

कृतोद्योगौ च तावुभावुपलभ्य शतधन्वा कृतवर्माणमुपेत्य पार्ष्णिपूरण
कर्मनिमित्तमचोदयत् । आह चैनं कृतवर्मा, नाहं बलभद्र-वासुदेवाभ्यां
सह विरोधायालम्, इत्युक्तश्चाक्रूरमचोदयत् । आह चासावपि,—नहि
कश्चिद् भगवता पादप्रहारपरिकम्पितजगत्त्रयेण असुरवरवनितावैधव्यकारिणा
प्रबलरिपुचक्राप्रतिहतचक्रेण चक्रिणा, मदमुदितनयनावलोकितारिबलविशात
नेन अतिगुरुवैरि- वारणाकर्षणाविष्कृत-महिमोरुसीरेण सीरिणा च सह
सकलजगद्वन्द्यानाममरवराणामपि योद्धुं समर्थः किमुताहम् । तदन्यतः
शरणमभिलष्यताम् ॥४१

इत्युक्तः शतधनुराह,—यद्यस्मत्परित्राणासमर्थं भवानात्मानमवगच्छति
तदयमस्मन्मणिः संगृह्य रक्ष्यताम् । इत्युक्तः सोऽप्याह,—यद्यन्त्यायामप्य-
वस्थायां न कस्मैचिद्भवान् कथयिष्यति, तदहमेनं ग्रहीष्यामि । तथेत्युक्ते
अक्रूरस्तन्मणिरत्नं जग्राह ॥४२

शतधनुरप्यतुलवेगां शतयोजनवाहिनीं वडवा मारुह्यापक्रान्तः ।

Being thus excited by his brother, Balarāma engaged resolutely
in the enterprise; but Satadhanwn, being aware of their hostile designs,
repaired to Kritavarman, and required his assistance. Kritavarman,
however, declined to assist him, pleading his inability to engage in a
conflict with both Baladeva and Kṛṣṇa, Satadhanwan thus disappoint-
ed, applied to Akrūra; but he said, "You must have recourse to
some other protector. How should I be able to defend you? There
is no one even amongst the immortals, whose praises are celebrated
throughout the universe, who is capable of contending with the
wielder of the discus, at the stamp of whose foot the three worlds
tremble; whose hand makes the wives of the Asuras widows, whose
weapons no host, however mighty, can resist; no one is capable
of encountering the wielder of the ploughshare, who annihilates the
prowess of his enemies by the glances of his eyes, that roll with the
joys of wine; and whose vast ploughshare manifests his might, by
seizing and exterminating the most formidable foes." "Since this is
the case," replied Satadhanwan, "and you are unable to assist me,
at least accept and take care of this jewel." "I will do so," answered
Akrūra, "if you promise that even in the last extremity you will not
divulge its being in my possession." To this Satadhanwan agreed,
and Akrūra took the jewel; and the former mounting a very swift
mare, one that could travel a hundred leagues a day, fled from
Dwārakā.

शैव्य-सुग्रीव-मेघपुस्प-बलाहकाश्चतुष्टययुक्तरथावस्थितौ बलदेव-वासुदेवौ
तमनुप्रयातौ ॥४३॥

When Kṛṣṇa heard of Satadhanwan's flight, he harnessed his

सा च वड्वा शतयोजनप्रमाणं मार्गमतीत्य पुनरपि वाह्यमाना मिथिला वनोद्देशे प्राणानुत्ससर्ज्ज । शतधनुरपि तां परित्यज्य पदातिरेवाद्वत् ॥४४॥

कृष्णोऽपि बलभद्रमाह,—तावदत्रैव स्यन्दने भवता स्थेयम् । अहमेनम धमाचारं पदातिरेव पदातिमनुगम्य यावद् घातयामि । अत्र हि भूभागे दृष्टदोषा ह्याः, नैतेऽश्वा भवतेमं भूमिभागमुलङ्घ्य नेयाः ॥४५॥

तथेत्युक्त्वा बलभद्रो रथ एव तस्थौ । कृष्णोऽपि द्विक्रोशमात्र भूमि भागमनुसृत्य दूरस्थस्यैव चक्रं क्षिप्त्वा शतधनुषः शिरश्चिच्छेद । तच्छरी राम्बरादिषु च बहुप्रकारमन्विष्यन्नपि स्यमन्तकं मणि नावाप यदा, तदोप गम्य बलभद्रमाह,—वृथैवास्माभिर्घातितः शतधनुः न प्राप्तमखिलजगत्सार भूतं तन्मणि रत्नम् । इत्याकर्ण्य उद्भूतकोपो बलदेवो वासुदेवमाह,—धिक् त्वां यस्त्वमर्थलिप्सुः । एतच्च ते भ्रातृत्वान्मर्षये तदयं पन्थाः, स्वेच्छया गम्यताम्, न मे द्वारकया, न त्वया, न बन्धुभिः कार्यम् । अलमेभिर्ममाग्रतोऽलीकशपथैः । इत्याक्षिप्य तं तथा प्रसाद्यमानोऽपि न तस्थौ, त्रिदेहपुरीं प्रविवेश ॥४६॥

four horses, Saivya, Sugrīva, Meghapuspa, and Balāhaka, to his car, and, accompanied by Balarāma, set off in pursuit. The mare held her speed, and accomplished her hundred leagues; but when she reached the country of Mithilā, her strength was exhausted, and she dropped down and died. Satadhanwan¹¹ dismounting, continued his flight on foot. When his pursuers came to the place where the mare had perished, Kṛṣṇa said to Balarāma, "Do you remain in the car, whilst I follow the villain on foot, and put him to death; the ground here is bad; and the horses will not be able to drag the chariot across it." Balarāma accordingly stayed with the car, and Kṛṣṇa followed Satadhanwan on foot; when he had chased him for two kos, he discharged his discus, and, although Satadhanwan was at a considerable distance, the weapon struck off his head. Kṛṣṇa then coming up, searched his body and his dress for the Syamantaka jewel, but found it not. He then returned to Balabhadra, and told him that they had effected the death of Satadhanwan to no purpose, for the precious gem, the quintessence of all worlds, was not upon his person. When Balabhadra heard this, he flew into a violent rage, and said to Vāsudeva, "Shame light upon you, to be thus greedy of wealth! I acknowledge no brotherhood with you. Here lies my path. Go whither you please; I have done with Dwārakā, with you, with all our house. It is of no use to seek to impose upon me with thy perjuries." Thus reviling his brother, who fruitlessly endeavoured

जनकश्चार्घ्यपूर्वकमेवेनं गृहं प्रवेशयामास । स तत्रैव च तस्थौ ।
वासुदेवोऽपि द्वारकामाजगाम । यावच्च जनकराजगृहे बलभद्रोऽवतस्थे,
तावद् धार्तराष्ट्रो दुष्योधनस्तत्सकाशाद् गदाशिक्षामशिक्षत ॥४७॥

वर्षत्रयान्ते च बभ्रूःसेनप्रभृतिभिर्यादवेनं तद्रत्नं कृष्णेनापहृतमिति
कृतावगतिर्विदेहपुरीं गत्वा बलदेवः संप्रत्याय्य द्वारकामानीतः ॥४८॥

to appease him, Balabhadra went to the city of Videha, where Janaka¹²
received him hospitably, and there he remained. Vāsudeva returned
to Dwáraká. It was during his stay in the dwelling of Janaka that
Duryodhana, the son of Dhritaráshṭra, learned from Balabhadra the
art of fighting with the mace. At the expiration of three years,
Ugrasena and other chiefs of the Yádavas, being satisfied that Kṛshṇa
had not the jewel, went to Videha, and removed Balabhadra's
suspicions, and brought him home.

अक्रूरोऽप्युत्तमणिसमुद्भूतसुवर्णध्यानपरस्ततो यज्ञानीजे ॥४९॥

सवनगतौ हि क्षत्रियवैश्यौ निघ्नन् ब्रह्महा भवतीत्यतो दीक्षा
कवचं प्रविष्ट एव तस्थौ द्विषष्टि वर्षाणि ॥५०॥

एवं तन्मणिरत्नप्रभावात् तत्रोपसर्गदुर्भिक्षमरकादिकं नाभूत् ॥५१॥

अथाक्रूरपक्षीयैर्भोजैः शत्रुघ्ने सात्वतस्य प्रपौत्रे व्यापादिते भोजैः
सहाक्रूरो द्वारकामपहाय अपक्रान्तः ॥५२॥

Akrūra, carefully considering the treasures which the precious jewel
secured to him, constantly celebrated religious rites, and, purified with
holy prayers,¹³ lived in affluence for fifty-two years ; and through the
virtue of that gem there was no dearth nor pestilence in the whole
country.¹⁴ At the end of that period, Satrugṇa, the great grandson
of Satwata, was killed by the Bhojas, and as they were in bonds of alli-
ance with Akrūra, he accompanied them in their flight from Dwáraká.

12 A rather violent anachronism to make Janaka contemporary with
Balaráma.

13 The text gives the commencement of the prayer, but commentator
does not say whence it is taken: सवनगतौ क्षत्रियवैश्यौ निघ्नन् ब्रह्महा भगवति ।
'Oh, goddess ! the murderer of a Kshatriya or Vaiśya, engaged in
religious duties, is the slayer of a Brahman ;' i. e. the crime is equally
heinous. Perhaps the last word should be भवति 'is.'

14 Some of the circumstances of this marvellous gem seem to identify
it with a stone of widely diffused celebrity in the East, and which, accord-
ing to the Mohamedan writers, was given originally by Noah to Japhet;
the Hijer al mattyr of the Arabs, Sang yeddad of the Persians, and
Jeddah tash of the Turks, the possession of which secures rain and
fertility. The author of the *Habib-us-Seir* gravely asserts that this stone
was in the hands of the Mongols in his day, or in the tenth century

तदपक्रान्तिदिनादारभ्य तत्रोपसर्गव्यालानावृष्टिभ्रकाद्युपद्रवा बभूवुः ।
अथ यादव-बलभद्रोऽग्रसेन समवेतोऽमन्त्रयद् भगवानुरगारिकेतनः,— कियदि-
दमेकदेव प्रचुरोपद्रवागमनमेतदालोच्यताम् ॥५३॥

इत्युक्ते अन्धकनामा यदुवृद्धः प्राह,—अस्याक्रूरस्य पिता श्वफल्कोनाम
यत्र यत्राभूत्, तत्र तत्र दुर्भिक्ष-भ्रकानावृष्ट्यादिकं नाभूत् ॥५४॥

काशिराजस्य विषयेऽत्यन्तानावृष्ट्यां श्वफल्कोऽनीयत, ततस्तत्क्षणादेव
देवो ववर्ष । काशिराजस्य पत्न्याश्च गर्भे कन्या पूर्वमासीत् ॥५५॥

सापि पूर्णेऽपि प्रसूतिकाले नैव निश्चक्राम । एवञ्च तस्य गर्भस्य द्वादश
वर्षाण्यनिष्क्रामतो ययुः । काशिराजस्तु तामात्मजां गर्भस्थामाह,—पुत्र !
कस्मान्न जायसे ? निष्क्रम्यताम्, आस्यन्ते द्रष्टुमिच्छामि । स्वकाञ्च मातरं
किमिति चिरं क्लेशयसि इत्युक्ता सा गर्भस्थैव व्याजहार,—तात ! यद्येकै
कां गां दिने दिने ब्राह्मणोभ्यः प्रयच्छसि, तदाहमन्यैस्त्रिभिर्वर्षैरस्माद् गर्भात्
तावदवश्यं निष्क्रमिष्यामीति । एतच्च तद्वचनमाकर्ण्य राजा ब्राह्मणाय
दिने दिने गां प्रादात्, सापि तावता कालेन जाता । ततस्तस्याः पिता
गान्दिनीति नाम चकार । ताञ्च गान्दिनीं कन्यां श्वफल्कायोपकारिणे
गृहागतायार्घ्यभूतां प्रादात्, सा च गान्दिनी प्रतिदिनं यावज्जीवं
ब्राह्मणाय गां दत्तवती । तस्यामयमक्रूरः श्वफल्काज्जज्ञे । तस्यैवंगुणमिथ्या
दुत्पत्तिः ॥५६॥

From the moment of his departure various calamities, portents, snakes, dearth, plague, and the like, began to prevail ; so that he whose emblem is Garuda called together the Yádavas, with Balabhadra and Ugrasena, and recommended them to consider how it was that so many prodigies should have occurred at the same time. On this An dhaka, one of the elders of the Yadu race, thus spoke: "Wherever Swaphalka, the father of Akrūra, dwelt, there famine, plague, dearth, and other visitations were unknown. Once when there was want of rain in the kingdom of Kásírájá, Swaphalka was brought there, and immediately there fell rain from the heavens. It happened also that the queen of Kásírájá conceived, and was quick with a daughter ; but when the time of delivery arrived, the child issued not from the womb. Twelve years passed away, and still the girl was unborn. Then Kásírájá spoke to the child, and said, 'Daughter, why is your birth thus delayed ? come forth ; I desire to behold you, why do you inflict this protracted suffering upon your mother ?' Thus addressed, the infant answered, 'If, father, you will present a cow every day to the Brahmans, I shall at the end of three years more be born.' The king accordingly presented daily a cow to the Brahmans, and at the end of three years the damsel came into the world. Her father called her Gándini, and he subsequently gave her

तत् कथमस्मिन्नप्रकान्तेऽत्र मरकदुर्भिक्षाद्युपद्रवा न भविष्यन्ति । तदय
मानीयतामिति, अलमत्राति गुणवत्यपराधान्वेषणेन इति ॥५७॥

to Svaphalka, when he came to his palace for his benefit. Gāndinī, as long as she lived, gave a cow to the Brahmans every day. Akrūra was her son by Svaphalka, and his birth therefore proceeds from a combination of uncommon excellence. When a person such as he is, is absent from us, it is likely that famine, pestilence, and prodigies should fail to occur? Let him then be invited to return: the faults of men of exalted worth must not be too severely scrutinized."

यदुबुद्धस्यान्धकस्य एतद्वचनमाकर्ण्य केशवोग्रसेन बलभद्रपुरोगमैर्यदुभिः
कृतापराधतितिक्षाभवमभयं दत्त्वा श्वाफल्किः स्वपुरमानीतः, तत्र चागत
एव तत्स्थ-स्यमन्तकमणेरनुभावादनावृष्टि-मरक-दुर्भिक्ष-व्यालाद्युपद्रवः शशाम
कृष्णश्च चिन्तयामास,—स्वल्पमेतत् कारणं, यदयं गान्दिन्यां श्वफल्केनाकूरो
जनितः, सुमहांश्रायमनावृष्टिदुर्भिक्षमरकाद्युपशमनकारी प्रभावः ॥५८॥

तन्नूनमस्य सकाशे स महामणिः स्यमन्तकाख्यस्तिष्ठति । तस्य ह्येवं
विधाः प्रभावाः श्रूयन्ते । अयमपि यज्ञादनन्तरमन्यत् कृत्वन्तरं, तस्माद्
यज्ञान्तरं यजतीति । अल्पोपादानञ्चास्य । असंशयमत्रासौ वरमणिस्तिष्ठतीति
कृताध्यवसायोऽन्यत् प्रयोजनमृद्दिश्य सकलयादवसमाजमात्मगेहे एवाची-

Agreeably to the advice of Andhaka the elder, the Yādavas sent a mission, headed by Keśava, Ugrasena, and Balabhadra, to assure Akrūra that no notice would be taken of any irregularity committed by him; and having satisfied him that he was in no danger, they brought him back to Dwārakā. Immediately on his arrival, in consequence of the properties of the jewel, the plague, dearth, famine, and every other calamity and portent, ceased. Kṛṣṇa, observing this, reflected¹⁵ that the descent of Akrūra from Gāndinī and Śvaphalka was a cause wholly disproportionate to such an effect, and that some powerful influence must be exerted to arrest pestilence and famine. "Of a surety," said he to himself, "the great Syamantaka jewel is in his keeping, for such I have heard are amongst its properties. This Akrūra too has been lately celebrating sacrifice after sacrifice; his own means are insufficient for such expenses; it is beyond a doubt that he has the jewel." Having come to this

15 Kṛṣṇa's reflecting, the commentator observes, is to be understood of him only as consistent with the account here given of him, as if he were a mere man; for, as he was omniscient, there was no occasion for him to reflect or reason. Kṛṣṇa however appears in this story in a very different light from that in which he is usually represented; and the adventure, it may be remarked, is detached from the place in which we might have expected to find it, the narrative of his life which forms the subject of the next book.

करत् । तत्र चोपविष्टेष्वखिलेषु यादवेषु पूर्वप्रयोजनमुपन्यस्य पर्यवसिते च तस्मिन् प्रसङ्गागतपरिहासकथामक्रूरेण सह कृत्वा जनार्दनस्तमक्रूरेण ॥५९॥
दानपते ! जानीम एव वयं —यथा शतधन्वना अखिलजगत्सारभूतं
स्यमन्तकरत्नं भवतः सकाशे समर्पितम् । तदेतद्राष्ट्रकारकं भवतः सकाशे
तिष्ठतीति तिष्ठतु, सर्व्व एव वयं तत्प्रभावफलभुजः, किन्त्वेष बलभद्रोऽस्मान्ना
शङ्कितवान् । तदस्मतप्रीतये दर्शय, इत्यभिहितः सरत्नः सोऽचिन्तयत् ।
किमत्रानुष्ठेयम् ? अन्यथा चेत् ब्रवीम्यहं, तत् केवलाम्बरतिरोधानमन्विष्य
न्तो रत्नमेते द्रक्ष्यन्तीति अतोऽन्वेषणं न क्षेममिति सञ्चिन्त्य तमखिलजगत-
कारणभूतं नारायणमाहाक्रूरः,—भगवन् ! ममेतत् स्यमन्तकमणिरत्नं
शतधनुषा समर्पितम् ॥६०॥

अपगते च तस्मिन् अद्य श्वः परश्वो वा भगवान् मां याचिष्यतीति
कृतमतिरतिकृच्छ्रणैतावन्तं कालमधारयम्, अस्य च धारणक्लेशेनाहमशेषोप-
भोगेष्वसङ्गिमानसो न वेद्मि स्वसुखकलामपि ॥६१॥

एतावन्मात्रमशेषराष्ट्रोपकारि धारयितुं न शक्नोतीति मां भगवान् मंस्यत
इत्यात्मना न चोदितम् ॥६२॥

conclusion, he called a meeting of all the Yādavas at his house, under the pretext of some festive celebration. When they were all seated, and the purport of their assembling had been explained, and the business accomplished, Kṛṣṇa entered into conversation with Akṛūra, and, after laughing and joking, said to him, "Kinsman, you are a very prince in your liberality; but we know very well that the precious jewel which was stolen by Sudhanvan was delivered by him to you, and is now in your possession, to the great benefit of this kingdom. So let it remain; we all derive advantage from its virtues. But Balabhadra suspects that I have it, and therefore, out of kindness to me, show it to the assembly." When Akṛūra, who had the jewel with him, was thus taxed, he hesitated what he should do. "If I deny that I have the jewel," thought he, "they will search my person, and find the gem hidden amongst my clothes. I cannot submit to a search." So reflecting, Akṛūra said to Nārāyaṇa, the cause of the whole world, "It is true that the Syamantaka jewel was entrusted to me by Śatadhanvan, when he went from hence. I expected every day that you would ask me for it, and with much inconvenience therefore I have kept it until now. The charge of it has subjected me to so much anxiety, that I have been incapable of enjoying any pleasure, and have never known a moment's ease. Afraid that you would think me unfit to retain possession of a jewel so essential to the welfare of the kingdom, I forbore to mention to you its being in my hands; but now take it yourself, and give the

तदिदं स्यमन्तकरत्नं गृह्यताम्, इच्छया यस्याभिमतं तस्यसमर्प्यताम् ।
ततः सोऽधरवस्त्रनिगोपितातिलघुकनकसमुद्गकं प्रकटीकृतवान् ॥६३

ततश्च निष्क्राम्य स्यमन्तकमणि तत्र यदुसमाजे मुमोच । मुक्तमात्रे
च तेन्यतिकान्त्या तदखिल मास्थानमुद्घोतितम् ॥६४॥

अथाहाक्रूरः,—स एष मणिर्यः शतधन्वनास्माकं समर्पितः, यस्यायं,
स एनं गृह्णात्विति ।

care of it to whom you please," Having thus spoken, Akrūra drew forth from his garments a small gold box, and took from it the jewel. On displaying it to the assembly of the Yādavas, the whole chamber where they sat was illuminated by its radiance. "This," said Akrūra, "is the Syamantaka gem, which was consigned to me by Satadhanvan: let him to whom it belongs now take it."

तन्मणिरत्नमालोक्य सर्व्वयादवानां साधु साध्विति विस्मितमनसां
वाचोऽश्रूयन्त । तमालोक्य ममाय मच्युतेनैव सामान्यः समन्विच्छ्रुत
इति बलभद्रः सस्पृहोऽभवत् ॥६५॥

ममैवेदं पितृधनमित्यतीव च सत्यभामापि स्पृहयाञ्चकार । बल-
सत्याननावलोकनात् कृष्णोऽप्यात्मानं चक्रान्तरावस्थितमिव मेने ॥६६॥

सकलयादवसमक्षञ्चाक्रूरमाह,—एतद्धि मणिरत्नमात्मशोधनार्थैषं यदूनां
दर्शितम् । एतच्च मम बलभद्रस्य च सामान्यं, पितृधनञ्चैतत् सत्यभामाया
नान्यस्य ॥६७॥

एतच्च सर्व्वकालं शुचिना ब्रह्मचर्य्यगुणवता ध्रियमाणमशेषराष्ट्रस्योपकार-
कम्, अशुचिना ध्रियमाण माधारमेव हन्ति ॥६८॥

अतोऽहमस्य षोडशस्त्रीसहस्रपरिग्रहादसमर्थो धारणो ॥६९॥

When the Yādavas beheld the jewel, they were filled with astonishment, and loudly expressed their delight. Balabhadra immediately claimed the jewel as his property jointly with Achyuta, as formerly agreed upon; whilst Satyabhāma demanded it as her right, as it had originally belonged to her father. Between these two Kṛṣṇa considered himself as an ox between the two wheels of a cart, and thus spoke to Akrūra in the presence of all the Yādavas: "This jewel has been exhibited to the assembly in order to clear my reputation; it is the joint right of Balabhadra and myself, and is the patrimonial inheritance of Satyabhāma. But this jewel, to be of advantage to the whole kingdom, should be taken charge of by a person who leads a life of perpetual continence: If worn by an impure individual, it will be the cause of his death. Now as I have sixteen thousand wives, I am not qualified to have the care of it. It is not likely that Satya-

कथञ्चेतत् सत्यभामा स्वीकरोत् ? आर्य्येण बलभद्रेणापि मदिरा
 पानाद्यशेषोपभोगपरित्यागः कथं कार्य्यः तदयं यदुलोकोऽयं बलभद्रोऽहं
 सत्या च त्वां दानपते ! प्रार्थयामः, एतद् भवानेव धारयितुं समर्थः,
 त्वत्स्थञ्चास्य राष्ट्रस्योपकारकं, तद्भवानशेषराष्ट्रोपकार निमित्तमेतत्पूर्व्ववद्
 धारयतु । त्वयान्यथा न वक्तव्यमित्युक्ते दानपतिस्तथेत्युक्त्वा जग्राह तन्महा
 मणिरत्नम् । ततः प्रभृति चाक्रूरः प्रकटेनैवातीव तेजसा जाज्वल्य-

मानेनात्मकण्ठासक्तेनादित्य इवांशुमाली चचार ॥७०॥

bhama will agree to the conditions that would entitle her to the possession of the jewel; and as to Balabhadra, he is too much addicted to wine and the pleasures of sense to lead a life of self-denial. We are therefore out of the question, and all the Yādavas, Balabhadra, Satyabhāmā, and myself, request you, most bountiful Akrūra, to retain the care of the jewel, as you have done hitherto, for the general good; for you are qualified to have the keeping of it, and in your hands it has been productive of benefit to the country. You must not decline compliance with our request." Akrūra, thus urged, accepted the jewel, and thenceforth wore it publicly round his neck, where it shone with dazzling brightness; and Akrūra moved about like the sun, wearing a garland of light.

इत्येतां भगवतो मिथ्याभिशास्तिक्षालनां यः स्मरति, न तस्य
 कदाचिदल्पापि मिथ्याभिशास्तिर्भवति अब्याहतेन्द्रियञ्चाखिलपापमोक्षम
 वामोति ॥७१॥

He who calls to mind the vindication of the character of Kṛṣṇa from false aspersions, shall never become the subject of unfounded accusation in the least degree, and living in the full exercise his senses shall be cleansed from every sin.¹⁶

16 The story of the Syamantaka gem occurs in the Bhāgavata, Vāyu, Matsya, Brāhma, and Hari V., and is alluded to in other Purānas. It may be considered as one common to the whole series. Independently of the part borne in it by Kṛṣṇa, it presents a curious and no doubt a faithful picture of ancient manners, in the loose self-government of a kindred clan, in the acts of personal violence which are committed, in the feuds which ensue, in the public meetings which are held, and the part that is taken by the elders and by the women in all the proceedings of the community.

CHAPTER XIV

अनमित्रस्यानुजः शिनिर्नामाभवत् । तस्यापि सत्यकः, सत्यकात् सात्यकि
युधुधाननामा, ततोऽप्यसङ्गः, तत्पुत्रश्च तूणिः, तूणोर्युगन्धर इति शैनेयाः ॥११॥

The younger brother of Anamitra was Sini; his son was Satyaka; his son was Yuyudhána, also known by the name of Sátyaki; his son was Asanga; his son was Tūni;¹ his son was Yugandhara.² These princes were termed Saineyas.

अनमित्रस्यैवान्वये पृथिः, तस्माच्च श्वफल्कः । तत्प्रभावः कथित एव ।
श्वफल्कस्य कनीयांश्चित्रको नामाभवद् भ्राता, श्वफल्कादक्रूरो गान्दिन्या-
मभवत् । तथोपमद्गु-मृदर-विशारि-मेजय-गिरि- क्षत्रोपक्षत्र-शत्रुघ्न-विमर्द्दन-
घर्मघृग्दृष्टशर्म-गन्धमोजा-वाह-प्रतिवाहाख्याःपुत्राः सुताराख्या च कन्या ।

In the family of Anamitra, Prísni was born; his son was Svaphalka,³ the sanctity of whose character has been described: the younger brother of Svaphalka was named Chitraka. Svaphalka had by Gándini, besides Akrūra, Upamadgu, Mridura, Śárimejaya, Giri, Kshatropakshatra. Satrughna, Arimarddana, Dharmadhriś, Dhriśtasarman, Gandhamojaváha, and Prativáha. He had also a daughter, Sutará.⁴

देवान् उपदेवश्च अक्रूरपुत्रौ । पृथु-विपृथु- प्रमुखाश्चित्रकस्य पुत्रा बहवोऽभयन् २
कुकुर-भजमान-शुचि-कम्बलबर्हिषाख्यास्तथान्धकस्य चत्वारः पुत्राः ॥३॥

Devavat and Upadeva were the sons of Akrūra. The sons of Chitrika were Prithu and Vipritha, and many others.⁵ Andhaka had four sons, Kukkura, Bhajamána, Śuchi,⁶ Kambalavarhish. The son of

1 Bhūti : Váyu. Kuni : Bhágavata. Dyumni : Matsya.

2 The Agni makes these all brother's sons of Satyaka. and adds another, Rishabha, the father of Svaphalka.

3 The authorities are not agreed here. Svaphalka, according to the Agni, as just remarked, comes from Sími, the son of Anamitra. The Bhágavata, instead of Prísni, has Vrishṇi, son of Anamitra ; the Bráhma and Hari V. have Vrishṇi ; and the Agni, Prishṇi, son of Yudhájit. The Matsya also makes Yudhájit the ancestor of Akrūra, through Rishabha and Jayanta. Yudhájit in the Bráhma, &c. is the son of Kroshtri.

4 The different authorities vary in the reading of these names, though they generally concur in the number.

5 The Matsya and Padma call them sons of Akrūra, but no doubt incorrectly,

6 Sami : Váyu. Śasi : Matsya. Síni : Agni. This last makes them the sons of Babhru, and calls the first Sundara.

कुकुराद् धृष्टः, तस्माच्च कपोतरोमा, ततश्च विलोमा, तस्मादपि तुम्बुरुसखा भवसंज्ञकश्चन्दनोदकदुन्दुभिः । ततश्चाभिजित्, ततः पुनर्वसुः, तस्याप्याहुकः पुत्रः, आहुकी कन्याभूत् ॥४॥

आहुकस्य देवकोग्रसेनौ द्वौ पुत्रौ । देववानुपदेवश्च सुदेवो देवरक्षितो देवकस्यापि चत्वारः पुत्राः । तेषाञ्च वृकदेवा उपदेवा देवरक्षिता श्रीदेवा शान्ति देवा सहदेवा देवकी च सप्त भगिन्यः । ताश्च सर्वा एव वसुदेव उपयेमे । उग्रसेनस्यापि कंस न्यग्रोध-सुनाम-कङ्क-शङ्कु-स्वभूमि-राष्ट्रपाल-युद्धमुष्टि-तुष्टिमत्संज्ञाः पुत्राः, कंसा कंसवती सुतनू राष्ट्रपाली कङ्की चौग्रसेनतनुजाः ॥५॥

Kukkura was Vrishṭa;⁷ his son was Kapotaroman; his son was Viloman;⁸ his son was Bhava,⁹ who was also called Chandanodakadundubhi;¹⁰ he was a friend of the Gandharba Tumburu; his son was Abhijit, his son was Punarvasu; his son was Āhuka, and he had also a daughter named Āhukī. The sons of Āhuka were Devaka and Ugrasena. The former had four sons, Devavat, Ūpadeva, Sudeva, and Devarakshita, and seven daughters, Vrikadevā, Upadevā, Devarakshitā, Śrīdevā, Śāntidevā, Sahadevā, and Devakī: all the daughters were married to Vasudeva. The sons of Ugrasena were Kansa, Nyagrodha, Sunāman, Kanka, Sanku, Subhūmi, Rāshtrapāla, Yuddhamushthi, and Tushṭimat; and his daughters were Kansā, Kansavatī, Sutanu, Rāshtrapālī, and Kankī.

भजमानाच्च विदूरथः पुत्रोऽभवत् । विदूरथात् शूरः, शूरात् शमी, शमिनः प्रतिक्षत्रः, तस्मात् स्वयम्भोजः, ततश्च हृदिकः ॥६॥

The son of Bhajamāna¹¹ was Vidūratha; his son was Sūra; his

7 Vrishṇi: Bhāgavata, Vāyu, Matsya, &c. Dhrishṭa: Agni. Dhrishṇu: Brāhma, Hari V.

8 The Bhāgavata puts Viloman first. The Linga makes it an epithet of Kapotaroman, saying he was Vilomaja, 'irregularly begotten.' In place of Viloman we have Raivata, Vāyu; Taittiri, Matsya; Tittiri, Agni.

9 Nava: Agni. Bala: Linga. Nala: Matsya. Tamas: Kūrma. Anu: Bhagavata.

10 The Matsya, Vāyu, and Agni agree with our text. The Linga, Padma, and Kūrma read Anakadundubhi as a synonym of Bala. The Brāhma and Hari V. have no such name, but here insert Punarvasu, son of Taittiri. The Bhāgavata has a different series, or Anu, Andhaka, Dundubhi, Arijit, Punarvasu, Āhuka.

11 This Bhajamāna is the son of Andhaka, according to all the best authorities; so the Padma calls this branch the Ānchakas. The Agni makes him the son of Babhru.

ततश्च कृतवर्मा, तस्मात् शतधनुर्देवमीढुषाद्या बभूवुः ॥७॥

देवमीढुषस्य शूरः, शूरस्यापि मारिषा नाम पत्न्यभवत् ॥८॥

अस्याञ्चासौ दश पुत्रानजनयद् वासुदेवपूर्वान् । वासुदेवस्य जातमा
त्रस्यैव एतद्गृहे भगवदंशावतारमव्याहृतदृष्ट्या पश्यद्विदेवैर्दिव्या आनका
दुन्दुभयश्च वादिताः ॥९॥

ततस्तदेवानकदुन्दुभिसंज्ञामवाप । तस्यापि देवभाग-देवश्रवोऽनाधृष्टि-
करुधक - वत्सबालक-मृञ्जय-श्याम-शमीक-गण्डूषसंज्ञा नव भ्रातरो बभूवुः,
पृथा श्रुतदेवा श्रुतकीर्त्तिः श्रुतश्रवाः राजाधिदेवी च वसुदेवादीनां
पञ्चभगिन्योऽभवन् ।

son was Śamin;¹² his son was Pratikshatra;¹³ his son was Svayam-
bhoja;¹⁴ his son was Hridika, who had Kritavarman, Śatadhanu,
Devamīdhusha, and others.¹⁵ Sūra, the son of Devamīdhusha,¹⁶ was
married to Mārishá, and had by her ten sons. On the birth of
Vasudeva, who was one of these sons, the gods, to whom the future
is manifest, foresaw that the divine being would take a human form
in his family, and thereupon they sounded with joy the drums of
heaven: from this circumstance Vasudeva was also called Ānakadun-
bubhi.¹⁷ His brothers were Devabhága, Deváśravas, Anádhriṣṭi,
Karundhaka, Vatsabálaka, Śrinjaya, Śyáma, Samíka, and Gaṇḍūsha;
and his sisters were Prithá, Śrutadevá, Śrutakírtti, Śrutaśravas, and
Rájáhideví.

शूरस्य च कुन्तिभोजनामा सखाभवत् । तस्मै
चापुत्राय पृथामात्मजां विधिना शूरोऽददात् । ताञ्च पाण्डुरुवाह । तस्याञ्च
धर्मानिलशक्रैर्युधिष्ठिर-भीमार्जुनाख्यास्त्रयः पुत्राः समुत्पादिताः । पूर्वमनू
द्वयाश्च भगवता भास्वता कर्णाख्यः कानीनः पुत्रोऽजन्यत ॥१०॥

Sūra had a friend named Kuntibhoja, to whom, as he had no chil-
dren, he presented in due from his daughter Prithá. She was married
to Paṇḍu, and bore him Yudhishtira, Bhíma, and Arjuna, who were
in fact the sons of the deities Dharma, Váyu (air), and Indra. Whilst
she was yet unmarried, also, she had a son named Karṇa, begotten by

12 Váta, Niváta, Śamin : Váyu.

13 Sonáśva : Matsya. Sonáksha : Padma. Śini : Bhágavata.

14 Bhojaka : Agni. Bhoja : Padma. 15 Ten sons : Matsya, &c.

16 Devárha : Váyu, Padma, Agni, and Matsya; and a different
series follows, or Kambalavarhish, Asamaujas, Samaujas, Sudanstra,
Suvaśa, Dhriṣṭa, Anamitra, Nighna, Satrajit. They all make Vasudeva
the son of Sūra, however; but the three first leave it doubtful whether
that Sūra was the son of Bhajamána or not. The Bhágavata and

तस्याश्च सपत्नी माद्री नामाभवत् । तस्याञ्च नासत्यदस्त्राम्यां नकुल
सहदेवौ पाण्डोः पुत्रौ जनितौ ।

the divine Āditya (the sun). Pāṇdu had another wife, named Mādrī, who had by the twin sons of Āditya, Nāsatyā and Dasra, two sons, Nakula and Sahadeva.¹⁸

श्रुतदेवान्तु वृद्धशर्मा नाम कारूष उपयेमे । तस्यां दन्तवक्रो नाम
महासुरो जज्ञ । श्रुतकीर्त्तिमपि कंकेयराज उपयेमे । तस्यां सन्तर्द्दनादयः पञ्च
कंकेयाः पुत्रा बभूवुः । राजाधि देव्यामावन्त्यौ विन्दानुविन्दौ जज्ञाते ॥११॥

श्रुतश्रवसमपि चेदिराजो दमघोषनामा उपयेमे । तस्यां शिशुपालमुत्पा
दयामास । स हि पूर्वं मप्यनाचारविक्रमसम्पन्नो दैत्यादिपुरुषो
हिरण्य कशिपुरभूत् ॥१२॥

यश्च भगवता सकललोकगुरुणा घातितः, पुनरप्यक्षतवीर्य्यशौर्य्यसम्पत्
पराक्रमगुणः समाक्रान्त सकलत्रैलोक्येश्वरप्रभावो दशाननोऽभवत् ॥१३॥

बहुकालोपभुक्त-भगवत्सकाशादेवाप्त-शरीर-पातोद्भवपुण्यफलोऽथ भगव
तैव राघवरूपिणा सोऽपि निधनमुपनीतः, पुनश्चेदिराज-दमघोषपुत्रः शिशु
पालनामाभवत् ॥१४॥

Śrutadevā was married to the Kārusha prince Vṛiddhaśarman, and bore him the fierce Asura Dantavakra. Dhṛishtaketu, raja of Kaikeya,¹⁹ married Śrutakīrtti, and had by her Santarddana and four other sons, known as the five Kaikeyas. Jayasena, king of Avantī, married Rājādhivevī, and had Vinda and Anavinda. Śrutaśravas was wedded to Damaghosha, raja of Chedi, and bore him Śiśupāla.²⁰ This prince was in a former existence the unrighteous but valiant monarch of the Daityas, Hiranyakaśipu, who was killed by the divine guardian of creation (in the man-lion Avatāra). He was next the ten-headed sovereign Rāvaṇa, whose unequalled prowess, strength, and power were overcome by the lord of the three worlds, Rāma. Having been killed by the deity in the form of Rāghava, he had long enjoyed the reward of his virtues in exemption from an embodied state, but had now received birth once more as Śiśupāla, the son of Damaghosha, king of

Brāhma agree with the text, which is probably correct. The Brāhma has Śūra, son of Devamīdhush, although it does not specify the latter amongst the sons of Hridika.

17 Ānaka a larger, and Dundubhi a smaller drum.

