

The digvijaya of Raghu and some connected problems

by

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The chief aim of the present article is to shed some light on the connection existing between the digvijaya of Raghu¹⁾ and that of Samudragupta²⁾. The idea is not new; it has been ventilated in the last decennium by various scholars most of whom agree in considering Mr. Manmohan Chakravarti's suggestions³⁾ plausible but rather unconvincing. Now it would seem to me that we have two ways only to prove that Kālidāsa was really influenced by Hariṣeṇa in his description of Raghu's conquests viz. to show, first, that there exist some points of contact between the two digvijayas in question and, secondly, that there is no such resemblance between Raghu's campaign as described by Kalidāsa and descriptions of other similar expeditions met with in Sanskrit literature. I will try to prove this in the following.

It may be noted first that as far as geographical nomenclature is concerned, it would be vain to look out for a well established set of coincidences between Kālidāsa, a poet who did not avoid historical allusions, and Hariṣeṇa, an historian or rather chronicler who could not avoid using poetical language

¹⁾ Raghuvaṃśa IV.

²⁾ The Allahabad stone pillar Inscription of Samudragupta. Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, Vol. III. No. 1.

³⁾ JRAS., 1903 pp. 183—186 and 1904 pp. 158—161.

but whose account is as much matter-of-fact as one might reasonably expect of an Indian chronicler. This fact is largely due to what Mr. Collins has called „the conventional geography“¹⁾ of Indian poets and I need not expatiate upon his arguments which on the whole seem to me quite convincing²⁾. But there

¹⁾ Mark Collins, *The geographical data of the Rāghuvarṇaśa and Daśakumāracarita* considered more especially in their bearing upon the date of these works, Leipzig 1907, pp. 9 ff. Mr. Collins draws moreover attention to the traditional element in early Indian geography. This peculiar cause of confusion has been pointed out already by Bühler in his well known study on Indian inscriptions in their relation to classical Sanskrit literature. »Indische Dichter sind selbst bei der Schilderung der Siegeszüge historischer Könige, ihrer Herren und Gönner, häufig recht ungenau in ihren geographischen und ethnographischen Angaben und halten sich, statt an die Wirklichkeit, an die traditionellen Lehren der Epen, der Purāṇen und älterer Gedichte, welche Digvijayas schildern«. (Bühler, *Die indischen Inschriften und das Alter der indischen Kunstpoesie*, Wien 1890, p. 82). Isolated instances of similar inclination for traditional denominations may be quoted from other literatures also. Thus Polish poets often call their compatriots »Lechites«, from Lech, the supposed patriarch of the Polish nation, or even »Sarmatians«. Italian poets speak of »the noble Roman blood« (*nobil sangue Romano*, Petrarch) meaning of course the Italian people. Cp. Erin, son of Erin (= Irishman), Albion etc.

²⁾ Two more causes of the uncertainty and obscurity of the early geography of India may be added to those set forth by Mr. Collins in the first part of his valuable treatise viz. — (1) Lack of definite frontiers between different parts of India. Thus the fact that »the Puṇḍras, usually reckoned among eastern nations (*Bṛhat Saṃhitā* XIV. 6; MBh. II. 1096), are enumerated in the *Rāmāyaṇa* (IV. 41. 18, Gorr.) along with the *Drāviḍas*, *Cōlas* and *Cēralas* as a southern people« (Collins, op. cit., p. 6) is simply due to the floating line of demarcation between the South and the East (but cp. also infra, (2)). The Puṇḍra territory lay eastwards from Ujjayinī where Varāhamihira wrote but it was situated rather southwards from Ayōdhyā (*Kōsala*) where, as Prof. Jacobi suggests, the *Rāmāyaṇa* was composed. — (2). Amazing carelessness of ancient, especially epical and purāṇic, writers. Some striking instances of this feature of the Indian mind are afforded by the digvijaya of the Pāṇḍavas in the *Mahābhārata*. Thus Arjuna defeats the Suhmas and Cōlas --- in the North of India although

are other marks of actual parallelism between Hariṣeṇa and Kālidāsa. We shall see below that heroes of other digvijayas in Sanskrit literature generally hold, as it were, a common principle in dealing with their adversaries: they attack one of them, defeat him (or else come to terms after a fierce struggle), exact tribute from him and pass on to the next. It is not quite so with Samudragupta. According to Hariṣeṇa he „violently rooted up“¹⁾ only the rulers of Āryāvarta whose dominions lay next to his own. Others, especially the kings of the bordering countries on the Eastern and North-Western frontiers, were only defeated but their dominions do not seem to have been incorporated into Samudragupta's empire. The powerful ruler of Kāmarūpa or Assam and many a chieftain of the warlike tribes on the Panjāb frontier practically saved their independence which, by the way, they were able to guard during nearly the whole course of ancient Indian history. And with respect to the South we have all reason to believe that Samudragupta's campaign was no more than a brilliant raid. He certainly did not annex those territories although, as Mr. V. A. Smith supposes, „beyond doubt, he despoiled the rich treasuries of the south, and came back laden with golden booty“²⁾. Now, it is very interesting to note that much the same statements are made by Kālidāsa with regard to Raghu. Of course complete parallelism is impossible. If it existed then, in all probability, it would have been noted long ago and Kālidāsa's date would be, by this time, firmly established even in the eyes of the most

the two names never designated any other than an Eastern respectively a Southern people. But the poet just wanted some names to fill the line and he took the first that recurred to his memory. Bhīma contends with the Śakas in the vicinity of --- Vidēha although this tribe never lived in the East. The whole half ślōka runs: *Śakāṁś ca Barbarāṁś cāiva ajayac chadmapūrvakam*, I. 31. 14. Now Śakas were barbarians. Barbarians infested as well the North-Western as the Eastern frontier of India. This association sufficed to place the Śakas in the East.

¹⁾ l. 21.

²⁾ Vincent A. Smith, *Early history of India*, 2nd ed., Oxford 1908, p. 270.

sceptical critics. I am convinced with Mr. Manmohan Chakravarti and other scholars that Kālidāsa wrote his epics with the intention to please his royal patrons and I think that in glorifying the exploits of Rāghu he has paid homage to the great Samudragupta, but I am equally convinced that his allusions could not but be most fugitive and almost impalpable. Thus he proved to possess fine poetical taste and a certain feeling of independence: he was a court-poet but no official court-eulogist and I am sure that his hidden hints were instantly caught by the ready-witted Indian courtiers and duly appreciated by the sovereign himself. Be it as it may, in this case the parallelism is slight but undeniable. It is true that Kālidāsa does not allude to the *prasabhōddharāṇa*²⁾ of Samudragupta's nearest neighbours whose territories roughly coincide with the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh of to-day, but I think the reason of his silence is obvious. These kings were independent when Samudragupta acceded to the throne but to state their independence in the time of Skandagupta (during whose reign, as has been supposed by Mr. Manmohan Chakravarti and as will be shown below, Kālidāsa lived) would be to acknowledge that the predecessor of the ruling emperor, separated from him by less than a century³⁾, was a successful upstart who inherited from his father a rather petty kingdom in the East. This allusion Kālidāsa cleverly avoided. It may also be supposed that he simply thought it unnecessary and, perhaps, rather unsuitable to let his hero, meant to play the part of Samudragupta, conquer territories which in the reign of Skandagupta seemed to form the very centre of the Gupta empire. Anyhow the parallelism between the treatment of the

¹⁾ The root *ud-dhṛ* is used by Kālidāsa (in a future participle *de conatu*) when speaking of Rāghu's treatment of the *udīcyas* but I don't lay any stress on this particular since *ud-dhṛ* is a regular terminus technicus in such cases.

²⁾ Samudragupta is supposed to have died about (approximately) 375 A. D. and Skandagupta acceded to the throne in 455 A. D. See V. A. Smith op. cit. p. 308, chronology of the Gupta period.

remaining kings by Ragh u and by Sa mu dra gu p ta is striking. The net of poetical similes and metaphors cannot hide away the transparent confession that Ragh u too did not care for permanent annexation of the defeated king's territories. He crushed some of his adversaries, exacted tribute from some others and returned triumphantly to his capital. One detail in the description of his expedition deserves special attention. Sa mu dra gu p ta is stated with regard to the Southern (read: South-Eastern) kings, among whom we find the chieftain of Ma h ē n - dra gi ri, to have „first seized them and then granted them the favour of release“ (° *sarvada kṣiṇāpatharājagrahaṇamōkṣāmugraha*°, l. 20). Now the same statement is made by Kālidāsa with regard to the king of Ma h ē n dra in whose case the same words are used and with regard to an Eastern nation, the Va ṅ gas. Cp.:

grhītapratimuktasya sa dharmavijayī nṛpaḥ |
śriyaṁ Mahēndranāthasya jahāra na tu mēdinīm ||

IV. 43.

āpādapadmapraṇatāḥ kalamā iva tē (= Vaṅgāḥ) Raghum |
phalāiḥ saṁvardhayāmāsur utkhātapratiropitāḥ ||

IV. 37.

This is hardly a fortuitous coincidence. In general, it seems to me that, apart from its poetical ornaments, the digvijaya of Ragh u looks much more historical than any other which we will have to analyse in the following. It certainly looks far less stereotyped. This is the chief fact which I beg the reader to bear in mind when he will pass with me to a more detailed analysis of one or two digvijayas described in works prior and posterior to the Ragh u va ṁ ś a. Other facts will be noted in due time.

We have now to establish points in which Kālidāsa (and, we may add, Ha ri ṣ ē ṇ a) differs from both his predecessors and successors in describing his hero's conquests. Of course it was not my intention to fish for every digvijaya in the vast bulk of Sanskrit literature. It will be enough to analyse one or two of them which may be considered, in a certain way, either

as typical or else specially important for our sake. I select the well-known digvijaya of Mahābhārata II which can be said, in the main at least for it is not free from later additions¹⁾, to precede Kālidāsa; I will also have regard to the digvijaya of Pāṇḍu, Mahābhārata I, which seems to have been well known in later literature as may be gathered from an allusion to it in the Kathāsaritsāgara²⁾. As for the description of a digvijaya later than Kālidāsa, I select that of king Vatsa Udayana in the nineteenth taraṅga of the Kathāsaritsāgara. It will be good however, for convenience' sake, to invert order and to begin with the latter — and later — description.

