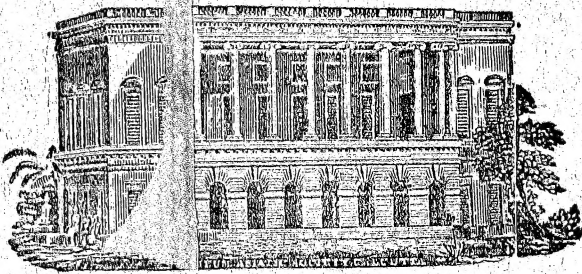


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THE PRABANDHACINTĀMANI
OR
WISHING TONE OF NARRATIVES

COMPOSED BY
M. RUTUNGA ACĀRYA
TRANSLATED FROM THE ORIGINAL SANSKRIT
BY
C. H. TAWNEY, M.A.,

Honorary Member of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

FASCICULUS I.

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# THE PRABANDHACINTAMAṆI

OR

## WISHING-STONE OF NARRATIVES

### CHAPTER I.

Om ! I adore Çrī ! I adore the lord Mahāvīra !

May the Jina Rṣhabha, the divine son of Nābhi, the Parameṣṭhīn, who makes an end of births,  
Protect the four gates of the glorious goddess of speech, which become her, in that she has four mouths.<sup>1</sup>

I meditate on that spiritual preceptor, the lord Candraprabha,<sup>2</sup> who is made up of accomplishments, as the moon is made up of digits,  
Whose hand melts stone-like men, as the ray of the moon melts stones.

<sup>1</sup> It will be apparent from the note in the printed text that *Bhāratyog*<sup>o</sup> is a misprint for *Bhāratyāg*<sup>o</sup>, which is the reading of Bühler MS. No. 206. The four gates are the four classes of the Jaina scriptures, which are sometimes divided into (1) *Prathamānuyoga*, i.e. legends and history; (2) *Karaṇānuyoga*, i.e. works describing the origin and order of the universe; (3) *Dravyānuyoga*, treating of philosophy and doctrine; (4) *Caranānuyoga*, treating of customs and worship. As the classes of the sacred writings are four, they fit into the four months of Sarasvatī, who has four heads in the Jaina mythology. The names of the four classes given above are taken from Hofrath Bühler's article on the Digambara Jainas (Indian Antiquary, VII, p. 28). But Hofrath Bühler informs me that these four classes are known to the Çvetāmbara Jainas by slightly different names, namely *dharmakāthānuyoga*; *ganitānuyoga*; *dravyānuyoga*; *caranākarānānuyoga*. Hofrath Bühler refers me to Weber, Catalog, Vol. II, pt. 2, p. 361.

I may here mention that as a general rule I do not translate *çrī* and *çrīmat* when prefixed to the names of persons and places. Our author employs these words very freely. [Since I wrote the above, Sanskrit scholarship and many friends in all parts of the world have suffered a terrible loss by the death of Professor and Hofrath J. G. Bühler, C.I.E.]

<sup>2</sup> Candraprabha means "gleaming like the moon": the word *kalā* means "accomplishment," and also "digit" or "sixteenth part of the moon." The *candra-kānta* or moonstone is said to dissolve under the rays of the moon. Candraprabha is the name of the eighth Tirthaṅkara.

B

After turning over many collections, Merutunga makes this book  
From the prose narratives therein contained, for the easy comprehension of  
the wise.

Moreover, when I was desirous of extracting this Prabandhacintāmaṇi,  
From the tradition of sound spiritual teachers, as from a mine of jewels,  
The reverend Dharmadeva assisted me in it,  
By means of narratives a hundred times repeated.<sup>1</sup>

The reverend Gaṇin Guṇacandra produced the first copy of the Prabandha-  
cintāmaṇi,  
A new book, pleasing as the Mahābhārata.<sup>2</sup>

Ancient stories, because they have been so often heard,  
Do not delight so much the minds of the wise,  
Therefore I compose this Prabandhacintāmaṇi book  
Out of the life-histories of men not far removed from my own time.

Although narratives, which the wise relate  
Each according to his own mind,<sup>3</sup> must necessarily differ in character,  
Still, as this book is put together from a good tradition,  
The discreet should not indulge in cavilling with regard to it.

#### THE HISTORY OF VIKRAMĀRKA

Vikramārka, though of lowest rank, became foremost on the face of this  
earth by his virtues, —  
By courage, generosity and other graces, an incomparable lord of earth.  
At the beginning of my book I give a slight sketch of the history of that  
king,  
Like a nectar-infusion in the ear of the listener, abridging it greatly,  
though a vast theme.

Thus runs the tale :—

In the country of Avanti, in the city called Supratīṣṭhāna, there was  
a Rajput named Vikrama, full of courage<sup>4</sup> and other virtues, an incom-

<sup>1</sup> I read *catadhoditētvṛttaiḥca* for *prathamoparodhavrteḥca*. This reading is given in the Appendix and in Hofrath Bühler's MS. No. 296, which I shall henceforth call *a*. MS. No. 613, lent to me by the kindness of the Bombay Government, my collation of which I call *P*, has *prathamoparodhavrteḥca*. A full account of these MSS. will be given in the Introduction. The text perhaps means, "gave me the assistance of a most encouraging attitude."

<sup>2</sup> More literally "produced the Prabandhacintāmaṇi in the first copy." I follow Hofrath Bühler's translation on page 5 of his pamphlet, "Ueber das Leben des Jaina Mönches Hemacandra." I find in *a* the various reading *'tra nirmītarān*. *P* has *'tra darśitavān*.

<sup>3</sup> I read *svadhīyo°* for *sudhīyo°* with *a* and *P*. See Hofrath Bühler's "Ueber das Leben des Jaina Mönches Hemacandra," p. 5. This I shall henceforth quote as Bühler's H.C.

<sup>4</sup> Sanskrit *vikrama*.

parable treasure-house of unrivalled daring, endowed with god-like marks.<sup>1</sup> Now this man, though afflicted with poverty from his birth, was devoted to policy, and when he did not obtain wealth even by more than a thousand devices, he, once on a time, set out for the Rohaṇa mountain in company with a friend named Bhaṭṭamātra. When they approached it, they<sup>2</sup> rested in the house of a potter, in a city called Pravara, near the mountain. When Bhaṭṭamātra, the next morning, asked the potter for a pickaxe, he said, "Any man in low circumstances, who goes into the middle of this mine, and hearing in the morning unwelcome news,<sup>3</sup> touches his forehead with his hand, and exclaims, 'Alas, Destiny!' and then strikes a blow, obtains whatever jewels may turn up." Bhaṭṭamātra, having thoroughly ascertained this fact from the potter, took those tools with him, and when Vikrama<sup>4</sup> was standing in the mine, ready to strike, in order to obtain jewels, being unable to induce him to assume the requisite despondency by any other method, he said to him, "A certain stranger has come from Ujjayinī, and when he was asked for news of the welfare of those at home, he said that your mother was dead." When Vikrama heard that intelligence, which was like a red-hot diamond needle, he struck his forehead with the palm of his hand, and exclaiming, "Alas, Destiny!" he flung the pickaxe from his grasp. When the ground was torn up by the point of the pickaxe, a gleaming jewel, worth a lakh and a quarter, sprang to light. Bhaṭṭamātra took the jewel and returned with Vikrama. In order to remove the danger of the dart of his friend's grief, Bhaṭṭamātra told him at that time the secret of the mine, and also the fact that his mother was in perfect health. Thinking that covetousness was bred in the bone of Bhaṭṭamātra, Vikrama flew into a passion, and tearing the jewel from his hand, he returned to the mouth of the mine. He exclaimed,—

Curse on the Rohaṇa mountain, that heals the wound of the poverty of the wretched!

Which gives jewels to petitioners, on their exclaiming, "Alas, Destiny!"

After uttering these words, he flung down the jewel in that very mine, in the sight of all the people, and wandering off to another country he reached the environs of Avanti. Having heard the sound of a shrill drum, and having ascertained the whole secret, he kept quiet about it, and entered the palace simultaneously with the drum. The ministers installed him as

<sup>1</sup> See Index to my translation of the Kathā Sarit Sāgara s.v. "marks."

<sup>2</sup> Strictly speaking we are only told in the original that Bhaṭṭamātra rested.

<sup>3</sup> I read *prātarapunyaçravanāpūrvam* as the context seems to require it. P has *punyaçravanāpūrvam*. The reading *punyaçravanātpūrvam*, mentioned in the Appendix, would give a tolerable sense.

<sup>4</sup> He is sometimes called in the text Vikrama, and sometimes Vikramārka, or Vikramāditya. The latter is the best known name.

king, in that very *muhūrta*, without inquiring whether it was favourable or not, after twenty-four hours' interval. Owing to his sagacity, he said to himself, "Some mighty demon or god is angry with this kingdom, and kills one king every day, and<sup>1</sup> as there is no king, wastes the realm. So by fair or foul means I must win him over.<sup>2</sup> So he had prepared various kinds of viands and delicacies, and having arranged them all at night-fall in an upper room of the palace, he went there immediately after the evening ceremony of waving lights before the idol, surrounded by his guards, and placed a bolster covered with his own turban and garments on a swinging bed which was suspended from the ceiling by chains,<sup>3</sup> while he himself, excelling in valour the three worlds, stood, sword in hand, in a part of the room not lit up by the lamp. While he remained gazing into the air, lo! in the very dead of the night he beheld entering by way of the window first a smoke, then a flame, then a terrible vampire,<sup>4</sup> looking like the visible embodiment of the ruler of the dead; and he, with belly pinched with hunger, having enjoyed to his fill those delicacies, and having anointed his body with the sweet-smelling substances, and being pleased by tasting the betel, sat down on that bed and said to Vikrama, "Mortal, my name is Agnivetāla, and I am well known as the doorkeeper of the king of the gods. I kill one king every day. However, being pleased with this devotion on your part, I grant you your life and give you the kingdom, but you must always provide for me the same amount of viands and delicacies." When both had agreed to this compact, after the lapse of some time, king Vikrama asked the Vetāla the length of his own life. The Vetāla said, "I do not know, but I will ask my master and inform you." Having said this, he departed. He came again on another night and said to Vikrama, "The great Indra says that you will live for one hundred years exactly." The king urged strongly the obligations of friendship and entreated him earnestly, that he would induce Indra to make the hundred years shorter or longer<sup>5</sup> by one year. He promised to do so, but returned and said, "The great Indra will not consent to make your life ninety-nine or one hundred and one years." When the king heard this decision, he ordered the customary viands and delicacies not to be cooked for the next day, and remained at night ready to do battle. Thereupon the vampire came there the next night according to previous

<sup>1</sup> P and a insert *ca* after *nyābhāve*.

<sup>2</sup> This story is found in the Jaina recension of the *Sinhāsana-dvātrīṃśikā*. See Weber's *Indische Studien*, XV. pp. 273—275. Perhaps "by force or flattery" would do equally well as a translation of *bhaktiṃ caṭṭiṃ vā*.

<sup>3</sup> See *Rās Mālā* (reprint by Colonel Watson), pp. 191, 192.

<sup>4</sup> *Vetāla*.

<sup>5</sup> After *hīnaṃ* I insert with a, *adhikaṃ vā*. It is clear from what follows that these words are required. This is clear also from the Jaina version of the *Sinhāsana-dvātrīṃśikā* (*Indische Studien*, XV. p. 274) where we read *mamāyusi śānyam patitani tat boujā varṣam ekam nyāman samadhikaṃ vā karaṇyaṃ*.

custom, and said the same thing to the king, and not seeing those viands and other luxuries, objurgated him. Then a single combat took place between them, and lasted for a long time, but at last the king, by the help of his own good actions in a previous state of existence, beat the vampire down to the ground and putting his foot upon his heart, he said to him, "Call to mind your favourite deity." The vampire answered the king, "I am delighted with this marvellous daring on your part, and you may consider that you have won over me, the vampire named Agnivetāla, as a slave to execute all your commands."<sup>1</sup> So Vikrama's kingdom became free from enemies.<sup>2</sup> In this way he brought into subjection to himself the territories of ninety-six rival monarchs, conquering by his prowess the whole circle of the regions.

O Sāhasāṅka,<sup>3</sup> the wild elephant of the woods, approaching the palaces of thy enemies,  
 And beholding afar, in that part of their walls which is made of crystal, his own reflected image,  
 Thinking it a rival elephant, smites it in wrath, and breaking his tusk, looks again,  
 And then slowly, slowly strokes it, thinking it a female of his own race.

In the city of Avantī lived Priyaygumañjarī, the daughter of King Vikramāditya. She was made over to a paṇḍit named Vararuci for the purpose of study, and, owing to her cleverness, she learnt the Śāstras from him in a few days. She was in the prime of youth, and remained continually gratifying her father. One day in the season of spring, when she was sitting on a sofa in the window at the time of mid-day, when the sun was scorching men's foreheads, she saw her teacher coming along in the road; and when he had rested in the shade of the window, she said to him, showing him some mango fruits mellow with ripeness, and knowing that he longed for them, "Would you like to have these fruits warm or cold?" He, not seeing the real cunning of her question, answered, "I should like to have them warm." Thereupon, she threw them sideways into the corner of his garment, which he held out to receive them. They fell on the ground, and were consequently covered with dust. So the paṇḍit took them in his two palms, and proceeded to remove the dust by blowing upon them. While he was doing this, the princess said to him tauntingly, "What,

<sup>1</sup> I read with *a* and *P*, *yatkṛtyūdeçakārī*. The vampire is called Agniçikha in the *Kathā Sarit Sāgara*. See Vol. II. of my translation, page 572.

<sup>2</sup> Literally, "thorus."

<sup>3</sup> Sāhasāṅka, i.e. "characterized by daring," is a name of Vikramāditya. At the end of these lines *a* inserts the following words, "Now we return to the narrative. Being praised in such words by Kālidāsa and other great poets, he enjoyed for a long time the kingdom. Now we will relate concisely the origin of Kālidāsa, as the subject presents itself naturally." The story of Kālidāsa is tacked on in a clumsy way, whatever reading we adopt.

are these fruits too hot, that you cool them with your breath?"<sup>1</sup> That Brahman, being annoyed by her taunting speech, said to her, "Ah! young woman, you fancy that you are very clever, but as you choose to cavil at your teacher, may you have a herdsman for a husband!" When she heard this curse of his, she uttered the following vow, "Whoever is your supreme preceptor through excelling you in knowledge,<sup>2</sup> though you do know the three Vedas, that man I will marry." Then, as king Vikrama was whelmed in a sea of anxiety with regard to finding a distinguished youth who would be a suitable match for her, once on a time that paṇḍit, by order of the king, who had become impatient for the pointing out of the desired bridegroom, entered a large forest, and was afflicted with excessive thirst. As no water appeared in any direction,<sup>3</sup> seeing a herdsman he asked him for water. The herdsman, as he had no water to give, said, "Drink milk," and then told him to make a *karavaḍi*.<sup>4</sup> When the paṇḍit heard this term, which of all terms he had never heard before in his life, his mind was devoured by bewilderment. But the herdsman put his hand on the paṇḍit's head, and placed him under a buffalo-cow, and then, having induced the paṇḍit to put the palms of his hands together, so as to form what is called a *karavaḍi*, he made him drink milk till his throat was filled. The paṇḍit considered the herdsman as good as his preceptor, because he placed his hand on his head and taught him the specific term *karavaḍi*, and thought that he would be a fitting bridegroom for the princess.<sup>5</sup> So he made him leave the buffalo-cow, and brought him to his own palace; and for six months made him cultivate his person, and repeat the formula of blessing, "*Om namaḥ Śivāya!*" After six months he found that those syllables were well impressed on the surface of his throat, so in a fortunate *muhūrta* he conducted him to the court of the king, after he had been suitably adorned. The herdsman was so bewildered by the sight of the court, that when he tried to address to the king the formula of blessing he had carefully practised, he brought out the syllables, "*Uṣaraṣa*."<sup>6</sup> When the king was puzzled with the herdsman's stammering utterance, the paṇḍit, wishing to have him credited with a cleverness he did not possess, said:—

<sup>1</sup> This feeble joke is found in the *Kathā Sarit Sāgara*. See Vol. II. of my translation, p. 619.

<sup>2</sup> I read with *a* and *P*, *adhikavidyatayā*. This reading is justified by the sequel. It is also found in the MSS. which Dīnānātha calls *A* and *B*.

<sup>3</sup> I read *sarvataḥ sarvatomukhābhāvāt*. I find this reading in *a* and *P*. Hofrath Bühler has reminded me that *sarvatomukha* means "water."

<sup>4</sup> *A*, *B* and *a* give *karavaḍiṇi*. *P* agrees clearly with the text, wherever the word occurs. I have therefore followed the text.

<sup>5</sup> It will be observed that he satisfied both conditions, being a herdsman, and the preceptor of the paṇḍit, superior to him in the knowledge of one word.

<sup>6</sup> For a similar story see the reference on p. 161 of Fick's "Soziale Gliederung im Nordöstlichen Indien zu Buddha's Zeit" to the *Somadatta Jātaka* (II. 165).



“May Rudra together with Umā, bestowing blessings, trident in hand,  
Elated with the might of his shout, protect thee, O lord of the Earth!”

By understanding this couplet to be intended, he interpreted in diffuse language the depth of the herdsman’s learning. The king, pleased with this satisfactory evidence of the herdsman’s learning, had him married to his daughter. In accordance with the advice of the paṇḍit, the herdsman preserved unbroken silence ; but the princess, wishing to test his cleverness, entreated him to revise <sup>1</sup> a newly-written book. He placed the book in the palm of his hand, and with a nail-parer proceeded to remove from the letters in it the dots and the oblique lines at the top indicating vowels,<sup>2</sup> and thus to isolate them, and then the princess discovered that he was a cowherd. After that the son-in-law’s revision became a proverb everywhere. Once on a time they pointed out to him a herd of buffalo-cows in a picture painted on a wall. In his delight he forgot his high rank, and uttered the barbarous<sup>3</sup> words made use of for calling buffalo-cows. So it was ascertained for certain that he was a keeper of buffalo-cows.<sup>4</sup> The herdsman, reflecting on that contempt, which the princess showed towards him, began to propitiate the goddess Kālī in order to attain learning. The king, being afraid that his daughter would be left a widow, sent a female slave in disguise <sup>5</sup> at night, and when she woke him up and said to him, “I am pleased with you,” the goddess Kālī herself, apprehending that some disaster would take place, appeared in visible form and granted his request. When the princess heard of that occurrence she was delighted, and came there and said, “Is there any special utterance?” He thereupon, having become known by the name of Kālidāsa, composed the three Mahākāvya, the Kumāra Sambhava, and so on, and six other works.<sup>6</sup>

Once on a time a merchant named Dānta, who lived in King Vikramāditya’s city, came to him as he was in his hall of audience, with a present in his hand, and, bowing low, said to him, “King, in a lucky *mahūrta* I had a palace built by distinguished master-builders, and I went into it with

<sup>1</sup> The word used means also “purify,” and perhaps the herdsman interpreted it literally.

<sup>2</sup> I have taken this sense of *mātrā* from Molesworth’s Marāṭhī Dictionary. But in Hindi, according to the Dictionary of Bates, the word in addition to this meaning, indicates the horizontal stroke of a letter.

<sup>3</sup> I read with P, *vikṛta* for *vikṛti*.

<sup>4</sup> I find *tayā* inserted in *a* after *niṣcikye*. This means that the princess ascertained the fact.

<sup>5</sup> She was of course personating the goddess. Propitiating Kālī often involves suicide.

<sup>6</sup> This account of Kālidāsa’s origin and his acquisition of literary ability by the favour of the goddess Kālī is also found in Tārānātha’s History of Buddhism. See Mr. Heeley’s paper in the Indian Antiquary, Vol. IV. pp. 101—104. Cp. also the form of the story given in the Indian Antiquary, Vol. VII. pp. 115—117. The editor gives other references in a footnote.

great rejoicings ; but, while I was lying there on my bed at night, half asleep and half awake, I suddenly heard a voice say, 'I am about to fall.' I was bewildered with fear, and exclaiming, 'Do not fall,' I immediately made my escape. I have been to no purpose mulcted by the astrologers, who have had to do with this mansion, and by the architects, in the form of contributions, such as seasonable complimentary presents,<sup>1</sup> and so on. Now it remains for your Majesty to decide what should be done." When the king had carefully considered the account given by the merchant, he paid him the three lakhs which he fixed as the price of that splendid mansion, and, after the general assembly<sup>2</sup> of the evening, king Vikrama slept comfortably in that palace which he had made his own. When he heard that same voice say, "I am falling," he, being a man of unrivalled daring, said, "Fall quickly," and so he obtained a man of gold that fell near him. Such is the story of the attainment of the man of gold.<sup>3</sup>

Then, on another occasion,<sup>4</sup> a certain poverty-stricken man was introduced by the warder, with a very thin iron doll, representing poverty,<sup>5</sup> in his hand, and said to the king, "Your Majesty, I heard the report that in Avantī, famous for having you as its lord, all things are quickly sold and easily purchased, and yet I have during a day and night carried round this poverty-doll for sale in the eighty-four cross-roads of the city, but no one has bought it ; on the contrary, I have been abused. I have made known to your Majesty this reproach to the city, as it is, and I now return by the way by which I came. I hereby take my leave of your Majesty." Immediately the king, taking into account that great stain of reproach<sup>6</sup> on the honour of his city, gave him one hundred thousand *dināras*, and placed that iron doll in his treasury. In the course of that same night, in the first watch, the deity that presided over the elephants<sup>7</sup> appeared to the king as he was comfortably asleep ; in the second watch appeared the deity that presided over the horses ; in the third watch appeared the goddess of Fortune herself, and they all said, "Since your Majesty has been pleased to buy a doll representing poverty, it is not fitting for us to remain here." In these words they took leave of him, and saying, "Let not your Majesty's courage

<sup>1</sup> I read *yathāvasaram arhanādibhiḥ*. This is found in P and a, and is given in the Appendix as the reading of A and B.

<sup>2</sup> It is obvious that *sarvāvasara*, as used in this book, corresponds to the Urdu *dāvān-i-'āmm* or *darbār-i-'āmm*.

<sup>3</sup> This "man of gold" was also attained by Raṅka. See page 276 of the printed text. It seems to be a favourite *siddhi*. Another account will be found in Weber's *Indische Studien*, XV, p. 278.

<sup>4</sup> I read with a, *athānyasmīnnavasare*.

<sup>5</sup> *Daṇḍraputraka*. But below it is called *dāridryaputraka*, which gives a better sense.

<sup>6</sup> Literally, "mud of reproach."

<sup>7</sup> The text has *rājyādhiṣṭhālrdaivataśi*. But a has *gajādhiṣṭhātṛ*, which is shown by the sequel to be the right reading. P has *gajādhiṣṭātṛ* (sic).

be daunted!" departed, after receiving permission from the king. In the fourth watch a certain noble-looking man, of a celestial radiant form, appeared, and said, "I am named Courage; <sup>1</sup> I have attended on you since your birth, and now I take leave of you, being about to go." <sup>2</sup> When the apparition had said this, the king took his sword in his grasp and prepared to slay himself, but that moment that very same being seized him by the hand, and restrained him, saying, "I am pleased with you." The three deities that presided over the elephants and other departments, returned, and said to the king, "We have been deceived by this genius of courage, who has broken the compact we made to depart, so it is not fit that we should go away and leave the king." Accordingly, they also remained, without the king's making any effort to detain them.

Then, on another occasion, a certain foreigner, who was well acquainted with the science of palmistry, was introduced by the doorkeeper into the presence of the king, who was in his hall of audience, and after entering, looked at his marks, and began to shake his head. The king asked him the cause of his despondency. He replied, "Now that I have seen that, though you possess in fulness all the inauspicious marks, you are enjoying the fortune of sovereignty over ninety-six realms, I have become sceptical about the science of palmistry. But I do not perceive in you any speckled entrail, which could give you the power to hold sway, as you do." As soon as king Vikramāditya heard this speech, he seized his sword, and proceeded to put it to his stomach, but the professor of palmistry asked him what he was about. The king answered, "I am about to rip open my stomach and show you an entrail of that kind." The professor of palmistry said, "I now perceive <sup>3</sup> that you possess the mark of courage, which is better than all the thirty-two auspicious marks." Thereupon the king dismissed him with a present.

Then, having heard on a certain occasion, that all accomplishments are useless in comparison with the art of entering the bodies of other creatures, king Vikrama repaired to the Yogin Bhairavānanda, and propitiated him for a long time on the mountain of Çrī. <sup>4</sup> But a former servant of his, a certain Brahman, said to the king, "You ought not to receive from the teacher the art of entering other bodies, unless it is given to me at the same time." Having been thus entreated, the king made this request to the teacher, when he was desirous of bestowing on him the science, "First

<sup>1</sup> *Sattva*.

<sup>2</sup> In *a* is found the word *mukhalāpayaśāmi* (for *mukhalāpayaśyāmi*?). This word is found in the Kathā Koṣa. See the preface to my translation, page xxii.

<sup>3</sup> Here *a* gives *nāvagamitam* for *novagamam*. It probably means, "I did not perceive when I first came in." For the 32 *Mahāpuruṣalakṣaṇas*, see Kern's Manual of Buddhism, page 62.

<sup>4</sup> See Wilson's Hindu Theatre, Vol. II. page 18, note.

bestow the science on this Brahman, then on me." The teacher said, "King, this man is altogether unworthy of the science." Then he gave him this warning, "You will again and again repent of this request." After the teacher had given this warning, at the earnest entreaty of the king, he bestowed the science on the Brahman. Then both returned to Ujjayinī. When the king reached it, seeing that his courtiers were depressed on account of the death of the state elephant,<sup>1</sup> and also in order to test the science of entering another body, he transferred his soul into the body of his own elephant.

The occurrence is thus described :

The king, while the Brahman kept guard, entered by his science the body of his elephant ;  
 The Brahman entered the body of the king ; then the king became a pet parrot ;  
 The king transferred himself into the body of a lizard ; then considering that the queen was likely to die,  
 The Brahman restored to life the parrot, and the great Vikrama recovered his own body.

In this way Vikramāditya acquired the art of entering another body.<sup>2</sup>

Then, on another occasion,<sup>3</sup> as King Vikrama was going about on his royal circuit, he saw the teacher Siddhasena<sup>4</sup> approaching, being followed by the members of the Jaina community residing in that city, and praised by sons of bards as the son of the All-knowing. The king was annoyed by the phrase "son of the All-knowing." In order to test his omniscience, he paid him the tribute of a mental salutation.

When a worthy person has come within range of my eyes, ten hundred,  
 and when I speak to him, ten thousand,  
 And as for the man whose saying may make me laugh, on him let a hundred  
 thousand be quickly bestowed by you,  
 I always give in a present ten million *niṣkas*, such is my supreme command  
 for aye,  
 O superintendent of the treasury ; such a system of liberality did Vikramā-  
 ditya observe.<sup>5</sup>

Siddhasena, for his part, by means of the Pūrvagata scripture<sup>6</sup> having understood the mind of the king, lifted up his right hand and gave the

<sup>1</sup> *Paṭṭahastin*.

<sup>2</sup> See my translation of the *Kathā Sarit Sāgara*, Vol. I. pp. 21, 22 ; Vol. II. p. 353.

<sup>3</sup> I read *abhiñyasa-minnavasura* with *a*.

<sup>4</sup> For the story of Siddhasena see Weber's *Indische Studien*, XV. p. 279 and ff.

<sup>5</sup> This stanza is found in the Jaina recension of the *Sinhāsanaadvātrīṅgikā*. See *Indische Studien*, XV. p. 309, where *arte* is read for *āpte*.

<sup>6</sup> I find *gruta* in P after *pūrvagata*.

king his benediction,<sup>1</sup> expressing a wish that he might obtain the faith. The king asked him the reason which led him to bestow his benediction. Thereupon the great hermit told him, that it was being bestowed upon him in return for his mental salutation. When he said this, the king, astonished at his knowledge, gave him ten millions of gold pieces by way of reward. Then, on another occasion, the king asked the superintendent of the treasury the story of the gold which he had ordered to be given to the sage, and he said, "I entered the item of the gift of gold in the charity accounts<sup>2</sup> in the form of the following couplet,—

"When the Jaina sage Siddhasena, lifting up his hand, said to the king from afar,  
'May you obtain the faith,' the monarch of men gave him ten millions."<sup>3</sup>

Afterwards, when the king summoned the sage Siddhasena into the hall of audience, and said, "Take that gold," the sage exclaiming that it was useless to give food to the sated, bade him free the earth which was laden with debt, by means of that gold. When the king had received this piece of advice, being pleased with the contentment of the sage, he promised to do as he bade.

A beggar, that has come, longing to see you, stands stopped at the door,  
With four couplets in his hand ; is he to come or go ?<sup>4</sup>

Let ten hundred thousand be given, and fourteen grants,  
With four couplets in his hand, let him come or go !

Falsely art thou praised by the wise on the ground that always thou givest  
all things,

Thy enemies have not gained a sight of thy back, nor the wives of others  
thy heart.<sup>5</sup>

The goddess of eloquence resides in thy mouth, fortune in the lotus of thy hand,  
Why is fame so wroth, O king, that she has travelled to foreign lands ?<sup>6</sup>

Whence hast thou learnt this so strange science of archery ?

The stream of arrows<sup>7</sup> comes towards thee, the bow-string<sup>8</sup> goes to another  
quarter.

<sup>1</sup> The words *dakṣiṇapānim—dadaṁi* form half a *śloka*.

<sup>2</sup> *Dharmavahikāyāñ*. In the Gujarati language *vahī* means an account-book. Hofrath Bühler refers me to the Vienna Oriental Journal, Vol. III. p. 365 and ff.

<sup>3</sup> This stanza is found in the Jaina recension of the *Sinhāsānadvātriṅśikā*. Indische Studien, XV. p. 286.

<sup>4</sup> This couplet is found in the Bhojaprabandha, p. 102 of Pavie's edition, with the variant *kim āgacchatu*. See also Indische Studien, XV. p. 287.

<sup>5</sup> Found in a slightly different form in the Bhojaprabandha, ed. Pavie, p. 124. See also Weber's Indische Studien. XV. p. 288.

<sup>6</sup> The king's fame has spread to foreign countries. For this stanza see Indische Studien, XV. p. 288.

<sup>7</sup> The word that means "arrow," also means "petitioner." This couplet is found on page 124 of Pavie's Bhojaprabandha.

<sup>8</sup> The word *gūṇa* means "bow-string" or "virtue." The king's virtue is renowned afar. See Indische Studien, XV. p. 287 for this, and page 288 for the following couplet.

When thy loud-sounding drum is struck, the hearts of thy enemies break like jars,

But the eyes of their wives stream ; this, O king, is a great miracle.

The goddess of eloquence<sup>1</sup> dwells ever in the lotus of thy mouth, but thy lower lip is always red,

Thy arm is quick to remind men of the might of Rāma, thy right hand is a sea,<sup>2</sup>

Armies,<sup>3</sup> having come to thy side, do not even for a moment leave thee,

Whence, O lord of earth, is there repeatedly in this thy transparent inner mind,<sup>4</sup> the desire of drinking water ?

In that very night the king roamed<sup>5</sup> about in the city in search of adventures, and heard the following half-couplet being repeated again and again by the mouth of an oilman :—

One might indeed call our ruler Kṛṣṇa the preserver.<sup>6</sup>

The king waited all the remainder of the night until daybreak, in hopes of hearing the second half of the couplet, but not hearing it he became despondent, and going back to his palace he went to sleep. In the morning, after the king had performed the duties incumbent on him at that time, he summoned the oilman, and asked him the second half of the couplet. He repeated it as follows :—

The world is whelmed in poverty, and the bonds of taxation<sup>7</sup> are not indeed relaxed.

Reflecting that Siddhasena's advice was now repeated, he began to free the world from debt. Then he asked Siddhasena whether there would ever be any Jaina king like himself ; and thereupon the sage Siddhasena said :—

“ When a thousand years are fulfilled, and a hundred and ninety-nine,

There shall be a king, Kumārapāla by name, like thee, O Vikramāditya.”

