.31f.
25. MS.II.42
26. MS.II.43
27. MS.III.13. Here the word राजन is used in the sense of a क्षत्रिय in general. See also, MS.III.14.
even if they appear to be weak. Verses MS. V.93 to MS. V.97 deal with the purification of a king. In this connection it is stated that the king does not require any purification since his body is made of the bodies of eight deities. Verses MS. V.98 is concerned with the question of purification on the occasion of a kshatriya soldier dying in the battle field. The next verse speaks about the purification of a kshatriya in general. As warranted by MS. VII.1, the whole of the seventh chapter is devoted to rajadharm. The next two chapters concerned with the administration of justice and some aspects of law and order form a part of rajadharm. The later part of the ninth chapter also deals with the seven elements of the state, relation between the king and the 4 yugas, relation between the king and eight particular deities, and relation between brahmanas as the spiritual leader and kshatriya as the ruler. It is recommended in the same chapter that the king should retire from active life by way of dying in the battle field and should make his subordinates work only for the good of the people so as to make his kingdom a welfare state.

In chapter X, it is stated that non-violence, truth, purity and control of sense-organs constitute the basic dharma for all the four varnas.

Obviously this applied to the kshatriya also. Under normal circumstances protection of people is recommended as the best profession for a kshatriya.

29. MS. IV.125
30. This is implied by the terms kastaboddharmaka and kastakasadhana.
31. MS. II.323
32. kit su va lokasa varas bartyay niyojas. MS. II.3245.
33. MS. I.63
34. MS. I.60
After recommending certain professions to be followed by a brāhmaṇa
under extraordinary circumstances, it is observed that a kṣatriya also
may take to the same professions under similar circumstances, but in no
case should take to the usual profession of a brāhmaṇa. It is further
maintained that if any one belonging to a comparatively lower varṇa is
found to be following the profession of any of the higher varṇas, it is
the responsibility of the king to confiscate the property of the person
concerned and to banish him from the country. Both the brāhmaṇas and
kṣatriyas are prohibited to be usurers. However, for the performance of
religious functions only they may lend some money to someone belonging
to a lower varṇa at a very low rate of interest. Under extraordinary
circumstances the king may realise a higher tax provided he does not fail
to protect the people. It is the specified dharma of a kṣatriya to
gain victory over the enemy, and never to flow from the battle-field,
to protect the vaisyas from the robbers and to realise taxes only at an
ethically permitted rate. Sudras and some artisans and artists would
only render some physical services; they should never be subjected to
any tax in cash. In chapter XI, the king is enjoined to make gifts to brāhmaṇas,
to see that sacrifices are duly performed, and to

35. MS. I.95
36. MS. I.96
37. MS. I.117
38. MS. I.118. Here the word kṣatriya is used in the sense of a king.
39. MS. I.119
40. MS. I.120
41. MS. II.1
42. MS. XI.11; 18; 19; 21.
grant stipends for learned brāhmaṇas, who have become infirm. The ksatriya, along with the brāhmaṇa and the vaishya is prohibited to drink.

Two more verses recommended the manner of punishing a brāhmaṇa who steals gold. To emphasise on the point that the protection of the people is the best duty of a ksatriya, it is stated that protection is the very essence (= tapas) for a ksatriya. In chapter XII which is concerned with the theory of rebirth, it is stated that a person may be born again as a king or a ksatriya because of possessing the quality of rajas more predominantly. In another place it is stated how a ksatriya is destined to have a much inferior birth if he swerves from the path of his ordained duty and indulges in eating certain forbidden foods. In yet another place it is stated that only such a person who understands the implications of the Vedic lore deserves to become an army general or a ruler or a head of the judiciary or the master of the whole world.

Thus, by way of laying down the details of varṇāṃśadharma i.e., the duties and ethical principles pertaining to the four varṇas and the varṇaśākaṇḍas and to the four āśramas, the Manus also dwells on various aspects of rajaśāstra, which as a technical term, very conveniently

43. Ms. II.22f.
44. Ms. II.97f.
45. Ms. II.100f.
46. tapah kastraintya rakṣmam, Ms. II.236A
47. Ms. II.46
48. Ms. III.71
49. senāpatyam ca rājyam ca dandaśītyam eva ca
   sarvalokādhipatyaṁ ca vedasāstra-viśvaratīti:
   (Ms. III.100)
conveys the idea of the principles of polity and statecraft.

TREATMENT OF RAJADHARMA IN THE MAHAVHARATA:

The story of the Mahabharata is concerned with a feud of a family of rulers. Thus the work is very intimately concerned with the life and activities of the ruling class. Hence, this work may very reasonably be expected to contain a lot about the principles of polity. Moreover, while the Manvasmita deserves to be called a dharmastra, as warranted also by MS. I. 3, the Mahabharata deservedly claims to be called an arthasastra, a dharmastra and a kamastra, all at a time. By way of presenting a definition of arthasastra Kautilya says: "Artha is the means of subsistence (Vritti) of men; i.e., artha is a piece of land having human beings as dwellers on it; arthasastra is the science which deals with the acquisition and preservation of that land." In the light of this definition as well as the contents of the Arthasastra which comprise the branches of central and local administration, home and foreign policy, civil and criminal law and the art of warfare, one might be inclined to believe that both arthasastra and dharmastra mean the same thing. But in fact there is a difference. Rajadharma means varnasramadharma as pertaining to a king. As such it is concerned with the best ethical achievements.

50. arthasastraśo idām proktaṁ dharmastraśo idām mahat.  
kamaśstraśo idām proktaṁ vṛṣenmūtabuddhīḥ :  
(MS. I. 2. 383)

51. manusyaśaṃ vṛttir arthah, manusyaśaṃ bhunir ityarthah;  
tasyāḥ prthivyā lākṣapālānapayāḥ sastraṁ arthasastraṁ iti.  
(Arthasastra, 15.1)
of any individual king. But, as evidenced by the work of Kautilya, an artha-stra is mainly concerned with the security and prosperity of the state, and the rules of kingly conduct prescribed in an artha-stra are formulated in the best interest of the state as a whole. Thus being also an artha-stra, as claimed by itself, the Mahabharata may be expected to deal with the various aspects of polity even more elaborately than the Manusmriti.

According to its own admission discussions on polity in the Manusmriti mainly occur in chapters VII, VIII and IX, and precisely between the statements: "rajadharmas pravakṣyami" (= I shall speak about rajadharmas) of MS. VII.1 and "eṣaṁ khalā karmavidhir ukto rājasya sanatanaḥ" (= Thus I have declared the whole of the everlasting code of conduct for the king) of MS. IX.365. Similarly, in the Mahabharata also, the first of the three sections of the Santi-parva is admittedly expected to contain the discourses on polity most elaborately, because this section is called Rajadharmaparva, the second and the third sections being called Āpaddharmaparva and Nokṣadharmaparva respectively. That these three titles are not fictitious and not imposed from outside may be warranted by the following lines occurring in the context of giving summary of the whole text:

 śantiparvani dharmasya vyakhyaṁ saratalpikāḥ:
rajabhīr vedītavyaṁ te manyagāṇās-bubhutṣubhīḥ.
āpaddharmasā tetaiva kālabhetupradarsīnaḥ:
yāṁ buddhav puṣāḥ samayak sarvajñatvān avapajyati.
mokṣadharmasā kathitā vicīṭā baṅvīstaraḥ. 52

52. MS. I.2.326-328
(In the Sāntiparva such dharmas are explained by Bhīṣma, who has been lying on the bed of arrows, which should be learnt by the kings who want to be in the possession of proper knowledge. Āpaddharmas, which show that kāla (= time) is the cause of all, also occur there itself; knowing these a person may become omniscient. The manifold mokṣadharmaas are also declared in great detail).

Regarding the contents of the Rajadharmaparva it may be observed here that there are 130 cantos (= adhyāyas) in this parva; here Bhīṣma is the chief interlocutor who presents authoritative discourses on the principles of polity. In fact Bhīṣma continues to be the main interlocutor throughout the remaining two sections of the Sāntiparva and also throughout the Anuśāsanaparva till his glorious demise described in the last canto of the Anuśāsanaparva. But in the Sāntiparva, Bhīṣma begins to speak systematically about rajadharm only as late as in Canto, 56. Even then some of the earlier cantos of the Rajadharmaparva as well as some cantos of the Apaddharmaparva and some cantos of Ādi-, Sabhā-, Vana-, Udyoga-, and Anuśāsana-parvan contain materials having bearing on rajadharm.

TREATMENT OF RAJADHARMA OUTSIDE THE SANTI PARVA :

The passages occurring elsewhere than in the Sāntiparva and dealing with rajadharm either casually or in a systematic way, along with their contexts, may be indicated as follows:

53. The Roman figures indicate the number of different relevant major parvas (i.e., those greater than sections like the Rajadharmaparva) as follows: I = Ādi-parva, II = Sabhā-parva, III = Vana-parva, V = Udyoga-parva, VI = Bhīṣma-parva, XII = Sānti-parva, XIII = Anuśāsana-parva, IV = Āsravāsika-parva.
I.11.17: A snake named Dundubha speaking to a brāhmaṇa named Ruru instructs him to be non-violent and says that the dharma of a kṣatriya does not suit a brāhmaṇa. With the present verse he enumerates punishment, fierceness and protection of the people as the deeds specified for a kṣatriya. 53a

I.41.21-33: When Śrīgī cursed king Parikṣit his father Śrīkīka disapproves of the action of his son on the ground that a king should never be harmed, because the others may flourish only if protected by a king. Śrīkīka describes the deserts of a state of having no king and the utility of danda (= the coercive authority of the king) because of which brāhmaṇas may perform yajnas peacefully. 54

I.139.6-34, 50-93: In this canto a minister named Ānuka advises Dhrūvaśrūtra on matters relating to principles of polity and diplomacy. Almost the whole of the text is repeated in the Śantiparva, canto 140, where the advice is said to have been given by Bhāradvāja to king Satruṅjayas. But in the ealephon to the later

53a. dandadāvaman ugratvaḥ prajāmāḥ paripūlam.

   tad idem kṣatriyasāvāt karmā vai sama na rūpa : (MB.I.11.17)

54. cf. arājaka janamad deśa jyāyanti vai sūtā.

   udvṛttam etatena lokam rājā dandam uciṣṭi vai : (MB.I.41.27)
canto the text is referred to as Kanikopadesa. ne
Bhāradvāja is referred to by Kautilya in Arthāśāstra.

1.15. Jayaswal refers to this authority as a "authoritative authority of BharadvaJa. (Hindu Polity, p. 287)

II.5.17-129: Nārada by way of asking Yudhīśthuira if he has been ruling his subjects properly presents a clear idea as to how an ideal king should run his administration dwelling on various aspects of statecraft.

Nārada concludes that the king who devotes his life for the protection of the interest of the four varṇas becomes happy in this life and retires to heaven afterwards.

II.55.6-19: Duryodhana, speaking to Dhṛtarāṣṭra, argues on the strength of the authority of Brhaspati that the behaviour of a king can never be the same as that of the ordinary people and as such a king must always be intent on promoting his own interest. The king should invariably endeavour to gain victory be it through righteousness or its opposite.