It may be objected, a priori, that since the Kathāsaritsāgara is an abbreviated translation of the Brhatkathā, the description of the digvijaya of king Vatsa might have been part of the original poem of Guṇādhya and thus be older than the corresponding chapter of the Raghuvamśa or, in other words, that Kālidāsa might have been influenced by it. But this objection does not hold. It is true that an allusion to Vatsa's digvijaya (for it cannot be called a description of it) is found in another abbreviated translation of the Brhatkathā viz. the Brhatkathāmañjarī³⁾, but the corresponding passage is totally wanting in the nepalese Brhatkathāślōka-saṁgraha⁴⁾. Hence it follows that the digvijaya of Vatsa was alluded to or perhaps even described in the Kāśmīrian Brhatkathā but not in the original poem of Guṇādhya. Now both M. Lacôte⁵⁾ and Prof. Speyer⁶⁾ whose views regarding the relation of the Kathāsaritsāgara to the Brhatkathā

¹⁾ As shown by its mentioning the Hūṇas I. 35. 12.

²⁾ cp. infra, p. 55.

³⁾ A comparison of the respective chapters of the Kathāsaritsāgara and the Brhatkathā is given in the Appendix.

⁴⁾ Cp. the synoptical table of contents of the three works given in the book of M. Lacôte (quoted in the next footnote), pp. 193—195.

⁵⁾ Félix Lacôte, *Essai sur Guṇādhya et la Brhatkathā*, Paris 1908.

⁶⁾ J. Speyer, *Studies about the Kathāsaritsāgara*, Amsterdam 1908.

of Guṇādhyā are widely different, agree in admitting that the Kaśmīrian Brhatkathā cannot have been an old work. M. Lacôte assigns its first draught to the VII—VIII cent. A. D. and he does not think that it assumed its final form earlier than the IX—X cent. A. D.¹⁾ But on the whole M. Lacôte thinks that the description of Vatsa's digvijaya in the Kathāsaritsāgara looks very suspicious. I will quote some of his arguments since they partly support my own theory viz. that, as will be shown below, Sōmadēva was strongly influenced by Kālidāsa in his description of Vatsa's campaign. „Quant au bref récit des conquêtes d'Udayana, je le trouve fort suspect. Sa très faible étendue n'est nullement en rapport avec l'importance de pareilles aventures dans la carrière d'Udayana; il n'occupe que la fin du *tar.* XIX. Si décidé à abréger qu'on suppose l'auteur, il est inexplicable qu'il ait tant réduit une matière qui aurait dû être abondante. Sauf en ce qui concerne Brahmadata, nul détail précis sur les pays conquis, ni sur les exploits du vainqueur; ils sont célébrés en quelques phrases vagues, de la plus banale rhétorique. Mais quels étranges ennemis on lui attribue! Passe encore pour les Mlecchas: le nom est ancien et peut être vague, quoique je le soupçonne de désigner ici, comme chez Tārānātha, les Mahométans! Mais que dire des autres? Un roi des temps légendaires combat les Perses (le nom de *Pārasīka* est tardif), les Turuṣkas et les Hūnas surtout, lesquels n'ont pas fait leur apparition avant la seconde moitié du V^e siècle! Si Guṇādhyā avait prêté à son Udayana des victoires sur des peuples envahisseurs, il l'eût montré triomphant des Yavanas et des Çakas! Il y a ici supercherie! C'est un Cachemirien qui parle et presque un contemporain de Somadeva! Il a dans la mémoire les luttes des siècles les plus proches sur les frontières Ouest et Nord-Ouest de l'Inde. — — — il n'est plus jamais question de ces conquêtes. Mieux encore, quand Udayana veut quitter ce monde (*tar.* CXI) et qu'il lègue ses biens à Gopālaka, il n'a rien autre à lui laisser que Kauçāmbī; Gopālaka, à son tour, cède le pouvoir à son frère Pālaka, déjà roi d'Ujjayinī; le royaume est toujours stricte-

¹⁾ op. cit. p. 144.

ment borné aux pays des Vatsas; il n'est pas question de suzeraineté sur d'autres lieux (CXI, 74, 92)¹⁾.

A comparison of Vatsa's digvijaya in the Kathāsaritsāgara and the Bṛhatkathāmañjarī shows that the Kaśmīrian Bṛhatkathā contained little more than an allusion to his victory over king Brahmadata of Benares. This ruler is styled king Vatsa's „constant enemy“²⁾ which is well nigh a terminus technicus of the Nītiśāstra. It appears further that the Kaśmīrian Bṛhatkathā contained a stereotyped enumeration of stratagems as employing of spies, poisoning of wells etc. recurred to by both kings' ministers and finally that it brought, by way of addition, a short statement that after having subdued his „constant enemy“ king Vatsa conquered into the bargain all the remaining kingdoms of the earth. Much the same matter is treated in the Pañcatantra, Hitōpadēśa, Mudrārākṣasa and similar works and I think the whole chapter was originally meant as an exemplification of the „war and peace“ section of the Nītiśāstra. The last portion of the text he translated viz. the digvijaya proper, Sōmadēva enlarged by copying almost verbally a certain number of stanzas occurring in Raghu's digvijaya in the Raghuvaṃśa. This can be proved by the following consideration. The Kaśmīrian digvijaya seems to have been composed mainly in prose³⁾ but almost every single stanza of Sōmadēva's containing an idea, simile etc. imitated from Kālidāsa corresponds exactly to one stanza of the Raghuvaṃśa. Hence it follows that Sōmadēva did not transfuse into verses the prose he copied but that he wrote directly under the influence of Kālidāsa. The following examples collected from both authors and arranged in parallel columns will, I trust, convince the reader of the truth of my statements:

¹⁾ op. cit. pp. 74—75.

²⁾ *nityam vāirī*, Kathāsaritsāgara XIX. 54.

³⁾ M. Lacôte supposes that both the Kaśmīrian Bṛhatkathā and the original work of Guṇādhyā were mainly in prose. See op. cit. pp. 282—283.

Kathāsaritsāgara XIX.

Raghuvaṃśa IV.

prāptayā siddhidūtyēva
 śaradā dattasāmmadah |
 darśayantyātisugamān
 mārgam svalpāmbunimnam ||

64

pūrayan bahunādābhir
 vāhinābhir bhuvastalam |
 kurvann akāṇḍanirmēgha-
 varṣāsamayasaṁbhramam ||

65

cēluś ca hēmasāmnāha-
 sambhṛtārkaprabhā hayāḥ |
 tasya nīrājanaprīta-
 pāvakānugatā iva ||

67

namatātha palāyadhvam
 ity ūcē vidviṣām iva
 pavanākṣiptavikṣiptāis
 tasya sēnādhwajāmsukāiḥ ||

72

Vatsarājō 'pi tam prāptam
 pradattōpāyanam nṛpam |
 prītyā saṁmānayāmāsa
 śūrā hi prajātipriyāḥ ||

88

ittham tasmīn jite Prācīm
 samayan namayan nṛdūn |
 unmūlayamś ca kathinān
 nṛpān vāyur iva drumān ||

89

saritaḥ kurvati gādhaḥ
 pathaś cāśyānakardamān |
 yātrāyāś codayāmāsa
 tam śaktēḥ prathamam śarat ||

24

rajōbhīḥ syandanōddhūtāir
 gajāis ca ghanasaṁnibhāiḥ |
 bhuvas talam iva vyōma
 kurvan vyōmēva bhūtalam ||

29

tasmāi samyagghutō vahnir
 vājinīrājanāvidhāu
 pradakṣiṇārcirvyāja
 hastēneva jayam dadāu ||

25

sa yayāu prathamam Prācīm
 tulyaḥ Prācīnabarhiṣā |
 ahītān anilōddhūtāis
 tarjayann iva kētubhīḥ ||

28

apanītaśirastrāṇāḥ
 śēṣās tam śaraṇam yayuḥ |
 prajāpātapratikārah
 saṁrambhō hi mahātmanām ||

64

tyājitāiḥ phalam utkhātāir
 bhagnāis ca bahudhā nṛpāiḥ |
 tasyāsid ulbaṇō mārgaḥ
 pādapāir iva dantīnaḥ ||

33

*prāpa ca prabalaḥ prācyam
caladvīcivighūrṇitam
Vaṅgāvajayavitrāsa-
vēpamānam ivāmbudhim ||*
90

*pāurastyān evam ūkrāmāns
tāms tān janapadān jayī |
prāpa tālīvanaśyāmam
upakaṇṭha^m mahōdadhēḥ ||*
34

(The Vaṅgas are mentioned
in vv. 36. 37).

*tasya vėlūtataṅtē ca
jayastambhaṁ cakāra saḥ |
pātālābhayayācñārtham
nāgarājam ivōdḡatam ||*
91

*Vaṅgān utkhāya tarasā
nētā nāusādhanōdyatān |
nicakhāna jayastambhān
Gaṅgāsrotōntarēṣu saḥ ||*
36

Kalīṅgāir agragāis tataḥ |
92 b

Utkalādarsītapathaḥ
38 c

*ullaṅghyamānā Kāvērī
tēna saṁmardakārīṇa |
Cōlakēśvarakīrtiḥ ca
kāluṣyam yayatuḥ samam ||*
95

*sa sāṁnyaparibhōgeṇa
gajadānasugandhinā |
Kāvērīm saritām patyuh
śaṅkanīyam ivākarōt ||*
45

*na param Muralānām sa
sēhē mūrḡhasu nōnnatīm |
karāir āhanyamānēṣu
yāvatkāntākucēṣv api ||*
96

*bhayōtsṛṣṭavibhūṣānām
tēna Kēralayōṣitām |
alakēṣu camūrēṇus
cūrṇapratimīdhikṛtaḥ ||*
54

(The Muralas are named in
the next verse).

*yat tasya saptadhā bhinnam
papur Gōḍavarīpayah |
mātāṅās tan madavyājāt
saptadhāivāmucann iva ||*
97

*prasavūḥ saptaparnānām
madagandhibhir āhataḥ |
asūyayēva tannagāḥ
saptadhāiva prasusruvuḥ ||*
23

| | |
|--|---------------------------------|
| <i>taddattair (tad refers to Kāma-</i> | |
| <i>rūpeśvaraḥ, v. 113) anvitō nāgāiḥ</i> | <i>taṁ iśaḥ Kamarūpāṇām</i> |
| <i>saṃrūd vivavṛtē 'tha saḥ </i> | <i>atyākhaṇḍalavikramam </i> |
| <i>adribhir jaṅgamāiḥ śāilāiḥ</i> | <i>bhēḥ bhinnakutāir nāgair</i> |
| <i>karikṛtyārpitair iva </i> | <i>anyān uparurōdha yāiḥ </i> |

114

83

It may be noted, finally, that the names of the vanquished peoples generally correspond in both poems. In the *Raghuvaṃśa* they are more numerous.