18 The Mahābhārata is the best authority for these circumstances.

19 The Padma calls him king of Kashmir.

20 The Brāhma P. and Hari V. make Śrutadevā mother of Śiśupāla, and Prithukīrtti of Dantavakra.

शिशुपालत्वे च भगवतो भूभारावतारगायावतीर्णांशस्य पुण्डरी-
कनयनाख्यस्य उपरि द्वेषानुबन्धमतितरां चकार । भगवता च निधनमु-
पनीत स्तत्रैव परमात्मभूते मनसस्तदेकाग्रतया तत्रैव सायुज्यमवाप ॥१५॥

भगवान् हि प्रसन्नो यथाभिलषितं ददाति, अप्रसन्नोऽपि निघ्न-
दिव्यमनुपमं स्थानं प्रयच्छति ॥१६॥

Chedi. In this character he renewed, with greater inveteracy than ever, his hostile hatred towards the god surnamed Puṇḍarīkākṣha, a portion of the supreme being, who had descended to lighten the burdens of the earth; and was in consequence slain by him: but from the circumstance of his thoughts being constantly engrossed by the supreme being, Śiśupāla was united with him after death; for the lord giveth to those to whom he is favourable whatever they desire, and he bestows a heavenly and exalted station even upon those whom he slays in his displeasure.

CHAPTER XV

मैत्रेय उवाच ।

हिरण्यकशिपुत्वे च रावणत्वे च विष्णुना ।

अवाप निहतो भोगानप्राप्यानमरैरपि ॥

न लयं तत्र तेनैव निहतः स कथं पुनः ।

सम्प्राप्तः शिशुपालत्वे सायुज्यं शाश्वते हरौ ॥

एतदिच्छाम्यहं श्रोतुं सर्वधर्मभृतां वर !

कौतूहलपरेणैतत् पृष्टो मे वक्तमर्हसि ॥१॥

Maitreya.—Most eminent of all who cultivate piety, I am curious to hear from you, and you are able to explain to me, how it happened that the same being who when killed by Viṣṇu as Hiraṇyakaśipu and Rāvaṇa obtained enjoyments which, though scarcely attainable by the immortals, were but temporary, should have been absorbed into the eternal Hari when slain by him in the person of Śiśupāla.

दैत्येश्वरस्य तु वधायाखिललोकोत्पत्तिस्थितिपर्वतनुं गृह्णता नृसिंहरूप-
माविष्कृतम् । तत्र हिरण्यकशिपोर्विष्णुरयमित्येवं न मनस्यभूत् ॥२॥

निरतिशयपुण्यजातसम्भूतमेतत् सत्त्वमिति रजो द्वे कप्रेरितंकाग्रमति

Parāśara.—When the divine author of the creation, preservation, and destruction of the universe accomplished the death of Hiraṇyakaśipu, he assumed a body composed of the figures of a lion and a man, so that Hiraṇyakaśipu was not aware that his destroyer was Viṣṇu: although therefore the quality of purity, derived from exceed-

भद्राश्व-भद्रबाह-दृष्टम-भृताद्या वधहेतुकां निरतिशयामेवाखिलत्रैलोक्याधिक्य-
धारिणीं दशाननत्वे भोगसम्पदमवाप ॥३॥

नातस्तस्मिन्मनादिनिधने परब्रह्मभूते भगवत्यनालम्बनीकृते मनसस्तत्रलयम् ॥४॥
दशाननत्वेऽप्यनङ्गपराधीनतया जानकीसमासक्त चेतसो दाशरथिरूपधा-
रिणस्तद्रूपदर्शनमेवासीत्, नायमच्युत इत्यासक्तिर्विपद्यतोऽन्तःकरणस्य मानुष-
बुद्धिरेव केवलमभूत् ॥५॥

पुनरच्युतविनिपातमात्रफलमखिल-भूमण्डलश्लाघ्य चेदिराजकुलजन्माव्याह
तच्चैश्वर्यं शिशुपालत्वे चावाप ॥६॥

तत्र त्वखिलान्येव भगवन्नामकारणान्यभवन् । ततश्च तत्कारणकृतानां
तेषामशेषाणामेवाच्युत नाम्नामनवरतमनेकजन्मसंवर्द्धितविद्वेषानुबन्धित्तो
विनिन्दन् सन्तर्ज्जनादिषु उच्चारणमकरोत् ॥७॥

तच्च रूपमुत्फुलपद्मदलामलाक्षमत्युज्ज्वलपीतवस्त्रधारि अमल-किरीट-
केयूर-कटकोपशोभितमुदारपीवरचतुर्बाहु शङ्ख-चक्र-गदासिधरमतिप्रौढवैरानु
भावादटन-भोजन-स्नानासन-शयनादिष्ववस्थान्तरेषु नेवा पययावस्यात्मचेतसः । ८।

ing merit, had been attained, yet his mind was perplexed by the pre-
dominance of the property of passion ; and the consequence of that
intermixture was, that he reaped, as the result of his death by the
hands of Vishṇu, only unlimited power and enjoyment upon earth, as
Daśánana, the sovereign of the three spheres; he did not obtain absorp-
tion into the supreme spirit, that is without beginning or end because
his mind was not wholly dedicated to that sole object. So also Daśá-
nana being entirely subject to the passion of love, and engrossed
completely by the thoughts of Jánakí, could not comprehend that the
son of Daśaratha whom he beheld was in reality the divine Achyuta.
At the moment of his death he was impressed with the notion that his
adversary was a mortal, and therefore the fruit he derived from being
slain by Vishṇu was confined to his birth in the illustrious family of
the kings of Chedi, and the exercise of extensive dominion. In this
situation many circumstances brought the names of Vishṇu to his
notice, and on all these occasions the enmity that had accumulated
through successive births influenced his mind ; and in speaking con-
stantly with disrespect of Achyuta, he was ever repeating his different
appellations. Whether walking, eating, sitting, or sleeping, his
animosity was never at rest, and Kṛshṇa was ever present to his
thoughts in his ordinary semblance, having eyes as beautiful as the
leaf of the lotus, clad in bright yellow raiment, decorated with a gar-
land, with bracelets on his arms and wrists, and a diadem on his head;
having four robust arms, bearing the conch, the discus, the mace, and
the lotus. Thus uttering his names, even though in malediction, and

ततस्तमेवाक्रोशेषूच्चारयन् तमेव हृदये धारयन्नात्मवधाय भगवदस्त
चक्रांशुमालोज्ज्वलमक्षयतेजः- स्वरूपं परमब्रह्मस्वरूपमपगतरागद्वेषादिदोषं
भगवन्तमद्राक्षीत् तावच्च भगवच्चक्रोणाशु व्यापादितः । तेन तत्स्मरणदग्ध्रा
खिलाघसञ्चयो भगवतैवान्तमुपनीतस्तस्मिन्नेव लयमुपययौ ॥९॥

एतत् तवाखिलं मयाभिहितम् । भगवानिह कीर्तितः संस्मृतश्च
द्वेषानुबन्धेनाप्यखिलसुरासुरादिद्वर्लभं फलं प्रयच्छति किमुत सम्यग् भक्ति-
मताम् ॥१०॥

dwelling upon his image, though in enmity, he beheld Kṛṣṇa, when
inflicting his death, radiant with resplendent weapons, bright with
ineffable splendour in his own essence as the supreme being, and all
his passion and hatred ceased, and he was purified from every defect.
Being killed by the discus of Viṣṇu at the instant he thus meditated,
all his sins were consumed by his divine adversary, and he was blen-
ded with him by whose might he had been slain. I have thus replied
to your inquiries. He by whom the divine Viṣṇu is named or called
to recollection, even in enmity, obtains a reward that is difficult of
attainment to the demons and the gods: how much greater shall be
his recompense who glorifies the deity in fervour and in faith !

वसुदेवस्यानकदुन्दुभेः पौरवी-रोहिणी-मदिरा- भद्रा-देवकी-प्रमुखा बह्वचः
पत्न्योऽभवन् बलभद्र-शारणा-शठ-दुर्मदादीन् पुत्रान् रोहिण्यामानकदुन्दुभि
त्पादयामास । बलभद्रोऽपि रेवत्यां निशठोल्मुकौ पुत्रावजनयत् । मार्ष्टि-
मार्ष्टिम-च्छिशि शिशु-सत्यधृतिप्रमुखाः शारणास्यात्मजाः ॥११॥

भद्राश्च-भद्रबाहु-दुर्दम-भूताद्या रोहिण्याः कुलजाः ॥१२॥

नन्दोपनन्दकृतकाद्या मदिरायास्तनयाः । भद्रायाश्चोपनिधि-गदाद्याः ।

वैशाल्यां च कौशिकमेकमजनयदानकदुन्दुभिः । देवक्यामपि कीर्त्तिमत्-

Vasudeva, also called Ānakadundubhi, had Rohiṇī, Pauravī,¹
Bhadrā, Madirā, Devakī, and several other wives. His sons by Rohiṇī
were Balabhadra, Śaraṇa, Saru, Durmada, and others. Balabhadra
espoused Revatī, and had by her Niṣaṭha and Uḷmuka. The sons of
Śaraṇa were Mārṣṭī, Mārṣṭimat, Śiṣu, Satvadhṛiti, and others.
Bhadrāśva, Bhadrabāhu, Durgama, Bhūta, and others, were born in
the family of Rohiṇī (of the race of Puru). The sons of Vasudeva
by Madirā were Nanda, Upananda, Kṛitaka, and others. Bhadrā bore
him Upanidhi, Gada, and others. By his wife Vaiśālī he had one
son named Kauśika. Devakī bore him six sons, Kīrtimat, Susheta,

1 Pauravī is rather a title attached to a second Rohiṇī, to distinguish
her from the first, the mother of Balarāma : she is also said by the
Vāyu to be the daughter of Bāhlika.

मुषणोदापि-भद्रसेन-ऋजूदास-भद्रदेहाख्याः षट् पुत्रा जाज्ञरे । तांश्च सब्वनिव
कंसो घातितवान् ॥१३॥

Udāyin, Bhadrāsena, Rijudasa, and Bhadrādeha ; all of whom Kansa
put to death.²

अनन्तरञ्च सप्तमं गर्भमर्द्धरात्रे भगवत्प्रहिता योगनिद्रा रोहिष्या
जठरमपकृष्य नीतवती ॥१४॥

कर्षणाच्चासावपि सङ्कर्षणाख्यमवाप ॥१५॥

ततः सकलजगन्महातरुमूर्लभूतो भूतातीतभविष्यदादिसकल - सुरासुर - मुनि -
मनुज-मनसा- मप्यगोचरोऽञ्जभवप्रमुखेरनलप्रमुखेश्च प्रणम्यावनिभारावता
रणाय प्रसादितो भगवाननादिमध्यो देवकीगर्भे समवततार वासुदेवः ॥१६॥

तत्प्रसादविवाद्धितमानाभिमाना च योगनिद्रा नन्दगोपपत्न्या यशोदाया
गर्भमधिष्ठितवती ॥१७॥

सुप्रसन्नादित्यचन्द्रादिग्रहमव्यालादिभयं सुस्थमानसमखिलमवैतज्जगदपास्ता
धर्ममभवत् तस्मिञ्च पुण्डरीकनयने जायमाने ॥१८॥

When Devakī was pregnant the seventh time, Yoganidrā (the sleep of devotion), sent by Vishṇu, extricated the embryo from its maternal womb at midnight, and transferred it to that of Rohiṇī; and from having been thus taken away, the child (who was Balarāma) received the name of Sankarshana. Next, the divine Vishṇu himself, the root of the vast universal tree, inscrutable by the understandings of all gods, demons, sages, and men, past, present, or to come, adored by Brāhmā and all the deities, he who is without beginning, middle, or end, being moved to relieve the earth of her load, descended into the womb of Devakī, and was born as her son Vāsudeva. Yoganidrā, proud to execute his orders, removed the embryo to Yasodā, the wife of Nanda the cowherd. At his birth the earth was relieved from all iniquity; the sun, moon, and planets shone with unclouded splendour; all fear of calamitous portents was dispelled; and universal happiness prevailed.

2 The enumeration of our text is rather imperfect. The Vāyu names the wives of Vasudeva, Pauravī, Rohiṇī, Madirā, Rudrā, Vaiśākhī, Devakī ; and adds two bondmaids, Sugandhī and Vanarajī. The Brāhma P. and Hari V. name twelve wives, and two slaves ; Rohiṇī, Madirā, Vaiśākhī, Bhadrā, Sunāmnī, Sahadevā, Śāntidevā, Śrīdevā, Devarakshitā, Vrikadevī, Upadevī, Devakī ; and Śantanu and Bāravā. The children of the two slaves, according to the Vāyu, were Puṇdra, who became a king, and Kapila, who retired to the woods. In the Bhāgavata we have thirteen wives, Pauravī, Rohiṇī, Bhadrā, Madirā, Rochanā, Ilā, Devakī, Dhritadevī, Śāntidevā, Upadevī, Śrīdevā, Devarakshitā, and Sahadevā : the last seven in this and the preceding list are the daughters of Devaka.

जातेन च तेनाखिलमेवैतत् सन्मार्गवर्ति जगदक्रियत् ।

From the moment he appeared, all mankind were led into the righteous path in him.

भगवतोऽप्यत्र मर्त्यलोकेऽवतीर्णस्य षोडशसहस्राण्येकोत्तरशताधिकानि स्त्रीणां भवन् । तासाञ्च रुक्मिणी-सत्यभामा-जाम्बवती-जालहासिनी- प्रमुखा अष्टौ पत्न्यः प्रधानाः । तासु चाष्टायुतानि लक्षञ्च पुत्राणां भगवानखिलमुत्तिर-नादिमानजनयत् ॥१९॥

तेषाञ्च प्रद्युम्न-चारुदेष्ण-साम्बादयस्त्रयोदश प्रधानाः । प्रद्युम्नो हि रुक्मिणस्तनयां ककुद्धतीं नामोपयेमे । तस्यामस्यानिरुद्धो जज्ञे । अनिरुद्धो ऽपि रुक्मिण एव पौत्रीं सुभद्रां नामोपयेमे । तस्यामस्य वज्रोऽभवत् । वज्रस्य प्रतिबाहुः, तस्यापि सुचारुः ।

Whilst this powerful being resided in this world of mortals, he had sixteen thousand and one hundred wives; of these the principal were Rukminí, Satyabhámá, Jámbavatí, Játahasíní, and four others. By these the universal form, who is without beginning, begot a hundred and eighty thousand sons, of whom thirteen are most renowned, Pradyumna, Charudeshña. Sámba, and others. Pradyumna married Kakudvatí, the daughter of Rukmin, and had by her Aniruddha. Aniruddha married Subhadrá, the granddaughter of the same Rukmin, and she bore him a son named Vajra. The son of Vajra was Báhu; and his son was Sucháru.³

एवमनेकशतसाहस्रपुरुषसङ्घस्य यदुकुलस्य पुरुषसंख्या वर्षशतैरपि ज्ञातुं न । In this manner the descendants of Yadu multiplied, and there were many hundreds of thousands of them, so that it would be im-

3 The wives and children of Kṛṣṇa are more particularly described in the next book. The Bráhma P. and Hari V. add some details of the descendants of Vasudeva's brothers: thus Devabhága is said to be the father of Uddhava; Anadhrishti of Devaśravas, a great scholar or Paṇḍit. Devaśravas, another brother of Vasudeva, had Satrugṇa and another son called Ekalavya, who for some cause being exposed when an infant, was found and brought up by the Nishádas, and was thence termed Nishádin, Vatsavat (Vatsabálaka) and Gaṇḍúsha being childless, Vasudeva gave his son Kauśika to be adopted by the former, and Kṛṣṇa gave Charudeshña and three others to the latter. Kanaka (Karudhaká) had two sons, Tantrija and Tantripála. Aváksrinjima (Śrinjaya) had also two, Vira and Ásvahanu. The gracious Samka became as the son (although the brother) of Śyáma, and disdaining the joint rule which the princes of the house of Bhoja exercised, made himself paramount. Yudhisihira was his friend. The extravagant numbers of the Yádavas merely indicate that they were, as they undoubtedly were, a powerful and numerous tribe, of whom many traces exist in various parts of India.

शक्यते । यतो हि श्लोकावत्र चरितार्थो ॥२०॥
 तिस्रः कोट्यः सहस्राणामष्टाशीतिशतानि च ।
 कुमारानां गृहाचार्य्याश्चापयोग्यासु ये रताः ॥२१॥
 सङ्ख्यानं यादवानां कः करिष्यति महात्मनाम् ।
 यत्रायुतानामयतं लक्षेणास्ते शताधिकम् ॥२२॥
 देवासुरहता ये तु दैतेयाः सुमहाबलाः ।
 ते चोत्पन्ना मनुष्येषु जनोपद्रवकारिणः ॥२३॥
 तेषामुत्सादनार्थाय भुवि देवो यदोः कुले ।
 अवतीर्णः कुलशतं यत्रैकाभ्यधिकं द्विज ॥२४॥
 विष्णुस्तेषां प्रमाप्ते च प्रभुत्वे च व्यवस्थितः ।
 निदेशस्थायिनस्तस्य बभूवुः सर्वयादवाः ॥२५॥

possible to repeat their names in hundreds of years. Two verses relating to them are current; The domestic instructors of the boys in the use of arms amounted to three crores and eighty lacs (or thirty-eight millions). Who shall enumerate the whole of the mighty men of the Yádava race, who were tens of ten thousands and hundreds of hundred thousands in number?" Those powerful Daityas who were killed in the conflicts between them and the gods were born again upon earth as men, as tyrants and oppressors; and, in order to check their violence, the gods also descended to the world of mortals, and became members of the hundred and one branches of the family of Yadu. Vishnu was to them a teacher and a ruler, and all the Yádavas were obedient to his commands.

प्रसूति वृष्णिवीराणां यः शृणोति नरः सदा ।
 स सर्वपातकैर्मुक्तो विष्णुलोकं प्रपद्यते ॥२६॥

Whoever listens frequently to this account of the origin of the heroes of the race of Vrishni, shall be purified from all sins and obtain the sphere of Vishnu.

CHAPTER XVI

पराशर उवाच ।

इत्येष समासतस्ते कथितः, तूर्वसोर्वशमवधारय ॥१॥

Paráśara.—I shall now summarily give you an account of the descendants of Turvasu.

तूर्वसोर्वह्निरात्मजः, वह्नेर्गोभानुः, त्रेशाम्बः, तस्माच्च करन्धमः, तस्मादपि

The son of Turvasu was Vahni;¹ his son was Gobhānu;² his son

1 Varga : Agni.

2 Bhānuṁat : Bhāgavata, which also inserts Bhaga before him.

ततश्च मरुतः, सोऽनपत्योऽभवत् । ततश्च पौरवं दुष्मन्तं पुत्रमकल्पयत् ।
एवं ययातिशापात् तद्वंशः पौरवं वंशमाश्रितवान् ॥२॥

was Traisāmba;³ his son was Karandhama; his son was Marutta. Marutta had no children, and he therefore adopted Dushyanta, of the family of Puru; by which the line of Turvasu merged into that of Puru.⁴ This took place in consequence of the malediction denounced on his son by Yayāti.⁵

CHAPTER XVII

द्रुह्योस्तु तनयो बभ्रुः ॥१॥

ततः सेतुः, सेतुपुत्र आरद्वान् नाम, तदात्मजो गान्धारः, ततो धर्मः,
The son of Druhyu was Babhru; his son was Setu; his son was Aradvat;¹ his son was Gāndhāra;² his son was Dharma;³ his son

3 Tribhānu : Vāyu. Trisānu : Brāh̄ma. Traisāli : Agni. Trisāri : Matsya.

4 Besides Bharata, who, as will be hereafter seen, was the son of Dushyanta, the Vāyu, Matsya, Agni, and Brāh̄ma Purānas enumerate several descendants in this line, for the purpose evidently of introducing, as the posterity of Turvasu, the nations of the south of India : the series is Varuttha, (Karutthāma, Brāh̄ma), Āndira (Ākrira, Brāh̄ma); whose sons are Pāndya, Karṇāṭa, Chola, Kerala; the Hari V. adds Kola, and the Agni very incorrectly Gandhāra.

5 The curse alluded to is the failure of his line (Prajāsamuchcheda), denounced upon Turvasu as the punishment of refusing to take his father's infirmities upon him (see Bk. IV. Ch. XI.). He was also sentenced to rule over savages and barbarians, Mlechchhas, or people not Hindus. The Mahābhārata adds that the Yavanas sprang from Turvasu. As sovereign of the south-east, he should be the ancestor of the people of Arakan, Ava, &c.; but the authorities cited in the preceding note refer the nations of the Peninsula to him, and consequently consider them as Mlechchhas. Manu also places the Drāviḍas or Tamuls amongst Mlechchhas; and these and similar passages indicate a period prior to the introduction of Hinduism into the south of India.

1 Also Āraddha in MSS., and Āraṭṭa, Matsya, which last seems to be the preferable reading. The Vāyu has Āruddha; the Brāhma. Angārasetu; but Āraṭṭa is a northern country, contiguous to, or synonymous with, Gāndhāra.

2 Of Gāndhāra it is said in the Vāyu that it is a large country named after him, and is famous for its breed of horses : ह्यायते तस्य नाम्ना तु गान्धारविषयो महान् । गान्धार देशजाश्चापि तुर . वाजिनां वराः ॥ The Matsya reads the beginning of the second line, अरद्वदेशजातास्तु । showing that Āraṭṭa and Gāndhāra are much the same. See Bk. II. Ch. III. n. 83.

3 The Brāh̄ma P. and Hari V., in opposition to all the rest, make Dharma and his successors the descendants of Anu.

धम्माद् धृतः, धृताद् दुर्गमः, ततः प्रचेताः. प्रचेतसः पुत्रशतमधर्म्म
बहुलानां म्लेच्छानामुदीच्यादीनामाधिपत्यमकरोत् ॥२॥

was Dhrita ;⁴ his son was Duryáman ;⁵ his son was Prachetas, who had a hundred sons, and they were the princes of the lawless Mlechchhas or barbarians of the north.⁶

CHAPTER XVIII

ययातेश्चतुर्थस्य पुत्रस्य अनाः सभानर-चाक्षुष- परमेक्षुसंज्ञास्त्रयः पुत्रा
बभूवुः ; सभानरपुत्रः कालानरः, कालानरात् सृञ्जयः, सृञ्जयात् पुरञ्जयः,
तस्माज्जनमेजयः, ततो महामणिः, तस्माच्च महामनाः, तस्मादप्युशीनर
तितिक्षू द्वौ पुत्रा वृत्पन्नौ । उशीनरस्यापि शिवि-नृग-नर-कृमि-
खर्वाख्याः पञ्च पुत्रा बभूवुः । वृषदर्भ-सुवीर- कैकय-

Anu,¹ the fourth son of Yayāti, had three sons, Sabhánara, Chákshusha, and Paramekshu.² The son of the first was Kálánara ;³ his son was Srinjaya ; his son was Puranjaya ; his son was Janamejaya ; his son was Mahámáni ;⁴ his son was Mahámanas, who had two sons, Uśínara and Titikshu. Uśínara had five sons, Sivi, Trīna,⁵ Gara,⁶ Krimi, Dárvan.⁷ Sivi had four sons, Vrishadarbha.

4 Ghrita : Agni.

5 Durddama : Váyu and Bhágavata. The Matsya, Bráhma, and Agni insert a Vidupa, Duduha, or Vidula, before Prachetas.

6 So the Bhágavata and Matsya. The Mahábhárata says the descendants of Druhya are the Vaibhojas, a people unacquainted with the use of cars or beasts of burden, and who travel on rafts : they have no kings.

1 By some unaccountable caprice the Bráhma P. and Hari V., unsupported by any other authority, here substitute for Anu the name of Kaksheyu, a descendant of Puru, and transfer the whole series of his posterity to the house of Puru.

2 Paksha and Parapaksha : Váyu. Parameshu : Matsya. Paroksha : Bhágavata. 3 Kálánala : Váyu. Koláhala : Matsya.

4 Mahásála : Agni. Mahásíla : Bhágav.

5 Nriga : Agni. Vana : Bhágavata.

6 Nava : Matsya. Śama : Bhágavata.

7 Vrata : Agni. Suvrata : Matsya. Daksha : Bhágavata. According to the Bráhma P. and Hari V. the five sons of Uśínara were the ancestors of different tribes. Sivi was the progenitor of the Śaiyas ; Nriga of the Yaudheyas ; Nava of the Navaráshtas ; Vrata of the Āmbashthas ; and Krimi founded the city Krimilá.

मद्रकाश्चत्वारः शिविपुत्राः, तितिक्षोरुषद्रथः पुत्रोऽभूत् । ततो हेमः,
हेमात् सुतपाः, तस्माद् बलिः, यस्य क्षेत्रे दीर्घतमसा अङ्ग-वङ्ग-कालङ्ग-
सुह्य-पुण्ड्राख्यं बालेयं क्षत्रमजन्यत ॥१॥

तन्नामसन्तिसंज्ञाश्च पञ्च विषया बभूवुः ॥२॥

Suvira, Kaikeya, and Madra.⁸ Titikshu had one son, Ushadratha ;⁹ his son was Hema ;¹⁰ his son was Sutapas ; his son was Bali, on whose wife five sons were begotten by Dīrghatamas or Anga, Banga, Kalinga, Suhma, and Puṇḍra ;¹¹ and their descendants, and the five countries they inhabited, were known by the same names.¹²

अङ्गसुतः पारः, ततो दिविरथः, तस्माद् धर्मरथः, ततोश्चररथः । रोमपाद

The son of Anga was Pára;¹³ his son was Divaratha; his son was Dharmaratha;¹⁴ his son was Chitraratha; his son was Romapáda,¹⁵ also

8 Bhadra and Bhadraka : Matsya, Agni. These sons of Śivi give name to different provinces and tribes in the west and north-west of India.

9 Rushadratha : Agni. Tushadratha : Matsya.

10 Phenā : Agni. Sena : Matsya.

11 Odra, or in some copies Andhra : Bhágavata.

12 See Bk. II. Ch. III. n. 3, 46, 49, 50 and 73. Of Suhma it may be remarked, that it is specified in the Siddhānta Kaumudī as an example of Panini's rule ; प्राचां नगरान्ते । 7. 3. 24 ; by which Nagara compounded with names of countries in the east becomes Nágara, as Sauhmanágara (सौह्यनागरः), 'produced, &c. in a city of Suhma.' The descendants of Anu, according to the Mahābhārata were all Mlecchhas. The last named work, as well as the Vāyu and Matsya Purāṇas, have an absurd story of the circumstances of the birth of Dīrghatamas, who was the son of Ujási or Utathya, the elder brother of Vṛhaspati by Mamatá, and of his begetting Anga and the rest. They agree in assigning descendants of all four castes to them ; the Vāyu stating that Bali had पुत्रान् चतुर्व्वं सूर्यकरान्, and the Matsya ascribing it to a boon given by Brahmá to Bali : चतुरो नियतान् वर्णान् त्वं स्थापयेति । 'Do thou establish the four perpetual castes.' Of these, the Brahmans are known as Báleyas : बालेयाः ब्राह्मणाश्च वै । The Matsya calls Bali, the son of Virochana, and आयुक्त्वप्रमाणिकः : 'existing for a whole Kalpa ;' identifying him therefore, only in a different period and form, with the Bali of the Vámana Avatára.

13 Anápána : Vāyu. Khanápána : Bhágavata, Adhiváhana : Agni. Dadhivahana : Matsya.

14 This prince is said in the Vāyu to have drunk the Soma juice along with Indra : येन विष्णुपदे गिरौ सोमः शक्रेण सह वै पीतो महत्तमना ।

15 The Matsya and Agni insert a Satyaratha.

संज्ञो यस्य पुत्रो दशरथो जज्ञे । यस्मै अजपुत्रो दशरथः शान्तां
नाम कन्यामनपत्याय दुहितृत्वे युयोज ॥३॥

रोमपादाच्च तुरङ्गः, तस्माच्च पृथुलाक्षः, ततश्चम्पः । यश्चम्पां निवेशयामास ।
चम्पस्य हर्यङ्गः, ततो भद्ररथो बृहद्रथो बृहत्कर्मा च । बृहत्कर्मणश्च
बृहद्भानुः, तस्माद्बृहन्मनाः, ततो जयद्रथः, जयद्रथस्तु ब्रह्माक्षत्रा-
न्तरालसम्भृत्यां पत्यां विजयं नाम पुत्रमजीजनत् ॥५॥

विजयश्च धृतिं पुत्रमवाप । तस्यापि वृत्रतः पुत्रोऽभूत् ।

धृत्रतात् सत्यकर्मा । सत्यकर्मणस्त्वधि रथः । योऽसौ गङ्गां
called Daśaratha, to whom, being childless, Daśaratha, the son of
Aja, gave his daughter Śántā to be adopted.¹⁶ After this, Romapáda
had a son named Chaturanga; his son was Prithuláksha; his son was
Champa, who founded the city of Champá.¹⁷ The son of Champa
was Haryyanga; his son was Bhadraratha, who had two sons,
Vrihatkarman and Vrihadratha. The son of the first was Vrihad-
bhánu;¹⁸ his son was Vrihanmanas; his son was Jayadratha, who, by
a wife who was the daughter of a Kshatriya father and Brahmani
mother, had a son named Vijaya;¹⁹ his son was Dhriti; his son was
Dhritavrata; his son was Satyakarman; his son was Adhiratha,²⁰ who

16 This is noticed in the Rámáyana, in the story of the hermit
Rishyaśringa, to whom Śántā was given in marriage. Her adoptive
father is called in the Rámáyana, as he is in the Agni and Matsya,
Lomapáda : the meaning is the same, 'hairy foot.' Rámáyana, IX. X.
See also Prelude to the Uttara Ráma Charitra, *Hindu Theatre*, I. 289.

17 The Bhāgavata differs here from all the other authorities in
omitting Champa, the founder of Champapurí, a city of which traces
still remain in the vicinity of Bhagalpur, having inserted him previ-
ously amongst the descendants of Ikshwáku (see Bk. IV. Ch. III, n. 12).
Champá is every where recognised as the capital of Anga, and the
translators of the Rámáyana were very wide off the truth, when they
conjectured that it might be Angwa or Ava.

18 Vrihaddarba : Bráhma. The Bhāgavata omits the two succes-
sors of Champa, and makes Vrihadratha, Vrihatkarman, and Vrihad-
bhánu, sons of Prithuláksha.

19 The Váyu, Matsya, and Hari V. make Vijaya the brother of
Jayadratha. The Bhāgavata agrees with our text. The mother of
Vijaya from her origin was of the Sūta caste, the genealogist and cha-
rioteer. Manu. X. 47. Her son was of the same caste, children taking
the caste of the mother : consequently the descendants of Vijaya, kings
of Anga, were Sūtas ; and this explains the contemptuous application
of the term Sūta to Karṇa, the half brother of the Páṇḍus ; for he, as
will presently be mentioned, was adopted into the Anga family, and
succeeded to the crown.

20 Some variety prevails in the series of princes here, but this arises
from not distinguishing the collateral lines, the descendants of Jayadratha

गतो मञ्जूषागतं पृथापविद्धं कर्णं पुत्रमवाप ॥६॥

कर्णाद् वृषसेन इत्येते अङ्गाः ॥७॥

अतश्च पुरोर्वंशं श्रोतुमर्हसीति ॥८॥

found Karna in a basket on the banks of the Ganges, where he had been exposed by his mother, Prithá. The son of Karna was Vrisha-sena.²¹ These were the Anga kings. You shall next hear who were the descendants of Puru.

CHAPTER XIX

पुरोर्जनमेजयः पुत्रस्तस्यापि प्रचिन्वान्, प्रचिन्वतः प्रवीरः, तस्मान्मनस्युः.
मनस्योश्चाभयदस्तस्यापि सुद्युम्नः, ततो बहुगवः, तस्य सम्पातिः, सम्पाते-
रहम्पातिस्ततो रौद्राश्वः । ऋतेयु-कृतेयु-क्षेयु-स्थण्डिलेयु-धृतेयु-स्थलेयु-
सन्ततेयु-धनेयु-वनेयुनामानो रौद्राश्वस्य दशात्मजा बभूवुः ॥१॥

The son of Puru was Janamejaya; his son was Práchinvat; his son was Pravíra; his son was Manasyu; his son was Bhayada;¹ his son was Sudyumna;² his son was Bahugava;³ his son was Samyáti;⁴ his son was Ahamyáti;⁵ his son was Raudráśwa,⁶ who had ten sons, Riteyu,⁷ Kaksheyu, Schandileyu, Ghriteyu, Jaleyu, Sthaleyu, Santateyu,

from those of Vijaya. The Váyu and Matsya give the latter as in our text, but they agree also with the Agni and Bráhma in the successors of Jayadratha, as Driḍharatha or Vrihadratha, and Janamejaya or Viśvajit. 21 Sūrasena : Váyu. Vikarna : Bráhma.

1 Abhayada: Váyu. Vítamaya: Agni. Vátáyudha: Matsya. Chárupáda: Bhágavata. The Mahábhárata, Ādi P. p. 136. 138, has two accounts of the descendants of Puru, differing materially in the beginning from each other, and from the lists of the Purānas. In the first, Pravíra is made the son of Puru, his son is Manasyu, who has three sons, Śakta, Sanhanana, and Vágmin; and there the line stops. Another son of Puru is Raudráśva, whose sons are Richeyu and the rest, as in our text; making them the second in descent, instead of the eleventh. In the second list, the son of Puru is Janamejaya, whose successors are Práchinvat, Samyáti, Ahamyáti, Sarvabhauma, Jayatsena, Aváchína, Ariha, Mahábhuma, Ayutanáyin, Akrodhana, Devátithi, Ariha, Riksha, Matinára, who is therefore the fifteenth from Puru, instead of the fourth as in the first account, or the twelfth as in the text.

2 Dhundu: Váyu. Śambhu: Agni. Sudhanwan: Bráhma.

3 Bahuvídha: Agni and Matsya. 4 Sampáti: Agni.

5 Omitted: Váyu. Bahuvádin: Matsya. 6 Bhadráśva: Matsya.

7 Rájeyu: Váyu. Richeyu: Agni. They were the sons of the Apsaras Ghritáchí: or of Misrakesí: Mahábhárata. The Bráhma P. and Hari V. have very unaccountably, and in opposition to all other

ऋतेयो रन्तिनारः पुत्रोऽभूत् । तंसुमप्रतिरथं ध्रुवञ्च रन्तिनारः
पुत्रानवाप । अप्रतिरथात् कण्वस्तस्यापि मेधातिथिः, यतः काण्वायना
द्विजा बभूवुः । तंसोरेनिलः, ततो दृष्मन्ताद्याश्चत्वारः पुत्रा बभूवुः,
दृष्मन्ताच्चक्रवर्ती भरतोऽभवत् । यन्नामहेतुर्देवैः श्लोको गीयते ॥२॥

Dhaneyu, Vaneyu, and Vrateyu.⁸ The son of Riteyu was Rantinára,⁹ whose sons were Tansu, Apratiratha, and Dhruva.¹⁰ The son of the second of these was Kañwa, and his son was Medhátithi, from whom the Kañwáyána Brahmanas¹¹ descended. Anila¹² was the son of Tansu,

authorities, transferred the whole of the descendants of Anu to this family; substituting for Anu the second name in our text, Kaksheyu, (Bk. IV. Ch. XVII.)

8 The Váyu names also ten daughters, Rudrá, Śūdrá, Madrá, Subhágá, Amalajá, Talá, Khalá, Gopajálá, Támrarasá, and Ratnakúti; and adds that they were married to Prabhákara, a Rshi of the race of Atri. The Bráhma P. and Hari V. have a legend of the birth of Soma, the moon, from him and one of these ten; who succeeded to the power and prerogatives of Atri. The sons of the other wives were less distinguished, but they formed families eminent amongst holy Brahmans, called Swastyátreyas.

9 Atinára or Atibhára: Bhágavata. Antinára: Matsya. Matinára: Mahábhárate, Agni and Bráhma. According to the Matsya and Hari V. (not in the Bráhma P.), Gaurí, the daughter of this prince, was the mother of Mándhátí, of the family of Ikshváku.

10 In place of these the Matsya has Amúrttirayas and Nrichandra, and there are several varieties in the nomenclature. In place of the first we have Vasu or Trasu, Váyu; Tansurogha, Agni; Tansurodha, Bráhma; and Sumati, Bhágavata. Prtiratha is read for the second in the Agni and Bráhma; and for the third, Suratha, Agni; Subahu, Hari V.

11 Medhátithi is the author of many hymns in the Rig-veda, and we have therefore Brahmans and religious teachers descended from Kshatriyas.

