

Maratha Texts on Rājanīti: A Reconstruction of Kautilya's Political Philosophy

Dr. Madhavi Narsalay

Department of Sanskrit, University of Mumbai, Mumbai, (M.S.) India

Abstract

Regimes and dynasties thrive and prosper on indigenous political thought. The same is evident during the rise of Maratha power in Maharashtra during medieval time period. Chatrapati Śivājī Maharaja established the Maratha rule when he was crowned in 1674. Sanskrit and Marathi works composed during his time period contain some works based on political philosophy. Memoirs, chronicles and letters written during the regime of Chatrapati Śivājī indicate his vision of Welfare state, much akin to the theory of Welfare state propounded by Kautilya. This proposes a question whether Chatrapati Śivājī and his predecessors and followers were aware of Kautilya's *Arthaśāstra* and texts composed and compiled following the *Arthaśāstra* tradition?

In the course of answering this question, the paper proposes to investigate three Sanskrit texts composed during the regime of Chatrapati Śivājī:

- 1) *Budhabhūṣaṇa* by Chatrapati Sambhājī (compiled and composed when he was the crowned prince)
- 2) *Daṇḍanītiprakaraṇa* by Keśavapaṇḍita
- 3) *Rājavyavahārakośa* by Rāmacandrapanta Haṇamante

Key Words: Kautilya, Shivaji, political philosophy, Maratha

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The first text is descriptive in nature, wherein Chatrapati Sambhājī describes kingship and allied subjects. The second text is prescriptive in nature, wherein

Keśavapaṇḍita has provided directions for meting out justice in the kingdom. The third text is a diglot wherein the author has provided Sanskrit parallels to Persian words pertaining to law and administration. This diglot throw light on statecraft and administration (both topics handled exhaustively in Kautilya's *Arthaśāstra*) during the Maratha rule.

- 1) *Budhabhūṣaṇaby* Chatrapati Sambhājī: This is a compilation and partial composition by Chatrapati Sambhājī, the son of Chatrapati Śivājī. The text was first brought into light by Prof. H. D. Velankar in 1926 with an introduction and translation of selected verses from a Manuscript in the holding of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Societyⁱ. It was reprinted with translation and notes by Prof. Ramkrishna Kadam with the assistance of Prof. P. G. Lalye and Prof. Bhagyalata Pataskar in 2012ⁱⁱ.

The text is divided into three chapters. The first chapter contains 194 verses, mostly *subhāṣitas*, which are quotations from well-known authors. They abound in *anyoktis* which is a kind of figure of speech wherein the poet talks of one thing subtly pointing out at the other. The first seventeen introductory verses extol the family lineage of Chatrapati Sambhājī followed by eulogy to goddess Bhavānī, the family goddess of the authorⁱⁱⁱ. The verses composed by Chatrapati Sambhājī are lucid but prolific in style. The second chapter comprises of 632 verses which deal with kingship and political science. It enumerates the characteristics and qualifications of a good king, appointment of assistants, the prime

minister, training and tutelage of princes, advisors of kings, the component parts of the kingdom viz treasury, kingdom, fortification, army, duties, spies, attendants, councilors and counsel, envoy and ambassador, duties and vices of a king, and invasion.

The third chapter deliberates on miscellaneous information beneficial to princes. It has 57 verses.

The author himself admits that he has critically examines various sources on political science and has extract valid and suitable verses from them to provide knowledge and information beneficial for the king to carry out his administration in an efficient and peaceful manner^{iv}. For lack of space we will focus on the qualities, qualifications and characteristics of the monarch and assistants.

Chapter two opens up with the characteristics and qualifications of a good monarch. It says:

*śāstrāya guṇansamyogaḥ śāstram
vinayavṛttaye/*

*vidyāvinito nṛpatiḥ satām bhavati
sammataḥ // II.1*

For the sake of *śāstras* many virtues are in its proximity. It is because of knowledge that a person attains modesty. A king, who is modest because of knowledge is respected by virtuous people. Such a king gets respect and approval from good people.