It is most interesting to see how cleverly Sōmadēva utilised his model. Himself a perfect stylist, he was no slavish imitator. Hence the whole series of Kālidāsa's original images has been adroitly turned by the later poet into another series of equally original stanzas. But each stanza of the *Kathāsāritsāgara* has something in common with the corresponding verse of the *Raghuvaṃśa*. And then their sequence is nearly the same which alone would suffice to prove the correctness of my assertion. The influence is undeniable.

The mentioning of the Hūṇas by Kālidāsa and by Sōmadēva deserves perhaps a special remark. I confess that I cannot agree with Mr. Manmohan Chakravarti's¹⁾ suggestion that Kālidāsa went so far in the description of Raghu's (= Samudragupta's) conquests as to reproduce faithfully the

¹⁾ G. Huth was the first to lay stress on the reference to the Huns in the *Raghuvaṃśa* but his treatise (*Die Zeit des Kālidāsa*, Berlin 1890) has remained unknown to Mr. Manmohan Chakravarti. Bühler's criticism of Huth's arguments (op. cit. p. 81 f.) goes too far. It is true that the names of all the tribes mentioned by Kālidāsa in the fourth Canto of the *Raghuvaṃśa* may be found in the *Purāṇas* and other works but this is quite natural since the *Purāṇas* give detailed lists of all Indian tribes. Likewise it can be granted that Indian poets did not care for historical conditions of their time but they could not help undergoing their influence. To deny the possibility of this without further ceremony (as Bühler seems to do) would be just as bad as to accept it without any restriction.

actual grouping of foreign tribes on the North-Western and Northern frontiers¹⁾. Of course he could not have alluded to the Hūnas as a people settled somewhere in the North, perhaps in Gāndhāra or in Kaśmīr, before he had heard of their having overrun those countries which event happened about the year 455 A. D.²⁾. But that is all. Other tribes defeated by Raghu viz. the Pārasīkas and the Yavanas³⁾ are mere names denoting troops of fierce horse-men who had infested the North-Western frontier of India during the whole course of its history⁴⁾. Just the same holds good for Sōmadēva. The only difference is that instead of speaking of Pārasīkas and Yavanas⁵⁾ he mentions the Pārasīkas and Hūnas⁶⁾ and that he adds the Turuṣkas or Turks who, in his time, played much the same part as the Hūnas in the second half of the fifth century A. D.

The result of our investigation is very important. We have seen that Sōmadēva made liberal use of the fourth Canto of the Raghuvamśa. He followed Kālidāsa even in such minute particulars as those described in vv. 67, 72, 97, 114. Moreover the whole plan of both digvijayas is nearly identical. And yet the Kaśmīrian poet never mentions one point viz. that the South-Eastern kings were defeated but pardoned by the conqueror⁷⁾. Hence we must infer that this detail appeared un-

¹⁾ In the time of Samudragupta the Huns did not yet make their appearance, but the poet cannot be blamed for an anachronism which is quite in the line of the antihistorical bias of the Hindu mind.

²⁾ That the Hun wars supply us also with the terminus ad quem for the Raghuvamśa, will be demonstrated later on.

³⁾ *pāścātyāir aśvasādhanāḥ* IV. 62 b is glossed as *Yavanāḥ* by Mallinātha.

⁴⁾ Of course there was a time when Yavanas were real Greeks.

⁵⁾ Which name had lost all actuality in the eleventh century.

⁶⁾ Whose name had now acquired, to a certain degree, much the same meaning as that of Yavanas in Kālidāsa's time.

⁷⁾ Thus the Vaṅgas were *utkhātapratirōpitāḥ* in the Raghuvamśa (IV. 37) but Sōmadēva speaks only of their *avaajaya* (XIX. 90, quoted above, p. 52). It is true that the Kathāsaritsāgara has the words *namayan mṛdūn unmūlayaś ca kaṭhinān nṛpān*, v. 89, but this vague phrase corresponds to v. 33 of the Raghu-

important in the eyes of an Indian poet describing his hero's conquests. But since Kālidāsa states this fact expressly it is evident that there existed some special reason for his doing so. This reason cannot be doubtful: Kālidāsa was influenced by Hariṣeṇa's panegyric. And this assertion can be corroborated by collateral evidence. We will show below that several other phrases employed by Hariṣeṇa with reference to Samudragupta have been used by Kālidāsa when speaking of Raghu.

We now pass to the Mahābhārata¹⁾. In verse 55 of the nineteenth taraṅga of the Kathāsaritsāgara, analysed above, Yāugandharāyaṇa exhorts king Vatsa as follows:

tasmiñ (i. e. *Brahmadattē*) *jite jaya Prācīprakramēṇākhilā diśaḥ |*
*uccūḥ kuruṣa vā Pāṇḍor yaśaś ca*²⁾ *kumudōj्ज्वालम् ||*³⁾

Yet, as we shall see presently, Sōmadēva was in no way influenced by Pāṇḍu's digvijaya described in the Mahābhārata I. 122. 21 ff. I think the only reason which might have induced the Kāśmīrian poet to make this allusion was that Vatsa like Pāṇḍu started on his conquest of the world after having become married to two wives. Every coincidence between the two digvijayas ends here. Still less resemblance, if possible, is there between the digvijaya of Pāṇḍu and that of Raghu. After having crushed the Daśārṇas Pāṇḍu turns to the East. He

vamśa (as shown above, p. 51) and has nothing to do with the precise statement contained in the words *gṛhītapratimuktasya --- Mahēndranāthasya jahāra na tu mēdinīm*.

¹⁾ I am quoting from the new edition (T. R. Krishnacharya & T. R. Vyasacharya), Adiparva, Sabhaparva, Bombay 1910.

²⁾ There are in the Mahābhārata two similar phrases which I may quote *par acquit de conscience* viz. *svabāhubalavīryeṇa Kurūṇām akarōd yaśaḥ*, v. 29 and *Śāntanō rājasiṁhasya Bharatasya ca dhīmataḥ | prajāstāḥ kīrtiṇāḥ śabdaḥ Pāṇḍunā punar āhṛtaḥ ||* v. 37.

³⁾ This verse seems to have been the source of an erroneous remark of M. Lacôte viz. »Udayana ---- commencera par l'Orient, comme les Pāṇḍavas«. (op. cit. p. 73). But the Pāṇḍavas did not begin their digvijaya by the conquest of the East. They conquered the earth *yāugapadyēna* (II. 27. 4). The description begins with the North.

subjugates the ruler of Magadha, then the Vidēhas, Kāśis¹⁾, Suhmas, Puṇḍras — and here his conquests practically end. But apart from their being rather curtailed and too one-sided to be entitled to the name of digvijaya, there is absolutely nothing in the whole adhyaya which would remind us of the poetical yes, but unusually precise description of Kālidāsa's. It may be added that the description of Pāṇḍu's conquests is in the common epical style i. e. very plain. Yet we meet with one elaborate image²⁾ which deserved being utilised by Sōmadēva if he really meant to imitate Pāṇḍu's digvijaya. But he did not. His model was the fourth Canto of the Raghuvamśa.

As to the digvijaya of the four Pāṇḍava brothers occupying ten chapters in the second book of the Mahābhārata (II. 26—35), it cannot be my task to analyse it in detail. Besides it is well known to every reader of the Mahābhārata. It will be enough to state the following points which will wholly suffice for our need: — (1) The digvijaya of the Mahābhārata, unlike that of Raghuvamśa (and, of course, that of Samudragupta), is no political campaign. Its only aim is to fill the treasury of Yudhiṣṭhira as stated by Arjuna in the following verse:

*tasya*³⁾ *kṛtyam ahaṁ manye kōśasya parivardhanam |*
karam āhṛayīṣyāmi rājñah sarvān nṛpōttama ||

26. 5.

Hence the standing phrase: *taṁ* (or *tān*, as the case may be) *jītvā* --- *karē ca vinivēśya ca* --- *āhṛtya tatra dhanāni* or *dhanāny ādāya* and so forth⁴⁾. — (2) We find no poetical orna-

¹⁾ Mark the order!

²⁾ *taṁ śarāuḡhamahājvālāṁ śastrārcciṣam arindamam |*
Pāṇḍupūvakam āsādyā vyadāhyanta narādhipāḥ ||
v. 30.

³⁾ This refers to *dhanam astraṁ śarā vīryam pakṣū bhūmir yaśō balam* enumerated in v. 4.

⁴⁾ I seize this opportunity to correct an oversight of Mr. Collins. He enumerates among other curious tribes mentioned in the digvijaya of the Mahābhārata *mayūrasadyśāḥ*, peafowl-like people (II. 1036); *tittirakalmāśāḥ*, people spotted like the partridge,

ments which could have been utilised by Kālidāsa thus furnishing us with a proof of his having written under some influence of the epical digvijaya. Once or twice the very common comparison: *sāinyēna* --- *kampayann iva mēdinīm* occurs. One image which may be called original viz.

tad bhagnam pāṭhivam kṣātram Pārthēnākṣitakarmanā |
vāyuneva dhanānikam tūtibhūtam yayāu diśaḥ ||

27, 7.

has not been utilised by Kālidāsa. — (3) The whole is an awfully monotonous catalogue of kings and peoples defeated. Nearly the same terms are applied to and the same words are used of an Eastern or a Western, a Southern or a Northern ruler. One feels the description is purely mechanical: I don't hesitate to call it simply dull. There is no shadow of historical probability in all the ten chapters. Compared with this conventional bungling, Kālidāsa's description is, despite of its poetical ornaments, sober history. No trace of epical monotony here. Raghu defeats the South-Eastern kings but restores them to his royal favour — just like Samudragupta; he is content with spoiling the South without annexing it — just like Samudragupta; he fights battles with the daring Northern nomads casting terror into their ranks — once more, like Samudragupta.

Well, I cannot help thinking that a careful comparison of Raghu's digvijaya with a typical digvijaya of the Mahābhārata on the one hand and with that of Sōmadēva on the other hand cannot fail to show that in this case Hariṣēpa actually served as model to Kālidāsa. This I hold as a proved fact. But of course this fact alone, taken in itself, is

and *mandūkāḥ*, the Frogs (II. 1043)* (op. cit. p. 13, note ⁵), but these are epithets, not proper names, and do not refer to men but to horses (*mayūrasadrśān* --- *hayān*; *tittirakalmāṣān mandūkā-khyān hayōttamān*; *hayāns tittirakalmāṣān* --- *mayūrasadrśān*) won by Arjuna from Northern tribes by way of tribute. The best horses were bred, as is well known, in the North of India, especially on the banks of Indus; hence *sāindhava* means also horse.

nothing more than an isolated case of literary influence furnishing us with the terminus a quo for Kālidāsa. It cannot suffice to prove that Raghu is an allegorical representative of Samudragupta. To prove this we shall have to show, first, that other details applying to Samudragupta in Hariṣeṇa's panegyric apply also to Raghu in Kālidāsa's poem, and, secondly, that the same holds good of some at least among Samudragupta's successors mentioned in the early Gupta monuments and Raghu's successors in the Raghuvamśa.