12 Malina: Váyu. Raibhya; Bhágavata. Dharmanetra: Bráhma P. The Hari V. omits him, making sad blundering work of the whole passage. Thus the construction is such as to intimate that Tansu or Tansurodha had a wife named Ilá, the daughter of Medhátithi; that is, his brother's great-granddaughter: मेधातिथिस्तुतस्तस्य.....इती नाम तु यस्यासीत् कन्या वै जनमेजय । ब्रह्मवादिन्यपि स्त्री च तंसुस्तामभ्यगच्छत ॥ but this, as the commentator observes, is contrary to common sense (अर्थक्त्वादयुक्तं), and he would read it therefore, इती नाम यस्यासीत्कन्या । 'The daughter of him who was named Ilin; a Raja so called: but in the Váyu and Matsya we have Piná, the daughter of Yama, married to Tansu, and mother of Malina or Anila; more correctly perhaps Ailina: इतिना तु यस्यासीत्कन्या सा जनयत् सुतम् । तसो (तंसो) सुदयितं पुत्रं मलिनं ब्रह्मवादिनं । उपदानवी ततो लेभे चतुरस्त्विनिनात्मजात् । सुष्यन्तमिति ॥ The blunder of the

माता भक्षा पितुः पुत्रो येन जातः स एव सः ।

भरस्व पुत्रं दुष्मन्त माघमस्थाः शकुन्तलाम् ॥३॥

रेतोधाः पुत्र उन्नयति नरदेव ! यमक्षयात् ।

त्वञ्चास्य धाता गर्भस्य सत्यमाह शकुन्तला ॥४॥

and he had four sons, of whom Dushyanta was the elder.¹³ The son of Dushyanta was the emperor Bharata; a verse explanatory of his name is chanted by the gods; "The mother is only the receptacle; it is the father by whom a son is begotten. Cherish they son, Dushyanta; treat not Śakuntalā with disrespect. Sons, who are born from the paternal loins, rescue their progenitors from the infernal regions. Thou art the parent of this boy; Śakuntalā has spoken truth." From the expression 'cherish', Bharaswa, the prince was called Bharata.¹⁴

Hari V. therefore arises from the compiler's reading Yasya, 'of whom,' instead of Yamasya, 'Yama.' It is not an error of transcription, for the metre requires Yasya, and the remark of the commentator proves the correctness of the reading. The name occurs Īlina (ईलिन), the son of Tansu, in the Mahābhārata, agreeably to the Anuvāṅśa śloka, which is there quoted. 'Sarasvatī bore Tansu to Matināra, and Tansu begot a son, Īlina, by Kālingī:' तंसुं सरस्वतोपुत्रं मतिनारादजीजनत् । ईलिनिं जनयामास कालिंग्यां तंसुरात्मजं ॥

13 The Vāyu, Matsya, and Bhāgavata agree with our text in making these the grandsons of Tansu: even the Brāhma P. concurs, but the Hari V. makes them his sons, having apparently transformed Tansosuta (तंसो सुतः), the son of Tansu, into a synonym of Tansu, or Tansurodha as in these parallel passages: तंसो सुतोऽथराजर्षिधर्मनेत्रः प्रतापवान् । उपदानवी ततो पुत्रान् चतुरोऽजनयच्छुभान् ॥ 'The son of Tansu was the illustrious sage Dharmanetra: Upadānavī had from him four excellent sons.' Brāhma P. तंसुरोधोऽथराजर्षिधर्मनेत्रः प्रतापवान् । उपदानवी सुतान् लेभे चतुरस्तंसुरोधतः ॥ 'Tansurodha was a royal sage, the illustrious institutor of laws. Upadānavī had four sons from Tansurodha.' Hari V. The commentator explains Dharmanetra (धर्मनेत्र) to be 'institutor of laws' (धर्मप्रवर्तकः). We have Upadānavī before, as the daughter of Vrishaparvan the Daitya, married to Hiraṇyāksha. Homilton (Buchanan) calls her the wife of Sughora. The four sons are named in other authorities, with some variations: Dushyanta, Sushyanta or Rishyanta or Sumanta, Pravira and Angaha or Naya. The Mahābhārata enumerates five. Dushyanta, Śūra, Bhima, Vasu, and Pravasū, but makes them the sons of Īlina and grandsons of Tansu.

14 These two Ślokas are taken from the Mahābhārata. Ādi Parvan, and are part of the testimony borne by a heavenly messenger to the birth of Bharata. They are repeated in the same book, in the account of the family of Puru. They occur, with a slight variation of the order, in other Purāṅas, as the Vāyu, &c., and show the greater antiquity of the story of Śakuntalā, although they do not narrate it. The meaning

भरतस्य च पत्नीनां ये नव पुत्रा बभूवुः, नैते ममानुरूपाः पुत्रा इत्यभिहिता
 तन्मातरो जघ्नुः परित्यागभयात् ॥५॥

ततोऽस्य पुत्रजन्मनि द्रितथे पुत्रार्थिनो मरुदस्त्रोमयाजिनो दीर्घतमसा
 पाष्ण्यपास्तब्रह्मस्पति वीर्याद्व्रतथ्यपत्नी-ममतासमुत्पन्नो भरद्वाजाख्यः पुत्रो
 मरुद्भिर्दत्तः तस्यापि नामनिर्व्वचनश्लोकः पठ्यते ॥६॥

मूढे ! भरद्वाजमिमं भरद्वाजं ब्रह्मस्पते !

यातौ यदुक्ता पितरौ भरद्वाजस्ततस्त्वयम् ॥७॥

भरद्वाजश्च तस्य वितथे पुत्रजन्मनि मरुद्भिर्दत्तः, ततो वितथसंज्ञामवाप

Bharata had by different wives nine sons, but they were put to death by their own mothers, because Bharata remarked that they bore no resemblance to him, and the women were afraid that he would therefore desert them. The birth of his sons being thus unavailing, Bharata sacrificed to the Maruts, and they gave him Bharadvāja, the son of Vṛhaspati by Mamatā the wife of Utathya, expelled by the kick of Dirghatamas, his half brother, before his time. This verse explains the purport of his appellation; " 'Silly woman,' said Vṛhaspati, 'cherish this child of two fathers' (bhara dwá-jam). 'No, Vṛhaspati,' replied Mamatā, do you take care of him.' So saying, they both abandoned him; but from their expressions the boy was called Bharadvāja." He was also termed Vitatha, in allusion to the unprofitable (vitatha) birth of the sons of Bharata.¹⁵ The son of Vitatha was

of the name Bharata is differently explained in Śakuntalā ; he is said to be so called from 'supporting' the world : he is also there named Śarvadamaṇa, 'the conqueror of all.'

15 The Bráhma P. and Hari V., the latter especially, appear to have modified this legend, with the view perhaps of reconciling those circumstances which are related of Bharadvāja as a sage with his history as a king. Whilst therefore they state that Bharadvāja was brought by the winds to Bharata, they state that he was so brought to perform a sacrifice, by which a son was born, whom Bharadvāja also inaugurated: धर्मसंक्रमणं

चापि मरुद्भिर्भरताय वै । अयाजयद्भरद्वाजो महद्भिः कतुभिर्हितं । पूर्वं तु वितथे तस्य
 कृते पुत्रजन्मनि । ततोऽर्थं विन्नथो नाम भरद्वाजात् सुतोऽभवत् ॥ In the Váyu, Matsya, and Agni, however, the story is much more consistently narrated; and Bharadvāja, being abandoned by his natural parent, is brought by the winds, as a child, not as sage ; and being adopted by Bharata, is one and the same with Vitatha, as our text relates. Thus in the Váyu, the Maruts bring to Bharata, already sacrificing for progeny (भरद्वाजं ततः पुत्रं वाहस्पत्यं), Bharadvāja, the son of Vṛhaspati ; and Bharata receiving him, says, "This Bharadvāja shall be Vitatha :", ततः सवितथो नाम भरद्वाजस्तदास्म्यहं । The Matsya also says, the Maruts in compassion

वितथस्य भवन्मन्युः पुत्रोऽभूत् । बृहत्क्षत्र-महावीर्य्य-नर-गर्गाद्या भवन्म
न्युपुत्राः । नरस्य संकृतिः, संकृतेः रुचिरधी-रन्तिदेवौ । गर्गाच्छनिस्ततो
गार्ग्याः शैन्याः क्षत्रोपेता द्विजातयो बभूवुः ॥९॥

Bhavanmanyu;¹⁶ his sons were many, and amongst them the chief were Vṛhatkshātra, Mahāvīryya, Nara, and Garga.¹⁷ The son of Nara was Sankriti; his sons were Ruchiradhī and Rantideva.¹⁸ The son of Garga was Śini,¹⁹ and their descendants called Gārgyas and

took the child, and being pleased with Bharata's worship, gave it to him, and he was named Vitatha : जग्दुस्तं भरद्वाजं मरुतः कृपयान्विताः । तेन ते

मरुतस्तस्य मरुत्तोमेन दुष्टदुः । उपनिन्यु भरद्वाजं पुत्रार्थं भरताय वै । पूर्वं तु वितथे
तस्मिन् कृते वै पुत्रजन्मनि । ततस्तु वितथो नाम भरद्वाजो नृपो भवान् ॥ And the

Agni tells the whole story in one verse : ततो मरुद्भिरानीय पुत्रस्तु तु बृहस्पतेः ।

संक्रामितो भरद्वाजः ऋतुभिर्वितथोऽभवत् । 'Then the son of Vrihaspati, being taken by the winds, Bharadvāja was transferred with sacrifice, and was Vitatha.' The account given in the Bhāgavata is to the same purpose. The commentator on the text also makes the matter clear enough :

भरद्वाजस्यैव भरतपुत्रत्वदशायां वितथेतितानाम् । 'The name of Bharadvāja in the

condition of son of Bharata was Vitatha.' It is clear that a new-born infant could not be the officiating priest at a sacrifice for his own adoption, whatever the compiler of the Hāri Vamśa may please to assert. From Bharadvāja, a Brāhman by birth, and king by adoption, descended

Brahmans and Kshatriyas, the children of two fathers : तस्मादेव भरद्वा

जाद्वाङ्गयाः क्षत्रिया भुवि । द्वामुख्यायणनामानः स्मृता द्विपितरस्तु वै ॥ The Mahā-

bhārata, in the Ādi Parvan, tells the story very simple. In one place, v. 3710, it says that Bharata, on the birth of his children proving vain, obtained from Bharadvāja, by great sacrifices, a son, Bhūmanyu ; and in another passage it makes Bhūmanyu the son of Bharata by Sunandā, daughter of Sarvasena, king of Kāśī ; p. 139, v. 3785. The two are not incompatible.

16 Manyu : Bhāgavata. Suketu : Agni. But the Brahma and Hari V. omit this and the next generation, and make Suhotra, Anuhotra, Gaya, Garga, and Kapila the sons of Vitatha : they then assign to Suhotra two sons, Kāśika and Ghritsamati, and identify them and their descendants with the progeny of Āyu, who were kings of Kāśī (see Bk. IV. Ch. VIII. n. 15) ; a piece of confusion unwarranted by any other authority except the Agni.

17 Vrihat, Ahārya, Nara, Garga : Matsya.

18 Guruvīrya and Trideva : Vāyu. The first is called Gurudhī, Matsya ; and Guru, Bhāgavata : they agree in Rantideva. The Bhāgavata describes the great liberality of this prince, and his practice of Yoga. According to a legend preserved in the Megha Duta, his sacrifices of kine were so numerous, that their blood formed the river Charmanvatī, the modern Chambal.

19 Śivi : Matsya.

महावीर्यादृक्षयो नाम पुत्रोऽभूत् । तस्य त्रय्यारुण-पुष्करिण्यौ
कपिलश्च पुत्रत्रयमभूत् । तच्च त्रितयमपि पश्चाद् विप्रतामुपजगाम । बृहत्
नत्रस्य सुहोत्रः, सुहोत्राद् हस्ती, य इदं हस्तिनापुरमारोपयामास ।

Sainyas, although Kshatriyas by birth, became Brahmans.²⁰ The son of Mahávirya was Urukshaya,²¹ who had three sons, Trayyárūna, Pushkarin, and Kapi;²² the last of whom became a Brahman. The son of Vrihatkshatra was Suhotra.²³ whose son was Hastin, who found-

20 The other authorities concur in this statement ; thus furnishing an additional instance of one caste proceeding from another. No reason is assigned : the commentator says it was from some cause : केनचित् कारणाद्वाङ्मणाश्चबभूवुः ।

21 Durbhakshaya : Váyu. Urukshat : Matsya. Duritakshaya : Bhágavata.

22 Trayyárūni, Pushkarárūni, Kavi ; all became Brahmans : उरुक्षतः सुताद्येते सर्वे ब्राह्मणतां गताः । Matsya : and there were three chief branches of the Kávyas, or desendants of Kavi ; काव्यानां तु वराह्येते त्रयः प्रोक्ता महर्षयः गर्गाः । संकृतयः काव्याः क्षत्रोपेता द्विजातयः ॥ Gargas, Sankrities, and Kávyas. Ibid.

23 In the Mahábhárata, Suhotra is the son of Bhūmanyu ; and in one place the father of Ajamídha, &c., and in another of Hastin. The Bráhma P. in some degree, and the Hari Vamśa in a still greater, have made most extraordinary confusion in the instance of this name. In our text and in all the best authorities we have three Suhotras, perfectly distinct : 1. Suhotra, great-grandson of Amávasu, father of Jahnu, and ancestor of Viśvámitra and the Kauśikas (see Bk. III. Ch. XI.); 2. Suhotra son of Kshatravridha, and grandson of Ayus, and progenitor of the race of Káśi kings (Bk. IV. Ch. VIII.) ; and 3. Suhotra the son of Vrihatkshatra, grandson of Vitatha, and parent of Hastin. In the two bludering compilations mentioned, we have, first (Hari V. c. 20), a Suhotra son of Vrihatkshatra, of the race of Puru ; his descent is not given, but, from the names which follow Suhotra, the dynasty is that of our present text : secondly (Hari V. c. 27), Suhotra son of Kānchana, of the line of Amávasu,

and father of Jahau, &c.: thirdly (Hari V. c. 29), Suhotra the son of Kshatravridha, and progenitor of the Káśi kings: fourthly (Hari V. 32), we have the first and third of these personages confounded ; Suhotra is made the son of Vitatha, and progenitor of the Káśi kings, the dynasty of whom is repeated ; thus connecting them with the line of Puru instead of Ayus, in opposition to all authority. Again, we have a notable piece of confusion, and Suhotra the son of Vitatha is made the father of Vrihat, the father of the three princes who in our text and in the Hari V. (c. 20) are the sons of Hastin ; and amongst whom Ajamídha is made the father of Jahnu, and ancestor of the Kauśikas, instead of being, as in c. 27, and as every where else, of the family of Amávasu. The source of all this confusion is obvious. The compilers extracted all the authentic traditions accurately enough, but, puzzled by the identity of name, they have also

अजमीढ-द्विमीढ-पुरमीढाख्यो हस्तिनस्तनयाः अजमीढात् कण्वः, कण्वाद्
मेघा तिथिः, यतः काण्वायना द्विजाः ॥१०॥

अजमीढस्यान्यः पुत्रो बृददिषुः, बृहदिषोर्बृहद्वसुः, ततश्च बृहत्कर्मा,
तस्माज्जयद्रथः । ततोऽपि विश्वजित्, ततश्च सेनजित् । रुचिराश्व-काश्य-दृढ-
धनुर्वत्सहनुसंज्ञाः सेनजितः पुत्राः । रुचिराश्वतः पृथुसेनः, तस्मात्
पारः, पाराद् नीपः । तस्यैक शतं पुत्राणाम्, तेषां प्रधानः काम्पिव्या
घ्नपतिः समरः ॥११॥

ed the city of Hastinapur.²⁴ The sons of Hastin were Ajamīdha,²⁵
Dwimīdha, and Purumīdha. One son of Ajamīdha was Kaṇwa, whose
son was Medhātithi;²⁶ his other son was Vrihadishu, whose son was
Vrihadvasu;²⁷ his son was Vrihatkarman;²⁸ his son was Jayadratha²⁹;
his son was Viśvajit;³⁰ his son was Senajit, whose sons were
Ruchirāśva, Kāśya, Driḍhadhanush, and Vasahanu.³¹ The son of
Ruchirāśva was Prithusena; his son was Pāra; his son was Nīpa;
he had a hundred sons, of whom Samara, the principal, was the ruler
of Kāmpilya.³² Samara had three sons, Pāra, Sampāra, Sadaśva. The

mixed the different accounts together, and caused very absurd and
needless perplexity. It is quite clear also that the Hari Vamśa does not
deserve the pains taken, and taken fruitlessly, by Hamilton and
M. Langlois to reduce it to consistency. It is of no weight whatever
as an authority for the dynasties of kings, although it furnishes some
particular details, which it has picked up possibly from authentic sources
not now available.

24 It was finally ruined by the encroachments of the Ganges, but
vestiges of it were, at least until lately, to be traced along the river,
nearly in a line with Delhi, about sixty miles to the east.

25 In one place, son of Suhotra; in another, grandson of Hastin:
Mahābhārata.

26 The copies agree in this reading, yet it can scarcely be correct.
Kaṇwa has already been noticed as the son of Apratiratha. According
to the Bhāgavata, the elder son of Ajamīdha was Priyamedhas, from
whom a tribe of Brahmans descended. The Matsya has Vrihadhanush,
and names the wife of Ajamīdha, Dhūminī. It also however, along with
the Vāyu, makes Kaṇwa the son of Ajamīdha by his wife Keśinī.

27 Vrihadhanush: Bhāgavata. Also called Vrihadharman:
Hari V.

28 Vrihatkaya: Bhāgavata.

29 Satyajit: Hari V.

30 Aśvajit: Matsya, Viśada: Bhāgavata.

Bhāgavata

Matsya

Hari V.

31 Ruchirāśva
Kāśya
Driḍhadhanu
Vatsa

Ruchirāśva
Kāśya
Driḍhāśva
Vatsa k. of
Avanti.

Ruchira
Śwetaketu
Mahimnāra
Vatsa k. of
Avanti,

32 Kāmpilya appears to be the Kampil of the Mohammedans,

समरस्यापि पार-सम्पार-सदश्वान्त्रयः पृत्राः । पारात् पृथुः, पृथोः सुकृतिः
सुकृतेर्विभ्राजः ततश्चानुहः । स च शुक्रदुहितरं कीर्त्तिं नामोपयेमे ॥१२॥

अनुहाद् ब्रह्मदत्तः, ततो विष्वक्सेनः, तस्योदक्सेनः, ततो भल्लाटः,
son of Pára was Prithu; his son was Sukriti; his son was Vibhrátra³³;
his son was Anuha, who married Kritví, the daughter of Suka (the
son of Vyása), and had by her Brahmádatta;³⁴ his son was Viśwaksena;
his son was Udaksena;³⁵ and his son was Bhalláta.³⁶

तस्यात्मजो द्विमीढः, द्विमीढस्य यवीनरसंज्ञः, तस्यापि धृतिमान्, ततः
सत्यधृतिः, ततश्च दृढनेमिः, तस्माच्च सुपाश्वर्यः, ततः, सुमतिः, ततश्च
सन्नतिमान्, सन्नतिमतः, कृतोऽभूत् । यं हिरण्यनाभयोगमध्यापयामास,
यश्चतुर्विंशति प्राच्यसामगानां चकार संहिताः ॥१३॥

कृताच्चोप्रायुधः, येन प्राचुर्येण नृपक्षयः कृतः ॥१४॥

The son of Dwimídhá³⁷ was Yavínara ; his son was Dhritimat ;³⁸
his son was Satyadhriti ; his son was Dridhanemi ; his son was Su-
párśwa ;³⁹ his son was Sumati ; his son was Sannatimat ; his son was
Krita, to whom Hiranyanábha taught the philosophy of the Yoga, and
he compiled twenty-four Samhitás (or compendia) for the use of the
eastern Brahmans, who study the Sáma-veda.⁴⁰ The son of Krita was
Ugráyudha, by whose prowess the Nípa race of Kshatriyas was de-

situated in the Doab. It was included in southern Páncshála. The Matsya
makes Samara the son of Kásya.

33 Vibhrája in MSS., also in the Váyu.

34 The Bhágavata omits the descents subsequent to Nípa, and makes
Brahmadatta the son of Nípa by Sukriti. In the Hari V. is a curious
legend of the different transmigrations of Brahmádatta and his six
companions, who were successively as many Brahmans, then foresters,
then deer, then water-fowl, then swans, and finally Brahmans again,
when with the king they obtained liberation. According to the Bhága-
vata, Brahmádatta composed a treatise on the Yoga, a Yoga trantra.

35 Daṇḍasena : Hari V.

36 Bhalláka : Váyu. Bhalláda : Bhágavata. The Váyu makes
him the last of the race. The Hari V. adds that he was killed by Kárṇa.
The Matsya names his successor Janamejaya, when the race of the
Nípas was exterminated by Ugráyudha ; as noticed below.

37 So the Váyu and Bhágavata. The Matsya and Hari V., with less
consistency, derive this family also from Ajamídhá.

38 Kritimat : Bhágavata.

39 Between these two the Váyu inserts Mahat and Rukmaratha.
The Matsya, Sudhanvan, Śarvabhauma, Mahápurava, and Rukmadhara.
The Bráhma P., Sudharman, Śarvabhauma, Mahat, and Rukmaratha.

40 The Bhágavata says he was the author of six Samhitás of the
Sáma-veda. (See Bk. III. Ch. VI.).

उग्रायुधात् क्षेम्यः, तस्मात् सुवीरः, तस्य नृपञ्जयः ततो बहुरथः । इत्येते पौरवाः ।

stroyed ;⁴¹ his son was Kshemya ; his son was Suvira , his son was Ntipanjaya;⁴² his son was Bahuratha. These were all called Pauravas.

अजमीढस्य नीलिनी नाम पत्नी. तस्यां नीलसंज्ञः पत्रोऽभवत् । तस्मादपि शान्तिः, शान्तेः सुशान्तिः, सुशान्तेः पुरुजानुः ततश्चक्षुः, ततो हर्य्यश्वः, तस्माद् मुद्गल सृञ्जय-वृहदिषु-प्रवीर-काम्पिल्याः । पञ्चानामेतेषां विषयाणां रक्षणायालमेते मत्पुत्राः इति पित्राभिहिताः, अतस्ते पाञ्चालाः ॥१५॥

मुद्गलाच्च मौद्गल्याः क्षत्रोपेता द्विजातयो बभूवुः । मुद्गलाद् वृद्धश्वः,

Ajamidha had a wife called Nilini, and by her he had a son named Nila; his son was Santi; his son was Susanti ; his son was Purujanu;⁴³ his son was Chakshu ;⁴⁴ his son was Haryyasva,⁴⁵ who had five sons, Mudgala, Srinjaya,⁴⁶ Vrihadishu, Pravira,⁴⁷ and Kampilya.⁴⁸ Their father said, "These my five (pancha) sons are able (alam) to protect the countries;" and hence they were termed the Panchalas.⁴⁹ From Mudgala descended the Maudgalya Brahmans:⁵⁰ he had also a son

41 The Hari V. says he killed Nipa, the grandfather of Prishata, but it had previously stated that it was the son of Bhallata, several descents after Nipa, who was killed by Ugrayudha: and again (c. 32), Prishata, conformably to other authorities, appears as the father of Drupada, in the family of Srinjaya. The Hari V. relates the destruction of Ugrayudha by Bhishma, in consequence of his demanding in marriage the widow of Santanu: after which, Prishata, it is said, recovered possession of Kampilya.

42 Puranjaya: Bhagavata.

43 Purujati: Vayu. Puruja: Bhagavata. The Brahma P. and Hari V. omit Nila and Santi.

44 Riksha: Vayu. Prithu: Matsya. Arka: Bhagavata. Omitted: Brahma.

45 Bahyasva: Agni. Bhadrasva: Mats. Bharmyasva: Bhagavata.

46 Jaya: Matsya. Sanjaya: Bhagavata.

47 Yavinara: Agni and Bhagavata. Javinara: Matsya.

48 Kapila: Mats. Krimilasva: Brahma.

49 Panchala was at first the country north and west of Delhi, between the foot of the Himalaya and the Chambal. It was afterwards divided into northern and southern Panchala, separated by the Ganges. Makandi on the Ganges and Kampilya were the chief cities of the latter; Ahikshetra in the former. The Panchalas, according to the Mahabharata, expelled Samvarana from Hastinapur, but it was recovered by Kuru. The purport of the term Panchala is similarly explained in other Puranas. In the Mahabharata they are the grandsons of Ajamidha.

50 The Matsya says that they, as well as the Kanvas, were all followers or partisans of Angiras: मुद्गलस्यापिमौद्गल्याः क्षत्रोपेता द्विजातयः

वृद्धश्वाद् दिवोदासः- अहल्या च मिथुनमभूत् । शरद्वतोऽहल्यायां शता
नन्दोऽभवत् । शतानन्दात् सत्यधृतिः धनुर्वेदान्तगो जज्ञे । सत्यधृतेस्तु
वराप्सरसमुर्वशीं दृष्ट्वा रेतः स्कन्नं शरस्तम्बे पपात ॥१६॥

तच्च द्विधागतमपत्यद्वयं कुमारः कन्यका च अभवत् । मृगयामुपागतः
शान्तनुर्दृष्ट्वा कृपया जग्राह ॥१७॥

ततः स कुमारः कृपः, कन्या चाश्वत्थाम्नो जननी कृपी द्रोणपत्न्यभवत्
named Bahwaśva,⁵¹ who had two children, twins, a son and daughter,
Divodása and Ahalyá. The son of Saradvat or Gautama by Ahalyá
was Satánanda;⁵² his son was Satyadhriti, who was a proficient in mili-
tary science. Being enamoured of the nymph Urvaśí, Satyadhriti was
the parent of two children, a boy and girl. Sántanu, a Raja, whilst
hunting, found these children exposed in a clump of long Sara grass;
and, compassionating their condition, took them, and brought them
up. As they were nurtured through pity (kripá), they were called
Kripa and Kripí. The latter became the wife of Droṇa, and the
mother of Aswattháman.

दिवोदासस्य मित्रयुः, मित्रयोश्च्यवनो नाम राजा, च्यवनात् सुदासः, ततः
सौदासः सहदेवः, तस्यापि सोमकः, ततो जन्तुः शतपुत्र ज्येष्ठोऽभवत् । तेषां
यवीयान् पृषतः, पृषताद् द्रुपदः, तस्माद् धृष्टद्युम्नः, तस्माद् धृष्टकेतुः ।

The son of Divodása was Mitráyu;⁵³ his son was Chyavana; his son
was Sudása; his son was Saudása, also called Sahadeva; his son was
Somaka; he had a hundred sons, of whom Jantu was the eldest, and
Prishata the youngest. The son of Prishata was Drupada; his son was
Dhrishtadyumna; his son was Drištaketu.

एतेष्वनिरसः पक्षे संस्थिताः कण्वपुत्रलाः । The Hari V. has nearly the same
words.

51 Badhryáśva : Váyu. Pancháśva : Agni. Bandhyáśva : Matsya.
Bhármya : Bhágavata. But there is some indistinctness as to his descent.
The Matsya and Hari V. give the son of Mudgala only his patronymic
Maudgalya. According to the first, his son was Indrasena; and his
son, Bandhyáśva. The second makes Badhryáśva the son of Maudgalya
by Indrasena. The Bhágavata makes Bhármya, the patronymic of
Mudgala, the son of Barmyáśva, and who is the father of Divodása
and Ahalya: मिथुनं मुद्गलाङ्गाम्भ्यां दिवोदासः पुमाभभूत् । The commentator
has, भास्मर्णात् भस्मर्णाच्चपुत्रात् ।

52 In the Rámayaṇa, Satananda appears as the family priest of
Janaka, the father of Śítá.

53 From whom the Maitreya Brahmans were descended: Hari V.
In the Matsya and Agni the son of Mitráyu is called Maitreya
(Bk. I. ch. I) The Bráhma P. and Hari V. here close the lineage of

अजमीढस्यान्य ऋक्षनामा पुत्रोऽभूत् । ऋक्षात् संवराणः, संवराणात्
कुरुः, य इदं धर्मक्षेत्रं कुरुक्षेत्रं चकार ॥१८॥

सुधनु-र्जह्नु-परिक्षित्-प्रमुखाः कुरोः पुत्रा बभूवुः । सुधनुषः सुहोत्रः,
तस्माच्च्यवनः, च्यवनात् कृतकः, ततश्चोपरिचरो वसुः । बृहद्रथ-
प्रत्यग्र-कुशाम्ब-मावेल्ल-मत्स्यप्रमुखा वसोः पुत्राः सप्ताजायन्त । बृहद्रथात्
कुशाग्रः, तस्मादृषभः, ततः पुष्पवान्, तस्मात् सुधन्वा, तस्य च जन्तुः ।

Another son of Ajamīdha was named Riksha;⁵⁴ his son was Samvaraṇa; his son was Kuru, who gave his name to the holy district Kurukshetra; his sons were Sudhanush, Jahnu, Parīkshit, and many others.⁵⁵ The son of Sudhanush was Suhotra; his son was Chyavana; his son was Kritaka;⁵⁶ his son was Uparichara the Vasu,⁵⁷ who had seven children, Vrihadratha, Pratyagra, Kuśāmba, Mávella, Matsya, and others. The son of Vrihadratha was Kuśāgra; his son was Rishabha;⁵⁸ his son was Pushpavat; his son was Satyadhrita;⁵⁹ his son was Sudhanwan; and his son was Jantu. Vrihadratha had another son, Divodása: the Agni adds but one name, Somāpi. They then proceed with the descendants of Srinjaya, one of the Pāñchālas, or Panchadhanush, Somadatta, Sahadeva, and then as in our text. The Vāyu and Bhāgavata agree with the latter in making the line continuous from Divodása. According to the Matsya and Brāhma P. the race of Ajamīdha became extinct in the person of Sahadeva, but Ajamīdha himself was reborn as Somaka, in order to continue his lineage, which was thence called the Somaka family. It was in the reign of Drupada that the possessions of the Pāñchālas were divided; Droṇa, assisted by the Pāṇḍavas, conquering the country, and ceding the southern portion again to Drupada, as related in the Mahābhārata. The two princes last named in the list figure in the great war.

54 The Hari V. gives him two brothers, Dhūmravarṇa and Sudarśana. In the Mahābhārata one list agrees with the text; the other calls Samvarāṇa the son of Ajamīdha by his wife Rikshā.

55 One other is named in the Bhāgavata, Matsya, Brāhma, and Agni; Animejaya, Arimarddana, and Nishadhāśva. The Hari V. has Sudhanwat in place of Jahnu; having also Sudhanush.

56 Krita: Vāyu. Kritayajna: Brāhma. Krimi: Matsya, Kriti: Bhāgavata.

57 The story of Uparichara, or a Vasu who by command of Indra became king of Chedi, is told in the Mahābhārata, Ādi Parvan. He is there said to have at first five sons, Vrihadratha, king of Magadha, Pratyagra, Kuśāmba, also called Manivāhana, Mávella, and Yadu, by his wife Girikā; afterwards he has, by Adrikā, an Apsaras condemned to the form of a fish, Matsya a son, and Satyavati or Kālī a daughter: the latter was the mother of Vyāsa. The same legend is referred to in the accounts of Uparichara and his family in the Bhāgavata, Matsya, Hari V., &c.

58 Vrishabha: Matsya.

59 Satyajita: Vāyu. Satyahita: Bhāgavata. Satyadhrita or Pushya: Matsya.

बृहद्रथाच्चान्यः शकलद्वयजन्मा जरया सन्धितो जरासन्धो नाम । तस्मात्
सत्यधृतः, तस्मात् सहदेवः, ततः सौमापिः ततः श्रुतश्रवाः । इत्येते मागध
भृश्रुतः ॥१९॥

who being born in two parts, which were put together (sandhita) by a female fiend named Jará, he was denominated Jarásandha ;⁶⁰ his son was Sahadeva ; his son was Somápi ;⁶¹ his son was Srutaśravas.⁶² These were kings of Magadhá.

CHAPTER XX

परिक्षितो जनमेजय-श्रुतसेनोग्रसेन-भीमसेनाश्रुत्वारः पुत्राः ॥१॥

जह्नोस्तु सुरथो नामात्मजो बभूव ॥२॥

तस्य विदूरथः, विदूरथस्य सार्वभौमः, सार्वभौमाज्जयसेनः, तस्मा
Parikshit, the son of Kuru, had four sons, Janamejaya, Srutasena, Ugrasena, and Bhímasena¹. The son of Jahnu was Suratha; his son was Vidúratha; his son was Śarvabhauma; his son was Jayasena, his

60 This story is told in the 16th section of the Sabhá Parvan of the Mahábhárata, where also he is called the son of Vrihadratha. In the Váyu he is the son of Satyajita. The Agni has Satyahita, Urjja, Sambhava, Jarásandha ; and the Matsya, Satyadhrita, Dhanusha, Śarva, Sambhava, Jarásandha.

61 Somádhi: Váyu. Udápi: Agni. Udáyus: Bráhma. Somavit: Matsya.

62 Śrutakarman: Agni. Śrutaśarman: Bráhma.

1 This, although it occurs in other authorities, appears to be an error, for these are the sons of a subsequent Parikshit (see the next chapter). The Matsya omits Parikshit here, and the Bhágavata states that he had no children. In most of the Puráṇas, however, the line of Parikshit is continued, but there is very great confusion in the lineage. According to the Váyu, Janamejaya was the son of Parikshit, whose son was Srutasena, whose son was Bhímasena, Janamejaya had also a son named Suratha ; but Suratha was also the name of the son of Jahnu, from whom the line continues as in the text. The Bráhma P. and Hari V. also make Suratha the son both of Janamejaya and of Jahnu ; and they observe that there are two Rikshas, two Parikshits, three Bhímasenas, and two Janamejayas, in the lunar race. Some of the confusion probably originates with the Mahábhárata, which, as before noticed, gives two lists from Puru to Śántanu, differing from one another and from all the lists of the Puráṇas. In the first of these lists such collateral names have been retained as appear to have furnished our text and that of other Puráṇas with distinct persons: thus making the members of one fraternity so many descents. Of the two lists, however, the second is probably to be regarded as the more recent, if not more correct ; for Vaiśampáyana repeats it at Janamejaya's request, because the latter is not satisfied with the summary account which the former had first communicated to him. Mahábh. vol. J. p. 136 and p. 138.

दारावी, ततश्चायुतायुः, अयुतायोरक्रोधनः, तस्माद् देवातिथिः, ततश्च ऋक्षोऽन्यः ॥३॥

ऋक्षाद् भीमसेनः, ततश्च दिलीपः, दिलीपात् प्रतीपः तस्यापि देवापि-शान्तनु-ब्राह्मीकसंज्ञास्त्रयः पुत्रा बभूवुः देवापिर्बाल्य एवारण्यं विवेश।४ शान्तनुरवनीपतिरभवत् । अयञ्च तस्य श्लोकः पृथिव्यां गीयते ॥

यं य कराभ्यां स्पृशति जीरां यौवनमेति सः ।

शान्तिञ्चाप्नोति येनाभ्यां कर्मणा तेन शान्तनुः ॥५॥

son was Āravīn; his son was Ayutáyus; his son was Akrodhana; one of his sons was Devatithi, and another was called Riksha; his son was Dilīpa; his son was Prátīpa, who had three sons, Devápi, Śántanu, and Báhlīka. The first adopted in childhood a forest life, and Śántanu became king. Of him this verse is spread through the earth; "Śántanu is his name, because if he lays his hands upon an old man, he restores him to youth, and by him men obtain tranquillity (śānti)."

तस्य शान्तनो राष्ट्रं द्वादशवर्षाणि देवो न वर्षति ॥६॥

ततश्चाशेषराष्ट्रविनाशमवेक्ष्यासौ राजा ब्राह्मणनपृच्छत्,—भोः ! कस्मादस्मिन् राष्ट्रे देवो न वर्षति, को ममापराध इति । ते तमूचुः—अग्रजस्य तेऽर्ह्ये मवनिस्त्वया भुज्यते, परिवेत्ता त्वम्, इत्युक्तः । स पुनस्तानपृच्छत्, किं मया विधेयमिति । ते तमूचुः यावद् देवापिर्न पतनादिभिर्दृषैरभिभूयते, तावत्तस्याहं राज्यं, तदलमेतेन, तस्मै दीयताम्, इत्युक्तं तस्य मन्त्रिप्रवरेणाश्मसारिणा तत्रारण्ये तपस्विने वेदवादविरोधवक्तारः प्रयोजिताः ॥७॥

तैरप्यत्यजुमतेर्महीपतिपुत्रस्य बुद्धिर्वेदविरोध मार्गानुसारिण्यक्रियत ॥८॥

In the kingdom over which Śántanu ruled there was no rain for twelve years. Apprehensive that the country would become a desert, the king assembled the Brahmans, and asked them why no rain fell, and what fault he had committed. They told him that he was as it were a younger brother married before an elder, for he was in the enjoyment of the earth, which was the right of his elder brother Devápi. "What then am I to do?" said the Rájá: to which they replied, "Until the gods shall be displeased with Devápi, by his declining from the path of righteousness, the kingdom is his, and to him therefore you should resign it." When the minister of the king Asmarisárin, heard this, he collected a number of ascetics who taught doctrines opposed to those of the vedas, and sent them into the forest; where meeting with Devápi, they perverted the understanding of the simple-minded prince, and led him to adopt heretical notions. In the

राजा च शान्तनुद्विजवचनोत्पन्नपरिवेदनशोकस्तान् ब्राह्मणानग्रणीकृत्य
अग्रजराज्यप्रदानायारण्य जगाम । तदाश्रममुपगताश्च तमवनीपतिपुत्रं देवा
पिमुपतस्थुः । ते ब्राह्मणा वेदवादानुबद्धानि वचांसि राज्यमग्रजन कर्तव्य
मित्यर्थवन्ति तमूचुः । असावपि वेदवादविरोधियुक्तिदूषितमनेकप्रकार
तानाह । ततस्ते ब्राह्मणाः शान्तनुमूचुः, आगच्छ भो राजन ! अलमत्राति
निर्वन्धेन, प्रशान्त एवासावनावृष्टिदोषः पतितोऽयमनादिकाल-महितवेदवचन
दूषणोच्चारणात् । पतिते चाग्रजे नैव परिवेद्य भवति, इत्युक्तः शान्तनुः
स्वपूरमागत्य राज्य- मकरोत् । वेदवादविरोधिवचनोच्चारणदूषिते च

ज्येष्ठेऽस्मिन् भ्रातरि देवापावखिलशस्यनिष्पत्तये द्रवर्ष भगवान् पर्जन्यः ।^१
meantime, Śántanu being much distressed to think that he had been
guilty of the offence intimated by the Brahmans, sent them before
him into the woods and then proceeded thither himself, to restore the
kingdom to his elder brother. When the Brahmans arrived at the
hermitage of Devápi, they informed him, that, according to the
doctrines of the Vedas, succession to a kingdom was the right of the
elder brother: but he entered into discussion with them, and in
various ways advanced arguments which had the defect of being
contrary to the precepts of the Vedas. When the Brahmans heard
this, they turned to Śántanu, and said, "Come hither, Rájá; you need
give yourself no further trouble in this matter; the dearth is
at an end: this man is fallen from his state, for he has uttered
words of disrespect to the authority of the eternal, uncreated
Veda; and when the elder brother is degraded, there is no sin in the
prior espousals of his junior." Śántanu thereupon returned to his
capital, and administered the government as before; and his elder
brother Devápi being degraded from his caste by repeating doctrines
contrary to the Vedas, Indra poured down abundant rain, which was
followed by plentiful harvests.²

बाह्लीकस्य सोमदत्तः पुत्रोऽभूत् । सोमदत्तस्यापि भूरि-भूरिश्रवः-शल्यसंज्ञास्त्रयः
पुत्राः ।

The son of Bāhlika was Somadatta, who had three sons, Bhūri,
Bhūriśravas, and Sala.³

² The Mahābhārata merely states that Devápi retired to a religious
life. The story of his heresy is narrated, much as in the text, in the
Bhāgavata, Vāyu, &c. The Matsya adds, that he was also leprous; on
which account his subjects contemned him. He was probably set aside
in favour of his younger brother, either on that account or on that of his
heresy; such a disposition being conformable to Hindu law. According
to the Bhāgavata and Matsya he is still alive at a place called Kalāpa
grāma, where, in the Krita age of the next Mahāyuga, he will be the
restorer of the Kshatriya race.

