

Mahabharata Series

Raja dharma, Governance & Administration

Compiled by: G H Visweswara

PREFACE

I have extracted these contents from my other comprehensive & unique work on Mahabharata called **Mahabharata-Spectroscope**. (See <http://www.ghvisweswara.com/mahabharata-2/mahabharata-spectroscope-a-unique-resource/>). Whereas the material in that was included in the order in which it appears in the original epic, in this compilation I have grouped them by meaningful Topics & Sub-topics thus making it much more useful to the student/scholar of this subject.

This is a compilation of the contents appearing in the great epic Mahabharata on the topics of **Raja dharma, Governance & Administration**. The broader topics covered are: General principles of Governance, About Servants (employees), Administrative structures, System of Justice & punishments, Strategies in respect of enemies, Managing special relationships, Caring for the citizens, Importance to brahmanas, Protection of fort, kingdom, self & people, King's knowledge, character, behaviour & personal matters, Wealth, finance & Tax matters, and Association of people as a political system. The compilation is not exhaustive in the sense that every para appearing in the great epic is not included here for the sake of limiting the size of this document. But still most of the key or representative passages have been compiled here. The contents are from Mahabharata excluding the Bhagavad Gita.

I hope the readers will find the document of some use in their study on these topics.

Please see <http://www.ghvisweswara.com/mahabharata-2> for my other topic based compilations based on Mahabharata.

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Raja dharma, Governance and Administration

Importance of king as ruler & Role of citizens

- Yudhishtira asked Bhishma: Please tell me what is main duty that the country (meaning citizens) must do?

Bhishma explained: (Shl 2) **Main duty of citizens is to enthrone a worthy person as king**, because, a country without a king becomes weak. Such a country will be regularly troubled by wicked elements like thieves and robbers. (Shl 3) **In a country without king dharma will not be sustainable**. People will be trying to 'swallow' each other. Therefore, condemnation to a country without a king! (Shl 4) There is a *shruti-vakya* that when a nation chooses a king, they choose Indra himself. Therefore a citizen who desires good of all should worship the king. (Shl 5) I do not like to live in a country without a king. Even *agni* does not carry *havya* to *devatas* in such a country.

What should the citizens do if another powerful king attempts to take over?

(Shl 6, 7) **In case a powerful king desirous of expanding attacks a country which either does not have a king or has a weak king, it is better for the citizens to come forward and welcome him. This is the best suggestion that can be given to citizens who do not have an efficient king**, because, there is no sin greater than having a sinful anarchy. There is another advantage of welcoming a powerful king where there is none. (Shl 8) It is possible that the attacking king will be pleased by the welcome and honour of the people and may look upon them with affection. Then the whole kingdom will enjoy happiness. In case these people were to oppose him and anger him, then that king being mighty and angry may destroy the kingdom. Therefore welcoming him is a better *neeti*. (Shl 9) That cow which makes it difficult to milk will be beaten its legs will be tied etc and will be milked. That cow which does not kick and gives milk easily without causing troubles will not be agonised by any one. It will be cared for with affection. (Shl 10) That which bends without being heated will not be heated. No one tries to bend a stick which is already bent. (Similarly polite and humble citizens will not be punished by the attacking king). **Remember these analogies and know that man should always be polite/submissive with the mighty.**

Risks of anarchy

(Shl 12) Therefore a nation which desires progress should enthrone a capable king; this will be their main duty. There is no use of money or wife in a kingdom without a king, because, in a country with anarchy neither can be protected. (Shl 13) **In a country with anarchy, the sinners will happily keep snatching the properties/assets of others. But if other mightier wicked persons snatch his assets, he will also desire the existence of a powerful king.** (Shl 14) **Therefore in a country with anarchy there is no safety to sinners also.....**(Shl 15) In an anarchic country even those who are free will be made slaves. **Women will be snatched away by force.** It is for this reason that *devatas* created king to govern & protect people. (Shl 16) If there were no king with powers to punish, the mighty would have swallowed the weak just as bigger fish eat up the smaller ones.

We have heard that in a kingdom without king people fought each other and brought destruction upon themselves. Then the remaining few formed some rules for their own survival. (Shl 18) People of all the four *varnas* got together and decided that, **'we will excommunicate from our society those who speak harshly, punish cruelly, who commit adultery and snatch others properties'**. (All these existed in the society!!) They threw out the wicked among them and lived happily from some time. **But this mutual understanding and regulations did not last long.** That grieving group went to Pitamaha (Brahma) and said to him: "(Shl 19) Bhagawan! If there is no king to punish the wicked we will all be destroyed. Grace us with a king who is capable of ruling, who will care for us and in return whom we can respect and worship."

Then Brahma directed Manu to become the king. But Manu did not accept. Giving reasons for it he said, "(Shl 22) Brahmadeva! **I am very scared of the sins that humans commit.** Governing is a very difficult task. Particularly establishing a rule over the humans who are always *mithyacharis* (hypocritical) is nearly impossible." Hearing these words of Manu, the men who had gone to Brahma gave their full assurance of support and co-operation and said, "(Shl 23, 24) *Maharaja!* You need not fear. **The sins of the sinners will attach to themselves and not to the king.** To grow your treasury we will give one cow out of every fifty we have, one gold coin out of

every fifty we have, and one tenth of the crops we grow. Apart from this we will also gift you beautiful *kanyas* (virgins) worthy of marriage. Important persons will follow behind you with weapons and vehicles. With this co-operation of citizens you will become mighty and impossible to oppose. You can protect us all and keep us happy just as Kubera is doing to the *yakshas* & *rakshasas*. (Shl 27) Once the citizens are protected by the king, you will get one fourth share of the fruits (*punya*) of whatever *dharma-karyas* they do....Manu, please protect us. Proceed on your march to suppress on the evil doers. Pulverise the *ahankara* of the enemies. May victory always be yours.”

Bhishma said to Yudhishtira, “After listening to the citizens, Manu proceeded to accept the monarchy of the earth....Seeing the *maha-tejas* of Manu, people were scared and decided to stay firmly in their dharmas. Touring extensively in all four directions, he ensured that all were established in their respective *varnashrama-dharma*. (Shl 35) **One who is honoured by own people will be honoured by others too.**

If a king is defeated by the enemies it is not merely a defeat of the king. It is the defeat of citizens of the kingdom. Therefore the citizens should do everything to increase the might of the king.....A king who is thus strengthened by the citizens becomes difficult to defeat and becomes efficient in governing them. (Shanti parva; Rajadharmanushasana; 67)

- Bhishma to Yudhishtira: (Shl 48) A person who is an expert in all tasks, capable of accomplishing tasks easily, who is desirous of leading a dharmic life and who is without jealousy **should not indulge in blaming or reproaching the king who is like Ishwara.** (Shl 49) Whether son or brother or friend or equal, one who works against the king will face difficulties. They will not see happiness. (Shl 51) **Man should stay away from all things under the protection of the king.** He should not even go near it. Just as man fears death, he should also fear stealing property of/things belonging to king. (Shl 52) Just as an animal gets caught in the trap the moment it touches it, man who touches king's belongings will also be destroyed. **Just like protecting one's own property, king's properties should also be protected.** (Today we talk of nation's property). (Shanti; Rajadharmanushasana; 67)
- Shamika to his son Shringi: King follows dharma. If king is destroyed, dharma is destroyed. If King does not protect us while we are living in the forest, we cannot avoid dangers. We will not be able to carry on our dharma related activities without anxieties. Protected by the king who is focussed on dharma, we are able to do many acts of dharma. **The king gets a share of the fruits of our activities of dharma.** Therefore it was our obligation to forgive the king even if he committed an offence against us.

(Shl 27) Several *doshas* will crop up in a kingdom without the king. The king punishes those who exceed the boundaries of dharma. Due to the fear of such punishment, the troubles caused by wicked & arrogant people are reduced.

(Shl 29) The king establishes dharma. By following the path of dharma, we gain *swargaloka*. *Yajnas* & *yaagas* are performed & protected by the king. By this, *devatas* are pleased.

(Shl 30-31) Once *devatas* are pleased they give timely rains. From this crops grow well. This causes prosperity & happiness to people. Therefore the king is the main cause for the happiness of citizens. A king who rules with dharma becomes responsible for the fortunes of his citizens. It is for this reason that Manu has said that a king is equal to ten *shrotriyas*. (Adi; Astika; 41)

King and danda-neeti

- Yudhishtira questioned: (Shl 74) Grandfather! When both *danda-neeti* and *raja* combine, *raja-karya* happens. Tell me by doing what to whom will this task of governance of citizens be accomplished well.

It is king who causes the characteristics of yugas and not time!

- Bhishma said, (Shl 75) Bharatanandana! Listen to my explanation of how by *danda-neeti* great fortunes and prosperity can be brought about to both king and citizens.

(Shl 76) If the king applies the *danda-neeti* well and in proper ways, all the four *varnas* will remain within the bounds of their respective *varnas*. *Danda-neeti* which is whole and proper will prevent *varna-sankara* and people not following *varnashrama-dharma*. It prevents people from following

the path of *adharma*. (Shl 77, 78) ...All citizens will live without fear and will be skilled. Then all three *varnas* will try for peace. Therefore understand clearly that everyone's happiness is in *danda-neeti*.

(Shl 79) Yudhishtira! Do not have doubts on whether the king will be as driven by 'time' or will time be driven by king? Do kings change due to the vagaries of time? Is time the factor responsible for all the happiness and difficulties in the country? Is it right to say, 'bad times have come & therefore things are like this'? Can the king be responsible for the bad or good times? **Whether for contrariety (*vaiparitya*) or goodness/satisfactory/healthiness state (*swasthya*) of time, the king alone is the cause in every way. If bad times have come, it clearly implies that the king is ruling with *durneeti*. Good times or bad times will come in accordance with the wholly and properly applied or not applied state of *danda-neeti* and time has no independent control on this.** If the king practices *dharma*, time will also be *dharmaic*. If the king is *adharmaic*, the times will also be full of *adharma*. **Therefore undoubtedly it is the king who is responsible for the nature 'times'.** (This is clearly a very powerful statement in general and particularly in the light of Dhritarashtra's repeated saying '*kaalo duratikramah*' and Sanjaya repeatedly reminding him that everything has happened as a consequence of his ill thought out & greedy intentions!). (Shl 80) **The four *yugas* or *yuga-dharmas* change according to the *danda-neeti* followed by the king. When the king applies it wholly and properly and without defects, then due to its influence 'time' will change to '*Krita-yuga*' which will be full of only *dharma*.** (Shl 81) In such times, there will be no *adharma* at all in anyone's heart or at any place. None of the *varnas* desire to indulge in *adharma*. Their mind just does not turn towards *adharma*. (Shl 82) Due to the *suneeti* of the king time will change to *Krita-yuga* and will bring prosperity and happiness to citizens. All kinds of *vedokta-karmas* will flourish. (Shl 83) All seasons will only be happy seasons for man. All will be strong and disease free. Men will have pure minds, clear and deep voices, calm minds and joyous countenances. (Shl 84) In *Satya-yuga* there will be no diseases. There will be no *alpayu* (persons with low longevity). Women will not become widows. There will be no miser. (Shl 85) Crops will grow without resorting to agriculture. Medicinal plants will grow by themselves (Why do you need them if all are disease free?!). Tree bark, leaves, fruits and roots will all have excellent essence and nutrients.

(Shl 87, 88) **When the king does not apply the *danda-neeti* fully and applies only three fourths of it, then time changes to *Treta-yuga*.** In this *yuga* to grow crops and medicinal plants one has to resort to agriculture. Only such 'tilled' land will yield crops. (Shl 89) **When the king applies only half of *danda-neeti* then time changes to *Dwapara-yuga*.** (Shl 90) In that *yuga*, half part of *punya* will follow half part of *paap*, crops will grow only by agriculture and the yield will also be half compared to *Treta-yuga*. (Does it hold good in spite of several successful researches done for increasing the yield or do these techniques succeed only where there is better *danda-neeti* in force?) (Shl 91) **When king completely gives up *danda-neeti* and causes difficulties to the citizens in unworthy ways, then time changes to *Kaliyuga*.** (Shl 92) In *Kaliyuga* there will be rampant *adharma*. All *varnas* will slip from their prescribed *dharmas*. (Shl 93) *Shudras* will live by begging or will take to *sanyasa*. *Brahmanas* will live by serving professions. *Yoga-kshema* of citizens will nose dive. *Varna-sankara* will happen with no holds barred. (Shl 94) Since the *vedokta-karmas* will not be happening as prescribed, they will lose their quality. None of the seasons will be really happy ones. All seasons will bring diseases. (Shl 95) Voice and facial glow will be affected. Mind will be dirtied. Diseases will trouble men very badly. People will die at young age also. (Shl 96) Number of widows will increase. (See <http://theloombafoundation.org/international-widows-day/> ; Today there are 245 million widows in our world, and approximately 115 million live in extreme poverty. Through armed conflicts and the AIDS epidemic, their numbers continue to disproportionately increase. Jun 23, 2011) People will become cruel (<http://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/apr/22/pet-cruelty-rising-rspca-warns-0>). Rains will fall only in some places. Crops will grow only in some places. (Shl 97) When king does not desire to focus on implementing *danda-neeti* and protecting citizens then times will change to *Kaliyuga* and all juices will dry up on earth.

For these reasons king is the creator of *Satya*, *Treta*, *Dwapara* and *Kaliyugas*.....

(Shl 103) If a *danda-neeti* which makes people stick to their *varnashrama-dharmas*, which will ensure that they do not cross the limits set by *dharma* and is capable of protecting the world is systematically implemented, it will protect, nourish and nurture citizens as children are cared for by parents. (Shl 104) All animals in this world are established in *danda-neeti*. They live their lives dependent on *danda-neeti*; they live without trespassing the expectations of moral conduct set by

the world; will be interested in their respective *dharma*s. You must understand this matter thoroughly. A king must have a *danda-neeti*. He should use it in a proper way. This alone is his best dharma. **(Shanti parva; Rajadharmanushasana; 69)**

Raja dharma/King's Dharma

- Yudhishtira took permission of all elders present and asked, "Grandfather! Those who know dharma say that for kings, dharma is the greatest. But I feel that ***raja-dharma*** is very heavy (responsibility). Preach me such *raja-dharma*. (Shl 2) Tell me especially *raja-dharma* because, for all the living beings on earth, *raja-dharma* provides refuge. In *raja-dharma* all three *vargas* (*dharma-artha-kaama*) are included. Even all the *moksha-dharma* is included in *raja-dharma*. (Shl 5) Just as reins are needed to control horses, to keep the world in check so that it does not cross the limits of dharma, a restraining type of *raja-dharma* is said to be necessary. If the king gets confused about implementing this *raja-dharma* which has come down to us from past *rajarshis*, the world order will be in chaos. Due to anarchy the world will plunge into grief. (Shl) Just as inauspicious darkness is driven out as soon as Sun rises, the *raja-dharma* drives away inauspicious ways of living (Commentary: *Raja-dharma* encourages people to practice good dharma and helps them attain *punya-lokas* after death also). **(Shanti; Rajadharmanushasana; 56)**
- Bhishma: (Shl 52) **Whatever has been earned unjustly, accidentally and which has come due to god's grace—all these appear to come our way only due to fate or destiny.** But to one who does not know *raja-dharma* well, by whichever of these methods he gains kingdom, he will not know ways of governing properly. Such persons will not have any happiness of owning the kingdom also. **(Shanti parva; Rajadharmanushasana; 120)**
- Hanuman to Bhima: Bhimasena! Since you are a *kshatriya* it is your duty to follow *kshatra dharma*. In this the most important is the dharma of governing the kingdom (*rajya-paripalana-dharma*). **You should practice it with humility and by being a *jitendriya*.** .. Bhimasena! *Raja-dharma* or following *raja-dharma* is not a bed of roses. It is horrible like a bed of thorns and very difficult to practice. I have explained such *raja-dharma* as desired by you. Since you are a *kshatriya*, practice this *kshatriya-dharma* with humility and by being a *jitendriya*. **(Vana; Tirthayatra; 150)**
- Hanuman to Bhima: (Shl 39) **Punishing the wicked (*dushta*) and fostering the virtuous (*shishta*) are the main dharmas of a king. Only when he becomes efficient in and capable of these two there will be prosperity in the country.** The world will progress in an orderly manner. **(Vana; Tirthayatra; 150)**

Importance of dharmic rule

- Yayati to Sharmishta: **King should be a role model to others in all matters. A king who is given to untruth will bring total destruction.** As far as I am concerned, however difficult a situation may be, I will not resort to lie. **(Adi; Sambhava; 82)**
- Devarshi Narada's Questions to Yudhishtira: (Shl 17) **Are you serving the three *purusharthas* viz dharma, *artha* & *kaama* without any anxieties?** Are your resources adequate for sustaining & nurturing your kingdom? Is your mind always interested in dharma? Are you enjoying pleasures in an appropriate manner? I hope you have no confusions or grief in respect of *dharma-artha-kaama*?
(Shl 18-20) Are you following a policy, just as your forefathers were doing, consisting of *dharma-artha-kaama* but which is not silly in respect of *brahmana-vysya-shudra varnas*? **Mean/inferior persons do not follow the path of dharma due to greed.** Those who have renounced become paupers due to greed (strong adherence) of dharma. Those interested in *kaama* neglect *dharma-artha*. You being the lord of the kingdom, I hope, are not mean due to greed for wealth, renounce due to greed of dharma and causing danger to *dharma-artha* due to attachment to *kaama*. **Dharma-artha-kaama should be practiced appropriately. Limit should not be exceeded in any of these.** There should be discrimination as to what should be done when. Those in the know of time & dharma say the following: dharma should be practiced/attended to (*dharma sadhane*) in the morning, *artha* in the afternoon, *kaama* in the night. Thus a king should behave such that

there is no conflict between the three. Are you following such principles? (**Sabha; Lokapalasabhakhyana; 5**)

- Gandhari advising her son Duryodhana: (Shl 25) Lokeshwara! Kingship/lordship (*prabhutva*) is a very significant thing. A kingdom may become available easily. But the kingship is very significant. It is not easy to get kingship as it is to get a kingdom. Kingship means protecting/governing the kingdom by following dharma. Everyone may desire lordship of the kingdom. But the wicked cannot govern the kingdom by dharma. (**Udyoga; Bhagavadgita; 128**)
- Discourse given by Uthathya, the son of Angirasa to Maandhata, the son of Yuvanashwa: (Shl 3) Maandhata! **A person becomes a king to practice and to propagate dharma. He does not become a king to enjoy sensory/worldly pleasures.** A king is the protector of the whole world. You should understand this important matter. (Shl 5) All life stands on the foundation of dharma. Dharma is established in the king. That king who properly practices/follows dharma and rules according to dharma will become lord of the whole earth.

(Shl 7) It is seen that those who are steadfast in their dharma fulfil their desires. That is why the world follows this auspicious dharma. (Shl 8) When the king does not stop sinful deeds then *adharma* becomes rampant everywhere. All dealings of dharma will be destroyed. As a result people will be filled with fear day and night. (Shl 14) If sinful deeds are not prevented, human beings will become like de-energised old animals.

(Shl 17) **If dharma thrives all animals will prosper at all times. Similarly, if dharma declines all animals will be destroyed. Therefore there should be no deficiency in dharma.** (Shl 18) Dharma is born from money. **It is called as *dharma* because it bears everything (*dharanadveti nishchayah*). Scholars have said that dharma sets a limit for wrong deeds and prevents wrong deeds from spreading everywhere.** (Shl 19) Brahma created dharma for the benefit of people. Therefore the king should propagate dharma in order to show favour to them. (**Shanti; Rajadharmanushasana; 90**)

- Yudhishtira questioned: (Shl 1) Grandfather! **How can a king who wants to stay on the path of dharma remain so after accepting responsibility of ruling which is full of several defects?**

Bhishma narrates a conversation between *maharshi* Vamadeva and the great ancient king Vasumanasa. Vasumanasa's question was: "By being firm in what kind of practices will I not lapse from *swadharma*?"

Vamadeva replied: (Shl 6) **Maharaja! Practice only dharma. There is nothing greater than dharma.** Kings remain in the path of dharma and win this world. (Shl 7) **That king who believes that accomplishments in dharma is higher than accomplishments in *artha*, and uses his mind and intelligence to strengthen dharma, will shine brighter by his practice of dharma.** (Shl 8) On the other hand that king who has only the path of *adharma* in his sight, and indulges in it forcefully, loses first and second *purusharthas* viz *dharma* and *artha*. (Shl 9) **That king who harms dharma with the help of the wicked men and sinful ministers will become fit to be killed.** He will be destroyed soon along with his company. (Shl 10) That king who makes no effort for *artha-siddhi*, is libertine and given to self-praise, will be destroyed soon even though he has won the whole world. (**Shanti parva; Rajadharmanushasana; 92**)

- Bhishma: (Shl 41, 42) The citizens of that kingdom where the king does not know dharma and is an atheist cannot sleep happily. They cannot be happy even when awake. Citizens will always be upset because of his misdeeds. No prosperity will be seen by such kingdom. (Shl 43) Those citizens who have a wise and *dharma* king will sleep peacefully. They will also be happy when awake. (Shl 44) The people will be happy due to such king's illustrious rule and auspicious deeds. The people there will see prosperity due to the care of the king, grace of gods and their own auspicious deeds. (**Anushasana parva; Daandharma; 62**)

How/What of dharmic rule/Raja dharma

- Bhishma replied to Yudhishtira: (Shl 26) **The best dharma for a king is the statement that, 'The king is governing the people with dharma'.** Protecting all and being kind towards all are the dharmas of a king. (**Shanti; Rajadharmanushasana; 71**)

- Bhishma in response to Yudhishtira's question: (Shl 4) **The dharma that is honoured or practiced by the king will be honoured by all. Whatever the king practices will appear good to the citizen. (Shanti; Rajadharmanushasana; 75)**
- Maharshi Vyasa to Dhritarashtra: The citizens will have the same behaviour/nature (*swabhava*) as the king. If the master is *dharmic* even the *adharmaic* servant will change to be *dharmic*. Servants are always influenced by the good qualities and defects of their master. There is no doubt in this matter. (Stree; Jalapradanika; 8)
- Vamadeva replied: (Shl 12) **A king should never consider himself complete in matters of dharma, kaama, artha, intelligence & wisdom and about friends. He should always consider himself incomplete and try to gain more & more of these.** (Shl 14) In this way a king who is always keen in matters of dharma, who thinks about *dharmartha* and 'serves' *artha* after careful examination will surely attain great benefits. (Shl 15) A king who is given to misplaced courage, who is not generous in giving to charity, who repeatedly harasses citizens by use of punishments will be destroyed soon. (Shl 16) That foolish king who even after doing sinful deeds does not correct himself by introspection, or does not punish the sinner, will not only gain ill-fame, he will fall in *naraka* after death. (Shl 18) **A king who has no guru to impart knowledge about dharma, who does not listen to others about dharma, and who indulges only in enjoying pleasures upon gaining artha cannot be happy for long.** (Shl 19) That king who gives a prominent place to his guru in matters of dharma and acts according to his preaching, who personally does all works related to *artha*, and considers dharma of prime importance in all kinds of gains, will enjoy happiness eternally. (Shanti parva; Rajadharmanushasana; 92)
- Yudhishtira was caring for the three *purusharthas* of *dharmartha*, *artha* & *kaama* without any unequal treatment as if they were his relatives. (Adi; Khandavadaha; 222)
- Uthathya, the son of Angirasa to Maandhata, the son of Yuvanashwa: (Shl 31) When the king distributes his wealth to those under his refuge suitably and himself also enjoys it, does not disrespect his ministers, kills a mighty and arrogant enemy, then the dharma of such a king is called *raja-dharma*. (Shl 32) Protecting all life with words, body and deeds, and not excusing offences even if done by own son has been said to be *raja-dharma*. (Shl 33) If the king makes available essential commodities to the weak and he also enjoys, the weak will become strong. Doing so is called *raja-dharma*. (Shl 35) **Even if someone is very dear to you, is constantly indulging in sins or speaking sinful language he should not be excused. He should be punished just as anyone else would be.** Doing so is called *raja-dharma*. (Shl 38) when the king wipes the tears of the miserable, orphans and aged and brings joy in their lives, he becomes a *dharmatma*. Doing these and causing happiness to people is *raja-dharma*. (Shanti; Rajadharmanushasana; 91)
- Bhishma: (Shl 31) That king whose good deeds done for the citizens draws everyone's attention, whose punishments are never unreasonable and who protects himself and his kingdom knows *raja-dharma*. (Shanti parva; Rajadharmanushasana; 120)
- Bhishma: (Shl 2) Dharmaja! A king who desires to follow the path of dharma to govern and is dedicated to the welfare of people should govern according to the circumstances of *desh-kaal* and his intelligence and might (*yatha desham, yaatha kaalm, yatha buddhi, yatha balam*). (Shl 3) The king who thinks that the welfare of citizens is his welfare, should behave in that way in all matters and should publicise all works undertaken. (Shanti; Rajadharmanushasana; 88)
- Bhishma: (Shl 25) King should do deeds which make everyone happy but in such a way that they are not opposed to dharma. That king who thinks 'these are my beloved citizens' will stand firm like a mountain. (Shl 26) **Just as the Sun protects everyone with his rays spread equally on all, in the same way the king should try to protect those whom he loves and does not love treating them equally and should protect dharma.** (Shanti parva; Rajadharmanushasana; 120)
- Bhishma to Yudhishtira: (Shl 11) Therefore keeping the citizens happy is the main *sanatana-dharma*. In addition, defending truth and simplicity in interactions are also main dharmas. (Shl 12) **Other's properties should not be destroyed. Money owed to a person should be paid off**

without delays and salary for servants should also be paid at the fixed time. A valorous, truthful and kind king will never deviate from the path of dharma. **(Shanti; Rajadharmanushasana; 57)**

- Yayati regained his youth. But even though he had regained youth only to enjoy sensual pleasures, he was not doing anything against the principles of dharma. He was performing his daily religious rituals and satisfying the *devatas*. He was giving away whatever poor and unfortunate requested. He was caring for *brahmanas* & guests with food & drinks, *vysyas* by protecting their wealth and *shudras* with kindness. He was giving exemplary punishment to the wicked that troubled the citizens. In administration also he was punishing the bad & rewarding the good and was ruling the country with dharma like the Indra himself. **(Adi; Sambhava; 85)**
- When Shantanu was ruling the kingdom, killing of cattle & pigs and birds & animals was banned. No animal was being tortured by resorting to *adharma*. He was both king & father to the grief stricken, orphans, animals & birds and all beings. **(Adi; Sambhava; 100)**
(Exception?! : In the next page it says that one day he went for hunting and shot a deer with arrow)
- Rishi Markandeya: (Shl 24) Dharmaja! Be kind to all animals and be interested in their welfare all the time. Think of your citizens as your own children and love them so. Do not feel jealous of any for any reason. Always speak truth. Be soft natured. Even though you are *chakravarthi*, be accessible to people. Be a *jitendriya*; and let the care of citizens be your main aim. Do acts of dharma. Reject acts of *adharma*. Worship *pitru devatas* & *devatas*. **(Vana; Markandeya Samaasya; 191)**
- Dharma vyadha about king Janaka's rule: (Shl 28-31) He will punish the guilty even if he is own son; will not punish those who follow dharma. Cares for all people without any partiality & with dharma as the only principle. Wealth & administration is the portfolio of King. Punishing the bad/evil and protecting the good/noble is his main dharma. **(Vana; Markandeya Samaasya; 207)**
- Yudhishtira: (Shl 11) Even an ordinary king will protect with his full might anyone who surrenders & seeks his protection. This is *kshatriya* dharma. **(Vana; Ghoshayatra; 243)**
- Sri Krishna to Sanjaya: (Shl 27) Protecting & caring for the other three *varnas* is the responsibility of the *kshatriya*. He should not only do this diligently he should also ensure that the respective *varnas* are engaged in karmas prescribed for them. He should not be attached to mere pleasure-seeking. Must treat all citizens equally. Should never have desires or wishes which are not conforming to dharma.
(Shl 28) If he comes to know that there is a noble person & scholar who is well versed in all dharmas he should invite him immediately and appoint him to find out about the happiness & grief of citizens. Such a person should work for the betterment of citizens. The king, through him, should find out if wicked persons are living in his kingdom. This will bring success & fame to the king and the citizens will also be happy.
(Shl 31) Only *punya* is earned by suppressing/killing thieves & robbers who take away other's wealth. The Kaurava princes have developed this defect of snatching away other's wealth rather strongly. They do not know dharma. They do not even wish to know it. This is not good for them. **(Udyoga; Sanjayayana; 29)**
- Kunthi's advice to Yudhishtira conveyed through Sri Krishna: You are like a *shrotriya brahmana* who has all his attention only on learning the Vedas by-heart (only to memorise & recite). Your mind is fully absorbed only in dharma. A *shrotriya* should learn to recite Vedas. Similarly you should also be interested in dharma. But the *shrotriya* should also understand the meaning of Vedas. He should not spend time in mere rote learning. Realise which dharma Brahma has created for you. *Kshatriyas* were created from the arms of Paramapurusha. Therefore they have to live by might of arms/valour. They should be ready for cruel acts like punishing the wicked as also for governing the people. (Shl 14) If the king applies the *danda-neeti* appropriately and in a timely manner, it enables the four *varnas* to follow their respective *dharmas* & prevents them from falling into *adharma*.

(Shl 27) It is not known whether waging a war is dharma or *adharma*. It is not known whether being kind to all or not being so is dharma. But you cannot be kind to everyone at all times. You should be cruel to the cruel and kind to *satpurushas*....because you are a *kshatriya* by birth this is the duty you have to fulfil.

What can be greater dharma than when a *vidwan* (scholar) born in a good family, having no livelihood, struggling & suffering without a solution, by going to a generous & brave king fulfils his desires/ambitions?