The first section of Kautilya's *Arthaśāstra* is known as *Vinayādhikārikaprakaraṇa*. It envisages about the knowledge and training of a king and asserts that a king due to the virtue of knowledge attains success in this

world. Such a king is trained to restrain himself at the time of downfall and calamity and does not fall prey to vices. He trained to control his ego and vanity. The political philosophy propounded by Kautilya is of ego-less monarchy which exerts tremendous self-control. Chatrapati Sambhājī's composition at the very outset indicates Kautilyan influence. The very first verse of the second chapter speaks about *vidyavinīto nrpatih*, is extracted from *Kāmandakīya Nītisāra* with little difference^v. The text says that association with preceptor for understanding the *śāstras*, *śāstras* are for enhancing modesty, such a king who is modest and empowered with learning never perishes due to difficulty. Kautilya, in the fifth chapter of the first section concludes using the words '*vidyāvinīto rājā*' is eager to induce modesty amongst his subjects, single handedly enjoys the earth and is engaged in the welfare of all living beings^{vi}. In this way apart from conceptual similarity with Kautilya's *Arthaśāstra*, there is terminological similarity with it evident in *Budhabhūṣaṇa*.

Chatrapati Sambhājī's imagery of an ideal monarch is that of intelligence, ever-smiling nature, tolerant and alert person. Such a king should impose minimal tax on his subjects, should implement the six expedients of policy, should be enthusiastic, should be aware of the weakness of his enemies as well as financial position of the his kingdom, should be devoid of bad habits and should respect elders (II. 2.).

Quoting from *Śiśupālavadha* (II. 82) of Māgha, he describes a king as a very unique person who has intelligence as his weapon, seven constituents as his body frame, wealth

as his protective armour, spies as his eyes and envoy as his mouth (II. 3.) Quoting from *Kāmandakīya Nītisāra*, Chatrapati Sambhājī expresses his idea of an ideal king. An ideal king is eloquent, courageous, has sharp memory, and is a positive-thinker. He is strong and patient and thoughtfully exerts punishment. He is a good commander of the army, intelligent and has knowledge of arts and crafts and well as sports excellent physique. Such a king easily confronts foreign aggression and knows various means of defending the kingdom, he does not ignore the drawbacks of his enemies and he is very well aware of the time to enter into a treaty or attack. He maintains secrecy about his movements and decisions, has got perfect understanding of place and time and amasses wealth with a proper sense of investment. He stays away from wrath, avarice, fear, treachery, bewilderment and hastiness. He considers advice given by elders as enrichment. He is strong and sports a handsome personality. Such a king, well-equipped with these qualities can easily accomplish an achievement. He is far-sighted, enthusiastic, pure, believer in concrete action, has clear vision, cultured, modest, and believes in righteous deeds. Equipped with these qualities, the king can easily achieve his goals. He becomes an apple in the eyes of his subjects. After enumerating the qualities of the king with the verses from *Kāmandakīya Nītisāra*, Chatrapati Sambhājī enlists similar verses from the *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa*. There are quite a sizeable number of verses in the *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa* repeating the content of *Kāmandakīya Nītisāra*.

Thus, the compilation of verses in the second chapter of *Budhabhūṣaṇa* without any reference to the *Arthaśāstra* of Kautilya indicates that there was no direct access to it. However, the topics discussed in *Budhabhūṣaṇa* (chapter II) not only agree but also overlap with those of the *Arthaśāstra* underlines the accessibility and acceptance of the Kauṭilyan school of state and administration.