Then, on another occasion, while the world was being freed from debt, feeling puffed up with conceit on account of his own virtue of generosity,

<sup>1</sup> Sarasvatī is represented as extremely white. See Miss Ridding's Kādambari, p. 104, note.

<sup>2</sup> Perhaps it also means “ You have the Southern sea.”

<sup>3</sup> Or “ rivers.”

<sup>4</sup> In mind (*mānasa*) there is a reference to the Mānasa lake. Here I have omitted one Sanskrit couplet, which is repeated further on in the book, and one Prakrit couplet for reasons which will be apparent to the student of the original text.

<sup>5</sup> Here *a* and *P* have *paribhraman* for *bhraman*. This is, perhaps, an improvement.

<sup>6</sup> The reading of *a* is *nārāyaṇa ha kahijja*.

<sup>7</sup> The word translated “ bonds of taxation ” also means “ fettering of Bali.” Viṣṇu is called “ Balibandhana,” the fetterer of Bali, in allusion to the dwarf incarnation. No doubt the king expected that the second line would be laudatory.

he said to himself that he would have a pillar of fame erected next morning, and as he was wandering about that very same night in the cross-road in search of adventures, being chased by two fighting bulls, he climbed up a pillar in the ruined cowhouse of a certain Brahman afflicted with poverty, and while he was there, these two bulls struck the pillar again and again with the points of their horns. In the meanwhile that Brahman was suddenly awakened from sleep, and seeing that the disk of the moon was obscured in the sky by Venus and Jupiter, he woke up his wife, and perceiving that danger to the life of the king was indicated by the disk of the moon, he ordered his wife to bring things fit for sacrifice, in order that he might make an oblation in the fire to avert that calamity.<sup>1</sup> The king all this while was listening attentively, and heard his wife answer him, "This king, though he is freeing<sup>2</sup> the world from debt, does not bestow wealth to marry my seven daughters.<sup>3</sup> So how can it be fitting to perform an evil-averting ceremony to deliver such a man from calamity?" By this speech of the Brahman's wife, the king had his pride completely stripped from him, and after he had escaped<sup>4</sup> from that danger, forgetting all about the pillar of fame, he ruled his realm for a long time.

Alas! though thou hast lost thy courage and defiled thyself,  
Thou hast not obtained freedom from old age and death:<sup>5</sup> alas! Vikrama,  
thy birth has been thrown away.

Once on a time, at the end of his life, when Vikrama was in an unhealthy state of body, a certain professor of medical science gave this advice, "The disease may be cured by eating the flesh of a crow." The king ordered that dish to be cooked, but the physician, reflecting that this was in opposition to his natural character, said to him, "At the present juncture the medicine of religion is the really efficacious one. The alteration of the natural character of anything is a portent of evil. Through longing for life you have abandoned your world-surpassing courageous nature, and long for the flesh of a crow; so, in any case, you will not live." When thus admonished by the physician, the king gave him a present, and praised him as his true friend. He then distributed to petitioners all his property, consisting of elephants, horses, treasure, and so on, and took leave of the courtiers and the citizens, and after performing the charitable

<sup>1</sup> A very similar incident will be found in Jātaka 290 (p. 291 of Jātaka, Vol. II. Rouse). To this Fick refers (*Soziale Gliederung*, p. 150).

<sup>2</sup> I find in *a*, *kurvannapi*.

<sup>3</sup> In modern Bengal a poor Kulīn Brahman with seven daughters to marry would, indeed, be in a pitiable position.

<sup>4</sup> The word *chūṭitah* as it stands in *a* and *P*, or *chūṭitah* as it is given by Dinānātha, is perhaps the Hindi *chūṭnā* or the Gujarati *chūṭvūṇi*.

<sup>5</sup> i.e. *mokṣa* or salvation.

donations to the sick, and the worshipping of the gods suited to the occasion, he took up his position on a couch of *darbha*-grass in a certain private part of the palace, and began to think that he would dismiss his soul by the door of Brahma.<sup>1</sup> While engaged in these reflections, he saw suddenly appearing a bevy of heavenly nymphs ; so placing his hands in a suppliant attitude, and prostrating himself, he asked, "Who are you?" The nymphs said, "The present occasion is not suitable for a long speech ; we are come to take leave of you." When they had given this answer they prepared to depart, but the king said to them again, "Though you have been created by the new Brahmā, and have precisely similar forms, yet one<sup>2</sup> of your forms is without a nose ; I wish to know the reason of that." Then they clapped their hands and laughed, and said, "You attribute your own fault to us," and thereupon relapsed into silence. The king said to them, "When you live in the world of heaven, how can my fault be attributed to you?" When the king's speech was ended, the chief of the nymphs, named Sumukhyā, said to him, "King, owing to the development of your meritorious actions in a former life, in this life nine treasures have descended into your palace. We preside over them. Your Majesty, by giving great gifts from your birth like a god,<sup>3</sup> has subtracted so much from one treasure, that you do not see the tip of its nose." When he heard this reply from the nymph, he touched his forehead with the palm of his hand, and said, "If I had known that I had nine treasures, I would have given them to nine men ; I have been defrauded by destiny, owing to my ignorance." While he was uttering these words, they informed him that he was the only really generous man in the Kali Yuga,<sup>4</sup> and so he passed to the other world. From that time forth, this Saṁvatsara era of that Vikramāditya has prevailed in the world up to the present day. So we have related various stories about the generosity of Vikramāditya.

#### NOW FOLLOWS THE HISTORY OF ÇĀLIVĀHANA.<sup>5</sup>

Now you must learn the story of Sātavāhana, illustrative of generosity and wisdom, related according to tradition. The story of his former life is as follows :—

As king Çātavāhana was going on his royal circuit in the city of

<sup>1</sup> *Brahmadvāra* is, of course, equivalent to *Brahmarandhra*, a suture or aperture in the crown of the head, through which the soul is said to escape at death.

<sup>2</sup> I read *ekam eva* with A, B, α, and P. The sequel will show that this is absolutely necessary.

<sup>3</sup> The reading of the text is supported by P. *Devatārūpeṇa* is omitted in α.

<sup>4</sup> This corresponds to the Iron Age of European mythology.

<sup>5</sup> Dīnānātha points out that this king is called Çālivāhana, Çālavāhana, Sālavāhana, Sālāvāhana, Sālāhana, Sātavāhana, and Hāla. He is also called Çātavāhana in this book.



Pratiṣṭhāna, he saw in the river near the city a certain fish that had been thrown up by the waves on the bank of the river, laughing; and reflecting that the alteration of the natural character of anything is a portent of evil, he was bewildered with fear, and he asked all clever people about this doubtful point, and at last he questioned a Jaina hermit, named Jñāna-sāgara. He having discerned by the surpassing excellence of his knowledge the king's former life, gave this instructive response, "In a former life you were in this very city a man whose family had become extinct, and you supported yourself only by carrying loads of wood. At meal-time you used to repair to this very river, and on a slab of rock near it, you used continually to stir up barley-meal with water and eat it. Once on a time you saw walking in front of you a Jaina hermit, who had come to take food after a month's fast. So you called him, and gave<sup>1</sup> him the ball of meal that you had made. From the surpassing merit acquired by giving to that fitting object, you have become King Çālavāhana. That hermit has become a god. That god entered into the fish, and the fish being thus animated by the god laughed for joy at beholding the soul of the wood-carrier, which is none other than yourself, born in the rank of a king." And this story is summed up in the following stanza:—

When the face of the fish laughed, the hermit said to king Çātavāhana,  
Who was bewildered with fear, "Because thou on the bank of this river,  
Didst cause a hermit to break his fast on barley-meal long ago,  
Happening to behold thee, thereupon the fish laughed."

That Çātavāhana, having represented to his mind, by his power of remembering his former births, that incident of old time, practised from that day forth the virtue of charity, and devoted himself to collecting the compositions of all great poets and wise men. He bought four *gāthās* for forty million gold pieces, and had a book made, which was a treasury of *gāthās* that he had collected,<sup>2</sup> named Çālivāhana, containing seven hundred *gāthās*, and so being a storehouse of various glorious achievements, he ruled for a long time.<sup>1</sup>

These four<sup>3</sup> *gāthās* are as follows:—

<sup>1</sup> I have given what I suppose to be the sense of the passage. The MSS. support the text.

<sup>2</sup> *Saṃgraha-gāthakoṣa*. *Saṃgraha* is omitted in *a*. In the *Navasāhasāyākarita* by Bühler and Zachario, p. 32 note, we find "Der Sātavāhana, welcher hier gemeint ist, wird Hāla der compiler des Gāthakoṣa sein." On the second page of Weber's "Ueber das Saptatatakavi des Hāla," we find it stated that Dr. Bhua Dāji identified Hāla with Çātavāhana. See Cowell and Thomas's translation of the *Harsa-carita*, p. 2, n. 13.

<sup>3</sup> Ten *gāthās* are given in Dinānātha's edition, but four of them are not worth translating into English. The first and tenth enumerate the sums paid, mentioning the principal words of the *gāthās* bought. I have not found any one of the ten *gāthās* in Weber's book.

Do not learn, O parrot, how a ripe mango, caressed by the beak, falls,  
 Here is a field of rice sprung up, presuming on its hardness.  
 No disrespect should be shown to those men, who are like banana-stems,  
 Who, when bestowing fruits, do not regard their own destruction.  
 The Vindhya supports every day dry trees as well as trees full of sap,  
 The great do not abandon one who has been reared in their laps, though he  
 be worthless.  
 When a first object of regard has for some reason or other been adopted by  
 those men and women,  
 The reason that they do not look at another is that it is even like the roof-  
 tree familiar to them from their birth.  
 Will the fragrance delighting all men, that belongs to the sandal-wood tree,  
 though dry,  
 Will this fragrance, I say, be found in it, in the condition of a new tree full  
 of sap?  
 The banana-tree, the Vindhya mountain, the object of regard, and the  
 sandal-wood tree,  
 These were immediately bought by Çālivāhana for ninety millions.

Now follows the story of the moral vow. The following is a brief abstract  
 of it. In the city of Kanyakubja, the royal residence,<sup>1</sup> which is of the size  
 of thirty-six lakhs of villages, the king Bhūdeva, on account of the fact  
 that he fell in love with the wife of the servant that superintended his  
 beverages, propitiated Kadramahākāla in Mālava, and after giving the realm  
 of Mālava to that god, himself became an ascetic.<sup>2</sup>

In the land of Gujārāt, in the region called Vadhiyāra, in the village of  
 Pañcāçara, the mother of a boy of the Çāpotkaṭa race placed him in a  
 cradle<sup>3</sup> on a tree called *vāṇa*, and herself went to gather fuel.

It happened that, for some reason or other, the Jaina teacher, named  
 Çilaguṇasūri, came there and saw that the shade of that tree was not inclined,  
 though it was the afternoon. He thought that this strange fact must be  
 due to the power of the merit of that very boy that was in the cradle, and  
 hoping that he was destined to extend the Jaina faith, he bought him from

<sup>1</sup> *Kalyāṇakaṭaka*. Is this the Hindustani “*urdū mu‘allā*”?

<sup>2</sup> The story is told at length in the Appendix to Dinānātha’s edition, after B  
 apparently. It is also given in a. The god is called simply Mahākāla. By way  
 of atonement for his offence, the king makes over to the god the land of Mālava,  
 which is half of the kingdom of Kanyakubja, and appoints the Paramāra Rajputs  
 to guard it.

<sup>3</sup> Sanskrit *Jholikā*. Hofrath Bühler (H.C. p. 41) translates *Jholikāvihāra* by  
 “Wiegen-Tempel.” I find that in Hindi there is a word “*Jhūli*” meaning “a  
 hammock or swinging-cot,” while in Gujarati *Jhodī* means “a child’s cradle.”

Another, and a still more romantic, account of the origin of this dynasty will be  
 found in the *Rās Mālā* (Watson’s edition), p. 19 and ff.

his mother by giving her the means of subsistence.<sup>1</sup> He was brought up by the abbess Vīramatī,<sup>2</sup> and his spiritual preceptor gave him the name of Vanarāja. When he was eight years old he was entrusted with the duty of keeping off the mice that spoiled the offerings made to the god. He killed them with clods,<sup>3</sup> but was forbidden by the teacher, whereupon he said they must be got rid of by the fourth expedient.<sup>4</sup> The teacher investigated his horoscope, and finding in it an arrangement of the heavenly bodies, which showed that he was destined for kingship, he came to the conclusion that he would be a powerful sovereign, and gave him back to his mother. He lived with his mother in a certain district, inhabited by a wild tribe,<sup>5</sup> belonging to his maternal uncle, and as his maternal uncle lived the life of a bandit, he made raiding expeditions in all directions. Once on a time,<sup>6</sup> in the village of Kākara, he had dug a tunnel into the house of a merchant, and was stealing his wealth, when his hand slipped into a vessel of curds. He said to himself, "I have eaten in this house," and so he left all the merchant's possessions there, and went out. The next day the merchant's sister Ṛidevī sent for him secretly in the night, out of love for her brother. She treated him kindly, giving him food and wealth;<sup>7</sup> so he made her this promise, "You, lady, shall at the ceremony of my coronation, place, as my sister, the ornament<sup>8</sup> on my forehead." Then, on another occasion, as he was living the life of a freebooter,<sup>9</sup> some of his bandit followers stopped in a certain district of the forest a merchant named Jamba,<sup>10</sup> who, seeing those three thieves, broke two out of the five arrows that he had. They asked him the reason. He said, "Since there are only three of you, the two surplus arrows are useless." When he had given this answer they pointed out to him a moving<sup>11</sup> mark, which he hit with an arrow. They were so delighted that they took him with them to Vanarāja, who admired so much his warlike skill, that he said to him, "At the cere-

<sup>1</sup> We learn from Bühler's Hemacandra that the order of Yatis is recruited by the purchase of boys. Sometimes the Yatis beg children or adopt orphans. (H. C. p. 9.)

<sup>2</sup> *Vīramatīgaṇinīyā*. But I find in *a*, *Vīramatīgaṇinā*, the masculine instead of the feminine. P gives *Vīramatīgaṇinīyā*.

<sup>3</sup> I find in *a*, *vāṇena* with an arrow. A and B give the plural "with arrows." P gives *bāṇena*.

<sup>4</sup> The four *upāyus* (or expedients) are sowing dissension, negotiation, bribery, and open attack.

<sup>5</sup> *Pullibhānī*.

<sup>6</sup> I insert *kadācit* with *a*. The *Globe* newspaper for February 4th, 1899, tells a similar story with regard to a bandit named "Yakook Lais" who flourished about the middle of the ninth century. "The robber's eye was attracted by something small and glittering on the ground, which he took to be a diamond; picking it up he thoughtlessly conveyed it to his lips." The consequence was that the robber had to abandon the property of the governor of the province, as he had eaten his salt.

<sup>7</sup> Or according to *a*, a bath, food and clothes. A and B have the same reading.

<sup>8</sup> *Tilaka*.

<sup>9</sup> *Carāṣavṛtīyā vartamānasya*.

<sup>10</sup> Here P gives Jāmba.

<sup>11</sup> I adopt *calavedhīyam*, the reading of A, B, *a* and P.

mony of my coronation you shall be my chief minister," and so he dismissed him. Then a *pañcakula*<sup>1</sup> came from Kanyakubja in order to draw tribute from the land of Gujārāt, which had been given by the king of that country<sup>2</sup> to his daughter named Mahanikā, by way of marriage portion, and he made the man named Vanarāja his arrow-bearer.<sup>3</sup> After the *pañcakula* had collected wealth from the country for six months, he set out to return to his own land, with twenty-four lakhs of silver *drammas*, and four thousand well-bred horses; but Vanarāja killed him at a ghāt named Saurāṣṭra, and lived in concealment for a year in a certain forest fastness, out of fear of his sovereign. Then he was desirous of building a capital, in order that he might be crowned as monarch of his own territory; so he began to look out for a heroic stretch of land, and as he was thus engaged, he was asked by a man named Aṇahilla, the son of Bhīrūyāda Sākhaḍa, who was comfortably seated on the edge of the Pipalutā tank, "What are you looking for?" Those ministers<sup>4</sup> said, "We are looking for a heroic stretch of land fit to build a city on." He answered, "If you will give my name to the city that you build, I will show you the piece of land of which you are in search." Then he went near a Jāli-tree, and showed them as much land as a dog was chased over by a hare.<sup>5</sup> There Vanarāja founded a city called Aṇahillapura, on the second day of the white fortnight of Vaiçākha, on a Monday, in the 802nd year of the era of Vikramāditya, and had a palace built under that Jāli-tree. Then, a time pointed out by the astrologers as suitable for his coronation having arrived, he sent for that Çrīdevī,<sup>6</sup> whom he had adopted as his sister, who lived in the village of Kākara, and had the ornament on his forehead affixed by her, and had himself crowned king under the title of Vanarāja, being fifty-six years old. That merchant, named Jamba, was made his prime minister. He brought

<sup>1</sup> This word occurs frequently in this book. It seems to denote a government officer, not necessarily, in all cases, a revenue officer, though, as a general rule, that meaning is appropriate. On pages 232 and 302 it is strikingly inappropriate.

<sup>2</sup> I read with *a* and *P*, *taddēçarājñāh* for *tādçarājñāh*. This reading is also given in the Appendix. The statement in the text derives some support from a recently discovered copperplate, which seems to belong to the eighth century. We learn from it that king Bhoja of Mahodaya or Kanauj confirmed a land-grant made originally by his great grandfather Vatsarāja and a letter of consent (*anumati*) of his grandfather Nāgabhaṭa. The village, which was the subject of the grant (*çāsana*) was Çivāgrāma situated in the Deṇḍvā province of Gujārāt. This information I owe to Hofrath Bühler.

<sup>3</sup> *Sellabhrt*. The word *sello* is given by Hemacandra as equivalent to *nygaçicuḥ çaraçca*. Forbes (Rās Mālā, p. 28 of Watson's edition) translates it by "spear-bearer." He tells us that "King Bhoowur had assigned the revenues of Gujārāt as the portion of his daughter Milan Devee."

<sup>4</sup> *Taiḥ pradhānair*°. But *a* has simply *tair*°, which would mean "he said." The reading of the text probably points to some omission.

<sup>5</sup> I read with *P*, *yāvatim bhuvanā çacakena çvā trāsitatāvatiṁ*. This agrees with the reading of *a*, but *a* has *çaçakena*. The reading I have adopted is also found in the Appendix.

<sup>6</sup> Here called *Çrīyādevī*. But see Appendix.

with great respect from the village of Pañcāsara the Jaina doctor, Çilagaṇa, and placed him on his own throne in his palace, and being the very crest-jewel of gratitude, he wished to make over to him his kingdom with all its seven constituent parts; but the sage, who was free from covetousness, again forbade him.<sup>1</sup> Thinking that he would in this way repay his kindness, the king caused to be built, in accordance with the command of the sage, the Caitya called Pañcāsara, adorned with an image of Pārçvanātha,<sup>2</sup> and furnished with a statue of himself as a worshipper. In the same way also he had made a temple of Kañṭheçvarī in the immediate neighbourhood<sup>3</sup> of his palace.

But this kingdom of the Gurjaras, even from the time of King Vanarāja, Was established with Jaina mantras, its foe indeed has no cause to rejoice.

From the commencement of his reign, until its termination, Vanarāja reigned 59 years, 2 months and 21 days:<sup>4</sup> the whole life of Vanarāja was 109 years, 2 months and 21 days. In the 862nd year of the era of king Vikramāditya, on the third day of the white fortnight of Āṣāḍha, on a Thursday, in the *nakṣatra* of Açvinī, during the continuance of the *layna* of Leo, took place the coronation of Yogarāja, the son of Vanarāja. He had three sons. Once on a time the prince named Kṣemarāja made this representation to the king. "The ships of a king of a foreign country having been driven out of their course by a cyclone, have come from other tidal shores to Someçvarapattana. Now there are in them a thousand spirited horses, and elephants a hundred and fifty in number, and of other things to the number of ten millions. All these will go to their own country through our country. If your Majesty will give the order, then I will bring them to you." When this proposal had been made to the king, he forbade the attempt. Immediately those three princes, thinking that the king was decrepit from old age, made ready an army in that very border district of their country, and in the stealthy manner of thieves intercepted that whole caravan and brought it to their father. The king was inly wroth, so

<sup>1</sup> The seven constituent parts of a kingdom are the king, his ministers, ally, territory, fortress, army and treasury. P gives "again and again forbade him." But a supports the text.

<sup>2</sup> This is mentioned in the Sukṛtasamkirtana of Arisimha. See pages 8, 9 of Hofrath Bühler's pamphlet (Sitzungsberichte der Kais. Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, Band CXLIX. vii.). See also Forbes's Rās Mālā, p. 29, where we learn that an image of the king in the attitude of a worshipper, covered, however, by his scarlet umbrella, is still preserved in the temple.

<sup>3</sup> Perhaps we should omit the word *kañṭhe* with A and a, which give only *dhavalagṛhe*. In P, *kañṭhe* is inserted by a later hand.

<sup>4</sup> I translate the text of the Bombay edition, the list in which is nearly identical with that of Arisimha. The list as given in Bühler, MS. 296 (a), is nearly identical with that of A and B given in the Appendix to the Bombay edition (see Bühler's Arisimha, p. 9, note 1). For the chronology of this dynasty I would beg to refer to p. 282 of the Chronology of India, by C. Mabel Duff (Mrs. W. R. Rickmers).

he kept silence, and did not extend to them any welcome, or any kind of civility. Prince Kṣemarāja, having made over all that wealth to the king, asked him whether their deed was honourable or dishonourable. Then the king said, "If I were to say that it was honourable, I should be guilty of the crime of stealing my neighbour's goods, if I were to say that it was dishonourable, I should produce a feeling of irritation in your mind.<sup>1</sup> Therefore I have come to the conclusion that silence is the preferable course. Now let me tell you why I forbade you to carry off the property of your neighbour, when you first asked me. When in foreign countries, kings praise the government of all sovereigns, they say scornfully that in the land of Gujarāt there is a government of robbers. When we are informed of this and similar facts by our representatives<sup>2</sup> in their reports, we are afflicted, because we do to a certain extent feel despondent on account of our ancestors. If this reproach attaching to our ancestors could be forgotten in the hearts of all men, then we also might attain the title of kings in all gatherings of sovereigns. But now, you princes, being greedy of a trifling gain, have furbished up anew<sup>3</sup> that reproach of our ancestors." Then the king brought out his own bow from the armoury, and said, "Let whichever among you is a strong man, bend this bow!" When he had given this order, they all tried in succession with all their might, but not one of them was able to bend it. Thereupon the king strung it with ease,<sup>4</sup> and said,—

"Disobeying the order of kings, cutting off the salary of dependents,  
And deserting the society of wives, is called killing without weapons.<sup>5</sup>

"It follows that, according to this teaching of the treatises on policy, you, my sons, are killing me without weapons,<sup>6</sup> so what punishment will meet your case?" Then the king starved himself, and ascended the funeral pyre after one hundred and twenty years had been accomplished.<sup>7</sup> This king built the temple of the goddess Yogīṣvari. The reign of Yogarāja lasted for 17 years, 1 month and 1 day, as it came to an end in the 878th year of the era of Vikramāditya, on the 4th day of the white fort-

<sup>1</sup> I find in *a*, *cetaḥsu*, in your minds.

<sup>2</sup> Here *a* gives *sthānapuruṣaiḥ*. This word occurs frequently in the *Cintāmaṇi*. The officers denoted by it seem to have been very like consuls.

<sup>3</sup> I read *unmṛjya* which I find in *a* and *P*. This appears to be the reading which Forbes followed.

<sup>4</sup> It is strange that Forbes should omit this incident, which reminds us of Rāma and Ulysses.

<sup>5</sup> This couplet is No. 876 in Böhtlingk's *Indische Sprüche*, but there the second pāda is *brāhmaṇānām anādarah*.

<sup>6</sup> *P* and *a* insert *ajñābhagṅāḥ*, by disobeying my orders.

<sup>7</sup> The chronology of the text seems to be defective, but I give it, as I find it in the edition of Dinānātha. He is evidently dissatisfied with some of the dates given in his text.

night of the month Çrāvāṇa. In the 878th year of the same era, on the 5th day of the white fortnight of the month Çrāvāṇa, in the *nakṣatra* of Uttarāṣāḍha, in the *lagna* of Sagittarius, Ratnāditya's coronation took place. His reign came to an end in V.S.<sup>1</sup> 881, on the 9th day of the white fortnight of Kārtika, so this king reigned 3 years, 3 months and 4 days.<sup>2</sup> In V.S. 898, on the 13th day of the white fortnight of Jyēṣṭha, on a Saturday, in the *nakṣatra* of Hasta, in the *lagna* of Leo, the coronation of king Kṣemarāja took place. That king's reign came to an end in V.S. 922, on Sunday the 15th day of the white fortnight of Bhādrapada, after it had lasted for 38 years, 3 months and 10 days. The coronation of king Cāmuṇḍarāja took place in V.S. 935, on Monday the first day of the white fortnight of Āçvina, in the *nakṣatra* of Rohiṇī, in the *lagna* of Aquarius. His reign came to an end in V.S. 938, on a Monday, the 3rd day in the black fortnight of Māgha, and so that king reigned 13 years, 4 months and 16 days. King Ākaḍadeva ascended the throne in V.S. 938, on the 14th day of the black fortnight of Māgha, on a Tuesday, in the *nakṣatra* of Svāti, in the *lagna* of Leo. This monarch caused to be built in the city of Karkarā the temple of Ākaḍeçvari and Kaṇṭheçvari. His reign came to an end in V.S. 965, on the 9th day of the white fortnight of Pauṣa, being a Wednesday, and so he reigned 26 years, 1 month and 20 days. Bhūyagaḍadeva came to the throne in V.S. 990, on the 10th day of the white fortnight of Pauṣa, on a Thursday, in the *nakṣatra* of Ārdra, in the *lagna* of Aquarius. This king made the temple of Bhūyagaḍeçvara in Pattana and a rampart. His reign came to an end in V.S. 991, on the 15th day of the white fortnight of Āṣāḍha, and so he reigned 27 years, 6 months and 5 days. So there were seven kings of the Cāpotkaṭa dynasty, and their reigns extended over 190 years, 2 months and 7 days.<sup>3</sup>

The elephants are ill to take service with, the mountains have lost their wings,

<sup>1</sup> V.S. stands for the era of Vikramāditya. In P I find only the figure 8. In other cases also that MS. gives only one figure.

<sup>2</sup> The text does not give the number of days.

<sup>3</sup> I now give for the purpose of comparison a translation of the list as given in the Appendix from MSS. A B. This agrees almost exactly with that of MS. No. 296 (a).

“This king reigned 35 years. Kṣemarāja's reign began in V.S. 897, and he reigned 25 years. Bhūyaga's reign began in V.S. 922, and he reigned 29 years. He caused to be built the temple of Bhūyagaḍeçvara in Pattana. In V.S. 951 Vairisimha began to reign, and he reigned 25 years. In V.S. 976 Ratnāditya began to reign, and he reigned 15 years. In V.S. 991 Sāmantasiṃha began to reign, and he reigned 7 years. So there were seven kings of the Cāpotkaṭa race, and they came to an end in V.S. 998.” The passage continues as in the printed text, but the verses are omitted, and the three brothers are made to return from pilgrimage during the reign of Sāmantasiṃha, instead of during the reign of Bhūyagaḍadeva. So also in MS. 296 (a).

The tortoise is a "laggard in love" of his friends, and this lord of the snakes is double-tongued ;  
 The Creator considering all this, produced, for the support of the earth,  
 From the mouthful of water sipped at the evening ceremony, a brave warrior with waving sword-blade.<sup>1</sup>

Then three brothers by the same mother, sons of Muñjāladeva, of the family of King Bhūyagaḍa, previously mentioned, named Rāja, Bija and Daṇḍaka, went on a pilgrimage to Somanātha, and paid their adorations to him, and on their return were looking at King Bhūyagaḍadeva, while engaged in the amusement of the *manège*.<sup>2</sup> When the king gave the horse a stroke with the whip, the Kṣatriya named Rāja, who was dressed as a pilgrim, was annoyed with that cut, which was given inopportunately. He shook his head, and said, "Alas ! Alas !" When the king asked him the reason of his behaviour, he praised the particular pace performed by the horse, considering it not inappropriate, and said, "When you gave the horse a cut with the whip, you made my heart bleed." The king was astonished at that speech of his, and made over to him the horse to drive. He, seeing that the horse and groom were equally well-trained,<sup>3</sup> praised them at every step. That conduct on his part made the king think that he was of high birth, so he gave him his sister, called Līlādevī. After some time had elapsed from the beginning of her pregnancy, the lady died suddenly, and the ministers reflecting that if they did not take some steps the child would die also, performed the cæsarian<sup>4</sup> operation, and took the child out of her body. Because he was born under the *nakṣatra* Mūla, he gained the name of Mūlarāja. By his general popularity, due to his being resplendent as the newly-risen sun, and by his valour, he extended the sway of his maternal uncle. Under these circumstances, king Bhūyagaḍa,<sup>5</sup> when intoxicated, used to have him crowned king, and used again to depose him when he became sober.<sup>6</sup> From that time forth a "Cāpotkata's gift" has

<sup>1</sup> In these lines Caulukya, the name of the dynasty, is derived from *culuka*. The elephants, the tortoise, and the king of the snakes support the earth. The mountains had their wings clipped by Indra. But the word "wing" also means "party, following." Mountains, as well as kings, are spoken of as "earth-supporters." The word *mātayga*, which means "elephant," also denotes a Caṇḍāla, or man of the lowest caste. Such people are ordained to serve, not to keep servants.

<sup>2</sup> Bühler (*Antiquary*, Vol. VI. p. 181) rejects this story as an invention of the bards. The chronological difficulties are enormous. See also Bühler's *Arisimha*, p. 10. Generally the king is called in the text Bhūyagaḍa, but here Bhūyagaḍa.

<sup>3</sup> I find in *α*, *sadrçayogyatām*.

<sup>4</sup> Thus this heroic king was *exsectus jam matre peremptā*, like Macduff.

<sup>5</sup> According to A and *α*, *Sāmantasimha*.

<sup>6</sup> I find in P, *madamattena sāmrājye bhīṣicyate amattenothāpyate ca*. This I have translated. Forbes (R.M. p. 37) describes the transaction in the following words, "When he was arrived at mature age, Sāmant Singh, in a fit of drunkenness, caused the ceremony of his inauguration to be performed, but no sooner had the king recovered his senses, than he revoked his abdication of the throne. 'From



become a proverbial jest. Being disappointed<sup>1</sup> every day in this way, he made ready his followers, and having been placed on the throne by his uncle when not master of himself, he killed him, and became king in reality. In the year 993 V.S., on the 15th day of the bright fortnight of the month Āṣāḍha, being a Thursday, in the *nakṣatra* of Aṣvinī, in the *lagna* of Leo, at twelve o'clock in the night, in the twenty-first year from his birth, Mūlarāja was crowned<sup>2</sup> king.

On a certain occasion, the king of the country of Sapādalakṣa<sup>3</sup> came to the border<sup>4</sup> of the land of Gujarāt to attack Mūlarāja. At the very same time arrived Bārava, the general of the monarch that ruled over the Tilāṅga country.<sup>5</sup> King Mūlarāja, in deliberation with his ministers, laid before them the probability that, while he was fighting with one enemy the other would attack him in the rear. They said to him, "If you throw yourself into the fort of Kanthā,<sup>6</sup> and tide over some days, when the Navarātra<sup>7</sup> festival comes, the king of Sapādalakṣa will go to his capital of Çākambharī to worship his family goddess. In that interval we will conquer the general named Bārava,<sup>8</sup> and after him the king of Sapādalakṣa also." When he heard this advice of the ministers, the king said, "Will not the disgrace of running away attach to me in the world?" But they said,—

"That the ram retires, the reason is that he may butt,  
The lion also, in wrath,<sup>9</sup> contracts his body, eager for the spring,  
With enmity hid in their hearts, employing secret counsels,  
The wise endure anything, making it of little account."<sup>10</sup>

Persuaded by this speech of theirs, Mūlarāja threw himself into the fort of Kanthā. The king of Sapādalakṣa passed the rainy season in the country of Gujarāt, and when the Navarātra came on, he planted the city of Çākambharī on the very ground where his camp stood, and having brought his family goddess to the spot, began the Navarātra festival there. Mūlarāja, hearing of that occurrence, perceived that his ministers were men of no resource, and developing in that crisis great intellectual

that time,' says the Jaina annalist, 'the valuelessness of the gift made by a Cāpotkaṭa became proverbial.'"

