

# ATHARVAN POLITICAL SYSTEM AND TODAY

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[The Vedas are the only known available and best preserved document of Indian history. In the present turmoil of Indian society the Vedas are the only solution. In accordance with Vedic ethics and values one may live peaceful life and help the country to develop its culture and creed. This paper is a modest attempt to bring light upon the governance of Atharvavedic people who were our forefathers so that our contemporary Indians may think a little to annihilate the social disturbances. And our posterity may become save. To make an ideal government system one may reconstruct the Vedic polity with some reforms. To get rid from the turmoil of political disturbances it becomes very necessary today.]

## **Introduction**

The necessity of the government has been shown from very remote days of mankind. Development of a country depends upon the government system of the county. Every county or every nation has a government system in the world. Even the wild people who have still been living in the dense forests also have their own government system. In fact each and every people have direct or indirect relation with a government system in the world. This government system originated with the dominative nature of man. It is an innate nature of mankind that man needs to dominate other and to establish himself as a leader in his society or neighbours or his friends or his surroundings and so on. This innate nature leads him to polity. Strictly speaking this polity is a perpetual fact.

## **Origin of Kingship**

From the point of view of Indian culture the polity has a divine origin. As it is a fact that anything relating to Indian history or Indian culture one must go through to the Vedas as these are the foundation of the whole Indian nation and its culture and creed. These Vedas revealed Indian science, arts, commerce, politics,

economics, philosophy and so on. To say otherwise, what is not revealed in the Vedas. Hence, one who needs to know Indian polity he must study the Vedas first. Although, in the Vedas, it is not directly stated that polity is born from any deity. But the *Aitareyabrāhmaṇa* of the *Rgveda* refers an evidence that the Asuras always overcome the deities (due to their united society) and the deities always loss the battle as they were not united systematically. In a meeting after such a defeat, the deities got the cause of their defeat that they have no leader to organise themselves in the battle or for the battle. Therefore they had lost the battle. After that they went to Brahman, their father and told him about their problem and solicited to appoint a leader upon them. They already selected God Indra as their leader and requested Brahman to appoint Indra (formally) as their king. Thus this evidence proves the theory of divine origin of kingship. But the *Aitareyabrāhmaṇa* is not so much clear about the fact (union of Asuras) by dint of which they got victory upon the deities. It seems that the Asuras were already a united troop who got victory many times upon gods. If the deities represented the Aryan family and Asuras the non Aryan then there arises a new fact that the non Aryan people of India were already lived in a systematic governmental order and they entered the battle-field under some leader. In the *Mahābhārata* too there is an evidence of origin of kingship where the mortal origin of kingship can be found. Here Brahman appointed Manu as the king of the people (of *Bhāratavarṣa*) on request of the people. Manu accepted the kingship in return of tax. From this reference it is clear that kingship and collection of taxes were interrelated. Both these above mentioned references show three important factors of governance such as people, king and tax. Some other important factors of governance are like the country, various ministers, army, weapons etc. have also can be find in the Vedas.

### **Polity in the Vedas**

There are many references found scattered in the *Rgveda* like king, domain, people, governance etc. While the *Yajurveda* and *Sāmaveda* deal with various sacrifices not only in general but with some special sacrifices like *Rājasūya*, *Abhiṣeka* etc. related to

kingship. The *Atharvaveda* other hand deals with every aspect of Vedic people, society, culture, thinking and so on and so forth. In later age from the point of view of its varied contents the *Atharvaveda* got many appellations like *Atharvaveda*, *Aṅgirasaveda*, *Śāntaveda*, *Ghoraveda*, *Bhṛguveda*, *Kṣatraveda* etc. instead of its original name *Atharvāṅgīrasa*. Of these *Kṣatraveda* is a popular name for the *Atharvaveda*. The term *kṣatra* (protection from injury) has been used for the first time to denote the spells of the *Atharvaveda* in *Satapathabrāhmaṇa* 14.8.1-4.

