

Kautilya's *Arthaśāstra* (a treatise on statecraft): With special reference to widow welfare

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Abstract

The Common perception about the ancient Indian texts is that they referred to widows as inauspicious and prescribed an austere lifestyle for them. This perception about them to some extent continues even in contemporary times. This paper explores the epistemology of welfare of widows that also exists in some ancient Indian texts. This article analyses that Kautilya's *Arthaśāstra*, extends the purview of statecraft and governance to widows as well. It deals with special relaxations issued by the state for them. Primarily, this text deals with how a ruler/state should rule/administer his kingdom. However, in addition *Arthaśāstra* assigned an active place to widows in economic affairs of the state. Further, it refers to the employment of widows in manufacture of yarns and spy services. The direction given to the state by the treatise primarily was to optimally utilize all possible labour resources in the kingdom and probably suggested that state believed in the competence and credibility of widows. *Arthaśāstra* not only stood for employment of the widows in state administration but also was concerned about the stark social realities faced by them. The treatise prescribes strict fines upon the person outraging chastity of widows or failing to pay for their maintenance. This text also argues for widow remarriage and protection of their *strīdhana* (woman's property). *Arthaśāstra*, subscribes to a more policy focused, utilitarian approach towards the widows as compared to the other ancient contemporary texts. While widows were limited to the domestic sphere by social dictats, *Arthaśāstra* recognised an important role for them in society and governance in accordance with their specific skills, knowledge and particular social location. This paper examines the historical discourse on widow's welfare that exists in ancient Indian statecraft. It further explores the possible reasons behind such relaxations for the protection of widows. It analysis how widows could prove to be an important and strategic resource for the state. Finally, the paper is an attempt to revisit *Arthaśāstra* as a policy prescription which establishes welfare of widows as a state prerogative. It also delves into finer details and nuances of governing widows as a heterogeneous category which require a very meticulously developed and complex system of governance.

Keywords: Statecraft, vidhavā, heterogenous category, utilitarian approach

“A king's happiness lies in the happiness of his subjects, and his welfare in the welfare of his subjects; a king's welfare consists not in what pleases him but in what pleases his subjects...”

The above verses from Kautilya's *Arthaśāstra* indicate that the welfare of his subjects was the primary duty of the king. Perhaps, in this light alone, we can understand widow welfare as a state prerogative.

Kautilya's *Arthaśāstra*

Kautilya's *Arthaśāstra* (The Manual of Statecraft of Kautilya) is a theoretical work (*śāstra*) on statecraft (*artha*). The manual examines the internal administration, inter-state relations and other miscellaneous topics. This normative text primarily describes how a king should rule a kingdom. In addition, it deals with diverse range of topics, from public affairs such as king's education schemes to breaking enemy's forts; to personal laws pertaining to subjects such as marriage and divorce. Through these references, the *Arthaśāstra* produces an analysis on institutions and lives of ordinary people.

This paper intends to use *Arthaśāstra* to understand the position of widows. The provisions for employment of widows in administration and their protection by the state is striking. Finally, the reasons for adopting a state centric utilitarian approach towards them would also be explored.

Different interpretations on widows in the *Arthaśāstra*

The discourse related to references of widows in the *Arthaśāstra* had its inception since the very first translations of this text by R. Shamasastri. Shamasastri highlighted *Arthaśāstra*'s concern for the widows. P.V.

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Kane also dedicated separate chapters on the duties of the widows (*vidhvādharmāḥ*), niyoga, widow remarriage and sati.² Later, the first critical edition of this text by R.P. Kangle, emphasized how *Arthaśāstra* reveals several aspects about life of the widows. Kangle mentioned that widows enjoyed a freer life and owned a good amount of wealth. Widow remarriage was also legitimate. Kangle particularly mentioned that the Brahmin widows (who become nuns) also enjoyed a respectable position. Owing to this, they were highly recommended for spy services. Finally, the author of *Arthaśāstra* is credited by Kangle as having broader outlook and rejecting extreme views.³