<sup>1</sup> I find in a, *vidambyanāno*.

<sup>2</sup> I regard *abhiṣeka* as practically equivalent to the European ceremony of coronation.

<sup>3</sup> Eastern Rājputnā (Bühler's H.C. p. 26). The name probably means "one lakh and a quarter of villages or towns."

<sup>4</sup> *Sandhan*. But a *grīvas sannidhan*.

<sup>5</sup> The Cālukya sovereign of Kalyāṇa. For *tadyaṅgapadyena*, a gives *tadyogapattena*.

<sup>6</sup> The modern Kanthkot in the eastern (Vāgād) division of Kach.

<sup>7</sup> See Rās Mālā, p. 612. The word means, of course, nine nights.

<sup>8</sup> Also called Bārava and Bāraṣa.

<sup>9</sup> P gives *atikopāt*, in great wrath.

<sup>10</sup> No. 5179 in Böhlingk's Indische Sprüche. It is found in the Pañcatantra. Böhlingk reads *hṛdayamhitabhāvā*.

brightness, he proceeded to compose a state paper,<sup>1</sup> and summoned by a royal rescript all the neighbouring feudal lords, and by the mouth of the Pañcakula, who was secured by spending money on a fictitious account,<sup>2</sup> he appealed to all the Rajputs and foot soldiers by pointing to the noble deeds of their families, and won them over by suitable gifts and other attentions. Then he informed them of the time agreed upon, and placed them all near the camp of the king of the Sapādalakṣa country. On the day fixed, Mūlarāja mounted a splendid female camel, and with its keeper traversed a great tract of country, and in the early morning unexpectedly entered the camp of the Sapādalakṣa king, and dismounting from the camel alone, sword in hand, said to the king's doorkeeper, "Is the king at leisure at present? Inform your master that king Mūlarāja is entering the royal door." And with these words he pushed the servant away from the neighbourhood of the door with a blow of his strong arm, and himself entered the royal pavilion<sup>3</sup> at the very moment that the doorkeeper was saying, "Here is king Mūlarāja entering at the door," and sat down on the king's bed. The king, beside himself with fear, kept silence for a moment, and then shaking off his terror to a certain extent, he said, "Are you really king Mūlarāja?" Mūlarāja said in clear tones, "Yes." The Sapādalakṣa king, hearing this utterance, was proceeding to make some remark suitable to the occasion, when those soldiers with whom it had been previously arranged, four thousand in number, surrounded that pavilion. Then Mūlarāja said to that king, "When I was reflecting whether on this terrestrial globe there was any king heroic enough to stand against me in battle or not, you arrived exactly in accordance with my wishes. But as flies alight in swarms at meal-time, this general of the king of the land of Tilāṅga, who is named Tailapa, has come to conquer me, so I have come here to ask you to abstain from attacking me in the rear, and similar operations, while I am engaged in chastising him." When Mūlarāja had said this, the king replied, "Since you, though a sovereign, are so careless of your life as to enter thus alone the dwelling of your enemy, like a common soldier, I will make peace with you until the end of my life." When the Sapādalakṣa monarch said this, Mūlarāja rejected his overtures, saying, "Do not speak thus," and when invited to take food he refused the invitation out of contempt. He rose up, grasping his sword in his hand, and mounting that female camel, surrounded by that very body of troops, he fell upon the camp of the general Bārava. He killed him, and captured his horses, ten thousand in number, and eighteen elephants, and while

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps we ought to read *rāja*° with *a* and *B* for *rājā*.

<sup>2</sup> Here *a* has *ṣṣānālekḥaka*.

<sup>3</sup> *Gurādāna*. The word occurs frequently in this book, and its meaning is self-evident.

he was encamping, the Sapādalakṣa king, having been informed of this fact by his spies, took to flight. That king caused to be built the *vasalikū*<sup>1</sup> of Mūlarāja in Pattana, and the temple of Muñjāladevasvāmin. Moreover, he went continually every Monday on a pilgrimage to Someçvarapattana<sup>2</sup> out of devotion to the god Çiva, and Somanātha was so pleased with his devotion that, after informing him of his intention, he came to the town of Maṇḍalī. The king caused to be built there the Mūleçvara temple, and as he went there every day in the ecstasy of his devotional fervour, the god Someçvara was so much pleased with the zeal of his worshipper, that he said, "I will come to your capital and bring the sea with me," and thereupon he manifested himself in Aṇahillapura.<sup>3</sup> As a proof that the sea had come with him, all the waters in all the reservoirs in that city became brackish. The king caused to be built in that city the Tripuruṣa temple. Then while he was looking out for an ascetic, who would be a fitting superintendent of that temple, he heard of an ascetic named Kanthaḍi, on the bank of the river Sarasvatī, who, in taking nourishment after an Ekāntara<sup>4</sup> fast, was living on five mouthfuls of food not specially set apart for him. When the king went there to pay him his respects, the ascetic, who was suffering from a tertian<sup>5</sup> ague, transferred the ague to his patched garment. The king observing that, asked him how it came to pass that the garment trembled. The ascetic replied that he had transferred the ague to it, as otherwise he could not talk to the king. Thereupon the king said, "If you possess such power, why do you not get rid of the fever altogether?" Then the ascetic repeated the following distich from the Çivapurāṇa,—

Let my diseases come upon me, whatever they may be, that were earned in  
previous lives,  
I wish to go clear of debt to that supreme place of Çiva.

He then went on to say, "As I know that action, the consequences of which have not been endured, is not exhausted,<sup>6</sup> how can I dismiss this fever?" When he said this, the king asked him to accept the office of superintendent of the Tripuruṣa religious foundation. But the ascetic

<sup>1</sup> This word denotes an aggregate of buildings, including a temple and monastery, and corresponds to the term *basti*, i.e. *vasati*, used by the Digambaras. (Bühler, H.C. p. 57.)

<sup>2</sup> I here follow the reading of *a* and P, *Çrisomeçvarapattana*. Hofrath Bühler has some remarks on this "absurd story" in his *Arisimha*, p. 10. Of course the author uses Someçvara and Somanātha indifferently.

<sup>3</sup> The modern name is Anhilwād.

<sup>4</sup> Professor Leumann informs me that I am justified in taking this to mean "fasting every other day."

<sup>5</sup> In P the word *trītiya* is inserted above the line by a later hand.

<sup>6</sup> MS. No. 296 (a) has the full quotation, "Action, the consequences of which have not been endured, is not exhausted even in hundreds of crores of *kalpas*; we must of necessity suffer the consequences of the deeds that we have done, whether they be good, or whether they be evil."

refused in the following words, "Since I know the maxim of the Smṛti, which runs as follows,—

By holding office for three months, by being abbot of a monastery for three days, hell is certain ;  
But if you wish to merit hell quickly, you have only to be a king's domestic chaplain <sup>1</sup> for one day :

why should I, who have crossed the ocean of mundane existence in the boat of ascetism, be drowned in a puddle ?"<sup>2</sup> After this refusal, the king had a copper grant prepared and baked up in pastry, and gave it him in the hollow of a leaf, when he came to beg. He returned from the palace ignorant of that fact. Though the river Sarasvatī had let him pass before, it was now in flood, and would not let him pass. He therefore began to think over his sins from the time of his birth, and at last to look carefully in order to find out if there was anything wrong with the food which he had just begged, and lo ! his eye fell on the copper grant. Afterwards the king, knowing that the ascetic was angry, came to visit him, and while he was making deferential speeches to propitiate him, the ascetic observing that, as he must have taken the copper grant with his right hand, it could not be null and void, made over to the king his pupil, named Vayajalladeva. That Vayajalladeva said, "If you will give me every day for the rubbing and cleansing of my body eight *pālas* of genuine saffron and four *pālas* of musk, and one *pāla* of camphor, and if you will also give me thirty-two women, and a white umbrella with a grant of land,<sup>3</sup> I will then accept the office of superintendent." The king agreed to all his conditions, and so he was installed in the office of chief of ascetics in the Tripuruṣa religious house. He became known by the name of Kaṅkaraula. Though he enjoyed luxuries in this style, he lived in unblemished chastity. Once on a time Mūlarāja's wife proceeded to test his chastity at night. He made her a leper by striking her with betel, but on being propitiated, he restored her to health by having her rubbed with the unguents with which he anointed himself, and washed in the water that he had used for bathing.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps there is an allusion to the fact that a king's domestic chaplain must be acquainted with sorcery. See Maurice Bloomfield's Introduction to the Hymns of the Atharva Veda, pp. xlvii, xlix. and lxi.

<sup>2</sup> Literally, "enough water to fill the hole made by a cow's foot." Cowell and Thomas (Harṣa Carita, p. 169), compare the use of *βόδις ὄπλην* in Hesiod's Works and Days, 489.

<sup>3</sup> MSS. A, B, and P read *grāsasahitam*, which means "with a grant of land." Forbes (Rās Mālā, p. 186) expressly says so. It appears that the word *grās* was at this time exclusively appropriated to religious grants, and Forbes refers to this particular instance. It is absurd to suppose that this luxurious gentleman would have been satisfied with one village. I therefore follow the MSS.

<sup>4</sup> This is a translation of the reading given by *a* and *P*, which runs as follows,—  
*nijōdāvatunavilepanāt smānocchīṣṭapayah-prakṣālanācca.*

Now follows the story of the birth and death <sup>1</sup> of Lākḥāka.

Long ago, in a certain Paramāra family, there was a king called Kirtirāja, who had a daughter named Kāmalatā. Once on a time, in her childhood, as she was playing with her female friends in front of a certain temple, they said to her, "Choose a bridegroom."<sup>2</sup> That Kāmalatā, having her sight dimmed with terrible darkness, chose a neatherd named Phulaḍa,<sup>3</sup> who was concealed by a pillar of the temple. Having chosen him without knowing exactly what she was doing, though she was subsequently during many years offered to many distinguished bridegrooms, yet she craved the permission of her parents to carry out her vow of fidelity to her first love, and owing to her persistency, succeeded in marrying him. Their son was Lāṣāka : he was the king of Kaccha, and owing to the boon of Yaçorāja, whom he had propitiated, he was altogether invincible. He repulsed eleven times the army of king Mūlarāja. On one occasion, Lāṣāka, while in the fortress of Kapilakoṭi, was besieged by king Mūlarāja in person. Thereupon he <sup>4</sup> kept waiting for the return of a follower named Māheca, a man of great courage, whom he had sent to attack some place or other. Mūlarāja, having ascertained that fact, occupied all the avenues by which Māheca could return, and as he was coming back, having accomplished the errand on which he was sent, he was summoned by the king's soldiers to surrender his weapon. In order to aid the cause of his master, he did so, and going into the presence of Lāṣāka, he prostrated himself before him. Then, when the time of battle came, Lāṣāka uttered many words of wisdom, such as the following,—

"In the place where he was not warmed with courage the contemptible Lakṣa says,  
'When you sum up the days, how many are gained? Ten, perhaps, or eight;'"

and having his valour stimulated by beholding the magnanimous behaviour of his follower Māheca,<sup>5</sup> he engaged in a single combat with Mūlarāja. Mūlarāja, after three days' fight, considering that his foe was invincible, called to mind Someçvara, and a portion of Rudra came from that god and slew Lakṣa. Then, Lakṣa having fallen on the field of battle, king

<sup>1</sup> I read *vipatti*<sup>o</sup> for *vipratipatti*<sup>o</sup>. This king is afterwards called Lakṣa and Lāṣāka. But *s* and *kh* are frequently interchanged in MSS.

<sup>2</sup> In the original "Choose ye bridegrooms." The plural may be used out of deference, or perhaps the words were addressed to all present, though this does not quite agree with the text.

<sup>3</sup> In *a* and P I find Phūlaḍa.

<sup>4</sup> In the original "that Lakṣa."

<sup>5</sup> I read with *a*, *Māhicabhṛtyodbhataṅvṛttidarçanena*. I find the same reading in P, but *Māhicā* for *Māhica*.

The text perhaps means "by his follower M. by exhibiting magnanimous behaviour."

Mūlarāja touched with his foot the beard of his foe, which was waving in the wind, and was cursed by Lakṣa's mother in the following words, "Your race shall be afflicted with the disease of leprosy."<sup>1</sup>

Who made a sacrifice of Lakṣa in the fire of his valour,  
And so put an end to the drought, which withheld the tears of his wives,  
Who killed the Lakṣa of Kaccha,<sup>2</sup> when he rushed inconsiderately into an  
overlong net,  
And so showed a fisherman's skill in the midst of the sea of battle.

Here ends the story of the birth and death of Lāṣāka.

The creeper of generosity first sprang up in the earth in Bali,<sup>3</sup> who  
conquered the mighty ;  
It fixed its roots firmly in Dadhīci ;<sup>4</sup> in Rāma it put forth shoots ;  
In the child of the sun<sup>5</sup> it spread into great and small branches ; owing to  
Nāgārjuna<sup>6</sup> it budded a little ;  
In Vikramāditya it blossomed ; but in thy generous self, O Mūlarāja, it  
was covered with fruits from its root.  
The palaces of your enemies, bathed in the rainy season with the waters  
from the clouds,  
Having taken, as it were, bundles of *kuṣa* in the form of tufts of bent-  
grass that grow on them,  
Having given the prescribed handfuls of water by means of the gushings  
from their spouts, seem in the masses of masonry that fall from their  
walls,  
To be performing every day the ceremony of offering funeral-cakes to the  
ghosts of their<sup>7</sup> dead lords.

So this king enjoyed a reign free from enemies for fifty-five years. Once  
on a time, immediately after the evening ceremony of waving lights, the  
king gave some betel to the servant, and he, on receiving it in the palms

<sup>1</sup> *Lūtiroga*. See Forbes, *Rās Mālā*, p. 44. Monier-Williams tells us that *lātā* means spider and a cutaneous disease produced by its poison.

<sup>2</sup> Or "a hundred thousand turtles."

<sup>3</sup> He gave heaven and earth to Viṣṇu, who appeared before him as a dwarf.

<sup>4</sup> He devoted himself to death, in order that his bones might be forged into the thunderbolt with which Indra slew Vṛtra.

<sup>5</sup> Karna. "Indra disguised himself as a Brahman and cajoled him out of his divine cuirass." (Dowson, *Dictionary of Indian Mythology*, p. 150.)

<sup>6</sup> He gave away his head a hundred times. *Kathā Sarit Sāgara*, Vol. I. pp. 376-378.

<sup>7</sup> Literally "to the ghost" (*pretāya*). Professor Hillebrandt informs us (*Ritual-Litteratur*, p. 90) that the soul of the dead man does not enter at once the world of the Manes, but remains for a certain time as *preta* separated from them. To this single dead person the *ekoddiṣṭaṣṭradha* is offered. For this ceremony only purifying grass, a pitcher of Arghya water and a ball of meal are required.

of his hands, perceived worms in it. Hearing of that circumstance the king was seized with a desire for asceticism, and determined to abandon the world, and applied fire to the toe of his right foot, and performing the great gifts, such as the bestowal of elephants and so on, through a period of eight days

Submissive to discipline only, he endured clinging to his foot  
 A fire, with its smoke streaming up like hair ;  
 Why mention any other brave warrior in comparison with him ?  
 Since<sup>1</sup> he pierced even the circle of the sun.<sup>2</sup>

Being praised with this and other panegyrics of the kind, he ascended to heaven.

Then in 1050 V.S.<sup>3</sup> on the 11th day of the white fortnight of Çrāvāṇa, being a Friday, in the *nakṣatra* of Puṣya, in the *lagna* of Taurus, king Cāmuṇḍa ascended the throne. He caused to be built in Pattana the temple of the god Candanātha and the god Cācineçvara. His reign came to an end in V.S. 1055, on the 5th day of the white fortnight of Āçvina, on a Monday. He reigned for thirteen years, one month, and twenty-four days. In 1065 V.S. on the 6th day of the white fortnight of Āçvina, on a Tuesday, in the *nakṣatra* of Jyeṣṭhā, in the *lagna* of Gemini, king Vallabharāja assumed the sovereignty. That king, after investing the fortifications of Dhārā, in the country of Mālava, died of smallpox.<sup>4</sup> He acquired two titles, "Subduer of kings, as Çiva subdued the god of Love,"<sup>5</sup> and "Shaker of the world." In 1065 V.S., on the 5th day of the white fortnight of Caitra, his reign came to an end, so he reigned five months and twenty-nine days. In 1065 V.S., on the 6th day of the white fortnight of Caitra, being a Thursday, in the *nakṣatra* of Uttaraṣāḍha, in the *lagna* of Capricorn, his brother, named Durlabharāja, was crowned king. He caused to be built in Pattana a palace with seven storeys, with a disbursement office, and an elephant-stable, and a clock-tower. Moreover, he had built for the welfare of the soul of his brother Vallabharāja the temple of Madanaçankara, and he also had the tank of Durlabha excavated. He reigned twelve years in this fashion, and at the end of that time he established on the throne the son of his brother, who was called Bhīma.

<sup>1</sup> For *kā yad°*, *a* reads *kācid*. The Bombay text seems to require *sah* for *yah*.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. Harṣa Carita translated by Cowell and Thomas, note 3 on page 5, and note 1 on page 34.

<sup>3</sup> I translate the figures given in the printed text. The editor would substitute 1052 for 1050. P gives only 50.

<sup>4</sup> *Çilirogena*. See Forbes, *Rās Mālā*, p. 52.

<sup>5</sup> Here I read *rājamādanaçankara*. (See Appendix to the Bombay edition.) But as this king was very chaste (Bühler's *Arisūḥa*, p. 11) and as a temple of Madanaçankara was built for his spiritual benefit, perhaps the *rāja°* is superfluous. P supports the printed text.

This took place in 1077 V.S., on the 12th day of the white fortnight of Jyestha, on a Tuesday, in the *nakṣatra* of Aṣvini, in the *lagna* of Capricorn. Being himself desirous of travelling to Benares, as he longed to perform his devotions<sup>1</sup> in a holy place, he reached the country of Mālava. There he was called upon by king Muñja to give up the umbrella and chowries and the other insignia of royalty, and to continue his journey in the dress of a pilgrim, or to fight his way through. When this message was delivered to him, he perceived that an obstacle to his religious resolutions had arisen in his path, and after impressing the circumstance in the strongest way on king Bhīma, he went to the holy place in the dress of a pilgrim and gained paradise. From that day forth there was rooted enmity between the kings of Gujarāt and Mālava. Now we will relate, as follows, the history of king Muñja, the ornament of the country of Mālava, which presents itself naturally to our consideration at this point.<sup>2</sup>

#### THE HISTORY OF KING MUÑJA.

Long ago in that very country of Mālava, a king named Siṃhadantabhaṭa, of the race of Paramāra,<sup>3</sup> as he was roaming about on his royal circuit, saw in the midst of a thicket of reeds a certain male child of exceeding beauty, that had been just born. He took it up as lovingly as if it were his own son, and made it over to his queen. The child's name was called Muñja<sup>4</sup> with reference to his origin. After that, a son was born to the king, named Sindhala. As Muñja was attractive by uniting in himself all good qualities, the king wished to crown him king, and visited his palace for

<sup>1</sup> Or according to the reading of *α*, "to fast."

<sup>2</sup> I now proceed to translate the account of these kings given in the Appendix from A and B. It agrees pretty closely with the readings of Bühler's 296, which I call *α*.

<sup>3</sup> Then Mūlarāja ruled for fifty-five years, as his reign began in 998 V.S. So far the history of Mūlarāja. The reign of king Cāmuṇḍa began in 1053 V.S. and continued thirteen years. Then Vallabharāja began to reign in 1066 V.S., and reigned for six months. Then in 1066 V.S. Durlabharāja came to the throne and reigned eleven years and six months. [Then that king acquired the two titles of Rājamadannayaka and Jaganjhampana.—B.] That king made the tank of Durlabha in the city of Pattana. Afterwards, he placed on the throne his own son named Bhīma." Arisimha tells us (Bühler's Arisimha, p. 11) that Vallabha was called Jaganjhampana. Whatever may be thought of the reason assigned for the enmity between the Paramāras of Mālava and the Caulukyās of Gujarāt, there can be no doubt that it existed. Bühler thinks that it was due to a race-feud, and the natural tendency to expansion of the two kingdoms. (*Navasāhasāyākarita*, p. 47.)

<sup>4</sup> See the *Navasāhasāyākarita* by Bühler and Zachariae, pp. 28, 29, 36, 37. Paramāra, the Herosonymos of this race, is said to have sprung from the flame of Vaṣiṣṭha's sacrifice on Mount Abu. Siṃhadantabhaṭa is probably identical with the Siyaka of Padmagupta (op. cit. p. 39).

<sup>5</sup> Muñja and Āra are said to be names for the Saccharum Sara. Bühler and Zachariae (op. cit. p. 40) reject the legend that Muñja was a founder as unhistorical. Muñja was also called Vākpatirāja II., Utpalarāja, Amoghavarṣa, Pṛthvivallabha, and Ārivallabha.



that purpose. Muñja, out of excessive bashfulness, hid his wife behind a cane sofa,<sup>1</sup> and politely received the king with the customary prostration. The king, seeing that that place was apparently private, told him of the circumstances of his origin from the beginning, and said, "I am so pleased with your devotion to me that I mean to pass over my son, and bestow the kingdom on you, but you must live on good terms with this brother of yours named Sindhala." Having given him this caution, he performed the ceremony of his coronation. Muñja, fearing that the story of his origin would get abroad, went so far as to kill his own wife. Then he conquered the earth by his valour, and for a long time enjoyed pleasures, while the great minister named Rudrāditya, a very prince of good men, looked after the affairs of his kingdom. During this stage of his life, he was devoted to a certain lady, and he used to mount a camel named Ciri-kalla, and travel twelve *yojanas*, and return in a night. When he broke off his *liaison* with her, she sent him this *dodhaka* verse,—

Muñja, the rope has fallen ; you do not see it, mean wretch,  
The clouds of Āṣāḍha are roaring, the ground will now be slimy.<sup>2</sup>

That brother, named Sindhala, out of high spirit, disobeyed the orders of Muñja ; accordingly he banished him from his kingdom, and so ruled for a long time. That Sindhala came to Gujarāt, and established his settlement<sup>3</sup> in the neighbourhood of the city of Kācāhṛada<sup>4</sup>

Once, on the Dīwālī festival, he went out to hunt at night. He saw a boar roaming near a place where a thief had been put to death, and not observing that the corpse of the thief had fallen down from the stake on which he had been impaled, he pressed it down with his knee, and proceeded to aim an arrow at the boar. Thereupon that corpse called to him. He prevented it from touching his hand, and having pierced the boar with an arrow, was drawing it towards him, when the corpse rose up, uttering a loud laugh. Sindhala said to it, "When you called to me, was it better that I should hit the boar, or attend to you and not hit the boar?"<sup>5</sup> When he had finished his speech, that ghost, which was seeking occasion against him, was so pleased with his boundless daring that it said,<sup>6</sup> "Ask a boon from me." Sindhala requested that his shaft might never fall useless to

<sup>1</sup> I give what seems to be the sense, neglecting grammar. From this point I am able to use Bühler's MS., No. 297, which I shall call  $\beta$ .

<sup>2</sup> This *gāthā* is added by a later hand in P. It is not found in  $\alpha$  and  $\beta$ . For *na*, P gives *jai*.

<sup>3</sup> *Palli*.

<sup>4</sup> The modern Kāsandra or Kāsandhra. (See Bühler's *Arisiṃha*, p. 25.)

<sup>5</sup> I read *avabudhya madalattah prahāra iti*. I find in  $\alpha$ , *avabudhya madattah*. P has *avabudhya matpralattah prahārah*, which may be translated "or attend to you and let the boar strike me."

<sup>6</sup> I find in  $\alpha$  and  $\beta$ , *ityabhikite*.

the earth. But the ghost then ordered him to ask another boon. When he heard that, he said, "May all fortune be in the power of my two arms!" That ghost, astonished at his daring, said to him, "You must go to the country of Mālava. There king Muñja's destruction is drawing near, but you must go all the same; there the sceptre shall be in your line." Being thus sent by the ghost, he went there, and received from king Muñja a certain district, which brought him in revenue; but again displaying haughtiness, he had his eyes put out by Muñja, and was confined in a wooden cage.<sup>1</sup> He begot a son named Bhoja.

Bhoja studied all the treatises on king-craft, and learnt the use of thirty-six weapons, and attained the further shore of the ocean of seventy-two accomplishments, and grew up distinguished by all the auspicious marks. At his birth, a certain astrologer, skilled in calculating nativities, gave in the following horoscope,—

For fifty-five years, seven months, and three days  
King Bhoja is destined to rule Dakṣiṇāpatha with Gauḍa.

When Muñja learnt the meaning of these lines, he feared that, if Bhoja lived, his son would not inherit the kingdom, so he made over Bhoja to some men of the lowest caste, to be put to death.<sup>2</sup> Then, at night, they perceiving that his form was conspicuous for beauty, felt pity for him, and trembled, and said to him, "Call to mind your favourite deity." Then he wrote on a leaf the following stanza:—

Māndhātṛ, that lord of earth, the ornament of the Kṛta age, passed  
away;  
Where is that enemy of the ten-headed Rāvaṇa, who made the bridge over  
the ocean?  
And many other sovereigns have there been, Yudhiṣṭhira and others,  
ending with thee,<sup>3</sup> O king;  
Not with one of them did the earth pass away: I suppose, it will pass  
away with thee.

<sup>1</sup> So far from this being true it appears that Sindhula or Sindhurāja, as he is also called, ruled over Mālava for a long time. (Bühler and Zachariae, *Navasāhasāṅkacarita*, p. 45.) Sindhula was called Navasāhasāṅka, because he undertook hundreds of daring deeds. He was succeeded by his son Bhoja. Our author uses throughout the form Sindhala.

<sup>2</sup> This story of the wicked uncle Muñja is now disproved. (Bühler and Zachariae, *Navasāhasāṅkacarita*, p. 50.)

<sup>3</sup> I find in a, "*cāstam gatā*," instead of "*yāvad bhavām*." The rendering will therefore be, "Many other sovereigns, Yudhiṣṭhira and others, have perished." This is the reading followed by Forbes. (See *Rās Mālā*, p. 65.) The stanza, as in the Bombay printed text, is No. 4831 in Böhtlingk's *Indische Sprüche*. He refers it to the *Subhāṣitārṇava*.

This stanza he sent to the king by the hand of the executioners. When the king saw it, his mind was filled with regret, and he shed tears, and blamed himself as equal in guilt to the slayer of an embryo. Then the king had Bhoja brought by them with great respect, and honoured him with the dignity of crown-prince. Then as the king of the Tilinga country, named Tailapadeva,<sup>1</sup> harassed Muñja by sending raiders into his country, he determined to march against him, though his prime minister Rudrāditya, who was seized with illness, endeavoured to dissuade him. The minister conjured him to make the river Godāvārī the utmost limit of his expedition, and not to advance beyond it, but he looked upon Tailapa with contempt, as he had conquered him six times before; so in his overweening confidence he crossed the river and pitched his camp on the other side. When Rudrāditya heard what the king had done, he augured that some misfortune would result from his headstrong conduct, and he himself entered the flames of a funeral pile. Then Tailapa by force and fraud cut Muñja's army to pieces, and took king Muñja prisoner, binding him with a rope of reed.<sup>2</sup> He was put in prison and confined in a cage of wood, and waited upon by Tailapa's sister Mṛṇālavatī, with whom he formed a marriage union. His ministers, who had arrived subsequently,<sup>3</sup> dug a tunnel to where he was, and made an appointment with him. Once on a time, as he was looking at his own reflection in a mirror, Mṛṇālavatī came up behind him, without his being aware what she was going to do, and seeing in the mirror the reflection of her own face wrinkled<sup>4</sup> with old age near the face of the youthful Muñja, she was despondent on account of its extreme want of brightness. Muñja, perceiving this, addressed her in the following couplet,—

Muñja says, O Mṛṇālavatī, do not regret your vanished youth,  
Though the sugar has been pounded into a hundred fragments, still its  
powder is sweet.

After addressing her in these words, he was eager to start for his own country, but unable to endure separation from her, and yet afraid to tell her the facts; and though she spoke to him again and again, he would not reveal the cause of his perturbation. She gave him food<sup>5</sup> without salt to

<sup>1</sup> This was Tailapa II. of Kalyāṇa. (See the Navasāhasaṅkacarita by Bühler and Zachariae, pp. 43, 44.) Rudrāditya was really the minister of Muñja or Vākpatirāja II., as he is mentioned in his Çāsana of 979 A.D. Muñja's death took place in one of the three years 994-96.

<sup>2</sup> Muñja.

<sup>3</sup> I owe this interpretation of *pāścātyair*<sup>3</sup> to Hofrath Bühler. On page 153 of the printed text *pāścātyāni* means "that were left behind."

<sup>4</sup> *Jarjara* means literally "broken," which sense harmonizes with the expressions used in the couplet that follows.

<sup>5</sup> *Rasavatī*. According to the Kathā Koṣa, Nala was celebrated for his skill in preparing this dish.

eat, and food with too much salt, but he did not seem to recognize any difference in the taste, so she questioned him lovingly with a voice persistently charming, and at last he said, "I am about to escape by this tunnel to my own country; if you will come there, I will crown you as my queen consort, and show you the fruit of my favour." When he said this, she answered, "Wait a minute, while I fetch a casket of jewels." But she said to herself, "As I am a middle-aged widow,<sup>1</sup> when he reaches his own kingdom, he will cast me off"; so she went and told the whole story to her brother the king, and then, in order to expose him to special scorn, had him bound with cords, and taken about to beg from house to house. As he was going round to the various houses, being full of despondency, he uttered the following speeches<sup>2</sup> :—

Those men are terribly grieved in their hearts, who confide in a woman,  
Who, to captivate all minds, speaks courteously with words of love.  
Burnt and broken why did I not die? why did I not become a heap of  
ashes?

Muñja wanders about, tied with a string like a monkey.

And such as these :—

I have lost my elephants and chariots, I have lost my horses; I have lost  
my footmen, servants have I none;  
So, Rudrāditya, sitting in heaven, invite me eager to join you.

Then, on another day, he was taken to the house of a certain householder to beg. The householder's wife, seeing him with a little pot<sup>3</sup> in his hand, made him drink buttermilk and water, but, having her neck uplifted with pride, forbade food to be given to him when he begged, so Muñja said to her,—

Foolish fair one, do not show pride, though you see me with a little pot in  
my hand,

Muñja has lost fourteen hundred and seventy-six elephants.

Do not be distressed, O monkey,<sup>4</sup> that I was ruined by her:

Who have not been ruined by women, Rāma, Ravana, Muñja, and others?

Do not weep, O my jailor, that I have been made to wander by her,

Only by casting a sidelong glance, much more, when she drew me by the  
hand.

If I had had at first that discretion, which was produced too late,

Says Muñja, O Mṛṇālavatī, no one would have cast an obstacle in my path.

<sup>1</sup> I read *kātyāyanīn* with *a* and *β*.

<sup>2</sup> I translate the printed text, which omits many Prākṛit verses contained in *a*.

<sup>3</sup> P and *a* give *paṭhakaṭāṇi*.

<sup>4</sup> I take *maṅkaḍa* to be a Prākṛit form for *maṅkaḍa*; but P gives *maṅḍaka*.

Muñja, that treasury of glory, lord of elephants, king of the land of  
Avanti,

That creature who was long ago produced as the dwelling-place of  
Sarasvatī,

He has been captured by the lord of Karnāṭa, owing to the wisdom of his  
ministers,

And has been impaled on a stake : alas ! perplexing are the results of  
Karma.