2) *Daṇḍanītiprakaraṇa* by Keśavapaṇḍita: This work has also been composed and compiled during the period of Sambhājī. In one of the Manuscripts received it is gleaned that Sambhājī was the author of *Budhabhūṣaṇa* for which Keśavapaṇḍita wrote a commentary called *Dharmakalpalatā* and that and that this manuscript was a portion of *Nītimañjarī*, a larger work by Keśavapaṇḍita^{vii}. As of now, *Dharmakalpalatā* and *Nītimañjarī* are yet to be discovered. The author worked under Chatrapati Śivājī Maharaj and Chatrapati Sambhājī as ‘Dānādhyakṣa’. He has also authored an epic called ‘*Rājārāmacaritam*’, on the journey of Chatrapati Rājārāma from Fort Panhālā to Fort Ginji^{viii}. Keśavapaṇḍita’s *Daṇḍanītiprakaraṇa* comprises of six sections^{ix}:

- i) Eulogy of daṇḍa (the power of the king to punish); definition and nature of offences and punishments; procedure of criminal justice;
- ii) Thefts of all kinds;
- iii) Adultery, rape etc
- iv) Defamation, libel, slander;
- v) Hurt of various kinds; and

vi) Assaults

The text is more of a nature of a compilation as a digest with explanations and definitions here and there as regards the application of the sayings or quotations in practice. Certain exceptions to the recorded conventions have also been recommended. The work, however, is not a very detailed one although it brings in briefly all the information required for guidance in the administration of criminal justice. At the very outset, the author says that Manu and other *śāstras* have been taken into consideration along with digests and commentaries like *Mitākṣarā* and then a gist has been presented in the form of *daṇḍanīti*. He quotes Manu regarding five ‘sacrifices’ to be performed by the king: a) punishing the wicked; b) revering the virtuous; c) growth of exchequer through lawful means; d) impartiality and e) protection of the kingdom. The *Nāradaśmṛti* is quoted stating that the king should appoint knowledgeable and righteous persons who can met justice to the subjects. Keśavapaṇḍita quotes *Yājñavalkyaśmṛti* regarding non-installation of law-suit. A law-suit instituted by a drunkard, an insane person, a diseased person, one addicted to gambling, a minor, timid person and one instituted by a person having no connection with it is not maintainable (I. 16. *Yājñavalkyaśmṛti* II. 2. 32.)^x. The king will beget sin if wrongly punishes the unprotected subjects or the unprotected subjects get unnecessarily tortured in his rule wherein law and order are not prioritized. He should keep a close watch on his officers through spies to find out whether they follow law in his kingdom

(*Daṇḍanītiprakaraṇa* I. 22-23). He clearly mentions the purpose behind *daṇḍa* should be exerted to protect the subjects against cheats, thieves, wicked, dacoits, impious people, robbers, people who are favoured by the king and especially *kāyasthas* (i.e. those who document records). He should hold the rod of *daṇḍa* against the wicked. It is in fact dharma which is functioning in the garb of *daṇḍa* as conceived by Prajāpati^{xi}. The king who punishes those who deserve punishment and kills those who deserve death, reaps the fruits of sacrifices well-performed with a thousand sacrificial presents. None should escape from *daṇḍa*, be it brother, son, guru, father-in-law or maternal uncle, if he deviates from performance of duties.

Keśavapaṇḍita quotes Manu who has personified *daṇḍa* as dark and red-eyed figure who moves around the subjects, who are never stupefied when it is exerted carefully^{xii}.

Kautilya in the very first *Vidyāsammudeśa prakaraṇa* mentions about four prominent branches of knowledge viz *ānvīkṣikī trayī vārttā daṇḍanītiśceti vidyāḥ*| He has mentioned the opinions of other authorities viz *Mānava* school regards *trayī vārttā daṇḍanītiśceti mānavāḥ*| *vārttā daṇḍanītiśceti bārhaspatyāḥ* \ and *daṇḍanītirekā vidyetyauśanasāḥ*| This indicates that all the four authorities viz Kautilya, *Mānava*, *Bārhaspatya* and *Auśanasa* schools are constant about regarding *daṇḍanīti* as one fixed branch of knowledge. Kautilya in I. 4. 4-16 has expressed his thoughts about *daṇḍanīti*. The remaining three branches of knowledge viz; *ānvīkṣikī*, *trayī* and *vārttā* are nurtured