### **Meaning of *Kṣatra*, *Kṣatraveda* and *Kṣatriya***

The word *Kṣatraveda* has appeared for the first time in the *Rāmāyana*. This very name is noteworthy for the fact that it refers to the *Veda* of the royal (*kṣatriya*) people. The term *kṣatra* may be derived from the two roots √*kṣi* (to decay) and √*trai* (to preserve). The word *kṣata* means wound or injury. The power which protects from injury is *kṣatra*. Hence the person who has the power called *kṣatra* is a *kṣatriya*. This power is a combination of mental and physical strength.

### **Polity in the *Atharvaveda***

The spells and benedictions of the *Atharvaveda* which have been classified as *rājakarmāṇi* distinctly show their very purpose i.e. the activities to be done by the king. There are many important information about the kingship and the concept of governance practised in ancient India in the scattered spells of the *Atharvaveda*.<sup>1</sup> Thus one may reconstruct the picture of a system of governance where the first preference was enjoyed by the subjects of the country by gleaning together the information found in the Atharvavedic charms.

### **The Country**

The boundary of a Vedic kingdom was small. However, references to the idea of ruling over all beings are often met with in the Vedic texts. Thus in the *Atharvaveda*.VI.86.1 it is said: *vr̥ṣā viśvasya bhūtasya tvamekavr̥ṣo bhava* (The Lord of all creatures, be the one and only ruler). References to the same idea are found in the *R̥gveda* where it is mentioned that the king would desire a state extending over a vast area. The Atharvavedic king therefore

invoked to in the hymn *Atharvaveda*, XII.1 the goddess Earth for an *urum lokam* i.e. broad region.

### Type of the Country and Ruler

*Rāṣṭra* and *rājya* are the most common words used synonymously to denote a state or domain in the Vedas. Besides these there are other terms like *sāmrājya*, *svārājya* etc. which mean a kingdom. In the *Atharvaveda* the term *rāṣṭra* occurs sixty one times, *rājya* appears seven times *sāmrājya* occurs once and *svārājya* appears four times with their several derivatives.<sup>2</sup> It is very difficult to ascertain the exact nature of these kingdoms. In this context it is mention worthy that the *Aitareyabrāhmaṇa* refers to eleven types of dominions such as *rājya*, *sāmrājya*, *bhaujya*, *svārājya*, *vairājya*, *pārameṣṭhya*, *rājya*, *mahārājya*, *ādhipatya*, *svāvasya* and *ātiṣṭha* etc. According to Keith these are 'kingship, overlordship, paramount rule, self-rule, sovereignty, supreme authority, kingship, great kingship, suzerainty, supremacy and pre-eminence' respectively.<sup>3</sup>

Evidences show that in Vedic India monarchical government was in vogue. For instance, king Parikṣita was a monarch in the earth.<sup>4</sup> Similarly mention has been made in the *Rgveda*, VIII.21.18 to a monarch called Citra who ruled the state situated on the bank of river Sarasvatī. King Sudāsa obtained victory over ten kings.<sup>5</sup> Likewise, Trasadasya was a monarch.<sup>6</sup>

### Indra the Ideal King

In the *Atharvaveda* III.19.6, it has been mentioned that God Indra is the army chief of the Maruts : *devā indrajyeṣṭhā maruto yantu senayā*. Evidence shows that the Maruts were the subjects of Indra.<sup>7</sup> The king was superior to all other men of his cast. This very idea may be seen in a prayer of the *Atharvaveda* to obtain superiority: *sajātānām śraiṣṭhya ā dhehyenam*.<sup>8</sup>

### Succession to the Throne

Information of kingly succession from father to son may be traced in the *Rgveda*.<sup>9</sup> Tradition shows that the elder son of a king becomes the successor of his father. But the *Rgveda* shows an exception to this fact. The succession of the junior prince to the

throne has been reflected in the *Rgveda* when the elder one could not be accepted as king due to some reason.<sup>10</sup> Sometimes a kingdom was ruled by even ten generations of kings.<sup>11</sup>