Daçaratha, friend of the king of the gods, father of a portion of the might  
of the genius that issued from the sacrifice,<sup>1</sup>

Perished on his bed, out of sorrow for separation from his son Rāma.

The body of that king was placed in a cask of boiling oil,<sup>2</sup>

And his funeral took place after a long time : alas ! perplexing are the  
results of Karma.

O man, bewildered with the darkness of wealth, why do you laugh at the  
man fallen into calamity ?

What is there strange in the fact that Fortune is not constant ?

Do you not see that in the water-wheel for irrigating fields

The empty buckets become full and the full buckets empty ?<sup>3</sup>

His ornament is a terrible human skull ;

His retinue Bhr̥ggin of shrivelled frame, and his wealth one aged bull ;

When this is the condition even of Çiva, the chief of all the gods,

Of what account, pray, are we poor wretches, when once adverse fortune  
has stood on our heads ?

The sea for a moat ! Laṅkā for a fortress ! its commander the ten-headed  
king !<sup>4</sup>

When his fortunes fell, all that fell : do not despair, O Muñja.

After they had led him about in this way to beg for a long time, they  
took him, by the king's order, to the place of execution, in order to carry  
out the sentence of death. They said to him, "Call to mind your  
favourite deity." He exclaimed,—

Fortune will go to Govinda ; the glory of heroism to the house of the  
Hero ;

But when Muñja has passed away, that storehouse of Fame, Sarasvatī will  
be without a support.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See Rāmāyaṇa I. 15 (Gorresio's edition). Rāma was born from Kauçalyā, who received a portion of the *pāyasa*, brought by a "great being" that issued from the flame of Daçaratha's sacrifice.

<sup>2</sup> See Rāmāyaṇa II. 68. Daçaratha's body was placed in a *tailadronē*.

<sup>3</sup> No. 963 in Böhlingk's *Indische Sprüche*. He refers it to the *Subhāsitārṇava*.

<sup>4</sup> i.e. Rāvaṇa.

<sup>5</sup> Fortune or Lakṣmī is the wife of Govinda or Viṣṇu. The Hero is perhaps Mahāvira or Çiva. Sarasvatī is the goddess of literature. Forbes (*Rās Mālā*,

These and other speeches of Muñja are to be looked upon as based on oral tradition. Then the king had Muñja put to death, and his head fixed on a stake in the courtyard of the palace, and by keeping it continually covered<sup>1</sup> with thick sour milk he gratified his own anger.

Then the ministers in the country of Mālava, hearing of that event, placed on the throne Bhoja, the son of Muñja's brother.

Here ends the first chapter of the Prabandhacintāmaṇi, entitled the Chronicle of the Kings, beginning with Vikramāditya.

## CHAPTER II.

### HISTORY OF BHOJA AND BEĪMA.

Now, when king Bhoja was reigning in Mālava, at that very time in this land of Gujarāt, Bhīma, of the Caulukya race, was ruling the earth.

Once on a time, at the close of night, Bhoja was meditating in his heart on the instability of fortune, and reflecting that his own life was uncertain as a wave; so, after the morning duties, he went into the pavilion of distribution, and began to bestow at will gold coins on petitioners summoned by his attendants. Then his prime minister, named Rohaka, considering that the king's virtue of generosity was really a vice, because it exhausted the treasury, and seeing no other means of putting a stop to that system of charity, after the general assembly<sup>2</sup> was dissolved, wrote with chalk on the notice-board of the pavilion the following words:—

“One should preserve wealth against the day of calamity.”

Next morning the king happened casually to observe these words, and as all his attendants denied that they had done the deed, he wrote up,—

“How can calamities befall one who enjoys good fortune?”

When the king had written this, the minister wrote up,—

“Sometimes, verily, Destiny is angry.”

p. 66) quotes these lines, but follows the story given in *a* (Bühler, MS. No. 296), according to which Muñja was hanged on a tree. Bühler and Zachariæ, while recognizing the legendary character of many of the incidents in this tale, point out that two Cālukya inscriptions boast of this execution. In a footnote they refer to J. F. Fleet, the dynasties of the Kanarese Districts, p. 40. (Navasāhasāṅkacarita, p. 44.)

<sup>1</sup> The Bühler MSS. (*a* and *β*) read *viliptam* for *veṣṭitam*.

<sup>2</sup> I think that in this work *sarvāvasara* is equivalent to the Urdu phrase *dīwān-i-‘āmm* or *dār-lār-i-‘āmm*. “Notice-board” is a conjectural translation of *bhārapaṭṭa*. In the Bhojaprabandha (p. 151 of the Bombay edition published at Kalyāna in 1895) the words are said to have been written up in the bedroom of the king.

Afterwards the king saw it, and wrote up,—

“Even a piled-up heap disappears.”<sup>1</sup>

When the king wrote up this before his eyes, the minister craved that his life might be spared, and confessed to what he had written. After that the king said, “People like the prime minister are not able to restrain the elephant of my intention with the elephant-hook of knowledge,” and so five hundred learned men obtained the grants they chose to ask for.<sup>2</sup> “For indeed,” continued the king, “I have inscribed on my bracelet the following four Āryā couplets :—

This is the opportunity for doing good, as long as I possess this prosperity  
by nature uncertain,

In calamity, which must, of necessity, arise, how will there be a further  
chance of doing good ?

O full moon, whiten the worlds with the full wealth of your abundant rays.  
Accursed destiny, alas! does not suffer anything to remain long well  
established here.

This is the time for you, O lake, to aid suppliants continually with  
fertilizing streams ;

Moreover, this water is easy to obtain, since long ago the clouds arose.

But for a few days does the flood remain, though mounting high, with  
violent current,

Only the mischief, that it does, remains long, laying low the trees on the  
river-bank.

Moreover,

If I have not given wealth to suppliants before the sun sets,<sup>3</sup>

I do not know to whom that wealth will belong on the morrow.

Muttering this couplet, which was composed by myself and made the ornament of my neck, like a favourite charm, how am I, O minister, to be entrapped by you, as by a ghost ?”

Then, on a subsequent occasion, the king, while going round on his circuit, reached the bank of the river. He saw a certain Brahman, afflicted with poverty, who had forded the river, coming towards him, carrying a load of wood, and said to him,—

“How deep is the water, O Brahman ?”<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The four inscriptions form a couplet.

<sup>2</sup> This passage is evidently corrupt. The printed text follows P pretty closely.

<sup>3</sup> I find in *α*, *β* and P, *yadanastamite*. The sense is much the same as that of the printed text. Of course this couplet is in the Anuṣṭubh metre.

<sup>4</sup> This is found in the Bhojaprabandha (Bombay edition of 1875, p. 143).

The Brahman answered,—

“Knee-deep, O king.”

When he said that, the king continued,—

“How have you been reduced to this state?”

The Brahman replied,—

“Not everywhere are there patrons like you.”<sup>1</sup>

The present, which the king caused to be given to the Brahman, when he ended this speech, was entered in the charity account-book by the minister in the form of the following couplet :—

A lakh, a lakh, again a lakh, and ten furious elephants

Were given by the king, pleased on account of the knee-deep utterance.<sup>2</sup>

Then, on another occasion, at night, at the midnight hour, the king suddenly woke up, and seeing the moon recently risen in the sphere of heaven, he uttered this half-stanza, like the rising tide of his literary sea :—

This, which within the moon has the appearance of a strip of cloud,

People call a hare, but to me it does not wear that form.

When the king had repeated this half-stanza again and again, a certain thief,<sup>3</sup> that had entered the king's treasure-room by digging a tunnel into his palace, being unable to restrain the volume of his poetical inspiration, exclaimed,—

But I think that the moon has its body marked with the brands of a hundred scars,

Entrenched by the meteor-strokes of the sidelong glances of the fair girls afflicted by separation from your foes.

When the thief had recited this half-stanza, the king had him put in prison by his guards. Then, at the dawn of day, he had the thief summoned to his hall of audience, and gave him a present, which the officer, who superintended his charity account-book, entered in the following stanza :—

To this thief, who laid aside the fear of death, and composed

The two remaining lines,<sup>4</sup> the king, being pleased, gave

Ten crores of gold coins, and eight mighty elephants also,

Wounding mountains with the points of their tusks, while bees hum rejoicing in their ichor.

<sup>1</sup> These four speeches form a couplet.

<sup>2</sup> But C, D and P give *prabhāsine*, to the utterer of the knee-deep couplet. This is found in the Bhojaprabandha (Bombay edition of 1895, p. 146).

<sup>3</sup> This story will be found on page 184 of the Bhojaprabandha (Bombay edition of 1895).

<sup>4</sup> I read with *a* and *β*, *pādadvayalrte*. This reading is also found in the Bhojaprabandha.



Then, once on a time, while this book was being read, the king, considering himself munificent, exclaimed, as if overpowered with the demon of pride,—

I have done what no man has done, I have given what no man has given,  
I have accomplished what it is impossible to accomplish, my heart is not  
thereby grieved.

While he was praising himself<sup>1</sup> again and again in these words, a certain old minister, wishing to cut short his pride, brought to the king the charity account-book of Vikramāditya.

In the introductory section of the book, first of all was found this stanza, being the first in it:—

Eight crores of gold, ninety-three tulās of pearls,  
Fifty elephants excited with anger on account of the bees drunk with the  
smell of their ichor,  
Ten thousand horses, a hundred fair ones wheedling with wiles,  
All this that was given by the Pāṇḍu king by way of fine, was made over  
to a bard.<sup>2</sup>

This stanza is to be known as the “eight crores of gold” stanza, on account of the nature of the remuneratory gift described in it.

When king Bhoja had grasped the purport of this stanza, all his pride was crushed by the liberality of Vikramāditya, and after he had worshipped that account-book, he had it put back in its place.

Then he was addressed by the warder in the following words, “Your Majesty, the family of Sarasvatī waits at your gate, eager for an interview with the king.” The king gave this order, “Introduce them quickly.” Then the family entered in order of precedence. The servant said,—

The father is learned, the son of the father also is learned,  
The mother is learned, the daughter of the mother also is learned,  
The wretched one-eyed maid-servant is also learned,  
King, I think that this family is a mass of learning.

The king laughed somewhat at this farcical utterance of the warder, and gave to the eldest male of the party the following quarter of a couplet to complete:—

“From the unsubstantial one should extract substance.”

<sup>1</sup> I read *clāghamānaḥ* with *β*.

<sup>2</sup> I omit four lines which have already been translated in the history of Vikramāditya. In MS. *β* they come before these lines. This stanza is found on page 181 of the Bhojaprabandha (Bombay edition of 1895).

The verse ran thus when completed :—

Munificence from wealth, truth from speech, so, too, fame and piety from life,  
Doing good to one's neighbour from the body; from the unsubstantial one should extract substance.<sup>1</sup>

Then the king gave to the son the following words :—

Himālaya, in truth, the monarch of mountains;  
Menā, with her limbs afflicted by bereavement, made.

No sooner had the king spoken than the son replied,—

By the fire of thy valour was melted  
Himālaya, in truth, the monarch of mountains;  
Menā,<sup>2</sup> with her limbs afflicted by bereavement, made  
A bed of young shoots the refuge of her body.

When the stanza had been thus completed, the king said to the wife of the eldest son :—

“ Which am I to feed with milk ? ”

When the king gave her this quarter of a couplet to fill up, she filled it up as follows :—

And if Rāvaṇa, in truth, was born with ten mouths, but one body,  
His mother gaping with astonishment must have thought, “ Which am I to feed with milk ? ”

Then the king gave the following quarter of a couplet to be completed :—

“ On whose neck am I to hang ? ”

The maid-servant<sup>3</sup> thus filled it up :—

A certain lady, enraged with neglect, drove away her wretched husband,  
My friend, a strange thought did I think, “ On whose neck am I to hang ? ”

The king forgot to test the daughter, but rewarded them all, and then dismissed them. Then the king, as he was walking about on the floor of the upper room of his palace, holding up an umbrella, during an audience at which everybody was allowed to be present,<sup>4</sup> was reminded by the warder of what had happened to the daughter. The king said to her, “ Speak.” Then she uttered this stanza :—

<sup>1</sup> This stanza is No. 2750 in Böhlingk's *Indische Sprüche*. He finds it in the *Sāhityadarpaṇa* and the *Subhāṣitārṇava*.

<sup>2</sup> The wife of Himālaya and mother of Pārvatī.

<sup>3</sup> I read *sā* with  $\alpha$  and  $\beta$ .

<sup>4</sup> Here again I take *sarvāvasara* as equivalent to *divān-i-'amm*.

O king Bhoja, light of your race, crest-jewel of all kings,  
It is right that you should walk about in this world with an umbrella, even  
at night,

Lest, by beholding your face, the moon should become abashed with shame,  
And this reverend saint Arundhatī<sup>1</sup> should be tempted to unchastity.

As soon as she had said this, the king, having his mind captivated by her beauty, married her, and made her one of his wives. Then, on another occasion, king Bhoja, though a league of friendship<sup>2</sup> subsisted between him and Bhīma, being desirous of breaking the peace, and also wishing to test the cleverness of the inhabitants of the country of Gujārāt, put this *gāthā* into the hand of a diplomatic agent,<sup>3</sup> and sent it to Bhīma :—

The lion who with ease cleaves the foreheads of mighty elephants, the progress of whose valour is published abroad,  
Has no war with the deer, and yet cannot be said to have peace with him.

Bhīma was asked to send a *gāthā* in answer to this, but considered all the compositions, which the great poets submitted, as so many fruitless efforts, until at last this *gāthā* came :—

Bhīma was created on the earth by Destiny as the destroyer of the sons of Andhaka,  
How can he, who made no account of a hundred foes, make account of thee who art but one ?<sup>4</sup>

The king sent this mind-astonishing *gāthā*, which was composed by Govindācārya, to king Bhoja, by the hand of that minister, and thus avoided a breach of peaceful relations.

On a certain occasion,<sup>5</sup> a certain man, introduced by the warder, entered the hall of audience, and said to Bhoja,—

The mother is not satisfied with me nor with the daughter-in-law, the daughter-in-law neither with the mother nor me,  
I for my part neither with one woman nor the other ; tell me, O king, whose is this fault ?<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The wife of Vāciṣṭha (or Vasiṣṭha) and one of the Pleiades. This stanza is found on pp. 163, 164 of the Bhojaprabandha (Bombay edition of 1895).

<sup>2</sup> *Yamalapatreṣu*.

<sup>3</sup> *Sāndhivigrahika*. Forbes (Rās Mālā, p. 188) tells us that at the courts of their more powerful neighbours, the kings of Anhilwārā were represented by accredited diplomatic agents, called "Sāndhivigrahik" or makers of peace and war, whose duty it was to keep them informed of foreign affairs—a task performed also in another manner by persons called "Sthānpurush," men of the country or spies, who were probably unrecognized by their employers.

<sup>4</sup> I read with B, α and β, *Bhīmo puṭhavī*, omitting *ya*.

<sup>5</sup> Here P gives *sarvānasare*, which, as I have already pointed out, means an audience, open to all people, of whatever rank.

<sup>6</sup> The Bombay edition of the Bhojaprabandha (Kalyāṇ, 1895) reads *kūpyati* for *tuṣyati* in this couplet, which is found on page 252.

As soon as the king heard this, he caused a present to be given to him, which chased away the poverty that had beset him from his birth. Then on a certain night in the winter season, as the king was roaming about in search of adventures,<sup>1</sup> he heard a certain man in front of a certain temple repeating the following stanza :—

While I am shrivelled up<sup>2</sup> with cold like the fruit of the bean, and plunged  
in a sea of anxiety,  
The fire of my belly pinched with hunger, which blows and parts my lips,  
is appeased,  
Sleep has abandoned me, and gone somewhere far away, like an insulted  
wife,  
The night does not waste away, like fortune bestowed on a worthy  
recipient.

After the king had got through the latter part of the night, he summoned that man in the morning, and said to him, “How did you endure the great severity of the cold during the rest of the night?” And then he reminded him of the line :—

“The night does not waste away, like fortune bestowed on a worthy recipient.”

The man answered, “Your Majesty, by virtue of the three thick garments<sup>3</sup> I manage to hold out against the cold.” When the king asked him again, “What is that triad of garments<sup>4</sup> that you speak of,” he repeated the following couplet :—

At night the knee, by day the sun, the fire at both twilights,  
King, I endured the cold by the help of knee, sun and fire.

When he said this, he was made happy by the king by the gift of three lakhs. The man continued,—

By thee, thus imprisoning thyself<sup>5</sup> now by the way of munificence,  
Bali, Karṇa and others have been released from their gaol in the minds of  
the good.

<sup>1</sup> Forbes has some interesting remarks on this subject. See page 191 of the *Rās Māla*, Watson's edition.

<sup>2</sup> This translation is conjectural. Perhaps we ought to read *uddhṛṣi'tasya* with D. This word is said to mean “shivering.” Monier-Williams tells us that *uddhusana* is a corruption of *uddharsana*. In the Bhojaprabandha (page 181 of the Bombay edition of 1895) this stanza begins with *Ḷitenādhyusitasya*.

<sup>3</sup> Here I read with *a*, *tricelī* for *trivēlī*. P has *mayādyā* for *mayā*.

<sup>4</sup> Here I read *vastratrayī* with *a*, or perhaps it would be better to read *tricelī* again, taking into consideration the fact that in Jaina MSS. it is difficult to distinguish *c* from *v*.

<sup>5</sup> I read with *a* and P, °*ātmanamahō* for °*mānamahō*. I find *ātmanam* in the corresponding passage in the Bhojaprabāndha (Bombay edition, p. 183), but the rest of the stanza differs so much that it throws no light on this.

While the man was thus pouring forth the full volume of his literary flood,<sup>1</sup> the king, who felt unable to give an adequate present in return for it, induced him by his entreaties to stop. On another occasion, when the king was mounted on an elephant, and was going round the town on his royal circuit,<sup>2</sup> he saw a certain beggar picking up grains that had fallen on the ground. The king uttered the first half of a half-stanza,<sup>3</sup>—

What is the use of those people being born who are not able to fill their own stomachs ?

The beggar continued,—

Indeed there is no use at all of those people being born, who do not help others, though well able to do it.

When he had ended, the king continued,—

O mother, do not produce such a son as is intent on begging from his neighbours !

After this speech, the beggar rejoined,—

Do not, O earth, do not give support to those who refuse their neighbours' requests !

When he had said this, the king said, " Who are you ? " He replied, " I here am Rājaçekhara, who, having been prevented by the chief men of the city from obtaining in any other way an entrance into your coterie of various learned men, have striven by this trick to enjoy an interview with your Highness." When he had been favoured with great gifts, suitable to him, he said,—

In that lake in which the frogs, lying in the holes, were as if dead, the tortoises had gone into the earth,

The sheat-fish had swooned again and again, from rolling on the broad slab of mud,

In that very lake a cloud, rising out of season, has wrought such a mighty work,

That herds of wild elephants drink water in it, immersed up to their foreheads.<sup>4</sup>

This is the utterance of Rājaçekhara called " The cloud out of season." In a certain year, owing to a failure of rain, it became impossible to obtain

<sup>1</sup> P has °*odgāraparastat*°.

<sup>2</sup> I read with *a*, *rājapāṭikāyān*.

<sup>3</sup> Here the text reads *ardhakavinā*. But I have substituted *ardhakavitā*.

<sup>4</sup> This stanza is found on page 155 of the Bhojaprabandha (Bombay edition of 1895).

grain and grass, and king Bhīma was informed by his representatives<sup>1</sup> that king Bhoja was for this very reason preparing an invasion. This made him anxious, and he gave orders to a diplomatic agent named Dāmara, to this effect, "Whatever we may have to pay by way of fine, king Bhoja must be prevented from coming into this country during the present year." On receiving this order, he repaired to the court of king Bhoja. Now he was exceedingly ugly, but skilled in penetrating the minds of others. King Bhoja said to him,—

"Tell me how many messengers are there, belonging to your king, holding the office of diplomatic agent?"

The ambassador replied,—

"Many like me, O king of Mālava, they are there of three degrees, They are sent in order, according as the foreign court is considered to be of low, medium, or excellent quality."

When he gave this answer with a suppressed smile, the king of Dhārā was pleased with him.

King Bhoja, astonished at the cleverness of his speech, had the drums beat as a signal for beginning the march towards Gujarāt. At the time of beginning the march, a bard said,—

The Cola king enters the bosom of the sea, the Andhra king repairs to a hole in a mighty mountain ;  
 The king of Karṇāṭa does not wear his turban, the king of Gujarāt frequents the mountain torrents ;  
 Cedi, that warlike monarch, flickers with weapons ; the king of Kanyakubja is here bent double ;  
 O Bhoja, all the kings are distracted with the burden of the fear of the advance of thy army only.  
 On the floor of thy prison, the angry wrangle about a place on which to lay their beds,  
 Has increased in the night among these mutual rivals, who thus dispute,  
 "The king of Koṅkaṇa sleeps in the corner, Lāṭa near the door, Kalinga in the courtyard ;  
 You are a new arrival, Koçala ; my father also used to abide on this level spot."

After the king had ordered the drum for the advance to be beaten, a

<sup>1</sup> *Sthānapuruṣaiḥ*. Forbes (Rās Mālā, p. 188) gives it as his opinion that these "men of the country" were spies. But we shall soon come to a passage which shows that one of the representatives of the Gujarātī sovereign in Mālava declared himself to be a native of Gujarāt. The passage is found on page 108 of the Sanskrit printed text.

dramatic performance, taking off all the kings, was enacted. In it a certain angry king tried to make Tailapa, who, being in the prison, had established himself in a comfortable place, get up, and was thus addressed by him, "I have an ancestral holding here, why should I leave my own home at the bidding of a new-comer like you?" Thereupon the king turned to Dāmara with a laugh, and praised the display of wit in the play, but received from him this reply, "King, the display of wit is, no doubt, extraordinary, but out on the ignorance that this actor<sup>1</sup> shows with regard to the history of the hero of the tale, for this mighty king Tailapadeva is recognized by having the head of king Muñja fixed on a stake!" When Dāmara said this before all the court, Bhoja was so stung by his sarcasm, that, without making any further preparation, he proceeded to march at once towards the country of Tilanga. Then, hearing that a very strong force was coming under the banner of Tailapadeva, Bhoja was very anxious, and at this conjuncture Dāmara came to him, and showing him a forged rescript from the king, informed him that Bhīma had reached Bhogapura. By that intelligence brought by Dāmara, which was like the sprinkling of salt on a wound, king Bhoja was exceedingly cast down, and he said to Dāmara, "You must, by hook or by crook, prevent your master from coming here during the present year." When the king said this over and over again in plaintive accents, Dāmara, who knew how to suit himself to every conjuncture, took a male and female elephant from him by way of present, and sent them to Bhīma in Pattana to appease him.

When king Bhoja was listening to the reading of a treatise on law, he heard of the Rādhāvedha<sup>2</sup> of Arjuna. He reflected, "What is difficult to practise?" And so he himself, by dint of constant practice, succeeded in performing the world-famed Rādhāvedha, and then proceeded to illuminate the markets of the city; but an oilman and a tailor out of contempt would have nothing to do with his rejoicings, and then justified their refusal to the king. The oilman stood in the upper room of a house, and from it poured a stream of oil into a narrow-mouthed earthen vessel that was on the ground; and the tailor stood on the ground, and on the point of an uplifted thread caught the eye of a needle,<sup>3</sup> that was thrown down from above, and so threaded the needle. Having shown in this way their skill acquired by practice, they said to the king, "If your Majesty possesses the

<sup>1</sup> I read *naṭasya* for *bhaṭasya*. P has *dhig naṭasya*, α, *dhik naṭasya*, β, *dhigdhanāṭasya*.

<sup>2</sup> This is said to mean a particular attitude in shooting, but I think it must mean a feat similar to that performed by Odyssous. Böhltingk and Roth, in their Wörterbuch in kürzerer Fassung, give for Rādhāvedhin "etwa nach der Scheibe schießend." The meaning will, to a certain extent, appear in the sequel. Literally translated it means "the cleaving of Rādhā."

<sup>3</sup> P gives *bhāmishṭhita ūrdhvīmukhakatatantramukhe*, but also *vīrare*.

requisite skill, then do what we have done." In this way they cut short the king's pride.

King Bhoja, I know why you performed the cleaving of Rādhā,<sup>1</sup>  
It was because your Majesty could not tolerate an opposite to Dhārā.

In these words he was praised by the learned, and being desirous of laying out a new city, he had the drum beaten. Then a *hetaera*, named Dhārā, who, with her husband, named Agnivetāla, had gone to Laṅkā, and seen the way in which that town was laid out, and returned, requested that her name might be given to the new city, and making over to the king an accurate plan of Laṅkā, she laid out the town of Dhārā.

On a certain day, the king was wandering about in his town, after the evening general assembly, and he heard a certain Digambara reciting the following *gāthā*,—

This birth has been a failure,<sup>2</sup> I have not broken the successful sword of the warrior ;  
I have not listened to the shrill drums ;<sup>3</sup> I have not clung to the neck of a fair one.

The next morning the king summoned him, and taking the opportunity of reminding him of the fact that he had uttered these words in the night, he asked him what ability he possessed. The Digambara set forth his valour in the following couplet,—

King, when the Dīpālī festival has taken place, and the ichor of elephants flows,  
I will reduce under one umbrella Gauḍa and Dakṣiṇāpatha.

Thereupon he was appointed commander-in-chief. King Bhīma having marched<sup>4</sup> to conquer the country of Sindh, the Digambara arrived with all the officers and sacked the august city of Anahilla, and having caused cowries to be sown at the gate of the clock-tower of the palace, extorted a record of victory. From that day forth it became a common saying in that land that such and such a thing has been stolen by Kulacandra. He returned to the country of Mālava with that record of victory, and related the whole story to king Bhoja. He said to him, " Why did you not have charcoal sown ? The taxes of this country shall go to the land of Gujarāt." This is what king Bhoja, the neck-ornament of Sarasvatī, said to him.

<sup>1</sup> *Rādhāvedha*. Of course, if the syllables of *Rādhā* are inverted we obtain *Dhārā*.

<sup>2</sup> P gives *naggaham*. I take it to be the Sanskrit *nigrahām*.

<sup>3</sup> P gives *tikkhām turīya na mānīyā*, but *a* and *β* give *tīrakā* (*sic*). The anusvāra in P is not very clear. For *gorī* see Hemacandra (ed. Pischel) IV. 395, 4.

<sup>4</sup> P, *a* and *β* read *vyāpṛte*, being engaged in conquering.



One night, Bhoja was sitting in the rays of the moon, with Kulacandra near him, and looking at the circle of the full moon, he repeated these two lines,—

Those who find the night pass as quickly as a moment in the society of the  
beloved,  
Find, when separated, the cold-rayed moon as scorching as a meteor.

When the poet-king had in these words uttered the half<sup>1</sup> of a stanza, Kulacandra continued,—

But I have neither a beloved nor separation ; therefore to me deprived of  
both these things  
This moon shines like a mirror, neither hot nor yet cold.

After Kulacandra had said this, the king bestowed on him a beautiful damsel.

Then the diplomatic agent, named Dāmara, came from the country of Mālava, and by describing the court of Bhoja, created great astonishment. Then he returned to Mālava, and by describing Bhīma as possessing extraordinary beauty, he made<sup>2</sup> Bhoja excited with a longing to see him ; so Bhoja entreated him, saying, “Bring him here, or take me to his capital ;” and Bhīma, who wished to see the court of Bhoja, used exactly the same language to him. So, in a certain year, the resourceful Dāmara, conveying a great present, and taking with him king Bhīma, disguised as a Brahman, and officiating as a betel-box bearer, went into the court of Bhoja, and made his salutation. When Bhoja began to broach the subject of his bringing king Bhīma, Dāmara said, “Kings are independent persons, and who can force them to do what they do not wish to do ?<sup>3</sup> But, anyhow, some slaves must not be despised by your Majesty.”<sup>4</sup> After he had said this, Bhoja asked what the age, colour, and form of Bhīma were like, and looked round at those people who were present in court. Then Dāmara pointed out the betel-box bearer, and said to Bhoja, “King,

He has the same form, the same colour, the same beauty, and the same age ;  
The difference between him and the king is that between glass and a  
wishing-jewel.”

<sup>1</sup> I read *ardhe*, but *a* has *tenoktam* which comes to the same. P gives *iti ardhakavinā tenokte*. See page 74 of the printed text, where *ardhakavinā* occurs.

<sup>2</sup> The grammar in this passage seems to be defective. I have given what I suppose to be the sense.

<sup>3</sup> I read with *a* and *β*, *svāmīno' nabhīmatām*. P gives *nābhīmatām*, which gives the same sense.

<sup>4</sup> Perhaps the reading of *β*, *sarvatheyam kadācā nāvadhāraṇīyā* is correct. The same reading is found in *a* except that *im* is given for *yam*. This will mean “You must certainly not entertain this chimerical hope.” P has this reading, but *kād* for *kad*. However, the reading of the printed text gives a tolerable sense.

When he said this, king Bhoja, who was a very emperor among discerning men, looked at the distinguishing marks of the betel-box bearer, and then, with fixed gaze,<sup>1</sup> reflected that such a person must be a king. Then the diplomatic agent sent the betel-box bearer to bring the articles that composed the present. While the things were being brought, a great deal of time was taken up by Dāmara's protracting matters by describing their advantages, and dilating on other subjects. At last the king said to him, "How much longer is this betel-box bearer going to linger?" Then Dāmara told him plainly that he was Bhīma. Immediately the king set about getting ready troops to pursue him. But Dāmara said to him, "At the end of every twelve *yojanas* there are horses attached to a horse-litter, and female camels<sup>2</sup> that go a *yojana* in twenty-four minutes, so, as Bhīma is getting over the ground with all these appliances, how are you likely to catch him?" When Dāmara had made this representation, Bhoja remained for a long time rubbing his hands.

Then king Bhoja, having been continually hearing of the literary merit and virtue of the paṇḍit Māgha, out of eagerness to see him, kept continually sending royal invitations, and so brought him from the town of Çrīmāla in the cold weather season. He entertained him with the utmost respect, with delicious dishes and other luxuries, and after that showed him entertainments fit for a king, and then, at night, after the ceremony of waving lights before the idol was concluded, he made the paṇḍit Māgha recline on a bed near his own, and exactly like it, and he gave him his own rug, and after conversing pleasantly with him for a long time, he slept comfortably. In the morning the king was aroused by the sound of the auspicious drums, and then the paṇḍit Māgha asked him for leave to return home. The king, with his heart full of astonishment, asked him how he had enjoyed his food and coverlets in the day that had passed, but he said, "Let us not discuss the question as to whether the food was good or bad," but represented that he was exhausted with the weight of the rug.<sup>3</sup> The king, who was vexed, at last, with difficulty, consented to his departure, and so the paṇḍit Māgha, being accompanied by the king as far as the city park, and honourably dismissed, returned to his own home. Māgha, before he left, entreated<sup>4</sup> the king to honour him with the favour of a visit to him in his own house. Some days after, king Bhoja, eager to see the apparatus of Māgha's wealth and luxury, went to the town of Çrīmāla.

<sup>1</sup> P and β give *niçcaladrçam nirpañ*. This would mean, I suppose, that Dāmara, remarking that Bhoja was looking intently at Bhīma, sent the latter away. In any case, the grammar is defective.

<sup>2</sup> MS. α has *karīṇyāḥ* (female elephants), β, *karībhyāḥ*.

<sup>3</sup> I read *çītarakṣābhāreṇa* with P, α and β, instead of *çītabhāreṇa*, which is, perhaps, a misprint.

<sup>4</sup> P, α and β give *vijñāpya*.