because of *daṇḍanīti*. Thus *daṇḍanīti* is instrumental in the acquisition of these three branches of knowledge. It acquires the unacquired, protects the acquired, increases the protected and exerts charity to the right person of the increased. The entire treatment of *daṇḍanīti* in this discussion is extremely abstract. *Daṇḍa* in the eyes of Kautilya in the opening two aphorisms is an abstract power wielded and exerted by the king by virtue of his authority. The aphorism 5-15 deal with the intensity of *daṇḍa*. The king should always stay upright to exert *daṇḍa* to control the subjects. Extreme *daṇḍa* leads to frustration amongst subjects and mild *daṇḍa* defeats the very concept of punishment and causes the wicked to disregard it leading to the situation of anarchy in the kingdom. Thus *daṇḍa* needs to be well-thought of whereby the subjects would follow the path of *varṇa* and *āśrama*.

It is interesting to note that Keśavapaṇḍita in his *Daṇḍanītiprakaraṇa* has delved upon *Dharmaśāstra* texts like *Manusmṛti*, *Yājñavalkyasmṛti*, *Nāradaśmṛti*, *Vasiṣṭhasmṛti* etc but he has not referred to the *Arthaśāstra* of Kautilya or *Kāmandakīya Nītisāra* unlike that of *Budhabhūṣana* which heavily delves upon *Nītisāra* of Kāmandaka. Meting justice was a matter of upholding the rule of ‘dharma’ in the kingdom gave immense importance to the texts of *Dharmaśāstra* like the *sūtras*, *smṛtis*, commentaries and digests. Thus, texts on *Dharmaśāstra* took the public administration, statecraft, foreign policy, defence, taxation, which were specialized subjects of *Arthaśāstra* into their fold, relegating *Arthaśāstra* texts like Kautilya’s

Arthaśāstra in anonymity. Keśavapaṇḍita's *Daṇḍanītiprakaraṇa* is a digest focusing of crime and punishment to be given to the criminals. It is ready reckoner to be used by the law and justice department for exerting punishment to the criminals. The abstraction dealt by Kautilya in his *Arthaśāstra* vis-à-vis concrete citations of the *smṛtis* outnumbered their direct applicability or implementability in the day to day affairs of the kingdom. This is the reason why Dandanitiprakarana focused on the *smṛtis* rather than Kautilya's *Arthaśāstra* and other texts.

3. *Rājavyavahārakośa*: The *Rājavyavahārakośa* is a specialised type of work which is a combination of Persian /Dakkhani Urdu and Sanskrit technical and colloquial words used for day to day administrative purpose. The author of this work is Raghunātha Nārāyaṇa Haṇamante. This work has 384 verses and is divided into ten sections^{xiii}. The *Śivacaritrapradīpa*, of which the *kośa* is a part, conveys that this work was executed under the able direction of Raghunātha Paṇḍita, a senior minister in the council of Aṣṭapradhāna-s of Śivājī, by various scholars among whom one Dhuṇḍhirāja Lakṣmaṇa Vyāsa is specially mentioned^{xiv}.

It is interesting to note that Devagiri had been a Marathi speaking area till Firoz Shah Tughlaq's time, when the Bahmani kingdom was set up in Deccan. The said home of emperors, after ruling for about three hundred years on a vast area of southern India was disintegrated into five small ruling domains. During the Moghul regime, arrival

of Persian men of arts, Muslim and non-Muslims specially Kayasthas and Khatri, Kashmiri Brahmins from north India, Marathi language underwent a great upheaval of expansion with foreign words. According to some, Marathi language was enriched with Persian vocabulary reveals that various new official and literary terminologies entered in the Marathi lexicon. In the wake of Marathas, till the ascendancy of Śivājī, some steps were taken to put a barrage on the expansion of Persian in the Marathi domain. In this effort, Raghunātha Paṇḍita was assigned to compile and compose the *kośa*.