(Shl 31) A king living by begging is totally forbidden. Living by agriculture & trading is also not worthy of you. *Kshathat*—others from agony, *tratha*—who saves; one who saves others from difficulties—this is the meaning of the word *Kshatriya*. It is your duty & dharma to take care of your citizens so that they have no problems. This is the way you have to live. **(Udyoga; Bhagavadgita; 132)**

- Suhotra had obtained his kingdom by the path of dharma. He was governing his kingdom as per the advice of *ritwijas*, *brahmanas* and *purohitas*. He believed that the following were the path to *shreyas* (welfare, fortune, bliss): Caring for the citizens, living in accordance with dharma, giving to charity, performing *yajnas* and conquering enemies. He wanted to earn money only by following the path of dharma. **(Drona; Abhimanyuvadha; 56)**
- Draupadi to Yudhishtira: (Shl 13) A coward can never enjoy a kingdom. He cannot earn money or cannot put it to good use. Just as fish cannot survive in mire, there can be no children in the house of a eunuch. (Shl 14) A *kshatriya* who cannot hold a *danda* (symbolic of punishment) does not shine. He will not enjoy kingdom. The citizens of a king who has no policy on punishment cannot be happy. (Shl 15) Being friendly towards all animals, *daan-pratigraha* (donating and taking) *adhyayana-adhyapana* (study and instructing/teaching) and *tapas*—these are prescribed only for a brahmana. They are not the dharma of a king. (Shl 16) *Dushta-nigraha* and *shishta-palana* and not running away in a war are the great dharmas for a king. A king who has following qualities is considered a *dharma-vid* or one who knows *raja-dharma*: who has anger against enemies, forgiveness towards *satpurushas*, who gives charity to the deserving as well as collects (taxes and gifts from subordinate kings, and *rajaadaya* (levies) from citizens at specified intervals), who can create fear among the enemies, who can give assurance (of no fear) to those seek refuge, who can subdue the enemy and can confer benefits to the weak and poor. **(Shanti; Rajadharmanushasana; 14)**
- *Rishi* Devasthana to Yudhishtira: (Shl 13, 14, 15) That enthroned king who—has his *indriyas* under control, views pleasant and unpleasant things with equanimity, eats *vighasa* after performing *yajnas*, knows the meaning of *shastras* (*raja-neeti*), punishes the wicked, protects the good, makes all citizens follow dharma and he himself remains steadfast on the path of dharma, hands over the kingdom to his son in old age, goes to forest and lives on roots and fruits and without becoming lazy even in forest practices the karmas learnt from *shastras* will be recognised as the *dharma-prabhu* who has understood dharma in its true essence and who has implemented it practically. **(Shanti; Rajadharmanushasana; 21)**
- *Maharshi* Vyasa to Yudhishtira: Go with like-minded people to all the towns and nations whose leaders were killed by you in the war. **Enthroned the brothers or sons or grandsons of those kings. In case the heir is a child or still in the womb, assure the family of the king and the citizens that upon the child growing up it will be crowned the king and console them.** (Shl 45) **In case in a royal family there are no sons, enthrone the daughter herself.** By doing this the desire of the women of *antahpura* will be fulfilled and you will relieve their grief and concern. **(Shanti; Rajadharmanushasana; 33)**
- Bhishma in response to Yudhishtira's question: Yudhishtira! I will tell you how the king can free himself from different sins. (Shl 10) If thieves take away the wealth of citizens and the king is unable to retrieve it, then the king should hand over equivalent wealth from his treasury to the citizen who is dependent on the king. This will clear the king's sin. (Shl 11) Just as brahmana has to protect all *varnas*, all *varnas* should protect brahmana's wealth. The king should not retain in his kingdom the person who harms brahmanas. ..(Shl 13) Just as all animals live dependent on rains, all birds live taking refuge in trees citizens live under the refuge of king who helps them fulfil all their desires. (Shl 14) That king who is interested in *kaama* and is always thinking about

kaama, who is cruel and greedy, will not be able to govern the people. (Shanti; Rajadharmanushasana; 75)

- Bhishma: (Shl 13) Yudhishtira! **Never accept any kind of *gupt-dhan* (secret funds) from anyone because it will destroy your duty and your system of justice (*nyaya-dharma*). If this happens it will bring agony both to you and those who gave you such money.** (Shl 14) If you take such money people will run away from you out of fear just as birds scared of eagle do. They will become like a boat that whirls in the ocean when filled with water. (Shanti; Rajadharmanushasana; 85)

Importance & Power of *danda* (punishment)

- Arjuna to Yudhishtira: (Shl 2) Brother! It is ***danda*** (Literal meaning: a strong, thick, long stick; figurative: Punishment) **that rules all people. It is *danda* that protects people. When all are sleeping *danda* will be awake. That is why scholars say that *danda* is dharma.** (Shl 3) *Danda* protects dharma. It also protects *artha*. Therefore it is said to be of three forms viz dharma-*artha-kaama*. (Shl 4) *Danda* protects grains. It protects money. You, who have understood the significance of *danda*, take up the *danda* and turn your gaze at the world too.

(Shl 5, 6) **All will not have good/noble qualities** like, 'do not snatch other's wealth', 'do not cheat others' etc. **It is because of the fear that the king will punish that some who have natural tendencies for wicked and sinful acts do not indulge in it. Some do not indulge in sinful deeds due to the fear of '*yama-danda*' (god of death).** Out of fear that 'there is a hell. There Yama will punish all justly without discrimination' some do not commit sins. *Yama-danda* is responsible for people not committing sins here also (fear of inescapability of punishment for karmas done here). **In some others there will be mutual fear** (fear of retribution by the affected person/group). **Therefore, in this world that expects some form of punishment to stay within limits, all actions of king are established in proper *danda-neeti*.** (Shl 7) It is due to the fear of *danda* that people are not 'eating up' one another. If there was no such fear people would have 'eaten up' each other. If the *raja-danda* were not there to protect people, they would all be living in the darkness of anarchy. (Shl 8) It is called *danda* because it suppresses those who want to behave as they please. Punishing the wicked is also called *danda*.

(Shl 9) **This 'punishment' should be used differently on different *varnas*.** If a brahama commits a mistake it is enough if he is threatened with words. In case of *kshatriya*, he should be given just enough to eat and should be made to work. In case of *vysya* he should be made to offer money to the king or money should be collected as fine. For a *shudra* there is no punishment (Commentary: Since he is already in service, he has to continue it. Commentators: These are for minor/milder offences)... (Shl 12) Whether a *brahmachari*, *grihastha*, *vanaprastha* or *sanyasi* the fear that transgressing the expectation of their *ashrama* would result in punishment in this world and other world makes them stick to their *ashrama-dharmas*. (Shl 13) **One who is not afraid of punishment will not perform *yajnas*. If there is no fear of sins, no one would like to donate his money to another. Without fear of sin, he will not even fulfil his oath/promise.**

(Shl 16, 17, 18) Yudhishtira! I will tell you another fact of life in this world as an example. **Today the world especially worships only those *devatas* who have killed enemies with valour.** Rudra, Skanda, Indra, *Agni*, Varuna, Yama, *Vayu*, Mrityu, Kubera, Surya, Vasus Marutts etc.—all these have at some time or the other killed their enemies. **But people do not consider them as murderers. Having been made meek by their valour, people always bow to them. Brahma or Dhatru or Pushan are never worshipped for any reason. The reason is that these *devatas* are completely *sattwic*.** (Shl 19) *Devatas* who have equanimity towards all beings, who are *jitendriyas*, who are peace-loving, who are of calm disposure are worshipped in all karmas by very few.

(Shl 20) I have not seen anyone living entirely by non-violence. **Stronger animals live by killing & eating weaker ones.** This is the nature of this world....(Shl 22) **Man kills and eats all animals.** Observe how the times are changing. All the moving and unmoving things in this world are in the form of food for surviving. (Shl 23) **Animals should live on animals is the rule formed in nature by *daiva*.** Therefore a scholar should not get perplexed in this matter. It is your duty to behave in accordance with the *varna* in which the destiny has created you. (Shl 65) A *tapasvi* in forest may claim that he is living only on roots and fruits and water. He may consider

that this is not killing of animals. In water also there are many small life-forms that are not visible to the naked eye. In earth and even in roots and fruits there are many extremely small life-forms. There is none who does not eat them and hence kill them. (Shl 26) Brother! **There are thousands of minute life-forms. They cannot be seen with naked eyes. We can conclude that they exist only by logic or guess.** They are so minute that if a hair of human eyelid were to fall on them, many of their organs like shoulders may get displaced totally....

(Shl 29) If the *danda-neeti* is used in a systematic way (**scientifically?!),** all undertakings will succeed. There is no doubt in this matter (Commentary: *danda-neeti* is really for the good of humans and not for the selfish interests of the king. If the king applies this *neeti* properly, it will only benefit all people in the kingdom)...(Shl 31) An orderly and systematic use of *danda-neeti* protects people. (Shl 32) **If there were no system to separate what is good and what is bad and then nurturing the good and punishing the bad, this world would have been filled with darkness.** One would not know who is bad and who is good.(Shl 35) For people of all four *varnas* to live happily, for all to live with a system of *neeti*, and to protect dharma and *artha*, Brahma himself has prescribed *danda-neeti*....(Shl 38) If *danda* were not to rule the limits of behaviour, there would have been lapse of dharma-karma everywhere. All kinds of 'limits' would have been broken. There would have been no discrimination of what belongs to me and what does not. Everyone would have assumed everything to belong to himself and there would have been mutual fights and destruction. (Shl 42) If there were no *danda*, servants would not listen to masters, children would not have obeyed parents; young woman would not have remained a chaste wife (*sati-dharma*). (Shl 45) If you were not to stand with a lifted *danda*, dog would try to lick the scared *havis* of *yajna* and crow would have carried away *purodasha*....

(Shl 50) **No work in this world will be full of good qualities only. Nor will it be full of bad qualities. Both will be in some proportion.** Whichever has majority good quality will be said to be good and that with majority of bad quality will be called bad/wicked. Therefore in every act of man there will be mix of both good and bad qualities. (**Shanti; Rajadharmanushasana; 15**)

- *Maharshi Vyasa* to *Yudhishtira*: (Shl 10) A king who waits for the right time and place using his knowledge of *shastras* to punish the wicked will never be subject to sins. (Commentary: *Danda-neeti* is needed to punish, but there should be proper discrimination in respect of time and place, so that all evidences are gathered and time is ripe. Else, wrong people may get the punishment). (**Shanti; Rajadharmanushasana; 24**)

Consequences of dharmic/adharmic rule

- *Kunthi's* advice to *Yudhishtira* conveyed through *Sri Krishna*: (Shl 12) One fourth of the *phala* (fruits) of the dharma followed by people will accrue to the king who governs them.
(Shl 16) Is time responsible for the ups & downs in the kingdom? Or Is king responsible for changes that happen in the kingdom?—do not have any doubt in this matter. It is the king who is responsible for the changes in the kingdom (normally attributed to time in the saying 'bad times' or 'good times') (*raja kaalsya kaaranam*). (Shl 20) Wicked acts of the king reflect on the people also. They will also indulge in sinful deeds. The king also gets a share of the *phalas* of the misdeeds of the people. (**Udyoga; Bhagavadyana; 132**)
- *Karna* to *Shalya*: (Shl 18) if we examine closely, you will not get a share of people's *punya*. Because you are not protecting them (governing them) (you are not ensuring that they all practice their own *varnashrama* dharma). You will be a partner in their misdeeds. Only one who protects/governs people will have a right to share their *punya*. Therefore you will never share their *punya-karmas*. (**Karna; 45**)
- *Bhishma* to *Yudhishtira*: (Shl 15) **If a king does not govern a country with dharma,** in this world it would not be possible to have wife, children, money, houses etc. It would not have been possible for any citizen to say that something is 'mine'. All the wealth all around would be destroyed. (Shl 18) **If a king does not govern a country with dharma, wicked people would have harassed mother, old father, acharya, guest, guru etc due to the thirst of money and perhaps even have killed them.** (Shl 22) If a king does not govern a country with dharma, there would be no *yajnas* performed, there would be no auspicious events like marriage and no social activities would happen. **There would have been no organised society.**

(Shl 32) **If a king is ruling the country with dharma**, women could deck themselves up with all ornaments and walk on the main streets (*raja-marga*) without fear even when not accompanied by a man or husband. (Interestingly this is still the benchmark for safety in public places!!) (Shl 33) **If a king is ruling the country with dharma, the citizens will also practice dharma**. They will not quarrel with each other. They will live with an *anugraha-buddhi* (mutually co-operative spirit).

(Shl 36) When a king takes up the heavy responsibility of the kingdom and rules it with dharma with the help of a large army, then the people will be very pleased. **(Shanti; Rajadharmanushasana; 67)**

- Bhishma's rule: (Shl 5-7) Agriculture was flourishing with good crops. Rains were always timely. Trees, plants & creepers were full of flowers & fruits. Animals & birds also enjoyed happiness. Flowers were fragrant & fruits were juicy. Towns were filled with traders & artists. People were courageous, well learned, trustworthy and always happy. There was no trace of thieves, liars and *adharmis*. It was as if *Krita Yuga* had returned. People of all *varnas* lived happily & harmoniously. There was no enmity or malice. Aim of people was to make others happy. All were committed to *dharma*. **(Adi; Sambhava; 109)**
- About king Shantanu's rule: By having him as their supreme king, other kings were freed of fear, grief and anxieties. They did not have fear even in their dreams. Enjoying peace of mind, every night they were having only pleasant dreams. They were sleeping without any worries or concerns. **(Adi; Sambhava; 100)**
- Dharma vyadha: (Shl 35, 37) If king himself becomes sinner, commits wrongful deeds, ignores dharma & rules as per his whims, then dharma is corrupted & people also mix up their *varnas* & dharma. As a consequence of the *adharma* of the king, the people are put to trouble & later their happiness & prosperity declines. **(Vana; Markandeya Samaasya; 207)**
- Bhishma: (Shl 15) **The king who does not govern his people and rules with *adharma* will be filled with fear in his heart**. Even *para-loka* will be unfavourable to him. (Shl 16, 17) Whether the king or minister or the prince, if they rule with *adharma* while sitting in *dharmasana* (seat of dharma) they will go to *naraka*. **If the associates of the king do not discharge their duties properly, they will lead the king into *naraka* and fall into it along with him**. (Shl 18) At such times, orphan citizens who cry for help harassed by the powerful should be protected by the king. **(Shanti; Rajadharmanushasana; 85)**
- Discourse given by Uthathya, the son of Angirasa to Maandhata, the son of Yuvanashwa: (Shl 34) If the king follows *adharma* then *varna-sankara* will occur. Because of this sinners & *rakshasas* will be born in noble lineage. Eunuchs, physically disabled, those who stammer, idiots etc peculiar persons will take birth. Therefore in the interest of people at large, the king should especially remain committed to the path of dharma. (Shl 37) If king follows *adharma*, there will be such things as unseasonal cold and heat and no rains and excessive rains in some places. Several kinds of diseases will trouble human beings. **(Shanti; Rajadharmanushasana; 90)**
- Maharshi Vamadeva to king Vasumanasa: (Shl 1) **Maharaja! In a country where the mighty king acts with *adharma* upon the weak people, even his relatives will make a living doing the same**. (Shl 2) **The king's followers will also copy the king. In this way the kingdom will be filled with harsh people and will be destroyed soon**. (Shl 3) The same people, who were supporting the misdeeds of the king and had taken refuge in him, will not tolerate him when he faces bad times. (Shl 4) If a king with a rash attitude, who does not follow *shastras* displays even a little excessive (*kinchit-ulbanet*) courage he will be destroyed soon. **(Shanti parva; Rajadharmanushasana; 93)**

General principles of/guidelines for Governance

Mixed points

- **Popularity, the strongest fort**
Bhishma to Yudhishtira: **There is no treasure more valuable than popular support for a king**. (Shl 35) Maharaja! Among the six forts viz desert, water, land, forest, mountain and man, the

'man-fort' is the main one. **Those who know *neeti-shaastra* well, opine that 'man-fort' is the most difficult to break into and access** (The fort of popularity is the strongest fort of all). (Shl 36) **Therefore a wise king should be kind to all four *varnas*.** A king who is *dharmatma* and truthful will be capable of keeping the people happy. **(Shanti; Rajadharmanushasana; 56)**

- Bhishma to Yudhishtira: (Shl 1, 2) A king should always be active. **If a king is inactive like a house-wife who has lost interest in daily house-hold chores, he will not earn appreciation.** There is *shloka* of Shukracharya in this matter. Listen. (Shl 3) Just as a serpent swallows rats, frogs etc in holes, earth will swallow the king who does not fight the enemy and a brahmana who does not tour the country.

(Shl 4) You should make compromise with the deserving. You must oppose those who should be. (Shl 5) One who poses hurdles or problems to the seven wings of a kingdom viz *swamy* (master), *amatya* (minister), *suhrit* (ally, friend), *kosha* (treasury), *rashtra* (nation), *Durga* (fort) and *bala* (might, military), even if he is a guru, deserves to be punished with death. There is an ancient *shloka* of Brihaspati, listen. (Shl 7) *Sanatana dharma* says that one who takes to wrong path out of sheer arrogance without understanding which work to do and which not to do, deserves to be punished even if he is *acharya*. **There are kings who abandoned their sons in the interest of nation...**(Shanti; Rajadharmanushasana; 57)

- Bhishma to Yudhishtira: (Shl 33) Just as children play with full freedom and without fear in the house of their father, that king in whose kingdom the citizens can lead their lives without fear will be considered a great king. (Shl 34) That king in whose kingdom people show off their wealth openly (no fear of thieves or guards of the king) and know justice and injustice, is great among kings. (Shl 35, 36) That king in whose kingdom the citizens are governed with dharma, are engaged in their duties, are dedicated to dharma and not just material/physical pleasures, are *jitendriya*, are obedient and under control of the king, are goaded to follow path of dharma, are not quarrelsome and are generous is great. (Shl 37) That king's dharma is considered *sanatana-dharma* in whose kingdom there is no cheating, fraud, *maya* (using trickery to snatch money) or envy. (Shl 38) That king who encourages *jnana*, honours *janis*, is dedicated for the good of citizens, follows the path of virtuous men and is capable of sacrifice (*tyaga-sheela*) becomes fit to rule the kingdom. (Shl 39) Such king is worthy of ruling whose spies, confidential discussions, daily determined tasks and future *raja-karyas* do not become known to the enemy. There is a *shloka* of Shukra in respect of *raja-neeti*. (Shl 41) For a person who wishes to live well first he must find a good king. Only after that he should marry. He should accumulate money. If you cannot find a good king or if you have to live under the rule of a wicked king or if there is no king, why should one marry? (There is no safety for wife or wealth in such kingdom). **(This has come earlier also)** (Shl 42) Therefore there is no better *sanatana-dharma* for those who want to be kings than protecting the citizens well. It is protection of citizens which bears the world. **(Shanti; Rajadharmanushasana; 57)**
- Bhishma: Therefore you must rule such that no enemy attacks you, monitor the state of the nation through spies who won't sell themselves, and using *danda-neeti* you should constantly protect the nation. (Shl 130) **All auspicious works done by the king with sense of equality in mind and actions will culminate in good of the people. If all the people in a kingdom have to be under the control of one man, what other than his divine qualities can cause it?** Because a king has especially divine qualities and has a portion of Mahavishnu in him, all the citizens will be obedient to him. (Shl 132) From *dharma*, *artha* was born in Shridevi. Thus in the kingdom of Prithu, *dharma*, *artha* and *Shri* were all established. By following *dharma*, it is possible to accomplish *artha* and *kaama* also. Therefore in the kingdom of Prithu there was prominence for dharma. (Shl 133) After the *punyas* done in many *janmas* decay, man falls from *swarga* and is born as a king, expert in *danda-neeti*....(Shl 138) The *danda-neeti* described earlier has clear characteristics. It is only by virtue of that *neeti* that the world is enveloped in *neeti* and *sadachara*. **(Shanti parva; Rajadharmanushasana; 59)**
- Bhishma: (Shl 60) When there is no trouble from the enemies, king should put together **actors and dancers, wrestlers and magicians**. These people will bring radiance to the town and will keep the people joyous in every way. **(Shanti parva; Rajadharmanushasana; 69)**

- Uthathya, the son of Angirasa to Maandhata, the son of Yuvanashwa: (Shl 23) If all the people in the village start begging like brahmanas, then the king who is responsible for such situation will be destroyed. (Commentary: Only those who are ordained to live by begging have to do so and not others. If that happens, it leads to calamity). **(Shanti; Rajadharmanushasana; 91)**
- Bhishma: (Shl 1) Yudhishtira! **Let not your servants or citizens cut the trees which bear edible fruits.** Scholars say that roots, tubers and fruits belong to brahmana. Therefore such trees should not be cut. **(Shanti; Rajadharmanushasana; 89)**
- Uthathya, the son of Angirasa to Maandhata, the son of Yuvanashwa: (Shl 26) A massive tree takes birth, grows and becomes huge. Many birds and animals take refuge in it. When that tree is cut off or burnt, then all life-forms in it become homeless. **(Shanti; Rajadharmanushasana; 91)**
- *Maharshi* Vamadeva to king Vasumanasa: (Shl 2) If the roots of the kingdom are not firm, the king should not try to get the unobtainable (other kingdoms). A king with weak roots is unlikely to succeed in this. (Shl 3) That king is considered to have firm roots that has a flourishing kingdom, is rich with money and grains, has well-wishers who love the king and who has happy and strong ministers. (Shl 4) That king, whose soldiers are happy and satisfied, receive soothing words from the king and are clever in fooling the enemy will be capable of winning the earth with a small army. (Shl 5) That king in whose country people living in villages and towns are kind towards all and are rich in money and grains is considered to have firm roots. (Shl 6) An intelligent king can make an attempt to acquire another kingdom and their wealth after ensuring that time is ripe for him to use his higher might. **(Shanti parva; Rajadharmanushasana; 94)**
- *Maharshi* Vamadeva to king Vasumanasa: (Shl 8) A king who is hypocritical towards his people who have virtuous practices will cause his own destruction just as the axe made out of tree cuts the tree itself. (Shl 9) The haters of that king who never punishes the other haters will never face destruction. If haters are not punished their numbers will grow and not decrease. **One who knows how to control his anger will have no haters. (Shanti parva; Rajadharmanushasana; 94)**
- Dhritarashtra to Yudhishtira: Are you reacting appropriately in respect of enemy, friend and neutral? **(Ashramavasika parva; Ashramavasa; 26)**
- Dhritarashtra to Yudhishtira: Are *brahmana*, *kshatriya*, *vysya* and *shudras* who have families engaged in *swakarma* and walking the path of justice? **(Ashramavasika parva; Ashramavasa; 26)**
- Bhishma: (Shl 10) It is possible to roam around with animals in the forest. But never join thieves and robbers who know no limits of social honour/moral conduct. (Shl 13) A king should establish such regulations which please all citizens. **Even if the regulations yield small benefits, it will be acceptable in the world. (Shanti parva; Aapadharma; 133)**

Administration mechanism

- Narada's questions to Yudhishtira: (Shl 81) **In every village there should be five persons who are honest, just, brave, know their duties and have knowledge of dharma. (Origin of grama panchayat!?)** (Commentators: *Prashastha*, *samahartha*, *samvidhata*, *lekhaka*, *sakshi*—these are the five officials. Their duties are: protection of the village, supervision of agriculture & trade, punishing the wicked, protecting the good people etc). If these five function unitedly both the village & thereby the nation will prosper. Is this happening in your country? (Shl 82) **In order to protect towns have you made similar facilities in villages as they exist in towns? (Did he foresee gradual urbanisation/migration to towns?!)** Are the villages, towns & cities prospering every day? And are the officials at all these levels under your control? **(Sabha; Lokapalasabhakhyana; 5)**
- Bhishma to Yudhishtira: **Should pay attention to old and dilapidating buildings** (houses, temples, palaces etc) **and have them maintained regularly and keep them clean. (Shanti; Rajadharmanushasana; 58)**

Introspection & Feedback gathering

- Bhishma: (Shl 14) **What weakness do I have? What kinds of addictions attract me? Do I have genuine interest in governing people? If so, is my style of working aligned with it? Which defects in me are not yet cured? Why is this defect still in me? The king should do all these introspections every day. (Shanti; Rajadharmanushasana; 89)**
- Sri Krishna to Dhritarashtra: (Shl 6) That king who by himself with a firm mind understands his defects and the relevance of time and place (what to do when) will achieve great success. **(Shree; Jalapradanika; 13)**
- Dhritarashtra to Yudhishtira: You should make suitable arrangements to know whether people in the towns & villages have good or bad feelings about you. **(Ashramavasika parva; Ashramavasa; 5)**

Issues needing alertness/care

- Bhishma: (Shl 21) Just as angry poisonous serpents swallow smaller snakes, moving animals eat fixed things, wild animals with tusks eat animals without tusks the powerful enforce their authority on the weak. (Shl 22) **A king should always be careful about all these and his enemies. Enemies wait for king's errors and pounce on him. (Shanti; Rajadharmanushasana; 89)**
- Bhishma: (Shl 8) Just as villagers construct a dam to prevent the flood waters from submerging the village and thus avoid the danger, the king should always be alert about possible points of entry of danger and close those gates immediately when a danger is perceived to be imminent. **(Shanti parva; Rajadharmanushasana; 120)**
- After having his meal, Dhritarashtra softly patted the back of Yudhishtira sitting near him and said to him: *Kurunandana!* You should always be careful/alert in the kingdom recognised for its dharma and consisting of *ashtangas* (Eight components viz King, minister, friend, treasury, country, fort, army and citizens). It is possible to rule/protect the country only if you are careful & alert. **(Ashramavasika parva; Ashramavasa; 5)**

People/Situations to avoid/suppress

- Bhishma: (Shl 61) If the king suspects danger from servants or minister or from another king, he should immediately take them under his control (arrest). **(Shanti parva; Rajadharmanushasana; 69)**
- Bhishma: (Shl 14, 15) Pimps, prostitutes, those who seek prostitutes, singers and gamblers, those who have liquor shops etc cause harm to the nation. All of them should be suppressed. They live in the country and create problems for virtuous people. (Shl 16) **Manu has already made a dictum long back that except in times of emergency no one should beg anything from anyone.** (Shl 17) If he had not done such an arrangement no one in this world would have worked. All would have loved to live by begging. In such situation the whole world would have been destroyed.

(Shl 18) The king who inspite of being capable of keeping all these under check does not do so and allows them to live as per their wish, will obtain one fourth of the sins that accrues to them. (Shl 21) The king should ensure that such centres of sin reduce steadily and do not increase. These activities only spoil wealth and fame. What is it that a lusty person will not do? (Shl 22) A person attracted to *kaama* will eat meat, drink liquor and snatch others wealth and women. **Not only this, he will preach to others to live like him.**

(Shl 23) Those who have no money or stock of grains or have no right to receive will have to beg in times of emergencies as they have no other option. To such people monetary help should be given out of compassion as a cause of dharma and not out of fear. (Shl 24) In your kingdom let there be no beggars or thieves. They only snatch peoples' wealth and do not improve the wealth of nation. **(Shanti; Rajadharmanushasana; 88)**

- Discourse given by Uthathya, the son of Angirasa to Maandhata, the son of Yuvanashwa: (Shl 30) Stay away from these four: one who is intoxicated, who has no power of discrimination, boy in the age of 5 to 10 and the insane. Even if all these come together to serve you, do not let them even come near you. (Shl 33) Do not mate with unknown women, barren women, prostitutes and virgins. **(Shanti; Rajadharmanushasana; 90)**

Rewards & Honors

- Narada's questions to Yudhishtira: (Shl 120) **Are you getting to know about the great deeds of others? Are you praising such deeds in the presence of *satpurus*has? Are you encouraging them by rewarding appropriately?** (Sabha; Lokapalasabhakhyana; 5)
- Uthathya, the son of Angirasa to Maandhata, the son of Yuvanashwa (Shl 30) That king acquires great *punya* who sees the good karmas of his citizens or officials, listens to their sweet words and appropriately rewards all of them. **(Shanti; Rajadharmanushasana; 91)**
- *Maharshi* Vyasa to Yudhishtira: (Shl 17) A king should suitably honour/reward the brave, great personalities and scholars. **He should give special protection to those who have cattle wealth or have huge wealth.** (Shanti; Rajadharmanushasana; 24)
- Bhishma: (Shl 62) If someone does your desired job, he should be rewarded with plenty of money and sweet words. **(Shanti parva; Rajadharmanushasana; 69)**
- Bhishma: (Shl 17, 18) You should suitably honour all people who appreciate you as well as criticise you from among: those knowledgeable about dharma (*dharmajna*), the courageous, those who do not turn their back in battlefield, those residing in your kingdom, the ministers and those with neutral stand. **(Shanti; Rajadharmanushasana; 89)**
- Bhishma: (Shl 16) The king should consciously and with an effort honour *acharyas*, *ritwijas*, *purohitas*, great archers, **architects who build houses, astrologers who prepare *varsha-phal* (annual predictions) and doctors...** (Shl 18) King should always honour those who practice dharma and suppress those who are *adharmic*. **The king should with an effort ensure that all *varnas* are engaged in their prescribed *karmas*.** (Shanti; Rajadharmanushasana; 86)
- Bhishma to Yudhishtira: Soldiers should be given rewards in a timely manner and their happiness should be ensured. **(Shanti; Rajadharmanushasana; 58)**

Value the scholarly & the aged

- Dhritarashtra to Yudhishtira: You should always worship those who are old by learning (great scholars). You should listen to them. You should obey them without second thoughts. You should wake up early in the morning and after completing morning formalities/procedures/ablutions, you must suitably felicitate such scholars. Whenever some royal action has to be taken, you should ask them about your duties. Honoured and respected by you, they who desire your welfare, will always advice whatever is right for your welfare. **(Ashramavasika parva; Ashramavasa; 5)**
- Narada's questions to Yudhishtira: (Shl 34) Are the princes & main soldiers getting training from scholars who are experts in all *shastras* & can propound dharma effectively & with reasons? (Shl 35) **Even if by exchanging a thousand fools, get a scholar** because, in times of difficulty, the scholar with his intelligence will be able to bring about the good of the kingdom. Are you honouring such *pandits*? **(Sabha; Lokapalasabhakhyana; 5)**
- Bhishma to Yudhishtira: King should serve the intelligent and wise. **(Shanti; Rajadharmanushasana; 58)**
- Bhishma: (Shl 8) Just as waters which flow from the mountains become or join the waters of rivers and lakes, the king should take refuge with scholars and accomplished persons for his tasks. **(Shanti parva; Rajadharmanushasana; 120)**

Works & their Execution

- Kunthi's advice to Yudhishtira conveyed through Sri Krishna: (Shl 6) Do not waste your time postponing the duty that you have to do. The more you delay more spoilt will the task of governance be. **(Udyoga; Bhagavadyana; 132)**
- Maharshi Vyasa to Yudhishtira: (Shl 15) When a king is working for the welfare of his citizens, if due to fate, he faces difficulties/hurdles and the tasks do not get completed, no one will consider it as failure of the king (Commentary: He should keep doing his sincere efforts. Some may fail & some may succeed due to destiny. In such a case, he will not be the defaulter).

(Shl 21) If, in spite of undertaking the tasks after due thinking about achieving welfare of the people, using *neeti*s rooted in dharma, with all sincere human efforts, the tasks fail, the king will not accrue sins. No one will consider him as not being a follower of dharma. (Shl 22) **Works started may fail or succeed due to factors of fate. It is *daiva* alone which gives results for all human efforts. But it is the duty of the king to make every effort in the interest of the people. Sins do not touch a king who undertakes tasks with such sincerity and faith.** (Shanti; Rajadharmanushasana; 24)

- Bhishma: (Shl 19) To whomsoever the work belongs or whatever be the work it cannot be said that it will primarily be liked by all. **All people have three types of relations—friend, enemy and neutral. Friends will praise the work done. The neutrals will neither praise nor criticise. Enemies (*amitra*) will find fault even if it is a good work.** (We see this very commonly in democracies, particularly so in India). (Shanti; Rajadharmanushasana; 89)
- Bhishma: You should also act by giving up sloth and with *indriyas* under control. Manu has said that the root of victory is intelligence. (Shl 18) Achieving success in a task using intelligence is most superior. Doing it with might of arms is medium. Doing it with strength of legs is inferior. Carrying weight on the head and achieving the task is the worst of the inferior ways. (Shl 19) The kingdom of one who is *jitendriya* and efficient will remain firmly with him. Manu has said that the victory of a king who is in distress is rooted in intelligence. (Shl 20) The resources (*artha*) of one who listens to secret suggestions, who has good associates and who does his work after thoroughly examining them will remain with him firmly. A King having good associates will be able to rule the whole world. (Shanti parva; Rajadharmanushasana; 112)
- Narada's questions to Yudhishtira: (Shl 31) You should plan actions such that with minimal effort maximum gains are achieved. Once such actions are started, they should be completed without break/obstacles & results should be delivered. I hope you do not delay such actions. **(Sabha; Lokapalasabhakhyana; 5)**
- Narada's questions to Yudhishtira: (Shl 33) **Are your projects/works being executed by those who are close to you, have right experience and who are not greedy.** Are the projects you have completed so far, which are yet to be completed and which are already started known to public? Apart from these, the public should not know about projects you are still planning/intending to do. **(Sabha; Lokapalasabhakhyana; 5)**

Identifying friends & enemies

- **How to identify friends/enemies**

Bhishma to Yudhishtira: (Shl 41) By using the four methods of *pratyaksha*, *anumana*, *upamana* and *aagama* a king should examine everyday who is enemy and who is friend. (Commentary: *Pratyaksha*: benefits and offences done; *Anumana*: Guessing and figuring out from facial expressions and other body language; *Upamana*: Learning from comparisons or analogies; *Aagama*: *shabda-pramana*; some scholars have interpreted as *samudrika lakshana*—relating to marks on the body, palmistry etc). (Shanti; Rajadharmanushasana; 56)

- (Shl 1) Yudhishtira asked: Grandfather! **It is very difficult to complete a task however small it may be without other's help.** Therefore, what to speak of the king? (Because he will have major responsibilities, he will need other's help) (Shl 2) Person of what nature, qualities & practices should be the minister to a king? In whom should the king repose trust? And in whom he should not? Tell me about all this.