³ The Matsya says that Bāhlika had a hundred sons or lords of the
Bāhlikas.

शान्तनो रप्यमरनद्या गङ्गायामुदारकीर्त्तिरशेषशास्त्रार्थविद् भौष्मः पुत्रोऽभूत् ।
 सत्यवत्याञ्च चित्राङ्गद- विचित्रवीर्य्यौ पुत्रावजनयत् शान्तनुः । चित्राङ्गद-
 स्तु बाल एव चित्राङ्गदेन गन्धर्व्वेणाहवे विनिहतः । विचित्रवीर्य्योऽपि
 काशिसजतनये अम्बिकाम्बालिके उपयेमे । तदुपभोगादिखेदाच्च यक्षमणा
 गृहीतः पञ्चत्वमगमत् । सत्यवतीनियोगाच्च मत्पुत्रः कृष्णद्वैपायनो मातृ
 र्वचनमनतिक्रमणीयमिति विचित्रवीर्य्यक्षेत्रे धृतराष्ट्र-पारङ्गू तत्प्रहितभुजिष्या
 याञ्च विदुरमुत्पादयामास ॥१०॥

धृतराष्ट्रोऽपि दुर्य्योधन-दुःशासनादिप्रधानं पुत्रशतं (गन्धार्य्याम्) उत्पा
 दयामास । पाण्डोरप्यरण्ये मृगशापोपहतप्रजाजननसामर्थ्य्यस्य धर्म-वायु-
 शक्युधिष्ठिर-भीमसेनाज्जुनाः कुन्त्यां, नकुल-सहदेवौ च अश्विभ्यां माद्र्यां
 पञ्च पुत्राः समुत्पादिताः । तेषां द्रौपद्यां पञ्च पुत्रा बभूवुः । युधिष्ठिरात्
 प्रतिविन्ध्यः, भीमसेनात् सुतसोमः, श्रुतकीर्त्तिरज्जुनात्, शतानीको
 नकुलात्, श्रुतकर्म्मा सहदेवात् । अपरे च पाण्डवानामात्मजाः, तद्यथा

The son of Śántanu was the illustrious and learned Bhíshma, who was born to him by the holy river-goddess, Gangá ; and he had by his wife Satyavatí two sons, Chitrángada and Vichitravíryya. Chitrángada, whilst yet a youth, was killed in a conflict with a Gandharba, also called Chitrángada. Vichitravíryya married Ambá and Ambaliká, the daughters of the king of Káśí ; and indulging too freely in connubial rites, fell into a consumption, of which he died. By command of Satyavatí, my son Kṛṣṇa-dwaipáyana, ever obedient to his mother's wishes,⁴ begot upon the widows of his brother the princes Dhritaráshtira and Páñdu, and upon a female servant, Vidura. Dhritaráshtira had Duryodhana, Duśśásana, and other sons, to the number of a hundred. Páñdu having incurred the curse of a deer, whose mate he had killed in the chase, was deterred from procreating children ; and his wife Kuntí bore to him in consequence three sons, who were begotten by the deities Dharma, Váyu, and Indra; namely, Yudhishtira, Bhíma, and Arjuna: and his wife Mádrí had two sons, Nakula and Sahaveva, by the celestial sons of Aśviní. These had each a son by Draupadí. The son of Yudhishtira was Prativindhya ; of Bhíma, Śrutasoma ; of Arjuna, Śrutakírtti ; of Nakula, Śatánika; and of Sahadeva, Śrutakarman. The Pándavas had also other

4 Before her marriage to Śántanu, Satyavati had a son, Kṛṣṇa-dwaipáyana or Vyása, by Paráśara : he was therefore the half brother of Vichitravíryya, and legally qualified to raise up offspring to him by his widow. This law is abrogated in the present age. The whole story of the sons of Śántanu is told at length in the Mahábhárata.

यौधेयी युधिष्ठिराद् देवक पुत्रमवाप । हिडिम्बा घटोत्कचं भीमसेनात्
 पुत्रमवाप । काशी च भीमसेनादेव सर्वत्रगं पुत्रमवाप । सहदेवाच्च
 विजया सुहोत्रं नाम पुत्रं प्राप्तवती । करेणामत्याञ्च नकुलोऽपि निर
 मित्रमजीजनत् । अर्जुनस्याप्युलूप्यां नागकन्यायामिरावान् नाम पुत्रोऽभूत् ।
 मणिपुरपतिपुत्र्याञ्च पुत्रिकाधर्मणे बभ्रुवाहनं नाम पुत्रमजीज च ॥११॥
 सुभद्रायाञ्चार्भकत्वेऽपि योऽसावतिवलपराक्रम समस्तारातिरथविजेता
 सोऽभिमन्युरजायत । अभिमन्योरुत्तरायां परिक्षीणेषु कुरुष्वश्वत्थामप्रयुक्त-
 ब्रह्मास्त्रेण गर्भं एव भस्मीकृतो भगवतः सकलसुरा- सुरवन्दित-चरणयुगल
 स्वात्मेच्छाकारणमानुषरूप- धारिणोऽनुभावात् पुनर्जीवितमवाप्य
 परिक्षित् जज्ञे ॥१२॥

योऽयं साम्प्रतमेतद् भूमण्डलमखण्डितायति धर्मणे पालयतीति ॥१३॥
 sons.⁵ By his wife Yaudheyí, Yudhishtira had Devaka. The son of Bhíma by Hidimbá was Ghatotkacha, and he had also Sarvatraga by his wife Kásí. The son of Sahadeva by Vijayá was Suhotra ; and Niramitra was the son of Nakula by Karenumatí. Arjuna had Irávat by the serpent-nymph Ulupí ; Babhruváhana, who was adopted as the son of his maternal grandfather, by the daughter of the king of Manipura; and, by his wife Subhadrá, Abhimanyu, who even in extreme youth was renowned for his valour and his strength, and crushed the chariots of his foes in fight. The son of Abhimanyu by his wife Uttará was Paríkshit, who, after the Kurus were all destroyed, was killed in his mother's womb by the magic Bráhma weapon, hurled by Asvatthámán : he was however restored to life by the clemency of that being whose feet receive the homage of all the demons and the gods, and who for his own pleasure had assumed a human shape (Kṛshṇa). This prince, Paríkshit, now reigns over the whole world with undivided sway.⁶

5 The Mahábhárata names some of them rather differently, and adds some particulars. Thus Yaudheya was the son of Yudhishtira by his wife Deviká, daughter of Govásana of the Saivya tribe. The son of Bhímasena was Sarvaga, by Balandhará, princess of Kasí ; he had also Ghatotkacha by Hidimbá. Abhimanyu was the son of Arjuna by Subhadrá. The wives and sons of the other two are the same but Karenumatí is termed a princess of Chedí, and Vijayá of Madra.

6 In the details immediately preceding, the Puráṇas generally concur, deriving them probably from the same source, the *Adi Parvan* of the Mahábhárata, and employing very frequently the same words. The period at which the chapter closes is supposed to be that at which the Vyása, who arranged or compiled the Puráṇas, is believed to have flourished. Paríkshit died of the bite of a snake, according to the Mahábhárata, *Adi P.* The Bhágavata is supposed to have been narrated to him in the interval between the bite and its fatal effect.

CHAPTER XXI

अतः परं भविष्यानहं भूमिपालान कीर्त्तयिष्ये । योऽयं साम्प्रतमवनीपतिः,
तस्यापि जनमेजय- श्रुतसेनोग्रसेन-भीमसेनाः पुत्राश्चत्वारो भविष्यन्ति ॥१
तस्यापरः शतानीको भविष्यति । योऽसौ याज्ञवल्क्याद् वेदमधीत्य
कृपादस्त्रायवाप्य विषय विरक्तचित्तवृत्तिश्च शौनकोपदेशादात्मविज्ञानप्रवणः
परं निर्व्वर्णमवाप्स्यति ॥२॥

शतानीकादश्वमेधदत्तो भविता तस्मादप्यधिसीमकृष्णः, अधिसीमकृष्णाद्
निचक्षुः, यो गङ्गापहृते हस्तिनापुरे कौशाम्ब्यां निवत्स्यति । तस्या
I will now enumerate the kings who will reign in future periods.¹
The present monarch, Parīkshit,² will have four sons, Janamejaya,
Śrutasena, Ugrasena, and Bhīmasena.³ The son of Janamejaya will
be Śatānīka,⁴ who will study the Vedas under Yājñyavalkya, and
military science with Kripa; but becoming dissatisfied with sensual
enjoyments, he will acquire spiritual knowledge from the instructions
of Śaunakā, and ultimately obtain salvation. His son will be
Aswamedhadatta (a son given by the gods in reward for the sacrifice
of a horse);⁵ his son will be Asīma-kṛṣṇa;⁶ his son will be Nichakra,⁷

1 The style now adopted is that of prophecy, as Vyāsa could not consistently have recorded the events which were posterior to his time.

2 Also read Parīkshita, Parīksha, and Parīkshi.

3 See Bk. IV. Ch. XX. The Vāyu and Matsya relate, rather obscurely, a dispute between Janamejaya and Vaiśampāyana, in consequence of the former's patronage of the Brahmins of the Vājasaneyi branch of the Yajurveda, in opposition to the latter, who was the author of the black or original Yajush (see Bk. III. Ch V.). Janamejaya twice performed the Aśwamedha according to the Vājasaneyi ritual, and established the Trisarvī, or use of certain texts by Āsmaka and others by the Brahmins of Anga, and by those of the middle country. He perished however in consequence, being cursed by Vaiśampāyana. Before their disagreement Vaiśampāyana related the Mahābhārata to Janamejaya. Mahābh. Ādi Parvan.

4 The reading of the text is rather, 'his (Parīkshit's) other son will be Śatānīka ;' तस्यापरः शतानीको भविष्यति । but the commentator refers 'his' to Janamejaya ; तस्यजनमेजयस्य । The Vāyu, Matsya, and Bhāgavata also make Śatānīka the son of Janamejaya. The Brāhma P. has a totally different series, or Parīkshit; Sūryāpiḍa, Chandrāpiḍa, Janamejaya, Satyakarṇa, Śvetakarṇa, Sukumāra, and Ajaśyāma.

5 The Bhāgavata interposes Sahasrānīka. The Vrihatkathā has the same descent, but calls the son of Sahasrānīka, Udayana or Vatsa. The Bhāgavata has Aśwamedhaja.

6 Adhisāma k. : Vāyu. Adhisoma k. : Matsya. The former states that the Vāyu P. was narrated in this king's reign, in the second year of a three years' sacrifice at Kurukshetra.

7 Nemichakra : Bhāgav. Vichakshus : Matsya. They agree with the text as to the removal of the capital, and the cause.

प्युष्णः पुत्रो भविता । उष्णाच्चित्ररथः, ततः शुचिरथः, तस्माद् वृष्णि
मान्, ततः सुषेणः, तस्मादपि सुनीथः, सुनीथादृचः, ततो नृचक्षुः, तस्यापि
सुखाबलः, तस्मात् परिह्ववः, ततश्च सुनयः, ततो मेधावी, मेधाविनो
नृपञ्जयः, ततो मृदुः, तस्मात् तिग्मः तिग्माद् बृहद्रथः, तस्माद् वसुदानः,
ततोऽप्यपरः शतानीकः ॥३॥

तस्माच्च उदयनः, उदयनादहीनरः, ततश्च खण्डपाणिः, ततो निरमित्रः,
तस्माच्च क्षेमकः । तत्रायं श्लोकः ।

ब्रह्मक्षत्रस्य यो योनिर्वंशो राजर्षिसत्कृतः ।

क्षेमकं प्राप्य राजानं स संस्थां प्राप्स्यते कलौ ॥४

who will remove the capital to Kauśāmbī, in consequence of Hastinā-
pura being washed away by the Ganges; his son will be Ushṇa;⁸ his
son will be Chitraratha; his son will be Vrishnimat;⁹ his son will be
Sunītha;¹⁰ his son will be Richa;¹¹ his son will be Nrichakshu;¹² his
son will be Sukhībala;¹³ his son will be Pariplava; his son will be
Sunaya;¹⁴ his son will be Medhvin; his son will be Nripanjaya;¹⁵
his son will be Mridu;¹⁶ his son will be Tigma;¹⁷ his son will
be Vrihadratha; his son will be Vasudāna;¹⁸ and his son will be
another Satānīka; his son will be Udayana;¹⁹ his son will be Ahīnara;²⁰
his son will be Khaṇḍapāni;²¹ his son will be Niramitra;²² his son will
be Kshemaka;²³ of him this verse is recited; "The race which gave
origin to Brahmans and Kshatriyas, and which was purified by regal
sages, terminated with Kshemaka, in the Kali age."²⁴

8 Ukta : Bhág. Bhūrijyeshṭha : Matsya.

9 Suchidratna, Vāyu ; Suchidrava. Mats. ; Kaviratha, Bhág. ; is
interposed between Chitraratha and Vrishnimat. 10 Sutrītha : Vāyu.

11 Ruchi : Vāyu. Omitted : Mats. and Bhág.

12 Chitrāksha : Vāyu.

13 Sukhīnala : Bhág.

14 Sutapas : Mats.

15 Puranjaya : Mats.

16 Ūrva : Mats. Dūrva : Bhág.

17 Tigmatman : Mats. Timi : Bhágavata.

18 Sudāsa : Bhág. Vasudāman : Mats.

19 The Matsya concurs with the text (see above, note 5), the Bhá-
gavata has Durdaman.

20 Vahīnara : Bhág.

21 Daṇḍapāni : Bhág., Vāyu, Mats.

22 Nimi : Bhág.

23 Kshepaka : Vāyu.

24 The same memorial verse is quoted in the Matsya and Vāyu P.,
preceded by one which states the number of princes twenty-five. The
specification however, commencing with Satānīka, is twenty-six or
twenty-seven. The passage is, पंचविंशतृपाद्येते भविष्याः पूर्व्ववंशजाः ।
अनुवंशराश्लोकोऽयं गीतो विप्रैः पुरातनैः । ब्रह्मक्षत्रस्य यो योनिर्वंशो देवर्षि सत्कृतः ।
क्षेमकं प्राप्य राजानं संस्थां प्राप्स्यति वै कलौ ।

CHAPTER XXII

अतश्चेक्षाकवो भविष्याः पार्थिवाः कथ्यन्ते । बृहद्बलस्य पुत्रो
बृहत्क्षणः ॥१॥

तस्माद् गुरुक्षेपः. ततो वत्सः, वत्साद् वत्सव्यूहः, ततः प्रति
व्योमः, तस्यापि दिवाकरः. तस्मान् सहदेवः ॥२॥

ततो बृहदश्वः, तत्सूतभानुरथः, तस्यापि सुप्रतीकः, ततो मरुदेवः, मरुदेवात्
सुनक्षत्रः, तस्मात् किन्नरः, किन्नरादन्तरिक्षः, तस्मात् सुवर्णः, ततश्चामित्र
जित्, ततश्च बृहद्राजः, तस्यापि धर्म्मो, धर्म्मिणः कृतञ्जयः, कृतञ्जयाद्

रणञ्जयः, रणञ्जयात् सञ्जयः. तस्मात् शाक्यः, शाक्यात् शूद्धोदनः, तस्माद्
I will now repeat to you the future princes of the family of Ikshwāku.¹

The son of Vrihadbala² will be Vrihatkshaya³; his son will be Urukshaya⁴; his son will be Vatsa⁵; his son will be Vatsavyūha⁶; his son will be Prativyoman⁷; his son will be Divākara⁸; his son will be Sahadeva⁹; his son will be Vrihadāśva¹⁰; his son will be Bhānuratha¹¹; his son will be Supratītha¹²; his son will be Marudeva¹³; his son will be Sunakshatra, his son will be Kinnara¹⁴; his son will be Antarīksha¹⁵; his son will be Suvarna¹⁶; his son will be Amitrajit¹⁷; his son will be Vrihadrāja¹⁸; his son will be Dharman¹⁹; his son will be Kritanjaya, his son will be Rañanjaya; his son will be Sanjaya;

1 See Bk. IV. Ch. II.

2 Vrihadratha: Vāyu.

3 Vrihatkshaya: Vāyu. Vrihadraṇa: Bhāg. Omitted: Mats.

4 Omitted: Vāyu. Urukshaya: Mats. Urukriya: Bhāg.

5 Omitted by all three.

6 Vatsavridhā: Bhāg.

7 Prativyūha: Vāyu.

8 The Bhāgavata inserts Bhānu. The Matsya says that Ayodhya was the capital of Divākara. The Vāyu omits the next twelve names; probably a defect in the copies.

9 Dhruvāśva: Mats.

10 Bhānumat: Bhāg. Bhāvvaratha or Bhāvya: Mats.

11 Pratikāśva: Bhāg. Pratīpāśva: Mats.

12 The Bhāgavata and Matsya prefix a Supratīpa or Supratīka.

13 Pushkara: Bhāg.

14 Suparvan or Sumantra: Mats. Sutapas: Bhāg.

15 Amantravit: Matsya.

16 Vrihadbrāja: Bhāg.

17 Omitted: Mats. Varhish: Bhāg.

18 The Bhāgavata and Vāyu have Śākya. My copy of the Matsya has Śādhyā, but the Radcliffe MS., more correctly, no doubt, Śākya (शक्यः).

19 In some copies Krodhodana; but it is also Śuddhodana, Matsya and Vāyu; Śuddhoda, Bhāg.

रातुलः, ततः प्रसेनजित्, ततश्च क्षुद्रकः, ततः कुण्डकः, तस्मादपि सुरथः,
 his son will be Śākya ;¹⁸ his son will be Śuddhodana,¹⁹ his son will
 be Rātula,²⁰ his son will be Prasenajit, his son will be Kshudraka, his
 son will be Kundaka ;²¹ his son will be Suratha.²² his son will be

20 Rāhula: Vāyu. Siddhārtha or Pushkala: Mats. Lāngala: Bhāg. This and the two preceding names are of considerable chronological interest; for Śākya is the name of the author or reviver of Buddhism, whose birth appears to have occurred in the seventh, and death in the sixth century before Christ (B.C. 621—543). There can be no doubt of the individual here intended, although he is out of his place, for he was the son, not the father, of Śuddhodana, and the father of Rāhula; as he is termed in the Amara and Haima Koshas, Śaudhodani or Śuddhodana suta the son of Śuddhodana, and Rāhulasu the parent of Rāhula: so also in the Mahāvamśa, Siddhārtha or Śākya is the son of Śuddhodana, and father of Rāhula. Turnour's translation, p. 9. Whether they are rightly included amongst the princes of the race of Ikshwāku is more questionable, for Śuddhodana is usually described as a petty prince, whose capital was not Ayodhyā, but Kapilavastu. At the same time it appears that the provinces of the Doab had passed into the possession of princes of the lunar line, and the children of the sun may have been reduced to the country north of the Ganges, or the modern Gorakhpur, in which Kapila was situated. The Buddhists do usually consider their teacher Śākya to be descended from Ikshwāku. The chronology is less easily adjusted, but it is not altogether incompatible. According to the lists of the text, Śākya, as the twenty-second of the line of Ikshwāku, is cotemporary with Ripunjaya, the twenty-second and last of the kings of Magadhā, of the family of Jarāsandha; but, agreeably to the Buddhist authorities, he was the friend of

Bimbasāra, a king who in the Paurāṅik list appears to be the fifth of the Śaiśunāga dynasty, and tenth from Ripunjaya. The same number of princes does not necessarily imply equal duration of dynasty, and Ikshwāku's descendants may have out-lived those of Jarāsandha; or, as is more likely for the dynasty was obscure, and is evidently imperfectly preserved—several descents may have been omitted, the insertion of which would reconcile the Paurāṅik lists with those of the Buddhists, and bring Śākya down to the age of Bimbasāra. It is evident, from what occurs in other authorities, that the Aikshwākava princes are regarded as cotemporaries even of the Śaiśunāga dynasty: see c. 24, n. 17.

21 Kshulika: Vāyu. Kulaka or Kshullaka: Mats. Omitted: Bhāg. In the *Mahāvira Charitra*, a work written by the celebrated Hemachandra, in the twelfth century, we have a Prasenajit, king of Magadhā, residing at Rajgriha, succeeded by Śrenika, and he by Kūlika. The Buddhists have a Prasenajit cotemporary with Śākya, son of Mahāpadma, king of Magadhā. There is some confusion of persons either in the Paurāṅik genealogies or in the Buddhist and Jain traditions, but they agree in bringing the same names together about the same period.

22 Omitted: Bhāg.

ततश्च सुमित्रोऽन्यः,—इत्येते चेक्ष्वाकवो बृहद् बलान्वयाः । अत्रानुवंशश्लोकः ।
इक्ष्वाकूणामयं वंशः सुमित्रान्तो भविष्यति ।

यतस्तं प्राप्य राजानं स संस्थां प्राप्स्यते कलौ ॥३॥

Sumitra. These are the kings of the family of Ikshváku, descended from Vrihadbala. This commemorative verse is current concerning them ; “The race of the descendants of Ikshváku will terminate with Sumitra: it will end in the Kali age with him.”²³

CHAPTER XXIII

मागधानां बार्हद्रथानां भविष्याणामनुक्रमं कथयामि ॥१॥

अत्र हि वंशे महाबला जरासन्धप्रधाना बभूवुः ॥२॥

जरासन्धसुतात् सहदेवात् सोमापिः, तस्मात् श्रुतवान्, तस्याप्ययुतायुः,
ततश्च निरमित्रः तत्तनयः सुक्षत्रः, तस्मादपि बृहत्कम्मा, ततश्च सेनजित्,
तस्माच्च श्रुतज्ञयः, ततो विप्रः, तस्य च पुत्रः शुचिनामा भविष्यति ।
तस्यापि क्षेम्यः, ततश्च सुव्रताद् धर्मः, ततः सूत्रमः, ततो दृढसेनः,

I will now relate to you the descendants of Vrihadratha, who will be the kings of Magadhā. There have been several powerful princes of this dynasty, of whom the most celebrated was Jarásandha, his son was Sahadeva, his son is Somāpi¹ ; his son will be Śrutavata ;² his son will be Ayutāyus ;³ his son will be Niramitra ;⁴ his son will be Sukshatra ;⁵ his son will be Vrihatkarman ;⁶ his son will be Senajit ;⁷ his son will be Śrutanjaya ;⁸ his son will be Vipra ;⁹ his son will be Śuchi ;¹⁰ his son will be Kshemya,¹¹ his son will be Suvrata ;¹² his son will be Dharma,¹³ his son will be Suśuma ;¹⁴ his son will be Dridha-

23 The Vāyu and Bhāgavata have the same stanza. We have here twenty-nine or thirty princes of the later solar line, cotemporary with the preceding twenty-six or twenty-seven of the later dynasty of the moon.

1 Somādhi ; Vāyu, Matsya : and they now affect greater precision, giving the years of the reigns. Somādhi 58, V. ; 50, M.

2 Śrutaśravas, 67 yrs. V. ; 64, M.

3 36 yrs. V. ; Apratīpa, 26, M.

4 100 yrs. V. ; 40, M.

5 58 yrs. V. ; 56, M. ; Sunakshatra, Bhāg.

6 23 yrs. V. and M. ; Vrihatsena, Bhāg.

7 23 yrs. V. ; 50, M. ; Karmajit, Bhāg.

8 40 yrs. V. and M.

9 Mahābala, 25 yrs. V. ; Vidhu, 28, M.

10 58 yrs. V. ; 64, M.

11 28 yrs. V. and M.

12 60 yrs. V. ; 64, M.

13 5 yrs. V. ; Sunetra, 35, M. ; Dharmanetra, Bhāg.

14 38 yrs. V. ; Nivritti, 58, M. ; Sama, Bhāg.

ततः सुमतिः, तस्मात् सुबलः, तस्य सुनीतो भविता । ततः सत्यजित्, सत्यजितो विश्वजित्, तस्यापि रिपुञ्जयः पुत्रः, इत्येते बाहद्रथा भूपतयो वर्षसहस्रमेकं भविष्यन्ति ॥३॥

senā,¹⁵ his son will be Sumati,¹⁶ his son will be Suvala,¹⁷ his son will be Sunīta,¹⁸ his son will be Satyajit,¹⁹ his son will be Viśvajit,²⁰ his son will be Ripunjaya.²¹ These are the Vārhadrathas, who will reign for a thousand years.²²

CHAPTER XXIV

योऽयं रिपुञ्जयो नाम बाहृद्रथोऽन्त्यः, तस्य सुनिको नामामात्यो भविष्यति ॥१॥

स चैनं स्वामिन हत्वा स्वपुत्रं प्रद्योतनामानमभिषेक्ष्यति । तस्यापि पालकनामा पुत्रो भविता । ततश्च विशाखयूपः, तत्पुत्रो जनकः, तस्य च नन्दिवर्द्धनः, इत्येते अष्टत्रिंशदुत्तरमब्दशतं पञ्चप्रद्योताः पृथिवीं भोक्ष्यन्ति ॥२॥

The last of the Vārhadratha dynasty, Ripunjaya, will have a minister named Sunika,¹ who having killed his sovereign, will place his son Pradyota upon the throne:² his son will be Pālaka,³ his son will be Viśākhayūpa,⁴ his son will be Janaka,⁵ and his son will be Nandivardhana.⁶ These five kings of the house of Pradyota will reign over the earth for a hundred and thirty-eight years.⁷

15 48 yrs. V.; Trinetra, 28, M.; Dyumatsena, Bhāg.

16 33 yrs. V.; Mahatsena, 48, M.

17 22 yrs. V.; Netra, 33, M.

18 40 yrs. V.; Abala, 32, M.

19 80 yrs. V.; omitted, M.

20 35 yrs. V.; omitted, M.

21 50 yrs. V. and M.; Puranjaya and Viśvajit are identified, Bhāg.

22 Our list and that of the Vāyu specifies twenty-one kings after Sahadeva; the Bhāgavata specifies twenty, and in another passage states that to be the number. My copy of the Matsya names but nineteen, and the Radcliffe but twelve; but both agree in making the total thirty-two. They all concur with the text also in stating that 1000 years had elapsed from the great war, at the death of the last Vārhadratha prince; and this is more worthy of credit than the details, which are obviously imperfect.

1 Munika, Vāyu; Pulika, Matsya; Sunaka, Bhāg.

2 For 23 years, V. and M.

3 24 yrs. V.; Tilaka or Bālaka, 28, M.

4 50 yrs. V.; 53, M.

5 Ajaka, 21 yrs. V.; Sūryaka, 21, M.; Rajaka, Bhāg.

6 20 yrs. V and M.

7 This number is also specified by the Vāyu and Bhāgavata, and the several years of the reigns of the former agree with the total. The particulars of the Matsya compose 145 years, but there is no doubt some mistake in them.

ततश्च शिशुनागः, तत्पुत्रश्च काकवर्णो भविता । तत्पुत्रः क्षेमधर्मा,
तस्यापि क्षत्रौजाः, तत्पुत्रो विद्मसारः, ततश्चाजातशत्रुः, तस्माच्च
दर्भकः, दर्भकाच्चोदयाश्च, तस्मादपि नन्दिवर्द्धनः ततो महानन्दी, इत्येते

The next prince will be Śiśunaga,⁸ his son will be Kākavarṇa,⁹ his son will be Kshemadharman,¹⁰ his son will be Kshatraujas,¹¹ his son will be Vidmisāra,¹² his son will be Ajātaśatru,¹³ his son will be Dharbaka;¹⁴ his son will be Udayāśwa;¹⁵ his son will also be Nandivardhana ; and his son will be Mahānandi.¹⁶ These ten Śaiśunāgas

8 Śiśunāka, who according to the Vāyu and Matsya relinquished Benares to his son, and established himself at Girivraja or Rājgriha in Behar, reigns 40 years, V. and M. 9 36 yrs. V. and M.

10 Kshemakarman, 20 yrs. V.; Kshemadharman, 36, M.

11 40 yrs. V.; Kshemajit or Kshemārchis, 36, M.; Kshetrājna, Bhāg.

12 Vimbisara, 28 yrs. V.; Vindusena or Vindhyasena, 28, M.; Vidhisāra, Bhāg.

13 25 yrs. V.; 27, M.; but the latter inserts a Kaṇvāyana, 9 yrs., and Bhūmimitra or Bhūmiputra, 14 yrs., before him. In this and the preceding name we have appellations of considerable celebrity in the traditions of the Buddhists. Vidmisāra, read also Vindhusāra, Vilvisāra, &c., is most probably their Vimbasāra, who was born at the same time with Śākya, and was reigning at Rājgriha when he began his religious career. The Mahāvamśa says that Siddhatto and Bimbisaro were attached friends, as their fathers had been before them. Śākya is said to have died in the reign of Ajātaśatru, the son of Vimbasāra, in the eighth year of his reign. The Vāyu transposes these names, and the Matsya still more alters the order of Ajātaśatru ; but the Bhāgavata concurs with our text. The Buddhist authority differs from the Purānas materially as to the duration of the reigns, giving to Bimbisaro 52 years, and to Ajatasattu 32: the latter, according to the same, murdered his father. Mahāvamśa, p. 10. We may therefore with some confidence claim for these princes a date of about six centuries B.C. They are considered cotemporary with Sudhodana, &c. in the list of the Aikshwākavas (p. Bk. IV. Ch. XXII. n. 20).

14 Harshaka, 25 yrs. V.; Vansaka, 24, M.

15 33 yrs. V. ; Udibhi or Udāsin, 33, M. According to the Vāyu. Udaya or Udayāśwa founded Kuṣumapur or Pātaliputra, on the southern angle of the Ganges: स वै पुरवरं राजा पृथिव्यां कुसुमाद्वयं । गंगायाः दक्षिणेकोणे चतुर्थेऽन्दे करिष्यति ॥ The legends of Śākya, consistently with this tradition, take no notice of this city in his peregrinations on either bank of the Ganges. The Mahāvamśa calls the son and successor of Ajātaśatru, Udayibhadako (Udayinbhadraka). Bk. I. ch. II.

16 42 and 43 yrs. V.; 40 and 43, M. The Mahāvamśa has in place of these, Anuruddhako, Mundo, and Nāgadāso ; all in succession parricides: the last deposed by an insurrection of the people.

शैशुनागा दश भूमिपालास्त्रीणि वर्षशतानि द्विषष्ट्यधिकानि भविष्यन्ति ॥३॥
will be kings of the earth for three hundred and sixty-two years.

महानन्दिसुतः शूद्रागर्भोद्भवोऽतिलुब्धो महापद्मानन्दः परशुराम इवापरो
ऽखिलक्षत्रान्तकारी भविता ॥४॥

ततः प्रभृति शूद्रा भूमिपाला भविष्यन्ति, स वैकच्छत्रामनुद्धित
शासनो महापद्मः पृथिवीं भोक्ष्यति ॥५॥

तस्याप्यष्टौ सुताः सुमात्वाद्या भवितारः । तस्य च महापद्मस्यानु पृथिवी
भोक्ष्यन्ति । महापद्मस्तत्पुत्राश्च एकं वर्षशतमवनीपतयो भविष्यन्ति ।

The son of Mahānanda will be born of a woman of the Sūdra or servile class ; his name will be Nanda, called Mahāpadma, for he will be exceedingly avaricious.¹⁸ Like another Paraśurāma, he will be the annihilator of the Kshatriya race ; for after him the kings of the earth will be Sūdras. He will bring the whole earth under one umbrella : he will have eight sons, Sumālya and others, who will reign after Mahāpadma ; and he and his sons¹⁹ will govern for a hundred years.

17 The several authorities agree in the number of ten Śaiśunāgas, and in the aggregate years of their reigns, which the Matsya and the Bhāgavata call 360: the Vāyu has 362, with which the several periods correspond: the details of the Matsya give 363. The Vāyu and Matsya call the Śaiśunāgas, Kshatrabandhus, which may designate an inferior order of Kshatriyas: they also observe, that cotemporary with the dynasties already specified, the Pauravas, the Vārhadrathas, and Māgadhas, there were other races of royal descent ; as, Aikshwākava princes, 24: Pāñchālas, 25, V.; 27, M: Kālakas or Kāsakas or Kāseyas, 24: Haihayas, 24, V.; 28, M.: Kālingas, 32, V.; 40, M.: Śakas, V.: Āsmakas, M, 25: Kuravas, 26: Maithilas, 28: Sūrasenas, 23: and Vitihotras, 20.

18 The Bhāgavata calls him Mahāpadmapati, the lord of Mahāpadma ; which the commentator interprets, 'sovereign of an infinite host,' or 'of immense wealth;' Mahāpadma signifying 100,000 millions. The Vāyu and Matsya, however, consider Mahāpadma as another name of Nanda.

19 So the Bhāgavata also ; but it would be more compatible with chronology to consider the nine Nandas as so many descents. The Vāyu and Matsya give eighty-eight years to Mahāpadma, and only the remaining twelve to Sumālya and the rest of the remaining eight ; these twelve years being occupied with the efforts of Kauṭilya to expel the Nandas. The Mahāvamśa, evidently intending the same events, gives names and circumstances differently : it may be doubted if with more accuracy. On the deposal of Nāgadāsa, the people raised to the throne the minister Susunāgo, who reigned eighteen years. This prince is evidently confounded with the Śiśunāga of the Purānas. He was succeeded by his son Kālāsoka, who reigned twenty years ; and he was succeeded by his sons, ten of whom reigned together for twenty-two years: subsequently there were nine, who, according to their seniority,

नवेव तान् नन्दान् कौटिल्यो ब्राह्मणः समुद्धरिष्यति ॥६॥

Brahman Kautilya will root out the nine Nandas.⁹⁰

तेषामभावे मौर्याश्च पृथिवीं भोक्ष्यन्ति । कौटिल्य एव चन्द्रगुप्तं राज्ये
ऽभिषेक्ष्यति ॥७॥

Upon the cessation of the race of Nanda, the Mauryas will possess the earth, for Kautilya will place Chandragupta⁹¹ on the throne: his

reigned for twenty-two years. The Brahman Chanaka put the ninth surviving brother, named Dhana Nando (Rich-Nanda), to death, and installed Chandagutto Mahāvamśa p. 15 and 21. These particulars, notwithstanding the alteration of some of the names, belong clearly to one story; and that of the Buddhists looks as if it was borrowed and modified from that of the Brahmans. The commentary on the Mahāvamśa, translated by Turnour (Introduction, p. xxxviii), calls the sons of Kálásoka the 'nine Nandas;' but another Buddhist authority, the Dipavamśa, omits Kálásoko, and says that Susunágo had ten brothers, who after his demise reigned collectively twenty-two years. *Journal of the As. Soc. of Bengal* Nov. 1838, p. 930.

20 For the particulars of the story here alluded to, see the *Mudrá Rákshasa*, *Hindu Theatre*, vol. II. Kautilya is also called, according to the commentator on our text, Vátsyáyana, Vishnugupta, and Chánakya. According to the *Matsya P.*, Kautilya retained the regal authority for a century but there is some inaccuracy in the copies.

21 This is the most important name in all the lists, as it can scarcely be doubted that he is the Sandrocottus, or, as Athenæus writes more correctly, the Sandrocoptus, of the Greeks, as I have endeavoured to prove in the introduction to the *Mudrá Rákshasa*. The relative position of Chandragupta, Vidmisára, or Bimbisára, and Ajátaśatru, serve to confirm the identification. Śákya was cotemporary with both the latter, dying in the eighth year of Ajátaśatru's reign. The Mahāvamśa says he reigned twenty-four years afterwards; but the Váyu makes his whole reign but twenty-five years, which would place the close of it B. C. 526. The rest of the Śaiśunága dynasty, according to the Váyu and Matsya, reigned 143 or 140 years; bringing their close to B. C. 383. Another century being deducted for the ducation of the Nandas, would place the accession of Chandragupta B.C. 283. Chandragupta was the contemporary of Seleucus Nicator, who began his reign B. C. 310, and concluded a treaty with him B. C. 305. Although therefore his date may not be made out quite correctly from the Pauránik premises, yet the error cannot be more than twenty or thirty years. The result is much nearer the truth than that furnished by Buddhist authorities. According to the Mahāvamśa a hundred years had elapsed from the death of Buddha to the tenth year of the reign of Kálásoko. He reigned other ten years, and his sons forty-four, making a total of 154 years between the death of Śákya and the accession of Chandragupta, which is consequently placed B. C. 389, or above seventy years too early. According to the Buddhist authorities, Chan-ta-kutta or Chandragupta commenced his reign 396 B. C. *Burmese Table*; *Prinsep's Useful Tables*. Turnour, in his Introduction, giving to Kálásoko eighteen years subsequent to the century after Buddha, places Chandragupta's accession B. C. 381, which, he observes, is sixty years too soon: dating, however,

तस्यापि पुत्रो विन्दुसारो भविष्यति । तस्यापि अशोकवर्द्धनः, एतः
son will be Vindusāra ;²² his son will be Aśokavarddhana ;²³ his son

the accession of Chandragupta from 323 B. G. or immediately upon Alexander's death, a period too early by eight or ten years at least. The discrepancy of dates, Turnour is disposed to think, proceeds from some intentional perversion of the Buddhistical chronology. Introd. P. L. The commentator on our text says that Chandragupta was the son of Nanda by a wife named Murā, whence he and his descendants were called Mauryas: चन्द्रगुप्तं नन्दस्यैव पत्न्यन्तरस्य मुरासङ्घस्य पुत्रं मीर्यारणां प्रथमं ।

Tod considers Maurya a corruption of Mori, the name of a Rajput tribe. The Tika on the Mahāvamśa builds a story on the fancied resemblance of the word to Mayūra, S. Mori, Pr. 'a peacock.' There being abundance of pea-fowl in the place where the Śākya tribe built a town, they called it Mori, and there princes were thence called Mauryas. Turnour, *Introduction to the Mahāvamśa*, p. xxxix. Chandragupta reigned, according to the Vayu P., 24 years; according to the Mahāvamśa, 34; to the Dīpavasāno, 24.