55. cf. evam yo vartate rājā cāturvarnasya raksane .
   sa vihṛtyeha susukhi śākṛasyātī salokatām :
   (Vb. II.5.129)

56. cf. lokavṛttād rājavṛttam anyad āha ṛṣhaspatih .
   tasmāḥ rājāpramattena svārthas cintyāḥ sadaiva hi :
   ksatriyasya mahāraja jaye vṛttih samāhitā .
   sa vai dharmastvadharma vā svavṛttan kā parīksanā :
   (Vb. II.55.6f.)
III.20.20-20: While the Pándavas were residing in the Dvaita forest, Sage Baka-dalhīya spoke to Indhīsthira about the mutual relationship between kṣatra (i.e., the ruler) and brahma (i.e., the intellectual). He said that the world should prosper when the matchless understanding of brahma and the matchless strength of kṣatra go hand in hand. It is maintained that without the company of a brāhma (i.e., the intellectuals) strength of a kṣatriya diminishes. 37

III.190.20-51: When Bhūma entered the Kādalīvana for bringing svaṅgadhīka flower for Drupadī, he met Hanumān of the Rāmāyana fame, who gives a long discourse on the art of statecraft. Hanumān praises trayī (i.e., the vedic lore), vārtā (i.e., oratory) and dandaśītī (i.e., the theory of policy) and imparts useful instructions on various aspects of statecraft such as danda, cāva (= spy), mastra (= counsel), and the four upāyana (= political expedients). Hanumān also advises that a kṣatriya may retire to the heaven if in this world he punishes the wicked and protects the noble. 38

37. brahmāyuyamāṇo drātih kṣaṭraṃ apratīnē balas
   ten yadā ca satah sārīhām tadā lokah prādiṣṭati:
   (MB. III.20.16)

38. of. trayā vārtā dandaśītī tiṣere vidyā vijaṭān.
   tābhīḥ samyak prayuktiḥḥir lokasthā vidhiṣate:
   (MB. III.190.31)
III.185.25-31: Sage Senatihumara addressing a number of sages says that the brahmans and the kshatriya joining together may destroy the enemy like the fire and the wind together burning a whole forest. The king is identical with Dharma, Prajapati, Indra, Sakra, Brahma and Bhramapati. The king deserves to be honoured by every one.

III.202.11-13: Sage Uttanka tells King Bhuridatta that protection is the greatest virtue of a king. The people should always be protected by the king; and hence it is obligatory on the part of the addresser also to protect the people.

III.207.26-37: Dharma-vyadhya (i.e., a pious hunter) of Mithila tells Kamika about varna-dharma. He dwells on the duties and functions of an ideal king. The king protects, in conformity with his own varna-dharma, those who follow their own varna-dharma, and brings back to the proper field of duty those who swerve from the path of their own enjoined duties. Working in conformity with their own varna-dharma kings may

---

59. brahma kṣatriya sahitā kṣatriya sa brahmaṇā seha.

samyuktaṁ debeśtah ēśтрāṁ varṇāvignāṇāṁततः
(MB. III.185.28)

60. cf. rakṣitavyah prajā rājāṁ tāstvām rakṣitum arhasi.

(MB. III.202.15a)
hope to achieve great fortunes. But if the kings become unrighteous, the fabric of dharma becomes confused, and unrighteousness increases in the society, and confusion arises amongst the people. Because of unrighteousness of the kings, monsters, dwarfs, hunchbacks, large-headed ones, impotent persons, blind persons, deaf persons and persons having unusual eyes be born in the society.\(^61\)

III.313.32,34 : In course of the celebrated dialogue between Yudхиштхра and god Dharma, disguised as a Yakşa, in reply to questions put by the latter the former says that fighting constitutes the divinity of a kṣatriya, and a country without a king is dead.\(^62\)

V.32-60 : In these eight cantos Vidura offers very useful advices on statecraft and other ethical principles. Verses 33.18,43,45; 38,19-21, 24 dwell on the importance of keeping the mantra (i.e., the contents of the deliberations with the ministers on policy matters) a secret. Verses 39.36ff discuss how a mantra

---

61. cf. राजस्ववस्मा स्वस्त्रुवस्मा सौभाग्यं तुष्टं स्वष्टं (MB.III.307.31a) 
   vyabhicārān aarudrānām dharmaḥ sakāryate mahaṁ .
   adharmaḥ vahrata cāpi sakāryante tatah prajah : (MB.III.307.35)
   bhrūmāḥ vāmāḥ bhūjaḥ ahūkārānām tattvāvem ā .
   klībhānādhyāvoc bādhirā jāyante tīvraśca: (MB.III.307.36)

62. cf. इन्स्त्रों व्रृत्तः द्वस्त्रव : (MB.III.312.32a)
   न्यूठः राष्ट्रायस चुजेकह (Ibid., 32a).
night leak out. Verses 32.36 and 32.9 emphasize on adopting a policy of distrust. Verses 37.17f recommend for the king, a policy of self-preservation. Verses 33.69 and 36.19f tell about the essential qualities of a mañtri (i.e., counsellor). Verse 34.38 emphasizes on the importance of a mañtri. Verses 34.84-89 emphasize on the importance of self-control. Verse 34.75 tells about the importance of dama and verse 34.54 about the importance of cārta (spice). Verses 35.79f put that protection of the people is the basic duty of a king. Verses 38.61 and 40.28 declare that for a king death in the battle-field is most commendable. In verses 34.33ff it is recommended that all should be obedient to the king lest the latter should apply force to ensure allegiance. Verse 39.76 emphasizes on the importance of a king by stating that the condition of a country without a king becomes lamentable. Verses 34.17f recommend that the king should levy only a moderate tax. Verse 38.13 deals with the relation between kṣattra (= the ruler) and brahma (the intellectual). Verses 38.84f are concerned with the concepts conveyed by the technical terms pādaśāya, sthāna, vyādhi and kṣaya. Verses 34.28f declare that if the king practices righteousness as it has been done by all good men from early times, the earth abounds in wealth, but if the king gives up righteousness in favour of unrighteousness the earth contracts for him like a piece of leather put into the fire.
V.72.46: Yudhishthira, with his inherent softness of heart
tells Kréna that the duty recommended for a Ksatriya
is a cruel one; but to be cruel is the very specified
duty (= svadharma) of a Ksatricya, any other profession
is to be despised as opposed to the assigned duty
(= adharma). 63

V.73.4: Kréna tells Yudhishthira that whether one wins victory
or gets killed in the battle field, fighting is the
svadharma of a Ksatriya as ordained by the creator.
Hence, in this respect weakness is deplorable. 64

V.82.14-18: Draupadí tells Kréna that a Ksatriya, who follows his
own duty should kill a Ksatriya or any non-Ksatriya,
barring a brähmana, if he is found to be greedy. It
is as much improper to spare one who deserves to be
killed as to kill one who does not deserve to be
killed. 65

63. pápeh ksatríya dharmo'yaśa vaśaya ca kstrabhúndhavah.
   sa na h svadharma'adharmo va vrttri anvā vigāruni:
   (MB. V.72.46)

64. jayo vadhoh va ásgrámoe dhátra'distah anūtanah.
   svadharmaḥ kṣatriyasyaiva kārpanayam na prasāyate:
   (V.73.4)

65. kṣatriyama hi kṣantavyah kṣatriyam lobham āsthitaḥ.
   akṣatriyam vā dhátrāva svadharman anuśtithatā:
   (MB.V.82.16)
   yathā'vadhya vadhya māne bhaved dhaśe janārdana.
   sa vadhyaśāvadhā dhūta iti dharma viduh:
   (V.72.18,
V.129.15-30: Gandhari first tells Dhrtarashtra that when sama
(= policy of peace) or bhrata (= diplomacy) is enough
for overcoming some calamity one should not apply
danda (i.e., should not adopt the policy of confront-
ation). Subsequently she addresses Duryodhana and
emphasises on the importance of practising self-
restraint. She says that one who can control the sense
organs, controls the ministers, inflicts punishment to
the offenders, does everything after proper circum-
spetion, and is steady is verily attended by the royal
fortune.

V.132.7-34: In this message sent to Yudhisthira per favour of
Krsna, Kunti persuades her son to fight. She says that
the Ksatriya has been created from the arms of the
Creator so that he could earn his livelihood with the
strength of his own arms. The Ksatriya is thus meant
for cruel deeds and for protecting the people. King
is entitled to get one-fourth of the religious merit
earned by the subjects by properly following the path
of dharma under the protection of the king. It is the

66. yā ki sākyā nakhāja sūnā bhedana va punah.

nīstartun āpadah svasa dandaḥ kastastrā pātayet : (MS.V.129.15)

67. vasyendriyaṁ jītā sākyāṁ dhṛtaṁ dandaṁ vikāraṁ

pariharākārīṁāṁ dhīram styaṁ viśāṁ arīr niśvate : (MS.V.129.30)
king who creates the four different yugas, viz., Satya, Treta, Dvapara and Kali by way of creating better or worse situations in the society. She reminds her son that he is a kṣatriya, who is supposed to protect others from getting unduly injured and to live on the strength of his own arms. He should regain his own share of the paternal property by any one of the five expedients, viz., sansa, śana, bheda, danda and neya. 68

V.133.13ff: Vídālā's son Sañjaya has been defeated and deprived of his kingdom by the king of Śiṅhabha. Yet Sañjaya remains idle. Now Vídālā with a long speech instigates her son to rise up and fight a decisive battle once more. In this connection she says that the kṣatriya is created to fight and to win victory. Both by gaining victory or by being killed the kṣatriya becomes entitled to live in the heaven. 69

VI.20.31.8: In this statement, Kṛṣṇa declares that for a kṣatriya there is nothing superior than a battle fought for protecting a right cause. 70

68. pitrasya sansū mahābheho nisagnai punar uddhara.
   sāmā bhedaena dānena dandānāthe nayena va : (MB.V.133.32)

69. yuddhāya kṣatriyak artoḥ sañjayade jayaṇa ca.
   jayaṇa vā vasāyaṇā vā prap-jobhōcāra-saḥkātena : (MB.V.133.13B-14A)

70. dharmadāhi yuddhaśāchrayo'nyst kṣatriyasya na vidyate. (MB.VI.26.31B.)
VI.48.43: Here Karna declares that to show valour, spiritedness, patience and skill in the battle field and not to flee from the battle field and to give gifts and to predominate are the deeds of a Kshatriya and they are inherently associated with him. 71

XIII.33: In reply to Yudhishthira's question as to what is the best duty of a king with which he might vis both the worlds Shāma says that the best duty is to pay homage to the paurajāmpadas 72 and the learned brāhmaṇas. Brāhmaṇas may make a divine undivine and an undivine divine, and one can be a king only if it is so desired by the brāhmaṇas and one becomes defeated if one's victory is not desired by the brāhmaṇas. 73

XIII.34: This canto is also devoted to the importance of the brāhmaṇa. It is observed here that the authority and strength of the Kshatriya who predominate may finally be cooled down by the brāhmaṇas. 74

71. संर्यासं त्वा दृतिर कृमायः यज्ञो सप्यपल्यायस्।
   दृशाः इवरभवासं कृत्रम् कर्मा सवभवायस: (MB.VI.48.43)

72. दशवाम दातव्याः कृत्रम् यज्ञां कस्य विशेषाः
   स्माः सम्बन्धानिः (MB.XII.35.17)

73. क्षत्रियानाः प्रात्सप्ताः तेजासः चाहेतरुपमाः
   ब्राह्माणेवेव संयंति तेजस्वः च बलेन्तरुपमाः (MB.XII.34.16)
This canto, dealing with the same theme as that of the earlier two cantos, maintains that if there is any conflict with the brāhmaṇas it becomes difficult to rule over the world; for, the great souled brāhmaṇas are the gods of the gods. 75

Verses 40 to 44 dwell on the importance of the king as the protector. The king is the protector of the wealth and lives forcefully taken away by the robbers and also of all the varṇas. 76 This canto also deals with dāyabhāga, which means the law of inheritance.