In order to satisfy with the first part of our present task, I want to call the reader's attention to the following three points: — (1) One of the preserved stanzas of Hariṣeṇa's panegyric viz. that describing Samudragupta's designation to *yuvarāja* by his father and a stanza of the Raghuvamśa dealing with the same subject with regard to Raghu, clearly correspond to each other. Compare:

*āryō hīty upaguhya bhāvapisunūir utkarṇitāi rōmahhiḥ
sahyēṣūcchvasitēsu tulyakulaḥamlānānanōdvikṣitaḥ |
snēhavyāluḍitēna bāṣpagurunā tattvekṣinā cakṣuṣā
yaḥ pitrābhikṣitō nīrīkṣya nikhilān pāhy evam urvīm iti ||*

v. 4.

and:

*tataḥ prajānām ciram ātmanā dhṛtīm
nītantagurvīm laghayiṣyatū dhuram |
nisargasaṁskāravinīta ity asāu
nṛpēṇa cakrē yuvarājaśabdabhāk ||*

Raghuvamśa, III. 35.

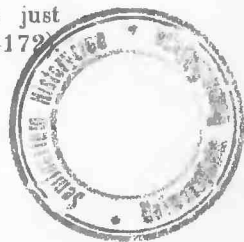
One might perhaps object that the two stanzas differ very considerably. Why, yes. They do differ with regard to language and style but the situation they describe is nearly identical¹⁾. The only difference is that the stanza of Hariṣeṇa (whom, by the way, Kālidāsa did not attain this time) is more vivid, more picturesque. One feels Hariṣeṇa must have witnessed

¹⁾ Cp. my remarks on Sōmadēva's relation to Kālidāsa, above p. 53.

himself the momentous scene, whereas to Kālidāsa it was an historical fact like many other facts on which his master's hand had to set its unmistakeable stamp before filing it on the endless pearl-string of perfectly polished verses. It cannot be denied that more distinct traces of foreign influence may be found in Kālidāsa's writings. He was no doubt greatly indebted to Aśvaghoṣa not so much for situations as quite especially for expressions and phrases. But in this case things lie differently. Aśvaghoṣa was an ancient writer (by the way, little known in brahminic circles as shown by the fate of his works) whom Kālidāsa studied and from whom he had to learn. But Hariṣeṇa was a modern poet, almost a contemporary since he composed his panegyric on Samudragupta about A. D. 345¹⁾, almost a rival since he was the court-eulogist of the same Gupta dynasty whose protégé Kālidāsa was. I think it was almost a *point d'honneur* with Kālidāsa not to borrow anything directly from Hariṣeṇa. And yet the great poet himself could not help undergoing — rather unconsciously, I suppose — his predecessor's influence. Hence it comes that the traces of Hariṣeṇa's literary influence on Kālidāsa are, singly taken, almost impalpable and yet they have great cumulative force. —

(2) One of the most favourite subjects for similes, images etc. is with the Indian poets the royal fame, *kīrtiḥ* or *kīrtayaḥ*. Of course Kālidāsa speaks of the fame of many a descendant of Dilīpa. He makes liberal use of the current similes (fame white as snow etc.) and images (fame filling the earth etc.). But anyhow it is striking that when Sunandā (Canto VI) begins to praise Aja's father, Raghu, she recurs, speaking of his fame, to much the same simile which has been used by Hariṣeṇa in his composition. The latter states that Samudragupta's fame has filled the whole earth and then penetrated to heaven (*vyāptanikhilāvanitalām kīrtim itas tridaśapatibhavanagamanāvāptalāṭitasukhavicaranām*. ll. 29, 30) and, further, that

¹⁾ This I have tried to show in a short article on 'The date of the Allahabad stone pillar inscription of Samudragupta' just published as a contribution to the Windisch Festschrift (pp. 170—172).



it „purifies the three worlds“ like Ganges¹⁾ (*punāti bhuvanatrayam*, v. 9c), and Kālidāsa says of Raghū's fame

*ārūḍham adrīn udadhīm vitirṇam
bhujāṅgamūnām vasatīm praviṣṭam |
ūrdhvaṁ²⁾ gataṁ yasya na cāmubandhi
yaśaḥ paricehettum iyattayālam ||*

VI. 77.

I willingly admit that this case alone would be entirely devoid of convincing force but it seems to me so much corroborated by collateral evidence that I don't hesitate to quote it here. I repeat once more: it is quite natural that Hariṣeṇa and Kālidāsa have several images in common but it is most striking that there exists a strong parallelism between Samudragupta and Raghū. — (3) One more particular, finally, deserves attention in this connection, I mean the great liberality of Raghū and Samudragupta. Nearly the half of Canto V (vv. 1—35) is devoted to the praise of Raghū's liberality. He gave away goods and chattels — all the immeasurable booty brought home from his victorious expedition — on the occasion of the *viśvajit* sacrifice. He spared to a poor brahmin all the rich treasures Kuḥēra sent him in the form of a golden rain. He was praised by the inhabitants of his capital as a king who granted the petitioners more than they dared to ask (*nyapō'rthikāmād adhika-pradaś ca*, V. 31d). Similarly Samudragupta. Already Hariṣeṇa speaks of his liberality in highly commendatory terms. Cp.

¹⁾ Hariṣeṇa calls Samudragupta's fame: *Paśupater jātāntarguhānirōdhaparimōkṣaśighram iva pāṇḍu gaṅgām payaḥ*, v. 9, and Kālidāsa says of Raghū:

*sa sēnīm mahatīm karṣan purvasāgaragāmīnim |
babhōu Harajaṭābraṣṭīm Gaṅgām iva Bhagīrathāḥ ||*

IV. 32.

Of course I don't intend to lay any stress on this partial coincidence but, if we consider the indubitable connection between both works, it appears not quite improbable that the former image might have been the purely mechanical cause of the latter.

²⁾ *ūrdhvaṁ svargādikaṁ gataṁ vyūṣṭam*, Mallinātha.

the following expressions of his panegyric: *anukampāvatō, anēka-gōśatasahasrapradāyīnaḥ, kṛpānadinānāthāturaḥjanōddharāṇasaman-tradikṣābhyupagatamanasaḥ*. Later inscriptions confirm this statement. Cp. the standing epithet of Samudragupta: *nyāyāga-tānēka-gōhiranyakōṭipradasya*¹⁾ and one or two expressions like the following one: --- *suvarṇadānē nyakkūrītā*²⁾ *uṛpatayaḥ PṛthuRāghavādyaḥ*. This again might be called a common characteristic of Indian monarchs (at least, in theory). Ancient writings are never loth to enjoin liberality and to praise it above all other virtues. And yet it is a curious and scarcely fortuitous coincidence that, on the one hand, of all the Imperial Guptas Samudragupta alone bears the official title of liberal, and that, on the other hand, in the long series of kings from Dilīpa down to Agnivarṇa, Raghu alone is praised above all others for his unwonted liberality³⁾.

I think, the cumulative force of all the minute details analysed thus far, renders evident my supposition that Raghu is meant to represent allegorically Samudragupta⁴⁾.

1) See e. g. Corp. Inscr. Ind., Vol. III, No. 4, No. 10, No. 13 and others.

2) The two first syllables of this word are broken away; *nyakkā* is my conjecture. In the beginning *yena* should be supplied.

3) One might perhaps object that in case Raghu really represented Samudragupta we should expect him to be praised for his literary and musical tastes, since the latter king is told by Hariṣeṇa to have studied poetry (v. 8) and put to shame the celestial musicians (l. 27). But to this I will answer that the fame of Samudragupta's liberal education must have soon faded away since it is never alluded to in later inscriptions. He survived in the nation's memory as a great warrior and a generous monarch.

4) It has been supposed by Talboys Wheeler (History of India) that Rāmāyaṇa too was an allegorical poem directed against the Ceylonese Buddhism. Prof. Jacobi says with reference to this theory: „Indische Dichter spielen nicht so Verstecken mit ihren Absichten, und wenn sie allegorisch dichten, so sorgen sie dafür, dass man sie verstehe. Man denke sich; Vālmiki, der grösste Dichter der vorklassischen Zeit, dichtete eine Allegorie, die Niemand verstanden hat, bis ein Europäer des 19. Jahrhunderts hinter das wohl verborgene Geheimniss gekommen ist!“ (Das Rāmāyaṇa, Bonn 1893, p. 90). This

It remains to show that the immediate successors of Raghuvamśa have their counterparts in the early or Imperial Guptas. This suggestion has been already put forward by Mr. Collins in his careful comparison of „The geographical data of the Raghuvamśa and Daśakumāracarita“¹⁾. His words are: „I am not sure that a rough parallel could not be drawn between the first five rulers of the Raghuvamśa²⁾ (upon each of whom Kālidāsa dwells at length) and the first five Gupta emperors beginning with Candragupta I, the practical founder of the dynasty. It is at least curious that in each case the second in the list (Raghuvamśa, Samudragupta) makes wide conquests over almost identical areas. The fifth emperor was Skandagupta (who contended with the fierce Hūṇas of the north as Rāma with the fierce Rākṣasas of the south), and such a parallel would therefore be quite in keeping with the view put forward by M. Chakravarti and supported by Prof. Liebhich³⁾, that Kālidāsa wrote his epic during the reign of this sovereign“⁴⁾.

objection is perfectly correct and one could feel tempted to apply it to my own theory concerning the Raghuvamśa. But the case is totally different. Brahminic writers never ceased to oppose buddhistic propaganda and the buddhist question never lost its actuality during the whole course of early Indian history until the complete extinction of Buddhism in India towards the close of the twelfth century A. D., whereas the very name of Samudragupta fell into oblivion soon after the downfall of the Gupta empire.

¹⁾ As it may render this suggestion more plausible, I will add that it presented itself to me on my first perusal of the Raghuvamśa i. e. before Mr. Collins' treatise was published and, of course, quite independently of it.