### Authority of the Citizens

However kingship in ancient India was not out and out hereditary. A *kṣatriya* merely by virtue of the fact that he was the elder son of a king was not crowned to rule his father's kingdom after his father's demise or such circumstance. Rather as it appears that the subjects of the kingdom had a say in this matter. Thus in the *Atharvaveda* itself, it is said that the king should be accepted by the people of the country: *viśastvā sarvā vāñcantu*.<sup>12</sup> Absence of acceptability by the people may cause dissatisfaction among them and discontented people may dethrone the king. Thus it is said: *mā toadrāṣṭramadhi bhraśat*.<sup>13</sup> It is interesting to note here that the *Atharvaveda* refers to the restoration of dethroned king<sup>14</sup> also. Loyalty of the people to the king was very important in the system of governance in Vedic India. Thus for instance, a desire for loyalty of the people may be found in the *Atharvaveda*, VII.99. The verse runs as follows: *dhruvam dhruveṇa haviṣā'va soma nayāmasi /yathā na indrah kevalīroviṣaḥ sammanasaskarat / /*

Thus in this verse has been expressed a desire for people to become unanimous who will be in accord with the decisions and actions taken by the king. Sayana, the commentator of the *Atharvaveda*, while commenting upon this verse has been shown that in this verse there is a prayer to the effect that Indra may make these people of the kingdom (of the king) unanimous.<sup>15</sup>

### Selection of King

During the period of Atharvavedic society the people of the country selected their king. This was done on the basis of the qualities possessed by the prospective ruler.<sup>16</sup> The procedure of choosing the king has not been stated clearly in the *Atharvaveda*. The other Vedic texts too do not throw any light on this. Nevertheless, evidences of the two popular assemblies viz. *sabhā* and *samiti* give some kind of indication to the procedure of selection of a king. Kingship in Vedic India was selective in nature. The term election means selection of a candidate from among a number of candidates who contest for a certain post. In Vedic

literature there is no such evidence of nomination of more than one candidate contesting for kingship. Rather there are only evidences of selection of one person from others.<sup>17</sup> As it appears for the selection of a prospective king the approval of all sections of the society was necessary. Thus the selectors consisted of vassals or kings from neighbouring states, ministers, wise men, the heads of the villages, the Rathakāras (chariot-maker), the Sutas, the fishermen, and smiths.<sup>18</sup> As can be seen this list of selectors consist of people from the highest to the lowest status of the society. Of these, there were two sub-casts also viz. the Rathakāras and the Sutas.<sup>19</sup> The kingmakers included persons belonging to royal families or aristocratic families. They along with the *rājakṛtaḥ* enjoyed the authority to sprinkle the king at the coronation ceremony. According to Sayana, the word *rājakṛtaḥ* denotes the ministers of the king as well as the relatives of the king.<sup>20</sup> The word *grāmaṇī* (village head) is indicative of the *vaiśya* class of people.<sup>21</sup> The Vaiśyas apparently played a significant role in the kingdom. For, they were engaged in business and thus were earning members of the society. And they must have contributed sufficient revenue to the royal treasury. The *maniṣīnaḥ* again represented the intelligentsia of Vedic society i.e. the learned Brahmins. These selectors have been referred to as the Varuṇas.<sup>22</sup> It seems that all these selectors were members of the *samiti* who represented the entire people of the kingdom. The stability of the king depended upon the members of the *samiti*. In this context the very verse *Atharvaveda*, VI. 88.3 is note worthy: *dhrubo'cyuto pra mṛṇīhi śatrun śatruyato'dharān pra pādayasva /sarvā diśaḥ saṁmanasaḥ sadhricirdhruvāya te samitiḥ kalpatāmiha / /*