L. N. Rangarajan emphasized that *Arthaśāstra* takes special care to protect property of widows needed for their survival and maintenance.⁴ Scholars such as Mark McClish and Patrick Olivelle highlighted that the *Arthaśāstra* does not show the bias towards widows as noticed in the contemporary texts. This entailed a protection of widow's control of their own marital property. The text advocates widow remarriage. Such instructions clearly indicate sensitivity to the plight of particularly vulnerable women (including widows), although within the framework of patriarchy.⁵

Other historians such as Romila Thapar also drew attention to widow employment in weaving and spy system.⁶ Finally, Kumkum Roy offers a different perceptive altogether. Roy argues that widow employment in yarn manufacture and spy services was to utilize their labour resources in administration. Thus, the aim of the *Arthaśāstra* was to simultaneously acknowledge the existence of such women and also brought them under purview of state control.⁷

Thus, from the above discussion, it seems clear, that while few scholars acknowledged that the *Arthaśāstra* shows concerning attitudes towards widows. On the other hand, some scholars understood employment of widows only as mobilization of labour by the state. Despite these viewpoints, one cannot ignore the fact that state made provisions for widow welfare and protected them. This is reiterated as provisions were made by the state to ensure they earn a livelihood of their own. The credibility of widows is never questioned as reflected from their employment in spy services of the state. Whatever might have been the reasons on parts of rulers/state to take such initiatives. Yet, underlying them were clear reflections of widow welfare initiatives taken by the state.

Employment opportunities for widows

The *Arthaśāstra* directs the state to employ widows in manufacture of yarn, cotton, wool etc. This instruction is specifically for the superintendent of yarn factory (*sūtrādhyakṣa*). The superintendent of yarn factory was responsible for production of yarn from raw silk, wool, and cotton and for manufacture of finished articles. Significantly, *Arthaśāstra* instructs the superintendent to employ certain women specifically for this work. And this list included widows, maidens, crippled women, women who have left their homes or husbands etc. (2.23.2).⁸ It was really a significant state initiative to provide employment to widows enabling them to earn their living.

The *Arthaśāstra* also devised an unconventional way of sending employment opportunities to women who could not step out of their houses. It states that those women who do not move out of their houses (*anishkāsinīyah*)-those living separately, whose husbands have gone away, widows, spinsters, crippled women or maidens-who wish to earn their living, must be given work by sending his own female slaves to them with a view to support them (2.23.11).⁹ It seemed to work like a cottage industry and could be operated in their own homes.¹⁰ This suggests that these women could remain in their own homes. The raw material for their work is sent by the superintendent through his female slaves. This is especially a very considerate effort on part of the state/ruler to send work to them in their household itself. This would enable them to earn their livelihood without even stepping out of the houses. This was only possible because of special provisions for the widows undertaken by the state.

Ensuring safety for widows

The *Arthaśāstra* in addition seems to be concerned about protection of modesty of women. This is reflected in specifying the time of exchange of goods and wages (*bhāṇḍavetanavinimayam*) and imposition of fines. The text presents two situations has been prescribed. In circumstances, where women want to come to the yarn-house, the exchange of goods and wages to be made early at dawn (2.23.12). During this exchange, the

usage of lamp should be only for the examination of the yarn (2.23.13). Further, it suggests appropriate fines as per the perpetrated crimes. Lowest fines for violence would be inflicted if they looked at the face of the woman or spoke with her for another matter. A middle-level fine would be imposed if there was any delay in the payment of wages (2.23.14).¹¹ Here, both the modesty and chastity of the widows was protected in two ways. Firstly, the time selected for exchange of goods and wages was early morning, which was safe for women to move out of their houses and not too lit up for the superintendents to see their faces. Secondly, in protecting their modesty or any delay in payment of her wages, fines were to be imposed on the offender.