²⁾ Dilīpa, Raghuvamśa, Aja, Daśaratha, Rāma. The list is different in the Purāṇas, as also in the Rāmāyaṇa (Viṣ. Pur., tr. Wilson, vol. III, p. 314): the number and the names may therefore have been specially chosen. (Mr. Collins' note³⁾).

³⁾ Das Datum des Candragomin und Kālidāsa's, Jahresbericht der Schlesischen Gesellschaft für vaterländische Cultur 1903, Abt. IV, p. 28. (Mr. Collins' note⁴⁾).

⁴⁾ M. Chakravarti (JRAS., 1904, p. 160) restricts the composition of the fourth canto to the period 480—490 A. D. (Mr. Collins' note⁵⁾).

(op. cit. p. 48). That Raghu has his counterpart in Samudragupta has been shown above. That there exists a parallel between Rāma and Skandagupta is no less probable. Moreover it can be directly proved that the idea of such a parallel appeared quite natural to an Indian poet. This is shown by the following śloka of the Kathāsaritsāgara :

*Sindhurājāṃ vaśīkṛtya harisūnīyār anudrutāḥ |
kṣapayāmāsa sa Mlecchān Rāghavō Rākṣasān iva ||*

XIX. 108.

(A curious coincidence: the verse quoted refers to barbarians occupying much the same territory where Raghu contended with the Huns!) Thus two members of the Gupta dynasty have found their counterparts in two kings of the Raghu family. But the whole early Gupta dynasty numbers no more than five rulers. Hence I think that a third coincidence would be more than enough to ascertain the close correspondence of both dynasties beyond all doubt. And this coincidence actually exists. The Mihrauli iron pillar inscription¹⁾ which must be referred to Candragupta II, son and immediate successor of Samudragupta, says of this monarch „that ‘when warring in the Vāṅga countries, he breasted and destroyed the enemies confederate against him’; and the language of the poet may refer to the suppression of a rebellion rather than to a war of aggression“²⁾. The Sanskrit original runs: *yasyōdvartayataḥ pratīpam urasā śatrūn samētyāgatān Vāṅgeṣv āhāvavartinō* etc. (the rest does not concern us). Now there is an incident in Aja’s career described by Kālidāsa, which bears a strong resemblance to the event alluded to in the inscription just quoted: Aja, when returning home³⁾ with his young wife, had to repel a treacherous

¹⁾ Corp. Inscr. Ind., Vol. III, No. 32.

²⁾ V. A. Smith, op. cit. p. 275.

³⁾ Aja’s home was Ayōdhya but Candragupta’s capital seems to have been still Pāṭaliputra and it may be noted that the way from Vidarbha to Pāṭaliputra might have easily led through the Vāṅga countries. But of course this is a pure contingency which ought not to be taken seriously. „Allzu scharf macht schartig“.

attack made from ambush by enemies united against him. Here too the poet's language clearly points to a rebellion. Personal hatred towards the lucky rival seems to be no more than a poetical pretext as may be gathered from the stanzas referring to this incident:

*pramanyavaḥ prāg api Kōsalendrē
pratyēkam āttasvatayā babhūvuh |
atō nṛpās cakṣamirē samētūḥ
strīratnatūbhaṁ na tadātmaḥasya || VII. 34 ||
tam udvahantaṁ pathi Bhōjakanyām
rurōdha rājanyayanaḥ sa drptaḥ |
Balipradiṣṭam Sriyam ādadūman
trāvikramaṁ pūdam ivendrasatruḥ || 35 ||*

To the phrase *udvartayataḥ pratipam urasā* corresponds the next stanza:

*tasyāḥ sa rakṣārtham analpayōdham
ādiśya pītryaṁ sacivaṁ kumārāḥ |
pratyagrahāt pāṛthivavāhinīm tām
Bhāgīrathīm Śōṇa ivōttaraṅgaḥ || 37 ||*

If one should persist in calling this too a fortuitous coincidence then I will answer that these fortuitous coincidences have grown too numerous and precise. In fact their number and surprising correspondence are simply striking. To me they clearly prove that Kālidāsa wrote *Raghuvamśa* in order to flatter his new patron, Skandagupta, just as he wrote the *Kumarasambhava* in order to flatter his former patron, Kumāragupta.

The result of our investigations is further borne out by some general considerations:

(1) In the genealogical list of the Gupta dynasty Samudragupta alone is distinguished by a whole set of commendatory epithets. He was the most powerful, the most generous, the invincible king. The glory of the whole family is focussed in his person. Next to him stands Skandagupta whose victory over the Huns is greatly extolled. Much the same position is held by Raghu in the *Raghuvamśa*. This is shown already

by the title chosen by the poet for his poem. It was not called *Dilīpavamśa*, although it begins with this king, nor was it called *Manuvamśa* or *Kakutsthavamśa* or *Ikṣvākuvamśa*, although all these names are referred to in the course of the poem and although the rulers of *Ayōdhyā* are often styled *Manuvamśajāḥ* or *Ikṣvākavaḥ* and the like. Further it is worth noting that the genealogy of the solar race as given by the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Purāṇic* lists has been modified by *Kālidāsa*¹⁾ so as to suit the parallel drawn by him between the five Gupta emperors and the series of the five *Ikṣvāku* kings in which *Raghu* and *Rāma* could not be missed. The forefathers of *Rāma* enumerated in the *Rāmāyaṇa* (I. 70. 19 cd ff.) are:²⁾ 1. Brahman, 2. Marīci, 3. Kaśyapa, 4. Vivasvat, 5. Manu, 6. Ikṣvāku, 7. Kuksi, 8. Vikuksi, 9. Bāṇa, 10. Anarāya, 11. Prthu, 11. Triśaṅku, 13. Dhundhumāra, 14. Yuvanāśva, 15. Māndhātara, 16. Susandhi, 17. Dhruvasandhi, (and Prasēnajit), 18. Bharata, 19. Asita, 20. Sagara, 21. Asamañja, 22. Amśumat, 23. Dilīpa, 24. Bhagiratha, 25. Kakutstha, 26. Raghu, 27. Kalmāśapāda, 28. Śaṅkhana, 29. Sudarśana, 30. Agnivarṇa, 31. Śighraga, 32. Maru, 33. Praśuśruka, 34. Ambarīṣa, 35. Nahuṣa, 36. Yayāti, 37. Nābhāga, 38. Aja, 39. Daśaratha, 40. Rāma (and Lakṣmana)³⁾. Now

¹⁾ This has been already noted by Mr. Collins. See p. 62, footnote 2.

²⁾ I select *Rāmāyaṇa* and not the *Purāṇas* because there can be no doubt that *Kālidāsa* has known the poem of *Vālmiki*, whereas we cannot have the same certainty regarding the latter writings. The *Purāṇic* lists partly agree better with the *Raghu-vamśa* though not so as to modify the general line of our argumentation.

³⁾ The *Vākāṭaka* king *Rudrasēna* II, who according to Mr. Collins (op. cit. p. 60) acceded to the throne about 485 A. D., married *Prabhāvatiguptā*, daughter of a *mahārājādhirāja Śrī Dēvagupta*. No Gupta emperor of this name is known to have existed. Mr. Collins therefore suggests three explanations of this discrepancy one of which is that »this prince may have been a younger brother of the ruling sovereign«. (op. cit. p. 36) i. e. of *Skandagupta*. This younger brother would thus seem to have played some political part and it is not quite improbable that this circumstance has been one cause more which prompted *Kālidāsa* to identify

it is most interesting to see how Kālidāsa modified and abbreviated this long list in order to make it fit his purpose. First of all he wanted Raghu i. e. Samudragupta who was the practical founder of the Gupta empire if not of the Gupta dynasty; next to him Rāma i. e. Skandagupta whose Hun wars together with some other circumstances were the immediate cause of the Raghuvamśa. Therefore he was obliged to discard the first twenty-five or twenty-four (if he meant to introduce Raghu's father into his poem) names although more than one of their bearers was an highly adapted hero for an epical poem. In fact, a rich growth of poetical legends had clustered about names like Manu, Ikṣvāku (the first king of Ayōdhyā), Pṛthu, Triśaṅku, Māndhātara, Bhagīratha, Kakutstha and others¹⁾. But Kālidāsa had to reject them all, because the founder of the Gupta dynasty, Candragupta I, could not boast of twenty-four ancestors. His pedigree scarcely comprised more than one or two insignificant names²⁾. But the difficulties end not here. Raghu's father could be neither Kakutstha nor Bhagīratha³⁾, heroes of poetical legends, who would occupy too prominent a place in the poem. Kālidāsa's choice fell on Dilīpa, a rather pale personage, just as Samudragupta's father, Candragupta I, who laid but the first foundations of the future empire and about whom the inscriptions are silent⁴⁾. Between Raghu and Rāma eleven kings

Skandagupta with Rāma whose brother was Lakṣmaṇa. It should always be borne in mind that our historical material is very scanty. Hence we are obliged to make profit of every allusion, be it ever so slight and seemingly insignificant.

¹⁾ Elsewhere Kālidāsa often alludes to these legends.

²⁾ The inscriptions name only his father Ghaṭōtkaca and his grandfather Gupta.

³⁾ Bhagīratha is passed over in silence. Allusions to his legend occur in Kālidāsa's works (Raghuvamśa, IV. 32) but his connection with Raghu is not hinted at. Kakutstha has been relegated into Raghu's remote ancestors, cp. VI. 71.

⁴⁾ He is styled *maharājādhirāja* but does not yet bear the title *paramabhaṭṭāraka*. The account of his failure in performing the *āśvamēdha* sacrifice may preserve an actual historical fact.

appear in the epical list. Some of them — Ambarīṣa, Nahuṣa, Yayāti — were closely associated with legends which could not suit Kālidāsa's purpose. He was obliged to discard all but two of them. And so he did. He retained the name of Rāma's father, Daśaratha, which could not be dropped, and that of his grandfather, Aja. It is worth noting how steadily the poet pursued his aim which was to make the legend suit historical reality.

(2) Of course Kālidāsa did not aim at furnishing the legendary Ikṣvākus with all features of the historical Guptas. After all his poem was not called *Guptavaṃśa* (or *Samudraguptavaṃśa*) but *Raghuvamśa*. He cleverly interwove legend with history and was content with some transparent allusions to the ruling dynasty in addition to a general parallelism between both families¹). He was further obliged to make some concessions to the legend: thus Kumāragupta certainly did not kill a young hermit of the śūdra caste. Anyhow it is interesting to see how exactly both series of kings correspond to each other:

1. Dilīpa, a rather pale personage, no conqueror. The chief interest rests rather on the person of his wife, Sudakṣiṇā, Raghu's mother.