The paṇḍit Māgha won his heart by showing him appropriate respect in going to meet him and paying him other attentions, and the king found that there was room for himself and his army in Māgha's stables. But he himself went to paṇḍit Māgha's palace, and observed that the floor of the passage leading to it was inlaid with gold.<sup>1</sup> After he had bathed, he put on a clean garment, standing on the floor of the god's shrine, which was made of a pavement of crystal and emerald in such a way as to resemble water full of the branching stems of aquatic plants. The commencement of the rite was immediately announced to him by the family priest, and after the worship of the god was over, and the *mantra* ceremony<sup>2</sup> had come to an end, the king tasted the savoury food, which was brought in at meal-time. His mind was surprised by all kinds of accessory delicacies, such as fruits, which came from foreign countries, or were produced out of their due season. After he had eaten to his fill savoury food remarkable for well-seasoned milk and rice, at the end of the meal he went up into the upper chamber, and was a spectator of poems, tales, histories, and plays, not seen or heard<sup>3</sup> before. Though it was the cold season, there was artificially produced a sudden semblance of terrible heat,<sup>4</sup> so that the king had to put on white transparent garments, and being fanned by servants holding palm-leaves in their hands, and having his clothes anointed with much sandal-wood ointment, he passed that night in delightful sleep, as if it had been but a moment. In the morning he was waked by the sound of conchs, and was informed by the paṇḍit Māgha of the fact that the hot season had suddenly appeared in the middle of the cold weather.<sup>5</sup> He spent some days, as suited the season, full of astonishment, and then asked leave to depart to his own country, and after bestowing on Māgha all the merit of the new Bhojasvāmin temple, that he was about to build<sup>6</sup> himself, he set out for the country of Mālava.

Now, on the day of his birth, Māgha's father had his horoscope cast by an astrologer, and the astrologer stated that at the beginning of his life his prosperity would be continually increasing, but at the end he would lose all his opulence, and a disease of swelling would to a certain extent manifest itself in his feet, and so he would die. When the astrologer said this,<sup>7</sup> Māgha's father was desirous of counteracting that predicted course of the planets by an accumulation of wealth, and so, having reflected that in the life of a

<sup>1</sup> Or glass, according to  $\alpha$  and  $\beta$ , which have *kācabaddhāni*.

<sup>2</sup> Probably the circumambulation accompanied by the repetition of a *mantra*. (Forbes, *Rās Mālā*, p. 397.)

<sup>3</sup> P gives *açrutādṛṣṭ' āpūrva*. I have followed the printed text.

<sup>4</sup> P,  $\alpha$  and  $\beta$  give *bhīṣmoṣmabhrāntya*. This I translate.

<sup>5</sup> The reading of  $\alpha$ , *vyatikaram*, improves the grammar. I find *vyatikara* in  $\beta$ .

<sup>6</sup> Both  $\alpha$  and  $\beta$  read *kāvita* = caused to be built.

<sup>7</sup> P and  $\alpha$  give *Iti nimittavidā nivedita*. This I have followed, but the sense is not thereby much altered.

human being, which is of the length of a hundred years, there will be thirty-six thousand days, he placed so many strings threaded with coins in new receptacles that he had made for the purpose, and gave his son hundredfold more wealth in addition to that, and bestowed on him the name of Māgha, and gave him the education befitting his family, and then thinking that he had done his duty, he died. Immediately Māgha, having, like the lord of the northern quarter,<sup>1</sup> a vast empire over luxuries,<sup>2</sup> began to give to learned men as much wealth as they desired, and fulfilled the wishes of the tribe of petitioners with measureless gifts, and by various<sup>3</sup> kinds of enjoyments showed himself in his own country<sup>4</sup> like the incarnation of a god. He excited admiration in learned men by composing the epic poem named Çiçupālabadha; but at the end of his life, owing to the fact that the merit acquired in a previous state of existence was exhausted, he lost his wealth, and as calamity had fallen upon him, he was unable to remain in his own country, and so he went with his wife to the country of Mālava, and took up his residence in Dhārā.<sup>5</sup> He made up his mind that he must obtain some money from king Bhoja by offering him a book to purchase. So he sent his wife to him, and remained long hoping for it. In the meanwhile, king Bhoja, seeing his wife in that condition, opened that book, hastily thrusting a pin<sup>6</sup> into it and saw the following stanza:—

The clump of night-lotuses has lost its glory, glorious is the mass of day-lotuses,

The owl abandons his joy, the Brahmany drake is full of happiness,

The warm-rayed sun is rising, the cold-rayed moon<sup>7</sup> is setting,

Various, alas! is the development of the freaks of accursed Fate.

Then, having grasped the meaning of the stanza, he said, "Why need we consider the whole book? The world itself would be a small price for this stanza alone." So the king gave by way of remuneration for the word "Alas!" which was appropriate to the occasion, and not redundant, wealth to the amount of a lakh, and so dismissed Māgha's wife. But she

<sup>1</sup> i. e. Kuvera, the god of wealth.

<sup>2</sup> I insert with *a*, *bhojya* between *prājya*° and *sāmrājya*. The same MS. has *prāpta* before *prājya*°.

<sup>3</sup> I read with *a*, *β* and *P*, *taistair*°.

<sup>4</sup> Before *svām* I insert *nijadece*, which I find in *a*.

<sup>5</sup> This part of the story is found in the Bhojaprabandha, pp. 220 and ff. (edition of 1895, Kalyāna, Bombay).

<sup>6</sup> According to Molesworth's Marāṭhi Dictionary, it is customary to examine a candidate by piercing the sheets of a book with a *çatakā* or pin, and asking him to explain the stanza on which the pin rests. Books are apparently used in this way to inquire into the future. Cp. the Sortes Virgilianæ. The word *çatakā* may also mean a stilus for writing on palm-leaves. (Bühler Indische Palæographie, p. 92.)

<sup>7</sup> The moon is the friend of the white lotus, which expands its petals during the night, and closes them in the daytime. The Brahmany drake is separated from his mate during the night.

as she was returning from the king's palace, being known to be the wife of the paṇḍit Māgha, was solicited for alms by certain petitioners, and so she gave them the whole of the king's present, and returned to the house no richer than she left it, and informed her husband, in whose feet a swelling had to a certain extent manifested itself, of what had taken place, with a full explanation. Then he praised her, saying, "You are my reputation manifest in bodily form," and then, seeing that a beggar had come to his house, and that there was nothing in it fit to give him, he fell into a state of despondency, and said this,—

I have no wealth, and yet vain hope does not leave me,  
 My perverse hand does not<sup>1</sup> abandon the desire to give.  
 Begging involves disgrace, and yet in self-slaughter there is sin,  
 Ye vital spirits, depart ye of yourselves ; what availeth it to lament ?  
 The scorching of the fire of poverty is allayed with the water of acquiescence,  
 But, as for this pain produced by frustrating the expectation of the wretched,  
 by what is this to be allayed ?  
 Leave me, leave me, ye vital spirits, since a petitioner has gone to dis-  
 appointment,  
 Sooner or later you will have to go, but where will you find such a caravan  
 to start with ?  
 In time of famine begging is out of place ; how can the poorly-circum-  
 stanced contract a loan ?  
 And who will give the lords of the earth work to do ?  
 This householder is about to perish without having given a mouthful ;<sup>3</sup>  
 Where are we to go, what are we to do, wife ? Mysterious is life's dis-  
 pensation.  
 A wayfarer, gaunt with famine, has come from some place asking for my  
 house ;  
 So, wife, is there anything which this man, afflicted with hunger, may eat ?  
 She says with her voice, "There is," and again, "There is not," without  
 syllables ;  
 By drops of flowing tears, by broad, broad streams pouring from her rolling  
 eyes.

<sup>1</sup> I find in  $\beta$ , *tyāgānna sañcalati* and in P and  $\alpha$ , *dānānna saykucati*. I think that a negative is required. I find in the Bhojaprabandha, *tyāge ratim vahati*. The reading of the printed text means, "In truth my perverse hand contracts from giving."

<sup>2</sup> This passage is full of puns. "Disappointment" may also mean "want of meaning"; the word for "caravan" means also "having meaning," and the word for "petitioner" is connected with *artha* which means "petition," "meaning," and "wealth."

<sup>3</sup> Or, "This sun is setting without allowing Rāhu to swallow him in an eclipse." *Grāsa* also means "grant."

Immediately after uttering this speech, that paṇḍit Māgha died. Next morning king Bhoja heard of that occurrence, and as Māgha's fellow-tribesmen, the Mālas, were wealthy, and yet allowed such an admirable man to die overpowered with hunger, he gave them the well-known name of Bhilla<sup>1</sup>-Mālas.

Once on a time, in the city of Viçālā, which was great in prosperity, there was dwelling a Brahman of the name of Sarvadeva, of the Kāçyapa *gotra*, a native of Madhyadeça.<sup>2</sup> By associating with the followers of the Jainā religion, he had well-nigh suppressed falsehood<sup>3</sup> in himself. With his two sons, Dhanapāla and Çobhana, he entertained in a monastery<sup>4</sup> of his own, out of regard for his merits, the Jaina teacher, Vardhamāna, who came to him one day, and as the teacher was pleased with his unvarying devotion, Sarvadeva, thinking that he was a son of the omniscient one, asked him about a treasure of his ancestors that had disappeared. The teacher, making use of words intentionally ambiguous, asked him to give him half, and after Sarvadeva had found the treasure by the indications which the teacher gave, he was for giving him half of the treasure, but the teacher then asked him for half his couple of sons. Dhanapāla, the eldest, whose mind was blinded by falsehood, and who was addicted to denouncing the Jaina way, refused his consent, and with regard to the younger, named Çobhana, he was restrained by compassion. So, being desirous of washing away in holy bathing-places the crime of breaking his promise, he set out on a pilgrimage to holy bathing-places. Then the younger son, named Çobhana, who was devoted to his father, dissuaded him from his intention, and took a vow to make good his father's promise, and himself repaired to that Jaina teacher. Dhanapāla studied all the branches of Brahmanical learning, and, by the favour of king Bhoja, obtained the post of superior<sup>5</sup> of all the paṇḍits, and, out of a feeling of hostility to his brother, he prevented the professors of the Jaina faith from entering his country for the space of twelve years. The Jaina laymen of that country called upon the teacher with vehement entreaty, and so that ascetic, named Çobhana, who had reached the further shore of the ocean of Jaina treatises, took leave of the teacher, and went there and entered Dhārā. As he was entering, the paṇḍit Dhanapāla, who was accompanying the king on his royal circuit, not

<sup>1</sup> Or "barbarous Mālas." The reading of  $\alpha$  and  $\beta$ , *tajjāter nāma* would mean, "He gave that tribe the name," &c. Bühler (Indian Studies, No. 1) tells us that "Çrimāla" is another name of Bhillamāla, the modern Bhinmāl in southern Mārvād. P has, as I read it, *tajjātar*, the vowel *e* being omitted.

<sup>2</sup> The country lying between the Himālayas on the north, the Vindhya mountains on the south, Vinaçana on the west, Prayāga on the east.

<sup>3</sup> Probably in the sense of wrong belief from the Jaina point of view.

<sup>4</sup> *Upāçraya*.

<sup>5</sup> P and  $\alpha$  give *praṣṭa* (for *praṣṭha*) instead of the *prakṛṣṭa* of the printed text. I have followed these two MSS.

recognizing that he was his brother, said to him jeeringly, "All hail! asstoothed mendicant!"<sup>1</sup> The hermit, Çobhana, answered, "Good luck befall you, my friend, with a mouth like a *kapiṛṣaṇa*." Dhanapāla was inwardly astonished at this speech of Çobhana's, and said to himself, "I said, 'All hail to you,' in pure joke, but this man, by saying 'Good luck to you, my friend,' has conquered me by his dexterity in speech." So he said to Çobhana, "Whose guests are you?" These speeches of Dhanapāla elicited from the hermit Çobhana the reply, "We are your guests, sir." When Dhanapāla heard this speech of the hermit Çobhana, he sent Çobhana, with his attendant novice, to his own palace, and assigned him a place there. Then Dhanapāla himself returned to the palace, and with polite speeches invited Çobhana with his attendant to dinner. But they,<sup>2</sup> who were addicted to taking only pure food, refused. Dhanapāla earnestly inquired what objection could be taken to his food. They answered,—

A hermit should eat food collected as bees collect honey, even if given by a family of Mlecchas,

He should not eat a regular meal, even if offered by one equal to Vṛhaspati.

Moreover, the same doctrine is laid down in the Jaina religion, in the Daçavaikālika,—

Those wise persons, who are like bees, not depending on any one person for food,

Delighting in many scraps, self-subdued, are for that reason called saints.<sup>3</sup>

Accordingly, as food expressly prepared for us is forbidden both by our own religion and an alien religion, we avoid it, and eat pure food. Dhanapāla was astonished at their virtuous practice, and silently rising up went into his palace. When he was beginning his bath, those two hermits arrived on a begging round, and the Brahman's wife seeing them, as the cooking of the food was not completed,<sup>4</sup> brought the two hermits sour milk to drink. They asked, "For how many days has this been kept?" But Dhanapāla jeeringly remarked, "Do you suppose that there are maggots in it?" The Brahman's wife investigated the matter and said, "It has been kept for two days." Thereupon the two hermits said, "Undoubtedly there

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps this refers to the fact that the Jaina ascetic ate only vegetables. Professor Leumann kindly informs me that "*Gurubhadanta bhadanta namaste*" and "*Kapiṛṣaṇāsyō vaçasya sukhaḥ te*" are two Pādas composed in the Viçloka metre with rhyming syllables. I do not understand the meaning of *kapiṛṣaṇa*.

<sup>2</sup> Here the plural is used, but further on the dual.

<sup>3</sup> This passage is found on page 613 of Professor Leumann's Daçavaikālika Sūtra, as he has kindly pointed out to me. The same idea will be found in Hemacandra's Yogaçāstra, III, 140.

<sup>4</sup> I read *asiddhe 'nnapāke* with β. I find in α, *asiddhāntapāke*. P gives *asiddhe annapāke*. P also gives *preçyamāno Dhanapālāh*.

are maggots in it."<sup>1</sup> So Dhanapāla rose up from the seat on which he had placed himself to take his bath, in order to look into the matter, and when he saw that on a piece of cotton coloured red being placed in the vicinity of the sour milk, which was put on a plate, creatures<sup>2</sup> of the colour of the sour milk climbed upon the red cotton, and made it as white as the clot of milk, he admitted that the Jaina religion was conspicuous for its compassion towards all living creatures, and also conferred skill in detecting their production. For—

One should avoid *mudga* and *māṣa*<sup>3</sup> and other leguminous plants, if un-boiled milk is thrown upon them,  
They say, moreover, that living animals are produced in sour milk, after it has remained three days.

This is laid down in the law of the Jina. Having ascertained this, Dhanapāla, owing to the excellent instruction of the hermit Çobhana, accepted the correct belief, and entered into full possession of the truth.<sup>4</sup> Being naturally clever, he became exceedingly learned in the Karmaprakṛti and other argumentative treatises of the Jinas, and he repeated as follows, every morning after the ceremony of worshipping the Jina,—

The lord of a few cities, hard to win even by bodily sacrifices,  
I have, alas! in former days followed, under the delusion that he would bestow measureless gifts;<sup>5</sup>  
Now I have gained as my master the lord of the three worlds, who bestows his own rank,  
Who is to be worshipped with the reason; but the waste of days, that preceded my conversion, afflicts me.  
I thought that true religion was everywhere until, O Jina, I knew thy law,  
As the gold-sick think everything gold, not having recovered their white condition.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> P reads *pātarāḥ santītyatra abhihite*. The two other MSS. give, with the text, a superfluous *iti*.

<sup>2</sup> I find in P, *tañjantubhīr*<sup>o</sup>, those creatures. *Pumba* is, I suppose, the Persian word *pamba*, which is sometimes pronounced *pumba*.

<sup>3</sup> *Muggamāsāi*. Hoernle tells us that *mudga* is *Phaseolus Mungo*, and *māṣa* is *Phaseolus mungo radiatus* (Uvāsagadasāo, p. 18). My translation is based upon Hemacandra's *Yogaśāstra* (ed. Windisch), III. 7.

*Amagorasasamprkṛtān dvidalān puṣṭitaulanān  
Dadhyaḥaradvīṭayātītan kuthītānman ca varjayet.*

<sup>4</sup> I find in P, *α* and *β*, *samyaktattvaṃ bheje*. This I translate.

<sup>5</sup> I follow P, which gives *duṅgrahomītarītarītāmohena*. I assume that *amītarītarīn* means "giver of measureless gifts."

<sup>6</sup> The editor explains that this gold-sickness is produced by the Dhattūra poison; "as all looks yellow to the jaundiced eye." He gives another explanation of the concluding words of the second line: "not obtaining a place suitable for confidence." I prefer to read *alabhamāṇānam* with *α* and *β*, and apparently P. For this gold-sickness cp. *Parīṣṭa Parvan* (ed. Jacobi), p. 166, *Mṛtyūṇḍam api hemāva pītonmatto hi paçyati*.



The lord of a country bestows one village,  
 The lord of a village bestows one field,  
 The lord of a field bestows kidney-beans,  
 The All-knowing one, propitiated, bestows his own bliss.

Such speeches Dhanapāla recited continually.

While in this frame of mind, he was one day taken out to hunt with the king, and was thus addressed by him,—

“Dhanapāla, what, pray, is the cause that these deer  
 Leap up towards the sky, while the boars furrow the ground?”

Dhanapāla answered,—

“King, terrified by your weapons, they seek to take refuge with their kind,  
 The deer with the deer in the deer-marked moon, the boars with the  
 primeval boar.<sup>1</sup>

When the king pierced a deer with an arrow, he looked at the face of Dhanapāla, in order that he might celebrate his exploit in verse, but Dhanapāla said,—

May your valour in this matter go to the region under the earth!  
 This is evil policy, for he who takes refuge is held guiltless:  
 That the weak is even slain by the mighty,  
 Oh! alas! woe worth the day! is a sign that the world is kingless.

The king was indignant at this reproach from Dhanapāla, and said,  
 “What is the meaning of this?” But he received this answer,—

Since even enemies are let off, when near death, if they take grass in their  
 mouths,  
 How can you slay these harmless beasts, who always feed on grass?

Then a strange pity arose in the mind of the king, and he consented to break his bow and arrows, and he renounced the evil practice of hunting for the term of his natural life. As he was returning to the town, he heard there the plaintive cry of a goat that was fastened to a sacrificial post in the sacrifice-shed, and asked Dhanapāla, “What does this animal say?” Thereupon he answered, “It is entreating that it may not be slain.

I am not desirous of enjoying the fruits of heaven, I never asked you for  
 them;  
 I am always satisfied with eating grass; this conduct does not become you,  
 holy man;

<sup>1</sup> It is well known that the Hindus place a deer in the moon instead of a man; the “primeval boar” is, of course, Viṣṇu in his third incarnation.

If the living creatures slain by you in sacrifice assuredly go to heaven,  
Why do you not offer sacrifice with your mother and father, your sons and  
brothers likewise? <sup>1</sup>

When he had said this, the king again attacked him with the question,  
“What does this mean?” He replied,—

Having made a sacrificial post, having slain beasts, having made gory  
mire—

If by this one goes to heaven, by what does one go to hell?

Truth is my sacrificial post, penance indeed is my fire, deeds are my fuel,  
One should offer harmlessness as a burnt-offering, thus one's sacrifice is  
approved by the good.<sup>2</sup>

Reciting these and other speeches uttered in the Çukasainvāda, in front  
of the king, and teaching him that those creatures of harmful nature, who  
preach the gospel of doing harm to living beings, are only Rākshasas in  
Brahman form, he made king Bhoja well-disposed towards the Jaina  
religion. Then, on a certain occasion, the king was walking in the  
Sarasvatikanṭhābharāṇa temple, and he said to the paṇḍit Dhanapāla, who  
was always praising the law of the All-knowing one, “Admitting that  
there once was an All-knowing one, is there now any superiority of know-  
ledge in his sect?” Thereupon Dhanapāla answered, “In the book called  
Arhaccūḍāmaṇi written by the Arhat, there is even now contained informa-  
tion about the real facts with regard to all objects in the three worlds in  
past, present and future.” When he said this, the king was in the ante-  
chamber<sup>3</sup> of the temple, which had three doors. Being eager to cast a slur  
on the Jaina treatises, he said, “By what door are we going out?” Then  
Dhanapāla, proving the truth of the version, “The really auspicious thir-  
teenth<sup>4</sup> is intellect only,” wrote the answer to the king's question on a leaf

<sup>1</sup> See the translation of the Sarva Darçana Saṅgraha by Cowell and Gough, p. 10.

<sup>2</sup> I find in *a* and *β*, *Īsha yajnaḥ sanātanaḥ*. *P* gives *samātanaḥ* (*sic*).

<sup>3</sup> Sanskrit *mandapa*. Dr. Burgess translates it sometimes by “hall,” sometimes by “porch.” On this point Dr. Burgess writes to me as follows: “The shrine (*garbhagriha*) contains the image or *liṅga*. In larger temples there is often in front of it a chamber either partly or entirely open in front, with pillars between it and the hall: this is the *antarāla-mandapa*. In front of this again is a larger apartment with the walls rising to half the height (in smaller temples), the upper part of the height having short pillars to support the roof; usually four, twelve or more pillars according to size. This is the *mandapa* (if there is not a second in the front of it again), or *mahāmandapa*; and if the walls go to the roof, I would call it the Hall. If it is a ‘porch’ open for the upper part of the height, and not very large, I think ‘porch’ is the more descriptive appellation. Again, in front of the *Mahāmandapa* there is not unfrequently a smaller porch, often open, supported by pillars on three sides. This then is the *mandapa* or true porch. There may also be a small pavilion over the Garuḍa or Nandi in front of the temple, which is the *Garuḍa-mandapa* or *Nandi-mandapa*.”

<sup>4</sup> This appears, according to the Bombay editor, to be an improved version of the astrologers' saying, “The thirteenth is all-auspicious.”

of birch-bark, and placed it in an earthen jar, and gave the jar to the betel-box bearer,<sup>1</sup> and then said to the king, "Set on your foot, your Highness." The king thought that he himself had now fallen into a difficulty created for him by the cleverness of Dhanapāla,<sup>2</sup> but considering that Dhanapāla must have fixed on one of the three doors, he had the lotus slab<sup>3</sup> of the ante-chamber removed by masons, and went out by that aperture. Then he broke the jar, and reading the precise description of this mode of exit in those letters inscribed on the birch leaf, he was excited in mind by surprise at that incident, and praised the law of the Jina.

What Viṣṇu cannot see with his two eyes, Çiva with his three, and  
Brahmā the Creator with his eight,  
What Skanda cannot see with his twelve eyes, and the lord of Laṅkā with  
his twice ten,  
What Indra cannot see with his ten hundred, what the multitude cannot  
see even with their countless eyes,  
That thing the wise man sees clearly with the eye of wisdom alone.

Then Dhanapāla, after composing the praise of Rṣabha in fifty verses,<sup>4</sup> showed to the king, once on a time, a eulogistic tablet composed by himself, in the Sarasvatikanṭhābharāṇa temple. On it there was the following stanza :—

He has delivered the earth, he has torn open the enemy's breast,  
He has, with might, taken into his bosom the fortune of the kingdom of  
Bali,  
This young man has achieved in one birth  
What the primeval spirit accomplished in three.<sup>5</sup>

Having read this stanza, the king gave by way of recompense for that tablet a jar of gold. As Dhanapāla was leaving that temple, he saw in the passage<sup>6</sup> of the door, a statue of the god of love clapping hands with his wife Rati,<sup>7</sup> and laughed. When the king asked him the cause of his laughter, the paṇḍit said,—

<sup>1</sup> *Chagikā*° is, of course, a misprint for *sthaḡikā*°.

<sup>2</sup> I find in *a*, *nṛpastu buddhi*°. This, perhaps, gives a better sense.

<sup>3</sup> I find in *a* a simpler reading, viz. *çilām*, which I translate "stone." The king therefore had a stone removed. But P gives *padmaçilām*. Dr. Burgess refers me to Fergusson's *Eastern Architecture*, p. 197, where he figures two "moonstones." Dr. Burgess informs me that these are often carved with lotus-petals and *cakwās*.

<sup>4</sup> According to Bühler (*Introduction to Pāyīlacchī*, p. 9) this work is still extant. Bühler quite accepts Merutuṅga's statement that Dhanapāla was converted from Brahmanism to the Jaina religion.

<sup>5</sup> This is an allusion to the Varāha, Narasiṁha and Vāmana incarnations of Viṣṇu. "The kingdom of Bali" may also be translated "The kingdom of the mighty."

<sup>6</sup> Sanskrit *khattaka*.

<sup>7</sup> For *param* P gives *parasparam*.

“That very Çiva, whose self-restraint is celebrated through the three worlds,

Afflicted with separation, now bears his beloved in his own body,<sup>1</sup>

So we are conquered by this god, are we?” saying this, and patting with his hand

The hand of his beloved, triumphs laughingly the god of love.

Another day, beholding, in the temple of Çiva, Bhr̥ṅgin at his own door, The king asked Dhanapāla, “Why does he look so emaciated?” Dhanapāla answered,—

“If he is sky-clothed, why has he a bow? If he has a bow, away with ashes!

If he has ashes, then why a wife? If he has a wife, then why does he hate Love?”

Beholding thus the inconsistent conduct of his own master, Alas!

Bhr̥ṅgin has his body reduced to a skeleton, and rough, as covered with a close network of veins.<sup>2</sup>

Glorious is the body of Çiva, at the time of his marriage, horripilant, adorned with ashes,

In which the god of love has, as it were, sprouted, though reduced to a cinder.

She eats filth, void of discernment,

She loves her own son, too fondly attached,

With hoof-points and horns she smites creatures,

For what good quality, O king, is the cow worshipped?<sup>3</sup>

If the cow is to be worshipped, because it is able to give milk, why not the female buffalo?

There is not seen in the cow even the slightest superiority to the other.<sup>4</sup>

While Dhanapāla was delighting the king by these and other well-known perfect literary utterances, a certain merchant, announced by the

<sup>1</sup> An allusion to the Ardhanārīça form of Çiva. This god, on one occasion, reduced Kāma, the god of love, to ashes with the fire of his eye.

<sup>2</sup> Professor Leumann informs me that the last four lines are also quoted in the commentary on the first two stanzas in Haribhadra's Aṣṭaka.

<sup>3</sup> It will be observed that Dhanapāla runs a tilt at sacrifices, and the principal Hindu gods, and, at last, attacks the sacred cow.

<sup>4</sup> I find in P an interesting stanza which is omitted in the printed text. It runs as follows:—

*Asatyuttamāṅge katham mūrdhni mālā?*

*Abhāśasya bhāle katham paṭṭabandhaḥ?*

*Akarnasya karṇe katham gītanṛtye?*

*Apādasya pāde katham me praṇāmah?*

As he has no head, how can there be a garland on it?

As he has no forehead, how can it be crowned with a turban?

As he has no ears, how can song and dance sound in his ears?

As he has no feet, how can I fall prostrate at his foot?

warder, entered the hall of audience, and, after bowing to the king, showed some laudatory stanzas on a tablet of wax. When the king asked where they were obtained, he said as follows, "My ship suddenly stopped in mid-ocean, and when the sailors began to sound the sea, they saw submerged in it a temple of Çiva, and though the waves were surging around it, they saw that, inside, it was free from water, and perceiving that there were letters on a certain wall, they applied a tablet of wax to it, in order to find out what they were, and here is the tablet with the letters that came off on it."<sup>1</sup>

When the king heard that, he applied a tablet of clay to the wax tablet, and had the letters<sup>2</sup> that then appeared on it, read by paṇḍits. They ran as follows :—

"Though brought indeed by me, through my association with him from  
boyhood, to the highest pitch of prosperity,  
This king's son is now ashamed, when there is even any conversation  
about me."

Thus vexed, supported by glory, as if by a son, the aged assemblage of  
virtues

Has gone to the ascetic groves on the bank of the sea, as if to perform  
penance.

When the king, eager to conquer the world, was roaming about wrathful to  
every quarter,

Imposing vows of widowhood on the wives of rivals, who took in hand  
the bow,

Not to speak of other ladies, even Rati, through fear, did not permit her  
husband

To carry in his hand his flowery bow, which is clothed with the indigo hue  
of female bees, blind with joy.

King, these wives of your enemies carry, without resting, with the twin  
pitchers of their breasts,

Sighing as they go, in the shape of a stream of tears discharged from the  
revolving buckets of their broad eyes,

Drawn by the ever-moving irrigation wheel of much grief from the deep  
well of thought,

The water of weeping, falling through the difficult path of the bridge of  
the nose, as if through pipes of bamboo.

While these complete stanzas were being read, they came upon this half  
stanza :—

<sup>1</sup> I read with β, *tatkrāntāksaramayī*. The text would mean "containing those beautiful letters."

<sup>2</sup> P, α and β insert *viparītān*, reversed, like the inscription on a seal.

Alas! indeed the results of deeds formerly done  
Are terrible in the case of living creatures.

Though more than a hundred paṇḍits, skilled in completing fragmentary stanzas, tried to produce a second half to this, their compositions would not, in the opinion of the king, harmonize with the first part. Then the paṇḍit Dhanapāla was asked by the king. He produced the following continuation,—

Alas! Alas! those very heads, which gleamed on the head of Çiva,  
Are now rolled about by the feet of kites.<sup>1</sup>

When the king said, “This second half really harmonizes with the first,” the paṇḍit asserted, “If this is not found both in words and sense on the wall that contains this panegyric at Rāmeçvara, I will henceforth renounce the profession of poet until the end of my life.” The moment the king heard Dhanapāla make this vow, he ordered sailors to embark on a vessel, and putting out to sea, they reached that temple in six months, and again applied a tablet of wax to the inscription. When the king saw that they brought this very second half of the stanza, he gave the paṇḍit the reward that he deserved for his cleverness. The numerous stanzas of the fragmentary inscription must be considered as related above according to tradition.

One day the king asked the paṇḍit the reason of his remissness in attendance. He excused himself on the ground that he was engaged in composing the *Tilakamañjarī*.<sup>2</sup> The king was at a loss for some distraction in the last watch of a night of the cold weather, so he got the paṇḍit to bring for him the first original manuscript<sup>3</sup> of the story called *Tilakamañjarī*, which he read, while the paṇḍit explained it. While he was reading it, being afraid that the sentiment<sup>4</sup> of the book might fall, he placed under it a golden plate with a saucer. When the king had finished it, his mind was filled with admiration on account of its wonderful poetical merit, and he said to the paṇḍit, “Make me the hero of this tale, and put *Avantī* in the place of *Vinatā*, and let the shrine of *Mahākāla* take the place of the holy

<sup>1</sup> These two lines are found in the *Bhojaprabandha* (p. 246 of the Bombay edition of 1895), but the second line begins, *Çiva, Çiva, tāni*. This suggests the reading, *Hara, Hara, tāni*. The word which I have translated, “Alas!” means literally, “O Viṣṇu.” In the *Bhojaprabandha* the inscription is found by fishermen on a stone in the *Narmadā*.

<sup>2</sup> Professor Aufrecht, in his *Catalogus Catalogorum*, tells us that this book by Dhanapāla is quoted by Nami on *Kāvyaśaṅkara* 16, 3.

<sup>3</sup> The three MSS. that I have seen, give *pratim*. I find that in Gujarati and Marathi *prata* means a copy of a book.

<sup>4</sup> *Rasa* means “moisture” and also “sentiment” or “poetical flavour.” The action is, probably, to be conceived of as symbolical.

water of Çakrāvātāra,<sup>1</sup> and then I will give you whatever you like to ask." The paṇḍit thereupon exclaimed, "There is as vast a difference between the two sets of things as there is between a fire-fly and the sun ; between a grain of mustard-seed and the Golden Mountain ;<sup>2</sup> between glass and gold ; between a Dhattūra plant and the wishing-tree of paradise ;" and he continued,—

Double-mouthed, speechless, covetous-minded, javelin-like creature, what  
are we to say of you ?  
Weighing gold with guñja-seeds<sup>3</sup> you have not gone to the subterranean  
world.