This concern towards widows is largely understood in the context of king's responsibility to protect the vulnerable.¹² However, one cannot ignore that the *Arthaśāstra* suggests provisions for a favourable climate for widows to work (superintendent of yarn factories instructed to employ widows) and protect their modesty (lamp to be used for inspection of yarn and never look at face of women). Also, the modesty of women if outraged, the lowest fines were to be imposed upon them. The state also made special efforts to employ widows. This is significant that state used to send raw material to widow's homes through female slaves. All these initiatives suggest that widow welfare was clearly a state prerogative.

Advocating the use of widows in the spy system

The use of widows as spies for the state is also striking. The *Arthaśāstra* mentions that widows were co-opted in spy system. It mentions two types of spy services namely *samstha* and *samcāra*. The *samstha* i.e. 'the establishment' were those who are stationed in a solitary headquarter. The *samcāra* 'the rover' i.e. the mobile members who were supposed to travel as per the requirement of their service.¹³ Thus, they were roped in as active agents in domestic politics and as well as body politics.

The *Arthaśāstra* elaborates the characteristics of *samcāra* or "mobile agents". They were directed to specific missions as per the needs of the king. The job of these mobile agents was to gain access to difficult places, such as the homes of nobles/princes/kings. The primary purpose was to gather information or assassinate a target (presumably an enemy of the state). As they were assigned such difficult tasks, the *samcāra* or spies were required to have some special skills. These skills included interpretation of signs, limbs, and art of seduction etc. Most importantly, they needed to assimilate with people without raising any suspicion. These skills would help in gathering information, infiltrating different buildings and communities.¹⁴

Here, it needs to be noted that the *Arthaśāstra* refers to widows and women ascetics (*parivrājikā*) to be roped in as *samcārah* (wandering spies). The list of widows mentioned in this section included poor widows or Brahmin widows who have become *parivrājikās* or wandering nuns. The *Arthaśāstra* states that they held a respectable position in palaces and royal residence. On these grounds, they were highly recommended for spy services in the state (1.12.4). The *Arthaśāstra* described a poor widow of Brāhman caste, as being very clever.¹⁵ It also refers to a brahmin nun or a *bhiksuki* or *parivrājikās*, being employed for spying. She was employed in spy services as she had access to houses of higher officers. She could also frequently visit the residences of the king's prime ministers (*mahāmātrakulāni*) (1.12.1–5).¹⁶ The *Arthaśāstra* also mentions a long list of officers, they needed to spy upon. This included the councillor, the chaplain, the commander-in-chief, the crown-prince, the chief of the palace guards, the chief palace usher, the director, the administrator, the director of stores, the magistrate, the commandant, the city-judge, the director of factories, the council of ministers, the superintendents, the chief of the army staff, the commandant of the fort, the commandant of the frontier-fort and the forest chieftain, in his own territory."¹⁷ (1.12.6).

The nature of higher offices mentioned above suggests king's faith in the credibility of widows to be employed as spies. This clearly suggests help of widows was taken to keep a check on these high offices. This not only indicates that widows had access to such offices but also held an honourable position in this realm. The widows were also employed to infatuate chiefs of confederacy and to help breaking into their forts as discussed before. Nowhere, they were regarded as inauspicious. In fact, the state trusted in the credibility and competence of widows. The recommendation of widows for spy services indicates state reliance on widows in matters related to governance and administration. *Arthaśāstra* prescribes a strong stratified and skill-based categorisation of the widows and utilitarian placement of the widows for the optimal utilisation of the resources for ultimate betterment of the state.

Widows as heterogenous category

Arthaśāstra had recognised that widows were not a homogenous category. Widows included rich, poor, widows without the heirs(sons) and widows with heirs(sons). They find mention in various contexts in the *Arthaśāstra*.