1. Candragupta I, a local rāja of Pāṭaliputra whose fortune it has been to marry a daughter of the famous Licchavi clan. He probably extended his dominion as far as Allahabad²) but he is not styled officially a conqueror.

¹) Some of these allusions are lost to us because of our scanty knowledge of the Gupta history.

²) In the Purāṇas the Guptas (i. e. practically Candragupta I) are said to have reigned (early in the fourth century) along the Ganges, over Prayāga, Śākēta and Magadha. This statement looks very trustworthy. Cp. The Purāṇa text of the dynasties of the Kali age with introduction and notes edited by F. E. Pargiter, M. A., Oxford 1913, p. 55.

2. Raghu, the great conqueror, famous for his liberality ¹⁾.

3. Aja. He too was a gallant knight.

4. Daśaratha. Rather insignificant. The poet does not insist upon his military qualities. No campaign of his described ³⁾. A pious monarch. Devoted to hunting ⁴⁾.

2. Samudragupta, the greatest of all Guptas. A military genius. Praised for his unwonted liberality.

3. Candragupta II. Styled officially *prthivyām apratirathasya Samudraguptasya putrah---* *svayam apratirathah* ²⁾.

4. Kumāragupta. Rather pale. We meet once or twice with an allusion to his *abhivardhamānavijayam rājyam* ⁴⁾ but this seems to be a wholly conventional phrase since no campaign of his is described or even hinted at ⁵⁾. The inscriptions never fail to praise the conquests of other

¹⁾ It is perhaps worth noting that a brahmin of the Kāntsa family is named in connection with both Raghu (V. 1 ff.) and Samudragupta (Corp. Inscr. Ind., Vol. III, No 6.), for although he calls himself minister of Candragupta II, yet he was *anvayaprāptasācivyaḥ* i. e. he or his father must have been minister of Samudragupta.

²⁾ Corp. Inscr. Ind., Vol. III, No. 10. 12 etc., cp. No. 6.

³⁾ IX. 10 is a conventional phrase. We know that Daśaratha did not conquer the whole earth *ekarathēna*. Still less Kumāragupta.

⁴⁾ But this is probably a feature of the traditional Daśaratha, who had to kill a hermit boy on a hunting expedition. It does also point to Daśaratha's reign being rather peaceful which would be one point of agreement more with the reign of Kumāragupta.

⁵⁾ It is true that he celebrated a horse-sacrifice but this he could have done just to ascertain his paramount power. Besides, the horse-sacrifice seems to have lost its significance in these later times. A petty mahārāja of the Bhāvaśivas, Bhavanāga, is reported to have performed no less than ten (!) of them although he very probably lived under the suzerainty of the Gupta emperors about 400 A. D. (cp. Collins, op. cit. p. 60).

emperors who actually made any. Towards the close of his reign his kingdom „had been made to totter“¹⁾ by the onrush of the Hūṇas.

5. Rāma. The exemplary hero. Conqueror of the fierce Rākṣasas.

5. Skandagupta. A great warrior²⁾. Waged war with the barbarous Huns.

I don't think this parallelism can be due to case.

(3) With Rāma all reflection of actual political conditions takes an end. The rest of the poem was added for convenience' sake. Rāma's later story, his repulsion of Sītā with all its consequences etc., all this corresponds pretty closely to the tradition. The persons of Rāma's sons and their successors are devoid of all interest. They are *merae nominum umbrae*. All this proves that Kālidāsa did not outlive Skandagupta³⁾. He did not even live to see the horrors of the second Hun war for it is unfortunately true that *inter arma silent Musae*. Raghuvamśa is perhaps an unfinished poem. We will try to show below that it has been cut short by its author's death.

(4) One final remark. A śloka in the description of Indumatī's svayamvara furnishes us with what seems to me an indubitable proof of Kālidāsa's having lived under the Gupta dynasty. The first⁴⁾ king whom Sunanda names is a certain Param̐tapa, ruler of Magadha. Of course he can have been

¹⁾ Bhitari stone inscription of Skandagupta, l. 14 (Corp. etc. No. 13).

²⁾ Cp. *Guptavamśaikavīraḥ* (Bhitari inscr., No. 13, l. 7), *avanatāriḥ* (Junagadh rock inscription, No. 14, l. 4) and many other similar epithets.

³⁾ Mr. Manmohan Chakravarti is at variance with himself when he says that Kālidāsa wrote the Raghuvamśa in order to flatter Skandagupta (JRAS., 1903) but restricts the composition of the fourth Canto of this poem to the period 480—490 A. D. i. e. after Skandagupta's death (JRAS., 1904).

⁴⁾ This too is not without interest.

only a vassal of Ragh u since the latter ruled over all Northern India. But the poet forgets this and says :

*kāmaṁ nṛpāḥ santu sahasraśo 'nyē
rājanvatīm āhur anēna bhūmim |
nakṣatratārāgrahasamkulāpi
jyōtiṣmatī candramasāiva rātriḥ ||*

VI. 22.

This statement can refer only to the Guptas. It does not correspond to the political situation created by Ragh u's conquests. But this fact is quite in keeping with a remark made by Prof. Jacobi with respect to Vālmīki, viz. „die epischen Dichter des Madhyadeṣa übertragen die politischen Verhältnisse und Stimmungen ihrer eigenen Zeit oder der jüngsten Vergangenheit auf die mythische Vorzeit“ ¹⁾.

I trust to have thus ascertained the following points: — (1) that Ragh uvaṁśa I—XIV is a pretty faithful reflection of the history of the Imperial Gupta dynasty from its founder Candragupta I (acc. 320 A. D.) to Skandagupta who reigned from 455 A. D. to about 480 A. D. — (2) that it was composed during the latter monarch's reign and not later.

It remains to corroborate this theory, based largely on internal evidence, by some more palpable facts. — It is well known that several passages in the inscriptional literature of the Gupta period have been traced back to similar verses in Kālidāsa's poems. These cases are mostly confined to the Mandasor prasasti of Vatsabhātṭi, dated A. D. 472 ²⁾. Thus Bühler has noticed ³⁾ that verse 26 of Vatsabhātṭi's composition viz.

*tasyātmajaḥ sthāiryanayōpapaṇṇō
bandhupriyō bandhur iva prajānām |
bandhwarttiḥ kartā nṛpaBandhuvarmā
dvidḍṛptapakṣakṣapaṇāikadakṣaḥ ||*

reminds us of similar verses in the XVIII-th Canto of the Ragh uvaṁśa e. g.

¹⁾ Jacobi, op. cit. p. 104.

²⁾ Corp. Inscr. Ind., Vol. III, No. 18.

³⁾ op. cit. p. 13.

*tēna dvīpānām iva puṇḍarikō
 rājñām ajayyō 'jani Puṇḍarikah |
 śāntē pitary āhṛtapuṇḍarikā
 yañ puṇḍarikākṣam iva śrītā śrīh || 8 || 1)*

Another coincidence of this kind noted by Bühler²⁾ is Vatsabhāṭṭi's praśasti vv. 10, 11:

*calatpatakāny abalāsanāthāny
 atyarthaśuklāny adhikōmatāni |
 tadāllatācitraśītabhṛakūṭa-
 tulyōpamānāni gṛhāṇi yatra ||
 Kālāsatuṅgaśikharapratimāni cānyāny
 ābhānti dīrghavalabhīni suvēdikāni |
 gāndharvaśabdamukharāni nivīṣṭacitra-
 karmāni lōlakadatīvanāśōbhītāni ||*

and Mēghadūta v. 64:

*vidyutvantaṁ lalitavanitūḥ sēndracāpaṁ sacitrāḥ
 saṁgītāya prahatamurajōḥ snigdhaḡambhīraghōṣam |
 antastōyaṁ mayīm yabhuvas tuṅgam abhramīlihāgrāḥ
 prāsādās tvāṁ tulayitum alāṁ yatra tāis tār viśēṣāih ||*

From these facts the inference is reasonable, Bühler says, that Vatsabhāṭṭi was familiar with the works of Kālīdāsa. As for me, I feel inclined to admit this possibility. But the fact is not quite sure. Mr. Manmohan Chakravarti objects that these verses „need not have been borrowed, as they refer to certain common similes which may have probably passed current in that age“³⁾.

¹⁾ Other verses are XVIII. 5. 7. 13. But such playing on proper names is frequent in Sanskrit literature. — Bühler draws also attention on the frequent use of *subhaga* by Kālīdāsa and Vatsabhāṭṭi.

²⁾ op. cit. p. 18.

³⁾ JRAS., 1904 p. 161. — Kielhorn has pointed out that v. 39 of the Mandasor praśasti has been imitated from R̥tusaṁhāra V. 2—3. But this does only prove that Vatsabhāṭṭi knew the R̥tusaṁhāra. I cannot admit for a moment that the latter poem is a work of our Kālīdāsa. It has a very peculiar character and

The first verse of the Udayagiri cave inscription of Candragupta II¹⁾ viz.

*yad antaryōtir arkābham urvyām * - - - |*
** * * * - - vyāpi Candraguptākhyam adbhutam ||*

reminds us of Gaṇadāsa's words in the Mālavikāgnimitra mahat khalu puruṣādihikūram idaṁ jyōtiḥ. This coincidence too has been pointed out by Bühler²⁾. All these quotations have, no doubt, some cumulative force. But one instance more may be added to them which, in my opinion, does prove conclusively that the Raghuvamśa (or at least Canto IV of this poem) has been given to the publicity during Skandagupta's reign. We read of Raghu:

ikṣucchāyanīśādīnyas tasya gōptur guṇodayam |
ākumārakathōdghātāṁ śāligōpyō jagur yasaḥ ||

IV. 20.

This verse has been repeated almost verbally in the Bhitari stone inscription of Skandagupta:

caritam amalakīrtē gīyatē yasya śubhram |
diśi diśi parituṣṭāir ākumārāṁ manuṣyāiḥ || ³⁾

its style is wholly different from that of Kālidāsa. I am glad to agree this time with Dr Walter who has proved conclusively (partly utilising Pischel's oral remarks) that the R̥tusamhāra cannot have been written by Kālidāsa (see Indica, Heft 3. Übereinstimmungen etc., Leipzig 1905, pp. 6–9). I may only add that two of his statements lack accuracy viz. (1) v. II. 19 *vahanti varṣanti nadanti bhānti dhyāyanti nṛtyanti samāśrayanti* which Dr Walter cites as »ganz verschieden vom Sprachgebrauch Kālidāsa's« is borrowed from the Rāmāyaṇa, IV. 28. 27 (already Bohlen observed: versus haud dubio spurius quem codices omittunt; I cannot for the moment identify the other similar verse viz. VI. 26); (2) the avyayībhāva beginning with ā- occurs not only in Kumārasambhava I. 5 (*āmēkhalam*) but twice more viz. Kumārasambhava VII. 84 (*ālōcanāntam*) and Raghuvamśa XVIII. 28 (*ābrahmasabham*).