22 So the Mahāvamśa, Bindusāra. Burmese Table, Bin-tu-sara. The Vāyu has Bhadrāsāra, 25 years; the Bhāgavata, Vārisāra. The Matsya names but four princes of this race, although it concurs with the others in stating the series to consist of ten. The names are also differently arranged, and one is peculiar: they are, Śatadhanwan, Vrihadratha, Suka, and Daśaratha.

23 Aśoka, 36 years, Vāyu; Suka, 26, Mats.; Aśokavarddhana, Bhāg.; Aśoka and Dhammāsoka, Mahāvamśa. This king is the most celebrated of any in the annals of the Buddhists. In the commencement of his reign he followed the Brahmanical faith, but became a convert to that of Buddha, and a zealous encourager of it. He is said to have maintained in his palace 64,000 Buddhist priests, and to have erected 84,000 columns or topes throughout India. A great convocation of Buddhist priests was held in the eighteenth year of his reign, which was followed by missions to Ceylon and other places. According to Buddhist chronology he ascended the throne 218 years after the death of Buddha, B. C. 325. As the grandson of Chandragupta, however, he must have been some time subsequent to this, or, agreeably to the joint duration of the reigns of Chandragupta and Bindusāra, supposing the former to have commenced his reign about B. C. 315, forty-nine years later, or B. C. 266. The duration of his reign is said to have been thirty-six years, bringing it down to B. C. 230: but if we deduct these periods from the date assignable to Chandragupta, of B. C. 283, we shall place Aśoka's reign from B. C. 234 to 198. Now it is certain that a number of very curious inscriptions, on columns and rocks, by a Buddhist prince, in an ancient form of letter, and the Pāli language, exist in India; and that some of them refer to Greek princes, who can be no other than members of the Seleucidan and Ptolémæan dynasties, and are probably Antiochus the Great and Ptolemy Euergetes, kings of Syria and Egypt in the latter part of the third century before Christ. *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, February and March, 1858. The Indian king appears always under the appellation Piyadaśi or Priyadarśin, 'the beautiful;' and is entitled Devānam-piya, 'the beloved of the gods.' According to Buddhist authorities, the Rasavāhini and Dīpavamśa, quoted by Turnour

सुयशाः, ततो दशरथः, ततः सङ्गतः, ततः शालिशुकः, तस्मात् सोमशर्मा,
तस्मात् शतधन्वा, तस्याप्यनु बृहद्रथनामा भविता । एवं मौर्या दश
भूपतयो भविष्यन्ति अब्दशतं सप्तत्रिंशद्दत्तरम् ।

will be Suyāśas;²⁴ his son will be Daśaratha ; his son will be Sangata ; his son will be Śālīsūka ; his son will be Somaśarmman ; his son will be Saśadharmān ;²⁵ and his successor will be Vrihadratha. These are the ten Mauryas, who will reign over the earth for a hundred and thirty-seven years.²⁶

तेषामन्ते पृथिवीं शुङ्गा भोक्ष्यन्ति ॥८॥

ततः पुष्पमित्रः सेनापतिः स्वामिनं हत्वा राज्यं करिष्यति ॥९॥

The dynasty of the Sungas will next become possessed of the sovereignty; for Pushpamitra, the general of the last Maurya prince, will put his master to death, and ascend the throne :²⁷ his son will be

(*J. As. Soc. of Bengal*, Dec. 1837, p. 1056, and Nov. 1838, p. 930), Piyadaśi or Piyadaśano is identified both by name and circumstances with Aśoka, and to him therefore the inscriptions must be attributed. Their purport agrees well enough with his character, and their wide diffusion with the traditionary report of the number of his monuments. His date is not exactly that of Antiochus the Great, but it is not very far different, and the corrections required to make it correspond are no more than the inexact manner in which both Brahmanical and Buddhist chronology is preserved may well be expected to render necessary.

24 The name of Daśaratha, in a similar ancient character as that of Piyadaśi's inscriptions, has been found at Gaya amongst Buddhist remains, and like them deciphered by Prinsep, *Journ. As. Soc. Bengal*, Aug. 1837, p. 677. A different series of names occur in the Vāyu ; or Kuśāla, 8 yrs. ; Bandhupālita, Indrapālita, Daśavarman, 7 yrs. ; Sata-dhara, 8 yrs. ; and Vrihadaśwa, 7 yrs. The Bhāgavata agrees in most of the names, and its omission of Daśaratha is corrected by the commentator.

25 Satadhanwan, Bhāg.

26 The Vāyu says nine Sumurttyas reigned 137 years. The Matsya and Bhāgavata have ten Mauryas, and 137 years. The detailed numbers of the Vāyu and Matsya differ from their totals, but the copies are manifestly corrupt.

27 The Bhāgavata omits this name, but states that there were ten Sungas, although, without Pushpamitra, only nine are named. The Vāyu and Matsya have the same account of the circumstances of his accession to the throne ; the former gives him a reign of sixty, the latter of thirty-six years. In a play attributed to Kālidāsa, the *Mālavikāgnimitra*, of which Agnimitra is the hero, his father is alluded to as the Senāni or general, as if he had deposed his master in favour, not of himself, but of his son. Agnimitra is termed king of Vidiśa, not of Magadhā. Pushpamitra is represented as engaged in a conflict with the Yavanas on the Indus ; thus continuing the political relations with the Greeks or Scythians of Bactria and Ariana. See *Hindu Theatre*, vol. I. 347.

अस्यात्मजोऽग्निमित्रः, तस्मात् सुज्येष्ठः, ततो वसुमित्रः, तस्मादप्यद्रकः,
ततः पुलिन्दकः, ततो घोषवसुः, तस्मादपि वज्रमित्रः ततो भागवतः ॥१०
तस्माद् देवभूतिः, इत्येते दश शुङ्गा द्वाहशोत्तरं वर्षशत पृथिवीं भोक्ष्यन्ति ।
ततः कण्वानेषा भूर्यास्यति ॥११॥

Agnimitra;²⁸ his son will be Sujyeshtha;²⁹ his son will be Vasumitra;³
his son will be Ādraka;³¹ his son will be Pulindaka;³² his son will be
Ghoshvasu³³; his son will be Vajramitra;³⁴ his son will be Bhágavata;³⁵
his son will be Devabhūti.³⁶ These are the ten Śungas, who will
govern the kingdom for a hundred and twelve years.³⁷

देवभूतिस्तु शुङ्गराजानं व्यसनिनं तस्यैवामात्यः कण्वो वसुदेवनामा
निपात्य स्वयमवनीं भोक्ता । तत्पुत्रो भूमिमित्रः, तस्यापि नारायणः,
नारायणस्य सुशर्मा, एते कार्वायनाश्चत्वारः पञ्चत्वारिंशद्वर्षाणि
भूपतयो भविष्यन्ति ।

Devabhūti, the last Śunga prince, being addicted to immoral in-
dulgences, his minister, the Kāṇva named Vasudeva will murder him,
and usurp the kingdom: his son will be Bhūmimitra; his son will be
Nārāyaṇa; his son will be Suśarma. These four Kāṇvas will be
kings of the earth for forty-five years.³⁸

28 8 yrs. V. ; omitted M.

29 7 yrs. V. and M. ; but the latter places him after Vasumitra ; and
in the drama the son of Agnimitra is called Vasumitra.

30 8 yrs. V. ; 10 yrs. M.

31 Andraka, V. Antaka, M. : they agree in his reign, 2 years.
Bhadraka, Bhág.

32 3 yrs. V. and M.

33 3 yrs. V. ; omitted, M. ; Ghosha, Bhág-

34 9 yrs. M.

35 Bhága, M. ; 32 yrs. V. and M.

36 Kshemabhūmi, V. ; Devabhūmi, M. ; 10 yrs. both.

37 The Bhágavata says, 'more than a hundred,' शताधिकं । The com-
mentator explains it 112, द्वादशधिकं । The Váyu and Matsya have the
same period.

38 The names of the four princes agree in all the authorities. The
Matsya transfers the character of Vyasaní to the minister, with the
further addition of his being a Brahman ; Dwija. In the lists given by
Jones and Wilford, the four Kāṇvas are said to have reigned 345
years ; but in seven copies of the Vishṇu P., from different parts of
India, the number is, as given in the text, forty-five: एते कार्वायनाश्चत्वारः
पञ्चत्वारिंशद्वर्षाणि भूपतयो भविष्यन्ति । There is however authority for the
larger number, both in the text of the Bhágavata and the comment. The
former has, कार्वायना इमे भूमिं चत्वारिंशच्च पञ्चच । शतानि त्रीणि भोक्ष्यन्ति वर्षाणां

सुशर्माणां करवच्च भृत्यो बलात् शिप्रकनामा हत्वा अन्धजातीयो वसुधां भोक्ष्यति । ततश्च कृष्णनामा तद्भ्राता भूपतिर्भावी । तस्य श्रीकान्तकर्णिः, तस्यापि पुर्णोत्सङ्गः, तत्पुत्रश्च शातकर्णिः, तस्माच्च लम्बोदरः, तस्माद्

Suśarman the Kāṇva will be killed by a powerful servant named Šipraka, of the Āndhra tribe, who will become king, and found the Āndhrabhṛitya dynasty: ³⁹ he will be succeeded by his brother Kṛshṇa; ⁴⁰ his son will be Śrī Śātakarṇi; ⁴¹ his son will be Pūrnotsanga; ⁴² his son will be Śātakarṇi (2nd); ⁴³ his son will be Lambodara; ⁴⁴ his

च कलौ युगे ॥ and the latter, काणवायनाश्रवर्षाणां क्षीणशतानि पञ्चत्वारिंशद्वर्षाणि भूमिं भोक्ष्यन्ति । There is no doubt therefore of the purport of the text; and it is only surprising that such a chronology should have been inserted in the Bhāgavata, not only in opposition to all probability, but to other authority. The Vāyu and Matsya not only confirm the lower number by stating it as a total, but by giving it in detail; thus: Vasudeva will reign 9 years, Bhūmimitra, 14, Nārāyaṇa, 12, and Suśarman, 10. Total—45. And six copies of the Matsya occur in this statement.

39 The expressions Andhrajātiyas and Andhrabhṛityas have much perplexed Wilford, who makes three races out of one, Āndhras, Andhrajātiyas and Andhrabhṛityas, *As. Res.* IX. 101. There is no warrant for three races in the Purāṇas, although the Matsya, and perhaps the Vāyu, distinguishes two, as we shall hereafter see. Our text has but one, to which all the terms may be applied. The first of the dynasty was an Āndhra by birth or case (jātiya), and servant (bhṛitya) of the last of the Kāṇva race. So the Vāyu; सिन्धुकोह्यन्धजातीयः । the Matsya:

काणवायनस्तदा भृत्यः सुशर्माणं प्रसह्य तं शिशुकोऽन्ध्रः सजातीयः प्रप्यतोमां वसुन्धरां । and the Bhāgavata; हत्वाकाणवं सुशर्माणं तद्भ्रातृवृषलो बलो गां भोक्ष्यत्यन्धजातीयः

कंचित्कालंमसत्तमः । The terms 'an Andhra by caste' and 'a Bhṛitya or servant,' with the addition, in the last passage, of Vṛishala, 'a Śūdra,' all apply to one person and one dynasty. Wilford has made wild work with his triad. The name of the first of this race is variously read: Sindhuka, Vāyu; Śiśuka, Matsya; Balin, Bhāg.; and, according to Wilford, Chhismaka in the Brahmaṇḍa P., and Śūdraka or Śūraka in the Kumārikā Khaṇḍa of the Skānda P. *As. Res.* IX. 107. He reigned 23 years, Vāyu and Matsya. If the latter form of his name be correct, he may be the king who is spoken of in the prologue to the Mṛichchhakatī.

40 10 yrs. V.; 18. M.

41 56 yrs. V.; 18. M.: 10, Brahmaṇḍa, Wilford; Simālakarṇi, Mats.; Śantakarṇa, Bhāg.

42 Omitted, V.; 18 yrs. M.; Paurṇamāsa, Bhāg.

43 Omitted, V. and Bhāg.: 56 yrs. M.; but the latter has before him a Śrivaswāni, 18 yrs.

44 18 yrs. M.

द्विविलकः, तत्रो मेघस्वातिः, ततः पटुमान्, ततश्च अरिष्टकर्म्म, ततो
हालः, हालात् पुत्तलकः, ततः प्रविल्लसेनः, ततः सुन्दरः स्वल्पायुषो
शातकर्णी, तस्माच्चकोरः शातकर्णी ॥१२॥

ततः शिवस्वातिः, ततश्च गोमतीपुत्रः, तत्पुत्रः पुलिमान्, तस्यापि
शातकर्णी शिवश्रीः, ततः शिवस्कन्धः ततो यज्ञश्रीः, ततो विजयः,
तत्रश्चन्द्रश्रीः, तस्यापि पुलोमाचिः, ऐवमेते त्रिंशच्चत्वार्यब्दशतानि षट्
पञ्चाशदधिकानि पृथिवीं भोक्ष्यन्ति अन्ध्रभृत्याः ।

son will be Ivilaka ;⁴⁵ his son will be Meghasvāti ;⁴⁶ his son will be Patumat ;⁴⁷ his son will be Arishtakarman ;⁴⁸ his son will be Hāla ;⁴⁹ his son will be Tālaka ;⁵⁰ his son will be Pravilasena ;⁵¹ his son will be Sundara, named Śátakarṇi ;⁵² his son will be Chakora Śátakarṇi ;⁵³ his son will be Sivasvāti ;⁵⁴ his son will be Gomatiputra ;⁵⁵ his son will be Pulimat ;⁵⁶ his son will be Sivaśrī Śátakarṇi ;⁵⁷ his son will be Sivas-kandha ;⁵⁸ his son will be Yajñaśrī ;⁵⁹ his son will be Vijaya ;⁶⁰ his son will be Chandraśrī ;⁶¹ his son will be Pulomārchish.⁶² These thirty Andhrabhṛitya kings will reign four hundred and fifty-six years.⁶³

45 Apilaka, 12 yrs. V. and M. ; Chivilika or Vivilika, Bhág.

46 Omitted, V. and M.

47 Patumávi, 24 yrs. V. ; Drirhamána, Bhág.

48 Nemi krishṇa, 25 yrs. V. ; Arishṭa-karṇi ; 25 yrs. M.

49 Hāla, 1 yr. V. ; 5 yrs. M. ; Hāleya, Bhág.

50 Mandalaka, 5 yrs. M. ; omitted, Bhág.

51 Puríshasena, 21 yrs. V. ; Purindrasena, 5 yrs, Mats. ; Puríshataru, Bhág.

52 Śátakarṇi only, V. and M. ; the first gives him three years, the second but one. Sunanda, Bhág.

53 Chakōra, 6 months, V. ; Vikarṇi, 6 months, M.

54 28 yrs. V. and M.

55 Gotamíputra, 21 yrs. V. and M.

56 Pulomat, 28 yrs. M. ; Purimat, Bhág.

57 Omitted, V. ; 7 yrs. M. ; Medhasíras, Bhág.

58 Omitted, V. ; 7 yrs. M.

59 29 yrs. V. ; 9 yrs. M.

60 6 yrs. V. and M.

61 Daṇḍaśrī, 3 yrs. V. ; Chandraśrī, 10 yrs. M. ; Chandravijaya, Bhág.

62 Pulovapi, 7 yrs. V. ; Pulomat, 7 yrs. M. ; Sulomadhi, Bhág.

63 The Váyu and Bhágavata state also 30 kings, and 456 years ; the Matsya has 29 kings, and 460 years. The actual enumeration of the text gives but 24 names ; that of the Bhágavata but 23 ; that of the Váyu but 17. The Matsya has the whole 29 names, adding several to the list of our text : and the aggregate of the reigns amounts to 435 years and

सप्तमीरा दश गर्हभिला भ्रुभुजो भविष्यन्ति ॥१३॥

ततः षोडश शका भ्रुभुजो भवितारः । ततश्च अष्टौ यवनाः, चतुर्दश

After these, various races will reign, as seven Ābhīras, ten Garddhabas, sixteen Śakas, eight Yavanas, fourteen Tushāras, thirteen

6 months. The difference between this and the total specified arises probably from some inaccuracy in the MSS. As this list appears to be fuller than any other, it may be advisable to insert it as it occurs in the Radcliffe copy of the Matsya P.

1. Śiśuka, 23 yrs. 2. Kṛṣṇa, 18. 3. Simalakarṇi. 18. 4. Purnotsanga, 18. 5. Śrīvaswāni, 18. 6. Śātakarṇi, 56. 7. Lambodara, 18. 8. Apitaka, 12. 9. Sangha, 18. 10. Śātakarṇi, 18. 11. Skandhaswāti, 7. 12. Mrigendra, 3. 13. Kuntalawāti, 8. 14. Swātikarṇa, 1. 15. Pulomāvit, 36. 16. Goraksāsawāri, 25. 17. Hāla, 5. 18. Mantalaka, 5. 19. Purīndrasena, 5. 20. Rajādaswāti, 6 months. 21. Śīvaswāti, 28. 22. Gautamiputra, 21. 23. Pulomat, 28. 24. Śīvaswāti, 7. 25. Skandhaswāti, 7. 26. Yajnasrī 9. 27. Vijaya, 6. 28. Vadasrī, 10. 29. Pulomat, 7. Total 435 yrs. 6 m. Several of the names vary in this list from those in my copy. The adjuncts Swāti and Śātikarṇā appear to be conjoined or not with the other appellations, according to the convenience of the metre, and seem to be the family designations or titles. The dynasty is of considerable chronological interest, as it admits of some plausible verifications. That a powerful race of Andhra princes ruled in India in the beginning of the Christian era, we learn from Pliny, who describes them as possessed of thirty fortified cities, with an army of 100,000 men and 1000 elephants. The Andra of this writer are probably the people of the upper part of the peninsula, Andhra being the proper designation of Telingana. The Peutingerian tables, however, place the Andra-Indi on the banks of the Ganges, and the southern princes may have extended or shifted the site of their power. Towards the close of the dynasty we find names that appear to agree with those of princes of middle India, of whom mention is made by the Chinese; as, Yue-gnai (Yajnasrī), king of Kiapili, A. D. 408; Des Guignes, I. 45; and Ho-lo-mien (Pulomán), king of Magadhá in 621; *ibid.* I. 56. The Paurānik lists place these two princes more nearly together, but we cannot rely implicitly upon their accuracy. Calculating from Chandragupta downwards, the Indian date of Yajna and the Chinese Yue-gnai corresponds; for we have, 10 Mauryas, 137 yrs. 10 Śungas, 112. 4 Kaṇwas, 45. 27 Andhras, 437. Total 731. Deduct for Chandragupta's date 312 B.C. Total 419 A.C. A date remarkably near that derivable from the Chinese annals. If the Indian Pulomán be the same with the Chinese Ho-lo-mien, there must be some considerable omission in the Paurānik dynasty. There is a farther identification in the case of Ho-lo-mien, which makes it certain that a prince of Magadhá is intended, as the place of his residence is called by the Chinese Kia-so-mo-pulo-ching and Potoli-tse-ching; or in Sanskrit, Kusuma-pura and Pátali-putra. The equivalent of the latter name consists, not only in the identity of the sounds Pátali and Po-to-li, but in the translation of 'putra' by 'tse;' each word meaning in their respective languages 'son'. No doubt can be entertained therefore that the city intended is the metropolis of Magadhá, Pátali-putra or Pali-bothra. Wilford identifies Pulomat or Pulomán with the Po-lo-muen of the Chinese; but Des Guignes interprets Po-lo-muen kuë, 'royaume des Brahmanes'. Buchanan (Hamilton), following the Bhágavata as to

तुवाराः, मुण्डाश्च त्रयोदश, एकादश मौनाः, एते पृथिवीं त्रयोदश
वर्षशतानि नवनवत्त्रयिकानि भोक्ष्यन्ति ॥१४॥

Muṇḍas, eleven Maunas, altogether seventy-nine princes⁶⁴, who will be

the name of the last king, Sulomadhi, would place him about A. D. 846 ; but his premises are far from accurate, and his deduction in this instance at least is of no weight. *Geneal. of the Hindus*, Introd. p. 16. He supposes the Andhra kings of Magadhá to have retained their power on the Ganges until the Mohammedan invasion, or the twelfth century, when they retired to the south, and reigned at Warankal in Telingana. Inscriptions and coins, however, confirm the statement of the Purāṇa, that a different dynasty succeeded to the Andhras some centuries before the Mohammedan conquests ; and the Chinese also record, that upon the death of the king of Magadhá, Ho-lo-mien (Puloman ?), some time before A. D. 648, great troubles in India took place. Des Guignes. Some very curious and authentic testimony to the actual existence of these Andhra kings has been lately afforded by the discovery of an ancient inscription in Guzerat, in which Rudra Dámá, the Kshatrpa or Satrap of Surashṭra, is recorded to have repeatedly overcome Śátakarṇi, king of the southern country (Dakshinapatha). The inscription is with out date, but it is in an old character, and makes mention of the two Maurya princes, Chandragupta and Aśoka, as if not very long prior to its composition. Prinsep, to whom we are indebted for the deciphering and translating of this important document, has been also successful in deciphering the legends on a series of coins belonging to the princes of Suráshṭra, amongst whom the name of Rudra Dámá occurs ; and he is inclined, although with hesitation, to place these princes about a century after Aśoka, or Rudra Dámá about 153 B. C. *J. As. Soc. Bengal*, May 1837, and April 1838. According to the computation hazarded above from our text, the race of Andhra kings should not commence till about 20 years B. C., which would agree with Pliny's notice of them ; but it is possible that they existed earlier in the south of India, although they established their authority in Magadhá only in the first centuries of the Christian era.

64 These parallel dynasties are thus particularized in our other authorities :

Ābhíras, 7, M. ; 10, V ; kings of Avabhriti, 7, Bhág. Garddabhins, 10, M. V. Bhág. Śakas, 18, M. V. ; Kankas, 16, Bhág. Yavanas, 8, M. V. Bhág. Tusháras, 14, M. V. ; Tushkaras, 14, Bhág. Marūṇḍas, 13, V. ; Purūṇḍos, 13, M. ; Surūṇḍas, 10, Bhág. Maunas, 18, V. ;

Hūnas, 19, M. ; Maulas, 11, Bhág. Total—85 kings, Váyu ; 89, Matsya ; 76, and 1399 years, Bhág.

The other two authorities give the years of each dynasty severally. The numbers are apparently intended to be the same, but those of the Matsya are palpable blunders, although almost all the MSS. agree in the reading. The chronology of the Váyu is Ābhíras, 67 years ; Garddabhins, 72 ; Śakas, 380 ; Yavanas, 82 ; Tusháras, 500 (all the copies of the Matsya have 7000) ; Marūṇḍas, 200 ; and Mlechchhas, intending perhaps Maunas, 300 yrs. Total 1601 years, or less than 19 years to a reign. They are not however continuous, but nearly cotemporary dynasties ; and if they comprise, as they probably do, the Greek and

ततश्च पौरा एकादश भूपतयोऽष्टशतानि त्रीणि महीं भोक्ष्यन्ति ॥१५॥
 sovereigns of the earth for one thousand three hundred and ninety

Scythian princes of the west of India, the periods may not be very wide of the truth. The Matsya begins the list with one more dynasty, another Andhra (see n. 39), of whom there were seven: अन्ध्राणां संस्थिते राज्ये तेषां शत्वान्ध्या नृपाः । सप्तैवान्ध्रा भविष्यन्ति नवाभीरास्ततो नृपाः ॥ 'When the dominion of the Andhras has ceased, there shall be seven other Andhras, kings of the race of their servants ; and then nine Ābhīras.' The passage of the Vāyu, although somewhat similar in terms, has a different purport: अन्ध्राणां संस्थितानां च तेषां वंशा समा पुनः । सप्तैवतुभविष्यन्ति-दशाभीरास्ततो नृपाः ॥ "Of these, the Andhras having passed away, there shall be seven cotemporary races ; as, ten Ābhīras,' &c. The passage is differently read in different copies, but this is the only intelligible reading. At the same time it subsequently specifies a period for the duration of the Andhra dynasty different from that before given, or three hundred years, as if a different race was referred to: अन्ध्रा भीक्ष्यन्ति वसुधां शते द्वे च शतं च वै । 'The Andhras shall possess the earth two hundred years and one hundred.' The Matsya has twice five hundred: अन्ध्रा श्रीपर्वतीयाश्च ते द्वे पञ्चशतं समाः । 'The Śrīparvatīya Andhras twice five hundred years.' One MS. has more consistently, fifty-two years: द्विपञ्चाशतं समाः । But there is evidently something faulty in all the MSS. The expression of the Matsya, 'Śrīparvatīya Andhras,' is remarkable ; Śrīparvat being in Telingana. There is probably some confusion of the two races, the Magadhā and Tailinga kings, in these passages of the Purānas. The Bhāgavata has a dynasty of seven Andhra kings, but of a different period (see n. 39). Wilford has attempted a verification of these dynasties ; in some instances perhaps with success, though certainly not in all. The Ābhīras he calls the shepherd kings of the north of India: they were more probably Greeks or Scythians or Parthians, along the lower Indus: traces of the name occur, as formerly observed, in the Abiria of Ptolemy, and the Āhīras as a distinct race still exist in Guzerat. *Araish-Mehfil*. The Sakas are the Sacæ, and the duration of their power is not unlikely to be near the truth. The eight Yavana kings may be, as he supposes, Greek princes of Bactria, or rather of western India. The Tushāras he makes the Parthians. If the Bhāgavata has the preferable reading, Tushkāras, they were the Tochari, a Scythian race. The Murūṇḍas, as he has it, Maurūṇḍas, he considers to be a tribe of Huns, the Morūṇḍæ of Ptolemy. According to the Matsya they were of Mlechchha origin, Mlechchha-sambhava. The Vāyu calls them Arya-mlechchhas ; quere, Barbarians of Ariana. Wilford regards the Maunas as also a tribe of Huns ; and the word is in all the MSS. of the Matsya, Hūnas ; traces of whom may be still found in the west and south of India. Inscription at Merritch. *Journ. R. As. Soc.* vol. III. p. 103. The Garddabhins Wilford conjectures to be descendants of Bahram Gor, king of Persia ; but this is very questionable. That they were a tribe in the west of India may be conjectured, as some strange tales prevail there of a Gandharba, changed to an ass,

तेषूच्छन्नेषु कैलकिला यवना भूपतयो भविष्यन्ति । मूर्धाभिषिक्तस्तेषां
विन्ध्यशक्तिः ॥१६॥

ततः पुरञ्जयः, ततो रामचन्द्रः, तस्माद् धर्म्मः, धर्म्माद् वराङ्गः, कृत
नन्दनः, सुषिनन्दिः नन्दियशाः शिशकप्रवारी च । एते वर्षशतं षड वर्षाणि च
years; and then eleven Pauras will be kings for three hundred years⁶⁵.
When they are destroyed, the Kailakila Yavanas will be kings; the
chief of whom will be Vindhyāsakti; his son will be Puranjaya; his
son will be Rámachandra; his son will be Adharma, from whom will
be Varánga, Kritanandana, Śudhinandi, Nandiyaśas, Śísuka, and
Pravíra; these will rule for a hundred and six years⁶⁶. From them

marrying the daughter of the king of Dhár. *As. Res.* VI. 35, and IX. 147;
also 'Cutch' by Mrs. Postans, p. 18: fables suggested no doubt by the
name Garddabha, signifying an ass. There is also evidently some affinity
between these Garddabhins and the old Gadhia Pysa, or assmoney, as
vulgarly termed, found in various parts of western India, and which is
unquestionably of ancient date. *Journ. As. Soc. Bengal*, Dec. 1835,
p. 688. It may be the coinage of the Garddabha princes; Garddabha,
being the original of Gádhá, meaning also an ass. I have elsewhere
conjectured the possibility of their being current about a century and a
half before our era. *Journ. R. As. Soc.* vol. III. 385. Tod, quoting
a parallel passage in Hindi, reads, instead of Garddhabhin, Gor-ind,
which he explains the Indras or lords of Gor; but the reading is
undoubtedly erroneous.

65 The copies agree in reading Pauras, but the commentator remarks
that it is sometimes Maunas, but they have already been specified; un-
less the term be repeated in order to separate the duration of this dynas-
ty from that of the rest. Such seems to be the purport of the similar
passage of the Bhágavata. 'These kings (Andhras, &c.) will possess the
earth 1099 years, and the eleven Maulas 300:' एते भोक्ष्यन्ति पृथिवीं
दशवर्षशतानि च नवाधिकां च नवतिं मौला एकादश क्षितिं भोक्ष्यान्त्यब्दशतानि त्रीणि ।

No such name as Pauras occurs in the other authorities. The analogy
of duration identifies them with the Mlechchhas of the Váyu: 'Eleven
Mlechchhas will possess the earth for three centuries:' शतानि त्रीणि
भोक्ष्यन्ते म्लेच्छा एकादशैवतु । and the Váyu may refer to the Maunas, as no

other period is assigned for them. The periods of the Bhágavata, 1099
and 300, come much to the same as that of our text, 1390; the one
including the three centuries of the Maunas, the other stating it
separately. The Váyu apparently adds it to the rest, thus making the
total 1601, instead of 1390. It is evident that the same scheme is
intended by the several authorities, although some inaccuracy affects
either the original statement or the existing manuscripts.

66 Kilakila, Kolakila, Kolikila, Kilinakila, as it is variously read.
Sir Wm. Jones's Pandit stated that he understood it to be a city in the
Mahratta country (*As. Res.* XI. 142); and there has been found a

भविष्यन्ति । ततस्तत्पुत्रास्त्रयोदशैव, बाह्लीकाश्च त्रयः, ततः
 पुष्पमित्र-पट्टु मित्र-पद्ममित्रास्त्रयः, दश मेकलाश्च,
 will proceed thirteen sons; then three Bāhlikas, and Pushpamitra, Pātu-
 mitra, and others, to the number of thirteen, will rule over Mekalā⁷.

confirmation of his belief in an inscription, where Kilagila, as it is there termed, is called the capital of Nārasinha Deva, king of the Konkan, *Journ. R. As. Soc.* vol. IV. p. 282. This inscription dates A. D. 1058. The Purānas refer probably to a long antecedent date, when the Greek princes, or their Indo-Scythic successors, following the course of the Indus, spread to the upper part of the western coast of the peninsula. The text calls them Yavanas; and the Vāyu and Matsya say they were Yavanas in institutions, manners, and policy: धर्मतः कामतोऽर्थतः । The

Bhāgavata names five of their princes, Bhūtānanda, Bangiri, Śiśunandi, Yaśonandi, and Pravīra, who will reign 106 years, and they are therefore imperfect representatives of the series in our text. The Matsya has no farther specific enumeration of any dynasty. The Vāyu makes Pravīra the son of Vindhyaśakti; the latter reigning 96 years, and the former 60: the latter is King of Kānchana puri, 'the golden city,' and is followed by four sons, whose names are not mentioned. Between Vindhyaśakti and Pravīra, however, a dynasty of kings is introduced, some of the names of which resemble those of the Kilakila princes of the text. They are, Bhogin the son of Seshanāga, Sadāchandra, Nakhavat, Dhanadhamita, Vinśaja, Bhutinanda—at a period before the end of the Sungas? (the copies have शुंगाना न कुलस्यान्ते)—Madhunandi, his younger brother Nandiyāśas; and in his race there will be three other Rājās, Dauhitra, Śiśuka, and Ripukāyān. These are called princes of Vidiśa or Videśa; the latter meaning perhaps 'foreign,' and constitute the Nāga dynasty. Our text calls Vindhyaśakti a Murddhābhishikta, a warrior of a mixed race, sprung from a Brahman father and Kshatriya mother.

67 The text of this passage runs thus: तन्पुत्रास्त्रयोदशैव बाह्लीकाश्चत्रयस्ततः । पुष्पमित्तपट्टुमि त्रायास्त्रयोदशमेकलाश्च ॥ 'Their sons,' तत्पुत्रा the commentator explains by विन्ध्यशक्यादीनां यथायथं त्रयोदशपुत्राः । 'thirteen sons of Vindhyaśakti and the rest.' The Bhāgavata has a different statement, identifying the sons of the Vindhya race with the Bāhlikas, and making them thirteen: तेषां त्रयोदशसुता भवितारक्षबाह्लीकाः । 'The Bāhlikas will be their thirteen sons.' As the commentator; भूतनन्दादीनां यथायथं बाह्लीकानामान त्रयोदशसुता भविष्यन्ति । 'There will be severally thirteen sons, called Bāhlikas, of Bhūtānanda and the rest.' The following verse is, पुष्पमित्तो राजन्यः दुर्मित्तोऽस्य तथैवच । 'Pushpamitra, a king, and then Durmitra:' who or what they were does not appear. The commentator says, 'Pushpamitra was another king, and Durmitra was his son: पुष्पमित्तोनामाऽन्यो राजन्योऽस्य च दुर्मित्तोनाम पुत्रः । Here is evidently careless and inaccurate compilation. The Vāyu, though not quite satisfactory, accords better with our text. 'Pravīra,' it says, 'will have four sons: when the Vindhya

सप्तकोशलायान्तु नवैव भूपतयो भविष्यन्ति । नैषधास्तु तावन्त
एव भूपतयो भविष्यन्ति ॥१७॥

There will be nine kings in the seven Kośalas, and there will be as many Naishadha princes⁶⁸.

मागधायां विश्वस्फटिकसंज्ञोऽन्यान् वर्णान् करिष्यति केवर्त्त-
कटु-पुलिन्द-ब्राह्मण्यान् राज्ये स्थापयिष्यन्तुत्साद्याखिलक्षत्रजातिम् ।

In Magadhā a sovereign named Viśvasphaṭika will establish other tribes; he will extirpate the Kshatriya or martial race, and elevate

race is extinct, there will be three Bāhlika kings, Supratika, Nabhira, who will reign thirty years, and Sakyamānābhava (quere this name), king of the Mahishas. The Pushpamitras will then be, and the Paṭumitras also, who will be seven kings of Mekalā. Such is the generation.' तस्य (प्रवीरस्य) पुत्रास्तु चत्वारो भविष्यन्ति नराधिपाः । विन्ध्यकानां

कस्तेऽतीते नृपा वै बाहीकास्यः । सुप्रतीको नभीरस्य समा भोक्ष्यन्ति त्रिंशतीः ।

शक्यमानाभवो राजा महिषीणां महीपतिः । पुष्पमित्रा भविष्यन्ति यदुमितास्तथैवच (or

यदुमितास्तथोदश) मेकलायां नृपाः सप्त भविष्यन्तीति सन्ततिः ॥ The plural verb with only two Bāhlika names indicates some omission, unless we correct it to भोक्ष्येते 'they two will reign ;' but the following name and title,

Sakyamānābhava, king of the Mahishas, seems to have little connexion with the Bāhlikas. If, in a subsequent part of the citation, the reading 'trayodaśa' be correct, it must then be thirteen Paṭumitras ; but it will be difficult to know what to do with Sapta, 'seven.' If for Santati we might read Saptati, 'seventy,' the sense might be, 'these thirteen kings ruled for seventy-seven years.' However this may be, it seems most correct to separate the thirteen sons or families of the Vindhya princess from the three Bāhlikas, and them from the Pushpamitras and Paṭumitras, who governed Mekalā, a country on the Narbada (see Bk. II. Ch. III. n. 18). What the Bāhlikas, or princes of Balkh, had to do in this part of India is doubtful. The Durmitra of the Bhāgavata has been conjectured by Tod (*Trans. R. As. Soc. I. 325*) to be intended for the Bactrian prince Demetrius: but it is not clear that even the Bhāgavata considers this prince as one of the Bāhlikas, and the name occurs nowhere else.