While the paṇḍit was reproaching him in these words, King Bhoja<sup>4</sup> burnt that original draft in the blazing fire. Then the paṇḍit was doubly dispirited and doubly crestfallen, and he flung himself down on an old couch in the back part of his palace, and lay there sighing deeply. His daughter Bālapaṇḍitā<sup>5</sup> roused him from his stupor with loving attention and made him bathe and eat and drink, and then remembering the first half of the Tilakamañjari from having seen the writing of the first draft of it,<sup>6</sup> she wrote it out, and the second half she composed anew, and so completed the book.

One day, in the assembly-hall of Bhoja, Dhanapāla uttered this stanza,—  
O lord of Dhārā, this Creator, wishing to count the kings of the earth,  
Made a streak in the sky with a piece of chalk to note down you,  
That became this very river of the gods ;<sup>7</sup> because there is not a husband of  
the earth equal to you,  
He let drop the piece of chalk ; this on the surface of the earth is that snowy  
Himālaya.

When the other paṇḍits laughed at this stanza, Dhanapāla said,—

Vālmiki makes the sea to be bridged with rocks brought by the monkeys,  
Vyāsa by the arrows of Arjuna ; and yet they are not charged with exaggeration ;

<sup>1</sup> Mentioned in the Jaina recension of the Siṃhāsana-dvātriṅśikā, fifteenth story. Indische Studien, XV. p. 362.

<sup>2</sup> i.e. Sumeru.

<sup>3</sup> The seeds of the *Abrus precatorius* (*rati* seeds) are used by goldsmiths as their smallest weights. They are red with a black spot. For *tujjha kiñ*,  $\alpha$  and  $\beta$  read *kiñjarañ*.

<sup>4</sup> I read *Çrī Bhojas*<sup>a</sup> for *Çrī Bhoje*. The words are omitted in  $\alpha$  and  $\beta$ . It is clear that the king burnt the book.

<sup>5</sup> Infant female paṇḍit.

<sup>6</sup> The reading of C, D and  $\alpha$ , *prathamādarçalekhanāt* means "from having written the first draft of it."

<sup>7</sup> i.e. the Ganges.

We say a certain thing which is to the point ; nevertheless loudly  
Laughs this people, shooting out the mouth : we bow to thee, O established  
reputation.<sup>1</sup>

Once, when a paṇḍit said to the king, "Listen, O king, to the story of  
the Mahābhārata," that excellent follower of the Jina said to the  
paṇḍit,—

Of the hermit Vyāsa, born from an unmarried woman, who outraged the  
widowhood of his brother's wife,  
The five heroes, the Pāṇḍavas, were the sons of the son of an erring widow,  
and were themselves born in adultery ;  
These very five men are said to have had one wife between them :<sup>2</sup> if the  
story, that celebrates them,

Is holy, and brings blessings to men, what other way is the way of evil ?

The poem of praise written by the hermit Āobhana in twenty-four stanzas  
is well known.<sup>3</sup>

When the king said to Dhanapāla, "Have you now any narrative<sup>4</sup> or  
other work in the course of composition ?" Dhanapāla answered,—

Fearing that her throat might be burnt with hot sour gruel,<sup>5</sup>  
Sarasvatī has left my mouth,  
Therefore I have no poetical faculty remaining,  
O thou whose hand is busy in seizing the hair of thy enemies' Fortune !  
Who, indeed, is not refreshed by taking to heart, full of charm,<sup>6</sup>  
The language of Dhanapāla, and the sandal-wood of the Malaya mountain ?

On another occasion, the king called together into one place, representa-  
tives of all the sects, and asked them the way of salvation. They revealed  
in their speeches partiality for their own particular sects, but being united  
by a desire to find out the true way, they fixed as a limit a period of six

<sup>1</sup> The meaning seems to be: Vālmīki the author of the Rāmāyaṇa, and Vyāsa the author of the Mahābhārata, as their reputation is established, escape criticism.

<sup>2</sup> I conjecture *samānājānaya*° for *samānājātaya*°.

<sup>3</sup> This work of Āobhana is extant according to Bühler (Introduction to Pāiyalacchi, p. 9).

<sup>4</sup> Sanskrit *prabandha*.

<sup>5</sup> Hoernle, in his note on page 108 of his translation of the Bower Manuscript, tells us that *āraṇāla* is the same as *kāñcika* or *dhānyāmla*. On page 14 he speaks of it as a kind of sour gruel made with unhusked rice. It is clear that Dhanapāla was under medical treatment. This stanza is found in the Bhojaprabandha, p. 228 (Bombay edition of 1895).

<sup>6</sup> *Rasa* means "juice," and also poetical sentiment. This couplet is found in the Kīrtikaumudī of Somāvara, I. 16. Dhanapāla composed Sanskrit poetry and a Sanskrit Koṣa, and also the Pāiyalacchi for his sister Sundarī. (Bühler's Introduction to the Pāiyalacchi, pp. 7 and 10.) It is, unfortunately, probable that Meruttugna's account of Dhanapāla's adventures at Bhoja's court is not founded on fact. (Bühler o.c. p. 9.) Dhanapāla was really a contemporary of Muñja or Vākpati-rāja II. (Bühler and Zachariae, Navasāhasāṅkacarita, p. 42.)



months, and devoted themselves to propitiating the goddess Sarasvatī. At the end of a certain night, the goddess roused up the king, saying, "Are you awake?"

You must listen to the religion of the Buddhists, but you must practise that of the Jains,

You must observe in ordinary life that of the Vedas, you must meditate on the supreme<sup>1</sup> Īiva."

Or, "You must meditate on the undecaying place."<sup>2</sup> Having repeated this verse to the king, and the representatives of the sects, the goddess Sarasvatī disappeared. Then they composed this couplet, which continued the sense of the preceding one:<sup>3</sup>—

Religion is characterized by harmlessness, and one must honour the goddess Sarasvatī,

By meditation one obtains salvation; this is the view of all the sectaries.

Thus they gave the king a safe decision.

Then a cook, living in that town, named Īitā,<sup>4</sup> when a pilgrim, a native of a foreign country, had arrived on the solar festival, with food to be cooked,<sup>5</sup> and had come to her house, after tasting, at a tank, oil of Panic seed, and she saw that he had died from that emetic, being tormented with fear that a stigma would attach to her on account of his being possessed of wealth, swallowed that very emetic, in order that she might die. When she persisted in this endeavour, there was produced in her intellectual ability; and so, after she had to a certain extent studied the three Vedas, the Raghuvamāṇa, the Kāmaçāstra of Vātsyāyana, and the writings of Āṇakya on morals and the principles of government, she went with her daughter, named Vijayā, who was in her fresh youth and learned, and adorning with her presence and that of her daughter the royal assembly-hall, said to king Bhoja,—

His valour extends even to the extirpation of the race of his enemies, his glory over the vessel of the universe,

His munificence extends to satisfying the wants of petitioners, as this earth extends to the sea,

<sup>1</sup> I read *dhyātavyaḥ* with  $\alpha$ ,  $\beta$  and P.

<sup>2</sup> This is omitted in  $\alpha$  and  $\beta$ , but P has *dhyātavyaṁ padam akshayaṁ*. This I translate.

<sup>3</sup> I read *yugmaçlokaṁ* with  $\alpha$  and  $\beta$ .

<sup>4</sup> For some account of the poetess Īitā or Sitā, see Navasāhasaṅkacarita, by Bühler and Zacharia, p. 30, note 2. They refer to Pischel in Festgruss an Böhtlingk. The poetess Sitā is mentioned in the Bhojaprabandha (edition of 1895, Kalyāna, Bombay), pp. 88, 89, 147, 204, and some verses by her are given.

<sup>5</sup> Here I follow  $\alpha$ , which reads *kārpaṭikāṁ pākāyāçanam upanīya sūryaparvanī*. P has the same reading, but *pākāyāçanam*;  $\beta$  also, but *upādāya* for *upanīya*. The words seem to have been misplaced in the text by the printers. But  $\beta$  goes on to represent that the cook Īitā ate the food, not the oil. I find in  $\alpha$ , *āsādya* for *āsādya*. All the MSS. give *tasmīn sthīre*, which I do not understand.

His faith extends to the measure of the two feet of the husband<sup>1</sup> of the daughter of the mountain,  
But the other virtues of the glorious king Bhoja extend without limit.

Then king Bhoja made Vijayā an inmate of his harem.<sup>2</sup> Once on a time, being touched by the rays of the moon within the lattice, she repeated this :—

Cease, O planet adorned with a spot, this sport of touching people with thy rays,  
Thou art not fit for touching, being the remains of the adornment of the person of the husband of Caṇḍī.<sup>3</sup>

On this point much is to be said, but it must be learnt from tradition. Here ends the story of the learned Çītā.

Then two paṇḍits, related as sister's husband and wife's brother,<sup>4</sup> who were called Mayūra and Bāṇa, and were engaged in a perpetual rivalry on account of their own respective literary merits, had obtained an honourable position in the king's court. One day the paṇḍit Bāṇa went to his sister's house at night, to pay her a visit, and as he was lying down at the door, he heard his sister's husband trying to conciliate her, and paying attention to what was being said, he managed to catch these lines :—

The night is almost gone, and the emaciated moon is, so to speak, wasting away,  
This lamp, having come into the power of sleep, seems drowsily to nod,  
Haughtiness is generally appeased by submission, but, alas ! you do not, even in spite of submission, abandon your anger,—

When Bāṇa had heard these three lines repeated over and over again by Mayūra, he added a fourth line :—

Cruel one, your heart also is hard from immediate proximity to your breast.

When Mayūra's wife heard this fourth line from the mouth of her brother, being angry and ashamed, she cursed him, saying, "Become a leper." Owing to the might of the vow of his sister, who observed strictly her vow of fidelity to her husband, Bāṇa was seized with the malady of leprosy from that very moment. In the morning he went into the

<sup>1</sup> i.e. Çiva, the husband of Pārvatī.

<sup>2</sup> I have omitted the poetical effusions to which Vijayā gave vent on this particular occasion.

<sup>3</sup> This is probably an allusion to the fact that Çiva wears the moon's crescent round or above his central eye. Caṇḍī = Pārvatī. The word translated by "remains of the adornment" is *nirmālyam*. The word that means "ray," also means "hand."

<sup>4</sup> *Bhāvukaçālakau*. It is clear that *çālakau* = *syāla*. It is probable that these two poets lived in the time of Çriharṣa, 606 to 648 A.D.

assembly-hall of the king, with his body covered with a rug. When Mayūra, with a soft voice, like a peacock,<sup>1</sup> said to him in the Prākṛit language, "Ten million blessings on you!" the king, who was foremost among the discerning, looked at Bāṇa with astonishment, and thought in his own mind that Bāṇa would, on a future occasion, make use of some device for propitiating the deity; but Bāṇa rose up from his seat in the assembly-hall utterly abashed, and setting up a post on the border of the town, he placed under it a fire-pit, full of charcoal made of Khadira wood, himself mounted on a palanquin<sup>2</sup> at the end of the post, and began uttering a hymn of praise to the sun-god.<sup>3</sup> At the end of every stanza he cut away, with his knife, one support of the palanquin,<sup>4</sup> and at the end of five stanzas five supports had been cut away by him, and he was left clinging to the end of the palanquin. While the sixth stanza was being recited, the sun-god appeared in visible form, and owing to his favour, Bāṇa at once acquired a body of the colour of pure-gold.<sup>5</sup> On a subsequent day he came with his body anointed with golden sandal-wood and clothed in a magnificent white garment. When the king saw the healthy condition of his body, Mayūra represented that it was all due to the favour of the sun-god. Then Bāṇa pierced him in a vital spot with an arrow-like speech.<sup>6</sup> "If the propitiating of a god is an easy matter, then do you also display some wonderful performance in this line." When he said this, that Mayūra aimed<sup>7</sup> at him the following retort, "What need has a healthy man of one skilled in the science of medicine? Nevertheless, so much I will do. You, after cutting your hands and feet<sup>8</sup> with a knife to confirm your words, propitiated the sun with your sixth stanza, but I will propitiate Bhavānī with the sixth syllable of my first stanza." Having made this promise, he entered the back part of the temple of Caṇḍikā sitting in a comfortable litter, and when he uttered the sixth syllable of the poem beginning, "Do not interrupt your coquetry,"<sup>9</sup> by the favour of Caṇḍikā visibly manifested his tender body seemed to be entirely renewed, and then he looked at the temple of the goddess fronting it,<sup>10</sup> and

<sup>1</sup> *Mayūra* means peacock. I read *prati* after *taṁ* with  $\alpha$ ,  $\beta$  and P.

<sup>2</sup> Sanskrit *śikhakā*.

<sup>3</sup> Mayūra, not Bāṇa, is the reputed author of the *Sūryaṇṭaka*, printed recently in the *Kāvya-mālā* (No. 19, 1889), with the commentary of Tribhuvanapāla. The poem will also be found in Häberlin's *Anthology*.

<sup>4</sup> In the Sanskrit *śikhakapadaṁ*.

<sup>5</sup> I find in  $\alpha$  and  $\beta$ , *°kāyakaṁtiḥ*, the beauty of a body of pure gold.

<sup>6</sup> *Bāṇa* means arrow.

<sup>7</sup> Literally, "put it on the string like an arrow."

<sup>8</sup> *Ca* should no doubt follow *pāṇi*, as in  $\alpha$  and  $\beta$ . The author seems to have followed here a different version of the story.

<sup>9</sup> This poem is called the *Caṇḍiṇṭaka* and is attributed to Bāṇa, not Mayūra. It has been published in the *Kāvya-mālā*, beginning in No. 19 (Bombay, 1887).

<sup>10</sup> The reading of the text is supported here by P and  $\alpha$ . It will be observed that the Jaina teacher afterwards faces the temple.

the courtiers, headed by the king, came to meet him, and uttered the cry of "Bravo! bravo!" and so with great jubilation he entered the city.

At this conjuncture, the law of the false believers being triumphant, some principal men, who hated the true religion, said to the king, "If among the adherents of the Jaina system any such display of power<sup>1</sup> takes place, then establish the white-robed Jainas in your territory, but if not, then banish them." No sooner had this been said than the king summoned the teacher, Mānatuṅga, and said, "Show some miracle of your deities." He said, "As our deities are emancipated from the bonds of existence, what miracle is possible for them here? Nevertheless, I will show you a manifestation of the power of their servants, the lower gods, that will astonish the universe." When he had said this, he caused himself to be bound with forty-four fetters, and placing himself in the back part of the temple of Rṣabha, who was worshipped in that city, he composed a new hymn of praise, full of spells, beginning, "Having duly worshipped the two feet of the Jina illuminating the brightness of the prostrate crest-jewels of devoted gods,"<sup>2</sup> and with each stanza of the hymn one fetter broke, until he had completed the hymn with a number of stanzas equal to the number of fetters. Then he faced the temple and preached the law.

Here ends the story of the great teacher Mānatuṅga.

Then, one day, the king began to praise the learning of the paṇḍits of his country, and to blame the land of Gujarāt for the stupidity of its people, when a representative of the king of Gujarāt<sup>3</sup> said to him, "Not one of your distinguished paṇḍits is fit to be weighed in the balance even with a man of our country who has been a cowherd from his childhood." Then king Bhīma, having been informed of this occurrence, sent to king Bhoja's capital, once on a time, a paṇḍit dressed as a cowherd,<sup>4</sup> and a *hetæra*. When they arrived there, the cowherd was taken before the king in the early morning, and Bhoja ordered him to say something, so he said,—

Bhoja, tell me what kind of fitness has this ornament on your neck,  
Why do you place a barrier between Lakṣmī on your breast and Sarasvatī  
in your mouth?<sup>5</sup>

This is what the Sarasvatikanṭhābharāṇa cowherd said.<sup>6</sup> Then the king

<sup>1</sup> Here P gives *prabhāvavibhavaḥ*. I follow the text.

<sup>2</sup> This is the beginning of the Bhaktāmarastotra. The feet of the Jina increase the brightness of the crest-jewels of the immortals. I have added a few words taken from the poem, to complete the sense. It contains forty-four stanzas.

<sup>3</sup> *Sthānapuruṣa*. Forbes (*Rās Mālā*, p. 188) gives "man of the country" as the equivalent of this word. It is clear that this man was a native of Gujarāt. Perhaps it might be translated "consul."

<sup>4</sup> I read *gopa*° for *go*° with P and β.

<sup>5</sup> According to Hemacandra (iv. 352) *Lacchihī* must be locative singular. In a and β I find *uri Lacchihī muhi Sarasatīhi*. P gives *nibaddhī kāmīn*.

<sup>6</sup> These words are not in a and β.

was astonished at his speech. When the assembly-hall was adorned with visitors, king Bhoja, seeing in front of him the *hetaera* fully attired, addressed to her this unexpected speech, "Why here?" Then that fair one, being a storehouse of intellect, chosen by Sarasvatī as a vessel of her favour, as if through partiality for her own kind, resembling incarnate cleverness,<sup>1</sup> understood the real meaning of his remark though it was obscure, and returned this answer to the king, "They are asking." The face of king Bhoja was expanded at her appropriate reply, and he ordered three lakhs to be given to her. Though he said it to the superintendent of the treasury three times, he, not understanding the real state of affairs, did not give the money. Then the king said out loud to him, "Out of regard for the good of my country, and owing to the utter niggardliness of my character,<sup>2</sup> I order only three lakhs to be given to her, but from the point of view of generosity even a kingdom<sup>3</sup> would be too small a present." When the king said this, the superintendent of the treasury, at the instigation of all the courtiers, asked the king the connection between the two utterances, and received this answer,<sup>4</sup> "Observing that the two lines of collyrium applied to the outer corners of her two eyes had simultaneously extended themselves to her ears, I said, 'Why here?' But she, in accordance with the rule of the Prakṛit grammar,<sup>5</sup> that the plural should be used instead of the dual, answered, 'They are asking.' She, in fact, gave as her answer that her two eyes had gone disguised as collyrium-streaks to her ears, to inquire whether I was the very king Bhoja that the ears had previously heard about. So she is simply Sarasvatī manifested in visible form. Accordingly, what are three lakhs by way of recompense to her?" Then, as he had uttered the words "three lakhs" three times (in speaking to the superintendent of the treasury), he caused nine lakhs to be given to her.

Now that king, even from his childhood, was unremitting in the practice of virtue, because he recognized the truth embodied in the following lines:—

If these people only saw death, which is impending over their heads,  
Even their food would give them no pleasure, much less the doing what  
they ought not to do.

One day, just after he had woke up from sleep, a learned man came to

<sup>1</sup> I substitute with *a* and *β* and *P*, *ṣarīrīnī* for *śivomāñī*.

<sup>2</sup> I find in *a*, *deṣasāmyāt prakṛtikārpānyāt lakṣatrayaṁ*. I have followed the printed text.

<sup>3</sup> Even a rich kingdom according to *a*.

<sup>4</sup> I read with *P*, *prechannityabhidādhe*. This gives a better sense than the printed text.

<sup>5</sup> *P* and *β* insert *sūtra* between *prakṛta* and *lakṣaṇāt*, "according to the direction of the Prakṛit Sūtra." I find *sūtra* similarly inserted in *a*. The Sūtra will be found on page 157 of Cowell's Edition of Vararuci's Prakṛit Prakāṣa.

him and said, "The lord of the dead<sup>1</sup> is approaching you mounted on a swift horse, consequently you must be prompt in the practice of virtue." Accordingly he gave every day an appropriate gift to the learned author of this speech. One day he sat down on the throne in the hall of audience in the afternoon, and he threw a pān-leaf into his mouth and devoured it, before the areca-nut and other ingredients were presented from the store in the betel-box. When those who knew the usual etiquette asked him why he did that, he said, "As men are within the teeth of death, what they give and what they enjoy may be said to be their own, but about the rest there is a doubt, and so—

Every day, when one gets up from one's bed, one must consider what good action is to be done to-day,

The sun will go to its setting, taking away a part of one's life.

People ask what news there is with me, saying, 'Is there health in your body?'

How can health be ours? Life departs day by day.

One should do to-day the duty of to-morrow, and in the forenoon the duty of the afternoon,

For death will not consider whether one has done one's work or not.<sup>2</sup>

Is death dead, is old age decrepit, are disasters destroyed?

Are diseases then arrested,<sup>3</sup> that these people are so merry?"

Here ends the story of the four couplets on impermanence.

Then, once on a time, king Bhoja asked king Bhīma by the mouth of an ambassador, for four things. The first thing exists in this world and not in the next; the second thing exists in the next world and not in this; the third thing exists in both; the fourth thing is non-existent in both. The learned were puzzled about the matter. So a drum was beaten round the city, and by the advice of a *hetaera*, (who solved the problem), the four things were sent, in the shape of a *hetaera*, an ascetic, an exceedingly liberal man, and a gambler. Here ends the story about the four things.

On another occasion, king Bhoja, as he was roaming about at night in search of adventures, heard the following couplet being recited by a certain poor man's wife:—

Ten conditions are allotted to every man, so runs the popular proverb that we hear,

But my husband has only one condition, the remaining nine have been obtained by others.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Yama, the god of death, who generally rides on a buffalo.

<sup>2</sup> The first three couplets will be found in Böhlingk's *Indische Sprüche* with slight variations: 1 is No. 1204, 2 is No. 5867, 3 is No. 6595. Böhlingk translates *kim adya sukrtāni krtāni* by "welches gute Werk wird heute vollbracht?"

<sup>3</sup> I follow the reading of the printed text. But perhaps *vyādhitāḥ*, the reading of *α*, *β*, and apparently *C*, is better. This would mean, "Are diseases diseased?"

<sup>4</sup> I have endeavoured to translate the reading of the printed text, but I find that

The king, feeling pity for her miserable condition, summoned her husband to the court in the morning, and thinking of something that would be to her advantage in the long run, gave him two citrons, putting in each of them a jewel worth a lakh, in order to benefit him. He, not knowing that fact, sold them for a price in the vegetable market, and the man who bought them gave those two citrons to some one as a present, and he gave them to king Bhoja.

Even if a jewel rolled about by the great waves of the tide has reached a mountain brook,  
It again sets out on its journey and returns to the ocean, the home of jewels.

Considering this, king Bhoja came to the conclusion that fortune was right,<sup>1</sup> for,—

Even when the rains gratify the whole world, the *cātaka* will certainly not receive  
One drop of water, for how is to be attained the unattainable?

Here ends the story of the citrons.

Then, on another occasion, the king, having secretly taught a pet parrot, during a certain night, the words, "Alone is not becoming," instructed it that it was next morning to utter these words in the assembly of paṇḍits.<sup>2</sup> Accordingly, when the parrot said this, the king asked the paṇḍits what the parrot meant, but they, not being able to solve the problem, asked for a term of six months. Then Vararuci, the head of them, wandering about in a foreign land, in order to discover the solution, was thus addressed by a certain herdsman, "I will tell your master the answer to the puzzle, but I cannot on account of my age carry this dog,<sup>3</sup> and on account of my affection for him I cannot leave him." When he said this, Vararuci put the dog upon his own shoulder, and taking the herdsman with him, went to the audience-hall of the king, and informed him that the herdsman would give him an answer to his riddle. Then the king asked the herdsman the meaning of that very utterance of the parrot. He answered, "In this world of living creatures, O king, covetousness alone is not becoming." The king again

in P the second line ends thus, *avarī te corihīn biddha*, those remaining ones have been taken by thieves. The reading of *a* and *β* gives the following sense, "The gods have framed for men ten states apiece, but my husband has only one, the (other) nine have been stolen by thieves." I take *avarī* as equivalent to *uparī*.

<sup>1</sup> The word "fortune" is omitted in *a* and *β*. The passage will therefore mean, "Reflecting on the case of the poor man, the king considered the statement in the above couplet to be true."

<sup>2</sup> I have adopted *paṇḍitasabhāyān* from *a*.

<sup>3</sup> I find in *a* and *β*, *svānaçāvan*, this puppy.

asked him, "Why?" He answered, "That a Brahman carries on his shoulder a dog, which he ought not even to touch, is a manifestation of covetousness; <sup>1</sup> therefore covetousness is not becoming."

Then, on another occasion, the king, roaming about at night accompanied only by a friend, being afflicted with thirst, went to the house of a *hetaera*, and by the mouth of his friend asked for water. Then the *çambhalī* <sup>2</sup> with genuine affection, after some delay, brought a cocoanut-shell full of sugar-cane juice, not without distress. When the king's friend asked her the cause of her distress, she said, "In old times a stalk of sugar-cane contained enough juice in all to fill a pitcher together with a *vāhaṭikā*, <sup>3</sup> but now that the king's mind is evilly disposed towards his subjects, <sup>4</sup> for a long time the stalk of a sugar-cane has yielded only enough juice to fill a *vāhaṭikā*; this is the cause of my distress." When the king heard that, he reflected that, when a certain merchant exhibited a great play in the temple of Çiva, he had formed the intention of plundering him, and that so the *çambhalī*'s speech <sup>5</sup> was true; then he went back from that place, and after reaching his own palace, went to sleep. The next day the king, having become full of compassion for his subjects, went to the house of the *hetaera*: and then the *çambhalī* said, "It is evident from the sign, that there is abundance of sugar-cane juice, that the king is now loving to his subjects." So the king was pleased with her. Here ends the story of the sugar-cane juice.

Then the king was in the habit of going continually to worship his family goddess that was set up in a temple in a suburb of the city of Dhārā, and one day the goddess, who had been won over by his devotion, appearing in visible form, said to the king, "The enemies' army has come near, so depart quickly." With these words she dismissed him. Immediately he saw that he was surrounded by the Gujarātī soldiers. He galloped off on his horse, which was of surpassing swiftness, and as he was entering the gate of the city of Dhārā, two Gujarātī cavalry soldiers, named Ālūya and Akolūya, three their bows over his neck and saying, <sup>6</sup> "So near have you come to being killed," let him go.

<sup>1</sup> The covetousness of Brahmans is a perpetual subject of satire in Sanskrit literature. We learn from page 171 of the translation of the *Harṣa Carita* by Cowell and Thomas, that a "Brahman without greed" is hard to find.

<sup>2</sup> i. q. *kullānī*.

<sup>3</sup> I presume that *vāhaṭikā* is the Gujarātī *vāṭī*, which has the following meanings: 1, a saucer-form vessel of metal; 2, a half of a cocoanut-shell; anything hollow like a cup.

<sup>4</sup> I find in  $\alpha$ , *viruddhe nṛpamānase*, and in  $\beta$ , *viruddhamānase nṛpe*. I follow the latter, as P gives *viruddhamānase pe*. It is clear that *nṛ°* has fallen out. No doubt the *visarga* after *rasa* should be deleted as in P.

<sup>5</sup> I find in P *advacastathyam eveti*.

<sup>6</sup> I read *vadadbhyaṃ* with  $\alpha$ . There is a misprint in the text.



King Bhoja, who seemed to think, "It is not strung," but when the strung  
bow reached his neck,  
He saw that it was strung, being hurled from his horse.<sup>1</sup>

Here ends the story of the cavalry soldiers.

Then, on another occasion, that very king, returning from his royal circuit, entered the gate of the city with his horse let go at pleasure,<sup>2</sup> and frightened the people. As the spectators were running in all directions, the vibration of the earth produced by their trampling threw down on the ground and broke the vessels of a woman who sold buttermilk; and the king, seeing that her face was as radiant as ever, though the milk was running like the stream of a river, said to her, "What is the reason that you are not despondent?" When the king asked her this question, she said,—

Having slain a king, and having beheld my husband bitten<sup>3</sup> by a serpent,  
I became by the power of fate a *hetaera* in a foreign country,  
Having married my own son, I then entered the funeral fire:  
Being now the wife of a cowherd, how can I mourn for buttermilk.

They said that from that place a great river<sup>4</sup> took its rise.

Here ends the story of the cowherd's wife.

One day, the king, being happy, was joyously practising the art of archery, by aiming at a small rock. At that moment the teacher Candana, wearing the dress of a Çvetāmbara, came to have an interview with him, and as he was one who pleased by his ready wit, he uttered an appropriate saying,—

Let this rock be pierced again and again, but henceforth, king, be merciful,  
and abandon  
Your delight in the vicious custom of piercing stones by way of sport, with  
the bow,

<sup>1</sup> This couplet is not found in *a* and *β*. It is found in a different form in the *Kīrtikaumudī* of Someçvara (ed. Kāthavaṭe), ii. 18.

*Asau guṇīti matveva Bhojaḥ kaṅṭham upēyusā  
Dhanuṣā guṇinā yasya paçyannaçvān na pātitaḥ.*

By whose strung bow, though it reached his neck, Bhoja, when flying, was not hurled from his horse, as if supposing that he was virtuous (or strung). The bow belonged of course to Bhīma. *P* reads *yaçca paçyannaçvānīpātitaḥ*. It is evident that Merutunga quotes from memory.

<sup>2</sup> The text has *sumukhamuktena*, but *P*, *a*, and *β* have *sukhamuktena*. This I have followed.

<sup>3</sup> I read *daṣṭam* with *P*.

<sup>4</sup> I think that we ought to read *mahānadī*. I find in *a*, *mahīpatir mahīyasi nadī*, and in *β*, *mahīpatir mahīyasi nadī*. *P* omits the passage. But *mahī*, the reading of the printed text, may perhaps be justified by the *Cullavagga* of the *Vinaya Pīṭaka* (ix. 1, 4) where a river *Mahī* is mentioned. (Fick, *Die Sociale Gliederung*, p. 11.)

If this amusement is allowed to extend further, you will make the family of principal mountains<sup>1</sup> the butt of your archery, Then, O best of kings, the earth, losing its supports, will go to the bottom of Hades.

The king was astonished at the wonderful poetical ability displayed in this stanza, but, after reflecting a little, he said, "The fact that you, being one who has entirely mastered all the sacred books, have uttered a line beginning 'Dhārā is ruined,'—that forebodes some great misfortune."

And thus it came to pass.

The queen of the country of Dāhala, Dematī by name, was a great witch, and once on a time, when she was about to have a child, she kept continually asking the astrologers, "In what auspicious moment must a son be born in order to be lord of the whole earth?" Then they carefully considered the matter, and said, "When the benign planets are in the signs that contain their exaltation, and are at the same time in the first, fourth, seventh, and tenth houses, which are called centres, and the malign planets are in the third, sixth and eleventh houses,<sup>2</sup>—a son, that is born in such a moment, will be king of the whole earth." When she heard that response, she delayed, by employing magic arts, the birth of her child for sixteen watches beyond the natural day for her delivery, and in the moment fixed by the astrologers she gave birth to a son named Karna. But owing to the injury to her health produced by thus delaying the birth, she died in the eighth watch. Because Karna was born in an auspicious moment, he conquered by his valour the circle of the regions, he was obeyed by one hundred and thirty-six kings, he attained great excellence in the four royal sciences, and he was praised by Vidyāpati and other great poets. Thus the stanzas ran :—

<sup>1</sup> There are seven principal mountains in India. The mountains are held to support the earth. But *dhvastādhārā*, if resolved into two words, means "Dhārā is ruined."

<sup>2</sup> I owe this translation to Professor Jacobi of Bonn. He thinks it impossible that the benign planets should stand in the *ucca* signs and at the same time in the "centres," since the former are so disposed that they could not well come into the position of the "centres." At the same time it appears that the horoscope under consideration is derived from the rules of the Jātaka. For in the *Laghujātaka*, ix. 23, it is said *triprabhṛtibhīr uccasthāir nṛpavañṣabhavā bhavanti rājānah*. By means of three or more planets in their exaltation, children born in a royal race become kings; and ix. 25—

*Ekō' pi nṛpatījanmaprādo grāhaḥ svocagah suhrāḍṛṣṭah  
Balibhiḥ kēndropagatais tripṛabṛtibhīr avanipālabhavaḥ.*

Even one planet in exaltation and looked at by a friendly planet will produce the birth of a king; three or more powerful planets in centres will produce an emperor of the earth. Professor Jacobi refers me to his dissertation, "De astrologia Indica 'horā' appellatā originibus;" Bonn, 1872. I have translated his Latin into English.