Here it is maintained that the duty of a kṣatriya involves a lot of cruelty; hence, in order to be absolved of the sin involved, the king should perform yajānas and offer dāmas (= gifts) (verse, 4). When brāhmaṇas are found to be without any suitable profession, the king should give them financial relief either directly or indirectly. (verse 14f). It is obligatory on the part of the king to protect the wealth of the old, the minor, the blind and the feeble. The king should not collect any tax from those who live on

75. na brāhmaṇaviredhena sakyā sāstum vasadvahāḥ.
   brāhmaṇā hi mahātaṁ devāṃśapī devatāḥ : (MB.XIII.35.21)

76. dasyubhir kriyāṃśe ca dhanaś dārāṇeṣaṃ sarvasaḥ.
   sarvaṃ eva varṇāṃ śruti bhave tathā pārthivāḥ : (MB.XIII.67.36)
grains grown with waters drawn from wells for want of rains and also from a distressed woman. It is obligatory on the part of the king to see that not a single person of his kingdom is faced with starvation. (Verses 26 to 30) and to protect every woman from molestation (verse 31). If a king does not protect, if he forcefully takes away the wealth of the citizens, destroys the wealth and family of any citizen and becomes a despot, then the citizens should collectively kill such an evil king without any mercy. If even after giving the assurance that he would be the protector, he fails to protect, he should be killed collectively like a rabid dog. The king is obliged to share one-fourth of the sin or the religious merit accruing to the citizens. (Verses 36 to 38).

It is maintained that a righteous king is the first sign of prosperity. People cannot have peace of mind when their king is unrighteous, when the king is righteous people may do their duties peacefully and may have full prosperity. (verses 40 to 44). It is

77. brddhavālādhamś cakṣya mādhaya hṛṣeṣuṣa ca .
na kāṭapūrvaṁ kaurvita na rudantīdhamś haret : (MB.XIII.61.23). The meaning of the word kāṭapūrvaṁ is given in the light of Nilakantha's commentary.

78. arakṣitāsya kartaṁ vilaṁśtāraṁ māyākam .
ətā vai rājugalī kanyā prajā pravāha samākhyam nirghṛṣan : (MB.XIII.61.32)

79. ahaṁ vo rakṣiteṣuṁkatvā ye na rakaṣṭi hūmipah .
sa sākṣāya nihantavyah śveva sannāda ātuthak : (MB.XIII.61.33)
also casually maintained that the brave kings who are killed in the battle-field may retire to the heaven or to the Brahmaloka. (verse 83).

XIII.141.46-53 : In this passage god Śiva tells Pārvatī about Kṣatriya-dharma (i.e., the assigned duties of a Kṣatriya). Here the term Kṣatriya invariably stands for a king. In course of this short discourse emphasis is laid mainly on the protection of the people and a glorious death in the battle-field.

XIV.3.7-43 : In this long passage Bharatastra advises Yudhishthira about the various aspects of statecraft such as qualifications of the ministers, fortification of the royal city, number of counsellors, security of the place of deliberation on policy matters, the daily routine of a king, assignment of duties to the princes, etc.

XIV.6 : Continuing his discourse in this context Bharatastra speaks about the circle (= mandala) of enemies, allies and neutral kings and offers different recommendations in respect of a confrontation depending on the relative strength or weakness of the opponent. If the king faces an aggression by a stronger opponent, he is advised to adopt the vaiśāli vr̥ti (i.e., 'reed-like action' or the policy of yielding to a superior force,) and try to pacify the opponent with the expedients (= upaṇyas) beginning with aśma (= consiliatio); and if
such expedients fail he is advised to face the opponent in a battle, and if necessary to die in the battle-field as a hero.

Continuing his discourse in this canto Dārtarastra dwells on varieties of sandhi (= treaty), varieties of sati (= power of king in the context of marching against a foreign enemy) and varieties of bala (= royal strength derived from wealth and officials, etc.). He also dwells on the proper time for an aggression and on some forms of bhṛṣa (= arrangement of the army). He advises Yudhisthira repeatedly to protect and rule over the people in full conformity with the principles of dharma and concludes his discourse on polity by observing that 'a king who protects and rules over the subjects in conformity with dharma gains as much merit as may be gained from performing one thousand Asvamedha yajñas', and significantly enough, in the whole of the Mahābhārata. This is the last pronouncement having a direct bearing upon polity.

With regard to the foregoing synopsis it may be observed here that most of the ideas and many of the expressions covered by the given synopsis may be found in the Śāntiparva also. Repetitions of ideas and expressions may be found even within the area covered by the given synopsis. These

60. asvamedhasahasraṇa ye yajet prathīvapatiḥ
palyed vai dharmena prajās tulyaphalen labhet : (MB, XV, 7, 23)
repetitions were perhaps unavoidable because of the fact that different interlocutors like Vidura and Bhīṣma had to harp on the same principles of rājadhāma, which as a scientific discipline could not have much varied from speaker to speaker. This position is implied by Dārmaśāstra when he tells Yudhiṣṭhira that although Bhīṣma, Kṛṣṇa and Vidura have already told Yudhiṣṭhira about rājadhāma, yet Dārmaśāstra is prompted to dwell on the same theme out of love for the former. 81

THE PRELUDE TO BHĪṢMA'S DISCOURSE ON POLITY:

In the Mahābhārata although there are many an interlocutor to dwell on rājadhāma, including some brilliant women like Gāndhārī, Kūntī, Vidūlā and Dhru paddī, yet the conspicuousness of being the greatest authority on this subject is enjoyed by Bhīṣma. As already observed Bhīṣma begins to dwell on the subject systematically from the fifty-sixth chapter of the Sāṃśīparva. But some of the earlier chapters also contain some important materials concerning the science of polity presented by certain other important characters of the Mahābhārata. Hence, it should be useful in view of the proposed comparative study to have an idea of the contents of the earlier chapters of the Sāṃśīparva, forming as it were a prelude to the discourse of Bhīṣma. Accordingly a synopsis is given cantonwise below:

Canto 1: Yudhiṣṭhira laments for the death of Karna.

Cantos 2-8: Nārada recounts the episode regarding the curse leading to Karna’s death and asks Yudhiṣṭhira not to lament.

81. bhīṣma ca eva utkṛto kiṃ kṛṣṇa vidūrana ca
mayaśvāyam vaktavyam prītyā te arpaṣṭama: (XV.7.21)
Canto 6: Kunti also consoles Yudhisthira.

Canto 7: Yudhisthira being overwhelmed with sorrow proposes to hand over the kingship to Arjuna and then to go away as a beggar.

Canto 8: Arjuna tries to dissuade Yudhisthira from his resolution to go away as a beggar with arguments which have some relevance to the science of polity. Arjuna says that to possess nothing or to have no provision for the morrow suits the sages; but wealth is needed for performing dharma, for having desires (= kama) fulfilled and for attaining the heaven and for living the day to day life. Even the gods killed their kinmen, the demons for acquiring wealth so that they could begin the performance of dharma. What is reasonable (for a kshatriya) is to study the Vedas, to be learned, to acquire wealth by any means and then to perform sacrifices. Then a king wins victory over a kingdom he gets a legitimate right to acquire the kingdom as a wealth like sons having a legitimate claim over the wealth of their father.

Canto 9: Yudhisthira does not give up his resolution to retire to the forest.

---

82. arthād dharmasā kūśacā svargasaivā nārādhipa
   prānayāstrāpi lokasya vinā kyarthāśa sa sidhyati : (MB.III.8.17)

83. evam eva hi rājāno jayanti prthivīśa āsan
   jītvā mameyaḥ brvate putrā iva pitur dhanam : (MB.III.8.31)
Canto 10: Bhiṣma strongly disapproves of Yudhīśṭhīra's decision with such arguments as follows: Forgiveness, sympathy, pity, and lack of cruelty are not suited to the path of the Kṣatriyas. (Verse 3). One who opposes the rightful acquisition of a kingdom should be killed as recommended by those who know the kṣatriyana. (Verse 9). Thus the Pāndavas have rightly killed the Kauravas and now should rightly enjoy the world (Verse 9). For a kṣatriya, saṃyāsa (renunciation) is recommended only in time of distress or when he is too old or overcome by the enemy.

Canto 11: Arjuna once again urges upon Yudhīśṭhīra to have patience and to rule over the whole world free from enemies.

Canto 12: Nakula reminds Yudhīśṭhīra of the obligations of a king and says that the king who does not protect his subjects harassed by the robbers by way of abandoning the kingdom is an evil amongst the kings. There is no room for any regret if after killing the enemies one remains faithful to one's svādaṃbha (one's assigned duty). (Verse 37)

84. āpatkale hi saṃyāsaḥ kartavya iti sīyate.
jarayābhpaṇītena satrubhir vyasaṣītana vā : (MB.XIII.10.17)

85. rājaś praṣadādoṣena daśyubhīḥ parimasyatēṃ.
saṃyāsaḥ praJaṇaṃ yah sa rāja kalirucyate : (MB.XIII.12.29)
Canto 13: Sahadeva also pleads with all humility that the life of that king goes in vain who having won the whole world does not want to enjoy the same. (verse 9).

Canto 14: Draupadi, by way of persuading Yudhisthira to give up his resolve more forcefully makes certain observations having a direct bearing on rajadharma. She says that a Kshatriya does not shine without danda; one who does not possess danda cannot enjoy the world; the subjects of a king who does not possess danda cannot have any happiness. Friendship towards all creatures, study and austerities are the duties of a brahmana and not of a king. Restraining the wicked, protecting the honest and not retreating from the battle field constitute the highest duty of the kings.

Canto 15: In a single verse of the previous canto (i.e., verse 14.14) Draupadi makes a pointed reference to the utility of danda. With almost whole of the present canto Arjuna for the first time presents a full-fledged discourse on the utility

---

86. The term danda conveys many ideas. In the present context it may be taken to stand for 'the coercive authority of the king.'

87. nādandah kaṣṭriyo bhāti nādandā dhāmin asante.

88. nādandasya praṇā rajñān sukhāṃ vindati mārataḥ: (MB.III.14.14)

89. nitrata sarvabhiṣṭeṣu dānaṃ adhyayamān tāpah.

90. brahmānasasya dharmah syāṃ na rajñān rajasattamaḥ: (MB.III.14.15)

91. astāḥ praṭiṣṭedhaḥ ca astānaḥ paripaścama.

92. oṣa rajñān paro dharmah samare cāpurāṇaḥ: (MB.III.14.16)
of danda, which constitutes a very important aspect of rajadharma, Arjuna concludes this discourse by urging upon Yudhishthira not to have any regret for killing the enemies who themselves came as murderers. But this also remains a fast, maintains Arjuna, that the real soul of nobody can be killed; like a man entering a new house, a soul simply leaves behind an old body and gets into a new body. Thus, in final analysis even the murderer is not killed.

Canto 19 to Ch. 19: As if being inspired by the aforesaid philosophical observation of Arjuna, Bhima, Yudhishthira, Arjuna again and Yudhishthira again indulge in a deliberation having more of a philosophical strain and having very little of a direct connection with polity except an observation of Arjuna that by following the path of dharma (i.e., duty), by giving gifts, by being devoid of cruelty, passion and anger, by remaining in the protection of the subjects, by offering best gifts and by paying homage to the preceptors and the elders they could also gain the most desirable heavens after their death. (verses, 19.38f).