¹⁾ Corpus, No. 6. — The verse is greatly damaged.

²⁾ op. cit. p. 30. — The words of Gaṇadāsa refer to king Agnimitra.

³⁾ Corpus, No. 13, l. 12. The next verse of this inscription viz.

As far as I know, this idea does not recur elsewhere in Sanskrit literature. And it is not credible that Kālidāsa should have been the borrowing part. We have seen how difficult it has proved to discover traces of contemporary literary influence in his works. The Bhitari stone inscription is not dated but we shall not be very much mistaken in assigning it approximately to the middle of Skandagupta's reign.

One point still remains obscure. It has been supposed by Shankar Paṇḍit, to whom we are indebted for one of the best editions of the Raghuvamśa, that there are six Cantos wanting at the end of the poem. On the other hand it seems certain that the eight Cantos of the Kumārasambhava known to us represent no more than the beginning of the poem which Kālidāsa intended to write. Prof. Jacobi¹⁾ admits the former but rejects the latter possibility and throws out the suggestion that both poems lack but a small closing portion each. This cannot be ascribed to the poet's death, says he, since it can be

*pitari divam upēte viplutām vanśalakṣmīm
bhujabalavijītūrir yaḥ pratiṣṭhāpya bhūyaḥ |
jītam iti paritōṣaṇ mātaraṁ sāsraneṭrāṁ
hatarīpur iva Kṛṣṇō Dēvakīm abhyupētaḥ ||*

reminds us of Raghuvamśa XIV. 2 :

*ubhāv ubhābhyām prapātāu hatārī
yathākramaṁ vibhavaśōbhināu tāu |
vispuṣṭam asrāndhatayā na dṛṣṭāu
jñātāu sutasparśasukhōpalambhāt ||*

Cp. further: *yaṁ* (i. e. the sun) *lōkō bahurōgavēgavivaśaḥ saṁsṛitya cētōlabhaḥ* (Indor copper plate inscription of Skandagupta, [dated A. D. 465/6], No. 16, l. 2, with Raghuvamśa V. 4 ed :

*yatas tvayā jñānam aśēṣam āptam
lōkēna cāitanyam ivōṣṇaraśmēḥ ||*

(cp. also V. 35 ed :

*rājāpi lēbhē sutam āśu tasmād
ātōkam arkād iva jīvalōkaḥ ||*

where Mallinātha notices the various reading *cāitanyam* for *ātōkam*).

¹⁾ Die Epen des Kālidāsa, Verhandlungen des Berliner Orientalisten-Congresses (Berlin 1881), II, 2.

proved from internal evidence that both poems have not been composed simultaneously. Prof. Jacobi therefore suggests that both poems were originally copied on birch-bark sheets, as is well known an easily damagable material, and he quotes a remark of Bühler's according to which „the usual way of preserving the MSS. is to bind them in rough country leather and to place them on shelves upright, like our books. The friction of the leather invariably destroys the first and last leaves, and hence many Sanskrit works from Kaśmīr have neither beginning nor end“¹. But this quotation speaks against Prof. Jacobi's suggestion and shows that it lacks consistence: for not one syllable is wanting in the beginning of Kālidāsa's epical poems. Nor are the poet's remaining works, Mēghadūta and the dramas, mutilated¹). Of course there are works in Sanskrit literature with reference to which Prof. Jacobi's suggestion holds good. Such is e. g. the Buddhacarita of Aśvaghoṣa or Daśakumāracarita of Daṇḍin, works without beginning nor end. But things lie differently where the end alone is missing as e. g. in the case of the Harṣacarita of Bāṇa. The latter writer was hindered by death from finishing his romance and Kālidāsa was in all probability hindered by death from finishing his second epic, the Raghuvamśa. But what about the Kumārasambhava? First of all let us remark that the eight Cantos of the Kumārasambhava cannot possibly represent a consistent whole as Prof. Jacobi assumes²). His theory that the eighth Canto, the Umāsuratavarṇana, comprises the sambhava of Kumāra thus justifying the title of the poem, is frustrated by the simple fact that the true acceptation of the word sambhava is not conception (as would follow from Prof. Jacobi's argumentation) but birth. Besides, we learn from the

¹) The prologue of the Vikramōrvaśīya is a later addition made after its author's death.

²) op. cit. — The future *apākarīṣyati*, V. 14 is in Dr Walter's eyes a proof that Kālidāsa did not intend to write more than eight Cantos. (See his German translation of this poem, München-Leipzig 1913, p. 42 footnote*). More than improbable.

Rāmāyaṇa, I. 36¹⁾ that Umā did not conceive Kumāra because Śiva's sperm never reached her womb; it was poured out on the earth whereupon Agni, accompanied by Vāyu, penetrated into it. The next sarga, I. 37, tells us the story of Kumāra's birth. In the *sargaviṣayakrama* prefixed to the Nirṇaya Śāgara Press edition, this chapter bears the title *Kārtikēyōtpatti* which is a synonymous word for *Kumārasambhava*²⁾. It is also clear that the *Kumārasambhava* would not have been completed by a later poet if it were reputed to represent a finished whole. But if my argumentation is correct, as I am convinced it is, then we must ask: what is the reason of the poem having been left unfinished? The reason is obvious and very simple. It has been suggested by Mr. Manmohan Chakravarti that Kālidāsa „selected *Kumārasambhava* (the birth of Kārtikēya) because this god was a *kuladēvatā* of the latter Gupta emperors (witness their names, Kumāragupta and Skandagupta, and their silver coins with peacocks on the reverse“)³⁾. I will restrict this suggestion and say: the young Kālidāsa, newly attracted to the court of the Gupta emperors, selected for the subject of his poem the birth of Kumāra in order to flatter Kumāragupta by an implied comparison with the invincible leader of celestial hosts (the Huns menaced the empire, India demanded a leader!) but he dropped this subject in 455 A. D. when Kumāragupta died.

In conclusion, I agree with Mr. Manmohan Chakravarti's remarks concerning the *Mēghadūta*⁴⁾ and recon-

¹⁾ I select on purpose this version of the legend as it must have been known to Kālidāsa.

²⁾ Much in the same manner is the story of Kumāra's birth (and his victory over Tāraka) related in the *Kathāsaritsāgara*, XX. 60—99 (*Umārata*, corresponding to the eighth Canto of Kālidāsa's poem, occupies vv. 72—73). The corresponding portion of the *Bṛhatkathāmañjarī*, III. 342—366 (*Umārata* 349—350; read *Satyū* for *Satī*), contains three śloka (344—346) which remind us vividly of *Kumārasambhava* III.

³⁾ JRAS., 1903 p. 185.

⁴⁾ *Mēghadūta* is also silent about Gupta connections and central India, probably because Kālidāsa had not then been attracted to the Emperor's Court, thus having to leave his beloved Ujjayinī. JRAS., 1903 p. 186.

struct the chronology of Kālidāsa's descriptive poems as follows:

(1) Mēghadūta was written at Ujjayinī some time before 455 A. D., say, about 450 A. D.

(2) The poet's next work was Kumārasambhava. It has been begun with the intention to win the good-graces of Kumāragupta at whose court the poet now lived but it has been cut short by the emperor's death in 455 A. D.

(3) From that date some time, say, ten¹⁾ or fifteen years elapsed. Kālidāsa's talent reached maturity. It may be that the fact of the later Imperial Guptas having transferred their capital to Ayōdhya²⁾ as also Skandagupta's fresh victory over the Huns, which reminded of that of Rāma over the Rākṣasas³⁾, inspired the poet with the subject of his Raghuvamśa, a poem full of allusions to the ruling dynasty. The new work was nearly finished (perhaps altogether finished) when the poet died. This came to happen before 480 A. D. i. e. before the downfall of the Gupta empire.

The Mālavikāgnimitra probably preceded Mēghadūta. It is clearly inferior to the latter poem and seems to have been the poet's first production⁴⁾. Śakuntalā marks the culminating point of Kālidāsa's genius. It must be placed between his epical poems or, say, about 460 A. D. The poet's third drama, Vikramōrvaśīya, has been represented after its author's death. It is therefore his last work written simultaneously with the later Cantos of the Raghuvamśa.

Kālidāsa was born in or near Ujjayinī about 430

¹⁾ Cp. our quotation from the Indor copper plate inscription above, p. 73, footnote.

²⁾ JRAS., 1903 p. 185.

³⁾ Cp. Kathāsaritsāgara XIX. 108 quoted above p. 63.

⁴⁾ See Prologue to this drama. — Mālavikāgnimitra has, alone among the poet's works, purely local interest relating as it does an amourette of a rājā of Vidiśā. Now Vidiśā lies very near Ujjayinī. In the Mēghadūta the description of the latter city (27 ff.) follows immediately upon that of the former (24—25). Hence the selection of Mālavikāgnimitra would explain itself rather easily.

A. D. He started on his glorious career as a young man of, say, twenty and closed it about 475 A. D. (or a little earlier) at the age of forty or forty-five. He died as the court-poet of Skandagupta in this monarch's capital i. e. probably in Ayōdhyā¹).

Appendix.

A comparison of king Vatsa's digvijaya as described by Sōmadēva and Kṣēmēndra is not wholly devoid of interest. Both descriptions have a certain number of ślōkas in common. It will be seen, however, that not one ślōka for which, as shown above, Sōmadēva was indebted to Kālidāsa is to be found in the Bṛhatkathāmañjarī. This fact confirms my supposition that Vatsa's digvijaya was lacking in the Kāśmīrean Bṛhatkathā. — Square brackets indicate verses which appear only in one of the two works under consideration. I am quoting in full only those stanzas which have been, in all probability, taken over from the common source of both poems.

Kathāsaritsāgara, tar. XIX.

Bṛhatkathāmañjarī,
lamb. III.

[1-3]

[275]

*atas tadartham tapasū
Śaṁbhūm arādhayāmy aham |
vinā hi tatprasādēna
kutō vāñchitasiddhayaḥ ||*

*sa grhītajayōdyōgas
tapasū Tripurāntukam²)
atō 'tha yad asādhyam hi
kiṁ Śivasmarāṇān nṛṇām ||*

4

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¹) The legend says that he has been murdered by a courtesan. There is a seed of truth in every legend and if this one be true then he could not have died an old man. Thus the legend confirms in a certain way my theory.