The rich widows were referred to as the *ādhyā vidhavās*. The text while referring to them instructs the princes to steal their wealth. Their mention occurs frequently in the text.¹⁸ Firstly, the reference to *ādhyā vidhavās* occurs in sections dealing with the actions/conduct of a prince in disfavour. In this section, it describes ways in which such a prince can attain livelihood.¹⁹ One of the ways was to work in mines and factories associated with gold-smelting, and manufacture of gold and silver articles. Another alternative was that such princes could secretly steal the property of temples and religious orders. The reference to *ādhyā vidhavās* finds a mention in this list. The *Arthaśāstra* states that the prince in disfavour should gain intimacy, trust, and confidence of rich widows. After gaining it, he should secretly rob the wealth of rich widows (1.18.9).²⁰ This reference clearly establishes the presence of rich widows in the ancient society. It also states the close association of princes in disfavour with the rich widows. Clearly, some of the widows possessed immense wealth. Though primarily, for their wealth, still the intimacy with widows was not regarded as inauspicious in any way.

The second reference to *ādhyā vidhavās* has been made in the section on ways of sowing seeds of dissent amongst oligarchies. In this section, the *Arthaśāstra* refers to rich and beautiful widows which can be co-opted as spies. In this capacity, they could be used to infatuate chiefs of the ruling council of the oligarchies (11.1.42). The text further describes how widows can help in laying seeds of dissent in oligarchies. The chiefs after gaining intimacy with rich widows, would be motivated to come to secret houses for the night's meeting. Once the chiefs have agreed to come to secret houses, during this time, the assassins were supposed to kill them or confine them for imprisonment (11.1.43).²¹ This suggests the state had entrusted deep faith in the widows. Though they were to serve as tools, yet their employment as spies showed the confidence the state had in them.

Fines imposed to ensure protection of widows

The crimes against women such as rape occurred in ancient times also. The widows were no exception to this. However, it is significant to note that state-imposed appropriate fines on any such offence committed against widows. The *Arthaśāstra* imposed a fine of hundred paṇas on the person who raped a widow²² or forcibly violated the chastity of a widow living by herself. Such a widow is referred as a *chandavāsini vidhavā* ('a widow living according to her will'). (3.20.16).²³ Thus, the chastity of a widow living according to her free will was also considered worthy of protection by the state through imposition of fines.

Within the household also, the *Arthaśāstra* ensured the protection of widows. This text states that primary responsibility for maintaining the family - wife, children, parents, minor brothers and unmarried or widowed sisters - lay with the head of the family. It was the obligation of every man to maintain his wife, children, parents, minor brothers and dependent (unmarried or widowed) sisters.²⁴ If anyone neglected widowed girls (*kanyā vidhavāscha*), a fine of twelve *panas* would be imposed on them (2. 1 .28-29).²⁵ Here, also state imposed a fine, if any family failed to cater to the maintenance of widows. All these references suggest that the state apparatus ensured protection of widows by imposing fines.

Strīdhana and widow remarriage

The *Arthaśāstra* argues for the protection of *strīdhana* (woman's property) after the death of her husband. Further, when the husband died, the widow who did not want to remarry, and was keen to lead a life on her own was entitled to enjoy her property (*dharmakāmā bhunjīta*). The widow would forthwith receive the endowment and ornaments and the rest of the dowry/bride price (3.2.19). The bride-price could also be paid from the estate of the husband.²⁶ This clearly shows that her property including her gifts and ornaments were to be retained by her even after becoming a widow. The state ensured that the woman's property remained with the widows.

The widow remarriage has been mentioned under various contexts namely *strīdhana*; long absence of her husband; sonless widow; widow with sons; and niyoga. The specific circumstances under which widow remarriage was permissible have also been discussed. The time for remarriage has been explained with regards to 'long absence from home' (3.2.22).²⁷ The text states that the widows or wives whose husbands had gone on

long journeys could remarry, subject to specified conditions.²⁸ These statements prove that widow remarriage was permitted by the state itself. Further, various circumstances under which widow remarriage was considered permissible by the state (i.e., long absence of husband) suggests a flexible approach towards widows.