90. 
svadiksh caryabhütam anataratmā na sanātayah
svadiksho catammi kathā svadiksho bharati kanyakit:
y atha hi pravah śilah pravah sampravidhena nāvam
ēva jīvāḥ sarīrāni tām tāmān prapadyate.
dehān puruṣām utarjya navām sampratipadyate: (MB.XIII.15.54-58)
This is clearly like an echo of Arjuna's celebrated observation in Gitā, II.22.
Canto 20 - Ch. 21: Here sage Devaśthāna speaks in support of Arjuna's plan that wealth is indispensable for performing dharma (verse 20.3) and then urges upon Yudhīsthira to perform sacrifices. In the concluding verses of the latter canto, Devaśthāna presents the picture of an ideal king as envisaged by the principles of dharma. Such an ideal king restrains his sense organs and remains equally disposed to both the favourite and the unfavourite, eats whatever remains after being offered in a sacrifice, knows the real purport of the āstangas, arrests the wicked and protects the honest, puts his subjects to the path of dharma and himself remains righteous. Such a king in his old age hands over the kingdom to the son and retires to the forest. (verses 21.13-15).

Canto 22: Arjuna more emphatically reiterates the specific duties of a ksatriya. He says that for a ksatriya death in battle is as good as performing many sacrifices, while austerity and renunciation are the duties of a bṛhmaṇa, death in a battle is a duty for the ksatriya. The duty of a ksatriya is very fierce as involves the constant use of weapons and killing in the battlefield. Yet, even the life of a bṛhmaṇa becomes praiseworthy if he lives by the specific duties of a ksatriya, because the ksatriya in reality originates from the bṛhmaṇa.\[91\]

---

91. bṛhmaṇasyaś ca rājena ksatrādharmaṁ vartateḥ.
prasastāśi jīvitam lokas kṣatrāḥ hi bṛhmaṁ ānāvahaḥ: (MB.XII.22.6)
dependence upon others are not recommended as duties for a ksatriya. The heart of a ksatriya is particularly supposed to be as hard as a thunderbolt; in view of these Indhiśthira should give up his grief and address himself to action.

Canto 22: Vyāsa tells Indhiśthira that Arjuna is quite correct in asking him not to retire to the forest because even in the opinion of the śastras the gārbhasthyāśrama (= life of a householder) is the best. (verses 2-7). Then Vyāsa dwells on the difference between the duties of a brāhmaṇa and those of a ksatriya (verses 8-12). Of the various duties of a Kṣatriya, however, danda-dhāraṇa (i.e., holding of the danda or the coercive authority) is the most important, because the prosperity of a king depends on the application of danda. (verses 12-16). Vyāsa continues to reiterate that protection of the subjects is the duty of a ksatriya; anything other than this is a wrong path. Hence Indhiśthira should not lament any more; he should pay heed to the words of his brother Arjuna; because danda (i.e., application of the coercive authority) is the specified duty of a ksatriya and not the shaving of the head (like a mendicant).  

92.  esa dharmaḥ kṣatriyāśām prajāśām paripālanam...
    utpahō'nyo nāhāraja na ma sāke manah kṛtahāḥ:
    bhrātupāya hitaṁ vākyāṁ śrutu dharmajñāsataṁ,
    danda eva hi rājendra kṣatradhārao na suñātām: (MB.III.23.46f)
In continuation of his counsels Vyāsa describes the duties of a king (verses 10-13). He says that if after receiving one-sixth of the produce as tax the king fails to protect the people, he must be obliged to share one-fourth of their sins. Vyāsa illustrates the good qualities of an ideal king with reference to an earlier ideal king named Vājigrīva (= Hayagrīva). Vyāsa also maintains that to die in the battle field is the best ideal before a kṣatriya. In this connection Vyāsa compares the battle with a sacrifice (verses 17-23). The ultimate result of ruling over the kingdom as an ideal king is the attainment of heaven. To substantiate this point Vyāsa says: "After properly learning the Vedas, after studying the āstras, after properly ruling over the kingdom, after placing the four varṇas (i.e., the people belonging to the 4 varṇas) in their respective duarnās (i.e., paths of duty) Vājigrīva now enjoys a life in the heaven. After gaining victory in battles, after protecting his subjects, after drinking the soma juice (i.e., performing sacrifices) and paying homage to the best brāhmaṇas, after properly applying the

93. adaya balisadhāgama yo rastraṁ nabhikṣati.
pratigrhanti tatpāpaṁ caivaṁ caturthamena bhūmīpa:

(MB. XII.24.13)
coercive authority and after being exasperated in the battle field Vājigrīva now enjoys a life in the heaven.  

Canto 25: Vyūsa here mainly presents a philosophical discourse on Kāla (i.e., time) as the cause of everything, so as to relieve Yudhīsthira of his sorrow. With four concluding verses, which are almost identical with the concluding verses of the previous canto Vyūsa dwells on the duties of an ideal king with only two new elements: (1) that the king should intelligently protect the kingdom with the help of nāya, and (2) that such a king is the best who is praised even after his retirement to the heaven by all the purājaṇānapadas and the smātyas.

Canto 26: In this canto Yudhīsthira tries to refute Arjuna's argument that nothing is superior to wealth.

Canto 27: Here Yudhīsthira reiterates that after killing the relatives and superiors in the last battle he has become incorrigibly overwhelmed with grief. Towards the close of this canto Vyūsa tries to console him by pointing out that in this world everything is destined to meet an unavoidable end.

94. sanyāg vedāṇa prāpya sastrānyadhitya sanyāg rājyām pālayitvā sahātma. 
95. The term nāya may mean prudent conduct or behaviour, good management, polity or civil and military government. (Vide Monier-Williams, Sanskrit-English Dictionary, cf. rājaṇām buddhīpurvāḥ nāyaṁ. 
96. yasya vṛttameḥ sāmyantaı svargaasthasyai nāmaḥ. 

Canto 28: Continuing his efforts to console Yudhisthira Vyāsa points out the transitoriness of all the relationships of the world so as to draw the attention of Yudhisthira to the futility of lamenting over the death of anybody. Relationship with wife, relatives and friends is only like a short-living casual acquaintance with a stranger on the road. 97

Canto 29: Here Krishna (= Vāsudeva) as the principal interlocutor repeats the episodes concerning some sixteen kings of the yore like Bharata and Nāmasandra that have been once related by Nārada to king Sañjaya for giving consolation on the occasion of the death of the latter's son. In this connection, interesting etymological explanations are given for the terms kṣatriya and rājā as follows: kṣatriya is called so because of protecting others (trāyati) from injuries (kṣatā) and a rājā is called so because of the subjects' getting enamoured (raktā) towards the king and because of having attachment (saṅrāga) for the king. 98 In his canto there is also a description of the Rāma-rajya (i.e., the kingdoms of Rāma, which serves as the example of the most ideal state. (verses 51-61).

Cantos 30-31: These two cantos are concerned with the episode of Kāñcamangalivī, the son of Sañjaya.

97. pathi saṅgataḥ evādhi dārabandhunahyajjanaḥ . (MB.XII.39.39.8)
98. kṣatād yo vai trāyati sa tamāt kṣatriyaḥ saṁtaḥ (XII.39.136b) tato rājati nāmasya saṁrūgap ajñāyate (XII.39.139a)
Canto 32: Vyāsa again speaks about the specific duties of brāhmaṇas and ksatriyas. (verses 2-9). He says that no offender should be spared even if he is a servant or a son or an ascetic. (verse 6). The king's duty is to kill, to donate and to protect the subjects in conformity with the norms of dharma. (verse 9). If the king kills some one as a matter of danda, it is not a sin (verses 12ff), and it is quite justified to punish the unruly (verse 20ff).

Canto 33: Vyāsa justifies the Mahābhārata war with the argument that even gods and demons, even being half brothers fought for gaining the three worlds (verses 2ff). Another principle is that if by killing one a whole family may have peace and by killing a family the whole state may regain peace then that killing is not detrimental to dharma (i.e., religious merit.) Vyāsa advises Yudhiṣṭhira to do the needful in respect of the restoration of law and order in the kingdoms already won and to install brothers or sons or grandsons in the thrones of the defeated kings; and if necessary to install a son who is yet to be born or a daughter when there is no son. Thus restoring peace and normalcy in the kingdom Yudhiṣṭhira should perform an Āṇavendha sacrifice. (verses 43-46).

99. eṣaḥ hatvā yadī kule nistīnāṁ ayād anāśayaṁ.
   kulāḥ hatvā sa rāstrasy ahād vṛttapagāhataṁ

(MB.III.33.31)
Canto 34-35: These cantos are concerned with the principles of prāyāsātta (expiation). In this connection it is maintained that although the brāhmaṇas are supposed to enjoy some immunity, yet even a brāhmaṇa who is a master of the vedānta philosophy (or who has thoroughly studied the vedas) may be killed without committing any sin if he himself comes with the intention of committing a murder.100 A brāhmaṇa who swerves from the path of his own path of duty and comes as a murderer deserves to be killed; for, his own wrath invites wrath towards himself.101

Canto 36: This canto tells about the food which may be taken and the food which should be avoided.

Canto 37: Yudhiṣṭhira expresses his eagerness to learn more about rājadhāma. Vyāsa advises him to approach Śiṅga for this purpose. Viśudeva (= Kṛṣṇa) advises Yudhiṣṭhira to give up his resolution for renunciation. Yudhiṣṭhira changes his mind and enters Hastināpura for assuming the responsibilities of the supreme monarch.

100. praśrīya sastraṁ āyamāt apī vedāntagarchaṁ rēṣe.
    jīvāṁśantām jīvāṁśīyāṁ na tētaḥ brahmāṁ bhavet.
    (MB.III.34.17)

101. apetā brahmāṁ vṛttad yo hanyād āśīryoṁ.
    na tētaḥ brahmāṁ na śīva naṁyān tēna naṁyāṁ rochati.
    (MB.III.34.19)
Canto 38:
On way to the royal palace Yudhishthira is greeted by the pārśva-jēna-pādās. As he enters the royal palace he is greeted by the brāhmaṇas. A demon, who was a friend of Durvadhana, coming in the guise of a brāhmaṇa, named Cārvaka, however, accuses him for killing the kith and kin. Other brāhmaṇas kill Cārvaka with the fire of their wrath.

Canto 39:
Vāsudeva tells Yudhishthira and all his brothers about the life story of the demon Cārvaka.

Canto 40:
Yudhishthira is anointed as a king

Canto 41:
Yudhishthira sends back the pārśva-jēna-pādās; appoints Bhīma as the Yuва-rajā (= crown prince); appoints Vidura as a māntri (= counsellor) with the responsibility of nīpāṭa (= inquiry = investigation) and śādūmya (= six types of foreign policy); appointed Sāṃjaya to supervise the execution of the decisions and to supervise the budget; appointed Nakula to supervise the strength of the army and the ration and remuneration thereof; appointed Arjuna to contain the external and internal enemies; placed Dasmunya in charge of ecclesiastical affairs, and placed Sahadeva in charge of his personal security. In this way appointed different persons to different posts according to respective suitability. 102 He further instructed Vidura, Sāṃjaya

102. yām yām anayat yogāmsa yeva yevaśa karmasa .

tān tāṁ sthāneva yuvāye priyamāno mahāpatib: (MS.III.41.18)
and Yuyutsu to do all that is needed to be done towards the paurav-jamapadas with information to the king. 103

Canto 42: Yudhisthira performs the arsha for the relatives killed in the battle.