Classification of friends

- Bhishma replied: (Shl 3) **There are four types of associates or friends to a king.** Persons who make friendship by setting mutual benefit condition by saying, 'I will help you now. In return you should help me in this manner at such time'. This is called *sahaartha-maitri*. Friendship that comes from generations by belonging to same lineage (*vamsha*) is called *bhajamana-maitri*. Friendship that comes by being together from birth, by studying together, by working together etc is called *sahaja-maitri* and happens due to similar thinking or nature. Acting as a friend depending upon circumstance even though there is no such feeling in the heart is called *kritrima-maitri*.

(Shl 4, 5) Apart from these four there can also be a fifth type. **He is a dharmatma.** He does not take any one side. Nor does he make money by saying he is a friend of both sides. He always supports that side which has *dharma*. Or he seeks refuge with that king who is dedicated to *dharma*. **King should not reveal to such friend, who is always interested in dharma only, the actions he will not like. If it is revealed to him, he will come in the way, that is, will obstruct. Moreover kings who desire victory/success may have to depend on both dharma and adharma. They will have to take to either path depending on the circumstances.**

Trusting friends & allies

- Bhishma: (Shl 6) Of the four friends stated earlier, *bhajamana-mitra* and *sahaja-mitra* are best. The other two are suspect. *Sahaartha* & *kritrima* should not be trusted easily. **Overall, a king who is interested in accomplishing his goals should be suspicious of all four types.** (Shl 7) A king should never become careless about protection of his friends. People will reject a king who is not alert about protecting his friends.

(Shl 8, 9) **A bad man becomes good. A virtuous man becomes very wicked. An enemy becomes a friend. A friend becomes a treacherous.** The reason for this is: man is not always firm-minded. How can you trust such a man? **Therefore the king should personally supervise important tasks.** He should not delegate it to friends and forget about it. (Shl 10) Trusting anyone too much is harmful to both *dharma* & *artha*. Not trusting anyone at all is also worse than death. (Shl 11) **Trusting someone else too much is equivalent to untimely death.** Because, we trust someone completely and carry on with our lives. We live as desired by the person whom we trust. If he commits treachery, we will be completely destroyed. Therefore do not repose complete trust in one person. **(Do not put all trust in one person!)** (Shl 12) Therefore a king should select a few worthy persons and trust them. He should remain suspicious of some. This is a *sanatana neeti-marga*. This should always be kept in mind.

(Shl 13) **The king should always be suspicious about that person who he thinks will succeed him to throne after his death, whether he is son, brother or a friend.** Learned people say that the person who is eyeing the throne when the king is alive is an enemy.

(Shl 14) In a situation where water has to flow from one person's field to another's who is at a lower level, if the person with fields at lower level does not permit, his banks will not break. (Shl 15) But the person with fields at higher level will want to break the banks of his field out of fear that his fields will be flooded. First you must understand the characteristics of this analogy. Then indicate who the enemy is. (Commentary: Lets us say there is a country between two other nations. The owner of that country is designated as *seematha-pala*. An example is Nepal which is between India and China. If such *seematha-pala* does not permit or encourage, there will be no conflicts. When he thinks he will face a danger—just as water overflowing from above is let into the lower field—he may permit the enemy's army to pass through his country. Then he will have to be treated as enemy. Therefore he should not be trusted).

Characteristics of a good friend

- (Shl 16) That person who is not satisfied with the rise of the king and desires that he should rise further, who feels very sad when the king declines, is considered a superior friend. **Always desiring king's rise and feeling very sad/miserable when the king's condition declines are qualities of a good friend.** **(Shakespeare, Passionate Pilgrim, 'He that is thy friend indeed...If thou sorrow he will weep').** (Shl 17) You should trust a person who has attachment and thinks, 'If I am not there he will not survive', like father. He is surely a well-wisher. Such a person will have more interest in king's well-being than his own. (Shl 18, 19) A king who is on the rising path should nourish such friends in every way. That person who removes the defects and deficiencies

in the *dharmic* actions of the king and who is very concerned/afraid that something may harm the king is a superior friend. Quality of a good friend is to make sure that dharma and king are not harmed. Those who desire the opposite are enemies. (Shl 20) A king should consider that friendly person as *atmasama* (equivalent to self) who is always afraid that the king may face some danger, is always desiring the well-being of the king and who does not feel jealous at the growing prosperity of the king. (**Shanti parva; Rajadharmanushasana; 80**)

- Bhishma: (Shl 55) Among cordial associates, two friends with great love for each other get together to complete a task. They complete the task and return. It is said that between the two, one who understands the task well and takes greater responsibility for its successful completion is a *jnani* and ultimate friend. (**Shanti parva; Rajadharmanushasana; 120**)

About Servants (employees/Staff) of the king

How not to behave with them

- Bhishma to Yudhishtira: (Shl 48) **You should not indulge in too much of jovial and friendly conversations with the servants. This is a duty of the king.** I will tell you the defects of being so with the servants. (Shl 49) Since the servants live their lives by being close to the king, they will treat him lightly. **They will not give him due respect.** They will not do their tasks with interest. On many occasions they will transgress the king's orders. (Shl 50) **If you assign them a task, they will express doubt about its success or will do it in the opposite way.** Their goal will not be to complete the task given by the king. They will do the job negligently and spoil it.

They will listen to king's secrets. Due to the proximity they gain to the king, they will ask for things they should not. They will not hesitate to even eat the food prepared for the king. (Shl 51) The servants who are overly friendly with the king will sit in places meant for the king. They will talk loudly without the caution or courtesy that the person is their lord and master. They will display extreme anger. **They will spoil the king's work by bribery and cheating.** (Shl 52) **They will weaken the nation by distributing copies of king's orders as they please.** When they feel like going into *antahpura* they will wear the guise of the watch-guards deployed there and enter. (Shl 53) They will sit close to the king and yawn nonchalantly. They will also spit around. They will shamelessly spread the sayings of the king outside. (Shl 54) If the king becomes too jovial and soft-natured, his servants will completely ignore him and will even climb on the horse, elephant and chariot meant for the king.

(Shl 55) **These servants will not remain quiet in the assembly of noble persons. They will advise the king as his cordial friends would do and talk very lightly** such as by saying, 'Oh king! This is a very difficult task for you. Do not take it up. This act of yours is very mean. You should not have done so' etc. (Shl 56) If the king by chance gets genuinely angry, they will think it is a joke and will laugh at him. In case the king rewards them also they will not be too happy. In the interest of mutual selfishness, they will even argue with the king. (Being always with the king becomes their main aim).

(Shl 57) **They will reveal to others the confidential discussions with ministers. They will publicise king's faults.** These servants, who will have utter disregard for the orders of the king, will treat *raja-karya* with indifference and as if it is a play. (Shl 58) They will even speak derogatively within his ear-shot about his dressing up, items of eating, bathing, cosmetics etc. (Shl 59) **They will criticise the tasks assigned to them.** They will drop the tasks midway without completing them. **They will never be satisfied with their salaries. They will steal from the donations given by the king for *dharma-karyas* or the taxes/levies due to the king.** (Shl 60) **They like to play with the king as if he is a bird on a string.** They will be boasting with public that the king listens to us and acts accordingly.

(Shl 61) Yudhishtira! If a king is too soft-natured and jovial, many more defects in addition to what I have stated will be seen in the kingdom. Therefore a king should not be too soft and too jovial. (**Shanti; Rajadharmanushasana; 56**)

Who are good/right persons

- Yudhishtira: (Shl 6, 7) Servants born of a good lineage will be unsuitable for a king who is interested only in accumulating bad things, who gives refuge to bad elements due to friendship and attachment, and who does not develop company of virtuous people because of lack of control

on *indriyas*. At such times the king is deprived of the fruits he can gain from the strength of servants. (Shl 11) What type of servants endowed with all good qualities wish to be near a king? With soldiers born in which type of families should the king go to war? A king without the help of servants cannot protect the country. All good kings desire protection of the country. (**Shanti parva; Rajadharmanushasana; 115**)

Bhishma said: (Shl 13, 14, 15) **No one can rule a kingdom without associates. Let alone ruling a kingdom; no accomplishment of *artha* can be done without associates.** Even after accomplishing *artha* it is not possible to protect it alone without the help of associates. That king whose servants are all highly knowledgeable, are well-wishers, are born of noble lineage and are friendly will enjoy the fruit of kingdom. .. (Shl 18) That king who has associates who consider king's grief and happiness as their own, who work to make the king happy, who are dedicated to improving the king's treasury and who are truthful will enjoy the fruits of kingdom. (**Shanti parva; Rajadharmanushasana; 115**)

- Bhishma: (Shl 27, 28) He should appoint only such persons who know the nature of families (*kula-dharma*) and dharma of the country, who are knowledgeable about dharma, are soft spoken, are young, have no blemish, are dedicated to the welfare of the king and the citizens, are without anxiety and worries, are well educated, are *jitendriya*, are steadfast in dharma and are dedicated to protecting dharma and *artha*. (**Shanti parva; Rajadharmanushasana; 120**)
- Dhritarashtra to Yudhishtira: For your work you must appoint only those whose family background and character is well known. (**Ashramavasika parva; Ashramavasa; 5**)
- Bhishma to Yudhishtira: (Shl 23-24) **Select persons with following qualities as your assistants:** Brave/valiant, who are interested in serving you, who will not fall for the attractions enemy will offer to excite their greed, born in noble families, strong and healthy, eminent, relatives of the eminent, honourable, do not have a nature of humiliating others, learned, know worldly affairs, understand/know the actions of the enemy, are dedicated to dharma, are *satpurushas* and are firm like the mountain. (**Shanti; Rajadharmanushasana; 57**)

Whom to reject

- Bhishma: (Shl 47) **A greedy person can be won over only by giving to him everyday.** He will have no satisfaction irrespective of the amount of wealth he gets. **All are of course greedy to obtain the happiness that comes as a result of virtuous deeds. One who has no money will give up both *dharma* and *kaama*.** (Shl 48) A greedy person wishes to obtain other's money, luxury items (objects of pleasure), women & children etc. **There is nothing that a greedy person does not want. There will be every kind of blemish in him. Therefore a king should never appoint a greedy person for any job.** (**Shanti parva; Rajadharmanushasana; 120**)
- Narada's questions to Yudhishtira: (Shl 76) I hope you are not having officials who are greedy for money, are thieves, haters & are inexperienced. (**Sabha; Lokapalasabhakhyana; 5**)

Appropriate choice & placement

- Bhishma continued and said: Yudhishtira! In this manner the king who appoints quality servants at positions best suited for them will enjoy the fruits of the kingdom. (Shl 2) This becomes clear from the illustrative story of *rishi* and the dog just narrated. **A dog should not be treated beyond what it deserves and wrongly elevated to unworthy high positions. If you do that it will only result in being irresponsible.** (Shl 3) Only person who are of the same *jaati*, who are endowed with good qualities, who are dedicated to performing *karmas* of their *varna* should be appointed as ministers. **Whoever he may be, he should not be appointed to positions not suited for them.** (Shl 4) **That king who assigns responsibilities according to their capability will enjoy very good fruits of service from them.** (Shl 5) A *sharabha* should be in place for *sharabha*. A mighty lion should be in its place. A tiger should be in its place. A cheetah should be in a place deserved by cheetah. (Shl 7) The foolish king who appoints persons without considering their abilities or contrary to their abilities will not be able to please the citizens. (Shl 8) A king who

desires quality servants should not have fools, mean people, dim-witted, not *jitendryas* and those born in wicked families.

(Shl 9) King should appoint for his immediate support (*parshva-varti*: those who will be by his side) *sadhus*, born of noble family, courageous, knowledgeable, not jealous, not mean, sacred and efficient persons. (Shl 10) Those who are polite, dedicated to task, calm, clever, naturally endowed with good qualities are well suited as outside associates/servants. (Shl 11) **By the side of a lion, another lion only accompany it. If some other animal is beside the lion, it will also get the same respect as the lion.** (Shl 12) But that lion which is surrounded by dogs but interested in acts and fruits befitting a lion, will not be able to enjoy it. **Similarly a king surrounded by mean persons, even though himself great will not enjoy the fruits of greatness.** (Shl 14) Do not have servants who are not learned, who are not straight-forward, who are fools and who are pauper. Do not accumulate such people as servants.

(Shl 15) Servants who are dedicated to the tasks of the master work for it rapidly and directly like an arrow shot from the bow. The king should talk consolingly and patiently with them and should encourage those who are dedicated to executing his works....**(Shanti parva; Rajadharmanushasana; 119)**

- Narada's questions to Yudhishtira: (Shl 43) **When distributing works to officials are you assigning superior, medium & inferior tasks to persons of corresponding abilities? (Sabha; Lokapalasabhakhyana; 5)**
- Bhishma: (Shl 21) If hot iron is dipped in water, it regains its hardness. Similarly even if a wise man is as intelligent as Brishaspati, if he talks lowly language, it should be understood as his nature. (Shl 23) A king should appoint for his projects those who know how to accomplish tasks, are scholars and are brave. He must also have other stronger persons. (Shl 24) **He should appoint servants at positions suited for them and should ensure that others obey them just as well tuned strings of a musical instruments the obey the swaras (notes). (Shanti parva; Rajadharmanushasana; 120)**
- Dhritarashtra to Yudhishtira: Servants should be appointed after first carefully examining their works. Once appointed, whether fit or unfit you must get work done by them. Your commander-in-chief should always be of firm resolves. He should be capable of withstanding difficulties and should be quite loyal to the master. You should appoint only such person as your army chief. **(Ashramavasika parva; Ashramavasa; 5)**
- Maharshi Vyasa to Yudhishtira: (Shl 18) In matters of dharma, he should appoint only those who have studied all *shastras*. **(Shanti; Rajadharmanushasana; 24)**

Types of people needed

- Narada's questions to Yudhishtira: (Shl 40) Have you honoured & have in your service a *purohit* who is accomplished in both learning & modesty, is of a noble descent, has no jealousy towards others and is adept at discussing the meaning of *shastras*. (Shl 41-42) Is a *purohit* who is well versed in *shruti* & *smriti* and is not of a crooked mind advising you on which *shantihoma* should be performed when? **Do you have an expert astrologer who is capable of predicting environmental calamities? (Sabha; Lokapalasabhakhyana; 5)**
- Narada's questions to Yudhishtira: (Shl 47) Have you appointed a commander-in-chief for the army who is satisfied in respect of money & honour, is valorous, is intelligent, is capable of withstanding hard times, is pure, is of noble descent, is efficient and is quite loyal only to you? (Shl 48) Are you properly honouring commanders who fight the enemy without any crooked approaches & come back victorious? **(Sabha; Lokapalasabhakhyana; 5)**

How to treat them

- Dhritarashtra to Yudhishtira: Just as a person who gets work done by oxen and donkeys takes good care of them, you should take responsibility for the care of all those who work for you. **(Ashramavasika parva; Ashramavasa; 5)**

- Narada's questions to Yudhishtira: (Shl 53) **Does an official who shows exemplary courage & valour in critical times get rewarded by you with special prizes and increased wages?** (Shl 54) Have you made those with high learning, modesty and special knowledge to be on your side by giving them appropriate money & *daan*. (**Sabha; Lokapalasabhakhyana; 5**)
- Narada's questions to Yudhishtira: (Shl 93) Either out of greed or illusions, trust or love, or for any other reason, I hope you are not restricting the livelihood of those who are under your refuge? (**Sabha; Lokapalasabhakhyana; 5**)
- Bhishma to Yudhishtira: (Shl 25) **They should be rewarded with wealth. All such assistants should be provided with the same comforts as the king. The king should be higher than the assistants in only two respects: having the white umbrella and issuing orders.** (Shl 26) **The behaviour of the king with the assistants should be same whether within their sight or out of their sight.** If king is like this he will not face any grief. (**Shanti; Rajadharmanushasana; 57**)

Loyalty/Trust matters

- Narada's questions to Yudhishtira: (Shl 96) Are the kings who are under your control loyal to you? Are the kings under your control & whom you have rewarded ready to give their life for you? (**Sabha; Lokapalasabhakhyana; 5**)
- *Maharshi Vyasa* to Yudhishtira: (Shl 18) **Even if a person has very good qualities, king should not repose full trust only in him.** (**Shanti; Rajadharmanushasana; 24**)

About ministers

Their importance

- Kalakavrikshiya to Videha *raja*: A king without ministers cannot rule for even three days. The minister should be brave and intelligent. Both this world and the other world are gained by might and intelligence. Accomplishing both worldly and other worldly gains is the benefit of a kingdom. (**Shanti; Rajadharmanushasana; 106**)
- Narada's questions to Yudhishtira: (Shl 37) Even if there is one minister who is clever, *jitendriya* & has very good discriminative powers, he will be able to bring victory to the king or prince. Therefore you should employ such a minister. (**Sabha; Lokapalasabhakhyana; 5**)

Prime minister

- Bhishma: (Shl 21) Let that person who is handsome, has attractive colour, has soft voice, is forgiving, has no jealousy, is born of a noble lineage (*satkula-prasoota*) and is possessed of good character be your **Prime Minister**. (Shl 22, 23) Appoint that person, whether he is a *ritwija* or an *acharya* or a friend whom you appreciate very much as your minister who is intelligent, has good memory powers, **who is efficient in both doing work and getting it done**, kind by nature and can view both praise and humiliation equally. Arrange for him to live with you in the palace. He should always be respected.

(Shl 24) The prime Minister should know even your deepest secrets. Secret matters should be consulted with him. He should know your country's *Prakriti* of *artha-dharma*. **You must trust your Prime minister just as you trust your father.** (Commentary: *Prakriti* is of three types: *artha-prakriti*, *dharma-prakriti* and *artha-dharma Prakriti*. *Artha-prakriti* consists of agriculture, trade, fort, dams, place where elephants are captured in the forest, metal mines, taxes and *shoonya-sthana*—these are resources which lead to generation of *artha*. *Dharma-prakriti* consists of: fort-in-charge, *baladhyasdha*, dharma-in-charge, Commander-in-chief, *purohit*, doctor and astrologer. The rest are called *artha-dharma prakriti*. A minister supervises all these).

(Shl 26, 27) **Let that person who gives prominence to fame, lives within boundaries of *neeti* & *dharma*, who does not hate others who have capability in administration, who does not take up wasted and harmful actions, who does not give up dharma due to *kaama*, *krodha*, fear or greed, who is efficient and speaks less become your Prime Minister.** (**Shanti parva; Rajadharmanushasana; 80**)

Qualities of a minister

- Bhishma: (Shl 28, 29) Appoint as **ministers** those born in noble lineage, who have excellent character, are forgiving, do not indulge in self-praise, are courageous, eminent, scholars and are skilled in determining what is duty and what is not. Appointed by you, receiving good salary and well respected, they will be your great associates. **(Shanti parva; Rajadharmanushasana; 80)**
- Bhishma: (Shl 28) **Not having a firm resolve is indeed a defect in a minister.** Such a person even if he is intelligent, learned in *shastras* and knows the four techniques (*sama, dana, bheda, danda*), will not be able to complete a task even if given a long time. **(Shanti; Rajadharmanushasana; 83)**
 - Fox to tiger: (Shl 22) A king cannot rule a large country without the assistance of a minister. Even if you get a wicked minister who is selfish you cannot rule through him. (Shl 23) You must worship a minister, just as you would an *acharya* or fore-fathers, who is attached to you, knows *raja-neeti* very well, is rich in virtuous qualities, is neutral to both your supporters and opposition, desires your victory, is without greed, is devoid of deceit, is wise, is always interested in the benefits to the king and is a *jitendriya*. **(Shanti parva; Rajadharmanushasana; 111)**
 - Bhishma said: (Shl 17) That king whose ministers are born of noble lineage, who do not separate from the king due to greed, who live with the king, who give suitable & timely advice, are virtuous, who are skilled in knowing with whom to have relations and with whom not to, who can act knowing what will happen as consequence, who are experts in assessing the 'time' (*kaal-jnana*) and who do not repent for what has already happened in the past will enjoy the fruits of kingdom. **(Shanti parva; Rajadharmanushasana; 115)**
 - Bhishma said: (Shl 31) That king who appoints ministers who are devoid of virtuous deeds, who do not know justice and who do not know the means to accomplish *raja-karya* is indeed a eunuch *kshatriya*. **(Shanti parva; Aapadharma; 142)**
 - Dhritarashtra to Yudhishtira: For all works appoint ministers who are pure hearted, work without cheating, who are working from the time of fore-fathers, who are *jitendriyas*, who have holy karmas and are virtuous. **(Ashramavasika parva; Ashramavasa; 5)**
 - Narada's questions to Yudhishtira: (Shl 27) **While selecting ministers, they should be examined closely. The following qualities make persons eligible to be considered as ministers: Those with clean practices, from noble descent, extraordinary purity of mind, have similar nature as you (*atmasamana*), aged, experts in teaching *rajaneeti* and loyal to the king.** Have you appointed such persons after due examination as your ministers? Success of king is rooted in ministers, that is, dependent on them. (Shl 28) The kingdom is safe only due to ministers who are knowledgeable in *shastras* & maintain secrecy of consultations. A kingdom having ministers with discriminative thinking powers will be free from enemies. Is your kingdom safe in this manner? **(Sabha; Lokapalasabhakhyana; 5)**
 - Narada's questions to Yudhishtira: (Shl 44) Are you appointing best ministers who are honest, are associated from the times of forefathers, who are known for their learning, modesty, *jitendriyatva* in superior/important tasks? Are the ministers governing as per your directives? **(Sabha; Lokapalasabhakhyana; 5)**
 - Hanuman to Bhima: (Shl 38) A king should rule the country by periodically consulting ministers who are intelligent, *satpurusha* (a worthy, wise man), expert in *neeti-shastra* and aged (experienced?) and by following the *danda-neeti*. **(Vana; Tirthayatra; 150)**

Consulting with ministers

Bhishma:Yudhishtira! Therefore a king who desires success and fame should appoint a person who has all the good qualities described earlier, who understands the nature of citizens, is respected by them and is ambitious. **Such ministers should be at least three in number.**

(Shl 53) The king should first gather the suggestions and feedback of all three ministers separately, then he should himself think about the matter, then he should consolidate own decision along with the three suggestions and then present it/discuss with *acharya or purohit*. (Shl 54) The king should approach with patient & calm attitude a *brahmana-guru* who is an expert in *dharma-artha-kaama* and question him with the intention of finding an answer. If the opinion of the guru is matching with the other four opinions, the idea or project arrived at after consultations and thinking should be executed immediately. (Shl 55) It is said by experts in the science of consultations that all important matters should be carried out in this manner. Only such matters which are related to the welfare of citizens and attracts the citizens should be chosen for such consultations and once decision is reached, it must be implemented immediately. **(Shanti; Rajadharmanushasana; 83)**

- Dhritarashtra to Yudhishtira: You must appoint as ministers those who are highly learned, humble, of good family, experts in *dharma & artha* and honest brahmanas. You should be having regular consultations with them. But you should not do so with too many people. You should not also consult for too long. Such consultations should be done with individual ministers or with all of them in special rooms enclosed from all sides or in open fields. It can also be done in forest which does not have thorny plants & grass. But in such places consultations should never be done at nights. Monkeys, birds, fools and the lame should not be brought to places of consultation. **It is my opinion that it is impossible to rectify harm done by leaking of secret consultations.** Therefore you should explain repeatedly to them the dangers of leaking discussions and the benefits of maintaining secrecy. **(Ashramavasika parva; Ashramavasa; 5)**
- Narada's questions to Yudhishtira: (Shl 24) **Are you careful that your consultations are not leaked by your ministers or yourself?** I hope the secrets of your consultations are not being penetrated by spies of enemies who behave expertly such that there is no suspicion on them? **(Sabha; Lokapalabhakhyana; 5)**

What the king should watch out for

- This *is from* a story of a cruel king who after death is reborn as a fox.

After listening to Gomayu the fox, the tiger agreed to its conditions and made him his minister. ..The fox did very good work and was giving very useful advice to the tiger. It earned the praise of the tiger. This was not tolerated by the existing servants of the tiger. They started hating the fox unitedly. They were acting as friends of the fox but were scheming to make him also as guilty as them. Before the fox became the minister, they were all leading a different kind of life. They were snatching things belonging to others. After Gomayu became the minister they were just not able to do it. It was their desire that the fox should also deviate from the path of *nyaya*. They were trying to influence the mind of the tiger in several ways. They were trying to attract the fox with plenty of money. But the wise fox did not fall a prey to their attempts and firmed up its mind with courage. The earlier ministers of tiger took an oath that they will somehow destroy the fox.

Mother of tiger to the king tiger: (Shl 70) If the king punishes a person who has been accused due to other's jealousy and false allegations, he will be destroyed accompanied by his wicked ministers. **(Shanti parva; Rajadharmanushasana; 111)**

Council of ministers

- Bhishma replied: (Shl 5) You are right. **It is impossible to find a single person having all the great qualities.** I will tell you what type of ministers you should have.

(Shl 7-11) You must constitute a greater council of ministers consisting of 37 persons of following types: 4 brahmanas who are talented, have internal purity and are scholars; 8 *kshatriyas* who are mighty and are armed with weapons; 21 rich *vysyas*; 3 humble and polite *shudras*; and 1 *sootha* (here it means a *sootha-pauranika*) who has eight qualities (Commentary: capable of caring, listening to what is told, grasping what he hears, remembering it, guessing the consequence of an action, thinking what to do next if a work does not succeed, knowing architecture etc sciences, knowing philosophy) and knows *puranas* very well.

Age of *sootha* should not be less than 50. He should be talented. Should not be one who finds fault in others. Should have good knowledge of *shruti-smriti*. Should be humble. Should treat all

equally. **Should have the ability to pacify two opposing/arguing parties in respect of any work.** Should stay away from seven types of horrible addictions. **The king should discuss secret matters within a sub-council of eight members formed by the sootha, four brahmanas and three shudras.** (Shl 12) Resolutions accepted by this council should be widely announced in the country. The advantage of these decisions should be conveyed/explained to the king's brother-in-law and other high level officials. With these practices the king should always care for the citizens. **(Shanti; Rajadharmanushasana; 85)**

Consulting/Seeking opinion

- Yudhishtira wanted to perform *Rajasuya yaaga*...He called a meeting of ministers & his citizens to know their opinion. He greeted those who came, was honoured by them and after they were all seated quietly, he told them about his intent. After extensive discussions with all of them, and with their full support he decided to conduct the *Rajasuya yaga*. **(Sabha; Sabhakriya; 13)**
- Hanuman to Bhima: (Shl 43) Consultations with ministers is the basis for the *neetis* to be followed by king in respect of: citizens, enemies and officials of the country. *Neetis* should be formulated only after detailed consultations with *neeti-shaastrajnas*. The spies should be aware of the techniques of governance. All actions can succeed by proper consultations. At such time he should consult brahmanas who are experts in *neeti-shaashtra* and achieve success in intended tasks. (Shl 44) Secret matters should certainly not be discussed with women, person with no intelligence, a boy (immature), a miser, a crooked/silly minded person and an intoxicated person. (Shl 45) Consultations should be done with scholars. The decisions made in such consultations should be implemented through capable officials who have allegiance to dharma. King should consult personal matters with close friends. Whether matters of State or personal matters, they should never be discussed with fools. **(Vana; Tirthayatra; 150)**

Spies & Spying

Qualities of spies

- Karna: We should again send our expert spies. They should be capable of cheating, be efficient & very clever in the art of spying. They should camouflage themselves in different dresses & check all the places.
Dushasana adds: In addition, they should be completely trustworthy. They should be in agreement with our policies & practices. This is a very important criterion. Moreover, we should exercise care that wherever they go, they should not be lured by money and deviate from assigned task. Therefore we should pay them as much money as they want in advance before they leave from here. Further they should be enticed with much more rewards if they succeed. **(Virata; Goharana; 26)**
- Bhishma: (Shl 8) After thoroughly examining the nature, practices, *kula*, lineage etc, only wise and intelligent should be selected as spies. Spies should generally show themselves as if idiots, blind, deaf etc. **They should be capable of withstanding hunger and thirst. (Shanti parva; Rajadharmanushasana; 69)**

Types of spies

- Bhishma to Yudhishtira: (Shl 5-12) **A king should have trusted spies both of the secret (not known to others) and known types. Meaning, the unrecognised type should be deployed in own country and the known type in foreign countries. (Perhaps like today's envoys and attaches at foreign embassy who may be involved in spying).** **(Shanti; Rajadharmanushasana; 58)**

Function/Use of spies

- Bhishma describing Brahma's *Neeti Shashtra*: (Shl 68) **A king should constantly observe through his spies all the things being done in the kingdom, directly or indirectly, openly or secretly by the officials** (the translation refers to judicial officials). This is also stated in this *neeti-shashtra*. **(Shanti parva; Rajadharmanushasana; 59)**

- Dhritarashtra to Yudhishtira: You should handover the affairs of the kingdom to those who are close to you, who are contented and are well-wishers. Still, through spies you must continuously keep an eye on the works done by them. **(Ashramavasika parva; Ashramavasa; 5)**
- Narada's questions to Yudhishtira: (Shl 38) Have you arranged to know about the 18 *tirthas* of enemies from multiple groups of three spies who do not know each other? (These 18 are: Minister, purohit, crown prince, head of army, guards of palace doors, the messenger/protector of *antahpura*, officer of the prison, officer who collects taxes, officer-in-charge of finances, supervisor of guards on duty, head of the town (like mayor), architect/sculptor, head of dharma, head of assemblies, one who administers punishments, defender of fort, defender of the boundaries of the kingdom, officer-in-charge of forests). (Shl 39) Movements of enemies should be monitored through spies at every moment. But the enemies should not come to know that you are monitoring & in the know of their movements. Are you doing so? **(Sabha; Lokapalasabhakhyana; 5)**
- Bhishma: (Shl 9) There is no such rule as to where the spies should be placed and where they should not be. **A king dedicated to governing the country should have spies even on ministers. A king will have many kinds of friends. He should spy on these friends also.** (These days it politics it would become a scam called 'snooping'!!) He should also appoint spies on his children. He should watch that they do not take to wicked ways. (Shl 10) Spies should be deployed in towns and countries over the subordinate kings. They should be deployed such that one spy does not know the other. (Shl 11, 12, 13) Using his own spies the king should search carefully and uncover the spies sent by enemies in such places as shops, recreation centres, social festivals, in the group of beggars or *sanyasis*, in gardens and farms, **in conferences of scholars (prevalent even today!)**, in different provinces, at junction of four streets, among assembly of people and in *dharma-shalas* (facility for free boarding & lodging which was quite common till recently in India and exists even now in many places). By exposing the enemy's spies and getting information about the enemy from them in advance it brings benefit to the king and his citizens.
(Shl 52) In order to collect the opinion/feedback of citizens, the king should deploy a person of pure *varna* (without *varna-sankara*; not of mixed *varna*) as spies at **intersection of four roads**, in pilgrim centres, in assemblies and in *dharma-shalas*. **(Shanti parva; Rajadharmanushasana; 69)**
- Bhishma: (Shl 15) The king should send trusted spies all over the kingdom to find out whether people are appreciating or not appreciating the works undertaken by him till the previous day. **(Shanti; Rajadharmanushasana; 89)**
- Bhishma: (Shl 32) Just as the rising Sun sees the whole world with his rays, the king should get to know about all parts of his kingdom everyday through his spies. Also he should use his own intelligence to review the situation in the kingdom and make decisions. **(Shanti parva; Rajadharmanushasana; 120)**

Characteristics of soldiers

- Dhritarashtra to Sanjaya wondering why their army is getting decimated: (Shl 3) Our soldiers are not very aged, not boys, not thin, not fat. They have good agility, are healthy and strong. All have all the needed weapons and equipment for fighting.....Before bringing them to the battlefield they have all been tested in various ways by making them ride horses, elephants, chariots etc and checking their skill & competence in handling these. Their wages have been fixed according to their competence after such testing. We have not recruited/admitted anyone in the army from any specific group or just because he had helped us in some way or we were obliged to him in some way or that he is our relative or due to the pressure brought by a friend etc. We have recruited them only after due testing and without any obligation and only based on merit. We have not recruited/admitted those who are not *kulina* (of noble descent). All the warriors in our army are rich enough and have good character. The relatives of our soldiers are also quite happy. We have helped them all in various ways. Our soldiers are all successful & have a sense of honour. Many good & important persons who are our own people are providing all the care & comforts for them and they have seen the loyalty, ability and interactions of these soldiers. All this is well known. **(Bhishma; Bhishmavadha; 76)**

Qualities for certain other jobs

- Bhishma: (Shl 26) **Whatever be the situation, the king should not kill a king's messenger.** (Shl 27) If a king dedicated to *kshatra-dharma* kills a messenger who has come just to convey word for word the message of his master, he will acquire same sins as killing a foetus. (Shl 27) A *raja-doota* (king's messenger) should be of good birth, have good character, should be an orator, efficient, sweet spoken, should tell only what his master has sent him to say and should have good memory.