The remarriage of widows was possible through *niyoga* or *levirate*. *Niyoga* has also been mentioned in the *Arthaśāstra* in context of a woman whose husband has died or has abandoned her. Text prescribes the woman to have sex with her husband's brother primarily for the purpose of producing a son.²⁹ The order of preference for *niyoga* in the *Arthaśāstra* is given as: firstly, a brother of the husband, then, any *sapinda* (common ancestor within three generations) male, and lastly, a person from husband's *kula* (the extended family) (3.4.37-41). It needs to be noted that she could retain her husband's property on the condition that she married a man from the husband's own family (3.2.20-30).³⁰ Thus, under all these specified circumstances, *Arthaśāstra* is clearly in favour of widow remarriage.

It is noteworthy is that this practice extends to the queens under specific circumstances. *Arthaśāstra* states that a king (who is old/ suffers from incurable disease) must procreate a son on his queen through a *mātrbandhu* or a feudatory chief (who must be bestowed with qualities similar to the king).³¹ *Arthaśāstra* also refers to this practice in the chapter on secret conduct (under the sections continuance of the kingdom and continuous sovereignty). These entail instructions for the minister in case of a calamity of the king/death of a king. *Arthaśāstra* states that a king should install a son of king with qualities similar to himself. In the absence of someone, he must call together high officers and introduce a prince not addicted to vices, princess or pregnant queen/queen enceinte.³² Either of these three were invested with authority and introduced to kinsmen and envoys of allies and enemies. P. Olivelle argues that all these royal women were appointed to produce a son, who would eventually become a king. This is clear from the reference to the pregnant queen. The princess also might have fathered the son through *levirate*.³³ This suggests that the practice of *niyoga* was prevalent among royal households under specific set of conditions.

Widows and issue of inheritance of husband's property

The possibilities of retaining or returning the *strīdhana* during remarriage of widows under specific circumstances has also been discussed in detail. The *Arthaśāstra* states if after receiving *strīdhana*, in case a widow remarries, she would have to return endowments and ornaments with interest (3.2.20).³⁴ However, if she is desirous of having a family, she shall obtain, at the time of remarriage, what was given to her by her father-in-law and her late husband. (3.2.21).³⁵

The *Arthaśāstra* also gives directions that if a man takes a woman under his protection, he should equally protect her property. In this regard, the duties of the family members from new marriage of widows have also been mentioned. The text states that the kinsmen (*gnātis*) by the new marriage would have to return woman's property as received by her from the first marriage (3.2.24). Also, if in a legitimate way she has been approached for widow remarriage, the proposer or the acceptor must protect her woman's property from the first marriage (3.2.25).³⁶ This is a significant part of *Arthaśāstra's* policy proposal as the state was expected to protect the woman's property under certain circumstances even after widow remarriage.

The fate of widows with sons or without sons has been examined. Widow without sons, were to remain faithful to her husband's bed. She was instructed to use her *strīdhana* in the proximity of elders, till the end of her life (3.2.32-33). In case, a widow had sons and she decided to remarry, then her property was to be utilized for the maintenance of her sons. (3.2.28). The *Arthaśāstra* further mentioned that if a widow remarried, her *strīdhana* would be settled between her sons. The *strīdhana* was meant for contingencies, and after her death, it was to go to her heirs. (3.2.34-35).³⁷ The reference to inheritors of *strīdhana* after widow's death aptly explains the significance of woman's property within the household.

However, if a widow was to remarry against the wishes of her father-in-law (*svasuraprātīlo-myenanivishṭā*), she was to lose what was given to her by her father-in-law and her husband (3.2.23).³⁸ A woman would also lose all her property (*strīdhana*, gifts from her family and her dowry) if she was found guilty of treason or persistent misconduct. (3.3.32).³⁹ This, however, suggests that some of the widows married against the wishes of their in-laws also. However, all the above references taken together suggest that *Arthaśāstra* desired to defend widow's control over her property, wherever permissible, without disturbing the prevailing

social fabric of that time.