When Śivājī entrusted the work of compiling a political terminology to Raghunātha Paṇḍita., he was assigned to expunge Persian terms used in the various departments of administration and to prepare a new set of indigenous equivalents for Persian words which were then used in the administration of the state. Language is the medium of cultural identity. Here we get evidence that Sanskrit was the language to resolve the issue of cultural identity which was missing amongst the Marathas. Therefore the introductory verses mention this purpose of Śivājī^{xv}. The work is not a collection of random words but is a systematic and thematic classification of words. As Marathe and Shivade state that the outline of the *kośa* was first drafted and then words were carefully collected and classified into ten sections. The Sanskrit word and its Persian or Deccan Urdu word is stated. The Persian word is Sanskritized for metrical purpose. In fact the Persian words are so popular that even in the present times we have these words used as surnames. The

kośa was supposed to be implemented for administrative purpose so that the Sanskrit words suggested in this work would be put to use.

1) Rājāvarga : This chapter provides equal Sanskrit terms to 109 words in 33 verses, such as *rājan*= *pādaśāha*, *svāmin* = *sāhiba*, *antahpura*= *daruni*, *yuvarāja*= *vāli-ahad*, *rājaputra*= *sāhajāda*. This is followed by list of words standing for ministers, officers looking after various portfolios and military officers. Sanskrit alternative of words for Paigambara= *ṛṣi*, *pīra* = *guru*, *murida*= *śiṣya* have been suggested. This indicates that the author is of the opinion of suggested replacements for Persian words rather than Sanskritizing Persian words.

2) Kāryasthānavarga opens with *kāryasthānam tu kārakhānā*. This word is still in use in Marathi as *kārahānā*, *kārahānadāra* and *kārahānīs*. The RVK provides 171 terms in 45 verses of officers and articles under each *kārahānā* mentioned in this section.

3) Bhogyavarga: This chapter provides one hundred and ten terms in 33 verses of many *kārahānas* and related articles. e.g. *madabakhāna* i.e. *pākālayam*, *abadārahāna* i.e. *jalasthāna*.

4) Śastravarga initially notes the names of the officers and then enumerates Sanskrit parallels to Persian words for weapons etc. Number of swords, daggers slings, bows and arrows are mentioned in this portion. Apart from this it mentions training centres for weaponry. It not only mentions the names and types of weapons but also has given parallels to parts of weapons. Marathe has made an important observation that the

author has noted *asi*, *khadga*, *nistrimśa*, *karavāla*, *maṇḍalāgraka*, *yamadamaṣṭra* as different types of swords. This section gives 85 terms in 33 verses.

5) Caturaṅgavarga: This section makes note of elephants, horses, chariots, carts, camels and battle-band. It has got a detailed description of elephants and horses, their classification as well as their ornaments.

6) Sāmantavarga: This is the smallest of all the *vargas* which has 49 terms in 13 verses. This section focuses on officers to the servants in the army. It is connected with the movements of the army. It discusses about the arrangements made in the army during the campaign. Vazir is known as *sāmanta* and *lašara* is called *sainya*. One who leads an army of five thousand soldiers is known as *pañcahajārī* in Persian and *camūpālaka* in Sanskrit. A *hajārī* is known as *sahasrika* in Sanskrit. This indicates that a *camū* is equivalent to a collective of five thousand soldiers. Therefore the word has been given as *camūpālaka*. Regarding the movement of the army certain words have been used like reaching a particular destination is *mukāma* i.e. *avasthāna*, marching is *kūca* i.e. *prasthāna*, *saupatika* is attacking the enemy while it is asleep, *gīrda* i.e. *veṣṭana* is surrounding the enemy from all sides. *Sandhi*, *vigraha*, *abhikrama*, *āśraya*, *bheda* which are components of *śāḍgunya* are duly mentioned in the text.