68 For the situation of Kośalā, see Bk. II. Ch. III. n. 79. The three copies of the Vāyu read Komalā, and call the kings, the Meghas, more strong than sapient: कोमलायां तु राजानो भविष्यन्ति महाबलाः मेघा इति समाख्याता बुद्धिमन्तो न वै च तु । The Bhāgavata agrees with our text. The Vāyu says of the Naishadhas, or kings of Nishadha, that they were all of the race of Nala ; नलवंश प्रसृताः । The Bhāgavata adds two other races, seven Andhras (see note 63) and kings of Vaidūra, with the remark that these were all cotemporaries, being, as the commentator observes, petty or provincial rulers: खरडमरडलेषुभूपालाः ।

नव नागाः पद्मावत्यां कान्तिपुर्यां मथुरायामनुगङ्गाप्रयागं मागधा
गुप्ताश्च भोक्ष्यन्ति ।

fishermen, barbarians, and Brahmans, and other castes, to power.⁶⁹
The nine Nāgas will reign in Padmāvati, Kāntipuri, and Mathurā;
and the Guptas of Magadhā along the Ganges to Prayāga⁷⁰. A

69 The Vāyu has Viśvasphāṇi and Viśvasphīṇi: the Bhāgavata, Viśvasphūrṭti, or in some MSS. Viśvaphūrji. The castes he establishes or places in authority, to the exclusion of the Kshatriyas, are called in all the copies of our text Kaivarttas, Paṭus, Pulindas, and Brahmans. The Vāyu (three MSS.) has Kaivarttas, Panchakas, Pulindas, and Brahmans: कैवर्तान् पंचकांश्चैव युलिन्दान्ब्राह्मणान्तथा । The Bhāgavata has, Pulindas, Yadus, and Mādrakas. The Vāyu describes Viśvasphāṇi as a great warrior, and apparently as a eunuch: विश्वस्फाणि महासत्वो युद्धे विष्णुसमो बली । विश्वस्फाणिर्नरपति क्लीबा विकृतिरूप्यते ॥ He worshipped the gods and manes, and dying on the banks of the Ganges went to the heaven of Indra: जाह्नवीतीरमासाद्य शरीरं त्यक्ष्यते बली संन्यस्य शरीरं तं शकलोकं गमिष्यति ।

70 Such appears to be the purport of our text: नव नागाः पद्मावत्यां कान्तिपुर्यां मथुरायामनु । गंगाप्रयागं मागधागुप्ताश्च भोक्ष्यन्ति ॥ The nine Nāgas might be thought to mean the same as the descendants of Sēsha Nāga, but the Vāyu has another series here, analogous to that of the text: 'The nine Nāka kings will possess the city Champāvati, and the seven Nāgas (?) the pleasant city Mathura. Princes of the Gupta race will possess all these countries, the banks of the Ganges to Prayāga and Sāketa and Magadhā: नव नाकास्तुभोक्ष्यन्ति पुरी चम्पावतीं नृपाः । मथुरां च पुरीं रम्यां नागा भोक्ष्यन्ति सप्त वै । अनुगंगाप्रयागंच साकेतं मगधांस्तथा । एतान् जनपदान् सर्वान् भोक्ष्यन्ते गुप्तवंशजाः ॥ This account is the most explicit, and probably most accurate, of all. The Nākas were Rājās of Bhāgalpur; the Nāgas, of Mathura; and the intermediate countries along the Ganges were governed by the Guptas, or Rājās of the Vaiśya caste. The Bhāgavata seems to have taken great liberties with the account, as it makes Viśvasphūrṭti king over Anugangā, the course of the Ganges from Haridwar, according to the commentator, to Prayāga, residing at Padmāvati: वीर्यवान् क्षत्रमुत्सार्य पद्मवत्यां स वै पुरि । अनुगंगाप्रयागं गुप्तां भोक्ष्यति मेदिनी ॥ omitting the Nāgas altogether, and converting 'gupta' into an epithet of 'medini,' the preserved or protected earth. Wilford considers the Nāgas, Nākas, and Guptas to be all the same: he says, 'Then came a dynasty of nine kings, called the nine Nācas or Nāgas; these were an obscure tribe, called for that reason Guptavanśas, who ruled in Padmāvati,' That city he calls Patna; but in the Mālati and Mādhava, Padmāvati lies amongst the Vindhya hills Kāntipuri he makes Cotwal, near Gwalior. The reading of the Vāyu, Champāvati, however, obviates the necessity of all vague conjecture. According to

कोशलोद् (पुराङ्क) ताम्रलिप्तान् समुद्रतटपुरीश्च देवरक्षितो रक्षिष्यति ।
 कलिङ्गमाहिषिकमाहेन्द्रभीमा गुहां भोक्ष्यन्ति, नैषाद-नेनीषिक-कालतोयान्
 जनपदान् मणिघारवंशा भोक्ष्यन्ति । स्त्रीराज्य-(त्रैराज्य) मूषिकजनपदान्
 कनकाह्वया भोक्ष्यन्ति । सौराष्ट्रावन्तिशूद्रानर्बुदमरुभूमिविषयांश्च ब्राह्म्या
 द्विजाभीर शूद्राद्या भोक्ष्यन्ति । सिन्धुतटदार्वीकोर्वी- चन्द्रभागा-
 prince named Devarakshita will reign, in a city on the sea shore, over
 the Kośālas, Oḍras, Pundras, and Tāmraliptas⁷¹. The Guhas will
 possess Kālinga, Māhibhaka, and the mountains of Mahendra⁷². The
 race of Maṇidhanu will occupy the countries of the Nishādas,
 Naimishikas, and Kālatoyas⁷³. The people called Kanakas will pos-
 sess the Amazon country, and that called Mūshika⁷⁴. Men of the
 three tribes, but degraded, and Abhīras and Sūdras, will occupy
 Saurāshtra, Avanti, Śūra, Arbuda, and Marubhūmi: and Śādras, out-

Wilford there is a powerful tribe still called Nākas between the Jamuna and the Betwa. Of the existence and power of the Guptas, however, we have recently had ample proofs from inscriptions and coins, as in the Chandragupta and Samudragupta of the Allatabad column; *Journ. As. Soc. Bengal*, March and June, 1834; and Kumāragupta, Chandragupta, Samudragupta, Saśigupta, &c. on the Archer coins, found at Kānouj and elsewhere; *As. Res.* XVII. pl. 1. fig. 5, 7, 13, 19; and *Journ. As. Soc. Bengal*, Nov. 1835, pl. 38 and 39; and in other numbers of the same Journal: in all which, the character in which the legends are written is of a period prior to the use of the modern Devanagarī, and was current in all probability about the fifth century of our era, as conjectured by Prinsep: see his table of the modifications of the Sanskrit alphabet from 543 B. C. to 1200 A. D. *Journ. As. Soc. Bengal*, March, 1838.

71 The Vāyu also mentions the descendants of Devarakshita or Daivarakshitas as kings of the Kośālas, Tāmralipta, and the sea coast; so far conforming with our text as to include the western parts of Bengal, Tamluk, Midnapur, and Orissa. One copy reads Andhra, perhaps for Odra, Orissa; and one has Champā for the capital, which is probably an error, although the two other MSS., being still more faulty, do not offer the means of correction.

72 The Vāyu has the same. The countries are parts of Orissa and Berar.

73 The Vāyu has sons of Maṇidhanya for the ruling dynasty, but names the countries those of the Naishadhas, Yudakas, Saiśikas, and Kālatoyas. The first name applies to a tract of country near the Vindhya mountains, but the last to a country in the north. The west or south-west, however, is probably intended in this place.

74 The Stri Rājya is usually placed in Bhote. It may perhaps here designate Malabar, where polyandry equally prevails. Mūshika, or the country of thieves, was the pirate coast of the Konkan. The Vāyu reads Bhokshyaka or Bhokhyaka for Mūshika: स्त्रीराज्यं भोक्ष्यकांश्चैव भोक्ष्यन्ति कनकाह्वयाः । The Bhāgavata omits all these specifications subsequent to the notice of Viśvasphūrṭti.

काश्मीरविषयान् ब्रात्या म्लेच्छादयः सूद्रा भोक्ष्यन्ति ।

castes, and barbarians will be masters of the banks of the Indus, Dārṅvika, the Chandrabhāgá, and Káshmir⁷⁵.

75 From this we might infer that the Vishṇu P. was compiled when the Mohammedans were making their first encroachments on the west. They seem to have invaded and to have settled in Sindh early in the eighth century, although Indian princes continued on the Indus for a subsequent period. *Scriptor. Arab. de rebus Indicis*. Gildemeister, p. 6. They were engaged in hostilities in 698 or 700 with the prince of Kabul, in whose name, however disguised by its Mohammedan representations of Ratil, Ratbal, or Ratibal, it is not difficult to recognise the genuine Hindu appellation of Ratanpál, or Ratnapál. Their progress in this direction has not been traced ; but at the period of their invasion of Sindh they advanced to Multan, and probably established themselves there and at Lahore within a century. Kásmir they did not occupy till a much later date, and the *Rája Tarangini* takes no notice of any attacks upon it ; but the Chinese have recorded an application from the king of Káshmir, Chin-tho-lo-pi-li, evidently the Chandrápida of the Sanskrit, for aid against the Arabs, about A.D. 713. Gildemeister, p. 13. Although, therefore, not actually settled at the Panjab so early as the beginning, they had commenced their incursions, and had no doubt made good their footing by the end of the eighth or commencement of the ninth century. This age of the Purāna is compatible with reference to the cotemporary race of Gupta kings, from the fourth or fifth to the seventh or eighth century ; or, if we are disposed to go farther back, we may apply the passage to the Greek and Indo-Scythian princes. It seems more likely to be the former period ; but in all such passages in this or other Purānas there is the risk that verses inspired by the presence of Mohammedan rulers may have been interpolated into the original text. Had the Mohammedans of Hindustan, however, been intended by the

latter, the indications would have been more distinct, and the localities assigned to them more central. Even the Bhāgavata, the date of which we have good reason for conjecturing to be the middle of the twelfth century, and which influenced the form assumed about that time by the worship of Vishṇu, cannot be thought to refer to the Mohammedan conquerors of upper India. It is there stated, that 'rulers fallen from their castes, or Sūdras, will be the princes of Sauráshṭra, Avanti, Abhíra, Súra, Arbuda, and Málava ; and barbarians, Sūdras, and other outcastes, not enlightened by the Vedas, will possess Káshmir, Kauntí, and the banks of the Chandrabhāgá and Indus :'

सौराष्ट्रावन्यभीराश्चसूरा अर्बुद-
मालवाः । ब्रात्या द्विजा भविष्यन्ति शूद्रप्रायाः जनाधिपाः । सिन्धोस्तटं चन्द्रभागं कौन्तीं
काष्मीरमण्डलं । भोक्ष्यन्ति शूद्रा ब्रात्याया म्लेच्छा अर्बुदवर्चस ॥ Now it was not

until the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries that the Mohammedans established themselves in Guzerat and Malwa, and the Bhāgavata was unquestionably well known in various parts of India long before that time. (Account of Hindus Sects, *As. Res.* vol. XVI.) It cannot therefore allude to Mohammedans. By specifying the princes as seceders from the Vedas, there is no doubt that the barbarians and outcastes intended are so only in a religious sense ; and we know from indisputable authorities that the western countries, Guzerat and Abu. Málava, were

एते च तुल्यकालाः सर्वे पृथिव्यां भूमृतो भविष्यन्ति । अल्पप्रसादा
बृहत्कोपाः सर्वकालमनुताधर्मरुचयः स्त्री-बाल-गो-वधकर्तारः परखादा
नरुचयोऽल्पसारा उदितास्तमितप्रायाः स्वल्पायुषो महेच्छा अत्यल्पधर्माश्च
भविष्यन्ति ॥१८॥

तैश्च विमिश्रा जनपदास्तच्छीलवर्त्तिनो राजा श्रयशुष्मिणो म्लेच्छा
श्चार्याश्च विपर्ययेण वर्त्तमानाः प्रजाः क्षपयिष्यन्ति ॥१९॥

ततश्चानुदिनमल्पाल्पहासाद् व्यवच्छेदाद् धर्मार्थयो र्जगतः संक्षेपो
भविष्यति ॥२०॥

These will all be contemporary monarchs, reigning over the earth; kings of churlish spirit, violent temper, and ever addicted to falsehood and wickedness. They will inflict death on women, children, and cows; they will seize upon the property of their subjects; they will be of limited power, and will for the most part rapidly rise and fall; their lives will be short, their desires insatiable, and they will display but little piety. The people of the various countries intermingling with them will follow their example, and the barbarians being powerful in the patronage of the princes, whilst purer tribes are neglected, the people will perish⁷⁶. Wealth and piety will decrease day by day,

the chief seats, first of the Buddhists, and then of the Jainas, from a period commencing perhaps before the Christian era, and scarcely terminating with the Mohammedan conquest. Inscriptions from Abu, *As. Res.* vol. XVI.

76 The commentator, having no doubt the existing state of things in view, interprets the passage somewhat differently: the original is, तैश्चविमिश्रा जनपदास्तच्छीलवर्त्तिनो राजाश्रयशुष्मिणो म्लेच्छाश्चार्याश्चविपर्ययेण वर्त्तमानाः प्रजाः क्षपयिष्यन्ति । The comment explains शुष्मिणाः 'strong' (वलिनः), and adds, 'the Mlechchhas will be in the centre, and the Āryyas at the end:' म्लेच्छा मध्ये आर्याश्चान्ते इत्येतद्वयेण वर्त्तमानाः । meaning, if any thing, that the unbelievers are in the heart of the country, and the Hindus on the borders: a description, however, never correct, except as applicable to the governments; and in that case inconsistent with the text, which had previously represented the bordering countries in the hands of out-castes and heretics. All that the text intends, is to represent infidels and foreigners high in power, and the Brahmans depressed. It is not unlikely that the reading is erroneous, notwithstanding the copies concur, and that the passages should be here the same as that of the Vāyu; ते विमिश्रा जनपदा म्लेच्छाचार्याश्चसर्वशः विपर्ययेण वर्त्तन्ते नाशयिष्यन्ति वै प्रजाः ।

'Intermixed with them, the nations, adopting every where barbaric institutions, exist in a state of disorder, and the subjects shall be destroyed.' The expression Mlechchhāchārāścha being used instead of Mlechchhāśchāryāscha. A passage similar to that of the text, noticing the intermixture of Hindus and barbarians, occurs in a different place (see Bk. II.

ततश्चार्थ एवाभिजनहेतुः, धनमेवाशेषधर्महेतुः, अभिरुचिरेव दाम्पत्यसम्बन्ध-
हेतुः, अनृतमेव व्यवहारजय हेतुः, स्त्रीत्वमेवोपभोगहेतुः, रत्नताम्रभागितैव
पृथिवीहेतुः, ब्रह्मसूत्रमेव किंप्रत्वहेतुः, लिङ्गधारणमेवाश्रमहेतुः, अन्याय एव
वृत्तिहेतुः ॥२१-२२॥

दौर्बल्यमेव अवृत्तिहेतुः, भयगर्भोच्चारणमेव पाण्डित्यहेतुः ॥२३॥

दानमेव धर्महेतुः, आढ्यतेव साधुत्वहेतुः ॥२४॥

स्नानमेव प्रसाधनहेतुः, स्वीकरणं विवाहहेतुः, सद्वेशधार्म्येव पात्रं
दूरायतनोदकमेव तीर्थमित्येव मनेकदोषोत्तरे भूमण्डले सव्ववर्णेष्वेव यो
यो बलवान् स स भूपतिर्भविष्याति । एवञ्चातिलुब्धकरभारासहाः शैलाना
मन्तरा द्रोणीः प्रजाः संश्रायिष्यन्ति । मधुशाकमूलफलपत्रपुष्पाहागश्च भवि

until the world will be wholly depraved. Then property alone will confer rank; wealth will be the only source of devotion; passion will be the sole bond of union between the sexes; falsehood will be the only means of success in litigation; and women will be objects merely of sensual gratification. Earth will be venerated but for its mineral treasures⁷⁷; the Brahmanical thread will constitute a Brahman; external types (as the staff and red garb) will be the only distinctions of the several orders of life; dishonesty will be the universal means of subsistence; weakness will be the cause of dependance; menace and presumption will be substituted for learning; liberality will be devotion; simple ablution will be purification⁷⁸; mutual assent will be marriage; fine clothes will be dignity⁷⁹; and water afar off will be esteemed a holy spring. Amidst all castes he who is the strongest will reign over a principality thus vitiated by many faults. The people, unable to bear the heavy burdens imposed upon them by their avaricious sovereigns, will take refuge amongst the valleys of the mountains, and will be glad to feed upon wild honey, herbs, roots, fruits, flowers, and leaves: their only covering will be the bark of trees, and they will be

Ch. III. n. 4), and designates the condition of India in all ages: at no period has the whole of the population followed Brahmanical Hinduism.

77 That is, there will be no Tīrthas, places held sacred, and objects of pilgrimage; no particular spot of earth will have any especial sanctity.

78 Gifts will be made from the impulse of ordinary feeling, not in connexion with religious rites, and as an act of devotion; and ablution will be performed for pleasure or comfort, not religiously with prescribed ceremonies and prayers.

79 The expression Sadveśadhāriṇ (सद्वेशधारिन्) is explained to mean either one who wears fine clothes, or who assumes the exterior garb of sanctity. Either interpretation is equally allowable.

प्यन्ति, तरुवल्कलचीरप्रावरणाश्चातिबहुप्रजाः शीतवातातपवर्षसहा भवि
प्यन्ति । न च कश्चित् त्रयोविंशति वर्षाणि जीविष्यति । अनवरतं
चात्र कलियुगे क्षयमायात्यखिलमेवेष जनः क्षयमुपैष्यति ॥२५॥

exposed to the cold, and wind, and sun, and rain. No man's life will
exceed three and twenty years. Thus in the Kali age shall decay
constantly proceed, until the human race approaches its annihilation.

श्रौतस्मार्तधर्मं विप्लवमत्यन्तमुपगते क्षीणप्राये च कलावशेषजगत्सृष्टु
श्रराचरगुरोरादिमयस्यान्तमयस्य सर्व्वमयस्य ब्रह्ममयस्यात्मस्वरूपिणो भगवतो
वासुदेवस्यांशः सम्भलग्रामप्रधानब्राह्मणविष्णुयशसो गृहे अष्टगुणद्विसम
न्वितः कल्किरूपी जगत्यत्रावतीर्य्य सकलम्लेच्छदस्युदुष्टाचरणचेतसामशेषा
णामपरिच्छिन्न माहात्म्यशक्तिः क्षयं करिष्यति ॥२६॥

स्वधर्मेषु चाखिलं जगत् संस्थापयिष्यतीति । अनन्तरश्चाशेषकलेखसाने प्रबु
द्धानां तेषामेव जनपदानाममलस्फटिकविशुद्धमतयो भविष्यन्ति ॥२७

तेषाञ्च बीजभूतानामशेषमनुष्याणां परिणतानामपि तत्कालकृतानामपत्य
प्रसूतिर्भविष्यति ॥२८॥

तानि च तदपत्यानि कृतयुगधर्मानुसारीणि भविष्यन्तीति ॥२९॥

यदा चन्द्रश्च सूर्यश्च तथा तिष्यन्बृहस्पती ।

एकराशौ समेष्यन्ति भविष्यति तदा कृतम् ॥३०॥

When the practices taught by the Vedas and the institutes of law
shall nearly have ceased, and the close of the Kali age shall be nigh, a
portion of that divine being who exists of his own spiritual nature in
the character of Brahma, and who is the beginning and the end, and
who comprehends all things, shall descend upon earth: he will be
born in the family of Vishṇuयास, an eminent Brahman of Sambhala
village, as Kalki, endowed with the eight superhuman faculties. By
his irresistible might he will destroy all the Mlechchhas and thieves,
and all whose minds are devoted to iniquity. He will then re-establish
righteousness upon earth; and the minds of those who live at the end
of the Kāli age shall be awakened, and shall be as pellucid as crystal.
The men who are thus changed by virtue of that peculiar time shall
be as the seeds of human beings, and shall give birth to race who shall
follow the laws of the Krita age, or age of purity. As it is said:
“When the sun and moon, and the lunar astrism Tishya, and the
planet Jupiter, are in one mansion, the Krita age shall return⁸⁰.”

80 The Bhāgavata agrees with the text in these particulars. The
chief star of Tishya is δ in the constellation Cancer.

अतीता वर्त्तमानाश्च तथैवानागतश्च ये ।

एते वंशेषु भूपालाः कथिता मुनिसत्तम ॥३१॥

यावत् परीक्षितो जन्म यावन्नन्दाभिषेचनम् ।

एतद्वर्षसहस्रन्तु ज्ञेयं पञ्चदशोत्तरम् ॥३२॥

सप्तर्षीणाञ्च यो पूर्वो दृश्येते उदितौ दिवि ।

Thus, most excellent Muni, the kings who are past, who are present, and who are to be, have been enumerated. From the birth of Parikshit to the coronation of Nanda it is to be known that 1015 years have elapsed⁸¹. When the two first stars of the seven Rshis

81 All the copies concur in this reading ; यावत्परीक्षितो जन्म यावन्नन्दाभिषेचनं । एतद्वर्षसहस्रं तु ज्ञेयं पंचदशोत्तरं ॥ Three copies of the Vāyu assign to the same interval 1050 years: पंचाशदुत्तरं । and of the Matsya five copies have the same, पंचाशदुत्तरं । or 1050 years ; whilst one copy has 1500 years ; पंचशतोत्तरं । The Bhāgavata has 1115 years ; एतद्वर्षसहस्रं तु शतं पंचदशोत्तरं । which the commentator explains, 'a thousand years and a hundred with fifteen over ;' वर्षसहस्रं पंचदशोत्तरं शतं च । He notices nevertheless, although he does not attempt to account for the discrepancy, that the total period from Parikshit to Nanda was actually, according to the duration of the different intermediate dynasties, as enumerated by all the authorities, fifteen centuries ; viz. Magadhā kings.....1000 yrs. Pradyota. &c.138 yrs. Śiśunāga, &c.....362. Total 1500 years. The shorter period is best proportioned to the number of kings ; for reckoning from Sahadeva, who was cotemporary with Parikshit, and taking the number of the Vārhadrathas from the Matsya, we have thirty-two of them, five of the Pradyota race, and ten Śaiśunāgas, or in all forty-seven ; which, as the divisor of 1050, gives rather more than twenty-two years to a reign. The Vāyu and the Matsya further specify the interval from Nanda to Pulomat, the last of the Āndhra kings, as being 836 years ; a total that does not agree exactly with the items previously specified: 9 Nandas..... 100 yrs. 10 Mauryas.....137. 10 Śungas... 112. 4 Kaṇvas.....45. 29 Andhras.....460. Total 62 kings, 854 years, In either case the average duration of reign is not improbable, as the highest number gives less than fourteen years to each prince. It is important to remember that the reign of Parikshit is, according to Hindu chronology, coeval with the commencement of the Kali age ; and even therefore taking the longest Paurāṇik interval we have but sixteen centuries between Chandragupta—or considering him as the same with Sandrocoptos, nineteen centuries B.C.—for the beginning of the Kali age. According to the chronology of our text, however, it would be but B.C. 1415 ; to that of the Vāyu and Matsya, B.C. 1450 ; and to that of the Bhāgavata, 1515. According to Wilford's computations (*As. Res.* vol. IX. Chron. Table, p. 116) the conclusion of the great war took place B.C. 1370 ; Buchanan conjectures it to have occurred in the thirteenth century B.C. Vyāsa was the putative father of Pāṇdu and Dhritarāshṭra, and consequently was cotemporary with the heroes of the

तयोस्तु मध्यनक्षत्रं दृश्यते यत् समं निशि ।
 तेन सप्तर्षयो युक्तास्तिष्ठन्त्यब्दशतं नृणाम् ॥३३॥
 ते तु पारीक्षिते काले मघास्वासन् द्विजोत्तम !
 तदा प्रवृत्तश्च कलिर्द्वादशाब्दशतात्मकः ॥३४॥
 यदेव भगवद्विष्णोरंशो यातो दिवं द्विज !
 वसुदेवकुलोद्भूतस्तदेव कलिरागतः ॥३५॥
 यावत् स पादपद्माभ्यां पस्पर्शमां वसुन्धराम् ।
 तावत् पृथ्वीपरिष्वङ्गे समर्थो नाभवत् कालः ॥३६॥
 गते सनातनस्यांशे विष्णोस्तत्र भुवो दिवम् ।
 तत्याज सानुजो राज्यं धर्मपुत्रो युधिष्ठिरः ॥३७॥

(the great Bear) rise in the heavens, and some lunar asterism is seen at night at an equal distance between them, then the seven Rshis continue stationary in that conjunction for hundred years of men⁸². At the birth of Parikshit they were in Maghá, and the Kali age then commenced, which consists of 1200 (divine) years. When the portion of Vishṇu (that had been born from Vasudeva) returned to heaven, then the Kali age commenced. As long as the earth was touched by his sacred feet, the Kali age could not affect it. As soon as the incarnation of the eternal Vishṇu had departed, the son of Dharma,

great war. Colebrooke infers from astronomical data that arrangement of the Vedas attributed to Vyása took place in the fourteenth century B.C. Bentley brings the date of Yudhishthira, the chief of the Páṇḍavas, to 575 B.C. (*Historical View of Hindu Astronomy*, p. 67) ; but the weight of authority is in favour of the thirteenth or fourteenth century B.C. for the war of the Mahábhárata, and the reputed commencement of the Kali age.

82 A similar explanation is given in the Bhágavata, Váyu, and Matsya Purānas ; and like accounts from astronomical writers are cited by Colebrook, *As. Res.* vol. IX. p. 358. The commentator on the Bhágavata thus explains the notion: "The two stars (Pulaha and Kratu) must rise or be visible before the rest, and whichever asterism is in a line south from the middle of those stars, is that with which the seven stars are united ; and so they continue for one hundred years." Wilford has also given a like explanation of the revolution of the Rshis ; *As. Res.* vol. IX. p. 83. According to Bentley the notion originated in a contrivance of the astronomers to show the quantity of the precession of the equinoxes. "This was by assuming an imaginary line or great circle passing through the poles of the ecliptic and the beginning of the fixed Maghá, which circle was supposed to cut some of the stars in the Great Bear. The seven stars in the Great Bear the circle so assumed was called the line of the Rshis, and being fixed to the beginning of the lunar asterism Maghá, the precession would be solved by stating the degree &c. of any moveable lunar mansion cut by that fixed line or circle as an index. *Historical View of Hindu Astronomy*, p. 65.

विपरीतानि दृष्टा च निमित्तानि स पाण्डवः ।
 याते कृष्णे चकाराथ सोऽभिषेकं परीश्रिते ॥३८॥
 प्रयास्यन्ति यदा ते च पूर्वाषाढां महर्षयः ।
 तदा नन्दात् प्रभृत्येष कलिर्बृद्धिं गमिष्यति ॥३९॥

Yudhishṭhira, with his brethren, abdicated the sovereignty. Observing unpropitious portents, consequent upon Kṛṣṇa's disappearance, be placed Parīkṣhit upon the throne. When the seven Ṛshis are in Purvāshādhā, then Nanda will begin to reign,⁸³ and thence-forward the influence of the Kali will augment.

83 The Bhāgavata has the same ; and this agrees with the period assigned for the interval between Parīkṣhit and Nanda of 1050 years ; as, including Maghā, we have ten asterisms to Purvāshādhā, or 1000 years. The Vāyu and Matsya are so very inaccurate in all the copies consulted, that it is not safe to affirm what they mean to describe. Apparently they state that at the end of the Andhra dynasty the Ṛshis will be in Krittikā, which furnishes other ten asterisms ; the whole being nearly in accordance with the chronology of the text, as the total interval from Parīkṣhit to the last of the Andhras is 1050+836=1886. and the entire century of each asterism at the beginning and end of the series need not be taken into account. The copies of the Matsya read, सप्तर्षयस्तथा तेस्युः प्रदीप्तामिना समं । 'The seven Ṛshis are on a line with the brilliant Agni ;' that is, with Krittikā, of which Agni is the presiding deity. The Vāyu intends in all probability the same phrase, but the three copies have, प्रतीये राक्षि । a very unintelligible clause. Again, it seems as if they intended to designate the end of the Andhra race as the period of a complete revolution, or 2700 years ; for the Vāyu has, सप्तविंशोः शतै भविव्या अन्ध्राणान्तेऽन्वया पुनः । 'The races at the end of the Andhras will be after 2700 years :' the Matsya has, सप्तविंशति भाव्येन अन्ध्राणान्तेन्वकात् (?) पुनः । and at the close of the passage, after specifying as usual that 'the seven Ṛshis were in Maghā in the time of Parīkṣhit,' सप्तर्षयो मधायुक्ताः काले परीक्षितः समे । The Vāyu adds, अन्ध्रान्ते स चतुर्विंशो भविष्यन्ति स ते मता । a passage which, though repeated in the MSS., is obviously most inaccurate ; although it might perhaps be understood to intimate that the Ṛshis will be in the twenty-fourth asterism after the Andhra race ; but that would give only 1400 years from Parīkṣhit to Pulomat ; whilst if the twenty-fourth from Maghā was intended, it would give 2400 years : both periods being incompatible with previous specifications. The Matsya has a different reading of the second line, but one not much more satisfactory ; अन्ध्राणास्तुचतुर्विंशो भविष्यन्ति शतसमाः । 'A hundred years of Brahmā will be in the twenty-fourth (asterism ?).' In neither of these authorities, however, is it proposed by the last-cited passages to illustrate the chronology of princes or dynasties : the specification of the period, whatever it may be, is that

यस्मिन् कृष्णो दिवं यातस्तस्मिन्नेव तदाहनि ।
 प्रतिपन्नं कलियुगं तस्य संख्यां निबोध मे ॥४८॥
 त्रीणि लक्षाणि वर्षाणां द्विज ! मानुषसंख्यया ।
 षष्टिञ्चैव सहस्राणि भविष्यत्येष वै कलिः ॥४९॥
 शतानि तानि दिव्यानि सप्त पञ्च च संख्यया ।
 निःशेषेण ततस्तस्मिन् भविष्यति पुनः कृतम् ॥४९॥

The day that Kṛishṇa shall have departed from the earth will be the first of the Kali age, the duration of which you shall hear ; it will continue for 360,000 years of mortals. After twelve hundred divine years shall have elapsed, the Kṛita age shall be renewed.

ब्राह्मणाः क्षत्रिया वैश्याः शूद्राश्च द्विजसत्तम !
 युगे युगे महात्मानः समतीताः सहस्रशः ॥४३॥
 बहुत्वान्नामधेयानां परिसंख्या कुले कुले ।
 पुनश्चबहुत्वात् न मया परिकीर्त्तिता ॥४४॥
 देवापिः पौरवो राजा मरुश्चेक्षाकुवंशजः ।
 महायोगवलोपेतौ कलापग्रामसञ्चरौ ॥४५॥
 कृते युग इहागत्य क्षत्रप्रावर्त्तकौ हि तौ ।
 भविष्यतो मनोवंशे बीजभूतौ व्यवस्थितौ ॥४६॥
 एतेन क्रमयोगेन मनुपुत्रैर्वसुधरा ।
 कृतत्रेतादिसंज्ञानि युगानि त्रीणि भुज्यते ॥४७॥

Thus age after age Brahmans, Kshatriyas, Vaiśyas, and Sūdras, excellent Brahman, men of great souls, have passed away by thousands ; whose names and tribes and families I have not enumerated to you, from their great number, and the repetition of appellations it would involve. Two persons, Devāpi of the race of Puru, and Maru of the family of Ikshvāku, through the force of devotion continue alive throughout the whole four ages, residing at the village of Kalāpa: they will return hither in the beginning of the Kṛita age, and becoming members of the family of the Manu, give origin to the Kshatriya dynasties.⁸⁴ In this manner the earth is possessed through every series of the three first ages, the Kṛita, Treta, and Dwāpara, by the

of the era at which the evil influence of the Kali age is to become most active and irresistible.

84 The Bhāgavata has the same. Devāpi, as the commentator observes, being the restorer of the lunar, and Maru of the solar race.

कलौ तु बीजभूतास्ते केचित् तिष्ठन्ति भूतले ।
यथैव देवापि-मरु साम्प्रतं समवस्थितौ ॥४८॥

sons of the Manu ; and some remain in the Kali age, to serve as the rudiments of renewed generations, in the same way as Devápi and Maru are still in existence.

एष तूद्देशतो वंशस्तवोक्तो भूभुजां मया ।
निखिलो गदितुं शक्यो नैव जन्मशतैरपि ॥४९॥
एते चान्ये च भूपाला यैरत्र क्षितिमण्डले ।
कृतं ममत्वं मोहान्धैरनित्येऽनित्यकलेवरैः ॥५०॥
कथं ममेयमचला मत्पुत्रस्य कथं मही ।
मद्व शस्येति चिन्तात्ता जग्मुरन्तमिमे नृपाः ॥५१॥
तेभ्यः पूर्वतराश्चान्ये तेभ्यस्तेभ्यस्तथापरे ।
भविष्याश्चैव यास्यन्ति तेषामन्ये च येऽप्यनु ॥५२॥
विलोक्यात्मजयोद्योग-यात्राव्यग्रान् नराधिपान् ।
पुष्पप्रहासैः शरदि हसतीव वसुन्धरा ॥५३॥

I have now given you a summary account of the sovereigns of the earth ; to recapitulate the whole would be impossible even in a hundred lives. These and other kings, who with perishable frames have possessed this ever-during world, and who, blinded with deceptive notions of individual occupation, have indulged the feeling that suggests, "This earth is mine—it is my son's—it belongs to my dynasty," have all passed away. So, many who reigned before them, many who succeeded them, and many who are yet to come, have ceased, or will cease, to be. Earth laughs, as if smiling with autumnal flowers, to behold her kings unable to effect the subjugation of themselves.

मैत्रेय ! पृथिवीगीताः श्लोकाश्चात्र निबोध तान् ।
यानाह धर्मध्वजिने जनकायासितो मुनिः ॥५४॥
कथमेष नरेन्द्राणां मोहो बुद्धिमतामपि ।
येन फेनसधर्माणोऽप्यतिविश्वस्तचेतसः ॥५५॥
पूर्वमात्मजयं कृत्वा जेतुमिच्छन्ति मन्त्रिणः ।
ततो भृत्यांश्च पौरांश्च जिगीषन्ते तथा रिपून् ॥५६॥

I will repeat to you, Maitreya, the stanzas that were chanted by Earth, and which the Muni Asita communicated to Janaka, whose banner was virtue. "How great is the folly of princes, who are endowed with the faculty of reason, to cherish the confidence of ambition, when they themselves are but foam upon the wave. Before they have subdued themselves, they seek to reduce their ministers, their

क्रमेणानेन जेष्यामो वयं पृथ्वीं ससागराम् ।

इत्यासक्तधियो मृत्युं न पश्यन्त्यविदूरगम् ॥५७॥

समुद्रावरणं याति मन्मण्डलमथो वशम् ।

कियदात्मजयादेतन्मुक्तिरात्मजये फलम् ॥५८॥

उत्सृज्य पूर्वजा याता यां नादाय गतः पिता ।

तां ममेति विमूढत्वाज्जेतुमिच्छन्ति पार्थिवाः ॥५९॥

मत्कृते पितृपुत्राणां भ्रातृणाञ्चापि विग्रहाः ।

जायन्तेऽत्यन्तमोहेन ममताधृतचेतसाम् ॥६०॥

पृथ्वी ममेयं सकला ममेषा ममान्वयस्यापि च शाश्वतेयम् ।

यो यो मृतो ह्यत्र बभूव राजा कुबुद्धिरासीदिति तस्य तस्य ॥६१॥

दृष्ट्वा ममत्वादृतचित्तमेकं विहाय मां मृत्युपथं व्रजन्तम् ।

तस्यान्वयस्थस्य कथं ममत्वं हृद्यास्पदं मत्प्रभवं करोति ॥६२॥

पृथ्वी ममेषाशु परित्यजेनां वदन्ति ये दूतमुखैः स्वशत्रुम् !

नराधिपास्तेषु ममातिहासः पुनश्च मूढेषु दयाम्युपैति ॥६३॥

servants, their subjects, under their authority ; they then endeavour to overcome their foes. 'Thus,' say they, 'will we conquer the ocean-circled earth ;' and, intent upon their project, behold not death, which is not far off. But what mighty matter is the subjugation of the sea-girt earth to one who can subdue himself. Emancipation from existence is the fruit of self-control. It is through infatuation that kings desire to possess me, whom their predecessors have been forced to leave, whom their fathers have not retained. Beguiled by the selfish love of sway, fathers contend with sons, and brothers with brothers, for my possession. Foolishness has been the character of every king who has boasted, 'All this earth is mine—every thing is mine—it will be in my house for ever;' for he is dead. How is it possible that such vain desires should survive in the hearts of his descendants, who have seen their progenitor, absorbed by the thirst of dominion, compelled to relinquish me, whom he called his own, and tread the path of dissolution? When I hear a king sending word to another by his ambassador, 'This earth is mine; immediately resign your pretensions to it;' I am moved to violent laughter at first, but it soon subsides in pity for the infatuated fool."

इत्येते धरणीगीता श्लोका मैत्रेय ! येः श्रुताः ।

ममत्वं विलयं याति तापन्यस्तं यथा हिमम् ॥६४॥

These were the verses, Maitreya, which Earth recited, and by listening to which ambition fades away like snow before the sun. I

इत्येष कथितः सम्यङ् मनोर्व्वंशा मया तव ।
 यत्र स्थितिप्रवृत्तस्य विष्णोरंशांशका नृपाः ॥६५॥
 शृणुयाद् य इमं भक्त्या मनुवंशमनुक्रमात् ।
 तस्य पापमशेषं वै प्रणश्यत्यमलात्मनः ॥६६॥
 धनधान्यद्विमतुलां प्राप्नोत्यव्याहतेन्द्रियः ।
 श्रुत्वेवमखिलं वंशं प्रशस्तं शशिसूर्ययोः ॥६७॥
 इक्ष्वाकु-जह्नु-मान्धातृ-सगरा-विक्षितान् रघून् ।
 ययाति-नहुषाद्यांश्च ज्ञात्वा निष्णामुपागतान् ।
 महाबलान् महावीर्यानिनन्तधनसञ्चयान् ॥६८॥
 कृतान् कालेन बलिना कथाशेषान् नराधिपान् ।
 श्रुत्वा न पुत्रदारादौ गृहक्षेत्रादिके तथा ।
 द्रव्यादौ च कृतप्रज्ञो ममत्वं कुस्ते नरः ॥६९॥
 तप्तं तपो यैः पुरुषप्रवीरे रुद्बाहुभिर्वर्षगणाननेकान् ।
 इष्टाश्च यज्ञा बलिनोऽतिवीर्याः कृतास्तु कथावशेषाः ॥७०॥
 पृथुः समस्तान् प्रचचार लोकानव्याहतो योऽरिबिदारिचक्रः ।
 स कालवाताभिहतो विनष्टः क्षिप्त यथा शाल्मलितूलमग्नौ ॥७१॥
 यः कार्तवीर्यो बुभूजे समस्तान् द्वीपान् समाक्रम्य हतारिचक्रः ।
 कथाप्रसङ्गे त्वभिधीयमानः स एव सङ्कल्पविकल्पहेतुः ॥७२॥

have now related to you the whole account of the descendants of the Manu; amongst whom have flourished kings endowed with a portion of Visṇu, engaged in the preservation of the earth. Whoever shall listen reverently and with faith to this narrative, proceeding from the posterity of Manu, shall be purified entirely from all his sins, and, with the perfect possession of his faculties, shall live in unequalled affluence, plenty, and prosperity. He who has heard of the races of the sun and moon, of Ikshwáku, Jahnu, Mandhatri, Sagara, and Raghu, who have all perished; of Yayáti, Nahusha, and their posterity, who are no more; of kings of great might, resistless valour, and unbounded wealth, who have been overcome by still more powerful time, and are now only a tale; he will learn wisdom, and forbear to call either children, or wife, or house, or lands, or wealth, his own. The arduous penances that have been performed by heroic men obstructing fate for countless years, religious rites and sacrifices of great efficacy and virtue, have been made by time the subject only of narration. The valiant Prithu traversed the universe, every where triumphant over his foes; yet he was blown away, like the light down of the Simal tree, before the blast of time. He who was Kártavíryya subdued innumerable enemies, and

दशानना-विक्षित-राघवाणामैश्वर्य्यमुद्भासितदिङ्मुखानाम् ।
 भस्मापि जातं न कथं क्षणेन भ्रूभङ्गपातेन घिगन्तकस्य ॥७३॥
 कथाशरीरत्वमवाप यद् वै मान्धातूनामा भुवि चक्रवर्ती ।
 श्रुत्वापि तं कोऽपि करोति साधुर्ममत्वमात्मन्यापि मन्दचेताः ॥७४॥
 भगीरथाद्याः सगरः ककुत्स्थो दशाननो राघव-लक्ष्मणौ च ।
 युधिष्ठिराद्याश्च बभूवुरेते सत्यं न मिथ्या क्व नु ते न विद्मः ॥७५॥
 ये साम्प्रतं ये च नृपा भविष्याः प्रोक्ता मया विप्रवरोऽग्रवीर्याः ।
 ये ते तथान्ये च तथाभिधेयाः सर्व्वे भविष्यन्ति यथेव पूर्व्वे ॥७६॥
 एतद् विदित्वा न नरेण कार्य्यं ममत्वमात्मन्यपि पण्डितेन ।
 तिष्ठन्तु तावत् तनयात्मजाद्याः क्षेत्रादयो ये तु शरीरतोऽन्ये ॥७७॥

conquered the seven zones of the earth; but now he is only the topic of a theme, a subject for affirmation and contradiction.⁸⁵ Fic upon the empire of the sons of Raghu, who triumphed over Daśánana, and extended their sway to the ends of the earth; for was it not consumed in an instant by the frown of the destroyer? Maṇḍhātri, the emperor of the universe, is embodied only in a legend; and what pious man who hears it will ever be so unwise as to cherish the desire of possession in his soul? Bhagíratha, Sāgara, Kakutstha, Daśánana, Rāma, Lakshmana, Yudhishṭhira, and others, have been. Is it so? Have they ever really existed? Where are they now? we know not! The powerful kings who now are, or who will be, as I have related them to you, or any others who are unspecified, are all subject to the same fate, and the present and the future will perish and be forgotten, like their predecessors. Aware of this truth, a wise man will never be influenced by the principle of individual appropriation; and regarding them as only transient and temporal possessions, he will not consider children and posterity, lands and property, or whatever else is personal, to be his own.