On the face was the hanging of a necklace, on the two eyes the weight of  
 a bracelet,  
 On the hips ornamental tattooing, and the two hands were marked with  
 the patch;  
 In the forest, O king Karṇa, why has this strange style of adornment  
 Now, alas! befallen the wives of thy enemies, owing to the might of  
 destiny?<sup>1</sup>  
 Abandoning the breast of Viṣṇu too much engrossed by the *gopīs*,  
 The goddess of Fortune dwells in your eyes, mistaking them, I think, for  
 lotuses,  
 Since, O fortunate king Karṇa, wherever goes the spray of your eyebrow,  
 wavy like a creeper,  
 There is broken the seal of poverty, brittle through fear.

In this way was king Karṇa praised. One day that king sent a message to Bhoja by the mouth of an ambassador, "In your city there are 104 temples built by your orders, and even so many in number are your poetical compositions, and so many are your titles: therefore conquer me in a battle with a force of four arms,<sup>2</sup> or in single combat, or as a disputant in the four sciences, or in the faculty of munificence, and become a possessor of 105 titles; otherwise, by conquering you, I shall become the lord of 137 kings." When king Bhoja received this message, the lotus of his face became faded, and reflecting that the king of the city of Benares was apt to be victorious in every way, and considering himself as good as conquered, he humbly solicited him, and got him to agree to the following arrangement, "I in Avanti, and Karṇa in Benares, shall, on the same day, and at the same moment, select the sites<sup>3</sup> of two temples fifty cubits in height, and begin to build them, running them up in rivalry with one another, and on whichever king's temple the finial<sup>4</sup> and the flag shall first be set up, on that day of festival the rival king must abandon his umbrella

<sup>1</sup> The expression translated "ornamental tattooing" may also mean "a row of leaves," and the word translated "patch" may also refer to the Tilaka tree. The word *kaykaṇa*, which means "bracelet," may also, according to the smaller Petersburg Dictionary, mean "drops of water," and *hāra*, which means "necklace," may also mean "deprivation," "removing," "loss."

<sup>2</sup> i.e. elephants, chariots, cavalry and infantry. The four sciences are the triple Veda, logic and metaphysics, the science of government, and practical arts.

<sup>3</sup> See Hillebrandt, *Ritual-Litteratur*, p. 80. "A trench is dug of the depth of the knee, and the earth taken out is shovelled in again. If the earth stands above the level of the ground, the site is good, if it is even with the surrounding soil, it is tolerable, if not, bad. Another method is to fill the trench with water over-night; if the water runs away, the site is bad." The authority will be found in *Āṅvalāyana's Gṛhya Sūtra*, ii. 8. It will be observed that *Āṅvalāyana* uses the words *garta* and *paripūrayet*.

<sup>4</sup> Dr. Burgess informs me that *kalaṣa* is really the finial of the spire, which is shaped like a vase or urn. The setting up of the flagstaff is sometimes a separate function from the setting up of the *kalaṣa*, according to Mr. Cousens.

and chowries,<sup>1</sup> and mount an elephant, and come in." When this agreement of king Bhoja, which was quite in accordance with Karṇa's wishes, reached that sovereign, he was eager to defeat king Bhoja in that very way, and so both temples were begun separately on the same day, in the same moment. Karṇa, who was having his own temple constructed<sup>2</sup> with all diligence, asked his architect, "Tell me, in one day between the rising and the setting of the sun, how much work can be run up?"<sup>3</sup> Then that architect on the fourteenth day, which was a day on which the Vedas are not read,<sup>4</sup> began there eleven temples, seven cubits in height, at dawn, and had them finished by the end of the day, as far as the setting up of the finial, and showed them to the king. The king was delighted in his heart with all that despatch of work, and as the finishing touches<sup>5</sup> were being put to his temple, he diligently imposed the finial on his own temple, and ascertained a lucky moment for setting up the flag, and in accordance with that promise summoned king Bhoja by an ambassador. Then king Bhoja, sovereign of the country of Mālava, being afraid of breaking his promise, and not being able to go in the required way, remained silent. Then king Karṇa, as soon as he had set up the flag on the temple, set out with the above-mentioned number of kings,<sup>6</sup> to make war on king Bhoja, and at the same time he invited Bhīma to attack the country of Mālava in the rear, promising him the half of Bhoja's kingdom. Then king Bhoja, being attacked by those two kings, lost his pride, as a snake, overcome with a charm, loses its poison. And then a sudden corporal malady took hold of Bhoja, and king Bhīma, as all the mountain passes and fords were closed, and his own officers refused to allow any foreigners to approach him, applied by means of one of his servants to his own diplomatic agent Dāmara, who was in the court of king Karṇa, in order to ascertain the condition of Bhoja. Dāmara taught the servant a *gāthā*, and sent him off, and so he came to the assembly-hall of king Bhīma. The *gāthā* ran as follows:—

The fruit of the mango is fully ripe; the stalk is loose; the wind is high;  
The branch is withering; we do not know the end of the business.

This *gāthā* induced king Bhīma to remain quiet.

Then Bhoja, as his journey to the other world drew nigh, performed the

<sup>1</sup> The distinctive emblems of a monarch.

<sup>2</sup> I read *nirmāpayan* with P:  $\beta$  has *nirmāyayan*;  $\alpha$ , *nirmāpayan*. I omit *tatra* with these MSS.

<sup>3</sup> Here P,  $\alpha$  and  $\beta$  read *karmasthāyo*. I have attempted to translate the text. I suppose *kiryān karmasthāyo* would mean, "How much construction can be done?"

<sup>4</sup> *Mānu*, iv. 113.

<sup>5</sup> Perhaps we should read *kapālabandhe* with  $\alpha$  and  $\beta$ . This might mean, "as the construction of the dome of his temple was going on." I do not understand the printed text.

<sup>6</sup> *Viz.* 136.

religious duties appropriate to the occasion, and gave the following order, "After my death, my hands are to be placed outside my chariot," and then went to heaven.

Whose hand, O wife and son? Alas! whose hand, O all my house?  
Alone I come, alone I go, having rubbed my two hands and feet.

This speech of Bhoja's was repeated to the people by a *hetaera*, and Karṇa, hearing of that occurrence, broke down the fort and took all the wealth of Bhoja. Then Bhīma sent the following order to Ḍāmara, "You must either give me the half of the kingdom stipulated for by me, obtaining it from king Karṇa, or your own head."<sup>1</sup> Accordingly, desirous of carrying out the orders of his sovereign, he entered the royal pavilion with thirty-two foot-soldiers, and took Karṇa prisoner,<sup>2</sup> when he was asleep in the middle of the day. Then he put in one division a shrine of gods, of which the chief were Ḍiva, the Ḍālagrāma stone and Gaṇeṇa,<sup>3</sup> and in the other he placed all the property of the kingdom,<sup>4</sup> and said to the king, "Take whichever half you please." Having said this, he kept quiet for sixteen watches, but afterwards by order of king Bhīma he took the shrine, and made a present of it to king Bhīma. Now the whole of the story is summed up in the two following connected stanzas:—

Two temples of a god, fifty cubits in height, having in the same auspicious  
moment  
Been previously begun, whichever of the monarchs first imposes the finial,  
to him  
The other king must come without umbrella and chowries, this having been  
agreed,  
King Bhoja, his mind being averse to expenditure, was conquered by king  
Karṇa.  
King Bhoja having gone to heaven, the very powerful Karṇa, while engaged  
In sacking the town of Dhārā, by solicitation made Bhīma his ally,  
And Karṇa was taken prisoner<sup>5</sup> by Bhīma's servant Ḍāmara, and from him  
were extracted  
A golden shrine, and the lord Ḍiva associated with Gaṇeṇa.

<sup>1</sup> I read with  $\alpha$  and  $\beta$ , *matparikalpitaṃ rājyārddham nijaṇiro vā*.

<sup>2</sup> For the *chāndyaṃ* of the text  $\alpha$  has *banddhyai*,  $\beta$ , *chāndye*, P, *bāndyaṃ*. I have given what I suppose to be the meaning.

<sup>3</sup> This translation is suggested by Forbes's *Rās Mālā*, p. 552, "Every Hindoo has in the Devmandeer within his house a small throne upon which seven or eight idols are placed, as the Shālagrām stone (a representative of Vishnoo), Bal Mookoond (the same deity in the form of the infant Krishn), Shiva, Gunputee, Doorga Devee, Sooruj (the sun), Hunooman or others." (I have preserved the spelling of Forbes.) I take *cintāmani* to refer to the Ḍālagrāma stone. I find *rājñā* in  $\alpha$  and  $\beta$ , but I have followed the printed text. P has *rāja*.

<sup>4</sup> P has *rājyavastuni* with the *u* short. This I follow.

<sup>5</sup> Here we have *bandikṛtāt*.

Then the poet Karpūra recited in the presence of Karṇa the poem beginning "On the face was the hanging of a necklace." But as he used ungrammatical expressions, the king did not give anything to that poet. Then the poet Nācirāja uttered the following stanza,—

Viṣṇu, the enemy of Kaiṭabha, holds these three worlds in the hollow of  
his belly ;  
The king of the snakes joyfully supports him with this great weight inside  
him,  
And that king of the snakes was the necklace of Çiva ; bearing that god in  
your heart,  
You, king Karṇa, have destroyed in your enemies even the mention of  
valour.

Thereupon the king recompensed him as follows,—

He gave a crore of gold pieces and ten furious elephants,  
This was given by king Karṇa in his joy to the poet Nācirāja.

Then the poet Karpūra, incited by his wife, uttered this stanza in the road, in front of the poet Nācirāja, as he was coming along,—

Lady, who are you ? Do you not know even me, poet Karpūra ? Are you  
Sarasvatī ?  
Tell me truly, why are you sad ? I have been robbed, my child. By what  
evil destiny, mother ?  
Have your two eyes, Muñja and Bhoja, been taken ? How do you  
subsist ?  
The long-lived poet Nācirāja acts the part of a stick to the blind.

The poet Nācirāja, being pleased, gave to the poet Karpūra all that the king had given to himself.

Such are some of the various stories recorded about Bhoja, the rest must be considered to be based on oral tradition.

King, when the cloud of your hand had begun its auspicious ascent in the  
ten quarters of the heavens,  
And was raining the nectar-flood of gold, with the splendour of the trembling  
golden bracelet flickering like lightning,  
The river of fame became swollen ; all virtues were refreshed like the  
earth ;  
The lake of petitioners was filled, and the forest-fire of the poverty of the  
learned was extinguished.  
Like the wishing-tree, having frightened away by his munificent gifts all  
poverty on the earth,

Like an incarnate Vṛhaspati, having swiftly<sup>1</sup> put together various compositions,  
 In Rādhāveda like Arjuna, summoned speedily<sup>2</sup> by the bands of immortals,  
 Whose hearts were long ago made to wish for him by his glory, king Bhoja went to heaven.

Here ends the second chapter in the Prabandhacintāmaṇi composed by the *ācārya* Merutuṅga, entitled the description of the various achievements of the kings Bhoja and Bhīma.

### CHAPTER III.

#### THE HISTORY OF SIDDHARĀJA.

THEN, once on a time, in the land of Gujarāt, the rains having been checked by drought, the people of the country were unable to render to the king the share of the produce due to him, and so they were brought to Pattana by officers employed by him, and their presence was notified to him. Then, one day, in the early morning, prince Mūlarāja, as he was wandering in that direction, saw all the people being harassed by the king's officers, in connection with the king's share that was to be deducted from the grain,<sup>3</sup> and having heard all the circumstances from his attendants, he had his eyes slightly suffused with tears from compassion. He pleased the king by his unequalled skill in the *manège*, and having been commanded by the king to choose some boon, he requested that it might be laid up in store.<sup>4</sup> The king said to him, "Why do you not ask for something?" He answered, "Because I do not feel certain that I shall obtain what I want." Then, as the king pressed him exceedingly, he asked him, by way of boon, that those heads of families<sup>5</sup> might be relieved from payment of the king's share. Then the king's eyes were filled with tears of joy, and he consented, saying, "So be it;" and said to him, "Make another request." But the prince remembered the stanza,—

<sup>1</sup> I read *javādārbāha* with β: α has *javā*; P has *javāt* or *javān*.

<sup>2</sup> I read *svāg*: β gives *drāg*.

<sup>3</sup> I follow P which gives *sasya-midāni-bhūta-dāni-sambandhe*: α gives °*dāna*°, β, °*dānīm*°. It is evident from line 12 of page 129, and the first line of page 131 that *dāni* means the king's share.

<sup>4</sup> Cp. Chalmers's translation of the Jātakas, Vol. I., p. 24, and my translation of the Kathā Koṣa, p. 48.

<sup>5</sup> Or perhaps simply Koonbees. See Rās Mālā, p. 541 and ff.

There are mean people by thousands, intent only on the business of  
nourishing themselves,  
That man alone is chief of the good, who makes his neighbour's concern  
his own,  
The submarine fire drinks up the ocean, to fill its insatiate maw,  
But the cloud, to put an end to the affliction of the world produced by the  
heat.<sup>1</sup>

By the help of the teaching of this stanza, the prince restrained excessive greed, and owing to his soul being elevated by pride, he simply returned to his palace without asking for anything.<sup>2</sup> Then, on the third day after, being praised by the heads of families,<sup>3</sup> that prince Mūlarāja went to the heavenly world. The king and the courtiers and the people, who were previously begged off by him, were for a long time plunged in a sea of grief on that account, but at length wise men, by dint of various admonitions, extracted their dart of grief. Then, as in the next year, all the corn grew up successfully, thanks to the rain, the cultivators offered to pay the share due to the king for two years, the past as well as the present year,<sup>4</sup> but the king refused to receive it. Thereupon they convoked a court of appeal, and of the members of that court the characteristics were as follows,—

That is not a court in which there are not elders,  
Those are not elders who do not utter justice,  
And that is not justice in which there is not truth,  
That is not truth which is pervaded by fiction.<sup>5</sup>

In accordance with these principles the members of the court decided the matter, and made the king take his share for the previous year and that year. Then, with that money, and other money contributed from the treasury, king Bhīma caused to be built a new temple, called Tripuruṣaprasāda, for the welfare of prince Mūlarāja. He also caused to be built in Pattana the temples of Bhīmeṣvaradeva and the goddess Bhīruāṇī. He began to reign in 1077 V.S. and reigned forty-two years, ten months, and nine days. His queen, named Udayamati, caused to be made in Pattana a new reservoir, surpassing even the Sahasralinga lake. Then king Karna's coronation took place in 1120 V.S., on the seventh day of

<sup>1</sup> This is No. 2032 in Böhlingk's *Indische Sprüche*. He finds it in the *Vikramāyākacarita*, and *Ārygadhara-paddhati*.

<sup>2</sup> Here I follow P which reads *tataḥ kīmapyathānarthya mānonnatayā*, omitting *bhāyāh*.

<sup>3</sup> Or Koonbee folk (?).

<sup>4</sup> For *praviṣyamane*, P, a and β give *praviṣyamāne*.

<sup>5</sup> This is No. 3483 in Böhlingk's *Indische Sprüche*. He finds it in the *Mahā-bhārata*, the *Hitopadeśa*, and the *Ārygadhara-paddhati*.



the black fortnight of Caitra, on a Monday, in the *nakṣatra* of Hasta, in the *lagna* of Pisces.

Now it happened that a king of Karnāṭa, named Çubhakeçin, was run away with by his horse and carried into a forest, and while he was enjoying in some part of it the shade of a leafy tree, a forest conflagration approached him. Owing to a sense of gratitude, he did not like to leave that tree that had benefited him by giving him rest, and so he made his life a burnt-offering in that fire, together with the tree. Then his son, named Jayakeçin, was placed on his throne by his ministers, and in course of time he had born to him a daughter, named Mayaṇalladevi. And she, merely on hearing the name of Someçvara mentioned by some votaries of Çiva, remembered her former birth. She said to herself, "In a former life I was a Brāhmaṇī, and I performed twelve fasts of a month's duration, and on the completion of each fast I gave away twelve things, and then I set out to worship Someçvara, and I reached the town of Bāhuloḍa,<sup>1</sup> but not being able to pay the duty levied there, I was not allowed to proceed further, and in despair thereat I made an earnest aspiration that in my next birth I might bring about the remission of that duty, and then I died and was born in this family." This was her recollection with regard to her former birth. Then, in order that she might procure the remission of the tax at Bāhuloḍa, she longed for the king of Gujarāt as an eligible bridegroom, and told the whole story to her father. Then king Jayakeçin, hearing of that circumstance, asked Karṇa through his ministers, to accept the gift of his daughter Mayaṇalladevi's hand.<sup>2</sup> But king Karṇa, having heard of her plainness, was indifferent to her, so at last, as Mayaṇalladevi was obstinately determined on marrying him, her father sent her to king Karṇa, as a maiden choosing her own husband. Then king Karṇa, having himself secretly observed the fact of her ugliness, became altogether neglectful of her. Accordingly Mayaṇalladevi and her eight companions made up their minds to sacrifice their lives in order to compass the death of the king; but Karṇa's mother Udayamati,<sup>3</sup> hearing of this intention of theirs, and not being able to witness their death, made a vow to live or die with them, for—

The great are not as much afflicted in their own calamity, as in the calamities of others,

The earth, which is immovable in its own shocks, trembles in the woes of others.

<sup>1</sup> Now Bhālod, a ford of the Nerbudda river a little above Shookulteorth. (Forbes's *Rās Mālā*, p. 84.)

<sup>2</sup> Here P reads *Atha Jayakeçirājñā Çvikarnaḥ svapradhānaih svasutāyā Mayaṇalladevyā*, &c. There seems to be a misprint in the text.

<sup>3</sup> Deyamati in the printed text is clearly a misprint. The MSS. give Udayamati.

Then king Karna, discovering that a great calamity was at hand, married Mayanalladevi out of regard for his mother, and afterwards did not honour her even with a look. One day the minister Muñjala, finding out by means of the chamberlain, that the king was in love with a woman of low rank, dressed up Mayanalladevi in her clothes and ornaments, and sent her, after the usual monthly ablution, to secretly take the place of that woman. As the king supposed that she was that very woman, he received her ardently and she became pregnant. Then she, by way of a convincing proof of the interview, took from the king's hand a ring marked with his name and placed it on her own hand.<sup>1</sup> Then, the next morning, the king was prepared to forfeit his life on account of that sinful deed, and asked the doctors of canonical law the proper expiation for it. They informed him that he must embrace a red-hot copper image, but when he was about to comply with their command in order to expiate his sin, the minister told him the real facts of the case. To that son, who was born in an auspicious moment, the king gave the name of Jayasimha. He, when a child of three years old, as he was playing with some young princes of the same age, adorned the throne, by sitting down on it. As the astrologers said that that very moment was one likely to bring about prosperity, the king performed then and there the coronation of that son. In 1150 V.S. on the third day of the dark fortnight of Pauṣa, on a Saturday, in the *nakṣatra* of Çravaṇa, in the *lagna* of Taurus, the coronation of Siddharāja took place. But Karna himself went to attack a Bhilla named Āçā dwelling in Āçāpalli, and an omen of Bhairavadevi<sup>2</sup> having taken place, he built there a temple to the goddess named Kocharaba,<sup>3</sup> and after conquering the Bhilla, who was king over six lakhs, he established there in a temple the goddess Jayantī, and also he made the temple of Karṇeçvara, adorned with the lake of Karṇasāgara.<sup>4</sup> He founded the city of Karṇavati and reigned there himself. In Pattana he caused to be built the temple of Karṇameru.<sup>5</sup> This king began to reign in 1120 V.S., on the seventh day of the white fortnight of Caitra, and he reigned till the second day of the black fortnight of Pauṣa in 1150 V.S., a

Jinamaṇḍana, the author of the Kumārapālarita, tells us that the object of Mayanalladevi and her companions was to throw on the king the guilt of their death. I do not see how this meaning can be obtained from Merutunga's words.

<sup>1</sup> This story reminds one of Shakespeare's play, All's Well that Ends Well.

<sup>2</sup> Bharava is omitted in  $\alpha$  and  $\beta$ . Probably the reference is to an owl.

<sup>3</sup> According to Forbes this name is still preserved in that of a locality on the bank of the river immediately contiguous to Ahmedabad. Āçāpalli is now Āshāwul. (Forbes's Rās Mālā, p. 79.)

<sup>4</sup> In the Rās Mālā, p. 80, we learn that this lake was made by damming up the river Roopeyn. The river broke through the embankment in 1814. The remains of the reservoir are known as the "ten mile tank."

<sup>5</sup> This would appear to mean "the Meru of Karna." According to the Bṛhat Saṁhitā LVI, 20, quoted by Bühler in his article, "On the origin of the town of Ajmer and its name," Vienna Oriental Journal, 1897, p. 56, Meru in this connection means "a large temple with six towers, twelve storeys and wonderful vaults."

period of twenty-nine years, eight months and twenty-one days. Then, Karna having gone to heaven, Madanapāla, the brother of queen Udayamati, behaved in an unbecoming way. One day he enticed into his own palace the royal physician named Lilā, who had gained favour by a boon of a deity, and was continually being honoured with gifts of gold by all the citizens, whose minds were astonished at his skill. The disease being a purely fictitious one, Lilā examined his pulse and said that he did not require treatment.<sup>1</sup> Madanapāla said to him, "You have misunderstood the case; the fact is that you were not called in by me to heal a bodily disease, but to cure my covetousness by administering a medicine to that, so hand over thirty-two thousand." Being imprisoned by Madanapāla, he consented to do it. But he took a vow to the following effect, that from henceforth he would visit no house, with the single exception of the king's palace, for the purpose of curing disease, and so from that time forth he treated cases pathologically by examining the urine of patients. One day, a practical joker, wishing to test his skill in dealing with a fictitious complaint, showed him some bull's urine. The physician understood the matter thoroughly and shaking his head, he said, "That bull is broken down in health from over-eating, and you must give him a clyster of oil immediately, otherwise he will die." By this sagacity he produced astonishment in the mind of the practical joker. One day the king asked him for a remedy for a pain in his neck. The physician said, "By anointing with ointment made of two *palas* of musk, pain in the head is allayed." The prescription was followed and the king's neck was cured. Then a man of low caste, who was one of the bearers of the king's litter, asked him for a remedy for headache. He said, "Make an ointment out of the juice of the root of a full-grown<sup>2</sup> *karīra*, together with the earth attaching to it." Then the king said to him, "What is the meaning of this?" The physician answered, "A man, who knows the science of healing, takes into consideration, in treating a patient, place and time, and strength, and the peculiarities of a man's constitution." On another occasion, some rogues conspired together, and formed themselves into separate couples, and the first couple said to him on the road to the market, "Why are you in such feeble bodily health to-day?" The second couple addressed the same question to him on the steps of the temple of Muñjālasvāmin, the third couple at the gate of the palace, the fourth couple under the arch of the doorway, and so over and over again the same question was addressed to him; and owing to the shock

<sup>1</sup> I find in a and P, *pathyasajjatāmāce*. As *grīvā sajjībhātā*, on the same page of the printed text, means "His neck was cured," we should perhaps have to translate this "told him that he might be cured by treatment." But it is improbable that our author would represent Lilā as making a mistake.

<sup>2</sup> P omits *vṛddha*.

to his system, brought about by the fear that these repeated questions produced, he immediately contracted a *māhendra* fever, and on the thirteenth day that physician died. Here ends the story of the physician Līlā.

Then the son of Karṇa, by a device of the minister Sāntū, killed the tyrannical Madanapāla, on pretence of going round on a royal circuit.<sup>1</sup> Then a certain man residing in the country of Marwar, of the Ṣrīmāla tribe,<sup>2</sup> a merchant, of the name of Uda, was going out at night in the rainy season, to buy a quantity of clarified butter, and seeing a field being flooded by workmen, with water from another field, he said to them, "Who are you?" They said, "We are the well-wishers of So and So." He then asked, "Have I also any well-wishers anywhere?" They answered, "You have some in Karṇāvati." Thereupon he went there with his family. He was worshipping the gods according to the prescribed custom in the Vāyaṭiṇya temple of the Jina, when a female dyer,<sup>3</sup> a lay sister of the Jaina persuasion, named Lāchi, expressed her respect for him, on the ground of his being of the same creed as herself. She said to him, "Whose guest are you, honoured Sir?" He answered, "I am a foreigner and your guest." So she took him with her, and had him fed with food which she caused to be cooked in the house of a certain merchant, and lodged him in a certain house on her own land.<sup>4</sup> In course of time he acquired wealth, and being desirous of building an edifice of brick, he proceeded to dig the foundation, but in the process he discovered an enormous treasure. So he sent for that very lady, and wished to make the treasure over to her, but she declined to receive it. In virtue of his having acquired the treasure, he was henceforth known by the name of the minister Udayana. He caused to be built in the city of Karṇāvati the temple of Udayana,<sup>5</sup> adorned with the images of the twenty-four Jinas of the past, present and future. He had four sons by different wives, Cāhaḍadeva,<sup>6</sup> Ambaḍa, Bohaḍa, and Solāka.

Then, on another occasion, the great minister, named Sāntū, as he was going in the royal circuit, mounted on the back of an elephant, was desirous on his return, of worshipping the god in the Sāntū temple,<sup>7</sup> founded by

<sup>1</sup> According to Forbes, the minister conveyed the young prince to his own house, and caused Madanapāla to be put to death by the hands of his soldiers.

<sup>2</sup> I read with  $\alpha$ ,  $\beta$  and P, *Ṣrīmālavaiṇṣya*. I have translated Marumaṇḍala by Marwar. *Maru* means desert.

<sup>3</sup> I find that in the Pāiyalacchī (ed. Bühler), *chimpao* is said to mean a dyer. But the Gujarātī *chīpo* is said to mean "a cloth-printer, a stamper," and Sir Charles Lyall has pointed out to me that the Hindustani *chīpī* means a cloth-printer.

<sup>4</sup> I find in  $\alpha$  and P, *nijatalake*. This I have attempted to translate. In  $\alpha$  I find *nijatalake nivāsya*;  $\beta$  has *nijatalpe taṣṭi nivāsya*.

<sup>5</sup> It appears from P,  $\alpha$  and  $\beta$  that "Udana" in the printed text is a misprint.

<sup>6</sup> Here we are directed by the Errata to read Cāhaḍa<sup>2</sup>. I find this in  $\alpha$ ,  $\beta$  and P. For Bohaḍa,  $\beta$  and P give Bāhaḍa.

<sup>7</sup> The word *vasahikā* is here used. It means an aggregate of buildings, including a temple and monastery. (Bühler's H.C. p. 57.)

himself, and as he was entering it with that object, he saw a certain Çvetāmbara, who lived in the Jaina temple, with his hand placed on the shoulder of a *hetaera*. Then he descended from the elephant, and covering his face with his outer garment, he saluted him by prostrating himself before him, with five limbs on the ground. Then he waited a moment, and after prostrating himself before him again, he went on his way. Then that Çvetāmbara, with his face cast down from shame, as if desirous of entering Hades, immediately renounced everything, and received ordination at the hands of the holy teacher, Maladhāri-Hemacandra,<sup>1</sup> and filled with a spirit of religious fervour,<sup>2</sup> went to Çatrunjaya, and performed asceticism for twelve years. Moreover, other men, similar to himself, were converted by him. That hermit said to himself,—

O my soul, how dost thou, O my brother, run to and fro like a Piçāca ?  
 Look on the indivisible Self, and become happy by abandoning passion.  
 O mind, why dost thou fruitlessly run in the mirages of worldly existence ?  
 Why dost thou not step down into this ambrosial lake of Brahma ?<sup>3</sup>

Once on a time, that minister went to Çatrunjaya to worship the feet of the god, and prostrated himself before that hermit, as if he had never seen him before,<sup>4</sup> and as his mind was delighted with his devout walk, he asked him about his teacher, his family, and so on. The hermit replied, “You, sir, are in reality my teacher.” When the hermit said that, the minister, in his ignorance of the facts, covered his ears with his hands, and said, “Do not say so,” but the hermit replied to him,—

He who, whether he be under vows or a householder, establishes another in  
 the pure religion,  
 Becomes the religious teacher of that man, because he imparts to him  
 religious truth.<sup>5</sup>

In these words he informed the minister of the fundamental facts of the case, and brought about his confirmation in the faith.

Here ends the story of the minister Sāntū's confirmation in the faith.  
 Then, immediately, Mayaṇalladevī, having told the circumstances of her

<sup>1</sup> A pupil of that Abhayadevasūri who received the title of Maladhārin from Karṇa, king of Gujarāt (Samvat 1120-1150). (See Peterson's Fourth Report, pp. vi. and exl.)

<sup>2</sup> The smaller Petersburg Dictionary explains *samvega* as *ein Verlangen nach Erlösung*, with a reference to Hemacandra.

<sup>3</sup> This stanza is not found in P, α, or β. P omits also the sentence preceding it in the text.

<sup>4</sup> P has *upagata adṛṣta*; α has the *avagraha*.

<sup>5</sup> This couplet is found in Jacobi's *Ausgewählte Erzählungen*, p. 45.

former life to king Siddharāja,<sup>1</sup> which were known to her in consequence of her remembering her previous birth, set out on a pilgrimage, taking with her an offering of gold, fit for Somanātha, worth a lakh and a quarter. When she reached the city of Bāhuloḍa, the *pañcalakula* began to torment the pilgrims on account of his not having received the tax due to the king, and the pilgrims were made to return<sup>2</sup> weeping. Thereupon, Mayaṇalladevī, on the mirror of whose heart their sorrow was reflected, herself turned back. Siddharāja met her<sup>3</sup> on the way, and said to her, “Lady, away with this agitation! Why do you turn back?” She answered, “When this tax is altogether remitted, I will prostrate myself before the god Someçvara, and<sup>4</sup> take food, but on no other condition.” When the king heard this, he summoned the *pañcalakula*, and finding it stated in the numerical statement of the patent that the tax produced seventy-two lakhs, he tore up the patent, and giving up the tax for the spiritual welfare of his mother, he poured into her hand a handful of water.<sup>5</sup> Then she went to Someçvara and solemnly offered before the god that offering of gold, and gave away her own weight in gold and many other gifts.

Even the sea, being intent on accumulation only, has sunk to the lower parts of the earth,

But, observe, the cloud, which is a giver, roars above the heaven.<sup>6</sup>

Army and retinue and all other appurtenances perish,

Fame alone remains, in the case of one who has produced joy by giving.

The giver has no friend like a petitioner, who relieves him of a burden, and, in truth,

Delivers him, without his dying, from an enemy in the form of wealth.

Then Mayaṇalladevī, having her head inflated with pride on account of her notion that no woman equal to her, in respect of great gifts, ever had existed or would exist, slept soundly. That very god Somanātha appeared to her, wearing the guise of an ascetic, and said to her, “Here, in this very temple of mine, is a female pilgrim, who has come on a devotional visit to my shrine; you must ask her to transfer her merit to you.” Having given this command, the god disappeared, and the woman was discovered after a

<sup>1</sup> It is clear from what precedes that Mayaṇalladevī married Karṇa in order to put an end to the dues levied at Bāhuloḍa.

<sup>2</sup> P has *nivarttyamāneṣu*. This I adopt. But β has *nivarttanāneṣu*, “the pilgrims were returning.”

<sup>3</sup> I find in P, *antarābhātana*. This I translate. But the text might mean, I suppose, “stopped her on the way.” I find in β, *antarāyābhātana*.

<sup>4</sup> P inserts *ca* after *açanaṁ*.

<sup>5</sup> As an earnest that the engagement was irrevocable. (See Forbes’s *Rās Mālā*, p. 84.) Cp. Cunningham’s *Stūpa of Bharhut*, Plate LVII., Chalmers’s translation of the *Jātaka*s, Vol. I., p. 197, and my translation of the *Kathā Sarit Sāgara*, Vol. II., p. 329.