(Shl 29) The *pratihari* who **guards the main door** of palace should also have similar seven qualities. The **personal body guard** of king should also have the same qualities.

(Shl 30, 31) A person who is expert in *dharma-shastra*, intelligent, courageous, is modest and can guard royal secrets should become **sandhi-vigrahi** (like foreign affairs). A **minister** who is born in noble family, courageous and pure in heart is considered a great minister. The **commander-in-chief** should also be of same qualities. (Shl 32) In addition the commander-in-chief must be an expert in *vyuha* (army formations), *yantra* (machines used in battle), and weapons. He should be capable of withstanding rain, wind, heat (Sun) and cold. He should be able to find out the defects and weaknesses of the enemy. **(Shanti; Rajadharmanushasana; 85)**

Assignment of responsibilities & tasks

- Bhishma: (Shl 25) **Only one person should be assigned to a task. Not two or three. If many are assigned to the same task, differences of opinion will arise among them. The work will not get done. It is the nature of human beings to have different opinions in the same matter.** (Shl 30) If they are assigned responsibility for tasks suited to them, they will complete it successfully. Further, in future also they will take part in even greater tasks and help the king to prosper. (Shl 31) These officials will be working with a spirit of competition. They will exchange ideas among themselves and will constantly endeavour to accomplish the goals set by the king. **(Shanti parva; Rajadharmanushasana; 80)**
- Bhishma: (Shl 19) The king should gather all information from inside and outside of the city and villages through his spies and on that basis initiate works that benefit both city-dwellers and village residents. (Shl 20) The following responsibilities should be held by the king personally and should not be delegated: Meeting and talking to the spies, consultation with ministers on secret matters, overseeing of the treasury and punishing the culprits. Because, all works are primarily rooted in *chara-mantra-kosh-danda*. (Shl 21) He should all the time find out from spies what the friends, neutrals and enemies are planning in cities and villages. (Shl 22) After finding this out, the corresponding actions should be done with patience. Works being done by friends should be supported. If enemies are acting against they should be immediately suppressed. Ensure that the neutrals remain neutrals. A king should always reward his servants and suppress the enemies. **(Shanti; Rajadharmanushasana; 86)**
- Bhishma: (Shl 27) The king should arrange for several skilled people to do activities like agriculture, trade and such things. (Shl 28) If people who are engaged in these activities are troubled by thieves and rogues, the king who does not provide protection for them will be blamed. **(Shanti; Rajadharmanushasana; 88)**
- Narada's questions to Yudhishtira: (Shl 80) **Are the important organisations being supervised by trusted gentleman?** (Commentators: Agriculture, trade, animal husbandry & financial transactions are the four key components implied here) If these flourish without any obstacles your kingdom will prosper & people will be happy. **(Sabha; Lokapalasabhakhyana; 5)**
- Hanuman to Bhima: (Shl 46) people who are *dharmic* and who know *dharma-shastra* should be appointed for works related to dharma. In matters of *artha* (resources, finances) only such experts should be appointed. For the protection of women in *antahpura* only eunuchs should be appointed. For undertaking cruel deeds, only cruel hearted should be appointed. **(Vana; Tirthayatra; 150)**

Portfolios assigned by Yudhishtira

- Yudhishtira after being throned as the monarch assigns different portfolios:

He nominated **Bhimasena** as the *Yuvaraja* (crown-prince).

Yudhishtira who had a lot of affection of **Vidura** appointed him for: giving confidential suggestions in respect of *raja-karya* & to take appropriate decisions, to consult in six types of matters related to ruling the kingdom viz *sandhi, vighraha, yaana, asana, dvaidhi-bhava and samashraya*.

He appointed aged **Sanjaya** of many good qualities: to know about which works have been undertaken with regard to progress of the country, which works have not happened, why they have not happened, and to think about and suggest the budget for the country.

Nakula was appointed: to know the strength of the military (*chaturanga-bala*), to suggest what size it should be, for distribution of wages and salaries and to regularly supervise and monitor works done by labourers through officials.

Arjuna was appointed: to attack enemy countries when time is ripe and to suppress the wicked who trouble the citizens.

Purohit **Dhaumya** was appointed to: regularly organise works & activities related to brahmanas & devatas and other dharmic activities.

Sahadeva was appointed to: remain near him at all times and to protect him at all times.

After having allotted these main portfolios, he assigned various **other responsibilities to many others** whom he thought fit for those jobs.

Then he said to Vidura, Sanjaya and Yuyutsu, "(Shl 18) It will be the main duty of all of you to be alert and do whatever works our father Dhritarashtra desires. **It will also be your responsibility to find out which works the town and village residents need and complete them individually after obtaining permission of the king.**" (Shanti; Rajadharmanushasana; 41)

Hierarchical Administrative structure

- Yudhishtira questioned: I want to know all about the defence and development of the country. Please tell me. Bhishma replied.

Bhishma: (Shl 3) Each village should have a head (*adhipati*). Every ten villages as a unit should have another head. Two sets of 10 villages (=20 villages) should have another head. A set of 100 villages should have another head. Group of 1000 villages should have yet another head. (This also indicates the village intensive system in India at that time also as it is today. There are about 638,000 villages in India now. It is said USA has 3700 villages) (Shl 4, 5) The village head should communicate all matters and crimes to the next level (10 head). The 10 village head should consolidate and report to 20 village head. This hierarchical consolidation and reporting continues upto 1000 village head. The 1000 village head should consolidate all planning works, income and losses, good and bad deeds and report to the King.

(Shl 6) The village head (*gramika*) should store the grains and taxes collected in the village with him. Out of that he should use a specified portion, and the rest should be used for the nourishment and support of the 10 village head. This same system continues upto the king as per defined hierarchy. (Shl 7) A 100 village head who is rewarded by the king and heads a group of villages which has higher density of population and plentiful grains becomes eligible to keep all the collections from one large village. **In this manner prosperous kingdom should be governed & protected subject to the control of many people.** (Shl 8) A capable 1000 village head becomes eligible to retain the income from a *shakha-nagara* (smaller city). He can enjoy the all the income from that *shakha-nagara* as he pleases. But he should do so after bringing it to the notice of the king or specified relative of the king.

(Shl 9) **A minister who has knowledge of dharma and who is not slothful should supervise and monitor the actions these village heads have to do during war-time and the development works in the villages.**

(Shl 10) For every city there should be an Officer (*sarvartha-chintak*) who thinks about its overall prosperity & development. That officer should be in a high position above all other officers (perhaps like a mayor!) just as a planet shines brighter than all stars around it. He should have close contact with all members of the council (*sabhasad*) and should review their works. (Shl 12) The works undertaken by the members of the council and their attitudes should be found out by spies and reported to this high officer. **Some of the officials assigned for protection duty will generally be of cruel temperament. These persons like to do sinful deeds, are interested in**

snatching others property and are cheats. The *sarvartha-chintak* should protect people from such officials. (Shanti parva; Rajadharmanushasana; 87)

System of justice & Punishments

Principles & Basis

- Uthathya, the son of Angirasa to Maandhata, the son of Yuvanashwa: **A king should not falsely accuse anyone without proper investigations. The cry of such people which comes from their agony results in tear drops. Such tear drops of the innocent will destroy the children and cattle of the unjust accuser.** (Shanti; Rajadharmanushasana; 91)
- Uthathya, the son of Angirasa to Maandhata, the son of Yuvanashwa: (Shl 28) *Satpurushas* believe that *kali* has taken possession of the king in that country where sinners roam fearlessly and openly. When the king punishes the wicked and protects the virtuous, then that country will prosper well. (Shanti; Rajadharmanushasana; 91)
- Uthathya, the son of Angirasa to Maandhata, the son of Yuvanashwa: (Shl 42) Maandhata! By punishing the wicked the king becomes the god of death for them. By protecting the virtuous he becomes Parameshwara for them. A king will be able to rule as long he has his *indriyas* under control. When he becomes a slave to his *indriyas* he will have a fall. (Shanti; Rajadharmanushasana; 91)
- Bhishma said: (Shl 22) That king in whose kingdom for obtaining fruits according to karma, system of justice propounded by Shankhalikhita *muni* is being followed will enjoy the fruits of kingdom. (Is such a work traced and available now?!) (Shanti parva; Rajadharmanushasana; 115)
- Bhishma to Yudhishtira: (Shl 47) Yudhishtira! **For any reason and at any time you should not lose courage.** For one who punishes the offenders in time and is brave, there will be no fear. (Shanti; Rajadharmanushasana; 56)
- Bhishma: (Shl 27) Citizens should be looked after just as own children. There is no doubt in this matter. But when it comes to official/formal matters, he should not be partial out of affection or friendship. (Shl 28) The king should appoint very learned scholars to listen to the 'for and against' arguments in matters relating to justice. Good kingdom rests on delivering pure and just decisions. (Shanti parva; Rajadharmanushasana; 69)
- *Loka-palakas* to Manu when handing over the divine sword to him: (Shl 70, 71) **Those who violate the limits set by dharma for the sake of pleasures of this gross body and the subtle mind, should be punished justly and separately for each of the offences.** All animals should be protected in accordance with dharma. You should never act as arbitrarily in regard to anyone. Punishing with harsh words is called *vagdanda*. Punishing by taking gold coins from him is *artha-danda*. Cutting off any body part is called *kaaya-danda*. Killing the person due to a major offence is called *prana-danda*. All these four are forms of the invincible sword. (Shanti parva; Aapadharma; 166)
- Narada's questions to Yudhishtira: (Shl 45-46) **I hope your officials are not handing out cruel punishments to citizens & thereby angering them.** Harassed citizens reject the king just as *yajakas* reject a fallen *yajamana* and virtuous women reject a lustful, transgressing man. I hope you have not become subject of such a rejection. (Sabha; Lokapalasabhakhyana; 5)
- Narada's questions to Yudhishtira: (Shl 89) Like god Yama who treats all equally, you should behave justly with those worthy of punishment & worthy of honours. **When judging a legal case, whether the defendant & accuser are liked by you or not, you must analyse fully and deliver impartial judgment.** Are you doing so? (Shl 92) I hope you are not disposing off, coloured by greed, attachment or ego, the defender & accuser who come to you, without carefully

studying the reasons for their complaints and delivering justice. (**Sabha; Lokapalasabhakhyana; 5**)

- Bhishma to Yudhishtira: Offenders should be given physical or financial punishments (such as fines) in a timely manner. (**Shanti; Rajadharmanushasana; 58**)

Violence & non-violence in punishments

- Yudhishtira questioned: (Shl 1) Grandfather! How should a king protect his people without punishing any one? Tell me about this in detail.

Bhishma said: Yudhishtira! On this topic scholars quote an old historic conversation that happened between king Dyumatsena and his son Satyavanta. I will tell you the same.

In the kingdom of Dyumatsena when convicted offenders were being taken to the gallows, Satyavanta saw it and said to his father Dyumatsena:

Confusion about dharma & adharma

- (Shl 4) Father! In matters of administration of kingdom sometimes dharma takes the form of adharma. Similarly adharma looks like dharma. If killing is considered as dharma, then dharma (which involves violence to life) becomes adharma. Adharma (violence to life) becomes dharma. Therefore this execution of robbers is not correct.

Dyumatsena said: (Shl 5) Satyavanta! If not executing the guilty is dharma, then what is *adharma*? It will never be there. If robbers and thieves are not executed, *sankara* (*varna-sankara* and *dharma-sankara*: Mix up of right & wrong values & *varnas*) will increase among people. (Shl 6) When Kali-yuga starts, people will snatch others property in the presence of all saying, 'This is mine, not his'. If such crimes are allowed and robbers not executed, the affairs of the world will not run smoothly. If you know any way other than executing the robbers, tell me about it.

Discussion on capital punishment

- Satyavanta said: (Shl 7) Father! The three *varnas* viz *kshatriya*, *vysya* & *shudras* should be brought under control of brahmanas. When all these people start following the brahmanas and are bound by the dharma based conduct of brahmanas, they will also start practicing dharma without defects. (Shl 8) If any of them commit an offence, the brahmana should go the king immediately and complain that such and such a person did not follow my preaching. Only then should the king award punishment. (Shl 9) **Even when awarding punishment it should be such that the *pancha-bhutas* are not separated** (avoid killing). **Punishment should not be given without studying *neeti-shastra* thoroughly and properly investigating the actions of the offender.** (Shl 10) A king executes robbers. Similarly he executes many innocents without investigating properly. As a result, the wife, mother, father, son etc of the offender lose all options for living and die. Therefore a king who has been hurt by others should think carefully before punishing. (Shl 11) **Even if wicked, sometimes due to the company of virtuous persons he may change and develop good character. Good children are born even to wicked persons.** (Shl 12) Therefore by awarding capital punishment we should not eliminate the entire family of the wicked. Doing so is not *sanatana-dharma*. Limited punishment (cutting off a limb etc) in accordance with the offence has been prescribed as a form of repentance.

Progressively increasing punishment

- (Shl 13, 14, 15) The first time offender should be warned that if he commits a second offence all his wealth will be confiscated. If he again commits an offence he should be imprisoned for a limited period. If he repeats, one of his organs should be mutilated. But he should not be awarded capital punishment which results in grief to his relatives. There is a ruling of Brahma that if the offenders approach the main *purohit* in the assembly of *purohitas* and take an oath saying, 'Great brahmana! We will never do so again', they become eligible to be released. Even if a brahmana *sanyasi* commits an offence he is to be punished. (Shl 16) If a person keeps on repeating

offences he should be given severe punishment. Just as a first time offender is let off with warning, if he commits repeated offences he is not eligible to be released without strong punishments.

Dyumatsena said: (Shl 17) Child! Dharma says that wherever and whenever people can be bound within the boundaries of dharma, it should be done so. As long as dharma is not trespassed, it will survive. (Shl 18, 19) If those who trespass dharma are not punished all administrative systems of the state will be defeated. **Not punishing the wicked results in harm to the virtuous.** It was quite easy to rule the people of previous generation and even older times. Because they were all generally soft natured, had special commitment to truth, had less anger and did not commit much treachery. **Therefore in the past a mere 'dhik'** (Shame on you, reprimand) **was itself a major punishment.** As time passed, offenders did not care for mere reproach. Then punishment by words started. The officers of justice would criticise the offender severely in public. For some time people were afraid of such criticism. (Shl 20) When this started becoming less effective, *aadana-danda* started (confiscating the properties of the offenders). Over a period of time even this failed to have effect. **Then capital punishment was introduced. But even with this only one or the few who are caught can be punished. Other offenders cannot be kept under check.** (Shl 21) A robber is not loved by men or *devatas* or *gandharvas* or *pitrus*. Including *devatas* all hate them. The question of which robber is loved by which group does not arise. That he is disliked by all is the reality. (Shl 22) A robber will bring a lotus flower from the graveyard. He will loot the wealth belonging to even *devatas* with the help of *pishachas* if need be. Who will trust such foolish robbers?

Principles of punishment

- Satyavanta said: (Shl 23) Father! **If you find it impossible to protect the virtuous without killing the robbers, then for the sake of welfare of the world do kill them.** (Shl 24) Kings perform great *tapas* with the intention that the citizens should live happily. If under their rule citizens are troubled by robbers they feel ashamed and hence act accordingly. (Shl 25) People dedicate themselves to virtuous deeds only out of fear of punishment. **It is the intent or purpose of punishment to create fear and make the people stick to the path of dharma.** Good kings never just kill the offenders to satisfy their whims. **Great kings rule the citizens more by good deeds and virtuous behaviour.** (Shl 26) **Citizens imitate or follow the virtuous practices of a great king. By nature people tend to follow the practices of great persons (King).** (Shl 27) People make fun of a king who does not have his *indriyas* under control, is always engaged in satisfying pleasures of senses, but preaches others to have virtuous practices and to have control on mind. (Shl 28) If any person or robber behaves inappropriately with the king out of delusion or haughtiness he should be kept under check by all possible means. By doing so he will retract from sinful deeds. (Shl 29) **A king should first gain control on his mind if he wishes to prevent wicked deeds in his kingdom. Secondly, without forgiving he should punish even his own cousins & close relatives who have committed offence.** (Shl 30) **In that country where persons who commit heinous sins do not suffer intense grief, the sinful deeds will keep increasing and surely dharma will decay.**

Father! A kind and scholarly brahmana once told me: 'Satyavanta! My ancestors ordered me in the following manner while assuring me kindly. In Krita-yuga the king should apply the non-violent punishment and win the citizens. When Treta-yuga begins, one quarter of dharma will decline. In Dwapara-yuga only two quarters of dharma remains. In Kali-yuga only one quarter of dharma will survive. **(Shl 34)** As Kali yuga begins and progresses, **due to the wicked deeds of kings and due to the influence of time** only one sixteenth of full dharma will survive. (Shl 35) Satyavanta! At that time if only the first option of non-violent punishment is applied, *varna-sankara* will happen. The offender should be punished after due consideration of his age, his ability to withstand punishment and influence of time. (Shl 36) Swayambhu Manu has said the following to grace living beings: **If one likes the benefits of *satya-siddhi*, the great dharma of non-violence should not be given up.** (Shanti parva; Mokshadharma; 267)

Execution

- Dhritarashtra to Yudhishtira: The legal officers appointed by you should award suitable punishment according to law and after thorough examination of the quantum of punishment. Those officials who are interested in accepting bribes, have contact with women other than wife, have the habit of awarding harsh punishments, give false judgments, are interested in adventurous activities, who destroy assembly halls and recreational centres and who censure *varnashrama dharmas* should be punished either by huge fines payable in gold or by death sentence depending on the context of time and place. **(Ashramavasika parva; Ashramavasa; 5)**
- Bhishma: (Shl 19) If a person who had indeed taken money accepts so in presence of the judge, then the judge will order in how many days he should return it. At such times there is no need for witnesses and evidences. But if the person who has taken money refutes it or if the person who has not lent says he has lent money, to prove the guilty there will be need for witnesses and evidences. The judge will have to listen to both sides, examine all documents & witnesses and then pass the judgment. **But witnesses cannot be produced easily by the poor as the rich can. Or there may be transactions without witnesses. It will be the duty of king to ensure that cases of 'orphans' who have no witnesses are examined specially and justice given to them.**

(Shl 20) **Offenders should be given punishment according to their offences. If the offender is rich, he should be released by imposing fines. If he is a pauper, he should be given jail sentence.** (Shl 21) Attempt should be made to bring the wicked to the right path by beating also. The virtuous should be nourished by soothing kind words and by giving useful items. (Shl 22) Those who conspire to kill the king, who try to burn house or village, thieves and those who causes *varna-sankara* by indulging in adultery should be killed after torturing.

(Shl 23) **That king who investigates a case thoroughly, and after confirming that the person is an offender awards punishment suited to him and who is always careful about his duties will not acquire any sins by killing or arresting the offender. It will not be *adharma* to award such punishments.** Awarding appropriate punishment for the offences is *sanatana dharma*. (Shl 24) The king who is careless and without discrimination awards punishments to both innocent and guilty as he pleases will not only earn ill-fame here he will also go to *naraka*. (Shl 25) **A person should not be punished by merely listening to what someone has said. Only after proper examining along with evidences and witnesses, if it is found that he is guilty he should be jailed. If it is found that he is not guilty, he should be freed.** (Shanti; Rajadharmanushasana; 85)
- Bhishma to Yudhistira: (Shl 6) If the king brings wealth from an offender, the king should not use it for personal purposes (should be used for public good). He should not even drink milk of the cow which has been impounded from an offender. It should be given to the brahmanas. If an ox is impounded from an offender, it should only be used to pull a cart in which brahmanas travel. Or he can pardon the offender and return the items to him. **(Shanti parva; Rajadharmanushasana; 96)**
- King Dhritarashtra many times ordered the release of prisoners. He was pardoning some who were subjected to death sentence. Yudhishtira never interfered in these matters. **(Ashramavasika parva; Ashramavasa; 1)**
- Dhritarashtra to Yudhishtira: Suppress from a distance through close aides those who are committing treason or bring about division in the country by finding out about them through spies. **(Ashramavasika parva; Ashramavasa; 5)**
- Narada's questions to Yudhishtira: (Shl 105) **Are you ensuring that in your kingdom foolish ministers do not hoist false allegations of thieving on pure hearted & respectable *aryas* and thus torture these innocent persons out of greed or dimwit?** (Shl 106) **Are you ensuring that your officials capture the thief red handed and then do not let him go by**

taking bribe? (Shl 107) Whether the rich or the poor approach the court as defender & accuser, are the judges delivering judgments impartially without falling prey to love of money? (**Sabha; Lokapalasabhakhyana; 5**)

- Hanuman to Bhima: (Shl 48) Those who surrender to save their lives and *satpurushas* should be protected in every possible way. Those who violate the law of the land, the wicked and those who transgress accepted rules of honourable living should be severely punished. (Shl 49) By doing this the respect for the king will increase and the society will also function systematically. (**Vana; Tirthayatra; 150**)
- Uthathya to Maandhata (Shl 24) When many officials of the king start to behave unjustly it is called '*maha-kilbish*' (very serious fault). This will result in the king acquiring sins. (Shl 25) When the pitiful cries of people pleading not to take away their emergency funds (*aapadhana*) are rejected and either the king or his officers take it away either by trickery or force or greed, it indicates the destruction of the king. (**Shanti; Rajadharmanushasana; 91**)

Strategies in respect of enemies

- Hanuman to Bhima: (Shl 41) There are four 'tools' for the king to achieve success. They are *sama-daan-bheda-danda*. Factors that help succeed in goals are: good spies, good intelligence, secret consultations, valour, destruction, compromise, capability, and awarding/rewarding. (Shl 42) **One should achieve the set goals by *saama* (gentle, conciliatory approach), *daan* (giving generously), *bheda* (breaking, divide and rule), *danda* (punishment) and indifference. To achieve success any one can be used or more than one can be used at the same time.** (Commentary: When using the method of *saama*, when speaking good words with the enemy or when holding peace talks, there is no rule that *bheda* should not be used. Normally *bheda* and *danda* may have to be used together. If by using *saama* the enemy appears to come around for the time being, it should not be assumed that he has been transformed to a friend. He might have yielded because of a temporary weakness in him and may not have become a permanent friend. He may also be waiting for right time). (**Vana; Tirthayatra; 150**)

Making compromise with others

- Bhishma: (Shl 14) A king who is readying for war, if he comes to know that his side is weaker than the enemy, should immediately consult his ministers and should make a compromise with the stronger king. (Shl 15) But such a compromise should be made cleverly and quickly before the enemy realises that he has approached for compromise due to his weak position. Even when the king is not very sure whether his position is weak, he should make the compromise quickly if he has to derive at least some advantage from the compromise. (Shl 16) While ruling the kingdom with dharma, he should also make compromise with kings who are *satpurushas*, are good natured, are very enthusiastic and who are knowledgeable about dharma. (**Shanti parva; Rajadharmanushasana; 69**)
- Narada's questions to Yudhishtira: (Shl 22) Take action after thoroughly assessing your strengths-weaknesses & enemy's strengths-weaknesses. If the enemy is stronger, make peace with him and undertake eight types of activities to strengthen the nation: (i) agriculture, (ii) trade, (iii) roads, (iv) bridges, (v) forts, (vi) capturing parrots (they eat up the grains), (vii) extracting minerals and (viii) finding & acquiring hidden treasures. (**Commentators have provided the list**). By these eight methods the king should try to build the wealth which brings victory. Are you doing so? (**Sabha; Lokapalasabhakhyana; 5**)

Handling the enemies

- Hanuman to Bhima: (Shl 40) King should act after very carefully examining who is *dushta* (Wicked) and who is *shishhta* (virtuous), and who is friend and who is enemy. **Clever spies are an important asset of the kingdom.** Through them king should find out: who are enemies, what is their internal/native tendencies, what are the natural characteristics of their kingdom, who are their friends, what are their strengths and weaknesses, which are the security sensitive places in their kingdom, are they unchanged in their behaviour, how are they progressing/prospering, and what are their deficiencies etc. (**Vana; Tirthayatra; 150**)

- Hanuman to Bhima: (Shl 47) A clever king should gauge the thinking of the enemy by the good and bad acts the enemy does. He should get to know the enemy's strengths, weaknesses and deficiencies not only from his own spies, but also he should attract the spies of the enemy by feeding their greed and collect information. **(Vana; Tirthayatra; 150)**
- Dhritarashtra to Yudhishtira: You should always get to know the moves of enemies through many spies who have been thoroughly tested and who live in their own countries. But the enemies should not get to know about you. **(Ashramavasika parva; Ashramavasa; 5)**
- Narada's questions to Yudhishtira: (Shl 25) Do you know what your friends are intending to do about you? Similarly do you know the intentions of those who are neutral & those who are enemies? Are you taking action according to your understanding of whom to make peace with, whom to fight with & when to fight? (Shl 26) Are you behaving appropriately with kings who are disinterested in you & who have 'cat on the wall' stand regarding you? **(Sabha; Lokapalasabhakhyana; 5)**
- Bhishma to Yudhishtira: Whether by straight or crooked ways, the enemy should be broken. **(Shanti; Rajadharmanushasana; 58)**
- *Maharshi* Vamadeva to king Vasumanasa: (Shl 20) **A king should not become careless after causing trouble to a mighty enemy by thinking he is far away from him. Such enemies wait for the right opportunity and when you are careless, will pounce upon you like an eagle. (Shanti parva; Rajadharmanushasana; 93)**
- Bhishma: (Shl 63) If the enemy king is wounded badly with weapons in war or is killed, enthroning a person of his own *vamsha* will clear the debt. **(Shanti parva; Rajadharmanushasana; 69)**
- Narada's questions to Yudhishtira: (Shl 56) Are you treating like a son the enemy who having been defeated in war has surrendered to you out of fear & has also become a pauper? **(Sabha; Lokapalasabhakhyana; 5)**
- Bhishma: (Shl 10) The king should have very good relationship with people in his army. The crops in enemy territories should be destroyed by having it trampled by horses and oxen. **You should go to war only after being sure that you are the stronger force.** You should examine your weaknesses carefully and correct them. (Shl 11) You should expose the weaknesses of the enemy. You should offer attractive sums of money to officials of the enemy and change their minds. Just as people collect flowers from the forest, the king should gather money in other countries. (Shl 12) You should destroy the enemy who stands tall and firm like a mountain peak. You should get under his shadow without his knowledge. You should make arrangements and preparation for war secretly and when the time is right, you should attack him. (Shl 15) After finding out the place (location) where the enemy's spies are hiding, king should either take it under his control or develop friendship with them. Once having taken control, their entire network should be destroyed. (Shl 13) You should destroy the wings of strength of enemy. Keep worthy *satpurusas* close to you. Always be active in doing worthy tasks with full freedom just as the peacock. Just as the peacock spreads its feathers, the king should increase his 'wealth' of soldiers and associates. He should acquire knowledge from all. Behave like moths (pests) in the forest in respect of enemies (Commentary: Millions of them fly and sit on trees and eat all the leaves in no time. Similarly destroy the enemy completely). **(Shanti parva; Rajadharmanushasana; 120)**
- Bhishma: (Shl 36) Even if enemy is weak, he should not be humiliated. (Shl 39) An enemy, whether a boy or a youth or an old man can destroy someone who is not always careful. A rich enemy may destroy you if supported by favourable time. **Therefore that king who knows when to do what will be a great king.** (Shl 40) An enemy who hates you, whether he is weak or mighty, will destroy your fame. He will obstruct the *dharma-karyas* you are doing. He will try to blunt your abilities to earn and increase wealth. Therefore a hard working king should never let his guard down about the enemy.

(Shl 41) A king should understand issues like loss, growth, defence and accumulation of wealth, should also understand well the mutually dependent factors of wealth and enjoyment and then the intelligent king should decide to either make a compromise or wage war against the enemy king. He should think about all these carefully and come to a decision by applying his intelligence.