85 To be the cause of Sankalpa, 'conviction,' 'belief;' and Vikalpa, 'doubt,' 'disbelief.' The Bhāgavata indulges in a similar strain, and often in the same words. The whole recalls the words of the Roman satirist : I, demens et sævas curre per Alpes. Ut pueris placeas, et declamatio fias.

BOOK V

CHAPTER I

मैत्रेय उवाच ।

नृपाणां कथितः सर्वो भवता वंशविस्तरः ।

वंशानुचरितञ्च व यथावदनुवर्णितम् ॥१॥

Maitreya.¹—You have related to me a full account of all the different dynasties of kings, and of their successive transactions. I wish now

1 The whole of this book is dedicated to the biography of Kṛṣṇa. Many of the Purāṇas omit this subject altogether, or only allude to it occasionally. In others it is equally prominent. The Bráhma P. gives the story exactly in the same words as our text; which has the best right to them may be questioned; but, as it is usually met with, the Bráhma P. is a very heterogeneous compilation. The Hari Vamśa has a narrative more detailed than that of the text, with additions and embellishments of its own. The Brahma Vaivarṭta throughout celebrates the acts of Kṛṣṇa; and one portion of it, the Kṛṣṇa Janma Khaṇḍa, especially describes his boyhood and youth. The incidents are the same in general as those in the text, but they are lost amidst interminable descriptions of Kṛṣṇa's sports with the Gopis and with his mistress Rádhá, a person not noticed elsewhere; the whole is in a style indicative of a modern origin. The Agni P. and Padma P. (Uttara Khaṇḍa) have accounts of Kṛṣṇa, but they are mere summaries, compiled evidently from other works. The principal authority for the adventures of Kṛṣṇa is the Bhágavata, the tenth book of which is exclusively devoted to him. It is this work which has, no doubt, mainly extended the worship of Kṛṣṇa, as its popularity is evinced by its having been translated into all the spoken languages of India professing to have a literature. The *Prem-sagar*, its Hindi version, is well known; but there are also translations in Mahratta, Telugu, Tamil, &c. It does not seem likely, however, that the Vishṇu P. has copied the Bhágavata; for although its greater conciseness may sometimes look like abridgment, yet the descriptions are generally of a more simple and antiquated character. Here, as usual, the Mahábhárata is no doubt the earliest extant authority; but it is not the earliest, for whilst it omits to narrate most of his personal adventures unconnected with his alliance with the Páṇḍavas, it often alludes to them, and names repeatedly his capital, his wives, and his progeny. It also devotes a section, the Mauśala P., to the destruction of the Yádavas. The story of Kṛṣṇa the prince and hero must have been complete when the Mahábhárata was compiled. It is doubtful, however, if Kṛṣṇa the boy, and his adventures at Vrindávan, were not subsequent inventions. There are no allusions to them in the poem, of an unsuspecting nature. The only ones that I have met with are contained in a speech by Śiśupála, Sabhá P., vol. I. p. 360, in which he reviles Kṛṣṇa; but they may easily have been interpolated. There may be others scattered through the poem, but I have not observed them.

अंशावतारो ब्रह्मर्षे योज्यं यदुकुलोद्भवः ।

विष्णोस्तं विस्तरणाहं श्रोतुमिच्छाम्यशेषतः ॥२॥

चकार यानि कर्माणि भगवान् पुरुषोत्तमः ।

अंशांशेनावतीर्योर्ब्यां तत्र तामि मुने ! वद ॥३॥

to hear a more particular description, holy R̥shi, of the portion of Vishṇu² that came down upon earth, and was born in the family of Yadu. Tell me also what actions he performed in his descent, as a part of a part of the supreme, upon the earth.³

पराशर उवाच ।

मैत्रेय ! श्रूयतामेतद् यत् पृष्टोऽहमिदं त्वया ।

विष्णोरंशांश-सम्भूति-चरितं जगतो हितम् ॥४॥

Parásara.—I will relate to you, Maitreya, the account which you have requested; the birth of a part of a part of Vishṇu, and the benefits which his actions conferred upon the world.

2 The notices of Kṛṣṇa's origin and character in various passages of the Mahābhārata are by no means consistent, and indicate different dates at least. In an address to him by Arjuna, Vana P., vol. I. p. 426, he is said to have passed thousands of years in various holy places, engaged in arduous penances. He is frequently identified with the R̥shi Nárāyaṇ or he and Arjuna are said to be Nara and Nárāyaṇa : त्व चवाहं च कौन्तेय नरनारायणौ स्मृतौ । In the Dána-dharma he is represented as a worshipper of Siva, and propitiating him and his wife Umá, and receiving as boons from them wives and children. As a warrior and prince he is always on the scene ; but he is repeatedly called an Aṃśa, or portion of Vishṇu ; whilst in a great number of places he is identified with Vishṇu or Nárāyaṇa, and is consequently 'all things.' This latter is his character, of course, amongst the Vaishṇavas, agreeably to the text of the Bhágavata : कृष्णास्तु भगवान् स्वयं । 'Kṛṣṇa is the lord (Vishṇu) himself.'

3 This is a still farther diminution of Kṛṣṇa's dignity ; he is not even a part, but 'a part of a part,' Anśánśavatára (अंशाशावतारः) but this, the commentator maintains, is to be understood only of his form or condition as man, not of his power, as it suffered no diminution, either in its primary or secondary state, as light by suffusion suffers no decrease ; and a verse of the Veda is cited to this effect : 'Though that which is full be taken from what is full, yet the remainder is undiminished ;' पूर्णस्यपूर्णमादाय पूर्णमेवावशिष्यते । 'Kṛṣṇa is nevertheless the very supreme Brahma, though it be a mystery how the supreme should assume the form of a man ; परं ब्रह्म नराकृति परं गूढं परं ब्रह्म मनुष्यलिङ्गं कृष्णास्तु भगवान् स्वयम् । So the Bhágavata in one passage predicts that the Para-purusha, Purushottama or Vishṇu, will be born visibly in the dwelling of Vasudeva ; वसुदेवगृहे साक्षाद्भगवान् पुरुषः परः जनिष्यते ।

देवकस्य सुतां पूर्वं वसुदेवो महामुने !
 उपयेमे महाभागां देवकीं देवतोपमाम् ॥५॥
 कंसस्तयोर्वररथं चोदयामास सारथिः ।
 वसुदेवस्य देवक्याः संयोगे भोजवर्द्धनः ॥६॥
 अथान्तरीक्षे वागुच्चैः कंसमाभाष्यसादरम् ।
 मेघगम्भीरनिर्घोषं समाभाष्येदमब्रवीत् ॥७॥
 यामेतां वहसे मूढ ! सह भत्रो रथे स्थिताम् ।
 अस्यास्ते चाष्टमो गर्भः प्राणानपहरिष्यति ॥८॥
 इत्याकर्ण्य समादाय खड्गं कंसो महाबलः ।
 देवकीं हन्तुमारब्धो वसुदेवोऽब्रवीदिदम् ॥९॥
 न हन्तव्या महाबाहो ! देवकी भवता तव ।
 समर्पयिष्ये सकलान् गर्भानिस्योदरोद्भवान् ॥१०॥
 तथेत्याह च तं कंसो वसुदेवं द्विजोत्तम !
 न घातयामास च तां देवकीं तस्य गौरवात् ॥११॥

Vasudeva formerly married the daughter of Devaka, the illustrious Devakī, a maiden of celestial beauty. After their nuptials, Kansa, the increaser of the race of Bhoja, drove their car as their charioteer. As they were going along, a voice in the sky, sounding aloud and deep as thunder, addressed Kansa, and said, "Fool that you are, the eighth child of the damsel whom you are driving in the car shall take away your life!" On hearing this, Kansa drew his sword, and was about to put Devakī to death; but Vasudeva interposed, saying, "Kill not Devakī, great warrior; spare her life, and I will deliver to you every child that she may bring forth." Appeased by which promise, and relying on the character of Vasudeva, Kansa desisted from the attempt.

एतस्मिन्नैव काले तु भूरिभारावपीडिता ।
 जगाम धरणीं मेरुं समाजे त्रिदिवौकसाम् ॥१२॥
 सब्रह्मकान् सुरान् सर्वान् प्रणिपत्याह मेदिनी ।
 कथयामास तत् सर्वं खेदात् करुणभाषिणी ॥१३॥

At that time, Earth, overburdened by her load, repaired to mount Meru to an assembly of the gods, and addressing the divinities, with Brahmā at their head, related in piteous accents all her distress. "Agni," said Earth, "is the progenitor of gold; Sūrya, of rays of

4 The Bhāgavata tells the circumstance as in the text. The Hari Vaṁśa makes Nārada apprise Kansa of his danger. Nārada's interposition is not mentioned until afterwards by our authority. Devakī is the cousin of Kansa: see Bk. iv. Ch. xv.

अग्निः सुवर्णस्य गुरुर्वां सूर्यः परो गुरुः ।
 ममाप्यखिललोकानां गुरुर्नारायणो गुरुः ॥१४॥
 प्रजापतिपतिर्ब्रह्मा पूर्वेषामपि पूर्वजः ।
 कला-काष्ठा-निमेषात्मा कालश्चाव्यक्तमूर्त्तिमान् ॥१५॥
 तदंशभूतः सर्वेषां समूहो वः सुरोत्तमाः !
 आदित्या मरुतः साध्या रुद्रा वस्वश्चि-वह्नयः ॥१६॥
 पितरो ये च लोकानां स्रष्टारोऽत्रिपुरोगमाः ।
 एतत् तस्याप्रमेयस्य रूपं विष्णोर्महात्मनः ॥१७॥
 यक्ष-राक्षस-दैतेयाः पिशाचोरग-दानवाः ।
 गन्धर्वाप्सरसश्चैव रूपं विष्णोर्महात्मनः ॥१८॥
 ग्रहर्क्षतारकाचित्र-गगनाग्निजलानिलाः ।
 अहञ्च विषयाश्चैतत् सर्वं विष्णुमयं जगत् ॥१९॥

light: 6 the parent and guide of me and of all spheres is the supreme Náráyana, who is Brahmá, the lord of the lord of patriarchs; the eldest of the eldest born ; one with minutes and hours ; one with time ; having form, though indiscrete. This assemblage of yourselves, O gods, is but a part of him. The sun, the winds, the saints, the Rudras, the Vasus, the Ásvins, fire, the patriarch creators of the universe, of whom Atri is the first, all are but forms of the mighty and inscrutable Vishṇu. The Yakshas; Rákshasas, Daityas, spirits of evil, serpents, and children of Danu, the singers and nymphs of heaven, are forms of the great spirit, Vishṇu. The heavens painted with planets, constellations, and stars ; fire, water, wind, and myself, and every perceptible thing ; the whole universe itself—consists of Vishṇu.

तथाप्यनेकरूपस्य तस्य रूपाख्यहर्निशम् ।

बाध्यबाधकता यान्ति कल्लोला इव सागरे ॥२०॥

तत् साम्प्रतमिमे दैतेयाः कालनेमिपुरोगमाः ।

मर्त्यलोकं समाक्रम्य बाधन्तेऽहर्निशं प्रजाः ॥२१॥

The multifarious forms of that manifold being encounter and succeed one another, night and day, like the waves of the sea. At this present season many demons, of whom Kálanemi is the chief, have overrun, and continually harrass, the region of mortals. The great Asura

5 Agni, or fire, refines gold, burns away the dross, according to the commentator. The sun is the lord of the rays of light ; or, as the cause of rain and vegetation, the lord of cattle. The phrase is, गवां सूर्यः परो गुरुः ।

कालनेमिर्हतो योऽसौ विष्णुना प्रभविष्णुना ।
 उग्रसेनसूतः कंसः सम्भूतः स महासुरः ॥२२॥
 अरिष्टो धेनुकः केशी प्रलम्बो नरकस्तथा ।
 सुन्दोऽसुरस्तथात्युग्रो वाणश्चापि बलेः सुतः ॥२३॥
 तथान्ये च महावीर्या नृपाणां भवनेषु ये ।
 समुत्पन्ना दुरात्मानस्तान् न संख्यातुमुत्सहे ॥२४॥
 अक्षौहिण्योऽत्र बहुला दिव्यमूर्तिघृतां सुराः ।
 महाबलानां दृप्तानां दैत्येन्द्राणां ममोपरि ॥२५॥
 तद्भूरिभारपीडार्ता न शक्नोम्यमरेश्वराः !
 विभर्तुमात्मानमहमिति विज्ञापयामि वः ॥२६॥
 क्रियतां तन्महाभागाः ! मम भारावतारणम् ।
 यथा रसातलं नाहं गच्छेयमिति विह्वला ॥२७॥

Kālanemi,⁶ that was killed by the powerful Vishṇu, has revived in Kansa, the son of Ugrasena, and many other mighty demons, more than I can enumerate, as Arishṭa, Dhenuka, Keśin, Pralamba, Naraka, Sunda, and the fierce Bāṇa, the son of Bali,⁷ are born in the palaces of kings. Countless hosts of proud and powerful spirits, chiefs of the demon race, assuming celestial forms, now walk the earth; and, unable to support myself beneath the incumbent load, I come to you for succour. Illustrious deities, do you so act that I may be relieved from my burden, lest helpless I sink into the nethermost abyss."

इत्याकर्ष्य धरावाक्यमशेषं त्रिदशैस्ततः ।
 भ्रुवो भारावतारार्थं ब्रह्मा प्राह प्रचोदितः ॥२८॥
 यथाह वसुधा सर्व्वं सत्यमेतद्विवौकसः !
 अहं भवो भवन्तश्च सर्व्वं नारायणात्मकम् ॥२९॥

When the gods had heard these complaints of Earth, Brahmá at their request explained to them how her burden might be lightened. "Celestials," said Brahmá, "all that Earth has said is undoubtedly true. I, Mahádeva, and you all, are but Náráyana; but the impersonations of his power are for ever mutually fluctuating, and excess or diminution is indicated by the predominance of the strong, and the

6 According to the Váyu, Kālanemi or Kayabaddha was a son of Virochana, the grandson of Hiranyakaśipu: his death is described in the Hari Vaṃśa.

7 These appear subsequently in the narration, and are destroyed by Kṛshṇa.

विभूतयस्तु यास्तस्य तासामेव परस्परम् ।
 आधिक्यन्यूनता बाध्यबाधकत्वेन वर्तते ॥३०॥
 तदागच्छत गच्छामः क्षीराब्धेस्तटमुत्तरम् ।
 तत्राराध्य हरिं तस्मै सर्व्वं विज्ञापयाम वे ॥३१॥
 सर्व्वदेव जगत्यर्थे स सर्व्वात्मा जगन्मयः ।
 खल्पांशेनावतीर्य्योर्व्यां धर्मस्य कुरुते स्थितिम् ॥३२॥
 इत्युक्त्वा प्रययौ विप्र ! सह देवैः पितामहः ।
 समाहितमतिश्चैवं तुष्टाव गरुडध्वजम् ॥३३॥

depression of the weak. Come therefore, let us repair to the northern coast of the milky sea, and having glorified Hari, report to him what we have heard. He, who is the spirit of all, and of whom the universe consists, constantly, for the sake of Earth, descends in a small portion of his esstnce to establish righteousness below." Accordingly Brahmá, attended by the gods, went to the milky sea, and there, with minds intent upon him, praised him whose emblem is Garuḍa.

द्वे विद्ये त्वमनाम्नाय परा चैवापरा तथा ।
 ते एष भवतो रूपे मूर्त्तामूर्त्तात्मके प्रभो ॥३४॥
 द्वे ब्रह्मणी त्वणीयोऽतिस्थूलात्मन् ! सर्व्वं सर्व्ववित् ।
 शब्दब्रह्म परञ्चैव ब्रह्म ब्रह्ममयस्य यत् ॥३५॥
 ऋग्वेदस्त्वं यजुर्वेदः सामवेदस्त्वथर्व्वं च ।
 शिक्षा कल्पो निरुक्तञ्च छन्दो ज्योतिषमेव च ॥३६॥

"O thou," said Brahmá, "who art distinct from holy writ⁸; whose double nature is twofold wisdom⁹, superior and inferior, and who art the essential end of both; who; alike devoid and possessed of form, art the twofold Brahma¹⁰; smallest of the least and largest of the large; all, and knowing all things; that spirit which is language; that spirit which is supreme; that which is Brahma, and of which Brahma is composed! Thou art the Rik, the Yajush, the Sáman, and the Atharvan Vedas. Thou art accentuation, ritual, signification, metre, and astro-

8 Anámnáya (अनाम्नाय) ; not the immediate object of the Vedas, which is devotion, not abstraction ; ritual or worship, not knowledge.

9 The two kinds of knowledge (द्वेविद्ये) are termed Pará (परा), 'supreme,' and Apará (अपरा), 'other' or 'subordinate ;' the first is knowledge of Para Brahma, of spirit abstractedly considered, perfect knowledge derived from abstraction ; the second is knowledge of Śabda Brahma, of spirit as described and taught in the Vedas, or their supplementary branches. The identity of the supreme with both descriptions of holy knowledge pervades the whole of the address.

10 Para Brahma and Śabda Brahma : see the preceding note.

त्वं विश्वनाभिर्भुवनस्य शोप्ता सर्वाणि भूतानि तवान्तराणि ।
 यद्भूतभव्यं तदणोरणीयः पुमांस्त्वमेकः प्रकृतेः परस्तात् ॥४२॥
 एकश्चतुर्धा भगवान् हुताशोवर्चो विभूतिं जगतो ददासि ।
 त्वं विश्वतश्चक्षुरनन्तमूर्ते ! त्रेधा पदं संनिदधे विधातः ॥४३॥
 यथामिरेको बहुधा समिध्यते विकारभेदैरविकाररूपः ।
 तथा भवान् सर्वगतैकरूपो रूपाण्यशेषाप्यनुपुष्यतीश ॥४४॥
 एकस्त्वमग्रघं परमं पदं यत् पश्यन्ति त्वां सूरयो ज्ञानदृश्यम् ।
 त्वत्तो नान्यत् किञ्चिदस्ति त्वयीह यद्वा भूतं यच्च भाव्यं परात्मन् ॥४५॥
 व्यक्ताव्यक्तस्वरूपस्त्वं समष्टिव्यष्टिरूपवान् ।

सर्वज्ञः सर्वदृक् सर्वशक्तिज्ञानबलर्द्धिमान् ॥४६॥

अन्यूनश्चाप्यवृद्धिश्च स्वाधीनो मादिमान वशी ।

क्लम-तन्द्रा-भय-क्रोध-कामादिभिरसंयुतः ॥४७॥

of all ¹⁵, the protector of the world, and all beings exist in thee: all that has been, or will be, thou art. Thou art the atom of atoms; thou art spirit; thou only art distinct from primeval nature¹⁶. Thou, as the lord of fire in four manifestations¹⁷, givest light and fertility to Earth. Thou art the eye of all, and wearer of many shapes, and unobstructedly traverses the three regions of the universe. As fire, though one, is variously kindled, and, though unchangeable in its essence, is modified in many ways, so thou, lord, who art one omnipresent form, takest upon thee all modifications that exist. Thou art one supreme; thou art that supreme and eternal state which the wise behold with the eye of knowledge. There is nothing else but thou, O lord; nothing else has been or will be. Thou art both discrete and indiscrete, universal and individual, omniscient, all seeing, omnipotent, possessed of all wisdom and strength and power. Thou art liable neither to diminution nor increase; thou art independent and without beginning; thou art the subjugator of all. Thou art unaffected by weariness, sloth, fear, anger, or desire. Thou art free from

15 Literally 'navel of all'; त्वं विश्वनाभिः । The passage is also read, त्वं विश्वमादिः । 'Though art all and the first;' the cause or creator.

16 Or the passage is understood, 'Though art one subsequently to Prakṛiti;' त्वमेकः प्रकृतेः परस्तात्; that is, thou art Brahmá, the active will of the universe, creating forms from rudimental matter.

17 As the three fires enjoined by the Vedas, and the fire metaphorically of devotion; or lightnings, solar heat, fire generated artificially, and the fire of digestion or animal fire; or Vishṇu in that character bestows beauty, vigour, power, and wealth,

18 Prīta: one copy has Śānta, 'calm,' 'undisturbed.'

निरवद्यः परप्रीतो निरनिष्टोऽक्षरक्रमः ।

सर्वेश्वरः पराधारो धाम्नां धामात्मकोऽक्षयः ॥४८॥

सकलावरेणातीत ! निरालम्बनभावन !

महाविभूतिसंस्थान ! नमस्ते पुरुषोत्तम ॥४९॥

नाकारणात् कारणाद् वा कारणाकारणान्न च ।

शरीरग्रहणं वापि धर्मत्राणाय ते परम् ॥५०॥

soil, supreme, merciful,¹⁸ uniform, undecaying, lord over all, the stay of all, the fountain of light, imperishable. To thee, uninvested by material envelopes,¹⁹ unexposed to sensible imaginings, aggregate of elemental substance,²⁰ spirit supreme, be adoration. Thou assumest a shape, O pervader of the universe, not as the consequence of virtue or vice, nor from any mixture of the two, but for the sole object of maintaining piety in the world.²¹

इत्येवं संस्तुति श्रुत्वा मनसा भगवानजः ।

ब्रह्माणमाह प्रीतात्मा विश्वरूपधरो हरिः ॥५१॥

भो भो ब्रह्मन् ! त्वया मत्तः सह देवैर्वदिष्यते ।

तदुच्यतामशेषं वः सिद्धमेवावधार्यताम् ॥५२॥

The unborn, universal Haxi, having heard with his mental ear these eulogiums, was pleased, and thus spoke to Brahmā: "Tell me, Brahmā, what you and the gods desire: speak boldly, certain of

19 Beyond the separate layers or envelopes of elementary substances (see p. 18); or, according to the Vedānta notions, uninvested by those grosser sheaths or coverings, derived from food and the like, by which subtle body is enclosed.

20 Mahāvibhūti sansthāna (महाविभूतिसंस्थान). Vibhūti is explained by Prapancha, sensible material, or elementary substance, constituting body.

21 The passage is somewhat obscurely expressed, and is differently interpreted; it is, नाकारणात्कारणाद्वा कारणाकारणान्न च । 'Not from no cause, nor from cause, nor from cause and no cause.' The term 'no cause' may, the commentator says, designate fixed prescribed duties, the Nityakarma; 'cause' may signify occasional sacrifices, the Kāmyakarma: neither of these can form any necessity for Vishṇu's descent, as they might of a mere mortal's being born on the earth: or Kāraṇa is explained to mean 'obtaining pleasure,' from Ka (क) and Āraṇa (आरण), 'obtaining': obtaining happiness, or the cause of it, piety, virtue (धर्मः); and with the negative, Akāraṇa (अकारण), the reverse, pain, the consequence of wickedness (अधर्मः). The purport is clear enough; it is merely meant to state that Vishṇu is not subject to the necessity which is the cause of human birth.

ततो ब्रह्मा हरेर्दिव्यं विश्वरूपमवेक्ष्य तत् ।
 तुष्टाव भूयो देवेषु साध्वसावनतात्मसु ॥५३॥
 नमो नमस्तेऽस्तु सहस्रमूर्त ! सहस्रबाहो ! बहुवक्त्रपाद !
 नमो नमस्ते जगतः प्रवृत्तिविनाश-संस्थानकराप्रमेय ॥५४॥
 सूक्ष्मातिसूक्ष्मातिबृहत्प्रमाण ! गरीयसामप्यतिगौरवात्मन् !
 प्रधानबुद्धीन्द्रियवत्-प्रधानमूलात् परात्मन् ! भगवन् ! प्रसीद ॥५५॥
 एषा मही देव ! महीप्रसूतैर्महासुरैः पीडित-शैलबन्धा ।
 परायणं त्वां जगतामुपैति भारावतारार्थमपारसारम् ॥५६॥
 एते वयं वृत्ररिपुस्तथायं नासत्यदस्त्रौ वरुणो यमश्च ।
 इमे च रुद्रा वसवः ससूर्याः समीरणामिप्रमुखास्तथान्ये ॥५७॥
 सुराः समस्ताः सुरनाथ ! कार्य्यं मेभिर्मया यच्च सदीश सर्व्वम् ।
 आज्ञापयाज्ञां प्रतिपालयन्त स्तथैव तिष्ठाम सदास्तदोषाः ॥५८॥

success." Brahmá, beholding the divine, universal form of Hari, quickly prostrated himself, and again renewed his praises. "Glory to thee, the thousand-formed, the thousand-armed, the many-visaged, many-footed; to thee, the illimitable author of creation, preservation, and destruction; most subtle of the subtle, most vast of the great: to thee, who art nature, intellect, and consciousness; and who art other spirit even than the spiritual root of those principles."²² Do thou show favour upon us. Behold, lord, this earth, oppressed by mighty Asuras, and shaken to her mountain basements, comes to thee, who art her invincible defender, to be relieved from her burden. Behold me, Indra, the Ásvins, Varuṇa, and Yama, the Rudras, the Vasus, the suns, the winds, fire, and all other celestials, prepared to execute whatever thou shalt will that we shall do. Do thou, in whom there is no imperfection, O sovereign of the deities, give thy orders to thy servants: lo, we are ready."

एव सस्तूयमानस्तु भगवान् परमेश्वरः ।
 उज्जहारात्मनः केशौ सित-कृष्णौ महामुने ॥५९॥
 उवाच च सुरानेतौ मत्केशौ वसुधातले !
 अवतीर्य्य भुवो भार-क्लेशहानि करिष्यतः ॥६०॥

When Brahmá had ended, the supreme lord plucked off two hairs, one white and one black, and said to the gods, "These my hairs shall descend upon earth, and shall relieve her of the burden of her distress."²³

22. The term Pradhána, which is repeated in this passage, is explained in the second place to mean Puman, 'soul' or 'spirit': प्रधानबुद्धीन्द्रियवत् प्रधानमूलापरात्मन् ।

23 The same account of the origin of Kṛṣṇa is given in the Mahá-

सुराश्च सकलाः स्वांशैरवतीर्य्य महीतले ।
 दुर्व्वन्तु युद्धमुन्मत्तेः पुर्व्वोत्पन्नेर्महासुरैः ॥६१॥
 ततः क्षयमशेषास्ते दैतेया धरणीतले ।
 प्रयास्यन्ति न सन्देहो मदृक्पातविचूर्णिताः ॥६२॥
 वसुदेवस्य या पत्नी देवकी देवतोपमा ।
 तस्यायमष्टमो गर्भो मत्केशो भविता सुराः ॥६३॥
 अवतीर्य्य च तत्रायं कंसं घातयिता भुवि ।
 कालनेमिं समुद्भूतमित्युत्त्वान्तर्दधे हरिः ॥६४॥
 अदृश्याय ततस्तेऽपि प्रणिपत्य महात्मने !
 मेरुपृष्ठं सुरा जग्मुरवतेरुश्च भूतले ॥६५॥

Let all the gods also, in their own portions, go down to earth, and wage war with the haughty Asuras, who are there incorporate, and who shall every one of them be destroyed. Doubt not of this; they shall perish before the withering glance of mine eyes. This my (black) hair shall be impersonated in the eighth conception of the wife of Vasudeva, Devakī, who is like a goddess; and shall slay Kansa, who is the demon Kālanemi." Thus having spoken, Hari disappeared; and the gods bowing to him, though invisible, returned to the summit of mount Meru, from whence they descended upon earth.

कंसाय चाष्टमो गर्भो देवक्यां धरणीधरः ।
 भविष्यतीत्याचचक्षे भगवान् नारदो मुनिः ॥६६॥
 कंसोऽपि तदुपश्रुत्य नारदात् कुपितस्ततः ।
 देवकीं वसुदेवञ्च गुहे गुप्तावधारयत् ॥६७॥
 जातं जातञ्च कंसाय तेनैवोक्तं यथा पूरा ।
 तथैव वसुदेवोऽपि पुत्रमर्पितवान् द्विज ॥६८॥

The Muni Nārada informed Kansa that the supporter of the earth, Vishṇu, would be the eighth child of Devakī; and his wrath being excited by this report, he placed both Vasudeva and Devakī in confinement. Agreeably to his promise, the former delivered to Kansa each infant as soon as it was born. It is said that these, to the num-

bhārata, Ādi P. vol. I. p. 266. The white hair is impersonated as Balarāma; the black, as Kṛṣṇa. The commentator on our text maintains that this is not to be literally understood: 'Vishṇu did not intend that the two hairs should become incarnate, but he meant to signify, that, should he send them, they would be more than sufficient to destroy Kansa and his demons; or the birth of Rāma and Kṛṣṇa was a double illusion, typified by the two hairs.' This seems to be a refinement upon an older and somewhat undignified account of the origin of Kṛṣṇa and his brother. The commetator on the Mahābhārata argues that they are to be understood merely as the media by which Devakī and Rohiṇī conceived.

हिरण्यकशिपोः पुत्राः षड्गर्भा इति विश्रुताः ।
 विष्णुप्रयुक्ता तान् निद्रा क्रमाद् गर्भे न्ययोजयत् ॥६९॥
 योगनिद्रा महामाया वैष्णवी मोहितं यया ।
 अविद्यया जगत् सर्व्वं तामाह भगवान् हरिः ॥७०॥
 निद्रे ! गच्छ ममादेशात् पातालतल-संश्रयान् ।
 एकेकत्वेन षड्गर्भान् देवकीजठरं नय ॥७१॥
 हतेषु तेषु कंसेन शेषाख्योऽंशस्ततो मम ।
 अंशांशिनोदरे तस्याः सप्तमः सम्भविष्यति ॥७२॥
 गोकुले वसुदेवस्य भार्यान्या रोहिणी स्थिता ।
 तस्याः स सम्भृतिसमं देवि ! नेयस्त्वयोदरम् ॥७३॥
 सप्तमो भोजराजस्य भयाद् रोधोपरोधतः ।
 देवक्याः पतितो गर्भ इति लोको वदिष्यति ॥७४॥
 गर्भसङ्कर्षणात् सोऽथ लोके सङ्कर्षरोति वै ।
 संज्ञामवाप्स्यते वीरः श्वेताद्रिशिखरोपमः ॥७५॥
 ततोऽहं सम्भविष्यामि देवकीजठरे शुभे ।
 गर्भे त्वया यशोदाया गन्तव्यमविलम्बितम् ॥७६॥

ber of six, were the children of the demon Hiranyakaśipu, who were introduced into the womb of Devakī, at the command of Viṣṇu, during the hours of Devakī's repose, by the goddess Yoganidrā,²⁴ the great illusory energy of Viṣṇu, by whom, as utter ignorance, the whole world is beguiled. To her Viṣṇu said, "Go, Nidrā, to the nether regions, and by my command conduct successively six of their princes to be conceived of Devakī. When these shall have been put to death by Kansa, the seventh, conception shall be formed of a portion of Śeṣha, who is a part of me; and this you shall transfer, before the time of birth, to Rohiṇī, another wife of Vasudeva, who resides at Gokula. The report shall run, that Devakī miscarries, through the anxiety of imprisonment, and dread the Rājā of the Bhojas. From being extracted from his mother's womb, the child shall be known by the name of Sankarśhaṇa, and he shall be valiant and strong, and like the peak of the white mountain in bulk and complexion. I will myself become incarnate in the eighth conception of Devakī; and you shall immediately take a similar character as the embryo offspring of

24 Yoganidrā (योगनिद्रा) is the sleep of devotion or abstraction, the active principle of illusion, personified, and also termed Māyā and Mahāmāyā, also Avidyā or ignorance. In the Durgā Māhātmya of the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa she appears as Devī or Durgā, the Śakti or bride of Śiva; but in our text as Vaiṣṇavi, or the Śakti of Viṣṇu.

प्रावृट्काले च नभसि कृष्णाष्टम्यामहं निशि ।
 उत्पत्स्यामि नवम्याञ्च प्रसूतिं त्वमवाप्स्यसि ॥७७
 यशोदाशयने मान्तु देवक्यास्त्वामनिन्दिते !
 मच्छक्तिप्रैरितमतिर्वसुदेवो नयिष्यति ॥७८॥

Yaśodā. In the night of the eighth lutation of the dark half of the month Nabhas, in the season of the rains, I shall be born. You shall receive birth on the ninth. Impelled and aided by my power, Vasudeva shall bear me to the bed of Yaśodā, and you to that of Devakī.

कंसश्च त्वामुपादाय देवि ! शैलशिलातले ।
 प्रक्षेप्स्यत्यन्तरीक्षे च त्वं स्थानं समवाप्स्यसि ॥७९
 ततस्त्वां शतदृक् शक्रः प्रणम्य मम गौरवात् ।
 प्रणिपातानतशिरा भगिनीत्वे ग्रहीष्यति ॥८०॥

Kansa shall take you, and hold you up to dash you against a stone ; but you shall escape from his grasp into the sky, where the hundred-eyed Indra shall meet and do homage to you, through reverence for me, and shall bow before you, and acknowledge you as his sister.

ततः शुम्भनिशुम्भादीन् हत्वा दैत्यान् सहस्रशः ।
 स्थानैरनेकैः पृथिवीमशेषां मण्डयिष्यसि ॥८१॥
 त्वं भूतिः सम्मतिः कीर्त्तिः क्षान्तिर्द्यौः पृथिवी धृतिः ।
 लज्जा पृष्टिरुषा या च काचिदन्या त्वमेव सा ॥८२॥

Having slain Sumbha, Nisumbha, and numerous other demons,²⁵ you shall sanctify the earth in many places.²⁶ Thou art wealth, progeny, fame, patience, heaven and earth, fortitude, modesty, nutrition, dawn, and every other female (form or property). They who address thee

25 Allusion is here made to the exploits of Durgā, as celebrated especially in the Durgā Māhātmya ; and it must be posterior to the date of that or some similar composition. The passage may be an interpolation, as the Mārkaṇḍeya P. in general has the appearance of being a more recent compilation than the Vishṇu.

26 This refers to the Pīṭha sthānas, 'fifty-one places', where, according to the Tantras, the limbs of Śatī fell, when scattered by her husband Śiva, as he bore her dead body about, and tore it to pieces, after she had put an end to her existence at Dakṣha's sacrifice. This part of the legend seems to be an addition to the original fable made by the Tantras, as it is not in the Purānas (see the story of Dakṣha's sacrifice). It bears some analogy to the Egyptian fable of Isis and Osiris. At the Pīṭha sthānas, however, of Jwālāmukhī, Vindhyaśasīnī, Kālīghāt, and others, temples are erected to the different forms of Devī or Śatī, not to the phallic emblem of Mahādeva, which, if present, is there as an accessory and embellishment, not as a principal, and the chief object of worship is a figure of the goddess ; a circumstance in which there is an essential difference between the temples of Durgā and shrines of Osiris.

ये त्वामार्थ्येति द्रुगेति वेदगर्भेऽम्बिकेति च ।
 भद्रेति भद्रकालीति क्षेम्या क्षेमङ्करीति च ॥८३॥
 प्रातश्चेवापराह्णे च स्तोष्यन्त्यानम्रमूर्त्ययः ।
 तेषां हि प्रार्थितं सर्व्वं मत्प्रसादाद्भविष्यति ॥८४॥
 सुरामांसोपहारेस्तु भक्ष्यभोज्यैश्च पूजिता ।
 नृणामशेषकामांस्त्वं प्रसन्ना सम्प्रदास्यसि ॥८५॥
 ते सर्व्वे सर्व्वदा भद्रे ! मत्प्रसादादसंशयम् ।
 असन्दिग्धा भविष्यन्ति गच्छ देवि ! यथोदितम् ॥८६

morning and afternoon with reverence and praise, and call thee Āryá, Durgá, Vedagarbhá, Ambiká, Bhadrá, Bhadrakálí, Kshemí, or Kshemankarí, shall receive from my bounty whatever they desire. Propitiated with offerings of wine and flesh and various viands, thou shalt bestow upon mankind all their prayers. Through my favour all men shall ever have faith in thee. Assured of this, go, goddess, and execute my commands."