<sup>6</sup> This is No. 6076 in Böhlingk’s *Indische Sprüche*, but *hi* is read for *’pi*. He finds it in the *Subhāṣitarāva*.

search by the king's servants, and brought to the queen. The female pilgrim, when she was asked to transfer her merit, refused to do so on any account, and when the queen asked her what she had spent on the pilgrimage, she answered, "I travelled one hundred *yojanas* across a foreign country,<sup>1</sup> begging my way, and yesterday I performed the fast usual on reaching a sacred spot, and on the day of breaking the fast, having obtained an oilcake from some charitable man, I offered a piece of it in worship to the god Someçvara, and gave a fragment to a guest, and with the rest I broke my own fast. Your Highness is one who must have accumulated merit in previous existences, as your father and brother on the one hand, and your husband and son on the other, were, or are kings. When you have brought about the remission of the tax levied on pilgrims at Bāhuloḍa, and have offered to Someçvara an offering of gold worth a lakh and a quarter, how comes it to pass that you are desirous of obtaining my merit? But<sup>2</sup> if you will not be angry, I will say something:—my merit is in reality greater than yours on the earth, for—

In prosperity self-restraint, in power meekness, in youth austerity,  
In poverty a gift, though very small, conduces to great gain."

By this appropriate<sup>3</sup> speech she humbled the pride of the queen.

But Siddharāja, being on the shore of the sea, was being praised by a bard with verses, of which the following couplet is a specimen:—

Who knows your mind, O sovereign? You have obtained the position of  
emperor,  
Now the son of Karṇa is looking for a practicable way to obtain the fruits of  
Lajkā.<sup>4</sup>

While the king was thus absent<sup>5</sup> from his capital on this pilgrimage Yaçovarman, the king of Mālava, being on the look-out for an opportunity of carrying out a stratagem, began to overrun Gujarāt, and when the minister Sāntū said to him, "On what condition will you turn back?" he said, "I will do so if you will make over to me the merit which your master has gained by his pilgrimage to the shrine of the god Someçvara." When the minister received this answer, he washed the king's feet, and threw into the hollow of his hand a handful of water, as a sign of the transference of

<sup>1</sup> I follow P which gives *yojanaçatāntam deçāntaram atikramya*; a has *yojanaçatām deçāntaram*.

<sup>2</sup> P inserts *param* before *yadi*.

<sup>3</sup> I find in P, *yuktikyuktena*, which is, probably, correct.

<sup>4</sup> I have followed the explanation given by the editor. All the three MSS. read *lahu* for *lau*. In other respects they differ much.

<sup>5</sup> P gives *yātrāvyaṅrtte* which may mean "returned from his pilgrimage." But it appears from a reading in P, which will be shortly referred to, that Siddharāja was really absent.

that merit, and so he induced the king to turn back. Then Siddharāja<sup>1</sup> was angry when he heard of that occurrence, but the minister said to him, "Your Majesty, your merit, which I have given away, goes, but, on the other hand, by what I have done I have given you his merit, and the merit of other people, who have accumulated great store of good deeds. When an enemy's army is entering one's country, it must be kept out by any artifice." By saying this he propitiated the king. Then the king, enraged on account of that inroad, was desirous of marching against the country of Mālava, so he appointed ministers and craftsmen to superintend the construction of the holy place called Sahasraliṅga,<sup>1</sup> and while this work was being rapidly hurried forward, the king started on his expedition to that country. There a war of twelve years' duration took place, in which the king was victorious, and he took this vow, "I will not eat to-day until I have captured the fort<sup>3</sup> of Dhārā." The ministers and foot-soldiers killed the Paramāra Rajputs by five hundred at a time, but still were unable to fulfil the king's vow by the end of the day; so he had to fulfil it in an equivocal manner by breaking into a Dhārā made of meal.<sup>4</sup> Then the king was desirous of turning back, and he spoke to the minister Muñjāla. But he stationed his confidential emissaries in places where three roads met, in places where four roads met, in squares and temples, and they began to talk on the subject of the capture of the fort of Dhārā. Thereupon a certain native of the city said, "If the hostile force approaches the southern<sup>5</sup> gate-tower, it will be possible to take the fort, but not otherwise." When the emissary heard this man's speech he informed that minister, who secretly communicated that fact to the king. The king, knowing that fact, brought his army to the southern gate-tower of the fort, and reckless of the fact that the fort was hard to enter, a *mahout*, named Sāmala, made a mighty elephant, named Yaçalīpāṭaha, on which he was mounted,<sup>6</sup> batter the two

<sup>1</sup> But P has *Grīpattanāgataṁ Grī-Siddharājaṁ tadvrttāntāvagamānaṁ krudḍhaṁ mantryevamavādīt*, "When Siddharāja returned to Pattana, he was angry on hearing of that occurrence, but the minister said to him." I find in α, *Grī-Siddharājāḥ Grī-Pattanamaṣṭeṭya Sāntūṁ (sic) Mālavakanṛpayoṣ taṁ vrttāntam avabudhya krudḍhaṁ nṛpaṁ mantri evam avādīt*; the same reading is found in β, but *avabudhya*.

<sup>2</sup> Probably the tank of this name. Forbes thus describes it:—

"It was one of the circular, or rather multilateral tanks, of which many examples, more or less perfect, are to be seen in Gujarat, and its name (which may be rendered 'the reservoir of the thousand temples of Shiva') was probably derived from numerous shrines of Muḥā Dev encircling it." (Forbes's *Rās Mālā*, p. 85.)

<sup>3</sup> Some MSS. insert *duṅga* after Dhārā. It would appear that the open part of the city was already captured.

<sup>4</sup> A somewhat similar story is told of the Queen of Spain with reference to the siege of Gibraltar.

<sup>5</sup> I have inserted the word *dakṣiṇa* from β; α has *dakṣaṇa*.

<sup>6</sup> But P has *adhivādhaḥ*. Anyhow it is clear that the king also was mounted on the elephant.



panels of the *tripolika*<sup>1</sup> with its hind quarters, and break the iron bar. The elephant produced an internal rupture by its great exertion, and so the *mahout* made the son of Karna descend from it; but while he was getting down, himself, the elephant fell dead on the earth. Having lost its life by its martial valour, it returned to earth in the form of a Ganeça, named Yaçodhavala, in the village of Baçasara, being white with its own glory.<sup>2</sup>

May the elephant-faced Ganeça bestow on you prosperity, bearing but one tusk,  
As if his other tusk had been broken on the full breast of Siddhi,<sup>3</sup> as on the side of a mountain.

In these words is he praised. When Siddharāja had thus accomplished the taking of the fort, and had bound Yaçovarman, who had embarked on the war, with six cords, and had established there his sovereignty, respected by all men, he returned to Pattana, illustrious by having brought Yaçovarman as a visible symbol of glory. Representatives of all the sects were summoned on separate days to utter blessings; and so, when the time came, the Jaina teachers, with Hemacandra at their head, having been invited, presented themselves before Siddharāja, and were conciliated by the king with presents of clothes and other gifts. Though they were all charming by their incomparable readiness of intellect, they put Hemacandra in front of themselves in two senses, and he recited to the king the following blessing:—

O wishing-cow, sprinkle the earth with streams of thy products! O jewel-mines,  
Make a *svastika* of pearls! O moon, become a full pitcher!  
O elephants of the quarters, take leaves of the wishing-tree, and with your erected trunks  
Make temporary arches of foliage! For truly Siddharāja is coming, having conquered the world.<sup>4</sup>

When this plain and sincere stanza was explained, the king's mind was

<sup>1</sup> *Tripolika* would appear to be the same word as the Urdu *tripauliyā* or *tirpauliyā*, which Platts renders "a building with three doors or gates."

<sup>2</sup> Glory is conceived of as white. Yaçodhavala means "white with glory."

<sup>3</sup> According to a note in *α*, Siddhi and Buddhi (Success and Wisdom) are the two wives of Ganeça. Probably the myth is to be interpreted allegorically on Bacon's principle.

<sup>4</sup> Forbes remarks (*Rās Mālā*, p. 87, note), "The allusion is to the usual decoration of houses at times of rejoicing, viz. purifying with cow-dung, painting swasteeks on the walls with vermilion, or forming them with jewels or grains on a table, and hanging garlands at the door." Full vessels are fortunate. The "jewel-mines" are the oceans. Bühler tells us (*H.C.* p. 13) that these lines are found at the end of the 24th Pāda of Hemacandra's grammar.

astonished at the ingenuity of Hemacandra's speech, and he praised him, but some envious persons said, "These people acquire their literary power by means of reading our treatises." Then the king questioned Hemacandra, and he said, "We read that Jaina grammar which the great Jina, the blessed Mahāvira, long ago in his childhood, explained to Indra." As soon as he had said this, they rejoined, "Never mind this antiquated story! Mention<sup>1</sup> some writer on grammar not far removed from our own time." After this malignant speech, Hemacandra said, "If king Siddharāja will assist me, I will compile in a few days a new grammar consisting of fully five sections."<sup>2</sup> Then the king said, "This has been undertaken and it must be carried out;" so he dismissed the sage, and he returned to his own place.

Then the king made a promise that he would put an unsheathed knife in the hand of Yaçovarman, and enter the city mounted on an elephant, sitting on the front seat, with Yaçovarman on the back seat. When the minister Muñjāla heard of this promise, he wished to resign his appointment as premier, and when the king earnestly inquired for what reason, he quoted the couplet,—

Even if kings do not understand peace, and do not comprehend war,  
Yet, if they attend to what is told them, by that alone they are wise.

Thus he instructed the king from a treatise on policy, and showed him that this proceeding, which he had undertaken purely out of his own head, was not at all likely to prove beneficial in the long run. Then the king said, "It is better far that I should lose my life than that I should go back from a promise, which I have once made, and which is generally known." So the minister placed in the hand of Yaçovarman, who was seated on the back seat of the howdah, a knife of wood covered with the white exudation of the Çāl tree, and king Siddharāja sat on the front seat, and entered in great triumph the glorious Anahillapura. After the auspicious ceremony of entering the city was completed, the king reminded Hemacandra of the episode of the grammar,<sup>3</sup> and then that teacher brought from many countries all the grammars, together with learned men versed in them, and compiled in a year the grammar called Siddhahema in as many as five sections, consisting of 125,000 *çlokas*.<sup>4</sup> That book was placed by the king's orders on the forehead of the state elephant, and a white umbrella was held over it, and it was fanned with two chowries by female chowrie-bearers, and so it was

<sup>1</sup> P, α, and β omit *nrpañ*.

<sup>2</sup> Bühler (H.C. p. 16) tells us that, besides the Sūtras, there are separate sections on the Uṇādi suffixes, the Gaṇas, the roots and the gender of nouns.

<sup>3</sup> P inserts *karāṇa*, "the question of making a grammar."

<sup>4</sup> Or, more literally, prose equivalents of a *çloka*.

brought to the king's palace, and with great and distinguished honour was deposited in the royal treasury. Then by the king's order all other grammars were discarded, and that grammar was read everywhere. But a certain envious person pointed out to the king that the grammar contained no description of his Majesty's lineage, and thereupon the king was angry. The teacher Hemacandra, hearing of this from a courtier, made thirty-two new *çlokas*, and had them copied out, so as to form a connection with the thirty-two Pādas<sup>1</sup> that had been already composed, and next morning, when the grammar was being read out, he recited also the *çlokas* in praise<sup>2</sup> of the Caulukya race, and so propitiated the king. These were,—

Like Viṣṇu fettering Bali, like Çiva, the wielder of the trident, accompanied by Triçakti,  
And like Brahmā *kamalā*-throned, victorious is the king, great Mūlarāja:<sup>3</sup>  
and so on. Moreover, Hemacandra composed the book called *Dvyāçraya*, to describe Siddharāja's conquest of various countries in all directions.

Brother Pāṇini, restrain your babbling, fruitless is the patched Kātantra garment,  
Çākaṭāyana, do not utter a bitter speech, what profits the mean work of Candra?  
Who befools himself with the Kaṅṭhābharāṇa and so on, or with other similar works,  
If the phrases of Hemacandra, sweet with meaning, are only heard?<sup>4</sup>

Then Siddharāja showed to king Yaçovarman in Pattana, all the royal temples, beginning with the Tripuruṣaprasāda, and all the pious works beginning with the Sahasraliṅga tank, and told him that ten millions of money were spent every year on the grant for religious purposes, and asked him if this was creditable or the reverse. He answered, "I was the king of Mālava, a territory of the measure of eighteen lakhs,<sup>5</sup> and how could I have experienced defeat at your hands? But the fact is, Mālavaka

<sup>1</sup> The Siddhahemacandra contains eight Adhyāyas, and thirty-two Pādas, and at the end of each Pāda stands a verse in honour of one of the first seven Caulukya kings, and at the end of the work four verses. (Bühler's H.C. p. 16.)

<sup>2</sup> Here I follow the printed text, which gives *upaçlokakena*. But  $\alpha$  and  $\beta$  have *opaçlokān*. This would mean, additional *çlokas* about the Caulukya race.

<sup>3</sup> This couplet is loaded with puns. Viṣṇu fettered Bali, but Mūlarāja fixed the taxes; Çiva is accompanied by the goddess Triçakti, but Mūlarāja by the three kingly powers arising from his majesty, from his energy, and from charms. Mūlarāja was a dwelling-place of the goddess of good fortune (Kamalā), but Brahmā sits on the lotus (Kamala). (Bühler's H.C. p. 68.)

<sup>4</sup> The Kātantra or Kalāpa grammar is supposed to have been revealed by the god Kumāra or Kārttikeya to Sarvavarman. Çākaṭāyana and Candra were grammarians.

<sup>5</sup> According to Forbes, producing eighteen hundreds of thousands of treasure. I should suppose the word rather to refer to the number of villages.

is the property of the god Mahākāla, having been long ago given to him. We have been the enjoyers<sup>1</sup> of it, and by his power we have risen and set. In the same way, succeeding kings of your line will not be able to keep up the expenditure of so much treasure on the gods, and will retrench all the grant for religious purposes, and will so become the victims of calamity.”

Then, once on a time, Siddharāja, being desirous of building the temple of Rudramahākāla in Siddhapura, established a certain architect in his entourage, and when the auspicious moment for commencing the temple arrived, he redeemed his finial,<sup>2</sup> which a creditor had seized for a debt of a lakh. When the king saw that it was made of strips of bamboo, he said, “What is the meaning of this?” Then the architect said, “This was done by me in order to test your Majesty’s generosity.” Thereupon the king gave him that money, though he was unwilling to receive it. Then, in course of time, the temple, twenty-three cubits in height, was completed, and the king caused to be made figures of distinguished kings, lords of horses, lords of elephants, and lords of men, and so on, and caused to be placed in front of them his own statue, with its hands joined in an attitude of supplication, and so entreated that, even if the country were laid waste, this temple might not be destroyed. On the occasion of setting up the flag on that temple, he had the flags of all the Jaina temples lowered, as in the country of Mālava when the banner of Mahākāla is displayed, no flag is hoisted on any Jaina temple. On another occasion, as Siddharāja was about to go to the land of Mālava, a certain merchant begged that he might be allowed to take a share in defraying the expenses of the Sahasraliṅga tank,<sup>3</sup> but that was refused point blank by the king. However, some days after the king had departed, that merchant, hearing that, on account of deficiency of funds, there was some delay in carrying out that work, gave on behalf of his son, whom he represented as having stolen the earring of the daughter-in-law of a rich man, a sum of three lakhs by way of fine. By means of this contribution the work was brought to completion. When the king, who was spending the rainy season in the country of Mālava, heard this news, he was delighted beyond description. Then the cloud of the rainy season made the earth one sea with abundant rain, and a man of the desert-land<sup>4</sup> was sent by the ministers to announce the good news, and he proceeded to detail at length the character of the rains in the presence of the king. But at that very moment a cunning man

<sup>1</sup> The idea seems to be that the kings of Mālava had the usufruct of the country.

<sup>2</sup> I have taken *kalāsikā* as equivalent to *kalāṣa*, which Dr. Burgess tells me is the urn-shaped finial of a spire. These finials are often made of metal.

<sup>3</sup> The reading in P is simple. *Sahasraliṅga-karmasthāya-vibhāgaṃ yācito rājā tadadattvaiva Mālavakam prati prayānam akanot. Tataḥ koṣābhāvāt karmasthāyaṃ vilambitam avaganya, &c.*

<sup>4</sup> Probably Marwar.

from Gujarāt came in, and said, "Your Majesty is fortunate; the Sahasraliṅga tank is full." When he had said this, the king gave that man of Gujarāt the ornaments that he wore on every part of his body, while the old man from the desert-land was looking on like a cat fallen from a palanquin. Then the king returned after the rains,<sup>1</sup> and stayed in Ḷrinagara, a great city; and when he saw flags flying on the temples of the town, he asked the Brahmans, "What are these temples?" When they told him that the temples were dedicated to the Jina and Brahmā and other deities, the king was enraged, and said, "I have forbidden the erection of flags on the Jaina temples in the country of Gujarāt; so why is a temple of the Jina allowed to hoist a flag in this city of yours?" When he said this, he was thus informed by those men who were thoroughly acquainted with the matter.<sup>2</sup> "Listen! When the auspicious Mahādeva, at the beginning of the Kṛta Yuga, was establishing this great city, he himself built temples to the Lord Rṣabha and to Brahmā,<sup>3</sup> and bestowed on them flags. Then these temples were from time to time restored by pious people, and in this way four *yugas* passed. Moreover, this town is part of the outskirts of the great mountain Ḷatruñjaya, for it is said in the Nagrapurāṇa,—

They say that this is here the measure of the mountain of the lord of Jinas,  
In the first place fifty *yojanas* of land at its roots,  
Ten *yojanas* of upland is its breadth,  
But its height is eight *yojanas*.

Thus in the Kṛta Yuga there was the primeval deity Rṣabha; his son was Bharata; this Bharatakhanda is called after his name.

That Vṛṣabha is the son of Nābhi and Marudevī,  
Who, regarding all things with impartial gaze, walked the hermit's self-  
mortifying walk,  
And the hermits record his rank as worthy and true,<sup>4</sup>  
He was pure, of restrained senses, impartial and wise.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> I read *varṣānantaram* with *a*, *β* and *P*.

<sup>2</sup> I insert *vijñair* after *tair* with *a* and *β*.

<sup>3</sup> I read with *P*, *a* and *β*, *sthāpayatū ḶrīRṣabhanāthācṛīBrahmaprāsādan svayam sthāpitau pradatta-dhvajau tadanyoḥ prāsādayoḥ*, &c. Apparently, some words have been omitted by the printers.

<sup>4</sup> *P* gives *ārhatādyam* for the *ārhasatyam* of the text. Hofrath Bühler has suggested to me that *ārhatādyam* might be the right reading. This would mean, "record his rank as that of the founder of the Jaina sect." I find in *a*, *tasamrhatyam*; *β* agrees with the printed text.

<sup>5</sup> The Bombay editor points out that these lines are found with slight variations in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa. I find in Burnouf's edition, II. 7, 10:—

*Nābherasūṛṣabha āca Sulevisūnur,  
Yo vai cacāra samadry jadayogacaryām,  
Yat pārahamsyamṛṣayah padamāmananti,  
Svasthaḥ praçāntakaramaḥ parimuktasayyagḥ.*

But the eighth was born to Nābhi by Marudevī, a man of wide sway,  
Showing the path of the self-restrained, which is honoured by every stage  
of life.

After they had quoted these and similar sayings of the Purānas, the Brahmins, by way of special confirmation of these assertions, brought a cymbal out of the treasury in the temple of Vṛṣabhadeva, marked with the name of king Bharata, requiring five men to carry it, and showing it to the king established the primeval character of the Jaina religion. Then the king's mind was full of regret, and at the end of the year he gave orders to have the flags hoisted on the Jaina temples. Then the king arrived in Pattana. On a certain occasion, when the accounts of the construction of the tank were being read out,<sup>1</sup> the king, hearing that three lakhs had been deducted from the cost of the work under the head of the fine of the merchant's criminal son, sent three lakhs to the merchant's house. Then that merchant came to the king with a present in his hand, and said humbly, "What is the meaning of this?" The king answered him, "How could a merchant, who has hoisted the ten-million banner,<sup>2</sup> be a thief of earrings? When you asked for a share in the merit of that religious construction, and did not obtain it, then being versed in wiles, a tiger with the face of a deer, outwardly simple, but inwardly perfidious, you took this step. For—

The friend who behind one's back tries to impede one's business, but in  
one's presence speaks kindly,  
Such a friend one should avoid, a bowl of poison with milk on the surface.<sup>3</sup>  
His face is like the petal of a lotus, his speeches are cool as sandal-wood,  
His heart is a very knife, this is the mark of a rogue.<sup>4</sup>  
Within whom the corpse-lights of the cemetery being reflected,  
Shine in the night, having the beauty of the crest-jewels of the snakes of  
Hades."<sup>5</sup>

With speeches of this kind he soundly trounced him. One day, Siddharāja asked Rāmacandra, "How comes it that the days are longer in the hot weather?" He replied,—

O king, conqueror of mountain fortresses, in the triumph of thy victorious  
progress through the world,  
The circle of the earth is pulverized with hoofs by means of the prancings of  
galloping heroes' horses,

<sup>1</sup> P gives *sarovaravyayapale vācyamāne*.

<sup>2</sup> Forbes's *Rās Mālā*, p. 189.

<sup>3</sup> No. 3979 in Böhtlingk's *Indische Sprüche*. It seems to be ascribed to Cānakya.

<sup>4</sup> No. 4882 in Böhtlingk's *Indische Sprüche*. This also is ascribed to Cānakya.

<sup>5</sup> This is found in the *Kirtikaumudī* of Someçvara (ed. Kāthavaṭe). There it is descriptive of the tank at Anahillapattana, no doubt the *Sahasraliṅga* tank. But Someçvara probably uses *Giriçāgāra* in the sense of temples of Çiva. (See K. K. I. 74.)

And by means of the dust thereof uplifted by the wind, with which is mingled the river of the gods,  
Swamps arise, and the horses of the sun are for ever kissing the bent-grass that grows on them, hence the day is long.  
The seekers<sup>1</sup> that hit the mark in thy enemies, miss their mark in thee, Nevertheless, thy fame as a giver, O king Siddha, still uplifts its neck.

Then, one day, the crazy teacher, the Jaina doctor Jayamaṅgala, being asked by the king to describe the city, said,—  
Vanquished by the cleverness of the wives of the citizens of this very city, Sarasvatī indeed, I ween, out of dulness remains carrying water,  
Having dropped from her arm her own tortoise-shaped lute to be the gourd-like lake of great king Siddha,  
Splendid with a lofty handle in the form of a triumphal pillar, furnished with strings by means of *balā*-plants.<sup>2</sup>

Moreover,

A great temple, a great pilgrimage, a great city, a great reservoir,  
Who on the earth could make these which king Siddha has made ?

Then the poet Çrīpāla engraved verses on a laudatory plate of metal which had been prepared for the Sahasraliṅga tank. A stanza on it ran as follows<sup>3</sup> :—

My mind does not delight in the Mānasa lake,  
Pampā does not produce joy in me,  
Here pure water, pure as that of the Acchodaka lake,  
Shines as its very essence proclaiming the success of the king.

Representatives of all sects were summoned to revise the panegyric, and the teacher Hemacandra sent there his subordinate disciple the paṇḍit Rāmacandra, and said to him, "When a stanza of the panegyric is approved by all the learned men present, you must not exhibit any cleverness."

<sup>1</sup> The word *mārgaṇa* (seeker) means "petitioner" and "arrow."

<sup>2</sup> I read *balā-tantrikām* for *balāt-tantrikām*. I owe this emendation to Hofrath Bühler. The Sarasvatī is, of course, "the small but translucent river Suruswutee," which, according to Forbes, "runs westward towards the Runn of Kutch from the celebrated shrine of Kotheshwur Muhā Dev, in the marble hills of Arasoor" (*Rās Mālā*, p. 47). The "triumphal pillar" is mentioned in the *Kīrtikaumudī*, II. 75.

<sup>3</sup> This stanza is omitted in P. P gives *praçastau* for *praçasti* in line 1, omits lines 2-6, and *praçasti* in line 7. The stanza itself is found in the *Kīrtikaumudī*, I. 78. The third and fourth lines are—

*Acchodam acchodakam apyasāraṇi  
Saroware rājati Siddhabhartuh.*

The Acchodaka lake, though containing pure water, is valueless while the lake of king Siddha gleams. In the first line *meḍyati* is read for *māḍyati*. It appears that our author has again quoted from memory, unless the stanza has been foisted into the text by a copyist.

Then all the learned men began to examine the panegyric, and all the stanzas were considered with a view to please the king, and to show complaisance to the skill <sup>1</sup> of Çrīpāla, and the following stanza was singled out for special laudation :—

To whose sword the goddess of Fortune resorted, deserting the lotus,  
 thinking thus,  
 Though furnished with a sheath and abundantly supplied with leaves, this  
 lotus is not able to extirpate,  
 And it does not possess masculine nature, for it is clear that it tolerates  
 thorns in its domain ;  
 But this sword, unaided, makes, being unsheathed, the earth free from  
 thorns.<sup>2</sup>

While this stanza was being so specially praised, Siddharāja asked Rāmacandra what he thought of it, and he said, "It is questionable." Then, being attacked by them all, he continued, "In this stanza the word *dala* is used to denote an army, and it is assumed that the word *kamala* is always neuter ; these two blemishes are questionable." Then the king appealed to all the learned men, and got them to approve the use of the word *dala* in the sense of royal army, but they said, "As the doctrine that the word *kamala* is always neuter is not supported<sup>3</sup> by the *Liṅgānuçāsana*, by what can it be decided !" So they had one syllable changed, writing *pūnīstvamī ca dhatte na vū* (it possesses or does not possess masculine nature). Then, as paṇḍit Rāmacandra was entering his house, one of his eyes burst, because he had brought home an oversight to king Siddharāja.

Then the king of the country of Dāhala wrote at the end of a letter of alliance, the following couplet :—

Joined with *ā* it gives life in the world, joined with *vi* it is dear to  
 hermits,  
 Joined with *saīn*<sup>4</sup> it is altogether undesirable, alone it is cherished by  
 women.

When the time came to explain this couplet, the learned were silent, but when the king asked Hemacandra, he explained it by supplying the word *hāra*. On another occasion the king of the country of a lakh and a quarter,<sup>5</sup> sent the following half *dodhalca* to be filled up :—

<sup>1</sup> P has *āḷaksyādāksīnyūcca* ; β, *āḷaksyādāksīnyūcca*.

<sup>2</sup> In this punning stanza, *koça* means "sheath" and "calyx" ; *dala*, "leaf" and "army" ; thorns are used to denote the enemies that a king is bound to extirpate.

<sup>3</sup> I read with *a* and β, *liṅgānuçāsanaśiddham*, as the sense seems to require it.

<sup>4</sup> P reads here *pra*<sup>o</sup>, which gives a good sense.

<sup>5</sup> *Sapādalaśaśīti*, the country of Çākambharī-Sāmbhar, in eastern Rajputana. (Bühler, H.C. p. 31.) These lines bear a slight resemblance to two lines found on page 115 of the Bhojaprabandha (Bombay edition of 1895).



The new moon of the first night does not imitate the lotus of Gauri's face.

When those poets were unable to complete it, the great hermit Hemacandra completed it as follows :—

But though unseen, the remaining portion of the moon's disk is always inferred.

On another occasion, Siddharāja, being desirous of executing the king of Abhīras, named Navaghana, his army<sup>1</sup> having been before, eleven times defeated by that chieftain, who had caused to be thrown up ramparts round Vardhamāna and other cities, himself marched in person against him. Navaghana's sister's son had made an agreement that Navaghana, when the rampart was overturned,<sup>2</sup> was to be killed with *dravya*, not with weapons and things of that kind. Accordingly, the attendants made this stipulation with regard to him, but he was dragged out of the large hall and beaten to death with boxes full of *dravya*. And the attendants<sup>3</sup> were informed that he was actually killed with *dravya*, this word being used.

These are the words of his queen, when she had fallen into affliction on account of his death :—

My friends, that king is no longer, and his family is no longer a family ;  
I myself will sacrifice my life in the fire with Khaṅgāra.  
All kings are merchants, Jesala<sup>4</sup> is a great trader ;  
How is the merchants' profession adorned ? Our fort is down.  
How didst thou, O venerable Gīrnār, come to bear envy in thy mind ?  
When Khaṅgāra was slain, thou didst not throw down one peak.  
O Jesala, do not shed tears again and again. It is considered unbecoming,  
As in a river a new flood does not come without a new cloud.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> I read *nījasainye* with P, α and β. The reading *nījasainyaih* would mean that Navaghana had been defeated by the troops of Siddharāja. But Forbes takes the view that Siddharāja's army " laid siege to Wurdhman, now Wudwān, and other towns, but sustained many repulses." The same writer tells us that in the Prabandhacintāmaṇi there is a confusion between the names of Nowghna and Khengār, who were father and son. This explains one of the Prākṛit lines that follow. The reading of β, *prākāraprakāraṁ nirūṣya* seems to deserve attention.

<sup>2</sup> On page 241 the words *prākāraparāvartam cakāra* are found. They apparently mean overturned the rampart or wall of the city.

<sup>3</sup> According to P the attendants of the sister's son were so informed. It would appear that the sister's son wished to have him poisoned. Perhaps the boxes were full of money. The passage runs thus in P: *tadbhāginēyena vapraparāvartakāle 'yam dravyavyāpādita eva karantīyo Navaghanaḥ, na pūnarastṛāṅgibhīr iti yācite rājñā Jayasīnhadevena su pātāt bahir ākṛīṣya dravyarāṣanaṁ eva tādāyitvā vyāpāditaḥ ayaṁ dravyavyāpādita eva kṛtaḥ iti vacanabalāt tadbhāginēyapariyāraho bodhitāḥ.* This is simpler than the printed text.

<sup>4</sup> It appears from Forbes's *Rās Mālā*, p. 136, that Josala means Jayasīnha or Siddharāja.

<sup>5</sup> Navaghana means " new cloud."

Having prospered by him, Vardhamāna will not forget, though urged to forget;

Bhogāvartta, I will cause my life, dear as gold, to be enjoyed by thee.

These and many similar utterances must be considered as appropriate to the occasion.

Then Siddharāja appointed the police magister Sajjana, of the race of the great minister Jamba,<sup>1</sup> to superintend the affairs of Surāṣṭra, on account of his fitness for the post. He, without informing the king, devoted the proceeds of the taxes for three years, to building on the holy mountain Ujjayanta a new stone temple to Neminātha in place of the wooden one which he took away. In the fourth year the king sent four military officers, and summoned to Pattana the police magistrate<sup>2</sup> Sajjana, and asked him for the money collected in three years. He offered the king money equal in amount to the proceeds of three years' taxes, which he had obtained from the merchants of that country, and said, "Let your Majesty take one of these two, either the merit of restoring the dilapidations of the temples of Ujjayanta or the money collected in taxes." When he said this, Siddharāja was astonished at the cleverness of his intellect, and chose the merit of restoring the buildings of that holy place.

But Sajjana again obtained the government of that country, and he presented silken banners to the temples in the two holy places Çatruñjaya and Ujjayanta, each of which extended over twelve *yojanas*.<sup>3</sup>

Here ends the story of the restoration of Raiyataka.

Then king Siddha, having again returned from his pilgrimage to Someçvara, encamped at the foot of Raivata, and being desirous of seeing on that occasion the temple<sup>4</sup> that he had built there, was dissuaded by means of false representations by the Brahmans, who were filled with excessive envy, and said, "This mountain is in shape like a *liṅga* with the water-basin surrounding it, and therefore ought not to be touched with the foot." So he sent an offering there, and himself pitched his camp in the neighbourhood of the famous holy place Çatruñjaya. There these same men, who were treacherous, like all their caste, and merciless, barred his way to the holy place, sword in hand. So king Siddha, at nightfall, assumed the dress of a pilgrim, and put a yoke on his shoulder, at the two ends of which he suspended vessels full of Ganges water, and mingled with them, and so

<sup>1</sup> The merchant who became prime minister to Vanarāja.

<sup>2</sup> P reads *daṇḍādhipatiḥ*, which seems to be correct.

<sup>3</sup> But P, with  $\alpha$  and  $\beta$ , gives *dvādaçayojanāyāmanān*.

<sup>4</sup> *Kīrtana* here means monument, *Denkmal* (B and R in their shorter Dictionary). I read with  $\alpha$ , *talavira svamī kīrtanam*. For this meaning of *kīrtana*, Hofrath Bühler refers me to Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, III. p. 212, note 6.

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