### **Dismissal of a King**

Sometimes the king was dismissed by his people if there occurred any misuse of regal power by the king or if there was any other incompatibility on the part of the king. It appears that the deposed or dethroned king was either kept confined or he himself took shelter in some kind of fort. In III.3.3 of the *Atharvaveda*, occur references to three kinds of places where the deposed king it seems took shelter. Of these one place was engulfed by water, one was a mountainous region and other one was situated in the midst of

people.<sup>23</sup> Dismissal of an incompetent king has also been found in other Vedic literature. For instance king Purukutsa was not selected for the throne for second time.<sup>24</sup> King Duṣṭarītu Pauṁsāyaṇa was expelled by his subjects due to his autocratic activities.<sup>25</sup>

### Reinstatement of a Dethroned King

In the *Atharvaveda* some passages indicate that the dethroned king was recalled for kingship. For instance, in the *Atharvaveda*, III.3.3, the king has been call back to his former people like a falcon. Sometimes the people wanted their exiled king to return to the kingdom as their ruler. They urged him to return as quickly as possible: *śyeno bhūtoā viśā ā patemāḥ* [being a falcon rush towards the people]. The hymn III.3 of the *Atharvaveda* is a benediction designed for the reinstated king. Here it has been prayed that the Aśvins may make the suitable path for returning to the dominion so that the deposed king come back again and remain confirmed king of his lost kingdom. However in his reinstatement the approval of the gods as well as of his Sajātas was sought. Furthermore, for the reinstatement of the king, the approval of each and every person who had opposed him (*pratijanāḥ*) was essential. The *atharvan* people reinstalled the deposed king through the *sautrāmaṇi* sacrifice. The Atharvavedic passage III.3.2 confirms this fact. Thus it is seen that the reinstatement of the king was done by offering oblations to Indra the good protector (*su-trāman*). The purpose behind this act it seems was to strengthen the royal power of the king.<sup>26</sup> The *Atharvaveda* also refers that sometimes the king himself did not wish to continue as ruler.<sup>27</sup> Thus it is seen from the discussion above that the selection of a new king or dismissal of a king and reinstatement of a dethroned king depended upon the approval of the people of the country. The people could exercise their authority in all these three activities. In this juncture it is worthy of note that the Atharvavedic king desired the support of the people so that the king may retain his throne.

### The Ideal King

So far as an ideal king is concerned, the king in Vedic India was looked upon as a prototype of Indra the heavenly ruler and slayer of the demons. In this juncture a coronation ceremony of an earthly king is mention worthy here which was performed as per the rules

of the *Aindramahābhiṣeka* ceremony performed earlier by the gods to consecrate Indra as their king.<sup>28</sup> The earthly king has been often compared to Indra.<sup>29</sup> The *Atharvaveda* even expresses honour to the king by giving the title of Indrendra.<sup>30</sup>

### Qualities of a King

So far as the qualities required for ruling a kingdom is concerned one refers to the passage of *Aitareyabrāhmaṇa* where it states: *ugravat sahasvat tat kṣatrasya rūpaṁ mandra ojiṣṭha ityojasvat tat kṣatrasya rūpaṁ, bahulābhimāna ityabhiavadadabhibhutyai rūpaṁ...*<sup>31</sup>. Thus it has been indicated that the governor should be the mightiest, the most powerful, the strongest, the most real, the best to accomplish one. When the human king is compared to Indra, it is implied that the king in Vedic India was expected to a person of physical strength and good mental disposition. As it has been already mentioned above that in the *Atharvaveda* the king has been addressed as *indrendra* thus expresses a desire that he should be the Indra of Indra i.e. better than even Indra. The people in Vedic India desire their king not only to be *ugra* (strong) but also *sumanā* i.e. endowed with a good mental disposition.<sup>32</sup> The king has also been compared to a tiger and a lion on account of his physical strength.<sup>33</sup> The *Atharvaveda* also has been referred to the *ugra* (formidable) king.<sup>34</sup>

Respectability on the part of the king was counted to be of importance so that the people of the entire country may admire the king.<sup>35</sup> The king was expected to create in his kingdom an atmosphere where all the clan men could pursue their duties without any hindrance.<sup>36</sup> As the acceptability of the king for the people of the entire country was necessary for his kingship to continue<sup>37</sup> hence it was important for the king to be a person of the qualities.