Canto 43: Yudhisthira expresses his gratefulness to Krishna.

Canto 44: Yudhisthira allots various residences for his young brothers.

Canto 45: Yudhisthira goes to the residence of Krishna, speaks to him, but does not get any reply.

Canto 46: Krishna subsequently tells Yudhisthira that Bhima, now lying on the bed of arrows has been meditating on Krishna and that is why he has been absent-minded. Krishna advises Yudhisthira to approach Bhima for learning all about rajadharma.

Canto 47: Bhima recites a long prayer addressed to Vasudeva.

Cantos 48-49: On way to Kuruksetra Krishna tells the Pandava brothers about the episode of Parasurama.

Canto 50: Krishna requests Bhima to tell Yudhisthira all about dharma.

103. This canto gives an idea about some of the functionaries of Yudhisthira's administration and the repeated references to paurav-jamapadas show their importance in the state machinery.
Canto 51: Bhīṣma again offers prayers to Kṛṣṇa. Kṛṣṇa tells Bhīṣma that he would live for another 56 days only, and in the mean time he should be pleased to tell Yudhīśthīra all about dharma.

Canto 52: Kṛṣṇa grants Bhīṣma a boon that during all the fifty-six days to come he would feel no physical discomfort at all and will have a very clear grasp of all the lore.

Canto 53: On the following morning Yudhīśthīra, being accompanied by Kṛṣṇa and his brothers again goes to Bhīṣma.

Canto 54: Bhīṣma tells Kṛṣṇa that on the strength of the boon granted to him, he is capable of telling Yudhīśthīra all about dharma but yet he would like to know as to why Kṛṣṇa himself does not tell Yudhīśthīra all about dharma. Kṛṣṇa says that he wants Bhīṣma to be famous and that is why he has conferred his limitless intelligence upon Bhīṣma. By virtue of the discourses on dharma to be delivered to Yudhīśthīra, Bhīṣma's fame will remain unimpaired all over the world so long as the world will endure.

104. yāvaddhi prthivipāla prthvīyam sthānayaḥ dhravā. 

(MB.XII.54.23)
Bhima says that if Yudhishthira asks him he would tell him all about dharma. Aruna says that after killing so many human beings Yudhishthira now feels shy and hesitates to approach Bhima for fear of being cursed. (verse 11-13). Bhima says that just as giving gifts, study and austerity constitute the dharma of a brahmana, being killed in the battle-field is the dharma specified for a kshatriya. One indeed performs one's duty by killing even fathers, grand-fathers, brothers, teachers, relatives and kith and kin if the latter talks to the path of untruth. In this way there is nothing for Yudhishthira to hesitate. Then Yudhishthira approaches Bhima and touches his feet.

THE PURPOSE OF A COMPARATIVE STUDY:

Comparative studies in the area of various scientific disciplines appear to be a relatively new trend. One of such subjects viz. Comparative Sociology, for instance, has come into existence only in 1970. But in fact love for a comparative study was always there with the philosophers belonging to various departments of knowledge. This point is rightly observed by A. Ernestine Haydon when he says:

pitaḥ pitaṁkhaṁ bhṛtṛaṁ guruṁ sambandhikādhavaṁ

mithyāpravṛttam yah samkhya niḥsanyād dharma eva saḥ (MB.III.55.15)

105. cf. "By the 1970's a substantially richer variety of data had become available and a field known in the United States as 'Comparative Sociology' had become a reality, ....", Murry L. Tax and Mary K. Cordill, in Encyclopaedia Americana (1973), Vol. 25, p. 163 under 'Sociology'.

106.
"Although religions have actually been compared for more than two thousand years, comparative religion as a scientific discipline is modern, having its point of origin in the study of religious data by scholars in the second half of the nineteenth century." 107

That the art of comparison was already there for more than two thousand years is warranted by the following words of Kanada: 108

"dharma visesaprasud dhravya-guna-karma-samanya-visesa-samavaya
padartham sama darsha-vaidharmabhyas tattvajñanam-niharyasam" (Vaisesika-gūra, 4).

According to this śūtra (= aphorism) "final emancipation may be attained from a proper knowledge of the padarthas (= categories) viz.,
dhravya (= matter), guna (= quality), karma (= work), samanya (= genus),
visesa (= distinction) and samavaya (= inherence) owing its origin to a
distinction of their respective properties (= dhravya-visesaprasud),
which (i.e., which knowledge) is gathered through a knowledge of similarity (= sadharmya) and dissimilarity (= vaidharmya) i.e., through a process of comparison and contrast.

Even if the question of gaining final emancipation is left aside,
a comparative study of any two things may definitely give a better idea about both the things. Thus, a comparative study of the political ideas

107. A. Bustance Hayden, in the article 'Comparative Religion' vide
of the Mahābhārata may give an opportunity to see how certain principles are repeatedly advocated by various authorities and repeatedly recommended even by the same authority. So far as these two works are concerned modern scholars have already evinced much interest in a comparative study. For example D. R. Bhandarkar makes a comparative study of the theory of divine origin of the king, and U. N. Ghoshal makes many observations like the following:

"Bhīma's political ideas, like Manu's and Yājñavalkya's involve the blending of the old Sārti tradition with the teaching of the technical Arthasastra. This blending, however, is more conscious in the one case than in the other, for Bhīma repeatedly quotes as his authorities single texts and even whole discourses purporting to have been composed by the masters of the technical science."110

"In so far as the old Sārti principle of class rights is concerned, Bhīma's ideas mark some important developments in comparison with those of Manu. Manu, while solemnly warning the king against the consequences of his misrule, is silent about the part of the community (other than the Brāhmaṇa's) in resisting the evil ruler. The case is otherwise with Bhīma."111

But these and many other similar important observations are, however, made against a broader perspective of a study of the Indian political ideas

110. Ibid., p. 189
111. Ibid., p. 207.
from the ancient period up to the middle ages. In view of the contributions already made by the earlier authorities it is now proposed to make a more intensive study of the points of similarity and dissimilarity between the political ideas and principles of the Manusmārti and the Mahābhārata.

Regarding the Indian tradition of comparative studies, it may be noted further that the traditional commentators also casually point out the points of agreement between the ideas of two different texts. For example, under MS.VII.177, which runs as:

`sarvepyais tathā kuryāṁ nītiṁāḥ prthivipatih...`  
yathāyābhikṣadhikā na anuvr mitradāśānātāvah:

(A prince having the knowledge of polity must arrange matters with all the upāyas, i.e., with all the expedients so that neither friends, nor neutrals, nor foes may become superior to himself.) With reference to the point as to why a friend also should not be allowed to rise higher than the prince concerned, Madhātithi, the commentator, observes that the implied idea is that a friend also may become a foe depending on the consideration of self-interest, and in support of this position he quotes a verse from Vyāsa, so as to present an instance of a comparative study of the two works, the Manusmārti and the Mahābhārata, of:

`ha mitram ityupakṣyaṁ... svātītadīvatvamśa mitram`  
apyair bhavatih tathā na vyāsah —
Another purpose that may be served by a comparative study like the proposed one is that some doubtful reading of one text may be improved in the light of a reading found in the other text taken for a comparative study. For example, in the verse:

\[ \text{purohitanaa kurvita rvajyadeva cartvijah.} \]
\[ \text{te'aya griyani karmani kurv ur vaitamikani ca: (MS.VII.78)} \]

for the words cartvijah both the commentary and the main text in the Bengali edition gives the reading cartvijan and rti vjanesa respectively. If the reading rti vijah is taken, more than two officiating priest will have to be appointed. If, however, the reading cartvijan (= ca + rti vijan) is taken, only one officiating priest will suffice. That the reading cartvijan is more suitable is no doubt warranted by the second half of the verse concerned, where the plural number in the words te and kurvah would not be valid unless the word rti vijah in the plural number does not occur in the first half. Yet the reading rti vijah (i.e., cartvijah) and the recommendation that there should be more than one rti vij (= officiating priest) may be supposed to be confirmed by a verse of the Mahabharata like the following one:

118. Vide Ashokanath Shastri, Manmapitha, Chapter VII, p. 179.

In the Bengali edn. of the Mahabharata the first half of this verse occurs as MB.XII.138.110A and the second half occurs as MB.XVI.192.139B and as MB.XII.140.518. A similar instance is found in the commentary of Nandana when he quotes MB.XII.121.15f (\textit{viva: a physical description of \textit{amda} personified) as a parallel of MB.VII.25 (Vide Ashokanath Shastri, Ibid., p. 38, a.l.)
Again in the Namanuskīta there is the verse:

vakvasa cintayed artham sahavasa ca parakramot.

vrukvasa cvalumapta salahasa ca vinispatot : (MB.VII.106)

(The king should plan his undertakings (patiently meditating) like a
eron; he should show his strength like a lion; should match away
(his prey, i.e., his enemy) like a wolf, and should jump out of danger
like a hare.

In the Mahabharata there is the verse:

vakvasa cintayed artham sahavasa ca parakramot.

vrukvasasayalumpata salahasa sa vinispatot : (MB.XI.140.23)

Here the reading sayalumpa of the second half may be improved in the
light of cvalumpta of the text found in the Namanuskīta. Again the
reading salahasa of the second half does not seem to be suitable in view
of the fact that while in earlier three clauses the analogy is drawn with
birds and animals, the fourth clause is not expected to contain an analogy
with an arrow. Hence the reading may perhaps be improved as salahasa in
the light of the text found in the Namanuskīta.

Again in the Namanuskīta there is the verse:

yadi na pranayod rajaj dasani damyogvatendritah.

sule matsayam ipapkyaun durbalan bhavattarath : (MB.VII.20).
(If the king did not, without tiring, apply his coercive authority on those deserving punishment, the stronger would roast the weaker like fish on a spit.)

In the Mahābhārata the same idea is expressed with the verse:

\[
dandāś cenna bhavellake vinasāyur imah praśē.\]

\[
jale nātayān ivāhakṣyaṇa darbacāma balavattārāh. \quad \text{(MB.XIII.15.30)}
\]

Under the said verse of the Manusmriti Kalūka, the commentator, notices a variant reading in the third foot as jale nātayān ivāhakṣyāh, which, if accepted, should convey the idea of the nātayān, i.e., the maxim of the stronger fishes devouring the smaller ones. In view of this, the reading may be best improved by replacing it with the third foot of the Mahābhārata verse in text.

**Mutual Relationship between the Manusmriti and the Mahābhārata:**

Before entering into a more intensive treatment of the points of similarity and dissimilarity in respect of the political ideas maintained in the Manusmriti and the Mahābhārata, it might be of much interest to notice some general points of mutual relationship between the Manusmriti and the Mahābhārata, which are presented below:

(a) Both the Mahābhārata and the Manusmriti were composed during the same period of time and both these works stand assigned to the period from 200 B.C. to 200 A.D. 113

113. 'Chronological Table of Principal Original Authorities'

Vide HIPI, p. xxi.
(b) It is quite likely that the original Manusmākhaṇī as told by Manu and retold by Bhrigu has come down through several recensions and the Mahābhārata also has likewise assumed the present shape through several stages of compilation. The present study is concerned with only the extant texts of both the works.

(c) The Manusmākhaṇī nowhere mentions the Mahābhārata by name. But the allusions to legendary characters found in the Manusmākhaṇī are found also in the Mahābhārata in the form of episodes.

(d) The Mahābhārata recognises Manu as one of the original authorities on polity (rājasāstra-pranetāraḥ).