(Shl 42) **A brilliant intelligence can destroy even the mighty. Shoring up of a weakening might is also achieved by intelligence. A growing enemy is also neutralised with the help of intelligence. Therefore it is very important to apply one's intelligence and then undertake tasks. (Shanti parva; Rajadharmanushasana; 120)**

- Bhishma: (Shl 49) King should send both virtuous and wicked persons to see the situation in enemy country. A wise king should destroy all growth oriented works (*sarvartham*) of the enemy. **(Shanti parva; Rajadharmanushasana; 120)**
- Narada's questions to Yudhishtira: (Shl 95) Is a weak enemy being harassed by use of might? Similarly, is a strong enemy being defeated either as a result of good consultations & actions or black-magic? An enemy should be destroyed using either of these methods. Enemy will try to kill you in vengeance. You must be careful that this does not happen. Even if enemy is weak, he should be suppressed. Even if cannot be suppressed, you should always be watchful. Are you ensuring that you have no such enemies? **(Sabha; Lokapalasabhakhyana; 5)**
- Bhishma to Yudhishtira: (Shl 16) **A king should not trust anyone totally. Even in respect of people who deserve to be trusted he should not have total trust.** Everyday he should personally examine using his own intelligence the defects in *sandhi* (making compromise with a stronger enemy), *vigraha* (continuing the enmity, if he is equal), *yaana* (declaring war on the weaker enemy), *asana* (defending and protecting oneself from a stronger enemy's attack by closing the fort etc), *dwiadi-bhava* (half the army should be sent to destroy food stock of the enemy when he attacks, and other half should be retained for defending) and *samashraya* (aligning with other kings and destroying the enemy). (Shl 17) A king who always finds out the weaknesses of the enemy will be appreciated by people. A king who knows the essence of *dharma-artha-kaama* fully, has capable spies to know the secret discussions of enemy kings, and buys up ministers and commanders of enemy king by money and other attractive offers of power will be praised by people. **(Shanti; Rajadharmanushasana; 57)**

Before attacking an enemy

- Bhishma: (Shl 54) A king should always search for several ways of defeating the enemy. He should not attempt to snatch the kingdom without a proper plan. **(Shanti parva; Rajadharmanushasana; 120)**
- Narada's questions to Yudhishtira: (Shl 62) Before deciding to wage a war on the enemy you should first exhaust the *saama*, *daan* & *bheda* approaches. Only when unsuccessful with these should a war be waged. (Shl 63) There is one more thing that must be checked before proceeding for a war. Check thoroughly if your kingdom is quite safe & secure. Only if your kingdom is safe & secure you can win the enemy kingdom & retain it. (Shl 64) Chariots, elephants, horses, soldiers, foot soldiers, workers, messengers & physical trainers—these are called the *Ashtanga* of the military. *Moulya*, *maitra*, *bhritya* & *atavika* are the four powers. The leaders of these should be very clever/smart. The strength of the enemy can be reduced only by their cleverness/smartness. (Shl 65) The enemy should be destroyed without neglecting him when his kingdom is suffering from drought or is having harvesting season. (Shl 66) After winning another kingdom, you must verify if the officers appointed by you there are taking care of administration/governance and tax collection just as in your country. **(Sabha; Lokapalasabhakhyana; 5)**
- Bhishma: (Shl 19, 20) Following points should be noted before waging war on enemy kings: Is the enemy king without friends? Is he devoid of helpers and relatives? Is he engaged in war with another enemy? Is he careless? Is he weak? After assessing all these factors, the king who has a strong army (*chaturanga-bala*), who is efficient, who is careful, and who is flush with things of comfort **should first arrange for the security of his town and then order the army to be ready for war.** (Shl 21) **Even if the king is very weak, he should not give himself up completely to the enemy. He should keep on trying to weaken the enemy by various methods and tricks.** (Shl 22) He should organise small revolts now and then and by engaging in

'guerrilla war' should keep agonising the enemy (**Seen commonly among defeated and weakened political parties!!**). He should wait for opportune time and set fire. Should poison through food and water. Should make them consume intoxicating things.

(Shl 23, 24) An intelligent king who desires larger kingdom should give up expansion through war. Then should he not desire expansion at all?—this has been addressed by Brihaspati *acharya* in three ways: (i) by *sama-daan*. By a bartering arrangement saying, 'I will give you this part, you give me that part' and collecting what the king wants. (ii) *Bheda*: by causing dispute between two friendly kings and fulfilling own goals. By causing differences between the king and his ministers and achieving the desired objective. In this manner a scholarly king should feel contented with whatever he can gain by the methods of *sama-dana-bheda*. (**Shanti parva; Rajadharmanushasana; 69**)

- Narada's questions to Yudhishtira: (Shl 58) Are you conquering the enemy kings if you come to know that they are addicted to women, gambling etc, but after duly assessing the triplet powers. (Of *mantra-kosha-bhritya shakti* or *prabhu-mantr-utsaha shakti*). (Shl 59) Are you starting your battles with enemies after assessing the right time as well as favourable time (*daivabala*) with the help of experts in *shastras*? Before starting on a victory march, have persons of good lineage & high loyalty to protect you from the back. **Wages should be paid in advance to soldiers & officers of the military**. (Shl 60) Are you secretly sending plenty of money & precious jewellery to the commanders of the enemy in accordance with their ranks? (**Sabha; Lokapalasabhakhyana; 5**)

Preparing for enemy's attack

- Bhishma: (Shl 33-38) When a mighty enemy is about to attack, the intelligent king should take refuge in the fort and protect himself. At that time in consultations with friends he should make arrangements for defending as suggested by them. Then he should think of ways of facing the enemy using *sama-dana-bheda-danda* methods. Persons who make announcements loudly should be made to stand on main streets. He should alert the people in villages by having loud public announcements made. Then all villagers must be made to enter smaller towns. **Then repeatedly re-assuring the rich people and the commanders, they should be made to enter secret and difficult to access places.**

The king should take personal interest and arrange to harvest crops which are ready for it. In case this cannot be done, the entire farmlands should be burnt so that the enemy does not get hold of the crop (of grains). **The enemy should never lay hands on grains or crops.**

(Shl 39) Bridges across rivers should be destroyed. Banks should be demolished so that enemy should not find water reservoirs. If there are wells on the route of the enemy, they should be poisoned. Even if there are important actions to be taken for a friend, they should be kept aside and by taking refuge in enemy's enemy, he should live near the enemy and destroy him as soon as opportunity arises.

(Shl 42) **Big branches of trees and small trees around the fort should be cut down so that enemy does not find any place with shelter. But Ashwattha etc sacred trees should not be cut.** Even their leaves should not be plucked.

(Shl 43) On all four sides of the fort at strategic locations structures/tents (*pragandi*) should be built from where the movements of the enemy can be observed from a distance. There should be *akasha-janani* (holes of relatively smaller size) in those structures so that weapons can be fired at the enemy through them. Moat should be dug around the fort and sharp weapons (*trishula*) facing upwards should be fixed in them. It should also be filled dangerous fish, crocodiles etc.

(Shl 44) **To enable the town to breathe, there should be smaller doors so that needed goods can be brought from outside and people can go out in emergencies.** These smaller doors should also be protected just like the main door of the fort. (Shl 45) Big machines should be set up near these doors. *Shataghnis* should be kept ready near these machines (Fire balls or rocks thrown from the machine). The king should have all these under his control. Firewood should be stocked inside the fort. Wells should be dug. Wells that were dug earlier should be cleaned and purified. **Along with digging new wells, old wells should be made usable.**

(Shl 46) At war times, thatched roofs should be covered with clay soil. In the months of *chaitra* as there can be fear of fires, dry grass should be kept far away. (Shl 48) During war time the king should instruct the people to cook only in the night. Other than *agnihotra* no other fire should be lit

during daytime. (Shl 49) In ironsmith's place and child delivery rooms, fire should be set up very carefully. Fire should be taken inside and maintained secretly. (Shl 50) Loud announcements should be made all over that there will be heavy punishments to those who burn fire in daytime. **Where there is fire, there will be smoke. This will reveal the location of strategic points in the fort of the enemy.**

(Shl 51) As soon as war starts, the king should send out the beggars, persons meant for singing the praise of king, carters, eunuchs, insane, actors and singers. **If he does not send them out, there will be danger through them. The spies of enemy will generally be in these same guises and can cause trouble to the kingdom.**

(Shl 53) King should have wide streets laid. According to need, shops and water distributing points should be constructed. (Shl 54, 55) The following should be carefully watched so that they are not seen by the enemy: granaries, storehouse of weapons, places where soldiers live, horse stables, elephant stables, army camps, moats and king's gardens. These places should be kept a secret from the enemy. (Shl 56-60) A king who is troubled by the enemy should accumulate enough money. Along with it, he should also accumulate oil, fat, honey, *ghee* (clarified butter), all kinds of medicines, coal, *darbhe* (a kind of dry grass), *munja* grass (sedge like grass), *muttuga*, arrows, colour items, grass, firewood and poison tipped arrows. In the same way he should accumulate all kinds of weapons, armours, and other essential items. All types of medicines, fruits, roots and four types of doctors who can cure effects of poisons, who tie bandages on wounds, who cure diseases & who can neutralise malevolent spells. **(Shanti parva; Rajadharmanushasana; 69)**

Managing special relationships

Paternal relatives

- Bhishma: (Shl 32) **Just as animals fear death, you should always be afraid of your *gnaatis* (Paternal cousins and relatives).** You should think that they are death. Just as subordinate kings do not tolerate the growth of the monarch, *gnaatis* also do not like the prosperity of the king. **(This is what happened in Mahabharata itself)** (Shl 33) It is only the *gnaatis* and not any others who will congratulate the destruction of a king who is simple, soft natured, generous, modest and truthful. (Shl 34) Even though there is this defect with *gnaatis*, the king will not be happy if he is completely cut-off from them. Therefore they should not be disrespected for any reason. Others and enemies trouble a king who has no *gnaatis*. (Shl 35) **When a man is cheated by others it is *gnaati* who provides refuge.** Because, a *gnaati* does not tolerate his *gnaati* being humiliated in any way. They will join together to suppress the enemy. In this way there are both advantages and disadvantages of having a *gnaati*. Therefore you should be careful about them but not develop hatred about them.

(Shl 38) A king should speak nicely with the *gnaatis*. They should be honoured and good hospitality shown to them. Do what pleases them and do not do what is unpleasant to them. (Shl 39) Even though you may not trust them you must act as if you trust them. There will also be no need to determine if they have good qualities or defects. Even enemies of that person who behaves in this manner, is careful & alert and always speaks sweetly will be pleased. They may even become his friends. Therefore those who behave in this clever manner with *gnaatis*, friends, enemies and go-betweens will live long with fame. **(Shanti parva; Rajadharmanushasana; 80)**

Managing conflicts with *gnaatis*

- Narada said to Sri Krishna: (Shl 13) **Dangers are of two types. First one is external and second is internal. These are again of two types: Self-inflicted and inflicted by others.** (Shl 14) This danger you are experiencing due to Akrura and Ahuka is internal and is self-inflicted. Because they all belong to your *vamsha*. (Shl 15) **This danger has come about due to money.** You have given away your wealth to others either by own will or fearing that others may blame you. You have established others as king. (Shl 16) Helpful Krishna! All the wealth you have given away has now taken roots firmly among your *gnaatis* & relatives. It is not possible for you to take it back just as vomited food cannot be eaten again. It is not fair also to take it back. (Shl 17) Fearing enmity between the *gnaatis* now for no reason can the kingdoms of Akrura and Ugrasena be taken back. Particularly you cannot do it. (Shl 18) As one option you can decide to take back

with a lot of difficult effort and waging a war with huge loss of lives. But that will result in huge expenses and all round large scale destruction.

Non-metallic weapon

(Shl 19) **Therefore by using a soft, non-metallic weapon which can pierce their hearts you have to wipe or clean the tongues of your *gnaatis* and remove it.** (Clean it with qualities like forgiveness, simplicity etc and interact so that they do not talk again with mutual enmity). Sri Krishna asked: (Shl 20) Respected Narada! How can I know about the non-metallic soft weapon? How can I purify the tongues with such a weapon and remove it? Please tell me in detail.

Narada replied: (Shl 21) Vasudeva! The following are non-metallic weapons: Donating food regularly according to ones abilities, forgiveness, soft nature, and doing worship & showing hospitality that the person deserves. **Metallic weapons affect the body whereas non-metallic weapons influence the mind in a virtuous way.** (Shl 22) **If *gnaatis* intend to speak to you harshly and meanly, at that time you should pacify their hardened hearts, harsh words and enraged minds with sweet and calm words.**

(Shl 23) Those who are not *mahapurushas*, who cannot keep their minds under control and who have no assistance cannot take up heavy responsibilities. You are a *mahapurusha*. You are also a *jitendriya* and have help of others. Therefore lift up this heavy weight from your heart and bear it. (Shl 24) **All oxen can bear load on level ground. But to go in difficult terrain, only a very mighty ox can bear the heavy burden.** (Shl 25) Keshava! You are the head of 'Yadava association'. The association can breakup and get destroyed due to bitter enmity. Act in such a way that this huge association which has you as the head does not break up. (Shl 26) **A group or association will not come under the control of an intelligent man unless he has intelligence, forgiveness, *indriya-nigraha* and ability to sacrifice money and luxuries.** (Shl 27) **Bringing ones own side to a state of prosperity is a fulfilling, fame-bringing and longevity increasing activity.** Krishna! Do whatever that will not cause destruction of your *gnaatis*. (Shanti parva; Rajadharmanushasana; 81)

Relationship with *tapasvis*

- (Shl 25) He should send clothes, vessels and provisions for preparing food to the *ashramas* of *rishis*. **These should be handed over to them with honour.** (Shl 26) He should report to the *tapasvis* his personal matters, national matters and actions taken for the benefit of citizens. He should always behave with humility with *tapasvis*. (Shl 27) As soon as he sees persons who have completely sacrificed selfishness, who are of noble birth, and who are very learned, he should bring them to his palace and honour and show hospitality to them by way of offering food, comfortable bed etc. (Shl 28) A king can trust the *tapasvis* in times of danger. He can confess about the danger to them and find ways to escape from it **because, thieves, rogues and robbers also have confidence in *tapasvis*.** (Shl 29) In times of emergency/danger, the king can keep his wealth with *tapasvis* for safe-guarding. He can take their suggestions. (It is generally rumoured that many politicians in India still use these approaches!!) But he should not go to them frequently. He should not honour them too much at that time (these should be done in secrecy and not in public). (Shl 30) The king should cultivate cordial relations with *tapasvis* in own country, in enemy country, in forests and in subordinate provinces. (Shl 31) He should honour them and give them whatever essential items they need. He should similarly honour and show hospitality to *tapasvis* in other countries. (Shl 32) These *tapasvis* who do harsh *tapas* and *vratas* will voluntarily provide refuge to the king if he surrenders to them in times of danger. (Shanti; Rajadharmanushasana; 86)

Caring for/relations with the citizens

- Kings succeed in care of people by *tapas*. (Vana; Aranya; 3)
- Bhishma to Yudhishtira: (Shl 44) *Maharaja!* **A king should be like a pregnant woman.** I will tell why it should be so. (Shl 45, 46) Just as a pregnant woman ignores all her personal desires and is totally interested only in the welfare of her child in the womb, in the same way a king who

follows dharma should keep aside all his personal desires and act in a way that brings welfare to the people at large. **(Shanti; Rajadharmanushasana; 56)**

- Narada's questions to Yudhishtira: (Shl 57) Are you treating all your citizens equally & without any partiality? **Do they come & share with you their happiness & difficulties without any fear, just as they would with their parents? (Sabha; Lokapalasabhakhyana; 5)**
- Janamejaya! Listen to the way your father (Parikshita), who was a *dharmatma*, *mahatma* & good ruler of his people conducted his administration. He had made arrangements such that the people of four *varnas* could carry on with their own dharmas. He was a *dharmavid* (knew *dharma*) and *dharmamurthy* (personification of *dharma*) & looked after his citizens as if they were his children, without showing any partiality or treating them unequally in any way. **(Adi; Astika; 49)**
- Bhishma to Yudhishtira: **Problems and difficulties of citizens should be examined daily.** There should be no regret in doing works in the interest of citizens' welfare. **(Shanti; Rajadharmanushasana; 58)**
- Markandeya: Yudhishtira! Kings never ignored the deserving needy. They would not humiliate them by making them come back again & again. On the other hand, they would regret that deserving needy were not coming to them. As soon as deserving persons came asking for something they would fulfil all their needs. They thought that it was inauspicious for them if the needy felt rejected or dejected. **(Vana; Markandeya Samaasya; 195)**
- Yudhishtira to Sanjaya as he bids farewell to him (**Yudhishtira sends his enquiries, prostrations, good wishes etc to each class of people & many senior individuals in Hastinapura. To many it is specific messages 'customised' to them. Extracts**): When you return to Hastinapura enquire about the well-being of all people & also tell them we are all right. ..Meet the **vysyas** and do the same.....Similarly meet and convey my cordial enquiries to all those who work in the interest of the king, ministers, guards, army chiefs, **experts who decide the income & expenditure of the kingdom, those who always think about the economic/financial matters of the kingdomConvey one particular aspect to Duryodhana: I had arranged payment of some money annually (like scholarships) to some brahmanas devoted to their karmas. I have come to know that your officials are not treating them properly. Reinstate their financial support & send words to me of having done so through a messenger... (Udyoga; Sanjayayana; 30)**
- Bhishma: (Shl 29) The king should regularly show hospitality to the rich in the country. He should request them to join hands with him and be kind to the citizens. (Shl 30) Rich people are an important component of the country. They are like the peaks of a mountain in the society. There is no doubt in this. **(Shanti; Rajadharmanushasana; 88)**
- Bhishma: (Shl 24) If your farmers leave your kingdom harassed by your officials danger is certain. **Because, it is farmers who bear the burden of the kingdom. By providing grains and items of food, they support the king and all the citizens.** (Shl 25) It is from the grains they grow that *devatas*, *pitrus*, human beings, serpents, *rakshasa*, animals & birds etc all survive. **(Shanti; Rajadharmanushasana; 89)**
- Narada's questions to Yudhishtira: (Shl 32) **I hope hardworking agriculturists & labourers are not against you.** You should have close relationship with all of them. They should not be afraid of approaching you. **They should not lack confidence in you.** By having special affection towards them, the wealth of the nation will improve. (Another interpretation: You should not let any action take place in-absentia. There should be no doubt whether the action was carried out or not. Also it should not happen that a work is started & then stopped. Some of these defects can be overcome by having good relations with the workers on the job). **(Sabha; Lokapalasabhakhyana; 5)**
- Bhishma said: (Shl 27) Children will be looking at delicious food served to others with great hope & desire. But the children do not get it. What can be more sinful than that? (Shl 28) **In case a scholar dies in your country due to hunger you will acquire the sins of foeticide.** You will attain very bad states just as a great sinner would. (Shl 29) **Shibi has said 'my condemnation to the king in whose kingdom a brahmana or anyone else dies due to hunger'.** (Shl 30) That

kingdom where *snataka brahmanas* die due to hunger will not prosper. It will be taken over by enemies. **(Anushasana parva; Daandharma; 61)**

- Dhritarashtra to Yudhishtira: You should shower grace on those who are born in your country, are skilled in their works and are interested in your welfare by way of arranging for their livelihood suitably. A learned king should encourage scholars who come to you desiring prosperity. There is no need to have second thoughts about them. They will always be firm like a mountain in matters of king's welfare. **(Ashramavasika parva; Ashramavasa; 5)**
- Bhishma to Yudhishtira: *Satpurushas* should never be abandoned. He must take care of the livelihood of relatives of noble birth. **(Shanti; Rajadharmanushasana; 58)**
- Dhritarashtra to Yudhishtira: (Shl 8) **I hope children/youth, women and aged are not grieving due to any reason in your kingdom? I hope they are not begging anyone for a living? (Ashramavasika parva; Ashramavasa; 26)**
- Narada's questions to Yudhishtira: (Shl 84) **Women should be consoled. They should be protected. You should take care that they are not subjected to any kind of troubles. But they should not be trusted too much and secrets should not be shared with them.** Are you doing this? **(Sabha; Lokapalasabhakhyana; 5)**
- Narada's questions to Yudhishtira: (Shl 72) Are you consoling the following who may be facing tough times by giving money & food: cousins & relatives, *acharyas*, the aged, traders, sculptors, others who are under your refuge and the utter poor? **(Sabha; Lokapalasabhakhyana; 5)**
- Narada's questions to Yudhishtira: (Shl 77) I hope your kingdom is not being harassed by thieves, the greedy, minor (age) princes, shameless women & you. Are farmers always happy in your country? (Shl 78) Have you constructed ponds, open wells, big lakes etc in every village and not left agriculture to be dependent only on rains (*devamatrika*: mercy of gods)? (Shl 79) Are the seeds and grains of farmers being protected from worms & insects? **(Sabha; Lokapalasabhakhyana; 5)**
- Narada's questions to Yudhishtira: (Shl 83) Are officials accompanied by soldiers travelling around in both level & undulating terrains and suppressing thieves & robbers who may trouble your people? **(Sabha; Lokapalasabhakhyana; 5)**

Attention of king towards the unfortunate

- Janamejaya! Listen to the way your father (Parikshita), who was a *dharmatma*, *mahatma* & good ruler of his people conducted his administration. **He was directly supervising the care of widows, orphans, physically challenged etc. (Adi; Astika; 49)**
- Draupadi talking to Bhima: Yudhishtira was not neglecting citizens of any group or class. The blind, the lame, the dumb, the deaf, the physically challenged, the aged, orphan children, those who were rich but became poor/destitute due to circumstances, those who became helpless due to furies of nature—all these were given refuge by Yudhishtira. **(Virata; Keechakavadha; 18)**
- Arjuna's introduction of Dharmaraja to King Virata: (Shl 24) He treats all aged persons, orphans, lame, blind etc with affection and takes care of them as if they are his own children... **(Virata; Vaivahika; 70)**
- Yudhishtira to Sanjaya as he bids farewell to him (**Yudhishtira sends his enquiries, prostrations, good wishes etc to each class of people & many senior individuals in Hastinapura. To many it is specific messages 'customised' to them. Extracts**): When you return to Hastinapura enquire about the well-being of all people & also tell them we are all right. ... Meet the people of **lower castes (Shudras)** and tell them I enquired about their well-being. .. Enquire the **welfare also of prostitutes**, the very sight of whom brings glee to the eyes & mind, whose speech is sweet, who are decked up with good quality & colourful dresses & ornaments, who have smeared perfumes, who are without cruelty, who are happy & comfortable & who are in possession of objects of pleasure....Meet & enquire about the welfare of male & female servants of Kaurava princes and

the lame & dwarfs who are dependent on them (servants)...meet thousands of **mahuts, lame, blind, aged etc unfortunates** and tell them I am all right & further tell them thus: Do not feel depressed for your current abhorrent life. You have got this due to the bad karmas of some past births. I will vanquish my enemies in a few days and take good care of you and will give food & clothes & nourish you... in addition meet the orphans, the weak, **those fools who are always devoted to the care only of their own body** and the destitutes and enquire about them all. (Udyoga; Sanjayayana; 30)

- Yudhishtira cared well for all women who had lost their husbands or sons in the war and treated them with affection and respect. (Shl 11) Yudhishtira built houses and provided for food and clothing to the miserable, poor and the blind. (Shanti; Rajadharmanushasana; 42)
- Bhishma: ..(Shl 24) A king should always take care of the needs of the miserable, orphan, aged and widows. He should make suitable arrangements for their living. (Shanti; Rajadharmanushasana; 86)
- Uthathya, the son of Angirasa to Maandhata, the son of Yuvanashwa: (Shl 14, 15) **I believe that it is impossible to withstand the 'looks' of a weak man, a muni, and a serpent. Therefore the weak should never be harassed or humiliated.** Let not the 'cruel looks' of humiliated weak persons burn you along with your family. (Shl 16) There will be none born in the family to continue the lineage of that person whom the weak burns with his angry looks. Their entire family will be extinguished. Therefore never cause agony to the weak. ..(Shl 18) If the humiliated, harassed weak person who is crying for protection does not find the king as his saviour then the god's *danda* (the power of the unseen) will eliminate such king. (Shanti; Rajadharmanushasana; 91)
- Narada's questions to Yudhishtira: (Shl 55) **Are you protecting & taking care of welfare of the wives & children of those who died for your sake and those who put themselves in jeopardy for your sake?** (Sabha; Lokapalasabhakhyana; 5)
- Narada's questions to Yudhishtira: (Shl 125) You have another important duty: **Have you, who are knowledgeable about dharma, taking care of the blind, dumb, lame, physically challenged, orphans & sanyasis as your own children.** (Sabha; Lokapalasabhakhyana; 5)

Importance to/Treatment of brahmanas

- After Arjuna, dressed as brahmana, won Draupadi in *swayamvara*, one of the princes said: Our kingdom, life, wealth, children & grand-children, whatever kind of money or treasures we have, all are for the sake of *brahmanas* only. (Adi; Swayamvara; 189)
- Yudhishtira to Sri Krishna: Krishna! By your grace this whole *Bharathakhanda* is under my control. I have been able to gain this much wealth only by your grace. Madhava! With your permission, I intend to donate all this huge wealth to the great *brahmanas* and to spend it on *yajna* & *yaagas*. (Sabha; Rajasuya; 33)
- Yudhishtira to Sanjaya as he bids farewell to him (Yudhishtira sends his enquiries, prostrations, good wishes etc to each class of people & many senior individuals in Hastinapura. To many it is specific messages 'customised' to them. Extracts): When you return to Hastinapura enquire about the well-being of all people & also tell them we are all right. ... **Convey one particular aspect to Duryodhana: I had arranged payment of some money annually to some brahmanas devoted to their karmas. I have come to know that your officials are not treating them properly. Reinstate their financial support & send words to me of having done so through a messenger.** (Udyoga; Sanjayayana; 30)
- **How to treat/punish brahmanas**
Bhishma to Yudhishtira: (Shl 22) **Never punish brahmanas, because, in this world brahmana is the greatest being** (Because by definition he is expected to be devoted to dharma, and practice and teaching of spirituality). In this matter there are two *shlokas* of Manu. It is better that you memorise them. (Shl 24) Fire is born of water. *Kshatriya* is born from brahmana. Iron (metal) is born from stone. The power of these three will be effective everywhere except where they were born from. If they display their power on their birth places they will be not only ineffective, they will

get destroyed. (Shl 26) **Knowing this secret of birth, you should always have a worshipful attitude towards brahmanas**, because, virtuous brahmanas bear the knowledge of Vedas which brings auspicious results to this world. But even though this is the prescription of *shastras*, **if a brahmana attempts to destroy the three worlds, he must be suppressed by your might**. In this matter two *shlokas* of *maharshi* Shukra are well known. Listen to them.

(Shl 29) **If a brahmana comes fighting with a weapon in the battlefield, even if he is a great scholar in Vedas & Vedangas, he must be killed according to *kshatra dharma***. (Shl 30) **One who saves/protects dharma being destroyed is the one who truly knows dharma**. A brahmana who comes with a weapon to fight has not come to save dharma. He has come driven or controlled by some distortion of mind such as anger, jealousy or greed. By killing him, king would not have killed a *dharmatma*. The unnatural anger of the brahmana is his death (Commentary: Anger is opposed by anger and brings death).

(Shl 31) King should protect brahmanas at all times. In case they commit ordinary offences, driving them out of the kingdom is the highest punishment to be given. (Shl 32, 33) **In case a few in the group of brahmanas are guilty of great sins, still you should be kind to them**. A brahmana who has committed *brahma-hatya*, who has mated with wife of guru, who has killed a foetus and who has committed treachery against the king should at worst be driven out of kingdom. No physical punishment (whiplash, injuring body parts, physical torture etc) should be given. Those who are devoted to the brahmanas will have love towards the king also. **(Shanti; Rajadharmanushasana; 56)**

- Bhishma: (Shl 3) In case a brahmana is unable to make a living by his honest *vritti* and prepares to leave your country and go elsewhere, it becomes the main duty of the king to arrange for his & his family's support and living. (Shl 4) Still if he does not want to return, the king should meet him in his group of brahmanas and tell him, "Great brahmana! **If you go away from my kingdom, on whom will my citizens depend to practice dharma?**" (Shl 5) There is no doubt the brahmana will change his mind when this is said. Still if he does not say anything, king should again tell him, "Please forgive me if I have hurt you in any way in the past even indirectly." Consoling him by saying such things politely is *sanatana dharma* and duty of the king. **(Shanti; Rajadharmanushasana; 89)**
- Bhishma to Yudhishtira: (Shl 20, 21) The king should arrange a job (as a means of living) to a brahmana who is dedicated to *vedanta*, is well versed in *shastra*, who is content by virtue of his knowledge of *adhyatma*, who has restrained *indriyas*, who puts in efforts, who has virtuous conduct, who has control on his mind, who speaks pleasingly and likeably to all beings, who does not engage in wicked deeds even out of fear of hunger, who never indulges in wicked deeds, who is soft natured, calm, loves guests, who treats all with equality and has wife & children. **(Anushasana parva; Daandharma; 69)**
- Dhritarashtra to Yudhishtira: (Shl 5) Are you gifting *agraharas* (donation of land or villages) to brahmanas suitably? Are they happy with your character & behaviour? **(Ashramavasika parva; Ashramavasa; 26)**
- Narada's questions to Yudhishtira: (Shl 97) You will certainly enjoy prosperity by honouring/rewarding the brahmanas according to their learning & *tapas*. Are you making them happy by giving *daan* & *dakshina*? Satisfying them gives the fruits of *swarga-moksha*. **(Sabha; Lokapalasabhakhyana; 5)**

Importance of brahmana and kshatriya working together

- (While this may appear to be related to strict *varna* divisions of those times, the essential principles can perhaps be valid even now if the stated purpose, functions, qualities and competencies are considered generically)

Bhishma: Therefore a king should understand that the path of *dharma-artha* is very intricate and complex and should appoint a well read, scholarly brahmana as his *purohit*. In that country which has a brahmana who is a *dharmatma* and an expert in providing consultations as a *purohit*, and the king is also a *dharmatma* and knows importance of consulting a scholar, the people will

always be happy. (Shl 3, 4) If both king and *purohit* are dedicated to dharma, are committed to the prosperity and safety of people, are *tapasvis*, have mutual cordiality and have similar minds, then they will together improve the country and its people. They will please the *pitrus* and *devatas* with *shraadhas* and *yajnas*. They will be responsible for the development of children and citizens. By honouring such a king and *purohit*, the people will also gain happiness and comforts. (Shl 5) On the other hand by disrespecting them, people will destroy themselves. It is said in *shastras* that *brahma-kshatra* are the source of all *varnas*.

In this matter, scholars quote the conversation between Aila (Pururava) and Kashyapa. Listen to it.

In the past once Pururava met and thus questioned Kashyapa. (Shl 7) Respected *Maharshi*! If brahmana and *kshatriya* join together and govern the country, both citizens and the nation will see development and growth. The king and *purohit* will gain eternal fame. But if due to some reason brahmana relinquishes *kshatriya* or *kshatriya* relinquishes brahmana, then between these two whom will the other *varnas* seek refuge in? Who between them can give refuge to all?

Kashyapa replied. (Shl 8) *Maharaja*! What the *satpurushas* believe in this matter is that, the country in which opposition occurs between *kshatriya* and brahmana will break up. Thieves and rogues will come with armies and take control of the kingdom. They will make people of all *varnas* their servants. (Shl 9) When *kshatriyas* relinquish brahmanas, then knowledge of Vedas will not grow among the *kshatriyas*. Once study of Vedas lapses princes will not grow (in their knowledge). Churning of curds will stop (cattle wealth will decline). *Yajna-yaagas* will also stop. Children of brahmanas will also not study Vedas (due to lack of protection & safety).