Here it is also mention worthy that the term *rājya* in some passages stand for royal power or the duty of king.<sup>38</sup> It appears that in ancient India the system of statecraft primarily had the welfare of the people in its agenda. The foremost duty of the king was to give all round protection to not only his people but also to all the creatures of his kingdom. The king was the sole ruler of the Bhutas like the bull in a herd of cattle.<sup>39</sup> The king was the ruler of the



heroes.<sup>40</sup> In the *atharvan* hymn the seer invokes Indra to make the king an exalted person and to give his strength so that he may be the only lord and leader of the people by scattering his enemies and subjugating his rivals.<sup>41</sup> Another quality of a king was his capability of enriching the country and the royal treasury.<sup>42</sup> The king was often called as *maghavan*, one having wealth.<sup>43</sup> A victorious king collected wealth for his country from the territories of the enemies. The battles were fought for the sake of acquiring wealth.<sup>44</sup> Another most important duty of a king was to protect the subjects from both external and internal enemies like invaders, thieves, sorcerer, robbers etc.<sup>45</sup> Obviously, a king upon whom lies the duty of rendering all round protection to his subjects should have the capability of protecting his own self. In other words self protection happens to be one of the duties of a king. Desire of personal safety as well as long life can be seen in many passages of the *Atharvaveda*.<sup>46</sup> In ancient India it was mandatory for a king to appoint a perfect *purohita* the priest who helped the king in performing the obligatory rites connected to royalty. These rites included also the rituals meant for bringing the personal safety and security of the king.<sup>47</sup>

In addition to the aforementioned qualities of the king it is noteworthy here the significance of the term *rājan* or *rājā* often mentioned in Vedic as well as Classical Sanskrit literature. In the period of *Rgveda* this term *rājan* derived from the root  $\sqrt{rāj}$  (to shine) was often used as an epithet of various deities and also to denote a king who shines among his subjects. Hence Yaska, the commentator of the *Rgveda* states: *rājā rājate*.<sup>48</sup> Thus *rājā* i.e. a king means one who is full of lustre or brilliance or an exalted person.<sup>49</sup> The performer of the *Rājasūya* sacrifice was known as *rājā* and his duty of ruling upon the kingdom was *rājyam*.<sup>50</sup> As time passed the term *rājan* has been taken as a derivative of root  $\sqrt{rañj}$  meaning to please by virtue of the fact that the primary duty of a king was to please his subjects by giving them all round protection and peace. The *Mahābhārata* and *Arthasāstra*, the two rich political treasuries of ancient India follow this meaning for a king.<sup>51</sup> The idea that a king can be an ideal king only when his subjects are happy can be traced to a hymn of the *Atharvaveda* where king Parikṣita has been praised as a successful king.<sup>52</sup>

### Governance Reflected in the *Atharvaveda*

So far as the governance is concerned the *Atharvaveda* indicates a systematic government system of that period.