(e) In many places of the Mahābhārata Manu is named as the authority in respect of particular opinions relating to different areas of varṇāśrama-dharma covered by the treatise attributed to Manu. As it seems to be of some vital significance all those instances are illustrated below:

1. dasāśtriyaśena rājā ityevam manur abrāvīt. (MB.I.41.21.B)
2. teṣāṁ dhanyān yathāśūrvaṁ manah svāyambhuvo brāvīt. (MB.I.73.4.B)
3. tamāsāvemi nātīdvāde manah svāyambhuvo brāvīt (MB.III.180.35.B)
4. svaptnasām rājendra manah svāyambhuvo brāvīt (MB.V.37.1.A)
5. grhe sthāpayitayāṁ dhanyāṁ manah abrāvīt (MB.V.40.11.A)
7. tair evam uktō bhagavān manah svāyambhuvo brāvīt (MB.III.39.2.A)

114. For such allusions see MB. VII.41f; VIII.110; IX.23f; IX.44; I.102-3.
115. — sahasrākṣa maheśvaraṇa tatha prācetas manah:
— rājasāstra-pranetāra brahmāṇā brahmāṇādah (MB.III.59.2.B.
and 3.B)
8. dharmam svargyama lokyenca yuddham hi mamur abravit (MB.XII.55.19.B)
9. menuma civa râjendra gîtau âlaukau nabhâmanâ (MB.XII.54.22.A)
10. prântescena menuma âleka cevâcohrtam (MB.XII.57.43.A)
11. brahmâlokajitah svargyam vîrâmas tân mamur abravit (MB.XII.78.31.A)
12. tamâd dharmam yuddhayam iti svâyambhumabravit (MB.XII.95.16.B)
13. buddhisûlams tu vijaya manur abravit (MB.XII.112.17.B)
15. api caitras purâ rüjan menuma prokta erditah (MB.XIII.121.16.B)
16. yathâkten etad veyaca prügeva manumâpurâ (MB.XII.121.13.A)
17. sereta rûjö goṣun etan mamur aha praîptam (MB.XII.129.103.c)
18. tyâgadharmah pavitrâma samâyacaci mamur abravit (MB.XIII.122.14.B)
19. yathâvamekhâvahydhasa tatha têm mamur abravit (MB.XII.138.30.p)
20. mamah praîpater vâdai maharêcena bhampate (MB.XII.201.2.i)
21. etukam smugaccheta têm dharma mamur abravit (MB.XIII.44.18.B)
22. sa kasyêma samvâsa mamur evâ prâmûnat (MB.XIII.44.23.A)
23. prâmeçasanya veyaca kîrtayanti purûrâda (MB.XIII.46.1.A)
24. menumabhikêtam sâstrâm yoseçipî kurunarandana
tetrayeça nabhûjya drêto dharmam samastanah (MB.XII.47.35)
25. cetusurtham astas amâkna amah årutvânapadassam (MB.XIII.61.35)
26. pûniyena paramani dharma dânanam mamur abravit (MB.XIII.65.3.A)
27. akṣayen esa svâyamti lokâna ityabravina manah (MB.XII.67.19.b)

116. Of the two verses given immediately after this reference and said to be quotations from Bana, only the earlier one (i.e., MB.XII.54.24) is now found in the Nâmaśûkîtâ as MB. II.821
117. The two verses given immediately after this reference and said to be quotations from Bana are not found in the extant Nâmaśûkîtâ.
118. After this, Bana is presented as the speaker of verses 13 ff. up to the end of the present canto and as the speaker of five more successive cantos. The contents and the manner of treatment do not call for seeking any correspondence with the Nâmaśûkîtâ.
20. ubhayor abhayam dhamma tama manuh prahe dharma vit (MB.XIII.31.9)
29. vardhamana tulam svadham abhayam vamanakapitv (MB.XIII.28.4.4)
30. na bhakayati yo naismi na esa kanyana ghastayet.
   ten nitram sarvabharatan ca manah evayena huvam bravita (MB.XIII.115.12)
31. ato'nyathah vṛthyā nāsman abhakayam manur abhavita (MB.XIII.115.53.4)

It may be observed here that the opinions said to be held by Manu under the above references may not always tally with what is maintained by Manu in the extent Manusāhita. It will be, however, convenient to discuss the implications of this position at a later part of the present dissertation.

(f) Although three out of four verses said to be quotations from Manu are not found in the extent Manusāhita, yet there are some two hundred forty verses which are common to the Manusāhita and the Mahābhārata. The agreement of the verses, however, may not be always total, and may appear in different ways as noted and illustrated below:

1. Sometimes verses may be completely similar in both the texts, e.g.,
   dandaḥ sastī prajāḥ sarvā danda evabhikṣati.
   dandhaḥ suptesu jāgarti dandaḥ dharmaḥ vidar budhāḥ (MS.VII.18)
   is exactly similar with MB.XIII.18.2.
   yathaivātu nā tathā putraḥ putreṇa duḥhitā samā.
   tasyaṃ ātmaṁ tīṣṭhantiyāṁ katham anyo dharmaḥ harat (MS.IX.130) is
   exactly similar with MB.XIII.48.11.

119. See foot-notes No. 116 and No. 117.
120. These exclude the verses which agree in idea only or in idea as well as in few words. A list of all the common verses is given in the Appendix.
prajépatir hi vasýaya srstva paridade paśām.

brāhmaṇaḥ ca rājāḥ ca sarvāḥ paridade prajāḥ (MB.II.397) is exactly similar with MB.III.80.23.B - M.A. Similarly MS. III.278 is exactly similar with MB.III.87.19.

2. Sometimes the verses may differ only to the extent of one or two words, e.g.,

brāhmaṇo jāyamāno hi prthivyām adhijayate.

īśvaraḥ sarvabhūtānām dharmaśaksmya guptaye (MB.I.99) occurs as

brāhmaṇaḥ jāyamānaḥ hi prthivyām annajayate.

īśvaraḥ sarvabhūtānām dharmaśaksmya guptaye (MB.III.72.6) similarly, pančananu trayo dharmaḥ dvāvadharmam saptāviha.

paścas/ैौसरस/ caiva na kartavyam kadañcana (MB.III.25) occurs as

MB.III.44.9 with yudhiṣṭhiram for saptāviha and kadañcana for kadañcana yadihi stri na rocatē pumāsāṁ na prasodayet.

apradēt punah punah prajānāṁ na pravārtaṁ (MB.III.61) occurs as MB.III.44.4 with vai for hi, prajāno for prajānam and pravardhane for pravārtaṁ.

agnau prastāhukāṁ samyag ēdityam upasthitāte.

ēdityāḥ jāyate vṛśtrī vṛśtrī vṛśtrī tatha prajāḥ (MB.III.76) occurs as MB.III.162.11, with brahmaḥ for samyag and upavesacati for upasthitāte.

yathā nadiṇādaṁ sarve saṅgare yasti saṁśthitām.

tathaivārṣeṁnāṁ sarve grhastraḥ yasti saṁśthitām (MB.VI.30) occurs as MB.III.295.26 with evamārṣeṁnāṁ for tathaivārṣeṁnāṁ.
nityam udystadandasya krtamsa udvijate jagat.
tasmat sarvasmi bhatani dandamiva prasadhayet : (MS.VII.103)
occurs as MB.XIII.140.8 with bhujam for krtani and sarah for
jagat.
pita rakṣati ksaṝre bhartā rakṣati yasvane .
rakṣanti sthāvire putrā na stṛi svatstreyam arhayati : (MS.IX.3)
occurs as MB.XIII.46.14 with putrāsya sthāvire bhave as the
third foot.

kāle'datā pita vāṣyo vāṣyasāmāpayam pātiḥ .
arte bhartari putrastu vāṣyo mātur arakṣitā : (MS.II.6) occurs
as MB.III.303.38 with upradatā for kāle'datā.

3. Sometimes half- verses are completely similar, e.g.,
'svaṃ eva brāhmaṇo bhukte svāṃ vaste svāṃ dadāti ca' occurs as
MS.I.101.A and MB.XIII.72.11.A. Again, 'nityam udystadaṇḍaḥ svāṁ
nityam vīvṛtaṃśaraseḥ' occurs as MS.VII.102A and MB.III.140.7A.
Similarly MS.III.17A occurs as MB.XIII.47.9.A.

4. Sometimes some words and some order of words may be different,
the idea remaining the same, e.g.,
yatra nāryastu pūjyante remante tatra devataḥ .
yatraitāṣṭu na pūjyante sarvastatrapalāḥ kriyāḥ : (MS.III.56)
occurs as : striyo yatra ca pūjyante remante tatra devataḥ .
apūjitāśca yatraitāḥ sarvastatrapalāḥ kriyāḥ : (MB.III.46.53-6A).

5. Sometimes two halves taken from two different and distant verses
of the Manusambhitā may be found again as a single verse of the
Mahābhārata, e.g.,
sāvēkṣya tu tathā rājāṇa prāṇyāḥ satatam karāḥ.

nocosṭhīyād ātaman nūlāḥ pāreṇām āhī prāṇyāḥ (MB. II.27.18)
may be supposed to be made up of MB.VII.129B and MB.VII.139a.

6. Sometimes several verses of one work at a stretch may be found also in the other work in the same order and with almost the same reading. Thus, for example MS.I.37 to 31 are amazingly similar with MB.XIII.48.14 to 18.

(g) In the later chapters of this dissertation it will be seen that there is a lot of agreement between the Manusūkhaṭi and the Mahābhārata in respect of ideas and expressions concerning rāja-dharma. But it may be observed here that such agreements are conspicuous present also in many areas other than that of rāja-dharma. For example,

1. Both the Manusūkhaṭi and the Mahābhārata are found to put equal stress on the importance of the gṛha-sthīyāraṇa.

In the Manusūkhaṭi it is stated that just as all the creatures depend on air for their life, similarly all the āramaṇas depend on the gṛha-sthīyāraṇa for their existence. Since all other three āramaṇas are every day supported with knowledge and food by the house-holder, the gṛha-sthīyāraṇa is the best. Hence, one who wants to have happiness in this life and to attain heaven for all the time to come after death should look into the interest of the gṛha-sthīyāraṇa with care. 

121. yathā vāyūm saṁśāritya varṁante sarva-jāntavaḥ

| tathā gṛhasthaṁ āṣṛitya varṁante sarva āramaṇaḥ |
| yasmat tryo'pyāśṛitaṁ jñāṇenaṁna caivaḥ |
| gṛha-pusthaṁiva dhuryante tasmājyāśṛitāṁ gṛhaḥ |
| sa sandhyāṇaḥ prayāṇaṁ svarge saṁśayaṁ iṣṭatā |
| sukha-śoceṣeṣeṣaḥ nityam ——— (MS.III.77-79) |
It is further stated that brahmacārī-, grhaṭha-, vānaprastha- and sannyāsa- all these four different āstamas owe their existence to the grhaṭha (i.e., the house-holder). Amongst all the four, viz. brahmacārī, etc. the house-holder, who follows the norms laid down by the Vedas and the Śartī is the best, because he provides sustenance to the other three. Just as all the rivers ultimately find their existence in the lap of the ocean similarly people belonging to all the different āstamas find their existence on the support of the house-holder.

In the Mahābhārata it is stated that the best dharma (i.e., the performance of duty) which conforms to the norms of the āstamas depends on the grhaṭha-āstama. Birds, animals and all other living beings are supported by the house-holder; that is why one belonging to the grhaṭha-āstama is the best. Just as all creatures live on the support of the mother, similarly all other āstamas depend on the grhaṭha-āstama.