The widow has nowhere been mentioned as an inheritor in the *Arthaśāstra* (3.5. 10- 12). She did not inherit all the property of her husband. However, if there were no heirs i.e. in the case of ownerless property (*adayadakam*), the king took the property leaving the amounts needed for widow's maintenance (3.5.28).⁴⁰ The king could have appropriated entire heirless property, but has been directed to remain considerate to leave amounts for maintenance of widows. Even though *Arthaśāstra's* kept realism at the epicentre of the statecraft, the welfare of the widows was clearly defined as an indispensable responsibility of the state.

Conclusion

Detailed historical and textual analysis of the treatise confirms that Welfare of widows was imperative for *Arthaśāstra's* ideal state. However, the question of widows was probably not the primary focus of *Arthaśāstra's* statecraft. It was still a pathbreaking work for the time and the space in which it was produced. Most ancient texts aimed to exercise stronger degrees of control and subordination of women, but the verses from *Arthaśāstra* showed intentions to help and protect widows. *Arthaśāstra* gave widows greater agency over their finances, property, and body etc within the limits of the social structures.

The detail and precision with which the policies on widows have been prescribed in the manual, indicates that it was not given the attention and credit it deserved on the issue. It is an exemplary work for policy makers even today. Its comprehensive policy recommendations cater to the specific requirements of complex categories of widows, which is something that the modern state has still not been able to achieve.

We may misconstrue *Arthaśāstra* as a relatively liberal treatise, but it was essentially a Realist account of statecraft at its core. Widows, like any other state subjects were treated as resources as well as obligation for the state. The utilitarian approach of *Arthaśāstra* is evident in the prescriptive doctrine for optimal utilisation of the state resources. It guides the King to use the widows optimally to meet different purposes as per their different capabilities, skills, and social locations. On the one hand, the widows have not been described as a social liability, but on the other hand they have been described as a useful asset and a social responsibility. Several conditions were imposed upon the widows, subject to which they could avail certain privileges as the citizens and members of the society. It can be deciphered that *Arthaśāstra's* commandments on widows were laced with dual morality, where the state had to appear as the just provider for them, but at the same time exploit their capabilities for the state's survival and amelioration. *Arthaśāstra's* approach towards widows can be refined and borrowed by the policy makers today to make the current policies towards widows more wholistic and closer to the grassroot realities of the diverse Indian society. Widows ought to be seen from the lens of heterogeneity and it should be acknowledged that they need a more specialised and nuanced policy approach as was prescribed by *Arthaśāstra*. In this context, the paper concludes that an unbiased and open reading of the text offered answers for policy makers ahead of its time.

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References

1. Olivelle (2013): 94.
2. For details, see Kane (1941): 583-636.
3. Kangle (1965): 152-153.
4. Rangarajan (1992): 398-99.
5. McClish and Olivelle (2012): lxiii and 52.
6. Thapar (1961): 88-89, 112.
7. Roy (2010): 62, 175, 180 and 284.
8. "He should employ widows, crippled women, spinsters, female renouncers, and women paying off a fine through manual labour, as well as prostitutes and madams, old female slaves of the king, and female slaves of gods* whose divine service has ended, to spin yarn from wool, bark fiber, cotton, silk-cotton, hemp, and flax." (For details, see Olivelle 2013: 151, Kangle 1963: 168-169, McClish and Olivelle

2012: 52-53, and Shamasastri 1915: 160-62).