- i. *Sabhā* : The *sabhā* and *samiti* were those congregation of people's representatives which appear to have played vital roles in running a government properly in Vedic India. Noticeably, in the time of *R̥gveda*, *sabhā* was a place for playing the dice<sup>53</sup> and civil discussion.<sup>54</sup> In the period of *Atharvaveda*, *sabhā* became a place of debate.<sup>55</sup> It was also known as *nariṣṭā* i.e. inviolable. It seems that *sabhā* was a council of scholars.<sup>56</sup> From an Atharvavedic passage it can be deduce that *sabhā* was more a political rather than a social institution. *Sabhā* was a place where the members made important speeches and a person can be a *sabhya* only when he knows this and is capable of making valuable speeches.<sup>57</sup> The members of *sabhā* were employed as security officers of the country.<sup>58</sup> These members of the *sabhā* were stipendiary employees of the king.<sup>59</sup>
- ii. *Samiti*: *Samiti*, the other assembly was also a gathering of people. According to Sayana the word *samiti* in the *R̥gveda* simply means *samhati* i.e. a group of people and warfare *samgrāmah*.<sup>60</sup> However in the *R̥gveda*, this word also appears to stand for an assembly which was regularly attended by the kings.<sup>61</sup> The regal power of a king depended upon his capability by the *samiti*.<sup>62</sup> It has already been stated earlier that the *samiti* enjoyed the power to install, dethrone and reinstall a dethroned king. The *samiti* does not support a king who transgresses the rights and privileges of a Brahmin.<sup>63</sup>
- iii. *Purohita* the priest: In the smooth running of a government in ancient India, the office of the *purohita* the priest had also played an important role. It was indispensable for a king in Vedic India to appoint a *purohita* who performed all the ritualistic performances including the rituals connected to the royalty on behalf of the king. The *purohita* enjoyed the status of a regular official in the king's office by taking care of the interests and apprehensions of the king

through the performances of various rites. The rites he performed were meant to protect the interest of both the king and his kingdom. This is evident from those spells and charms that the *purohita* uttered during various rites. Thus for example in *Atharvaveda*, III. 19.1 and 2, the *purohita* says that by virtue of his spells he enriches the country in which he resides. His spells enhances the *ojah*, *vīrya*, *bala*, *kṣatra* etc. of the kingdom where he acts as the royal priest. Such rites were performed in times of peace and also in times of wars to protect the interest of the sovereign and his sovereignty as well as the safety of the subjects. The *purohita* accompanied the king to the battlefield where he took ritualistic steps to ensure that the king and his army do not lose their moral. In the Vedas the *purohita* has been looked upon as a prototype of God Bṛhaspati.<sup>64</sup>

- iv. Collection of Revenue: A king collected wealth from the people of his country as well as from the battle. Sometimes the king forcibly collected revenue when the necessity arose.<sup>65</sup> Usually the people willingly offered taxes to the king.<sup>66</sup> The tributary kings of a king also paid taxes.<sup>67</sup> Besides the voluntary and tributary revenues, the king used to enrich his treasury with the wealth obtained in battle by conquering enemy territories. In this context it is mention worthy that a battle was known as *mahādhana* in ancient India due to the fact that it yielded a large amount of wealth.<sup>68</sup> Although the collections of revenues were stored in the royal treasury, the king was not the only user of this wealth. It is possible that a part of this booty belonged to the king. But the people of the country were also benefiteres of this treasury.<sup>69</sup>
- v. Warfare: The origin of battle goes back to the remote past when people lived in wandering groups. So far as battles in the Atharvavedic period were concerned, the *atharvan* people were very much aware of war-craft. They took interest not only in the battles but also in the results of the battles. They practised Atharvanic magic as well as rituals for winning battles. From the point of view of Atharvanic magical rituals it is clear that the battle in Atharvanic

society was not a mere encounter. It was a fully pre-planned warfare and it seems that in the time of the *Atharvaveda* the techniques of battle were well developed with the use of various weapons and well organized forces. There are many references to systematized warfare, its military force, weapons and so on in the *Atharvaveda* itself. So far as the royalty is concerned, the chief duty of a king was to protect his subjects. It was also his duty to enrich the royal treasury. Hence the kings look to battles for protecting the people and also to collect wealth.<sup>70</sup>

Naturally a battle took place between two kingdoms or two parties. Sometimes there were more than one king on one side and only one on the other.<sup>71</sup> Usually a king had an army chief.<sup>72</sup> There were different types of armies such as *kavacin* or *varmin* (wearer of armour), *akavacin* or *avarmin* (armourless), *ajmani* (vehicle users), *rathino* (chariot users), *arathā* (chariotless i.e. those who fight from the back of elephants or horses), *sādinah* (cavalry) and *asādā* (infantry).