7) Durgavarga: Śivājī Mahārāja had possessed nearly 240 forts. Not a single *paraganā* was left unguarded without a fort. Therefore in the Durgavarga there are 91 terms in 25 *ślokas*. There are different types of forts mentioned in this section.

Information is given of bastions, ramparts, fortifications, moats built on forts.

8) Lekhanavarga: This section not only provides terms for *daftarakhānā* = *lekhanasālā*, and its allies like *shāyī* for *maśī*, *farmāna* for *rājapatra* i.e. state order, but also terms related to finance i.e. *śāhirū* = *vetana*, *vyaya* = expenditure by salary, *jamā* = *āya* i.e. income, *aina* = *mūladhana* i.e. capital, *nakhtā* = *dravya*, judiciary and other social terms. 401 terms are mentioned in 110 verses. Words mentioning weights, measures, division of property, disbursement and payment of loans, profit and loss, law and order have found place in this section.

9) Janapadavarga: In this section we find *vilāyatī* = *janapada* i.e. provinces and some terms which throw light on revenue system during the Maratha rule. 127 terms in 39 verses have been discussed. *Mauja* = *grāma*, *peth* = *nagara*, *paragaṇā* = *grāmagana*, *subhedāra* = *deśādhikārin*, *kamāveśadāra* = *grāmasaṅghādhikārin*, *kārakūna* = *kāryakāraka*, *kharifa* = *kārtikaphala*, *rabī* = *vaiśākhaphala*, *koṭhīmahala* = *dhānyāgara* have been mentioned. Many words are still in vogue.

10) Paṇyavarga: This is the last chapter providing 64 terms in 17 verses related to market and merchandise. It includes words like *bājarā* = *paṇyavīthikā*, *cātyā* = *vastravikrayin* (cloth merchant) *sonāra* = *svaṇakāra*, *kāsāra* = *kansyakāraka* = bronzesmith, *khyātī* = *lohakāra* = blacksmith etc. It incorporates words which stand for different professions and livelihood during Maratha rule.

Instead of designating this work as a lexicon, we should call it a 'diglot'. A diglot

book is one that has side-by-side text in two languages, on the same or opposite page.

Words like *rājya*, *amātya*, *kośa*, *durga*, are used on ancient works on the *Arthaśāstra*. The word *pradhāna* is used in the sense of chieftain, prominent person in the *Arthaśāstra*. (I. 13. 26, VII. 5. 12). But *Śukranīti* mentions a heightened meaning of this word as an officer who has all-over comprehension of affairs as *sarvadarśī pradhānaḥ* II. 84. *Nāyaka*, which has been Prakritised to *Naik* means commandant according to the *Arthaśāstra*. This meaning is retained in the text, unlike the meaning of headman of the village. *Saciva* is understood as an important stamping authority in the text. In the *Maitrāyaṇī Samhitā*, VII. 54, *Mahābhārata Śāntiparvan* 80. 21, *Arthaśāstra*. I. 8. 9., he is the minister. In *Śukranīti* II. 84, he is *senāvit sacivastathā*. So here, unlike *Śukranīti* or *Arthaśāstra* and other texts, the meaning has changed. The *daṇḍadhara* and *vetradhara* are mentioned in the *Śukranīti* as those who instruct etiquettes who come in the vicinity of the king. It is difficult to reach to a conclusion whether which *Arthaśāstra* text the author has referred to. But there are some similarities with the *Śukranīti*, which is a comparatively later text than that of the *Arthaśāstra* or the *Kāmandakīya Nītisāra*. The absence of terminologies introduced by Kautilya and followed by Kamandaka indicates that the terms had become outdated due to Islamization of state administration. However, the classification of *Rājavyavahārakośa* in ten sections indicates that the Kautalyan model of Saptāṅga was followed by Chatrapati Śivājī. This proves

the influence of *Arthaśāstra* in the state and administration of Chatrapati Śivājī.