(Shl 10) Auspicious events will stop in the houses of those *kshatriyas* who relinquish brahmanas and consequently their wealth will not grow. Their children will not study Vedas and consequently they will not perform *yajnas*. Such *kshatriyas* will be rejected by all and will live like thieves and rogues (as they lack foundations in dharma). (Shl 11) **Brahmana and *kshatriya* should always be together. Only then they can protect each other and help each other prosper.** (Shl 13) In this world if the friendship between brahmana and *kshatriya* breaks down, there will be no refuge for people who want to complete the journey of life smoothly. It will be like boat breaking up mid-sea. World will face a chaos. All four *varnas* will get confused. People, even if alive, will be as if dead.

(Shl 29) First a king should choose a *purohit*. Then he should get enthroned by him. Dharma ordains so. Because according to dharma, brahmana is before all others...(Shl 31)..All great and best things should first be offered to the brahmana. Even if the king is mighty, it is his prime duty to do so. (Shl 32) **Brahmana helps *kshatriya* to grow. *Kshatriya* brings greatness to brahmana.** Therefore the king should especially honour the brahmana. **(Shanti parva; Rajadharmanushasana; 73)**

Bhishma further strengthens the importance of brahmana and *kshatriya* working together by quoting the episode of Muchukunda and Kubera. (Extracts)

Bhishma said. (Shl 1) Child Yudhishtira! It is said that the *yoga-kshema* of the nation is under the control of the king. And the king's *yoga-kshema* is under the control of *purohit*. (Shl 2) That kingdom in which the brahmana neutralises the unseen fears of citizens and the king suppresses the seen and known fears by his might will be a happy kingdom.

Muchukunda said to Kubera: (Shl 13) Kubera! The birth place of brahmana and *kshatriya* is same. Swayambhu Brahma is the creator of both. **If the strengths of brahmana and *kshatriya* remain separate it is impossible to protect the world.** (Shl 14) *Tapobala* and *mantra-bala* are always resident in brahmana. *Astra-bala* and *bahu-bala* (physical might) is always resident in *kshatriya*. Therefore people should be governed only by the combination of the two. **(Shanti parva; Rajadharmanushasana; 74)**

Best and worst brahmanas and how king should deal with them

- Yudhishtira questioned Bhishma: (Shl 1) Grandfather! Some brahmanas are engaged in karmas fit for their *varna*. Some others engage in karmas quite opposite to the prescribed ones. Tell me what the difference between these brahmanas is.

Genuine and fake brahmanas

Bhishma replied: (Shl 2) Dharmaja! Among brahmanas those who are rich in learning and humility, and treat all equally are said to be equal to Brahma. (Shl 3) Those who study *rig-yajur-sama* Vedas and are engaged in the karmas prescribed for their *swadharma* are considered equal to *devatas*.

(Shl 4) Those who are not engaged in karmas worthy of their *varna*, who indulge in deceitful karmas and are brahmanas only in name, are equal to *shudras* among brahmanas.

How should the king treat them

(Shl 5) Those brahmanas who are devoid of the knowledge of Vedas and *shastras* and are not performing *agnihotra* are indeed equal to *shudras*. **A dharmic king should not only collect taxes from them, he should make them serve him without paying wages.**

(Shl 6) The following five types of brahmanas are considered to be *chaandalas* (outcaste) among brahmanas. Those who call out the names of accuser, defendant and witnesses in court, who worship gods in temple by taking salary, who make a living by using *nakshatra-vidya* (astrology), who do the *pourohitya* (functions of a priest) of villages and who travel over 'seas' (*maha-pathika* = great traveller).

(Shl 7) Those who accept *artwijya* (service of sacrificing priest) of king, *raja-purohita*, ministers, envoys of the king and messengers are considered *kshatriyas* among brahmanas.

(Shl 8) Those brahmanas who are horse riders (warriors on horse), elephant riders, who fight on chariots and are foot soldiers are considered as *vysyas* among brahmanas.

(Shl 9) **When there is a shortage of funds in treasury the king can collect taxes from all brahmanas except the first two types mentioned** (equal to Brahma and *Devatas*). (Shl 10) It is the doctrine of Vedas that king is the owner of wealth of all *varnas* except that of brahmanas. But he is also the owner of wealth of those brahmanas who practice karmas opposed to their prescribed karmas.

(Shl 11) King should never ignore brahmanas who have lapsed from their dharma. With the intention of supporting dharma he should punish them and separate them from the group of genuine brahmanas.

(Shl 12) People who know the situation of that kingdom in which a brahmana becomes a thief think that it is the mistake (offence) of the king which has caused it. (Shl 13) If a brahmana who has studied Vedas or is a *snataka* has no opportunity to make a living and becomes a thief, then the king should make arrangements for his living and support. (Shl 14) If even after such arrangements are made, the brahmana does not correct his ways, then he should be banished from the kingdom along with his family. **(Shanti parva; Rajadharmanushasana; 76)**

Protection of Fort, Kingdom, Self & People

General

- Bhishma: A king must protect seven things. Listen to what they are: (Shl 65) His own body, ministers, treasury, army, friends, nation and capital. A nation always consists of these seven. **(Shanti parva; Rajadharmanushasana; 69)**
- Narada's questions to Yudhishtira: (Shl 23) Is your seven fold nature (*sapta-prakruti*) attached to you & not attracted by enemies and become lustful & fallen to wrong addictions? (Commentators: These could be 7 *rajyogas* viz: master, minister, well wishers, treasury, nation, fort, might; seven *prakritis* are: head of fort, head of military (*balaadhyaksha*), head of dharma, head of army, *purohit*, doctor, astrologer). **(Sabha; Lokapalasabhakhyana; 5)**
- Narada's questions to Yudhishtira: (Shl 52) There should be separate commanders for the four divisions of the army viz Elephants, Chariots, Horses and foot soldiers. If these four powers are under the control of a single commander, danger is certain. Therefore are there four independent commanders in your kingdom? **(Sabha; Lokapalasabhakhyana; 5)**

- Narada's questions to Yudhishtira: (Shl 68) Are the following being protected/guarded by persons especially loyal to you: treasury, granary, cowshed, horse stables, elephant stables, armory & main entrance to the town? (Shl 69) **Self-protection is of utmost importance to a king.** A king should be very careful about the cook & others in the palace, more importantly sons & ministers and protect himself. **(Sabha; Lokapalasabhakhyana; 5)**

Protecting Self

- Bhishma: (Shl 13) First protect yourself in every possible way. This is very important. Then protect the kingdom. According to scholars all this is rooted in the self (king). **(Shanti; Rajadharmanushasana; 89)**
- Bhishma: (Shl 17) As soon as the king comes to know through his spies that there is danger to his life, he should eliminate those who had harmed him in the past and those who hate his citizens. (Shl 18) That king who is incapable of helping friends and harming enemies, and that king who is found impossible to be improved will be ignored or neglected by all kings. **(Shanti parva; Rajadharmanushasana; 69)**
- Dhritarashtra to Yudhishtira: You must protect yourself constantly during times of eating meals etc. During times of relaxation, when wearing garlands, sleeping and sitting you should be alert and protect yourself. You must protect women of *antahpura* under the supervision of those who are from good families, are of good character, are scholars, trustworthy and aged people. **(Ashramavasika parva; Ashramavasa; 5)**

Protecting fort

- Pandavas palace in Khandavaprastha: Soldiers were placed in secret places in the fort and they were given suitable training every day. **(Adi; Viduragamanarajyalamba; 207)**
- Narada's questions to Yudhishtira: (Shl 36) Are your forts stocked with plentiful grains, weapons & water? Have you installed weapons & machines in the forts? Are persons who are experts in their operations & expert archers always in a state of readiness? **(Sabha; Lokapalasabhakhyana; 5)**

Protecting people

- *Maharshi* Vyasa to Yudhishtira: (Shl 20) **Citizens not protected by the king will be destroyed due to situations/dangers caused by *daiva* as well as thieves & robbers. Therefore the king himself becomes responsible for the destruction of his citizens and accrues sins.** **(Shanti; Rajadharmanushasana; 24)**
- Bhishma to Yudhishtira: (Shl 14) There is no sin greater than not protecting the citizens. (Shl 15) A king should protect the dharmas of all the four *varnas*. Protecting the citizens from mixing up *varnashrama-dharma* (*varna-sankara*) is *sanatana-dharma* of the king. **(Shanti; Rajadharmanushasana; 57)**
- Bhishma to Yudhishtira: Manu has said two *shlokas* about *raja-dharma*. Listen. (Shl 44, 45) Just as travellers to save their lives give up the boat which gets damaged due to heavy wind when sailing in the sea, the **following six** should be rejected: An *acharya* who does not preach matters of *dharma-adharma* or duties and actions that should not be done. *Ritwija* who has not properly and fully studied Vedas, **a king who cannot provide protection to citizens**, a wife who always speaks unpleasant things, a cowherd who wants to be in the village only (He is expected to take cows to forest to let them graze and bring back), a barber who desires to live in the forest (He will not be available for various auspicious and inauspicious occasions when he is needed). **(Shanti; Rajadharmanushasana; 57)**
- Bhishma replied to Yudhishtira: (Shl 28) If the king does not protect his citizens for just one day, he will spend a thousand years in hell to clear that sin. Just as protecting people brings lot of *punya*, not protecting earns lot of *papa* (sin). It is wrong to believe that by not protecting people nothing will happen to me as I am happily sitting in the palace. (Shl 29) Conversely, a king who

earns *punya* by governing well and protecting people for a single day will enjoy it for ten thousand years in *swarga-loka*. **(Shanti; Rajadharmanushasana; 71)**

- Bhishma: (Shl 31) The wise, the brave, the rich, the king, the person who practices dharma, *tapasvi*, the truthful and the intelligent—all these together protect the people. **(Shanti; Rajadharmanushasana; 88)**
- Bhishma: (Shl 12) Protect outsiders from your insiders. Insiders will misuse their influence with you and trouble outsiders. You should ensure that such a thing does not happen. Also protect insiders from outsiders. There is always danger for insiders from outsiders. Once they know that the person is close to the king, they will harass him. There can be differences and quarrels among your insiders also. Protect insiders from insiders. Thus protect all people connected with you. **(Shanti; Rajadharmanushasana; 89)**
- Bhishma said: (Shl 31) That king is as good as dead in whose kingdom women wailing helplessly are carried away in the presence of wailing husband and sons. (Shl 32) That cruel king who does not protect his citizens, but loots their wealth and has no good advisors in the form of ministers will be killed by people coming together. (Shl 33) That king who promises to protect the citizens but fails to do so at right time should be killed by people like a rabid dog. (Shl 34) One fourth of the sins accumulated by citizens who are not protected by king will accrue to the king. (Shl 35) Some say that all the sins will accrue to such king. Some say half the sins. But I who have heard the preaching of Manu believe that one fourth will accrue to the king. (Shl 37) On the other hand, one fourth of *punyas* done by citizens protected by king will accrue to the king. **(Anushasana parva; Daandharma; 61)**
- Ugrasena ordered that no one should drink liquor during state of preparedness in war against Shalva; all entertainments like music, dance etc be stopped & the artists be sent out of town for safety. **(Vana; Arjunabhigamana; 15)**

Protecting Kingdom/Capital

- *Maharshi* Vyasa to Yudhishtira: **Kingdom should never be made an item for trading** (an item in market). **(Shanti; Rajadharmanushasana; 24)**
- Bhishma to Yudhishtira: Full arrangements should be made for the security of the town. **The king should personally take responsibility for the security of the town. He should not delegate it to others by trusting them. In case any of the citizens have contacts with the enemy by way of trade etc, it should be found out through spies and their strength or group should be broken by punishing them.**

He should regularly check who is friend, neutral and enemy. He should interact with them appropriately. **Carefully and by being alert, he should ensure that enemies do not create differences between self and servants/associates by way of bribes and other gifts.** He should offer attractions/bribes to enemy's servants and bring them under control. **King should personally go to all parts of the town under disguise and get to know the difficulties and happiness of citizens.** He should give total assurance to those who seek refuge. He should act according to *rajaneeti* and *raja-dharma*. **He should be always active.** He should be careful about enemies. He should not neglect them thinking they are weak. Never have the company/friendship of the wicked. They should always be kept away. **(Shanti; Rajadharmanushasana; 58)**

- Bhishma: (Shl 6) King should place small units of army in the fort, all over the kingdom, and in gardens in the cities and towns. (Shl 7) Similarly units of the army must be placed in all provinces, big towns, city zones, border areas, centre of cities and in palaces. **(Shanti parva; Rajadharmanushasana; 69)**
- Dhritarashtra to Yudhishtira: You must protect your city thoroughly. The outer walls and main doors should be very strong. Six kinds of forts having upper floors should be built in all directions. The main doors of the city should be quite wide and huge. These doors should be made proportionate by measuring in all dimensions and should be aesthetic. Machines like *shataghnis*

should be kept near them at all times for their protection. (**Ashramavasika parva; Ashramavasa; 5**)

- Narada's questions to Yudhishtira: (Shl 94) I hope your citizens who have sold themselves to the enemy attracted by their lucrative offers are not united & opposing you. (**Sabha; Lokapalasabhakhyana; 5**)
- Narada's questions to Yudhishtira: (Shl 124) You must be prepared suitably to defend against fire hazards. There should be readiness with respect to antidotes for snake poison. There should be doctors in the country to cure different types of diseases. There should be experts in *atharva techniques* to neutralise fears of ghosts etc. Every kind of preparation is needed at all times to protect the kingdom. Are you doing so? (**Sabha; Lokapalasabhakhyana; 5**)

King's Knowledge, Character, Behaviour, Personal matters

Importance of being a *jitendriya*

- Vidura: (Shl 10) A king who has no knowledge of forts fit for protection, facts of expenditure & income, amount of resource available in treasury, area of the kingdom and those who are deserving of punishment, will not remain a king for long. (Shl 11) One who knows the forts & geography of his kingdom, money in the treasury, boundaries of the kingdom, and system of punishment and has good knowledge of *dharma & artha*, will be capable of regaining the kingdom even if lost. (Shl 19) A king should think deeply on the consequences of doing or not doing something. After considering all pros & cons and if it turns out to be beneficial to both him & citizens it can be done; else should not be taken up. (Shl 20) Do not try to possess the *purusharthas* that you cannot. Do not try to obtain what is not regularly available. All such efforts are wasted. (Shl 21) The result of not achieving what you set out for is: the citizens will think of you as an incapable king and then both his blessing & anger will be treated as meaningless. His assurances will be treated as hollow. Citizens do not wish to have such a king. Just as a woman does not wish to have a eunuch as her husband, citizens do not want such a king. (Shl 22) A wise king starts without delay works which yield great benefits with less effort. Once started, ensures that it is completed without breaks & obstacles. He does not stop midway. (**Udyoga; Prajaagara; 34**)
- Gandhari advising her son Duryodhana: (Shl 23) One who is not a *jitendriya* (who has control over his sense organs) cannot rule the kingdom for long. Only a *jitendriya & medhavi* (intellectual brilliance) can rule the kingdom. (Shl 24) *Kaama & krodha* are two powerful enemies of man. They make the man devoid of the four *purusharthas*. The king who wins these two enemies becomes capable of winning the world. (Shl 26) One who wishes to achieve greatness should control the *indriyas* in the matter of *dharma & artha*. The intelligence of a man whose *indriyas* are in his control will increase in brilliance every day just as *agni* glows brighter with firewood. (Shl 27) Just as uncontrolled horses can cause an inexperienced charioteer to fall off, *indriyas* not in control can cause destruction of man. (Shl 28) Such an *ajitendriya* who tries to exercise control over his ministers before conquering his own *indriyas* or attempts to conquer enemies before gaining control on his ministers will suffer loss of both kingdom & life.

(Shl 29) Man should always realise first that he is his own enemy (*kaama-krodha* as enemies reside within). Five uncontrolled *indriyas* should be treated as five enemies. After gaining victory over the six enemies viz *kaama, krodha* etc (*shadripu*) and the five *indriyas* he becomes his own friend. After winning over oneself, ministers & enemies should be attempted to be won. Such an effort will surely not fail. (Shl 30) Lakshmi will be immensely pleased with one who has won over his *indriyas* & his ministers, who punishes the guilty without feeling obliged in any way to them and thinks through carefully before initiating every task. (Shl 31) *Kaama & krodha* are wrapped up in the body just as two fish covered in a net with small holes. These two come out of the holes called *indriyas* and destroy the *jnana* (awareness/knowledge/wisdom) of man. (Shl 32) Because of this *kaama-krodha devatas* close the doors of *swarga* to prevent one who is desirous of entering it. *Devatas* make efforts to increase these two factors in men out of fear that too many men will enter *swarga*. (Shl 33) That king who has understood how to completely conquer *kaama, krodha, lobha* etc, and pompousness & arrogance can rule the whole world. (Shl 35) The king who, driven by *kaama & krodha*, practices cheating on own people and others, will not find anyone to help him in times of need.

(Shl 40) Waging a war is not an auspicious/beneficial thing to do. When it does not result in achieving *dharma* & *artha*, how can it result in happiness? Whether you win or lose a war, there is no happiness. There is not even a guarantee that victory is assured. Victory is uncertain & impermanent. As there are so many defects in a war do not think of it.

(Shl 54) We have never seen an instance where greed alone has resulted in wealth. Therefore give up your greed for kingdom. Compromise with Pandavas. **(Udyoga; Bhagavadyana; 128)**

- Bhishma: (Shl 4) **A king should first gain victory over his mind.** Mind, which can be the cause for any kind of danger/accidents, should first be brought under control. Should not try to do the *raja-karyas* whichever way the mind pulls it. Mind, which by nature is very volatile & changing, should be reined in by *dharma* & *viveka*. Then he should try to win the enemies. How can a king who has no control over his own mind gain victory over enemies? **(Shanti parva; Rajadharmanushasana; 69)**
- Dhritarashtra to Yudhishtira: Just as a charioteer controls all horses, you must have control on your *indriyas* and protect them. If you do so, just as protected/carefully saved money becomes useful in times of need your *indriyas* will also be beneficial to you. **(Ashramavasika parva; Ashramavasa; 5)**
- Narada's questions to Yudhishtira: (Shl 61) **You should first win over yourself, meaning you should become a *jitendriya*. Only then you can win over those who are not *jitendriyas* & are intoxicated.** (Sabha; Lokapalasabhakhyana; 5)
- Kunthi's advice to Yudhishtira conveyed through Sri Krishna: (Shl 22) One who has a wavering mind, or has a weak heart, or is always merciful/kind to all, cannot gain even an iota of *punya* accruable by governing the people. **(Udyoga; Bhagavadyana; 132)**
- Discourse given by Uthathya, the son of Angirasa to Maandhata, the son of Yuvanashwa: (Shl 27, 28) **There is a saying in *shruti* that *darpa* (arrogance or haughtiness) was born from *adharma* in *shree* (wealth, richness) (commentary: If wealth and *adharma* join together, arrogance or haughtiness is born). *Darpa* by his power destroyed many *devatas*, *asuras* and *rajarshis*. Maandhata! You must understand this very well. One who gains victory over this wicked *darpa* becomes a king. One who loses out to him will become a slave.** (Shanti; Rajadharmanushasana; 90)

Mixing kindness & cruelty

- Bhishma to Yudhishtira: (Shl 37) Child! **But you should not be forgiving at all times.** Just as no one fears the tamed elephant, people will have no fear of a king who is always forgiving. Therefore being always soft-natured becomes *adharma* (it promotes acts of *adharma*). In this matter I will tell you a shloka of Brihaspati from his *neeti-shaastra*. (Shl 39) A *mahut* sits on the head of an elephant even though it is much bigger and mightier than him. In the same way, wicked ignore a king who is always forgiving. (Shl 40) **Just as bright Sun in Spring season is neither too hot nor too cold (pleasant to all) a king should not be too soft-natured or too harsh-natured. He should generally be soft but at times will have to be harsh or cruel.** (Shanti; Rajadharmanushasana; 56)
- Bhishma to Yudhishtira: (Shl 21) **King should be soft-natured, but should not be soft at all times.** If he remains so all the time, people will violate his orders more often than following it. **This does not mean he should be cruel.** If he is always cruel people will be disturbed (anxious, afraid etc). **Therefore a king should have the discretion to take both stands appropriately.** (Shanti; Rajadharmanushasana; 56)
- Bhishma said: (Shl 24) Yudhishtira! It is not right for you to not accept my words of *neeti* because you have been created by Brahma to perform cruel deeds. You have not noticed this. (Shl 25) Look at my own life. Listen to what I did in the past. I fought with all kings who desired kingdoms and freed them from the bondage of *samsara*. **Others did not support that act of mine. They were accusing me of being cruel and tormentor of kings.** I ignored their criticisms and did my duty. Similarly, you who are born a *kshatriya* should discharge your duties. (Shl 26) Brahma

created goat, horse and *kshatriya* with the same intention. It is due to these three that life for all beings on this earth constantly progresses. Goats are for *yajna*, and horses and *kshatriyas* are created for war. (Shl 28) Therefore only a king who can become cruel at times can enforce the respective *varnashrama-dharma* of people. Even he is always soft natured people will not be under his control and will be indulging in mutual fights like wolves and will live as they please. (Shl 29) That king is indeed a blot on *kshatriya kula* in whose kingdom thieves loot others wealth just as crows pick up fish from water. (Shl 33) Dharmaja! This *kshatriya* dharma is very difficult to follow. I have a lot of affection for you. Therefore I am telling you all this repeatedly. The creator has created you to perform cruel tasks. You cannot escape it. Therefore you should be both harsh and soft depending on the need of the hour and govern the country. (Shl 34) **Great Shukracharya himself has stated that even in critical or dangerous times a king should be dedicated to punishing the wicked and protecting the virtuous** (*dushta-shikshana and shishta-rakshana*). (Shanti parva; Aapadharma; 142)

Specific knowledge & qualities

- Jayadratha to Draupadi: We also know what a *kshatriya* should be knowledgeable about: 17 *raja-tantras* like agriculture, trade, fort, bridges, capturing elephants, *karadaan*, *shoonya prakriya*; We have six great qualities of valour, *tejas*, *dhriti*, *daakshinya*, *daan* & *aishwarya*. We are also aware of *rajaneetis* like *sandhi*, *vigraha*, *yaana*, *asana* etc. (Vana; Draupadiharana; 268)
- Bhishma: That king who has well understood the six *gunas*, three *vargas* and *parama-vargas* can enjoy the kingdom well. The six *gunas* are : (Shl 68-69) *sandhanasanam*: equally powerful kings making a compromise after losing strength in a war; *yatra-sandhanam*: The king who is defeated by a mightier king joins an enemy or friend and waits; *vigrihyasanam*: After the enemy has laid a siege, the weakened king enters the fort, saves own life and waits; *yatra-samparigrahasanam*: Starting the march for a war with enemy and waiting midway for a friend to join; *dwaidi-bhava*: posing as if an equal to the two enemies and transacting with them crookedly or dividing the enemy's army and by making friends with the main unit fighting the enemy; *parasamshraya*: making friends with the mightier enemy and fighting the weak. Yudhishtira! Now I will tell you what are *trivargas*. Listen. (Shl 70) *kshaya*, *Sthana* and *vridhdha*—these are *trivargas*. Having less might than the enemy is *kshaya*, equal is *Sthana* and being higher is *vridhdhi*. A king should know these quite well. *Parama-trivargas* are *dharma-artha-kaama*. The king should serve according to the time. If the king practices dharma, he can rule the kingdom for ever. (Shanti parva; Rajadharmanushasana; 69)
- Bhishma to Yudhishtira: He should know very well the five departments relating to *sthana*, *vridhdha* and *kshaya* of both own side and enemy side. (Commentary: Nation, ministers, fort, treasury and *danda*—these five are known as *Prakriti*. Adding up these on both sides-own and enemy's—it is ten and becomes *dasha-varga*. If on both sides these five departments are equal it is called *sthana*. If the enemy side is stronger it may cause decay of own side. If own side is stronger it helps in growth). (Shanti; Rajadharmanushasana; 57)
- Bhishma: (Shl 97) That king is the best king in whose kingdom taxes are not collected forcibly, where there is no fear, who cares for the destitute, and where the relationship between the king and citizens is that of guardian and the protected. (Shl 98) If the king has good qualities and is a staunch follower of dharma, then wife, country, friends, sons, relatives will all have good qualities. (Shl 99) Citizens will be destroyed by the overly wrathful administration of that king who does not know dharma. The king is the root cause for obtaining *dharma-artha-kaama*. Therefore he should govern with great care. (Shl 101) That king who assures protection from fears to the people and then does not practice it due to greed of money will acquire every sin and go to *naraka*. (Shl 103) **Prajapati Manu has said that the qualities of mother, father, guru, protector, *agni*, Kubera and Yama are all concentrated in the king.** (Shl 105) Just a mother consoles and cares for the children king takes care of the citizens. He soothes the poor and destitute and hence is like a mother. He burns the wicked who are disliked by the king and citizens and hence is like fire. Because he suppresses and controls those who are not virtuous he is Yama also. (Shl 106) Because he makes available money, gold, things, vehicles etc to his dear ones he is like Kubera. By preaching dharma or arranging for the preaching of dharma to citizens from time to time he is like a guru. By governing the people with dharma he is also the protector. (Shl 107) The kingdom of that king who pleases the people in towns and villages with his qualities will not be shaken (will

not be dethroned). Because, the king will himself be a practitioner of dharma. **(Shanti parva; Aapadharma; 139)**

- *Maharshi Vyasa to Yudhishtira: (Shl 14) That king who completely rejects kaama & krodha, takes refuge in knowledge and intelligence based on shastras, treats all his citizens equally just a father would his children, will not be smeared with sins. (Shl 19) A king who does not protect his citizens, who is arrogant/haughty, is impolite to the respectable, who always finds fault in others will accrue sins. Scholars are of the opinion that it is impossible to subdue/correct such a person. (Shanti; Rajadharmanushasana; 24)*
- *Narada's questions to Yudhishtira: (Shl 21) Are you equipped with six kinds of raja-gunās (six qualities of a king: **vakta**: How to speak with ministers & spies; **pragalbha**: Enthusiasm in conquering enemy; **medhavi**: skilled in logic/debates; **smrtiman**: Can analyse the future based on past events; **nayavit**: known neeti-shastra very well; **kavi**: scholar & expert like Shukracharya), seven types of solutions (upaya: sama, dana, bheda, danda, mantra, aushadha, indrajala), three types of strengths (are strengths of self & enemy matching, Is enemy weaker than self, Am I weaker than enemy), examining fourteen types of equipment of enemies (country, fort, chariots, elephants, horses, soldiers, *deshapala-durgapala-senapalas, antahpura*, strength of enemy, knowledge of income & expenditure, treasury, secret enemies of the enemy) ? **(Sabha; Lokapalasabhakhyana; 5)***
- *Arjuna's introduction of Dharmaraja to King Virata: ...He thinks ahead about the consequence of a work/act for the next 10 years, 100 years and then takes a decision. He does not do anything attracted by the greed of immediate gain. **(Virata; Vaivahika; 70)***
- *Bhishma to Yudhishtira: (Shl 17) **Other than truth no other dharma helps the king in accomplishing something.** A king who is steadfast in truth will be happy both here and hereafter. (Shl 18) Truth is the best wealth of *rishis*. Similarly **other than truthfulness nothing helps a king in gaining confidence of people.** (Shl 19) A king who has the following qualities will never be deprived of *rajya-lakshmi* or wealth: Good character, has mind and senses under control, is soft-natured, dedicated to dharma, *jitendriya*, pleasing attitude and very generous and a big donor. (Shl 20) **A king should be honest & sincere in all matters of state. But by understanding neeti-shastra he should maintain secrecy in three matters.** (Commentary: (a) Ones own defects, (b) confidential discussions with ministers and commander-in-chief of army and (c) ways of finding the weaknesses of enemy). **(Shanti; Rajadharmanushasana; 56)***
- *Bhishma to Yudhishtira: (Shl 13) **That person is fit to be king who has** his mind under control, has won over his anger, has clear knowledge of *shastras*, is always engaged in accomplishing *dharma-artha-kaama*, knows the secret of three Vedas, and can keep the confidential consultations a secret. **(Shanti; Rajadharmanushasana; 57)***
- *Bhishma: (Shl 30) King who follows *danda-neeti* with discrimination everyday will earn *punya*. **Using danda protecting the virtuous (shishya) and punishing the wicked (dushta) is the greatest dharma of a king.** This will be praised by all. (Shl 31) King should be an expert in Vedas and Vedangas. He should be learned and wise. He should know all *shastras*. He should be a *tapasvi*. He should be *daan-sheela* (interested in giving to charity) and also *yajna-paarayana* (interested in performing and given to performing *yajnas*). (Shl 32) These qualities should be established in the king fully and at all times. **These are essential to conduct transactions justly.** If he is devoid of these qualities, just transactions will not happen. Then where is the question of fame and success? How can he attain *swarga*? **A king whose dealings are not just will neither earn fame here nor gain swarga.** **(Shanti parva; Rajadharmanushasana; 69)***
- *Bhishma to Yudhishtira: (Shl 27) **The king, who is crooked and greedy, doubts everyone, and snatches money, gold, items, vehicles etc of people out of greed will be killed by his own people.** (Shl 28) The king who is pure from both inside and outside, is engaged in attracting peoples mind by his courteous behaviour and actions taken in the interest of people will never fall from his position attacked by enemies. Just in case he does lose his position, he will regain it soon with the help of assistants with all the good qualities. (Shl 30-32) He becomes a great*

among all kings who is: wise, capable of sacrificing, always engaged in finding the weaknesses of enemy, who cares well for all *varnas*, who knows what is *suneeti* and what is *durneeti*, **who completes any task quickly**, who has won over anger, who is merciful to those under refuge, broad-hearted, is soft-natured, who acts logically, engaged in actions and does not indulge in self-praise. (Shanti; Rajadharmanushasana; 57)

- Bhishma to Yudhishtira: He should make friends with *satpurushas*. Should be brave, efficient, truthful, dedicated to deeds of welfare to citizens. (Shanti; Rajadharmanushasana; 58)
- Bhishma: (Shl 36) He should understand himself with his intelligence; should not trust fools. (Shanti parva; Rajadharmanushasana; 120)
- Bhishma to Yudhishtira: (Shl 22) **You should punish the wicked personally**. Be generous and charitable. Keep mind under control. Should have delightful tools/equipment (*ramya-sadhana*?). **Should always have pure practices** (*shuddhachara*). (Shanti; Rajadharmanushasana; 57)
- Bhishma: (Shl 33) **The king's behaviour & actions should be such that even the enemy believes it. But he should not trust anyone**. Having total trust even in own children is not appreciated. (Shl 34) Yudhishtira! **Not trusting anyone completely is said to be the greatest secret of kings**. (Shanti; Rajadharmanushasana; 85)
- Uthathya, the son of Angirasa to Maandhata, the son of Yuvanashwa: (Shl 45) King compared to thousand eyed Indra in all respects. **Therefore whatever the king decides as Dharma becomes best dharma**. (Shl 46) You should always be careful and alert and understand when and how to use forgiveness, intelligence, *dhriti* (fortitude) and *mati* (understanding). He should always keep learning what is good and what is not for the people. (Shl 48) **An inefficient king will not be capable of protecting his people. Governance is a very difficult and heavy burden**. (Shanti; Rajadharmanushasana; 91)
- Maharshi Vamadeva to king Vasumanasa: (Shl 28) That person, who after listening to beneficial preaching/advice, gives up his stand that 'what I say is correct' and gains true knowledge will be followed by all. (Shl 34) **That king who behaves pleasantly with those who are rich in good qualities but are unpleasant towards him, will live long and be famous**. (Shanti parva; Rajadharmanushasana; 93)
- Maharshi Vyasa to Yudhishtira: (Shl 33) A king who overcomes *ahankara-mamakara* and using his intelligence and wise *neeti*s (*suneeti*) governs the kingdom, performs *yajnas* and with the intent of protecting dharma travels to all countries, will enjoy bliss in *Devaloka* after death. (Shl 34) A king who defeats the enemies, governs the country with dharma, drinks *somas* of *yajnas*, begets children and brings them up, uses *danda-neeti* with discrimination, protects and nourishes his citizens and finally dies in a war will enjoy in *devaloka*. (Shl 35) A king who studies Vedas and *shastras* thoroughly, rules the country well, who organises for the people of four *varnas* to faithfully follow their prescribed practices, will enjoy in *devaloka* after death. (Shl 36) A king who even after his death, is praised by people in towns and villages and by his ministers for his virtuous practices will be considered a great king. (Shanti; Rajadharmanushasana; 25)
- Bhishma: (Shl 18) **It is possible to control one's mind with own *buddhi*. It is possible to decide the duties to be attended to with help of ministers and friends. From the knowledge of *shastras* it is possible to develop *sadguna***. This is the benefit of *shastras*. (Shl 20) If the king is brave, has soothing methods to solve issues, is wise, encourages works that should be done, discourages or opposes works that should not be done and has secretive mind, then you should tell him only that which has to be told. (Shanti parva; Rajadharmanushasana; 120)

Thirty six qualities a good king should possess

- Yudhishtira questioned Bhishma: By what type of practices and behaviour does king obtain happiness both here and in the here-after?