It is a matter of much concern that the *atharvan* people were developed many weapons such as *śara* the arrow, *ḥyā* the bow string, *vr̥kṣam* the bow or bow made of wood, *kṛntati* (one which cuts), *pinākam* the trident, *asīn* the sword, *paraśu* the axe, *āyudha* the arms, *vajra* the thunderbolt, *arbudi* and *nyarbudi* (two kinds of noose used to entangle enemy), three kinds of special arrows like *ayomukhā* (having iron tips), *sūcīmukhā* (having pointed tips like needles) and *vikañkatimukhā* (arrows with barbed tips).<sup>73</sup>

## Conclusion

From the above discussion it has been seen that in the period of the *Atharvaveda*, the Indian society developed under a disciplined government system where king was only a representative of the people of the country and a prototype of Indra the celestial ruler. As a ruler the king could not practise anarchy at all. Although there prevailed monarchical polity, king was in one word a liberal ruler. The subjects have their power to discuss or suggest any matter or situation. In fact there prevailed some kind of democracy with some moral ethics. So far as the present democracy of India is

concerned, it becomes indispensable to reform our thoughts and believes as per Vedic thoughts and morals. Only the reformed thoughts and scientific believes can lead us to an ideal democracy where exist peace and happiness.

### Notes and References :

- <sup>1</sup> Cf., *Atharvaveda*, I.9,19,29,35; II.6; III.3,4,5,22,29; IV.22; V.17-19; VI.8,86,87 and so on and so forth.
- <sup>2</sup> Cf., AV.,III.4.1;8.1;19.2,5;V.17.3,4;etc. (*rāṣṭram*); III.4.2;5.2; V.19.4; VI.54.2 (*rāṣṭrasya*) ; IV.8.1;XI.12.2(*rājyam*);XI.8.15 (*rājyāni*); XVIII.4.31,32 (*rāje*).
- <sup>3</sup> Cf., Keith, Arthur Berriedale, *RIGVEDA BRĀHMAṆAS, THE AITAREYA AND KAUṢĪTAKI BRĀHMAṆA OF THE RIGVEDA*, Delhi,1981, p.320.
- <sup>4</sup> Cf., AV., XX.127.
- <sup>5</sup> Cf., *Rgveda*, VII.83.
- <sup>6</sup> Cf., *Ibid.*, VIII.19.32.
- <sup>7</sup> Cf., *Taittirīyabrāhmaṇa*, 2.7.18.
- <sup>8</sup> Cf., AV.,I.9.3.
- <sup>9</sup> Cf., RV., I.126.1; IV.42.9 ; VIII.19.32. See also, Sayana on *Ibid.*, I.126.1.
- <sup>10</sup> See *Nirukta*, 2.10.
- <sup>11</sup> Cf., *duṣṭaritu ha pauṛṣāyanah/ daśapurusaṁ rājyādaparuddha āsa, Śatapathabrāhmaṇa*,12.9.3.1 and 3.
- <sup>12</sup> Cf., AV.,VI.87.1; RV.,X.173.1 etc.
- <sup>13</sup> Cf., *Ibid.*, VI.87.1.
- <sup>14</sup> Cf., *Ibid.*, III.3.3-5, 4,5 etc.
- <sup>15</sup> Cf., *yathā yena prakāreṇa indro naḥ asmākam viśaḥ prajāḥ kevalīḥ asādihāraṇāḥ sarṁmanasāḥ sarṁgatamanaskāḥ samānamanaskāśca karat karotu /*
- <sup>16</sup> For the qualities of the ruler see below.
- <sup>17</sup> Cf., AB., 8.3.1.
- <sup>18</sup> Cf., AV., III.5-7.
- <sup>19</sup> Cf., Sayana on *Ibid.* III.5.6,7.
- <sup>20</sup> Cf., Sayana on *Ibid.* III.5.7. and AB., 8.4.3.
- <sup>21</sup> Cf., *Kātyāyanaśrautasūtra*, 4.2.4.
- <sup>22</sup> Cf., AV., III.4.6.
- <sup>23</sup> See, Sayana on the verse.