²) There is clearly a lacuna here. Let it be said at once that the printed text of Kṣēmēndra's Bṛhatkathāmañjarī (edited by Messrs. Śivadatta & Parab in the Kāvya-mālā) is characterised by utmost incorrectness.

[5]

tatas taṁ saha dēvabhyaṁ
sacivāis ca tapaḥsthitam |
trīrātrōpōṣitaṁ bhūpaṁ
Śivaḥ svapnē samādiśat ||

tuṣṭo 'smi tē tad uttiṣṭha
nīrvighnaṁ jayam āpsyasi |
sarvavidyādharādhiśaṁ
putraṁ cūvācirūd iti ||

6. 7

vidyādharēśvarō bhūvī
tanayō¹⁾ vijayaś ca tē |
iti Śarvād varaṁ prāpa
trīrātrōpōṣito nṛpaḥ ||

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[8]

ānandayac ca sacivān
prātaḥ svapnēna tēna saḥ |
vratōpavāsaklūntē ca
dēvyāu dvē puṣpakōmalē ||

tatsvapnavarṇanēnāiva
śrōtrapēyēna tṛptayōḥ |
tayōś ca vibhavāyāiva
jātaḥ svādvāuṣadhakramaḥ ||

lēbhē sa rājā tapasā
prabhāvaṁ pūrvajāiḥ sumam |
puṇyāṁ pativratūnāṁ ca
tatpatnyāu kīrtim āpatuḥ ||

9. 10. 11

nṛpavyttānuvṛttē ca
dēvyāu dṛṣtvā pativratē
[hṛṣṭo Vasantakaḥ prāha
praśaṁsaṁs tadviceṣṭitam]

277

[279. 280].

utsavavyagrapāurē ca
vihitē vratapāraṇē |
Yāugandharāyaṇō 'nyēdyur
iti rājānam abravīt ||

12

anyēdyur atha bhūpālē
jayōdyōgakathāntarē |
pāuruṣaṁ dāivasaphalaṁ
prāha Yāugandharāyaṇaḥ ||

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¹⁾ my correction for *tanayād*.

*dhanyas tvam̐ yasya cāivēttam̐
prasannō bhagavān Hurah̐ |
tad idānīm̐ ripūñ̐ jītvā
bhaja Lakṣmīm̐ bhujārjitām̐ ||*

*sā hi svadharmasambhūtā
bhūbhṛtām̐ anwayē sthīrā |
nījadharmārjitānām̐ hi
vināśō nāsti sampadām̐ ||*

13. 14

*avaśyam̐ pṛthivīpālā
bhūbhujām̐ vijayaḥ Śrīyaḥ |
bhavaty utsāhanityānām̐
ihāmutra ca siddhaye ||*

*avāpyatē śubhaphalam̐
sukṛtāḥ pūrvasamcitāḥ |*

282. 283 a b

*tathā ca cirabhūmiṣṭhō
nidhiḥ pūrvajasambhṛtaḥ |
praṇaṣṭō bhavataḥ prāptaḥ
kiṁcātrāitām̐ kathām̐ śṛṇu ||*

15

*paśyācīntitam̐ evāptam̐
tvayā yāudhiṣṭhiram̐ dhanam̐ ||*

283 c d

(16—50 *Dēvadāsūkhyavaṇijah̐
kathā*)¹⁾

(284—299 *Dēvadāsūkhyūyikā*)¹⁾

[51—55]

*ity uktō mantrimukhyēna
tathēti vijayōdyataḥ |
Vatsarājah̐ prakṛtiṣu
prayānārambham̐ ādiśat ||*

56

*śrutovēti mantrivacanām̐
rājā vijayalālasaḥ |
dideśu digjayōdyōgē
senūnyam̐ api taddyutiḥ ||*²⁾

300

*dadāu Vāidehadēśē ca
rājyam̐ Gōpālakāya saḥ |
satkārahētōr nṛpatīḥ
śvaśuryāyānugacchatē ||*

57

*Gōpālakaṁ ca Videha-
rājyē*³⁾ *dhṛtvā jayōtsukaḥ |*

302 a b

¹⁾ I omit this story as it does not concern us directly.

²⁾ The last words seem corrupt.

³⁾ *Videha*^o seems to be the correct reading for *Vidaśā*^o of the printed text.

*kiṃ ca Padmāvatībhrātrē
prāyacchat Siṃhavarmanē |
saṃmānya Cēdiviṣayaṃ
sāṇyāiḥ samam upēyusē ||*

58

*tatō bhrātaram āhūya
Padmāvatyā narēśvaraḥ |
vidadhē Siṃhavarmanāṃ
Cēdirājyē¹⁾ balādrikam ||*

301

[59. 60. 61]

*tataḥ śubhē 'hani prītō
nimittāir jayaśaṃsibhiḥ |
Brahmadattam prati Prācyāṃ
pūrvam Vatsēśvarō yayāu ||*

• 62

*kṛtvā²⁾ mantrigirā dṛptam
Vārūṇasyūṇ mahīpatim ||
Brahmadattam sa saṃhṛṣṭa-
sarvasāmantamaṇḍalam |
jētum -- | yayāu -- ||*

302 cd. 303 ab (cdef)

*ārūḍhaḥ prōcchritacchatram
prōttungam jayakuṇḥjaram |
giriṃ praphullāikatarum
mṛgēndra iva durmadaḥ ||*

63³⁾

*pāṇḍureṇātapatrēṇa
yātrāyām vibabhāu vibhuḥ |
kṣīrakṣōbhasamutthēna
śaśāṅkēṇēva Mandaraḥ ||*

304³⁾[64. 65]⁴⁾

*tadā ca sāṇyanirghōṣa-
pratiśabdākulīkṛtāḥ |
parasparam ivācakhys
tadāgamabhayaṃ diśaḥ ||*

66

*jētum sajjagajāṇika-
turagōtkhātabhūtalaḥ |
yayāu subhaṭasamṃmarda-
vyālōlītadigantarāḥ ||*

303 cdef

[67]⁴⁾

*virēḥpur vānarāś cāśya
sitaśravaṇacāmarāḥ |
vigaladgaṇḍasindūra-
śoṇadānaḥjalāḥ pathi ||*

¹⁾ My correction for *cēddhi rājyē*.

²⁾ *kṛtvā* cannot be possibly good. Read perhaps *tatō*.

³⁾ The original contained some allusion to the royal umbrella.

⁴⁾ Taken over from the *Raghuvamśa*.

*śaratpāṇḍupayōdāṅkāḥ
sadhāturasanirjharāḥ |
yātrānuprēṣitā bhītāir
ātmaajā iva bhūdharaīḥ ||*

68. 69

*Pārthavaṁśasya tasyāgrē
gīrivarṇā gaṇā babhuḥ |
sēvāvratam ivāpannā
meghāḥ Khāṇḍavatarjītaḥ ||*

305

[70. 71. 72] ¹⁾

*ēvaṁ yayāu sa digbhāgān
paśyan phullasitāmbujān |
mahīmardabhayōdbhrānta-
Śeṣōtkṣiptaphaṇān iva ||*

73

*tasya sūṇyē bhaṭādhūtā ²⁾
vibabhāu khaḍgamaṇḍalī |
pātālavāsāt ²⁾ prītyēva
saṁprāptā bhujagāvalī ||*

306

*atrāntarē ca tē cārū
dhyatākāpālikavratāḥ |
Yāugandharāyaṇādiṣṭāḥ
prāpur Vārāṇasīm purīm ||*

74

*kāpālikapraṇidhibhir ³⁾
dāivajñavyaṇjanāir ³⁾ api |
ācakarṣa ripōr mantram
gūḍham Yāugandharāyaṇaḥ ||*

307

[75. 76. 77. 78. 79]

*athāsya Brahmadattasya
mantrī Yōgakarandakāḥ |
cakāra Vatsarājasya
vyājān āgacchataḥ pathi ||*

*adūṣayat pratipatham
viśādidraavyayuktibhiḥ |
vṛkṣān kusumavallīś ca
tōyāni ca tṛṇāni ca ||*

*vidadhē viśakanyāś ca
sūṇyē paṇyavilāsiniḥ |
prāhiṇōt puruṣāṁś cāiva
niśāsu cchadmaghātinaḥ ||*

80. 81. 82

*Brahmadattasya sacivō
dhīmān Yōgakarandakāḥ |
vyadhāt Vatsēśvarasyāmbhō
ghāsaṁ ca viśadūṣitam ||*

308

¹⁾ v. 72 borrowed from the Raghuvamśa.

²⁾ My corrections for *bhaṭā dhūtā* and *pātālavāsi*°.

³⁾ My corrections for *praṇadhibhir* and *dāivaja*°.

*tac ca vijñāya sa jñāni-
līṅgī cārō nyavēdayat |
Yāugandharāyaṇāyāsu
svasahāyamukhāis tadā ||*

*Yāugandharāyaṇō 'py ētad
buddhvā pratipadam pathi |
dūṣitam tṛṇatōyādī
pratīyōgāir aśōdhayat ||*

*apūrvastrīsamāyōgam
kaṭakē niṣiṣēdha ca |
avadhīd vadhakāms tāmś ca
labdhvā saha Rumaṇvatā ||*

83. 84. 85

*ulkāsaindarśanam ghōram
māyās tās ca suduḥsahāḥ |
Yāugandharāyaṇas tasya
pratīyōgāir aśōdhayat || ¹⁾
vyartham cakāra sakalam
māyānirmāṇaḍambaram |*

309. 310 ab

*tad buddhvā dhvastamāyaḥ sa
sāinyapūritadinimukham |
Vatsēśvaram Brahmaddattō
mēnē durjayam ēva tam ||*

*saṁmantrya dattvā dūtām ca
śirōviracitāñjalīḥ |
tataḥ sa nikatībhūtam
Vatsēśam svayam abhyagāt ||*

86. 87

*tatō baddhāñjalīr dhīmān
rātrōpāyanasamgataḥ || ²⁾*

310 cd

[88] ³⁾*ittham tasmiñ jīte etc.*

89 a

Brahmadattam sa jītvāiva etc.

311 a.

From this point the two descriptions disagree.

¹⁾ The printed text has the meaningless *ivābhavat* and a varia lectio *pratīkārāparāyaṇaḥ*. Faute de mieux we may read *aśōdhayat*.

²⁾ Something is missing here.

³⁾ Compare Raghuvamśa.

Corrige. The Italian quotation on p. 44¹⁾ should run :
latin sangue gentile.