Bhishma replied: (Shl 2) Child! Yudhishtira! There are 36 good qualities by which a king can achieve prosperity and happiness. A king should possess all these 36 qualities.

(Shl 3) 1. Should not speak harshly to anyone and should practice dharma. 2. Should be a believer in God. He should have cordial interactions with all. He should not hate anyone. 3. Should accumulate money by being kind. He should not accumulate money by adopting cruel ways. 4. **Should enjoy pleasures without exceeding the *loka-maryada* and without going against *dharma & artha*.**

(Shl 4) 5. Should speak pleasantly and not be a miser. 6. Even if highly valorous should not indulge in self-praise. 7. **Should donate generously; but not to the undeserving.** 8. Should be adventurous; also kind. He should not speak roughly. (Shl 5) 9. Should not have contacts with *anaryas* (wicked) 10. He should not quarrel with relatives. 11. Should not appoint a person lacking in loyalty as a spy. 12. *Raja-karyas* should be accomplished so that no one is agonised because of it.

(Shl 6) 13. Important *raja-karyas* should not be revealed to the wicked. 14. Should not praise one's own qualities. 15. Should not accept *raja-kanike* (gifts as a king) from *sadhu-satpurushas*. 16. Should not seek refuge of lowly people. (Shl 7) 17. **Punishment should not be awarded to the accused unless all evidences and documents are carefully examined.** 18. Confidential consultations should not be revealed. 19. **Money should not be given to the greedy.** 20. Should not trust a person who has harmed once.

(Shl 8) 21. Wives should be protected so that they do not develop mutual jealousy. 22. Should be efficient. Should not be overly kind. 23. Should not get too interested in women. 24. Should eat only pure and tasty food, but should not eat unsuitable food items. (Shl 9) 25. **Good & honourable persons should be shown hospitality politely and without displaying any kind of pomp.** 26. Service of *guru-jana* should be done without any deceit. 27. *Devatas* should be worshipped without any ego or pompousness. 28. **Should be interested in building only such wealth which has no defects.**

(Shl 10) 29. Citizens should be governed without any biases or partiality. 30. **Should be skilled in his job. But should act taking into consideration the time and place** (context). Should not be one who does not know when to and when not to act. 31. **Should not console someone with the intention of getting rid of him.** Meaning if someone comes for help, should not send him back empty handed merely by saying consoling words. 32. **When showing mercy/grace to someone, should not abuse him** (like giving alms after abusing).

(Shl 11) 33. **Enemies should be struck. But without making sure that someone is an enemy, he should not be struck.** 34. After killing the enemy, even if he was a relative, should not grieve for him. 35. Should not get angry with anyone without reasons. 36. **Should be soft natured, but should not be soft towards those who harm you.**

.....Yudhishtira decided to practice all the qualities. (Shanti parva; Rajadharmanushasana; 70)

Qualities/habits to avoid

- **Avoid addictions**

Bhishma to Yudhishtira: (Shl 42) **A king should completely give up all addictions** (*vyasanas*). That does not mean he should not show might or valour. These qualities are necessarily needed for defeating the enemy etc. The attachment to addictions should not be too much. (Commentary: *vyasanas* are eighteen. Born from *kaama* are 10. Born from *krodha* are 8. The ten *kaamaja-vyasanas* are: hunting, gambling, sleeping in daytime, always abusing/blaming others, being always in the company of women, behaving very arrogantly, being always engaged in music, dance and drinking wine. The *krodhaja-vyasanas* are: carrying tales, adventure, treachery, envy, finding fault in others, blaming *purusharthas*, harsh speech and giving harsh punishments) (Shl 43) That king who is always busy in his addictions, hates others and causes disturbance in other's minds will be subject to contempt of people. (Shanti; Rajadharmanushasana; 56)

- Sri Krishna to Sanjaya: (Shl 29) I will tell you how & when war occurs. **When a cruel king desires others wealth**, and due to the vagaries of fate accumulates military might for grabbing other's wealth, then this process of war begins. With this process are born various weapons & accessories of war. (Udyoga; Sanjayayana; 29)
- Maharshi Vamadeva to king Vasumanasa: (Shl 30) One who does not tolerate meaningful advice of a good hearted friend because it is opposed to his views, always listens to those who give opinions against his gains, who is always absent-minded, who does not follow the practices being

followed by scholars and his students and who does not implement ancient traditions in respect of defeated and undefeated kings will fall from *kshatriya-dharma*. (Shl 32) That king who rejects important ministers and makes lowly persons his close aides will fall into the ocean of troubles and will not find any refuge. (Shl 33) That king who does not respect but hates his cousins and relatives who have all virtuous qualities, is fickle minded and is rash lives close to death. **(Shanti parva; Rajadharmanushasana; 93)**

- Bhishma: (Shl 43) **A king, who is free of all blemishes and is brave, can obtain all that he desires with minimum might.** That greedy king who in spite of being endowed with all necessities, continues to have insatiable desires and wants others also to fulfil his desires cannot fill to the brim even his small vessel of fame and success. **(Shanti parva; Rajadharmanushasana; 120)**

Interactions/Relationship/Appearance with public

- **Bhishma:** A king should always speak to citizens with a smiling face. If the citizens question him on any matter he should answer them with soft & sweet speech. (Shl 39) The king should always remember the help/beneficence done by others. He should have firm friendship in those who are loyal to him. Things which are meant for enjoying should be shared with others suitably and enjoyed. He should be a *jitendriya*. He should look at those who look at him. Meaning he should immediately inquire about those who have come to him for any help or for any other matter. By nature he should be soft and have sweet speech and be simple. **(Shanti parva; Rajadharmanushasana; 67)**
- Sanjaya about Yudhishtira's war preparations & support he has: Even the cowherds & shepherds etc respect him. Brahmana women, princesses, and daughters of *vysyas* they all come to greet him with a smiling face. **(Udyoga; Yanasandhi; 50)**
- Bhishma: (Shl 3) **Protecting all living beings is said to be the greatest dharma for a King.** I will tell you how to protect citizens. Listen. (Shl 4) **Just as the peacock which eats serpents has peculiar and colourful feathers, a king who knows dharma also should display several appearances.** (Shl 5) He should normally display soft nature but according to circumstances should display harshness/sharpness, crookedness, assurances, truthfulness, simplicity and good qualities. By bring so the king will be happy. (Shl 6) He should take that appearance which best suits the work on hand. (Fierce when punishing offenders, calm and loving when gracing the poor and weak etc). In this manner even small tasks of a king who can take on different appearances will not be spoiled. (Shl 7) Just as the peacock remains silent in *sharad ritu*, king should also remain silent and protect the secrecy of matters related to governance. The king should normally speak sweetly. He should have a calm demeanour. He should be knowledgeable about *shastras*. **(Shanti parva; Rajadharmanushasana; 120)**

How to win others' love

- Bhishma replied: (Shl 2) Yudhishtira! **That king who has clean practices, has internal and external purity and is dedicated to governing the people with love will achieve both dharma and fame and gain both this world and other worlds.** **(Shanti; Rajadharmanushasana; 85)**
- Uthathya, the son of Angirasa to Maandhata, the son of Yuvanashwa: (Shl 53, 54) If you respect people, they will be prepared to even give up their wives and children out of love for you. Building love of people, *daan*, sweet speech, not being careless and purity—these earn a lot of wealth to the king. You should never lapse from these qualities. **(Shanti; Rajadharmanushasana; 91)**
- Uthathya, the son of Angirasa to Maandhata, the son of Yuvanashwa: (Shl 2) That washer man who has not learnt the art of washing clothes so that they shine brightly after washing and have no stains is as good as not being available (makes no difference whether he exists or not). (Shl 3) In the same way if a brahmana or *kshatriya* or *vysya* or *shudra* does not know how to discharge his prescribed *karmas*, it is as good as his not being there. If they do not perform the *karmas* assigned to their *varnas* they all become useless. (Shl 5) **Just as the washer man removes all stains and cleans the clothes, a king who is capable of removing the defects in others**

character and helps them inculcate pure character becomes father-like figure to the citizens. He also becomes their master. (Shanti; Rajadharmanushasana; 91)

- Maharshi Vamadeva to king Vasumanasa: (Shl 7) **A king should be capable. He should also live happily and keep the citizens also happy. He should try to get out of troubles/dangers when he is caught in them. Then he will be loved by the people. He will not lose his kingdom also.** (Shl 8) Even if a king has done something unpleasant to someone for some reasons, at another opportunity he should do something of benefit only to him. **By doing likeable things even to the person not liked, soon the unpleasant relationship can become a happy relationship.**

(Shl 9) King should completely give up telling lies. **Even if not requested/prayed, he should do likeable things to others. He should not give up dharma out of anger or hatred.** (Shl 10) If someone asks about something, should not feel shy of answering. He should not say things which are impossible to do. No work should be done in haste. There should be no jealousy towards anyone. By behaving in this manner even the enemy can be won. (Shanti parva; Rajadharmanushasana; 93)

- Bhishma: (Shl 39) **In this manner, the king should have soothing behaviour in all circumstances. He will be loved by people for having such behaviour.** (Shl 40) All people will trust such a king. After gaining the trust of people, the king can have close relations with all and enjoy the kingdom as he likes. (Shl 41) **The king, who wishes to enjoy this earth, should not have any cheating or deceit and behave such that trust develops in him. He should protect the people in every way.** (Shanti parva; Rajadharmanushasana; 102)
- Vyasa to Yudhishtira (Context: Telling him about Marutta): Khaninetra, the eldest among the brothers was agonising the younger brothers very much. Khaninetra who was very valorous had even though conquered others and had taken control of the kingdom, he could not protect it. **Because, the people had no love for him. Therefore the people got together and banished him from the kingdom.** They crowned Suvarchasa, his son. People were very happy after doing this. Keeping in mind what happened to his father, he was behaving politely with the people. He was a lover of brahmanas. He was truthful, pure and had qualities of *shama*, *dama* etc. Therefore people loved him very much. **But since he was always engaged in daan & dharma his treasury got emptied.** Because there was no systematic care, elephants, horses etc were also lost. Seeing his empty treasury, subordinate kings attacked him from all sides. Having no strength to fight, he had to face much difficulty. His servants and citizens also faced similar troubles. But since Suvarchasa was devoted to dharma and virtuous conduct, even though his army was destroyed, the enemies were unable to kill him. At that difficult juncture, Suvarchasa made conch-shell sound using just his palms. Soon a big army appeared. With the help of that army, he defeated all the enemies who had camped at the borders of his kingdom. (Ashwamedhika parva; Ashwamedha; 4)

Attitude towards work

- Bhishma to Yudhishtira: Being active in purposeful works is the key to *raja-dharma*. Listen to Brishapati's *shlokas* in this matter. (Shl 15) **There are two kinds among the vira (heroic/brave)—udyoga-vira (heroic in doing work) and vag-vira (heroic in merely talking).** The former will always outperform the latter in terms of results. The *vagviras* will keep on praising the *udyoga-viras* and make them feel happy. But they spend all their lives in doing just this. (Shanti; Rajadharmanushasana; 58)
- **Self-effort most important**
Bhishma to Yudhishtira: (Shl 14) Child! Yudhishtira! One should always engage in efforts towards achieving *purusharthas*. If there is no *Purusha-prayatna* (self-efforts, initiative) *daiva* by itself will not provide results. **Only after doing our efforts fully, one should pray for grace of God; one who simply believes that all achievements will happen merely by daiva-bala will not accomplish anything.** Therefore, for a king, efforts are the main dharma. (Shl 15) For success of a work, luck (fate, unseen) and *Purusha-prayatna* are the two general pre-requisites. **But it is my opinion that of the two, Purusha-prayatna is more important because, luck factor is pre-decided.** (Shl 16) If a work that has been started once does not succeed fully, or remains

incomplete, one should not grieve about it. Efforts should be made once again to accomplish that task. **This is a very important policy and *neeti* for kings. (Shanti; Rajadharmanushasana; 56)**

- *Maharshi* Vamadeva to king Vasumanasa: (Shl 11) That king who wishes to enjoy himself after completing his duties properly will not be disrespected by anyone. **(Shanti parva; Rajadharmanushasana; 94)**
- Bhishma: (Shl 30) To that king whose joy and anger are not wasted, **who personally takes care of the success and obstacles to a task** and for whom self-confidence is like the treasury, the earth will give plenty of wealth. **(Shanti parva; Rajadharmanushasana; 120)**
- Bhishma: (Shl 45) Whether learning or *tapas* or immense wealth, they all become available only be dedicated hard work. The quality of working with dedication is under the control of intelligence in human being. Therefore dedicated work is the means to achieve success in all works. **(Shanti parva; Rajadharmanushasana; 120)**

Personal matters/Habits/Routines/Behaviour

- Dhritarashtra to Yudhishtira: Soon after finishing morning ablutions, you should first meet officials in-charge of income and expenditure. After gathering all required information from them and giving them necessary directions, you should start paying attention to your personal beautification or eating. Then you should meet the commanders of army. You should always keep them happy. Evening times are the best to meet messengers and spies. Last part of night or early morning is the best time to plan for next day's works. Either at mid-night or noon time, you should go around and get to know the difficulties or happiness of citizens. **(Ashramavasika parva; Ashramavasa; 5)**
- Dhritarashtra to Yudhishtira: All times are useful for doing work. Therefore at the appropriate times you should be ready with proper dresses and decorations and be ready to take up the works. **Work keeps happening continuously one after the other like a rotating wheel. (Ashramavasika parva; Ashramavasa; 5)**
- Dhritarashtra to Yudhishtira: You should always be getting to know your own blemishes as well as defects in enemies. **(Ashramavasika parva; Ashramavasa; 5)**
- Dhritarashtra said: (Shl 1-4) Oh mighty! Yudhishtira! Are you keeping well along with your brothers and citizens? Are your ministers, servants and elders who are living depending on you healthy & strong? Are they all living in your kingdom without anxieties? Are you following the *neetis* and procedures that were practiced by ancient *rajarshis*? **(Ashramavasika parva; Ashramavasa; 26)**
- Dhritarashtra to Yudhishtira: Are you worshipping *devatas* & *pitrus* with faith? **(Ashramavasika parva; Ashramavasa; 26)**
- Dhritarashtra to Yudhishtira: (Shl 7) Are you showing hospitality to guests with food & drinks? **(Ashramavasika parva; Ashramavasa; 26)**
- Dhritarashtra to Yudhishtira: **In your house are daughter-in-law, wife, younger sister and daughter receiving due respect and hospitality?** (Shl 9) Is this *vamsha* of ours which had many *rajarshis* which has you as king gaining more prestige? I hope it is not losing fame and slipping towards infamy. **(Ashramavasika parva; Ashramavasa; 26)**
- Narada's questions to Yudhishtira: (Shl 29) I hope you are not used to sleeping at wrong/inappropriate times? I hope you wake up at the right time. ***Smritis* say that one's duties should be thought about in the *brahmi muhurtha* (early morning before sunrise). Are you, an**

expert on *artha shastra* doing your thinking at such hour? (Shl 30) I hope you are not doing consultations only with yourself or with too many people. I hope the secrets of consultations are not leaking & becoming known to your enemies. **(Sabha; Lokapalasabhakhyana; 5)**

- Narada's questions to Yudhishtira: (Shl 67) You must check whether precious/expensive food items, clothes & dresses, cosmetic & worshipping items etc given to you are being stored safely for your use or they are being used by the officials for their selfish interests. **(Corruption!)** **(Sabha; Lokapalasabhakhyana; 5)**
- Narada's questions to Yudhishtira: (Shl 85) Knowing the forthcoming danger, having figured out the solution, I hope you are not wasting time in *antahpura*? (Shl 86) Are you sleeping in the second & third *yaamas* of the night and by waking up in the fourth *yaama* thinking about dharma-*artha*? (*Yaama: one eighth of a day; period of three hours*). (Shl 87) Are you getting up early in the morning (*45 minutes before sunrise*), taking bath, doing your pooja, wearing superior dress and then meeting your citizens everyday? (*Not an occasional janata darshan!!*). (Shl 88) Are personal body guards wearing red dresses, holding swords, always surrounding you & protecting you? **(Sabha; Lokapalasabhakhyana; 5)**
- Narada's questions to Yudhishtira: (Shl 90) **Physical ailments should be cured by taking medicines & dieting. Mental ailments should be cured by serving the aged and following their advice.** (Shl 91) You must have a separate doctor to look after your body. He should be an expert in *Ashtanga chikitsa*. (Commentators: *nidana, poorvalinga, roopa, apashaya, samprapti, oushadha, roga & paricharaka* are the ashtangas. *Nadi, stools/faeces, urine, tongue, eyes, appearance, sound & touch* these are also known as *Ashtanga*). A doctor should have complete knowledge & experience in these. The *raja vaidya* should always be interested in your well being. **(Sabha; Lokapalasabhakhyana; 5)**
- Narada's questions to Yudhishtira: (Shl 98) Are you with conscious effort practicing *karma-marga* as propounded by Vedas with faith in the practice of dharma which is rooted in Vedas and was being followed by your forefathers? (Shl 99) Are brahmanas with noble qualities having tasty & nutritious food at your home? Are they getting appropriate *dakshina* from you? (Shl 100) Are you trying your best to conduct Vajapeya-Pundarika etc yaagas without any defects? (Shl 101) Are you prostrating to cousins, *acharyas*, the aged, *devatas, tapasvis*, auspicious trees & brahmanas? (Shl 102) I hope you are not causing grief or anger to anyone without any reasons. Do *purohita* who do *swasthivachana* with *poornakumbha* always by your side? These will bring you success & desired results. **(Sabha; Lokapalasabhakhyana; 5)**
- Narada's questions to Yudhishtira: (Shl 108-109) **The following are defects in a king:** *nasthikya* (atheism); *anrita* (telling lies); *Krodha* (Anger); *Pramada* (no concentration/focus); *deerghsutrata* (delaying/dragging matters); *jnanavatham-adarshanam* (not visiting/meeting people with knowledge); *alasyam* (laziness); *panchavritthatha* (lacking control over *indriyas*); *ekachintanam-arthanam* (thinking about matters alone—only self-consultation); *anarthajnaishcha chintanam* (Consulting those who know nothing about the subject); *nishchitanam-anarambham* (Not doing what is decided should be done); *mantrasya-aparirakshanam* (inability to maintain secrecy when needed); *mangaladya prayogah* (not performing auspicious tasks); *pratyutthanam cha sarvatah* (sending armies in all four directions at the same time to conquer). (Shl 110) Even if kings are deeply entrenched, famous and valorous they are destroyed due to these 14 defects. Have you rid yourself of these defects?
(Shl 111) Are Vedas giving you desired results? Is your wealth meaningful? Is your marriage bearing fruit? Is your knowledge of *shastras* bearing fruits for you? (The common word used for all the four is *saphala*)
(Shl 112) Yudhishtira asks: What is the meaning of '*saphala*' as applied to Veda, *dhana, patni & shastrartha*?
(Shl 113) Narada Clarifies: **Veda** preaches *karma kanda*. By studying **Vedas and practicing prescribed karmas, Vedas become '*saphala*'**. These karmas are *agnihotra etc.* (You enjoy fruits of Vedas). **Money** earned should be donated to others as well as enjoyed by self. Then only wealth becomes '*saphala*'. Enjoying sexual pleasures & begetting children is considered '*saphala*' in respect of **wife**. Only when a man understands meaning of *shastras* and develops qualities of

politeness, modesty and good character, it can be said that *shastras* have been 'saphala'. **(Sabha; Lokapalasabhakhyana; 5)**

- Narada's questions to Yudhishtira: (Shl 117) **Are you every day listening to words which expound meaning of dharma from persons with good understanding of dharma & aged persons with special experience?** (Shl 118) Are you giving *madhuparka* to brahmanas for accumulating dharma at the following times: when harvested grains come to granary, when cows have calves, when trees blossom or are full of fruits? **(Sabha; Lokapalasabhakhyana; 5)**
- Narada's questions to Yudhishtira: (Shl 121-122) Are you aware of the *gajalakshana*, *Ashwalakshana*, *rathalakshana* etc *lakshana shastras*? Have you studied *dhanurveda*, *yantra sutra* & *nagarika neeti sutras*? Have you created facilities for study of these in your palace? (Shl 123) Are you aware of using different kinds of *astras*, *brahma danda prayoga* etc? Have you learnt about poisoning techniques for destroying enemies? You should know all these for destroying enemies. **(Sabha; Lokapalasabhakhyana; 5)**
- Narada's questions to Yudhishtira: (Shl 126) Have you rid yourself of following six major (catastrophic) defects: Too much sleep, laziness, fear, anger, harshness & delaying actions. A king should certainly avoid all these. **(Sabha; Lokapalasabhakhyana; 5)**
- Hanuman to Bhima: A king who is slave to addictions will be destroyed soon. **(Vana; Tirthayatra; 150)**
- Bhishma to Yudhishtira: (Shl 19) The king should immediately make arrangements for the food and shelter of those who are orphaned/without these facilities. He should regularly supervise the works in this regard. When speaking to others he should always have a peasant countenance and be smiling. (Shl 20) He should serve the aged (grasp their knowledge which comes from experience). He should win over laziness. He should not indulge too much in hunting etc. Follow the path of *satpurusas*. **Express happiness about deeds done by others in the interest of the nation.** Wear impressive dresses so as to look attractive when meeting visitors. **(Shanti; Rajadharmanushasana; 57)**
- Bhishma to Yudhishtira: Items worthy of collecting should be collected. **(Shanti; Rajadharmanushasana; 58)**

Others

- Bhishma to Yudhishtira: (Shl 19, 20) There will be many secrets which the king should bear with propriety, such as: secrets of his words, the resources he collects to gain victory over enemies, the tricks he may have thought of to win a war and evil deeds that may happen in a war in order to win and whatever he may do at that time. (Commentary: A king should be sincere and straightforward but may have to adopt crookedness to gain victory over enemies, to suppress *adharma*, to protect the citizens etc. This is not a defect. Not doing these could be a defect). Governance is a great technique. Those who are not *jitendriyas* cannot rule a kingdom. Only soft-natured persons also cannot rule a country. Because ruling a country requires a lot of effort/hard work. (Shl 22) Yudhishtira! **Kingdom is something everyone desires. But only one who is honest/sincere can bear this burden. Though he may be straightforward, he should be cruel to the cruel and soft to the soft. He should incorporate both natures suitably.** (Shl 23) In case the king faces a serious danger in his efforts to protect the citizens, it brings him only *punya*. **(Shanti; Rajadharmanushasana; 58)**
- Bhishma said: (Shl 19) That king whose country is not filled with sadness, is under his control, is not mean and follows the virtuous path will enjoy the fruits of kingdom. **(Shanti parva; Rajadharmanushasana; 115)**
- Dhritarashtra to Yudhishtira: (Shl 6) **It is not a great matter if the people in your towns, servants and your own people are happy with you. Are the enemies also happy with your character & nature?** **(Ashramavasika parva; Ashramavasa; 26)**

Wealth, Finance & Tax system

Money/Wealth principles & policies

- Garuda to Galava: You cannot get the horses without money. Therefore you pray a king born in the *kula* of a *rajarshi* for the money. But that king should not loot the people for giving money to us. You have to request a king who can fulfil our desire without causing the least agony to his citizens. **(Udyoga; Bhagavadyana; 114)**
- King Ushinara to Galava: (Shl 13, 14) I could have given you the equivalent value of 200 horses. But the wealth with me is for the benefit of my citizens and not for my personal pleasures. It is my duty to spend the wealth only for the welfare of my citizens. Money in the treasury should not be spent for personal enjoyment & luxuries. One who decides to spend other's wealth for own enjoyment will gain neither dharma nor fame. **(Udyoga; Bhagavadyana; 118)**
- Arjuna to Yudhishtira: (Shl 26, 27) If a king does not take another's money how will he practice/implement dharma related activities? Even in Vedas & *shastras* scholars have come to the same decision in the matter of dharma. A king should study Veda every day. He should become scholar. **He should accumulate money in every way.** He should conduct *yajnas* with a wilful effort. **(Shanti; Rajadharmanushasana; 8)**
- Bhishma to Yudhishtira: (Shl 21) **For no reason should money ever be taken from *satpurushas* (virtuous persons). Money should be collected as fine from the wicked.** Out of money so collected, a small part should be donated to the virtuous. (Shl 22) Should give to charity at regular intervals. **Should use wealth himself also. (Shanti; Rajadharmanushasana; 57)**
- Bhishma: (Shl 26) **Whether the following types of people have less or more wealth, in the interest of protecting the citizens all of it must be confiscated immediately: punishable intoxicated person, insane, rogue, thief, cheat, fraudster, lustful, gambler, maker of fake documents and the corrupt (who takes bribes). (Shanti parva; Rajadharmanushasana; 69)**
- Bhishma: (Shl 36) **Even if small amounts of money become available, it should not be ignored. (Shanti parva; Rajadharmanushasana; 120)**
- Dhritarashtra to Yudhishtira: **Always keep making efforts to collect money, gold, vehicles etc in just ways. But give up trying to collect wealth in unjust ways. (Ashramavasika parva; Ashramavasa; 5)**
- Dhritarashtra to Yudhishtira: (Shl 4) Is your treasury getting filled up without using unjust means? **(Ashramavasika parva; Ashramavasa; 26)**
- Bhishma: (Shl 37) **The following eight qualities are main tools for either small or enormous growth of wealth: ability to bear (*dharana-shakti*), cleverness, self-control, intelligence, physique, courage, valour and being alert in respect of time and place (*desh* and *kaal*). These eight are like fuel to stoke the fire of wealth. (Shl 38) Even if the fire is small, as soon as *ghee* (clarified butter) is poured on it, it flares up. Even if a small seed is sown, several seeds grow from it. Therefore, while thinking of huge income and expenditure, you should not ignore the small monies that become available. (Shanti parva; Rajadharmanushasana; 120)**
- Bhishma replied to Yudhishtira: (Shl 7) That foolish king who attempts to accumulate *artha* by respecting/practicing *kaama* & *krodha*, will accumulate neither *dharma* nor *artha*. (Shl 8) Do not appoint either misers or fools for accomplishing goals of *kaama* & *artha*. (Shl 9) If you appoint a person who is unskilled (not smart), slave of *kaama* & *krodha*, and a fool as the officer for the task of collecting *artha*, he will resort to crooked/contemptible ways and agonise the citizens. ...(Shl 13) Yudhishtira! **Do not resort to accumulating wealth out of greed by following *adharma-margas*. Because *dharma* & *artha* will not stay long with the one who does not follow *neeti*-**

shastras. (Shl 14) A king who acts against the *shastras* will not get *artha* rooted in dharma. The wealth he accumulates by *adharma* paths will be wrongly spent and lost.

(Shl 21) In case you lose wealth due to attack of enemies, then it is desirable to collect money from rich *kshatriya-vysya-shudras* by soft and friendly methods (*samopaya*). (Shl 22) However bad state you may be in, even if in your last stages, even if in stage that you will lose your life due to lack of funds, let your mind not desire to collect money from rich brahmana. This being so, what to speak of collecting money from brahmanas when you are rich? **(Shanti; Rajadharmanushasana; 71)**

- Bhishma quotes from *gitas* of Brahma: (Shl 2) King should not snatch money of those who perform *yajnas*. Similarly he should not take away properties or assets reserved for god-worship related works. He can take away the wealth of robbers and those who do not practice their *varnashrama-dharma*. (Shl 3) All people belong to *kshatriyas*. All royal pleasures also belong to *kshatriyas*. All the money in the world belongs to *kshatriyas*. It is not anyone else's. But that money which is his own should be used only to strengthen the army or for performing *yajnas*. (Shl 4,5,6) Man separates the grains from other parts of crops and eats them. It is said that money with someone who does not satisfy *devatas* & *pitrus* with *havis* and guests with food and drink is a waste. A *dharmic* king should collect from the greedy the money that would get wasted and use it for creating facilities to the citizens and please them. But he should not fill the treasury with such money. (Shl 7) **That king who forms a bridge between the wicked and virtuous in terms of taking the money from the former and reaching it to the latter knows dharma completely.** (Shanti parva; Aapadharma; 136)
- Bhishma said: (Shl 25) **King should protect the money of the aged, very young, blind and the poor. He should not collect money from those who have dug wells due to lack of rains and are living supported by it. He should not also collect money from women who are in difficulties.** (Shl 26) **If a king snatches money from the poor that sin will destroy the kingdom and its wealth. Therefore a king should always strive to provide wealth to the poor. He should ensure that the virtuous do not have fear of hunger.** (Anushasana parva; Daandharma; 61)

Treasury: Enhancing, protecting and related crimes by officials

- Bhishma to Yudhishtira: Treasury should be regularly filled. **(Shanti; Rajadharmanushasana; 58)**
- Bhishma to Yudhishtira: (Shl 18) King should be always engaged in filling the state treasury. He should be like Yamaraja (God of death) in his system of justice and like Kubera in collecting wealth. **(Shanti; Rajadharmanushasana; 57)**
- Bhishma: (Shl 3) **One who is too pure in thoughts and practices cannot accumulate for the treasury. One who is very cruel also cannot grow the treasury. Therefore adopt a middle path for growing the treasury.**
(Shl 5) **If someone who has gone to a significantly high position with money loses money it will be like death to him.** After losing money he will be as good as dead. Therefore a king should constantly improve his treasury, army and friends. (Shl 6) A king who has lost his treasury will be disrespected by ordinary people also. The servants of such a king will not be satisfied with the low wages they are paid. They will not be enthusiastic to do his jobs. (Shl 7) Because the king has immense wealth, he receives great honour from everyone. Just as cloth covers the private parts of women, wealth covers up all the blemishes of the king. **(Shanti parva; Aapadharma; 133)**
- Bhishma said: (Shl 1) Yudhishtira! Whatever I have told you till now is the first leg of *raja-neeti*. Now I will tell you about the second major responsibility of the king. **A king should always protect the person who undertakes such activities which help grow the king's treasury.**

Whistle-blower policy

- (Shl 2, 3) When the minister himself is looting the treasury, and someone like a servant of the king or anyone else with a sense of loyalty to the king reports to the king that the treasury is diminishing everyday, **the king should hear him in secret and should protect that person**

from the concerned minister. If the minister comes to know that the king has been told the truth by that person, they will even kill that informer. (Shl 4) For every person who protects the treasury, there will be ten who want to loot it. It is for this reason that they will all gang up and harass the protector. If the king does not protect such a person, they will all join and destroy him.