A probe into the three texts taken under investigation shows lack of direct access to Kautilya's *Arthaśāstra* during the Maratha rule. This indicates the possibility that *Arthaśāstra* may be out of vogue during this

period. However, texts based on *Arthaśāstra* propounding the philosophy of Kautilya viz *Kāmandakīya Nītisāra* and *Śukranīti* (to some extent) were accessible and were widely studied in the Maratha period. This indicates the acceptance and applicability of Kautilya's political philosophy in spite of a time gap of twenty centuries between them.

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ⁱⁱ Ramkrishna Kadam (ed), *Chatrapati Sambhājī Maharaj viracita Budhabhushana-Rajaniti*, Rajamayur Prakashan, Pune, 2012

ⁱⁱⁱ Ibid. pp. 125-138

^{iv}*Budhabhūṣaṇa* I. 16: vivicya śāstrāṇi purātānānām ādāya tebhyaḥ khalu so'yamartham | karoti sadgranthamamum nṛpālāḥ sa śambhuvarmā budhabhūṣaṇākhyam ||

^v*Budhabhūṣaṇa* II. 1. śāstrāya guṇasaṃyogaḥśāstram vinayavṛttaye | vidyāvinīto nṛpatiḥ satām bhavati sammataḥ ||

Kāmandakīya Nītisāra I. 59. śāstrāya gurusāmyogaḥśāstram vinayavṛttaye | vidyāvinīto nṛpatirna kṛcchreṣvavaśīdati ||

^{vi} *Kautiliya Arthasāstra* I. 5. 17. vidyāvinīto rājā hi prajānām vinaye rataḥ |
ananyām pṛthivīm bhūṅkte sarvabhūtahite rataḥ||

^{vii} V. S. Bendrey (ed), *Keśava Paṇḍita's Daṇḍanītiprakaraṇa or Crininal Jurisprudence (XVIIth Century)*, The Bharata Itihasa Samshodhaka Mandala, Pune, 1943

^{viii} Sadashiv Shivade, *op. cit.*, p. 296

^{ix} V. S. Bendrey (ed). *op. cit.* p. 16

^x *Daṇḍanītiprakaraṇa* I. 16: mattonmattārtavyasanibalabhītādiyogitaḥ|
asambadhakṛtaścaiva vyavahāro na siddhyati ||

^{xi} *Ibid*, I, 26/ *Yājñavalkyasmṛti* II. 354 :tadavāpya nṛpo daṇḍam durvṛtteṣu nipātayet |
dharmo hi daṇḍarūpeṇa brahmaṇā nirmitaḥ purā ||

^{xii} *Ibid*. I. 35/ *Manusmṛti* VII. 25: yatra śyamo lohitākṣo daṇḍascarati papahā|
prajāstatra na muhyanti netā cetsādhu paśyati ||

^{xiii} a) Sadashiv Shivde, *op. cit.*, p. 168

b) A. D. Marathe, *Chatrapatinchya preranene jhalela Rajakosa*, Diamond Publication, Pune, 2008, intro. p. xvi

^{xiv} *Ibid*: so'yam śivachatrapateranujñām mūrdhābhiṣiktasya nidhāya mūrdhni |
amātyavaryo raghunathanāmā karoti rājavyavahārakośam ||
Vyasanavayābdhicandreṇa lakṣmaṇavyāsasūnūnā|
Kośo'yam dhuṇḍirājena raghunāthamude kṛtaḥ ||

^{xv} *Rājavyavahārakośa* intro .81: kṛte mlecchocchede bhuvi niravaśesam
ravikulavataṁsenāyartham yavanavacanairluptasaraṇīm|
Nṛpavyavahārātham sa tu vibhudhabhāṣām vitanitum
niryukto'bhūdivdvanṛpavaraśivachatrapatinā ||