122. brahmacārī grhaṭha vānaprastha yatis tathā.  
     ete grhaṭhāprabhaḥ ca tāvāraḥ prthag āstamaḥ : (MB.VI.87)

123. sarveṣaḥ api caiteṣāṁ veda-mārtī-vidhānastāḥ.  
     grhaṭha ucyate aṣṭah sa trīṇ etān nibharti hi :  
     yathā naṁdaṇāṁ sarve sāgara yānti amāśhitinā.  
     tathaiva āstamaṁ sarve grhaṭha yānti amāśhitinā : (MB.VI.89f)

124. sāstradrastāḥ para dharmaḥ sthito grhaṭhyam āśītah (MB.XIII.32.2 B)

125. vṛūṣeṣu pasaṇa/saiva būtaṁ ca jenaṁśhpa.  
     grhaṭhāṁ avadhārayante tamaṁ ohṛṣṭo grhaṭhāreṇa : (MB.XII.29.5)

126. yathā mātræm āśītya sarve jīvanti jantaḥvaḥ.  
     ovaṃ grhaṭhyn āśītya vartanta itarāśīrmanāḥ : (MB.XII.306.8)
As in the Manusamhitā, in the Mahābhārata also it is stated that just as all the rivers ultimately find their existence in the lap of the ocean similarly people belonging to all the different āśramas find their existence on the support of the house-holder. The garbhaśtya-āśrama is undoubtedly the source of all the four āśramas, and all the four āśramas owe their origin to the garbhaśtya-āśrama.

2. Both the works put equal emphasis on the importance of paying respect to the parents and the preceptor with almost the same words.

In the Manusamhitā it is stated that it is not possible to repay even in hundred years the debt to the parents for the pain they have to bear in the time of the birth of a child. Hence, one should do only what is liked by the parents and the preceptor; any austerity becomes complete only when these three become satisfied. Service rendered to them constitute the best austerity. Without their approval no other dharma should be performed. They are the very embodiment of the three worlds,
the three āshramas, the three Vedas, and the three sacred fires. The
father is the gurupatya agni, the mother the daitya agni, and the
preceptor the śāramāya agni; this triad of sacred fires is the best. 133
A house-holder may win the three worlds and with an illustrious body
enjoys a stay in the heaven like a god. 134 This world may be won with
respect for the mother, the middle region with respect for the father
and the brahma-loka may be won with services rendered to the preceptor.
135 To take care of these three is as good as taking care of all the dharmas
(= ordained duties); but for one who does not pay due attention to them,
all the performances of religious duties and rites go in vain. 136

In the Mahābhārata Bhīṣma says that reverence paid to the parents
and the preceptor is held in high esteem by him; by remaining engaged to
paying respect to them one may win the three worlds and enjoy great fame.
137 One should perform whatever is approved of by them, who are properly
honoured, even if it is in conformity with principles of dharma or
otherwise. 138 Without their approval no dharma should be performed; it

133. ta eka hi trayo lokāś ta eka trayo āśramāḥ.
    ta eka hi trayo ārthas ta eka trayo gṛhayāḥ
    pitā vai gūmapatya gaur nātėgaṁ daityaṁ saṁtāḥ
    gurū āhavanīyastu saṁsaitreyā gṛīyāsī : (MS. II. 220f)
134. trayapramāyena nātēgaṁ trīṁ lokāṁ vijayaṁ gṛhayā
    dīpamānāṁ svapavasaḥ devadāva divi nodate : (MS. II.222)
135. imāṁ lokāṁ nāṭeḥāḥtyā pitṛahāktāṁ tu nādhyottom
    gurūraśrūyaṁ tveṣa brahmālokaṁ saṁaskāto : (MS. II.223)
136. sarva tiṣyate dharma yasyāte trayo adṛṭāḥ
    anādṛṭāṁ ta yaśaya sarvaṁ tiṣyathāḥ kriyāṁ : (MS. II.224)
137. nāṭeḥāḥtyā gurūṁ saṁaḥ pājā bekaṁāṁ mām
    ima yuktā naśā lokāṁ yasāṁ naḥ samānto : (MS. XIII.108.3)
138. yasas te bhikṣumāṇīyāḥ karma tiṣṭā sapuṣjiteh
    dharmāḥ dharma-viśuddhaṁ va tattvavāyam yudhiṣṭhiraṁ : (MS. XIII.108.4)
stands confirmed that whatever is approved by them is the dharma.

With the same words as those of the Manusāhita Bājāra also says that the parents and the preceptor are the very embodiments of the three worlds, three, three āramas, three vedas and three sacred fires. 140

In the same strain it is described how the three worlds may be won by the services rendered to the parents and the preceptor. 141 All the three worlds become favourably disposed to one who is worshipped to these three; but for one who is otherwise all the deeds go in vain. 142

(h) It is generally believed that the extent Mahābhārata is posterior to the extent Manusāhita. As such it is more likely that the common verses were borrowed by the Mahābhārata from the Manusāhita. But that there was also a tendency for a reverse process cannot be completely ruled out. That is why, for instance, one manuscript of the Manusāhita gives the following interpolated verse immediately after N.S. VII.105 (i.e., after nāśya chidram paro viṣyād, etc.):

na visvased avisvaste visvaste nati visvaste

visvāsād bhayam utpammaṁ mulaṁ api niṁkṛtati 143

139. na sat aśād abhyāṣajñāto dharmasya anyam saṁsārāt.

yaṁca te 'bhyanujāyāyaḥ sa dharmā iti niścayāḥ: (MB.XII.108.5)

140. See the verses under foot-note No. 133. cf. MB.XIII.108.6f.

141. triṣvaprāmaṁyannetena trilokakaṁca viṣayasya

pitṛvṛttaṁ tvimā lokā niṣṭvṛttaṁ tathāparam:

brahma-lekṣā guṇorvṛttaṁ niyamena tarṣyasi. (MB.XII.108.8 and 9a)

142. sarve tasyādṛṣṭā lokā yasyaṁte traya adṛṣṭā

anādṛṣṭāṁte yasyaṁte sarvāstavyāphalāṁ kriyāḥ: (MB.XII.108.12)

143. Vide Ashokanath Shastri, Manusāhita, Ch. VII. p. 125 n.
This verse seems to be based on MB.38.9 (reading मृलयुपि for मृले उपि)
or, MB.138.46 (reading मृले मृले कर्यति in the last foot) or, MB.128.29 (reading स्पीषले स्पीषले as the last foot).

(1) It appears to have been more natural for the Mahābhārata to incorporate verses from the Manasaḥītā, because the Mahābhārata was more like a compilation containing views of so many earlier authorities like Kanika. Borrowing by the Mahābhārata is further warranted by the fact that a large number of verses of the Rāmāyana occur also in the Mahābhārata. A few examples should suffice to warrant this position:

1. sarve क्षणेनाश्च पदास्तः परमाश्च समझेत्तः.
   सम्यक्क विक्रमां वर्णांविक्रमां एवं जीवम् (Rāmāyana, Ayodhya Kanda, 105.16) occurs again as MB.138.27.31 (with hi for an in the last foot) and as MB.146.46.19 (with the third foot reading सम्यक्का विक्रमां).

2. yathā केशवेनामः केशवेनामः सम्यक्क नमो नमो व.
   samayena tu vyaspayān kālāḥ asāya kācyena (MB. Ayodhya, 105.26) occurs again the Mahābhārata twice as
   yathā केशवेनामः केशवेनामः सम्यक्क नमो नमो व.
   samayena as vyaspayān tvadadhikāraḥ-samayena (MB.138.20.36 and 146.19)

3. When in the Ayodhyāyāṃ Bharata comes to Rama to take him back to Ayodhya, Rama enquires of Bharata if everything has been going on well in the kingdom and if the latter has been ruling over the kingdom properly.

144. The contents of MB.138.140 are called teachings of Kanika (i.e., kanipradhan). With regard to Kanika, K.P. Jayaswal says, "We ought to recover his work. He is quoted as late as by Govinda-rūja."

(Hindu Polity, p. 257 a)
In this connection Rama makes reference to certain basic principles of rajadharma with some sixty-six verses (vide Aṣṭadhyāyī, canto 100). In the Mahābhārata (II.5) also Narada also makes similar enquiries of Yudhishṭhira in as many as 107 verses. It is very interesting that as many as 28 verses of the Rāmayana are repeated in the Mahābhārata as detailed in the table below. It may be noted that most of the verses are repeated word for word. The manner of incorporating principles of rajadharma may be illustrated with one common verse: Rama asks Shagata (and Narada asks Yudhishṭhira with the same words):

kaccin mantrayase naikah kaccin na babubhih saha

kacceta mantrito mentro rāstraṁ na parichāvati (Rā. II.100.28 and MP, II.5.30).

(Is it so that you never have deliberations on policy matters with only one counsellor, nor with many? Is it so that the decisions taken by you never leak out to the state?)

Although this is in the form of a question, this implies that an ideal king should have deliberations on policy matters with more than one counsellor but not with many counsellors, and the contents of the deliberations should be kept strictly secret.
Table of verses common to the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TOPIC OF THE VERSE</th>
<th>NO. OF THE VERSE IN RĀMAYANA II.100</th>
<th>NO. OF THE CORRESPONDING VERSE IN MB.II.5</th>
<th>REMARK</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>qualification of the vṛkṣaśila</td>
<td>11 and 12</td>
<td>40 and 41</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qualifications of the smārtha</td>
<td>13 and 16</td>
<td>268 - 269</td>
<td>text slightly different</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>the number of sleeping and getting up number of smārtha</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>29</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>and secrecy, prompt action</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>text same</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>31</td>
<td>text slightly different</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a scholar counsellor should be preferred</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>35</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>one intelligent smātya is enough</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>37</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>suitable person to the suitable job</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>43</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qualification of the smāhyas</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>44</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>punishment should not be severe</td>
<td>27 and 28</td>
<td>45 and 46</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qualification of the aṇapāti</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>47</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qualification of the gānemahikhyas</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>MB mentions balamahikhyiya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>payment to soldiers should be in time</td>
<td>32 and 33</td>
<td>49 and 50</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kulaśpetras</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>vārthā (agriculture)</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>protection of women</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>to keep moderate distance from menials</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>durya</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOPIC OF THE VERSE</td>
<td>NO. OF THE VERSE IN RĀMĀYANA II.100</td>
<td>NO. OF THE CORRESPONDING VERSE IN MB.II.5</td>
<td>REMARK</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------------</td>
<td>--------------------------------------</td>
<td>---------------------------------------------</td>
<td>--------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>good men not to be implicated</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>105</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>offender not to be set free on bribing</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>106</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rich and poor not to be exploited</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>text slightly different</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dharma, artha and kāma to be properly pursued</td>
<td>62 and 63</td>
<td>19 and 20</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>learning and company of wves etc. to be fruitfully utilised</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>111</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(1) Some points of similarity between Manusmṛti and the Mahābhārata may be noted as follows:

1. Both the Manusmṛti and Mahābhārata deal with varṇāśrama-dharmas. Yet unlike the earlier Dharma-sūtra works, both these works occur not in sūtra-form but in verses, the Mahābhārata containing a very little quantity of prose as well.

2. Both the Manusmṛti and the Mahābhārata deal with raja-dharma as well as āpād-dharma. The Sāntiparva of the Mahābhārata contains three sub-parvas of which the first is devoted to raja-dharma and the second to āpād-dharma. In Manusmṛti chapters VII to IX are devoted to raja-dharma and āpād-dharma is dealt with in chapter X, more practically from verse No. 1.80 onwards.