- 24 Cf., RV.IV.8-9.
- 25 Cf., SB.12.9.3.1.
- 26 Cf., *Taittirīyasamhitā*, 5.6.3.4; SB.,12.4.9.3 etc.
- 27 Cf., AV., IV.8.2. See also Sayana on it.
- 28 Cf., AB., 8.4.
- 29 Cf., AV., VI.87.2.
- 30 Cf., *Ibid.*, III.4.6.
- 31 Cf., AB.8.1.2.
- 32 Cf., AV., III.4.7.
- 33 Cf., *Ibid.*, IV.8.7.
- 34 Cf., *Ibid.*, III.4.2-4,7; 19.7; IV.8.2 etc.
- 35 Cf., *Ibid.*, III.4.1.
- 36 Cf., *Ibid.*, III.4.7.
- 37 Cf., *Ibid.*, III.4.2.
- 38 Cf., Sayana on *Ibid.*
- 39 Cf., AV., VI.86.1.
- 40 Cf., *Ibid.*, I.29.6.
- 41 Cf., *Ibid.*, IV.22.1.
- 42 Cf., *Ibid.*, IV.22.3.
- 43 Cf., *Ibid.*, III.19.3.
- 44 Cf., *Ibid.*, XX. 11.11.
- 45 Cf., *Ibid.*, XIX.47.6-7; VII.36.1.
- 46 Cf., *Ibid.*, III.5.5.
- 47 See, *Kauśikasūtra* 14, 17 etc. and *Atharvavedaparīṣiṣṭa*, 3,4 and 5.
- 48 Cf., *Nirukta*, 2.4.
- 49 Cf., AV., VI.38, 39.
- 50 Cf., Sayana on *Ibid.*, IV.8.1
- 51 Cf., *Mahābhārata*, *Śāntiparvan*,59.127; *Arthaśāstra*, I.19.39.
- 52 Cf., AV., XX.127.
- 53 Cf., RV.X.34.
- 54 Cf., *Ibid.*, VI.28.6.
- 55 Cf., AV., VII.12.1
- 56 See, Sayana on *Ibid.*
- 57 Cf., AV., VIII.11.8,9.

- <sup>58</sup> Cf., *Ibid.*, XIX.55.5.  
<sup>59</sup> Cf., *Ibid.*, III.29.1.  
<sup>60</sup> Cf., Sayana on *RV.*, I.95.8; X.11.8; IX.92.6 116.6 etc.  
<sup>61</sup> Cf., *RV.*, IX.92.6; X.97.6 etc.  
<sup>62</sup> Cf., *AV.*, VI.88.3.  
<sup>63</sup> Cf., *Ibid.*, V.19.15.  
<sup>64</sup> Cf., *Ibid.*, XIX.24.1; *AB.*, 8.5.3 . etc.  
<sup>65</sup> Cf., *Ibid.*, IV.22.7.  
<sup>66</sup> Cf., *Ibid.*, XIX. 45.4.  
<sup>67</sup> Cf., *Ibid.*, X.8.15.  
<sup>68</sup> Cf., Sayana on *Ibid.*, IV.31.6.  
<sup>69</sup> Cf., *Ibid.*, III. 4.2 and 4. See also Sayana upon *Ibid.*, III. 4.2.  
<sup>70</sup> Cf., *Ibid.*, IV. 31.2.  
<sup>71</sup> Cf., *Ibid.*, XIX. 57.2.  
<sup>72</sup> Cf., *Ibid.*, IV.31.2.  
<sup>73</sup> Cf., *Ibid.*, I.2 and 3, 27.3; XI. 11, 12; VI. 125.1, 2 etc.

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