9. "He should employ secluded women—women whose husbands have gone away, widows, crippled women, and spinsters—who wish to maintain themselves to carry out the work, being considerate by sending his own female slaves." (For details, see Olivelle 2013: 151)
10. Olivelle (2013): 45.
11. "Or else, if they come to the yarn workshop on their own, he should arrange for the payment of wages in exchange for the wares early in the morning. A lamp should be used only to inspect the yarn. For looking at the face of a woman or for speaking with her on other matters, the penalty is the lowest seizure fine; and for delay in paying the wages, the middle fine, as also for giving wages for work not completed." (For details, Olivelle 2013: 151, Kangle 1963: 168-169, McClish and Olivelle 2012: 52-53, and Shamasastri 1915: 160-62).
12. McClish and Olivelle (2012): 52.
13. Kangle (1965): 205-06, Olivelle (2013): 78.
14. McClish and Olivelle (2012): 101-103.
15. Kangle (1965): 153, and Shamasastri (1915): 27-28.
16. Kangle (1965): 206 and McClish and Olivelle (2012): 102-103.
17. Kangle (1963): 27-28 and McClish and Olivelle (2012): 103.
18. Kangle (1965): 153.
19. "If he has to operate alone, he should gain a living from factories connected with gold-smelting, coloring gems, making gold and silver articles, and mines. Or else, he should secretly steal the property of religious orders, of temples—except what is meant for use by Vedic scholars—and of wealthy widows, after gaining their trust; or he should rob caravans and boats, after tricking the men with a coma-inducing drink." (For details, see Olivelle 2013: 91).
20. Kangle (1963): 49-50 and Olivelle (2013): 91.
21. "Secret agents should entice a king who loves wealth and women with rich widows or extremely beautiful young women brought to him with regard to an inheritance or a deposit. When he agrees, remaining hidden in an ambush at night, they should kill him at the place of the tryst with weapons or poison." (For details, see Olivelle 2013: 409, Kangle 1963: 530, 557 and Shamasastri 1915: 569).
22. "For someone who has received the family valuables and denies it, for someone who violently rapes a widow living on her own, for a Candāla who touches an Ārya woman, for someone who does not rush to the aid of a neighbour in distress or who rushes without a reason, for someone who feeds rabble recluses such as Śākyas and Ājīvakas at divine and ancestral rites, the fine is 100 Panas..." (For details, see Olivelle 2013: 221).
23. Shamasastri (1915): 283 and Rangarajan (1992): 487.
24. When a person who has the capacity does not provide for his children, wives, mother, father, brothers who are minors, or unmarried and widowed sisters, he should be fined 12 Panas (For details, see Olivelle 2013: 100).
25. Olivelle (2013): 100, Rangarajan (1992): 92, 182 and Shamasastri (1915): 62-63.
26. Kangle (1963): 228, McClish and Olivelle (2012): 82 and Shamasastri (1915): 220-21.
27. Kangle (1963): 229.
28. Rangarajan (1992): 71.
29. McClish and Olivelle (2012): 81-82.
30. Rangarajan (1992): 66.
31. Kautilya says that "a king who is old or suffering from (incurable) disease should procreate a son on his queen through a mātrbandhu or a feudatory chief endowed with qualities similar to his. In another place he says that if a brahmana dies without leaving a near heir, then a sagotra or matrbandhu may be appointed to procreate a *ksetrāja* son, who should get the inheritance (See Kane 1941: 600-601).

32. “He should install a son of the king endowed with the exemplary qualities of self over the kingdom. In the absence of someone so endowed, he should put forward a prince not prone to vice, a princess, or a pregnant queen, assemble the High Officials, and say to them, “This one is your charge. Have regard for his father and for his character and high birth. This one is only the emblem; you alone are the masters Or how shall we proceed. As he is speaking this way, covert agents should tell him: “Who else but this king, with you to guide him, has the capacity to protect the four social classes?” Saying, “So be it!,” the minister should appoint the prince, the princess, or the pregnant queen and present that person to the kinsmen and relatives, as well as to the envoys of allies and enemies” (See Olivelle 2013: 269,656 and Kangle 1963: 361-62).
33. “ Or, after getting an offspring begotten on the princess by a man of the same caste, he should crown him..”(See Olivelle 2013: 269).
34. Kangle (1963): 228-29 and McClish and Olivelle (2012): 82.
35. Kangle (1963): 229.
36. Kangle (1963): 229 and Shamasastri (1915): 220.
37. Kangle (1963): 229-30.
38. McClish and Olivelle (2012): 82, Kangle (1963): 229 and Shamasastri (1915): 220.
39. Rangarajan (1992): 397.
40. Rangarajan (1992): 66, 74 and 269.

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