CHAPTER II

यथोक्तं सा जगद्धात्री देवदेवेन वै तदा ।
 षड्गर्भ-गर्भविन्यासं चक्रे चान्यस्य कर्षणम् ॥१॥
 सप्तमे रोहिणीं प्राप्ते गर्भे गर्भं ततो हरिः ।
 लोकत्रयोपकाराय देवक्याः प्रविवेश वै ॥२॥
 योगनिद्रा यशोदायास्तस्मिन्नेव ततो दिने ।
 सम्भूता जठरे तद्वद् यथोक्तं परमेष्ठिना ॥३॥
 ततो ग्रहगणः सम्यक् प्रचचार दिवि द्विज ।
 विष्णोर्दशे भुवं याते ऋतवश्चाभवन् शुभाः ॥४॥

The nurse of the universe, Jagaddhātrī, thus enjoined by the god of gods, conveyed the six several embryos into the womb of Devakī,¹ and transferred the seventh after a season to that of Rohiṇī ; after which, Hari, for the benefit of the three regions, became incarnate as that of Yaśodā, exactly as the supreme Viṣṇu had commanded. When the portion of Viṣṇu had become incorporate upon earth, the planetary bodies moved in brilliant order in the heavens, and the seasons were

1 It is mentioned in the preceding chapter that they were all put to death, in which the Hari Vamśa concurs. The Bhāgavata makes Kansa spare them, and restore them to their parents, as he had nothing to apprehend from their existence.

न सेहे देवकीं द्रष्टुं कश्चिदप्यतितेजसा ।
 जाज्वल्यमानां तां दृष्ट्वा मनांसि क्षोभमाययुः ॥५॥
 अदृष्टां पुरुषैः स्त्रीभिर्देवकीं देवतागणाः ।
 विभ्राणां वपुषा विष्णुं तुष्टुवुस्तामहर्निशम् ॥६॥
 प्रकृतिस्त्व परा सूक्ष्मा ब्रह्मगर्भाभवः पुरा ।
 ततो वाणी जगद्धातुर्व्वेदगर्भासि शोभने ॥७॥
 सूर्यस्वरूपगर्भासि सृष्टिभूता सनातनि !
 बीजभूता तु सर्व्वस्य यज्ञभूताभवस्त्रयी ॥८॥
 फलगर्भा त्वमेवेज्या वह्निगर्भा तथारणिः ।
 अदितिर्देवगर्भा त्वं दैत्यगर्भा तथा दितिः ॥९॥
 ज्योत्स्ना वासरगर्भा त्वं ज्ञानगर्भासि सन्नतिः ।
 नयगर्भा परा नीतिर्लज्जा त्वं प्रश्रयोद्बहा ॥१०॥
 कामगर्भा तथेच्छा त्वं तुष्टिः सन्तोषगर्भिणी ।
 मेघा च बोधगर्भासि धैर्य्यगर्भोद्बहा धृतिः ॥११॥
 ग्रहर्क्षतारकागर्भा द्यौरस्यखिलहेतुकी ।
 एता विभूतयो देवि ! तथान्याश्च सहस्रशः ॥१२॥

regular and genial. No person could bear to gaze upon Devakī, from the light that invested her ; and those who contemplated her radiance felt their minds disturbed. The gods, invisible to mortals, celebrated her praises continually from the time that Vishṇu was contained in her person. "Thou," said the divinities, "art that Prakṛiti, infinite and subtle, which formerly bore Brahmā in its womb: then wast thou the goddess of speech, the energy of the creator of the universe, and the parent of the Vedas. Thou, eternal being, comprising in thy substance the essence of all created things, wast identical with creation: thou wast the parent of the triform sacrifice, becoming the germ of all things: thou art sacrifice, whence all fruit proceeds; thou art the wood, whose attrition engenders fire. As Aditi, thou art the parent of the gods ; as Diti, thou art the mother of the Daityas, their foes. Thou art light, whence day is begotten: thou art humility, the mother of true wisdom: thou art kingly policy, the parent of order: thou art modesty, the progenitrix of affection: thou art desire, of whom love is born: thou art contentment, whence resignation is derived: thou art intelligence, the mother of knowledge: thou art patience, the parent of fortitude: thou art the heavens, and thy children are the stars: and from thee does all that exists proceed. Such, goddess, and thousands more, are thy mighty faculties; and now

तथासङ्ख्या जगद्धात्रि ! साम्प्रतं जठरे तव ।
 समुद्राद्रि-नदी-द्वीप-वन-पत्तनभूषणा ॥१३॥
 ग्राम-खर्वट-खेटाढ्या समस्ता पृथिवी शुभे !
 समस्तवह्नयोऽम्भांसि सकलाश्च समीरणाः ॥१४॥
 ग्रहर्क्षतारकाचित्रं विमानशतसङ्कुलम् ।
 अवकाशमशेषस्य यद्ददातिनभःस्थलम् ॥१५॥
 भूर्लोकश्च भुवर्लोकः स्वर्लोकोऽथ महर्जनः ।
 तपश्च ब्रह्मलोकश्च ब्रह्माण्डमखिलं शुभे ॥१६॥
 तदन्तरे स्थिता देवा दैत्य-गन्धर्व्व-चारणाः ।
 महोरगास्तथा यक्षा राक्षसाः प्रेतगुह्यकाः ॥१७॥
 मनुष्याः पशवश्चान्ये ये च जीवा यशस्विनि !
 तैरन्तःस्थैरनन्तोऽसौ सर्वेशः सर्व्वभावनः ॥१८॥
 रूपकर्मस्वरूपाणि न परिच्छेदगोचरे ।
 यस्याखिलप्रमाणानि स विष्णुर्गर्भगस्तव ॥१९॥
 त्वं स्वाहा त्वं स्वधा विद्या सुधा त्वं ज्यांतिरम्बरे ।
 त्वं सर्व्वलोकरक्षार्थमवतीर्णा महीतले ॥२०॥
 प्रसीद देवि ! सर्व्वस्य जगतः शं शुभे ! कुरु ।
 प्रीत्या त्वं धारयेशानं धृतं येनाखिलं जगत् ॥२१॥

innumerable are the contents of thy womb, O mother of the universe. The whole earth, decorated with oceans, rivers, continents, cities, villages, hamlets, and towns; all the fires, waters, and winds; the stars, asterisms, and planets; the sky, crowded with the variegated chariots of the gods, and ether, that provides space for all substance; the several spheres of earth, sky, and heaven; of saints, sages, ascetics, and of Brahmá; the whole egg of Brahmá, with all its population of gods, demons, spirits, snake-gods, fiends, ghosts, and imps, men and animals, and whatever creatures have life, comprised in him who is their eternal lord, and the object of all apprehension; whose real form, nature, name, and dimensions are not within human apprehension—are now with that Vishnu in thee. Thou art Swadhá; thou art Swadhá; thou art wisdom, ambrosia, light, and heaven. Thou hast descended upon earth for the preservation of the world. Have compassion upon us, O goddess, and do good unto the world. Be proud to bear that deity by whom the universe is upheld."

CHAPTER III

एवं संस्तूयमाना सा देवैर्देवमधारयत् ।
 गर्भेण पुण्डरीकाक्षं जगतस्त्राणकारणम् ॥१॥
 ततोऽखिलजगत्पद्मबोधायाच्युतभानुना ।
 देवकीपूर्वसन्ध्यायामाविर्भूतं महात्मना ॥२॥
 तज्जन्मदिनमत्यर्थमाह्लाद्यमलदिङ्मुखम् ।
 बभूव सर्वलोकस्य कौमुदी शशिनो यथा ॥३॥
 सन्तः सन्तोषमधिकं प्रशमं चण्डमारुतः ।
 प्रसादं निम्नगा याता जायमाने जनार्दने ॥४॥
 सिन्धवो निजशब्देन वाद्यं चक्रुर्मनोहरम् ।
 जगुर्गन्धर्व्वपतयो ननृतुश्चाप्सरोगणाः ॥५॥
 ससृजुः पुष्पवर्षाणि देव भुव्यन्तरीक्षगाः ।
 जज्वलुंश्चाग्नयः शान्ता जायमाने जनार्दने ॥६॥
 मध्यरात्रेऽखिलाधारे जायमाने जनार्दने ।
 मन्द्रं जगज्जुर्जलदाः पुष्पवृष्टिमुचो द्विज ॥७॥

Thus eulogized by the gods, Devakī bore in her womb the lotus-eyed deity, the protector of the world. The sun of Achyuta rose in the dawn of Devakī to cause the lotus petal of the universe to expand. On the day of his birth the quarters of the horizon were irradiate with joy, as if moonlight was diffused over the whole earth. The virtuous experienced new delight, the strong winds were hushed, and the rivers glided tranquilly, when Janārdhana was about to be born. The seas with their own melodious murmurings made the music, whilst the spirits and the nymphs of heaven danced and sang: the gods, walking the sky, showered down flowers upon the earth, and the holy fires glowed with a mild and gentle flame. At midnight, when the supporter of all was about to be born, the clouds emitted low pleasing sounds, and poured down rain of flowers.

फुल्लेन्दीवरपत्राभं चतुर्बाहुमुदीक्ष्य तम् ।
 श्रीवत्सवक्षसं जातं तुष्टावानकदुन्दुभिः ॥८॥
 अभिष्टूय च तं वाग्भिः प्रसन्मभिर्महामतिः ।
 विज्ञापयामास तदा कंसाद्भ्रतो द्विजोत्तम ॥९॥

As soon as Ānakadundubhi beheld the child, of the complexion of the lotus leaves, having four arms, and the mystic mark Śrīvatsa on his breast, he addressed him in terms of love and reverence, and represented the fears he entertained of Kansa. "Thou art born," said Vasu-

ज्ञातोऽसि देवदेवेश ! शङ्ख-चक्र-गदाधर ।
 दिव्यरूपमिदं देव प्रसादेनोपसंहर ॥१०॥
 अद्यैव देव ! कंसोऽयं कुरुते मम घातनम् ।
 अवतीर्ण इति ज्ञात्वा त्वमस्मिन् मम मन्दिरे ॥११॥
 योऽनन्तरूपोऽखिलविश्वरूपो गर्भेषु लोकान् वपुषा विभर्त्ति ।
 प्रसीदतामेष स देवदेवः स्वमाययाविष्कृतबालरूपः ॥१२॥
 उपसहर सर्वात्मन् ! रूपमेतच्चतुर्भुजम् ।
 जानातु मावतारं ते कंसोऽयं दितिजाधमः ॥१३॥

deva, "O sovereign god of gods, bearer of the shell, the discus, and the mace; but now in mercy withhold this thy celestial form, for Kansa will assuredly put me to death when he knows that thou hast descended in my dwelling." Devakī also exclaimed, "God of gods, who art all things, who comprisest all the regions of the world in thy person, and who by thine illusion hast assumed the condition of an infant, have compassion upon us, and forego this thy four-armed shape, nor let Kansa, the impious son of Diti, know of thy descent."

ततोऽहं यत् त्वया पूर्वं पुत्रार्थिन्या तदद्य ते ।
 सफलं देवि ! सञ्जातं जातोऽहं यत् तवोदरात् ॥१४॥
 इत्युक्त्वा भगवांस्तूष्णीं बभूव मुनिसत्तम !
 वसुदेवोऽपि तं रात्रावादाय प्रययौ बहिः ॥१५॥
 मोहिताश्चाभवंस्तत्र रक्षिणो योगनिद्रया ।
 मथुराद्वारपालाश्च व्रजत्यानकदुन्दुभौ ॥१६॥
 वर्षतां जलदानाच्च तोयमत्युल्बणं निशि ।
 संघ्राद्यानुययौ शेषः फणेनानकदुन्दुभिम् ॥१७॥
 यमुनां चातिगम्भीरां नानावर्त्तसमाकुलाम् ।
 वसुदेवो बहन् विष्णुं जानुमात्रबहां ययौ ॥१८॥

To these applications Bhagavat answered and said, "Princess, in former times I was prayed to by thee and adored in the hope of progeny: thy prayers have been granted, for I am born thy son." So saying, he was silent: and Vasudeva, taking the babe, went out that same night; for the guards were all charmed by Yoganidrá, as were the warders at the gates of Mathurá, and they obstructed not the passage of Anakadundubhi. To protect the infant from the heavy rain that fell from the clouds of night, Sesha, the many-headed serpent, followed Vasudeva, and spread his hoods above their heads; and when the prince, with the child in his arms, crossed the Yamuná river, deep as it was, and dangerous with numerous whirlpools the

कंसस्य करमादाय तत्रैवाभ्यागतांस्तटे ।
 नन्दादीन् गोपवृन्दांश्च यमुनाया ददर्श सः ॥१९॥
 तस्मिन् काले यशोदापि मोहिता योगनिद्रया ।
 तामेव कन्यां मेत्रेय ! प्रसूता मोहिते जने ॥२०॥
 वसुदेवोऽपि विन्यस्य बालमादाय दारिकाम् ।
 यशोदाशयने तूर्णमाजगामामितद्ब्रूतिः ॥२१॥
 ददृशे च प्रबुद्धा सा यशोदा जातमात्मजम् ।
 नीलोत्पलदलश्यामं ततोऽत्यर्थं मुदं ययौ ॥२२॥

waters were stilled, and rose not above his knee. On the bank he saw Nanda and the rest, who had come thither to bring tribute due to Kansa; but they beheld him not.¹ At the same time Yaśodā was also under the influence of Yoganidrā, whom she had brought forth as her daughter, and whom the prudent Vasudeva took up, placing his son in her place by the side of the mother: he then quickly returned home. When Yaśodā awoke, she found that she had been delivered of a boy, as black as the dark leaves of the lotus, and she was greatly rejoiced.

आदाय वसुदेवोऽपि दारिकां निजमन्दिरम् ।
 देवकीशयने न्यस्य यथापूर्वमतिष्ठत ॥२३॥
 ततो बालध्वनिं श्रुत्वा रक्षिणः सहसोत्थिताः ।
 कंसायावेदयामासुर्देवकीप्रसवं द्विज ॥२४॥
 कंसस्तूर्णमुपेत्यैनां ततो जग्राह बालिकाम् ।
 मुञ्च मुञ्चेति देवक्या सन्नकण्ठ्या निवारितः ॥२५॥
 चिक्षेप च शिलापृष्ठे सा क्षिप्ता वियति स्थितिम् ।
 अवाप रूपञ्च महत् सायुधाष्टमहाभुजम् ॥२६॥

Vasudeva, bearing off the female infant of Yaśodā, reached his mansion unobserved, and entered and placed the child in the bed of Devakī: he then remained as usual. The guards were awakened by the cry of the new-born babe, and, starting up, they sent word to Kansa that Devakī had borne a child. Kansa immediately repaired to the residence of Vasudeva, where he seized upon the infant. In vain Devakī convulsively entreated him to relinquish the child: he threw it ruthlessly against a stone; but it rose into the sky, and expanded into a

1 The Bhāgavata more consistently makes Vasudeva find Nanda and the rest fast asleep in their houses, and subsequently describes their bringing tribute or tax (kara) to Kansa.

प्रजहास तथेवोच्चैः कंसञ्च राषतान्नवीत् ।

किं मया क्षिप्तया मूढ ! जातो यस्त्वां वधिष्यति ॥२७

सर्वस्वभूतो देवानामासीन्मृत्युः पुरा स ते ।

तदेतत् सम्प्रधार्याणु कियतां हितमात्मनः ॥२८॥

इत्युक्त्वा प्रययौ देवी दिव्यस्त्रग्-गन्ध-भूषणा ।

पश्यतो भोजराजस्य स्तृता सिद्धैर्विहायसि ॥२९॥

gigantic figure, having eight arms, each wielding some formidable weapon. This terrific being laughed aloud, and said to Kansa, "What avails it thee, Kansa, to have hurled me to the ground? he is born who shall kill thee, the mighty one amongst the gods, who was formerly thy destroyer. Now quickly secure him, and provide for thine own welfare." Thus having spoken, the goddess, decorated with heavenly perfumes and garlands, and hymned by the spirits of the air, vanished from before the eyes of Bhoja rájá.²

CHAPTER IV

कंसस्ततोद्विग्नमनाः प्राह सव्वान् महासुरान् ।

प्रलम्बकेशिप्रमुखानाहूयासुरपुङ्गवान् ॥१॥

हे प्रलम्ब ! महाबाहो ! केशिन् ! धेनुक ! पूतने !

अरिष्टाद्यैस्तथा चान्येः श्रूयतां वचनं मम ॥२॥

मां हन्तुममरैर्यत्नः कृतः किल दुरात्मभिः ।

मद्वीर्य्यतापितेर्वीरो न त्वेतान् गणयाम्यहम् ॥३॥

किमिन्द्रेणाल्पवीर्य्येण किं हरेणैकचारिणा ।

हरिणा वापि किं साध्यं छिद्रेष्वसुरघातिना ॥४॥

किमादित्यैः किं वसुभिरल्पवीर्य्यैः किमग्निभिः ।

किञ्चान्यैरमरैः सर्वैर्मद्बाहुबलनिर्जितैः ॥५॥

Kansa, much troubled in mind, summoned all his principal Asuras, Pralamba, Keśin, and the rest, and said to them, "O valiant chiefs, Pralamba, Keśin, Dhenuka, Pūtaná, Arishta, and all the rest of you, hear my words. The vile and contemptible denizens of heaven are assiduously plotting against my life, for they dread my prowess: but, heroes, I hold them of no account. What can the impotent Indra, or the ascetic Hara, perform? or what can Hari accomplish, except the murder of his foes by fraud? What have we to fear from the Ādityas, the Vasus, the Agnis, or any others of the immortals, who have all

² Chief of the tribe of Bhoja, a branch of the Yádavas: see Bk. IV. Ch. XIII.

किं न दृष्टोऽमरपतिर्मया संयुगमेत्य सः ।
 पृष्ठेनैव वहन् वाणानपागच्छन्न वक्षसा ॥६॥
 मद्राष्टे वारिता वृष्टिर्यदा शक्रेण किं तदा ।
 मद्राणभिन्नैर्जलदैरापोऽमुक्ता यथेप्सिताः ॥७॥
 किमुर्व्यामिवनीपाला मद्बाहुबलभीरवः ।
 न सर्व्वे सन्नतिं याता जरासन्धमृते गुरुम् ॥८॥
 अमरेषु च मेऽवज्ञा जायते दैत्यपुङ्गवाः ।
 हास्यं मे जायते वीरास्तेषु यत्नपरेष्वपि ॥९॥
 तथापि खलु दुष्टानां तेषामभ्यधिकं मया ।
 अपकाराय दैत्येन्द्रा यतनीयं दुरात्मनाम् ॥१०॥
 तद् ये यशस्विनः केचित् पृथिव्यां ये च यज्विनः ।
 कार्य्यो देवापकाराय तेषां सर्वात्मना वधः ॥११॥
 उत्पन्नश्चापि मृत्युर्मे भूतपूर्व्वः स वै किल ।
 इत्येतद् बालिका प्राह देवकीगर्भसम्भवा ॥१२॥
 तस्माद् बालेषु परमो यत्नः कार्य्यो महीतले ।
 यत्रोद्विक्तं बलं बाले स हन्तव्यः प्रयत्नतः ॥१३॥

been vanquished by my resistless arms? Have I not seen the king of the gods, when he had ventured into the conflict, quickly retreat from the field, receiving my shafts upon his back, not bravely upon his breast? When in resentment he withheld the fertilizing showers from my kingdom, did not my arrows compel the clouds to part with their waters, as much as were required? Are not all the monarchs of the earth in terror of my prowess, and subject to my orders, save only Jarasandha my sire? Now, chiefs of the Daitya race, it is my determination to inflict still deeper degradation upon these evil-minded and unprincipled gods. Let therefore every man who is notorious for liberality (in gifts to gods and Brahmins), every man who is remarkable for his celebration of sacrifices, be put to death, that thus the gods shall be deprived of the means by which they subsist. The goddess who has been born as the infant child of Davakī has announced to me that he is again alive who in a former being was my death. Let therefore active search be made for whatever young children there may be upon earth, and let every boy in whom there are signs of unusual vigour be slain without remorse."

इत्याज्ञाप्यासुरान् कंसः प्रविश्यात्मगृहं ततः ।
 मुमोच वसुदेवञ्च देवकीञ्च निरोधतः ॥१४॥
 युवयोर्घातिता गर्भा वृथेवेते मयाधुना ।
 कोऽप्यन्य एव नाशाय बालो मम समुद्गतः ॥१५॥
 तदलं परितापेन नूनं तद्भाविनो हि ते ।
 अर्भका युवयोर्दोषाच्चायुषो यद्वियोजिताः ॥१६॥
 इत्याश्वास्य विमुक्त्वा च कंसस्तौ परिशङ्कितः ।
 अन्तर्गृहं द्विजश्रेष्ठ प्रविवेश पुनः स्वकम् ॥१७॥

Having issued these commands, Kansa retired into his palace, and liberated Vasudeva and Devakī from their captivity. "It is in vain," said he to them, "that I have slain all your children, since after all he who is destined to kill me has escaped. It is of no use to regret the past. The children you may hereafter have may enjoy life unto its natural close; no one shall cut it short." Having thus conciliated them, Kansa, alarmed for himself, withdrew into the interior apartments of his palace.

CHAPTER V

विमुक्तो वसुदेवोऽस्य नन्दस्य शकटं गतः ।
 प्रहृष्टं दृष्टवान् नन्दं पुत्रो जातो ममेति वै ॥१॥
 वसुदेवोऽपि तं प्राह दिष्ट्या दिष्ट्येति सादरम् ।
 वार्द्धकेऽपि समुत्पन्नस्तनयोऽयं तवाधुना ॥२॥
 दत्तो हि वार्षिकः सर्वो भवद्भिर्नृपतेः करः ।
 यदर्थमागतास्तस्मान्नावस्थेयं महाधनाः ॥३॥

When Vasudeva was set at liberty, he went to the waggon of Nanda, and found Nanda there rejoicing that a son was born to him.¹ Vasudeva spoke to him kindly, and congratulated him on having a son in his old age. "The yearly tribute," he added, "has been paid to the king, and men of property should not tarry near the court, when the

1 It is literally 'went to the cart' or 'waggon;' नन्दस्य शकटं गतः । as if Nanda and his family dwelt in such a vehicle, as the Scythians are said to have done. The commentator explains Śakata (शकट) 'the place of loosing or unharnessing the waggon; शकटावमोचनस्थानं; In the Bhāgavata, Vasudeva does not quit Mathurā, but goes to the halting ground of Nanda, who has come to that city to pay his taxes: ययौ तदवमोचन' । explained by the comment, तस्य वसतिस्थानं ।

यदर्थमागताः कार्यं तन्निष्पन्नं किमास्यते ?
 भतद्भिर्गम्यतां नन्द ! तच्छीघ्रं निजगोकुलम् ॥४॥
 ममापि बालकस्तत्र रोहिणीप्रसवो हि यः ।
 स रक्षणीयो भवता यथायं तनयो निजः ॥५॥
 इत्युक्ताः प्रययुर्गोपा नन्दगोपपुरोगमाः ।
 शकटारोपितैर्भाण्डैः करं दत्त्वा महाबलाः ॥६॥

business that brought them there has been transacted. Why do you delay, now that your affairs are settled? Up, Nanda, quickly, and set off to your own pastures; and let this boy, the son whom Rohiṇī has borne me, accompany you, and be brought up by you as this your own son." Accordingly Nanda and the other cowherds, their goods being placed in their waggons, and their taxes having been paid to the king, returned to their village.

वसतां गोकुले तेषां पूतना बालघातिनी ।
 सुप्तं कृष्णमुपादाय रात्रौ तस्मै ददौ स्तनम् ॥७॥
 यस्मै यस्मै स्तनं रात्रौ पूतना सम्प्रयच्छति ।
 तस्य तस्य क्षणेनाङ्गं बालकस्योपहन्यते ॥८॥
 कृष्णस्तस्याः स्तनं गाढं कराभ्यामवपीडितम् ।
 गृहीत्वा प्राणसहितं पपौ कोपसमन्वितः ॥९॥
 सा विमुक्तमहारावा विच्छिन्नस्त्रायुर्वन्धना ।
 पपात पूतना भूमौ अग्र्यमाणातिभीषणा ॥१०॥
 तन्नादश्रुतिसन्त्रासात् प्रबुद्धास्ते व्रजौकसः ।
 ददृशुः पूतनोत्सङ्गे कृष्णं ताञ्च निपातिताम् ॥११॥

Some time after they were settled at Gokula, the female fiend Pūtanā, the child-killer, came thither by night, and finding the little Kṛṣṇa asleep, took him up, and gave him her breast to suck.² Now whatever child is suckled in the night by Pūtanā instantly dies; but Kṛṣṇa, laying hold of the breast with both hands, sucked it with such violence, that he drained it of the life; and the hideous Pūtanā, roaring aloud, and giving way in every joint, fell on the ground expiring. The inhabitants of Vraja awoke in alarm at the cries of the fiend, ran to the spot, and beheld Pūtanā lying on the earth, and Kṛṣṇa in her arms. Yaśodā snatching up Kṛṣṇa, waved

2 In the Hari Vamśa this female fiend is described as coming in the shape of a bird.

आदाय कृष्णं सन्त्रस्ता यशोदापि द्विजोत्तम !
 गोपुच्छं भ्राम्य हस्तेन बालदोषमपाकरोत् ॥१२॥
 गोः करीषमुपादाय नन्दगोपोऽपि मस्तके ।
 कृष्णस्य प्रददौ रक्षां कुर्वश्चेतदुदीरयन् ॥१३॥
 रक्षतु त्वामशेषाणां भूतानां प्रभवो हरिः ।
 यस्य नाभिसमुद्भूतपङ्कजादभवज्जगत् ॥१४॥
 येन दंष्ट्राग्रविधृता धारयत्यवनी जगत् ।
 वराहरूपधृग् देवः स त्वां रक्षतु केशवः ॥१५॥
 नखाङ्कुरविनिभिन्न-वैरिवक्षःस्थलो विभुः ।
 नृसिंहरूपी सर्वत्र स त्वां रक्षतु केशवः ॥१६॥
 वामनो रक्षतु सदा भवन्तं यः क्षणादभूत् ।
 त्रिविक्रमः क्रमाक्रान्त-त्रैलोक्यः स्फुरदायुधः ॥१७॥
 शिरस्ते पात् गोविन्दः करणं रक्षतु केशवः ।
 गुह्यञ्च जठरं विष्णुर्जङ्घा-पादौ जनार्दनः ॥१८॥
 मुखं बाहू प्रबाहू च मनः सर्वेन्द्रियाणि च ।
 रक्षत्वव्याहृतेश्वर्य्यस्तव नारयणोऽव्ययः ॥१९॥

over him a cow-tail brush to guard him from harm, whilst Nanda placed dried cow-dung powdered upon his head; he gave him also an amulet,³ saying at the same time, "May Hari, the lord of all beings without reserve, protect you; he from the lotus of whose navel the world was developed, and on the tip of whose tusks the globe was upraised from the waters. May that Keśava, who assumed the form of a boar, protect thee. May that Keśava, who, as the man-lion, rent with his sharp nails the bosom of his foe, ever protect thee. May that Keśava, who, appearing first as the dwarf, suddenly traversed in all his might, with three paces, the three regions of the universe, constantly defend thee. May Govinda guard thy head; Keśava thy neck; Vishṇu thy belly; Janārdana thy legs and feet; the eternal and irresistible Nārāyaṇa thy face,

3 The Rakshá, the preserver, or preservative against charms, is a piece of thread or silk, or some more costly material, bound round the wrist or arm, with an appropriate prayer such as that in the text. Besides its application to children, to avert the effects of evil eyes, or to protect them against Dains or witches, there is one day in the year, the Rákhí Purnimá, or full moon in the month of Śravan (July-August), when it is bound upon the wrists of adults by friendly or kindred Brahmans, with a short prayer or benediction. The Rákhí is also sent sometimes by persons of distinction, and especially by females, to members of a different family, or even race and nation, to intimate a sort of brotherly or sisterly adoption. Tod's Rajasthan, I. 312.

शाङ्ग-चक्र-गदा-खड्ग-शङ्खनादहताः क्षयम् ।
 गच्छन्तु प्रेत-कुष्माण्ड-राक्षसा ये तवाहिताः ॥२०
 त्वां पातु दिक्षु वैकुण्ठो विदिक्षु मधुसूदनः ।
 हृषीकेशोऽम्बरे भूमौ रक्षतु त्वां महीधरः ॥२१
 एवं कृतस्वस्त्ययनो नन्दगोपेन बालकः ।
 शायितः शकटस्याधो बालपर्यङ्गिकातले ॥२२
 ते च गोपा महद् दृष्ट्वा पूतनायाः कलेवरम् ।
 मृतायाः परमं त्रासं विस्मयं परमं ययुः ॥२३

thine arms, thy mind, and faculties of sense. May all ghosts, goblins, and spirits malignant and unfriendly, ever fly thee, appalled by the bow, the discus, mace, and sword of Vishṇu, and the echo of his shell. May Vaikuntha guard thee in the cardinal points; and in the intermediate ones, Madhusūdana. May Rishikeśa defend thee in the sky, and Mahīdhara upon earth." Having pronounced this prayer to avert all evil, Nanda put the child to sleep in his bed underneath the waggon. Beholding the vast carcass of Putanā, the cowherds were filled with astonishment and terror.

CHAPTER VI

कदाचिच्छकटाधस्ताच्छयानो मधुसूदनः ।
 चिक्षेप चरणावद्धुं स्तन्यार्थी प्ररुद च ॥१
 तस्य पादप्रहारेण शकटं परिवर्तितम् ।
 विध्वस्तकुम्भभागडं वै विपरीतं पपात च ॥२
 तत्रो हाहाकृतं सर्वो गोपगोपीजनो द्विज !
 आजगामाथ ददशे बालमुत्तानशायिनम् ॥३
 गोपाः केनेति केनेदं शकटं परिवर्तितम् ।
 तत्रैवं बालकाश्चोचुर्बलिनानेन पातितम् ॥४
 रुदता दृष्टमस्माभिः पादविक्षेपताडितम् ।

On one occasion, whilst Madhusūdana was asleep underneath the waggon, he cried for the breast, and kicking up his feet he overturned the vehicle, and all the pots and pans were upset and broken. The cowherds and their wives, hearing the noise, came exclaiming, "Ah ! ah !" and there they found the child sleeping on his back. "Who could have upset the waggon ?" said the cowherds. "This child," replied some boys, who witnessed the circumstance ; "we saw him," said they, "crying, and kicking the waggon with his feet, and so it was overturned: no one else had any thing to do with it." The

शकटं परिवृत्तं वै नैतदन्यस्य चेष्टितम् ॥५
 ततः पूनरतीवासन् गोपा विस्मितचेतसः ।
 नन्दगोपोऽपि जग्राह बालमत्यन्तविस्मितः ॥६
 यशोदा शकटारूढभग्नभाण्डकपालिकाः ।
 शकटं चार्चयामास दधि-पुष्प-फलाक्षतैः ॥७

cowherds were exceedingly astonished at this account ; and Nanda, not knowing what to think, took up the boy ; whilst Yaśodá offered worship to the broken pieces of pots and to the waggon, with curds, flowers, fruit, and unbruised grain.

गर्गश्च गोकुले तत्र वसुदेवप्रणोदितः ।
 प्रच्छन्न एव गोपानां संस्कारानकरोत् तयोः ॥८
 ज्येष्ठञ्च राममित्याह कृष्णञ्चैव तथापरम् ।
 गर्गो मतिमतां श्रेष्ठो नाम कुर्वन् महामतिः ॥९
 स्वल्पेनैव हि कालेन रिङ्गिणौ तौ तदा ब्रजे ।
 घृष्टजानुकरो तौ हि बभूवतुरुभावपि ॥१०
 करीषभस्मदिग्धाङ्गौ भ्रममाणावितस्ततः ।
 न निवारयितुं शके यशोदा न च रोहिणी ॥११
 गोवाटमर्घ्ये क्रीडन्तौ वत्सवाटगतौ पुनः ।
 तदहर्जातगोवत्सपुच्छाकर्षणतत्परौ ॥१२
 यदा यशोदा तौ बालावेकस्थानचरावुभौ ।
 शशाकं नो वाररितुं क्रीडन्तावतिचञ्चलौ ॥१३

The initiatory rites requisite for the two boys were performed by Garga, who was sent to Gokula by Vasudeva for that purpose: he celebrated them without the knowledge of the cowherds ;¹ and the wise sage, eminent amongst the wise, named the elder of them Rāma, and the other Kṛṣṇa. In a short time they began to crawl about the ground, supporting themselves on their hands and knees, and creeping every where, often amidst ashes and filth. Neither Rohiṇī nor Yaśodá was able to prevent them from getting into the cowpens, or amongst the calves, where they amused themselves by pulling their tails. As they disregarded the prohibitions of Yaśodá, and rambled about together constantly, she became angry, and taking up a stick, followed

1 The Bhāgavata describes Garga's interview with Nanda, and the inducements of the latter to keep the former's celebration of the Sanskāras, or initiatory rites of the two boys, secret from the Gopas. Garga there describes himself as the Purdhit, or family priest, of the Yādavas.

यशोदा यष्टिमादाय कोपेनानुगता च तम् ।
 कृष्णां कमलपत्राक्षं तज्जेयन्ती र्षा तदा ॥१४
 दाम्ना बद्धा तदा मध्ये निबध्याथ उदूखले ।
 कृष्णमक्लिष्टकम्माणमाह चेदममर्षिता ॥१५
 यदि शक्रोषि गच्छ त्वमतिचञ्चलचेष्टित !
 इत्युक्त्वा च निजं कर्म सा चकार कुटुम्बिनी ॥१६
 व्यग्रायामथ तस्यां स कर्षमाण उदूखलम् ।
 यमलार्जुनमध्येन जगाम कमलेक्षणः ॥१७
 कर्षता वृक्षयोर्मध्ये तिय्येगगतमुदूखलम् ।
 भ्र्मावुत्तुङ्गशाखाग्रौ तेन तौ यमलार्जुनौ ॥१८
 ततः कटकटाशब्दं समाकर्ष्य च कातरः ।
 आजगाम व्रजजनो ददृशे च महाद्रमौ ॥१९
 भ्र्मस्कन्धौ निपतितौ भ्र्मशाखौ महीतले ।
 नवोद्गताल्पदन्तांशु-सितहासञ्च बालकम् ॥२०
 तयोर्मध्यगतं बद्धं दाम्ना गाढं तथोदरे ।
 ततश्च दामोदरतां स ययौ दामबन्धनात् ॥२१

them, and threatened the dark-complexioned Kṛṣṇa with a whipping. Fastening a cord round his waist, she tied him to the wooden mortar,² and being in a great passion, she said to him, "Now, you naughty boy, get away from hence if you can." She then went about her domestic affairs. As soon as she had departed, the lotus-eyed Kṛṣṇa, endeavouring to extricate himself, pulled the mortar after him to the space between two Arjuna trees that grew near together: having dragged the mortar between these trees, it became wedged awry there, and as Kṛṣṇa pulled it through, it pulled down the trunks of the trees. Hearing the crackling noise, the people of Vraja came to see what was the matter, and there they beheld the two large trees, with shattered stems and broken branches, prostrate on the ground, with the child fixed between them, with a rope round his belly, laughing, and showing his white little teeth, just budded. It is hence that Kṛṣṇa is called Dāmodara, from the binding of the rope (dāma) round his belly (udara).³ The elders of the cowherds, with

2 The Ulūkhala, or mortar is a large wooden bowl on a solid stand of timber, both cut out of one piece; the pestle is also of wood; and they are used chiefly for bruising or threshing unwinnowed corn, and separating the chaff from the grain. As important agents in household economy, they are regarded as sacred, and even hymned in the Vedas.

3 Our text, and that of the Hari Vamśa, take no notice of the legend of Nalakuvera and Maṅgrīva, sons of Kuvera, who, according to the

गोपवृद्धास्ततः सर्व्वे नन्दगोपपुरोगमाः ।
 मन्त्रयामासुरुद्विग्ना महोत्पातातिभीरवः ॥२२
 स्थानेनेह न नः कार्य्यं गच्छामोऽन्यन्महावनम् ।
 उत्पाता वहवो ह्यत्र दृश्यन्ते नाशहेतवः ॥२३
 पूतनाया विनाशश्च शकटस्य विपर्य्ययः ।
 विना वातादि-दोषेण द्रुमयोः पतनं तथा ॥२४॥
 वृन्दावनमितः स्थानात् तस्माद् गच्छाम मा चिरम् ।
 यावद्भ्रौममहोत्पात-दोषो नाभिभवेद् ब्रजम् ॥२५॥

Nanda at their head, looked upon these circumstances with alarm, considering them as of evil omen. "We cannot remain in this place," said they; "let us go to some other part of the forest; for here many evil signs threaten us with destruction; the death of Pūtanā, the upsetting of the waggon, and the fall of the trees without their being blown down by the wind. Let us depart hence without delay, and go to Vrindāvana, where terrestrial prodigies may no more disturb us."

इति कृत्वा मर्ति सर्व्वे गमने ते ब्रजौकसः ।
 ऊचुः स्वं स्वं कुलं शीघ्रं गम्यतां मा विलम्ब्यताम् ॥२६
 ततः क्षणेनः प्रययु शकटैर्गोधनैस्तथा ।
 यूथशो वत्सबालांश्च कालयन्तो ब्रजौकसः ॥२७॥
 द्रव्यावयवनिर्द्धूतं क्षणमात्रेण तत् तथा ।
 काक-काकी-समाकीर्णं ब्रजस्थानमभूद् द्विज ॥२८॥
 वृन्दावनं भगवता कृष्णेनाक्लिष्टकर्मणा ।
 शुभेन मनसा ध्यातं गवां वृद्धिमभीप्सता ॥२९॥
 ततस्तत्रातिरुक्षेऽपि घर्मकाले द्विजोत्तम !
 प्रावृट्काल इवोद्भूतं नवं शस्यं समन्ततः ॥३०॥

Having thus resolved, the inhabitants of Vraja communicated their intention to their families, and desired them to move without delay. Accordingly they set off with their waggons and their cattle, driving before them their bulls and cows and calves; the fragments of their household stores they threw away, and in an instant Vraja was overspread with flights of crows. Vrindāvana was chosen by Kṛṣṇa, whom acts do not affect, for the sake of providing for the nourishment of the kine; for there in the hottest season the new grass springs up as verdantly as in the rains. Having repaired, then, from Vraja to Vrin-

Bhāgavata, had been metamorphosed, through a curse of Nārada, into these two trees, and for whose liberation this feat of Kṛṣṇa was intended.