Kalakavrikshiya-Kshemadarshi conversation

- When a king called Kshemadarshi was ruling Kosala, a *muni* called Kalakavrikshiya came to his kingdom. He had put a crow in a cage and toured the entire kingdom several times to know the situation and gather information. When he was travelling thus, he would tell the people, (Shl 8) “Good people! Learn *vayasi-vidya*. Crows can tell past, present and future. They tell me all these factually.” Thus saying he met many people in the kingdom and collected their opinions and information. In the process he practically saw the wicked deeds being done by all the king’s officials. Having thus found all the information and having identified all those who were cheating the king, he came to the capital to meet the king. He entered the palace proclaiming, “I know everything”.

After entering the king’s assembly, interpreting the sounds of the crow he addressed the minister who was sitting all decked up next to the king, and said, “You have stolen king’s wealth in such & such a place. These (named) officers are aware of your cheating. Now you are a thief of king’s treasury. My crow is saying so. Accept your offence right now.”

Similarly he mentioned a few more names of those who were stealing from treasury. None of the names were wrong. Having been humiliated badly in the presence of king, they all joined together and killed the crow in the night with arrows. Seeing this, the brahmana met Kshemadarshi in the morning and said to him, “*Maharaja!* You are the lord of citizens’ money and life. I am begging for protection from you. If you permit I will tell you a few things in your best interest.”

Then the *muni* said, “I have come here out of total loyalty to you and having seen the way your officials are working I am very pained and worried....I wish to warn you as a friend that your wealth is being looted...You should take a forgiving stance towards me.” The king assured him protection and encouraged him to speak without any fear.

Difficulty of being in service of the king

- The *muni* said, “I have roamed all over your kingdom and have come to know who is offender and who is not, from whom you have fear, their behaviour and practices etc and have come to tell you with devotion towards you. **Many *acharyas* in the past have said that this job of serving the king is full of sins and a mean job. Serving the king is a sinful job one takes up when there is no other option.** (It perhaps applies even today to some of the followers of our elected representatives—in corrupt countries—and also officials in effective ‘monarchies’ by whatever name they are called). (Shl 25, 26) **Experts in *neeti-shastras* say that close association with king is like playing with serpents. Kings have many friends as well as enemies. Those who live as subordinates of the king have fear from all of them. Apart from this, they have fear of the king every moment.** (Shl 27) One who is close to the king can never commit any mistake. He should also not do any mistake towards the king who is his well-wisher.....(Shl 30) He should not utter bad words. He should not do bad deeds. He should always have the caution about what will lead to what consequence. Should not stand or sit or walk around in the presence of king as he pleases. He should not signal in his presence or show body mannerisms. (Shl 31) If the king is pleased with the servant (any one who serves him in any capacity) he will grant him everything. But if he gets angry he will burn his *vamsha*.

Difficulty of accessing the king

- Those who are interested only in looting from your treasury are in the palace. They have no intention to do good to the citizens** I have developed enmity with them. One who wishes to take over this kingdom after your death, will succeed in his mission if he takes the help of

treacherous workers/servants in *antahpura*. **He cannot fulfil his ambition without the help of insiders...**It is the arrows of such people, which were actually meant for me, which killed my crow.... (Shl 39) This kingdom is like a river. The political persons are similar to fish, crocodile, whales, sharks etc. I crossed the river with the help of that poor crow. (Shl 40)....It is impossible for virtuous persons to enter your kingdom due to the presence of officials who are like tigers and lions in a forest.....

Characteristics which discourage people from living here

- (Shl 43) **No body benefits by living in this kingdom because, good and bad find same place here.** Here even those who do virtuous deeds are killed; those who do wicked deeds also die. There is no doubt about this. (Shl 44) **From the point of justice, one who indulges in wicked deeds must be punished. One who does virtuous deeds should not be punished for any reason.** He should be protected. **But here it is not so. Both have to suffer the same punishment. Therefore it is certainly not wise to live in such country permanently. A learned man should quickly leave this country.** (Shl 45) *Maharaja!* There is a famous river called 'Sita'. In that river all boats sink. This analogy holds good for your kingdom also. People like me who wish to save the king from danger will be destroyed here. I believe that your kingdom is like a huge net which harms all animals....(Shl 49) **Your wicked ministers are prospering in your refuge (under your nose). They are looting your treasury gradually and becoming more powerful than you.** Their thirst for money and power is destroying them also like a conflagration. It is also destroying you along with them. Therefore immediately examine closely which officials are behaving in what manner with you. (Shl 51) *Maharaja!* **It is you who have appointed them as your officers. It is you who are paying them appropriate salaries. But it is such persons who are destroying with a fraudulent attitude all that is dear to you.**

(Shl 54) is the king a *jitendriya*? Are people in his service obedient to him? Do the citizens love the king? Is the king governing the citizens like his children? I came here only to find out all these things. (Shl 55) Just as food tastes very good for one who is hungry I am very pleased by meeting you. But just as water is not palatable to one who is not thirsty, I am very dissatisfied with the character and nature of your ministers. (Shl 56) Because I am your well-wisher, they see lot of defects in me....(Shl 57) Even though I have not committed any act of treachery against them, they find fault with me. **Just as one has to be scared of an angry serpent which has lost its tail, one should fear an enemy with an evil mind.**

How to punish the guilty

- The king said, (Shl 58) Great Brahmana! You need not fear. I will give you special protection and neutralise the danger you are facing. I will honour you for your guidance. You can stay in my palace for a long time. (Shl 59) Those who do not like your staying in the palace need not live here. You can let me know the methods available to suppress those who commit treachery. (Shl 60) Respected brahmana! Please think well and tell me how the *danda* should be used by me, how I should execute good works and by doing what it will result in good for the kingdom.

Muni said, (Shl 61) ...**Dismiss the corrupt officers from their positions and weaken them** (Once they lose positions they become weak). **Then investigate them and find out the reason for their crime from them only and punish each one for their crimes.** (Shl 62) **People with same type of defect (offence) can gang together and pulverise a heap of thorns. They will overcome all obstacles to them. In haste if you declare all as guilty, they will all join together and destroy you.** Therefore dismiss one by one and award death sentence to each. I am telling you this out of fear that our secret consultations may be revealed.

...(Shl 64) ... I was a very close and dear friend of your father....Out of affection for you I have come back from my *tapas*. I am telling all this so that you again do not fall into danger. (Shl 67) *Maharaja!* You have seen both happy times and sad times. In spite of this why have you delegated all responsibilities to the ministers and making such grievous error?

Kshemadarshi made him his *purohit* who helped him become a monarch in due course...(Shanti parva; Rajadharmanushasana; 82)

Type of persons to appoint

- Bhishma: (Shl 29) In the following places the king should appoint persons who are close, well-wishers and trusted ministers or officers: In places where there are deposits of gold and such valuable metals, where salt is extracted, where grains are traded/sold, where taxes are collected, where boats help cross the rivers and near the elephant army units. **All these are places that generate income for the king. (Shanti parva; Rajadharmanushasana; 69)**
- Maharshi Vamadeva to king Vasumanasa: (Shl 14) **The king should appoint to highly responsible positions persons who are *jitendriyas*, who have pure practices, who follow him loyally, and are attached to him deeply.** (Shl 15) Person with these qualities and capable of making the king happy and who is never careless in matters of master's wealth should be appointed for financial matters.

(Shl 16, 17) A king who appoints the following in important positions will be deprived of wealth very soon: An idiot, given to pleasures of senses, greedy, bad practices, deceitful, crooked, violent, wicked, has no knowledge of *shastras*, who does not have generous attitude, drunkard, gambler, lustful and interested only in hunting. **(Shanti parva; Rajadharmanushasana; 93)**

- Bhishma said: (Shl 20) That king who has officers of the treasury who are trusted, constantly try to grow the treasury will be a great king. (Shl 21) If people who are not attracted to greed, who are trusted, who are virtuous are protecting the treasury and granary then the treasuries will double in strength. **(Shanti parva; Rajadharmanushasana; 115)**

Monitoring/Usage

- After taking over the kingdom, Yudhishtira, as his first job organised for all the four *varnas* to live according to their respective dharmas. Then he donated 1000 gold coins each to 1000 *snataka brahmanas*. Then he satisfied all the servants, subordinate kings, guests, pitiable beggars who were solely dependent on him by giving a variety of items they needed. He gave to *purohit* Dhaumya 10,000 cows, money, gold, silver articles and several clothes. **(Shanti; Rajadharmanushasana; 45)**
- Narada's questions to Yudhishtira: (Shl 70) **Your servants should not report to you in the morning expenses towards drinks, gambling & company of women. Because the saints & noble persons who may participate with you in the dharma related practices in the morning may reject you.** (Shl 71) **What is the expenditure being done out of the income? Normally one fourth should be spent & the rest saved for emergencies (*aapaddhana*).** If the nation is suffering due to widespread diseases & such calamities, half of the income can be used. If drought has occurred in the country, three fourths of the income can be used. **The treasury should not be emptied under any circumstances. (Sabha; Lokapalasabhakhyana; 5)**
- Narada's questions to Yudhishtira: (Shl 73) **Are the officials appointed to monitor the income & expenditure of the country reporting to you the status daily in the forenoon itself?** (Shl 74) I hope you are not dismissing experts in economics (*arthashastra*) who are also your well wishers by becoming emotional (angry) due to some vague reason even though there are no faults in them/allegations on them? **(Sabha; Lokapalasabhakhyana; 5)**
- Narada's questions to Yudhishtira: (Shl 79) **Are you giving loans to farmers to help in their progress at a monthly interest rate of 1%?** **(Sabha; Lokapalasabhakhyana; 5)**

Maharshi Agasthya's attempts to raise money

- Based on a certain wish expressed by his wife, *maharshi* Agasthya went to three kings asking for money:
First he went to the King Shrutarvaana. When asked about the purpose of his visit, the sage replied: 'Oh king! I have come to you desiring money. Give me as much wealth as you can give. (Shl 4) But give it to the best of your ability such that you do not trouble the citizens in any way

(meaning, if you have excess of income over expenditure then share it with me). As soon as the king heard Agasthya, he placed before him the complete income & expenditure statement of his kingdom and said, 'Oh *maharshi!* This is our kingdom's statement of account. Please examine this and take whatever you can.' Agasthya examined it closely and found that the income and expenditure were perfectly balanced. He thought to himself, 'This king's accounts are balanced. In this condition if I take even one part of the income, he will have to trouble the citizens to re-balance the accounts. Therefore it is not fair to take money from his treasury.'

He conveyed this to the king and along with him went to meet king Bradhnashwa who was known as a rich king. .. Agasthya said to the king, 'Oh king! I have come to ask wealth from you. Give me as much as you can such that it does not trouble anyone in the kingdom.' Soon the king presented his kingdom's accounts. Again it was perfectly matching in income & expenditure. Again Agasthya refused to take any money & went to meet king Trasadasyu. Again the same thing repeated with that king also. **(Vana; Tirthayatra; 98)**

Others

- Yudhishtira sat alone and again thought. He was not satisfied with the suggestions given by them (ministers, *ritwijas* etc). He might have got a doubt that ministers & brothers may have been overwhelmed by their respect for him and hence may have supported him without having thought through the significance of the task he had planned. Therefore he again started thinking about it. 'My work should only result in welfare of the world and not the least of difficulties/troubles. What are my current incomes & expenditures? Is it possible to conduct this *mahayaaga* with the current income? I should not levy more taxes on citizens under the pretext of this *yaaga*. By what methods can I collect the resources needed for the *yaaga*? Etc. **(Sabha; Sabhakriya; 13)**
- Yudhishtira to Sanjaya as he bids farewell to him (**Yudhishtira sends his enquiries, prostrations, good wishes etc to each class of people & many senior individuals in Hastinapura. To many it is specific messages 'customised' to them. Extracts**): When you return to Hastinapura enquire about the well-being of all people & also tell them we are all right.Similarly meet and convey my cordial enquiries to all those who work in the interest of the king, ministers, guards, army chiefs, **experts who decide the income & expenditure of the kingdom, those who always think about the economic/financial matters of the kingdom**Convey one particular aspect to Duryodhana. 'I had arranged payment of some money annually (**like scholarships**) to some **brahmanas** devoted to their karmas. I have come to know that your officials are not treating them properly. Reinstate their financial support & send words to me of having done so through a messenger'... **(Udyoga; Sanjayayana; 30)**
- Bhishma said: (Shl 24) When all citizens join together to shower the king who is dedicated to the welfare of people with money and gold and thus all kinds of wealth is accumulated with him, then he should worship gods by way of *yajnas*. **(Anushasana parva; Daandharma; 61)**
- As a result of good *neetis* of Vidura the subordinate kings used to complete many works desired by Dhritarashtra with least expenditure. **(Ashramavasika parva; Ashramavasa; 1)**
- Narada's questions to Yudhishtira: (Shl 115) Are your officials collecting taxes fairly from traders who come from other countries for earning profits in your kingdom? (Shl 116) Are traders from other kingdoms selling goods in your country duly regarded by you and are not cheated by officials or buyers? Are your officials respected everywhere in the kingdom, do not fall prey to bribery, and ensure that all essential items are available to the people without difficulty? **(Sabha; Lokapalasabhakhyana; 5)**

Managing cattle wealth

- Duryodhana examined thousands of cows & by observing various characteristics divided them as superior, medium & bad variety. He got thousands of cattle marked (embossed) and separated those which had to be trained. He ordered the cattle staff to count the number of calves which could not be separated from the mother cows. He got all calves above three years counted & had the royal seal embossed on them. **(Vana; Ghoshayatra; 240)**

Wages/Salaries

- Yudhishtira paid his 1000 (8000?) *rathikas* 1000 gold coins per month whether in war or peace time. **(Sabha; Dyuta; 61)**
- Ugrasena's soldiers were paid extra salaries in gold coins, good dresses & nutritious food and hence all were loyal to the king. **(Vana; Arjunabhigamana; 15)**
- Dhritarashtra to Sanjaya wondering why their army is getting decimated: ..Before bringing them to the battlefield they have all been tested in various ways by making them ride horses, elephants, chariots etc and checking their skill & competence in handling these. Their wages have been fixed according to their competence after such testing. **(Bhishma; Bhishmavadha; 76)**
- Bhishma to Yudhishtira: (Shl 12).. Money owed to a person should be paid off without delays and **salary for servants should also be paid at the fixed time. (Shanti; Rajadharmanushasana; 57)**
- Bhishma to Yudhishtira: The servants should be paid their wages on time without any malice. **(Shanti; Rajadharmanushasana; 58)**
- Narada's questions to Yudhishtira: (Shl 49) Are the wages for soldiers being paid fairly and in a timely manner? I hope you are not violating this & causing troubles to them. (Shl 50) **The wages should always be paid as soon as they are due. They should not be delayed. Since their life depends on wages, if not paid in time, they will revolt due to poverty they will face. Experts in neeti-shaashtra opine that this is a disaster for the kingdom. (Sabha; Sabhakriya; 5)**
- Narada's questions to Yudhishtira: (Shl 119) **Are you giving four months wages in advance to sculptors/architects in your kingdom? Have you provided them with needed equipment? (Sabha; Lokapalasabhakhyana; 5)**

Taxes & other sources of income: General

- Vidura: other kings will pay/give the taxes & gifts just like *vysyas* do regularly. **(Vana; Aranya; 4)**
(It also implies that only vysyas who were into Agriculture, business & trading were paying taxes based on profits generated. The King, a kshatriya was only collecting the tax for spending on welfare & protection of citizens & of course himself. The other varnas viz brahmana, shudra and normal kshatriya did not pay taxes)
- Arjuna's introduction of Dharmaraja to King Virata: ..He had made arrangements such that all subservient kings would remit their taxes & donations at the right time by themselves without any reminders. **(Virata; Vaivahika; 70)**
- Vidura: (Shl 17) A bee collects honey from the flowers so gently that the flowers are not hurt in any way. A king should collect taxes from citizens in a similar way. He should not loot them by collecting taxes by harsh methods. Taxes should be such that they are paid happily by the citizens. (Shl 18) A flower-seller plucks flowers individually & carefully from the plant. He does not uproot the whole plant for the sake of flowers. If he were to do that, it will destroy his means of livelihood. Similarly, a king should collect taxes as a small part of their income in such a way that it doesn't hurt them. He should not try to loot everything from them. **(Udyoga; Prajaagara; 34)**
- Bhishma to Yudhishtira: King should collect taxes and levies just as a bee collects juice from flowers without hurting them in the least. He should not collect in a way that displeases them. **(Shanti; Rajadharmanushasana; 58)**
- Bhishma: (Shl 9) The king should always be active in punishing the offenders. Whatever be the work, he should do it without becoming careless. **After examining the income and expenditure of the citizens, he should extract the juice like money from them just as extracting the juice of a Palmyra tree** (Commentary: You don't have to cut this tree to get the juice. A hole is made at one end of the tree and a pot is tied under it such that the juice gradually collects in it. Similarly taxes should be collected so that it doesn't hurt the citizens). **(Shanti parva; Rajadharmanushasana; 120)**

- Bhishma replied to Yudhishtira: (Shl 16) A man who desires milk should only take as much as the cow gives and be content. He should not try to cut off the udders. By doing so he will not get even a drop of milk. **Similarly a king should collect taxes & levies from citizens such they are not hurt in the least. A kingdom which burdens the citizens with a variety of vile taxes will not prosper.** (Shl 19) Just as a mother who has had adequate nutritious food feeds enough milk to the baby, just as a well-cared for cow will nourish its calf and give milk to others, land well cared for and protected by the king will yield plentiful grains and gold to the king and others. (Shl 20) **Become like the garland seller who makes garlands and sells them. Do not be like the coal seller.** The garland seller will first plant the flower plants, water them etc and then will pluck the flowers carefully, prepare a garland, sell them and make a living. Just like him, you should first govern the people well and then collect taxes from them so that it does not hurt or harm them and thus be happy. You should not be like the coal seller. He will burn trees and plants filled with flowers and fruits and make coal. Finally he may not find trees to burn and his life may be destroyed. A king should not become like him. **(Shanti; Rajadharmanushasana; 71)**
- Bhishma: (Shl 25) An intelligent king should collect one sixth of the income of citizens as *rajaadaya* for the sake of protecting and caring for the citizens. **(Shanti parva; Rajadharmanushasana; 69)**
- (Shl 9) A brahmana, whose cow was stolen, addressing Pandavas said: According to *rajaneeetijnas* (those who know *rajaneeeti*) if the king who enjoys **one sixth of the kingdom's income**, does not protect the citizens in times of difficulty, then he would be a great sinner. **(Adi; Arjunavanavasa; 213)**
- *Maharshi* Vyasa to Yudhishtira: (Shl 12) A king who inspite of collecting one sixth of the income of citizens as taxes does not give them protection will also accrue one fourth of the sins of citizens. **(Shanti; Rajadharmanushasana; 24)**

Recommended System of Taxation

- Bhishma: (Shl 13) The cost of procurement and price of selling, cost of transportation etc incurred in getting the items of sale, wages of workers etc., expenses incurred for the maintenance and well-being of the merchants—all these should be properly examined and then taxes levied. (Shl 14) Expenses towards making of products, profit made after selling them, levels of quality of the finished goods—after examining all these taxes should be fixed on products. Tax should be levied on those who make the products also. (Shl 16) Yudhishtira! The king should closely examine production of items, expenditure incurred in making them, income earned by it, income from sale & trading etc., and taxes should be levied based on nett profit. All items should not have same taxes. Person with lesser income should be taxed less, one with more income should be taxed higher and higher taxes should be levied on more profitable products. **The king should ensure that citizens do not collapse under the weight of taxes.**

Caution against excessive taxation

- (Shl 17) **If there is no benefit or advantage from profit and work, no one will work. No one will like to earn a profit.** Just as the king shares the fruits of governing the kingdom, in the same way those who are engaged in agriculture and trade also should share the fruits. Therefore taxes should be levied such that they get fruits of their labour. (Shl 19) The king should not destroy himself by not collecting taxes at all. Nor should be destroy those engaged in agriculture and trade due to thirst for money. By levying appropriate and just taxes and closing the doors of greed, the king becomes likeable by all. A king who becomes known for gobbling up too much money from citizens will be hated by them. (Shl 20) How can a king who is hated by citizens gain fame or success? One who is not liked by people will not achieve anything. Just as enough milk is left for the calf while milking the cow, an intelligent king should milk the citizens. (Shl 21) **A cow should never be milked without leaving adequate milk for the calf.** By leaving enough milk for it, it can become strong. If strong it can pull heavy loads. If no milk is left for the calf, its survival becomes doubtful. Even if alive, it will not be able to do any work. (Commentary: Concessions

can be given in taxes in the initial period of a new business). (Shl 22) If the country is milked too much, it cannot achieve anything significant. The level of taxation should be low. It should not be difficult for the citizens to bear. That king who is always engaged in protection and manages his living with whatever taxes he gets will be conferring a favour on the kingdom. The king will gain great fruits by doing so. **(Shanti parva; Rajadharmanushasana; 87)**

Collecting funds in emergencies

- Bhishma: (Shl 23) The money the king collects during emergencies should be further grown. **The money with citizens also belongs to the nation during emergencies.** In times of emergency people will voluntarily offer their money for the defence of the country. Therefore an intelligent king should see that the money with people grows. **The development of a nation is rooted in its treasury. The king should assume that that treasury is distributed in every house.**

(Shl 26) Before collecting money from people the king should inform the citizens about its need. He should travel all over the country and educate them about the danger the country is facing. (Shl 27, 28) The king should arrange for an announcement as follows throughout the nation: "Good citizens! Our country is facing a major danger. There is a great fear that the enemies will attack our country. Just as flowering of bamboo destroys the bamboo itself, the fear of enemies can destroy us. The enemies are coming at joined with thieves and rogues to destroy our nation. They are determined to destroy us. (Shl 29) At such a dangerous situation, when a horrible fear is enveloping us, I am requesting money from you all. (Shl 30) **Once the fear subsides I will return your monies.** In case you don't give your money even at this juncture, they will anyway loot it from you. There is no question of their returning it to you. (Shl 31) If the enemies attack, all your wealth including the women will be destroyed. If you have saved money for the sake of your children, wives and friends, I pray to you to give it to me now. (Shl 32) I feel very happy looking at your prosperity just as a father feels pleased at the prosperity of his son. Just a father encourages children to help him in times of emergencies I am encouraging you to help me. **I will take only as much as you can give without hurting yourselves or the nation.** (Shl 33) Just as a mighty ox can pull heavy load in difficult terrains, in the same way you have to bear the burden in these times of emergency. **When we are in great danger, you should not think that money alone is very dear to you** (Commentary: Do not hide it out of love for money) "

(Shl 34) A king who knows how to move with times and circumstances should, using these methods, convince the people with friendly, polite and sweet words, send his foot soldiers or trusted servants to the houses of citizens and collect the money.

Collecting taxes from vasyas

- The king should inform/demonstrate to the rich vasyas the need for works like: building wall around the city for its protection; upkeep and care of soldiers; spending money to defend against wars; expenses towards caring for the well-being of all etc., and collect taxes from them. (Shl 36) In case the king harasses vasyas and extracts too much taxes from them ignoring their profits and losses, they will desert the country and run away to forest and may even be destroyed in the process. The king should never let this happen. **He should be soft and gentle towards the rich and particularly towards the vasyas.** (Shl 37) **Vasyas should always be placated. Suitable protection should be given to them and their businesses. They should be helped to increase wealth.** Required arrangements should be made regularly to ensure that their businesses run steadily. At frequent intervals they should be given awards/gifts, works to help them should be undertaken and thus their trust must be won. (Shl 38) Appropriate rewards should always be given to the traders & merchants for their efforts. Because, vasyas develop and improve nation's agriculture, cattle-rearing and trade. (Shl 39) **Therefore an intelligent and sagacious king should cultivate love of vasyas with a conscious effort. He should deal with them with kindness and collect taxes gently from them.** (Shl 40) Yudhishtira! **The king should make arrangements for them to be able to travel all over the country safely and without hurdles.** There is no better task for a king than this. **(Shanti parva; Rajadharmanushasana; 87)**

Strategy for taxing

- (Shl 7) **In the beginning the king should be content with very small amounts of taxes. Then he should gradually increase the taxes.** In this manner he should keep increasing the taxes now and then and gradually strengthen the treasury. But he should take care that people never feel that tax burden is heavy. (Shl 8) A young ox is first loaded with lower burden. Gradually its load is increased and it is trained to take more weight. By the time it becomes a fit adult it would have got trained to carry heavy loads. In the same way the taxes should be increased gradually. (Shl 10) **It will not be possible for the king to bring all people under tax net at one stroke.** Therefore first he should invite important persons, talk to them soothingly and win their hearts. He should start collecting taxes from their in a small way to begin with. **If the heads of villages start paying taxes, other villagers will also start to pay taxes. In this manner he should slowly expand the tax payers.** (Shl 11) A clever king should create differences between two leaders who consult each other. He should play the game so that both seek his refuge. He should console both parties and without much effort collect taxes from both sides. (Commentary: Because both parties need the king's refuge, they will keep paying taxes to retain his trust & the king can happily collect it). (Shl 12) People should not be taxed at wrong times without reasons. People should be explained about the need for taxes, consoled and taxes should be levied.

(Shl 13) **I am telling you some good methods for tax collection. My intent is not to cheat people.** Horses should be tamed cleverly. If you try to ride them without such tricks they will get angry & throw the rider. **If you try to extract heavy taxes with arrogance or brute authority, people will rebel. If you follow the methods I have suggested, they will pay taxes. Therefore all that I have said are only clever ways of collecting taxes and not intended to cheat people.**

(Shl 26) **If the king's officials extract more taxes than rightfully due, you should punish them. If do not punish them, other officers will also try to do the same.** (Shanti parva; Rajadharmanushasana; 88)

Association of people as a political system

This is an interesting discussion on countries which run on the model of 'Association of people' (*Gana or sangha*).

(Commentary: While there is no mention of voting and elections, this description comes quite close to the concept of democracy. Shl 23 hints at the existence of such states in Yudhishtira's kingdom. Also the fact that Yudhishtira has asked this specific question and a whole *adhyaya* is devoted to it is another evidence)

- Yudhishtira asked Bhishma: (Shl 7) How do 'states' with 'association of people' (*Gana*) prosper. Will they not have differences of opinion? How do they defeat the enemies? How do they get friends? (Shl 8) The root cause for the destruction of such states has been lack of unity among them. It is my opinion that it is nearly impossible to maintain secrets when associations with many people are involved. I wish to know by doing what these Associations will not break up. Tell me about this in detail.

Bhishma replied: (Shl 10) Nareshwara! **That which inflames the fire of enmity among associations, families and kings is greed and *aamarsha* (impatience; also wrath, rage).** (Shl 11) Someone first chooses greed. When another person sees this greedy person, he develops impatience. Groups of people driven by greed and impatience give rise to conflicts and the resultant loss of people and money destroys them all. (Shl 12) Kings and the association of brave people try to break each other through spies/messengers. They hold confidential meetings for each other's destruction. They gather armies to vanquish each other. They apply *sama-dana-bheda* techniques. They try several approaches like causing loss of people, money etc to weaken each other. (Shl 13) Even in states with such rule, if the soldiers are not paid salaries in time and food supplied in time, the association breaks up. Once it breaks up, they get disappointed with such system and become preys to the enemy out of fear.

(Shl 14) **These *gana-rajyas* break up due to mutual quarrels. Such states are attacked by enemies swiftly. Therefore such states should always work unitedly.** (Shl 15) Those who are

endowed with the strength of association and valour can fulfil their desires easily. Even those who are outside the associations develop friendship with them. (Shl 16) **Very knowledgeable persons (*jnana-vriddha*) appreciate this system.** People who live in such associations will not have any ill-will internally. **They help each other, listen to each other and live happily.** (Shl 17) Great citizens of such states establish practices based on *shastra* and aligned with dharma. Because they treat all in the way they deserve to be treated, these systems prosper quite well. (Shl 18) **People in such *sanghas* punish even if their children make a mistake and bring them to the path of virtuousness.** Once they start following the virtuous path and become humble they are accepted into the associations. Therefore all citizens of such states prosper.

(Shl 19) Yudhishtira! Citizens of these states are always engaged actively in discharging the duties of a spy or messenger, in secret consultations, in formulating systems of administration, in collecting funds for administering the country etc. That is why they prosper in every way. (Shl 20) **The members of the association always honour and reward the intelligent, brave, enthusiastic and those who have sustained valour and thus are constantly making efforts towards prosperity.** That is why they prosper very rapidly.

(Shl 21) All citizens of such states will be rich, brave, know use of weapons and are experts in *shastras*. They rescue people who get caught in difficult dangers and get confused or suffer delusion. (Shl 22) If the people of such states yield to anger, develop mutual enmity, become scared, agonise the weak, arrest or kill someone who is not an offender, they will soon be vanquished by the enemies.

(Shl 23) *Maharaja!* **Therefore you should regularly honor the prominent leaders of such states. Because all transactions with the world will be dependent on them.** (Shl 24) All members of an Association will not be eligible to know the secrets. Maintaining secrecy of such consultations and appointing spies will be under control of prominent leaders. (Shl 25) **Prominent persons of different Associations should sit together in secret and together try for the betterment of all such states. Instead of that if the Associations remain separate, if there are mutual differences, if they get scattered, the works to be done in the interest of citizens will be spoilt.** Not only this, many damages will also occur.

(Shl 26) Persons who develop differences, split & come out from the Association, and become competitors based on their individual strengths should be quickly suppressed by the knowledgeable officials. If that is not done, the entire *gana-rajya* will be destroyed. (Shl 27) If a dispute develops in a family and if it is not resolved by the elders but ignored, then due to differences among the cousins the family itself will be destroyed. It will also lead to breaking of the Association. (Shl 28) This way of life by Associations has to be mainly protected from internal strife. If they remain united, fear from outside becomes ineffective. Outsiders will be afraid of intervening. Fear due to internal cracks cuts at the root of such system. (Shl 29) **If the members stop talking to each other due to accidental anger or confusion/attachments, or due to natural greed, it will be a characteristic of defeat of such a system.** (Shl 31, 32) **It is possible for those who are of equal caste or equal family status to unite. But there is no possibility of being equal based on job/profession, intelligence/learning, looks or wealth.** Since this difference exists, by creating difference among the members and by attracting people by giving money etc, others try to break up such life. Therefore states with such system of administration should mainly practice *sangha-jivan* (living as a united group). **(Shanti; Rajadharmanushasana; 107)**

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