3. Both in the Manusmṛti and the Mahābhārata there are repetitions of ideas and expressions. The Mahābhārata is about 27 times bigger than the Manusmṛti. As such the repetitions in the Mahābhārata should be at least 27 times more numerous than in the Manusmṛti. But in fact the repetitions
in the Mahābhārata is yet more and more numerous.

In the Manusmṛti there is word for word repetition of only one verse, viz.,

patiṣ yā nābhicarati manevvādehamiṣyate.

sā bhartīlokaṁ āyoti sadbhiḥ sādhvīti socyate : (MS.V.165) which is repeated as MS.IX.29.

Repetition of ideas occurring in the Manusmṛti may be illustrated as follows : I.31 = I.37; I.38-91 = I.73-80; V.168 = IX.3; VI.92 = I.63; VII.19B = VII.22B = VII.22B; VII.99A = II.221B; VII.99 = VII.101; VII.146A = I.90A = X.119B = XI.224A

143. bālye pitar vasē tīṣhtet pāṇigrahaṇa yavvane.

patrāṇāṁ bhartari proto na bhajet strī svatastrakāṁ : (MS.V.146) pita rakṣati kāmāre bhartī rakṣati yavvane.

rakṣanti sthāviro patrā na strī svākṣarīyam arhati : (MS.IX.3).

146. bhayaṁ bhūgya kalpante svadharmāṁ na ca šantica. (MS.VII.155)

dāṇāṃśya hi bhayaṁ sarvan jagad bhūgya kalpate. (MS.VII.22B)
thepī bhūgya kalpante dāṇāṃśiva nipidita. (MS.VII.22B)

147. alabhāṇeṣāvā līpoṇa labdham rakṣet prayatnateḥ. (MS.VII.99A)

desaṁ alabhāṇ līpoṇa labhāmoca paramāpyate. (MS.IX.221B)
cf. also MS. VII. 101A.

148. alabhāṇeṣāvā līpoṇa labdham rakṣet prayatnateḥ.

rakṣataṁ vṛddhayoccita vṛddham pāṭrām nikkāpo. (MS.VII.99)
alabhāṁ asched dāṇāṁ labdham rakṣed svakṣayā.

rakṣataṁ vṛddhayad vṛddhaya vṛddham dāṇāma nikkāpo : (MS.VII.101)

149. kṣatriyasya para dharmaḥ prajāṁ eva pūlam. (MS.VII.144A)

vedāḥyām brahmasya kṣatriyasya sa rakṣitam (MS.I.90A)

prajā rakṣaṇ paraṁ sākṣyā milviṣā pratiṣṭhite (MS.I.119B)

saṅvāma vaṁśi rakṣitvā dharmaṁ ahāvyad balima (MS.I.119B)

brahmasya tapo jamna teṣām kṣatriyasya rakṣena (MS.II.226A)
Ideas and expressions repeated in the Mahābhārata are too numerous. Yet some of the repeated expressions are illustrated in the following chapters in conformity with the contents. It is very interesting about the Mahābhārata repetitions that certain expressions are repeated more than once. Thus, for example,

dvīvetaṃ gṛṇati bhūṁkhaḥ sarpa bilasyāmiva.

rājāni cāvirodhaṁ brāhmaṇaṁ āpavāsīnas : (MB.II.35.14)

is repeated as MB.V.35.53 (with dvīvam for dvīvetam) and as MB.III.29.15 (with bhūṁkhaḥ sarpa as the first foot) and again as XIII.37.3 (with the same reading as in MB.V.35.53). Similarly the verse:

adhyāyo'gnir brahmatāḥ kṣetram acaman lokam utthitaḥ.

teṣāṁ sarvatraṁ teṣaṁ svāsa yenaṁ sāmyasti :

occurs in four places as MB.V.15.34; MB.V.38.128-144; MB.III.36.36 and MB.III.78.22.

SOME POINTS OF DIS-SIMILARITY BETWEEN THE MAHÂbhÂRATA AND THE MAHÂbhÂRATA:

1. The Mahābhārata is a poetical work while the Maṇḍavyaśī is a purely technical work of the śāstra-śāstra type. It is also true that the Mahābhārata also abounds in materials expected to be found only in the Śāstras like śāmasāstra and arthośāstra. Yet it never loses its form as a poetical composition. Maṇḍavyaśī rightly calls the Mahā-

bhārata a śāstra possessing the luster of a kavya. Because of this the Mahābhārata often indulges in poetical descriptions of things where a mere technical description would have been enough. Thus, for example,

130. cf. "mahābhārataṃ pi śāstrāyopā kavyasvabhāvyayam ——” (Puruṣāvālmaka, IV).
the battle is described as a sacrifice in not less than four places.

The Mahabharata is always dramatic. Whatever is described or whatever technical point is sought to be conveyed is always presented in the form of a dialogue between two characters. But in the Mahasamhitā this feature is scarcely present only in three places, viz., in the first chapter when the sages request Manu to speak on dharma and Manu speaks in reply to them, and also when Bhṛgu addresses the sages in the concluding verse of the first chapter, and in the beginning of the fifth chapter when the sages ask Bhṛgu as to why the persons who have thoroughly mastered the Vedas also should die and Bhṛgu replies. Unlike the Mahasamhitā the Mahabharata introduces innumerable interlocutors like Vasumā and Vānadeva in XII.93.

3. It may be noted that even in the Rājadharma-parva, which is admittedly concerned with a technical subject, the Mahābhārata does not cease to exhibit its poetical nature. Here also, for most of the questions of Īndra-Āmbārīṇa on technical points, Bhīṣma has an episode to tell, e.g., the Indra-Āmbārīṇa episode in XII.96. The Mahābhārata is full of stories like that of king Brahmadatta and bird Pūjñī in XII.190; it abounds in fables like that of the cat and the rat (nārjāra-māyīra-mārvata) in XII.128; it also contains a good number of prayers (= śirasas) like the one addressed by Bhīṣma to Kṛṣṇa in XII.47. But the Mahasamhitā contains only a few allusions152 and hardly any episode except the description of the creation of the universe in chapter I and the very brief episode of the sea of Angirā in II.151-159.

151. A battle is described as a śastra-yajña or a sañcīrṇa-yajña in MB.V.161.29-31; XIII.86.97-99; XIII.98.12-68A; and XIII.97.10.
152. cf. MB.VII.41f; VIII.110 and 116; IX.21f; IX.66; I.108-109.
3. Throughout the Manu-saṁhitā there is only one metre viz. Anūtubha. But in the Mahābhārata while Anūtubha is the most predominant metre there are also other metres like Upajñati, 153 Vamāstavīla, 154 Salini 155 and Vasantālikā. 156

4. The Mahābhārata repeatedly quotes or refers to many earlier authorities like Bhāṣpati, Usanā (= Śakra) and Bhūgavā, 157 while the Manu-saṁhitā refers to Purāvīda (IX.64) or Grati (IX.192) or Nigama (IX.95) in a very general way and only once each to svayambhū (I.92) and vāyu (IX.42). There are, however, many a reference to Manu himself in the Manu-saṁhitā as shown

153. cf. datvābhayam yah svayameva rājā
   na tat pramāṇāṁ kurute rthalobhit.
   sa sarvalokān̄ saśāpya paśupā
dsādharmabuddhir nirākārya pravāsti (MB.XII.139.101). Here there is
an Upajñati of Indra-vajra and Upendra-vajra.
154. cf. idam vasaḥ sāstana-vayya suśravān
   yudhikṣithirah pāndavamukhya-saśvīryabh.
   tadā vavande ca pitēmahā nṛpo
   yathoktametass ca kāra buddhīkām (MB.XII.70.14)
155. cf. daivīnā siddhim manāpān dasmāṣṭhitān
   yogarājasān pālayitvā sañca ṛṣya
   tamād rājā dharmāyālo nāhātām
   vājigrive nodate devaloke (MB.XII.24.30)
156. cf. dharmā satir bhavatu vah satatsthitāmām
   sa kṣeṣo eva paraśāgastāya bandhūh.
   arteḥāḥ striyāṁ sa niṣpārṣi śev yāvamām
   niśāptahāvam upayaṇati na ca sthiratvam (MB.I.2.301)
157. For references to Bhāṣpati cf. MB.II.46.8; III.86.38; III.86.13; III.69.23; etc; for reference to Usanā cf. III.57.2 and for reference to Bhūgavā cf. III.87.40
Mamù is referred to as the author of the *śāstra* in I.40, I.102, I.113, I.119 and II.7. The same Mamù is also referred to in some mythological context in I.1, I.61 and I.63. Mamù is referred to as an authority on *śāstra* in III.35, III.150, III.232, V.41, V.151, VI.54, VIII.134, VIII.166, VIII.204, VIII.242, VIII.270, VIII.302, VIII.339, IX.17, IX.150, IX.182, IX.183, I.63 and X.75.

3. It may be often observed that while the *Mānasārī* devotes only a few verses to a certain topic, the *Mābhārata* dwells on the same at much greater length. For example, regarding the results of performing *śāntipuṇa* in different *ānyāsakas* Mamù gives only one verse, viz., III.877, while the *Mābhārata* gives one full canto containing 15 verses, viz., MB.XIII.90. With particular reference to the area of *rajaśāstra* the following may be taken as very good examples:

The evils of *sañjāna* (i.e., a state of having no king) are described in the *Mānasārī* only with half a verse, viz. MB.XII.31, while in the *Mābhārata* there are several extensive treatments of the topic as in I.41.21-33; XIII.67 and XIII.68. Again, the *Mānasārī* devotes a little more than a score of verses to the topic of *ḍanda* (vide VII.16-32, 108f, 109f) while in the *Matiśāstra* three full cantos, viz., XII.15 (58 verses),

---

126. But the manner of the treatment of the whole theme of *śāntipuṇa* seems to imply that the *Mābhārata* had the present text of the *Mānasārī* before it in time of dwelling on the theme of *śāntipuṇa.*
XII.121 (60 verses) and XII.122 (verses 13 to 56) are devoted to danda, besides casual treatment of the topic of danda in the whole of the Mahābhārata in places like MB.V.130.13-18 (in the name of danda-nīti); MB.XII.29.10-13; 33-67; MB.XIII.99.78; XII.69.74-104 (in the name of danda-nīti) and MB.XIII.140.7ff.

6. So far as the area of rājadharma is concerned the Manuśamitā presents a fuller treatment of vyavahāra (i.e., administration of justice) whereas the Mahābhārata is almost silent about it. On the other hand while the Manuśamitā seems to be scarecly concerned with the origin of the rājñiti-sthātra as such, the Mahābhārata happens to be quite eloquent about it. Then again the treatment of a topic like the gana-rājya (i.e., republican state) is completely absent in the Manuśamitā, while the Mahābhārata happens to devote a full canto (i.e., MB.XII.107) to this important aspect of ancient Indian polity.

In view of the aforesaid points of similarity and dissimilarity between the Manuśamitā and the Mahābhārata it is proposed to make a more detailed comparative study of the various aspects of ancient Indian polity as dealt with in the said works in the following chapters.

---

159. cf. MB.XII.59.29-34.

160. K.P. Jayaswal, in this context, uses the term gana and republic (Vide, Hindu Polity, p. 103ff) and U.N. Ghoshal uses the term clan-republic (Vide NIPI, p. 238ff).