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THE
OCEAN OF STORY

THE
OCEAN OF STORY

BEING

C. H. TAWNEY'S TRANSLATION

OF

SOMADEVA'S KATHĀ SARIT SĀGARA

(OR OCEAN OF STREAMS OF STORY)

NOW EDITED WITH INTRODUCTION, FRESH
EXPLANATORY NOTES AND TERMINAL ESSAY

BY

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BURTON," ETC.

IN TEN VOLUMES

VOL. IX

WITH A FOREWORD BY
SIR ATUL CHATTERJEE

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शिक्षा-मन्त्री, भारत
EDUCATION MINISTER
INDIA

One of the main hindrances to the development and propagation of the study of Sanskrit is the non-availability of a large number of important Sanskrit books. With a view to obviating this difficulty, the Ministry of Education has formulated a scheme of reprinting of important out-of-print books. The present book, namely, Tawney's English translation of Katha-sarit-sagara by Soma Deva has been published under this scheme. By subsidising the present reprint it has been possible to reduce the price of the book to Rs. 90/- per set. I am sure the reprint which carries a moderate price will be welcomed by all oriental scholars and lovers of Sanskrit.

New Delhi
May 13, 1968.

FOREWORD

WHEN Mr Penzer honoured me with an invitation to write a Foreword to the ninth volume of this admirable work, I felt that it would be foolish presumption on my part to attempt to add to the learned and fascinating studies on different aspects of the *Ocean of Story* that have been contributed to the previous volumes by scholars of eminence and authority. But it may not perhaps be unwelcome to the Western or Eastern reader of the *Ocean* to consider for a while the influence which must have been exercised by this unique and marvellous collection of stories on the culture and ideas of the people for whom they were primarily strung together. It may also be worth while to examine the evidence afforded by it of life and society in India at a most interesting and elusive period of its history, a century before the establishment of a Muslim Kingdom at Delhi.

It is a well-known, but none the less remarkable, fact that for the Hindu there is no code or compendium either for religious dogma or for moral conduct. There is nothing of final authority to guide him like the Ten Commandments, the Gospels or the *Qur'ān*. The Vedas contain little in the way of definite and concrete rules of belief and conduct, and, at the best, the teaching of the Vedas could have been familiar only to a microscopic minority of the population of India. The term "Śāstras" is a generic expression which may be said to embrace the entire non-secular literature of Sanskrit; individual works included in the term Śāstras have possessed authority only at different times, in different parts of India and among different sections of the population. We must also remember that until recently only an insignificant proportion of the people were able to read or write even the spoken vernaculars, and that in the climate of the country

the preservation of manuscripts is an arduous task. In these peculiar circumstances, the ethical and spiritual culture of the masses could be maintained only by the spoken word, and what better vehicle was there for the necessary teaching than tales embodying in a concrete form both religious principles and rules of conduct ? The adoption of the story as a medium of religious and moral instruction had the further advantage that the characters and incidents could be varied according to the rank or culture of the audience which represented people in all stages of civilisation, from the aboriginal tribes to the courtly and warlike Kshatriya and the priestly Brāhman of pure descent. These " stories with a moral " were woven into the history of mythical and epic gods and heroes, and thus obtained wide currency. They could not in any sense be described as the composition or the property of any one author or writer. They were altered or adapted to suit the reciter or the listeners and the particular occasion. Infinite variations of a story would therefore be current simultaneously, but the framework and the moral would remain much the same in all versions. Even thirty years ago the *Kathak* (literally " story-teller ") was a familiar figure in the villages of northern and eastern India. His services would be requisitioned for one evening, or for a fortnight, or even for a whole season, either through the piety and generosity of a wealthy patron (often a lady), or by subscriptions raised among the residents of a village or circle of hamlets. A popular *Kathak's* clientele extended to all districts where the same language was spoken. He was commissioned to relate sometimes the whole of the *Rāmāyaṇa* or the *Mahābhārata* or a *Purāṇa*, or sometimes only a striking episode appropriate to the season or the occasion. In reciting the history of the hero, the *Kathak* never hesitated to bring in extraneous or subsidiary stories by way of illustration or for purposes of diversion. For, though his main object was to instruct, he could not hope to do so without amusing or interesting his audience. The speaker sat on a slightly raised platform, while the audience, composed of men, women and children, of all castes and conditions, circled round him, in an open thatched hall, or under an awning, or in the dry season under a spreading

banyan-tree. This mixed audience was no doubt responsible for the fact that, although the stories were treated in the frank natural manner of the East, there was seldom any indecency or obscenity in them.

The printing-press and the spread of primary education are affecting the demand for the services of the *Kathak*, but we can well imagine how extensive his influence was in mediæval India. It will also be recognised that the art of the *Kathak* must have been largely responsible for the maintenance of a literary standard in the vernacular, and for the gradual development of a vigorous literature in languages such as Hindi, Bengali and Guzerati. In the earlier centuries of the Christian era the epics and the stories were mostly enshrined in Sanskrit, but the *Kathak* had to relate them to his audience in the spoken language. It is not difficult therefore to realise that powerful influences were at work for the preservation, in a written form of the vernacular, of works which were previously accessible in a language understood only by a very small minority of the people. Perhaps some explanation may be found in these circumstances of the tradition embodied in Somadeva's recension of the *Kathā-sarit-sāgara* that Guṇāḍhya had originally written out his collection of the stories in the Paiśāchī dialect.

It is safe to assume that during the centuries after Somadeva, the stories embodied in the *Ocean*, including the *Pañchatantra* and Vetāla tales, became familiar to practically all sections of the Hindu population of India, and exerted a potent influence on their ideas and culture. Mr Penzer has shown in his Terminal Essay—pp. 118 and 119—how in the earlier collections of the stories the characters belonged to a non-aristocratic sphere of society, such as merchants, artisans and cultivators, and the presiding deity was Kuvera, the God of Wealth. Somadeva and his coadjutors thought it desirable to replace Kuvera by Śiva (the chief deity worshipped in Kashmir in their time), and they also attempted to invest the chief characters with a social eminence which did not belong to them in the original recensions. But the new editors did not succeed in altering the general tone and atmosphere of the tales, and we have therefore available

in Somadeva's *Ocean*, so skilfully and faithfully translated by Tawney, a living picture of life of the common people in India in the tenth and eleventh centuries of the Christian era.

It is not my purpose to dwell at length on the moral and religious beliefs of the people as illustrated in these tales, for this work has already been accomplished in the excellent notes and appendices with which Mr Penzer has enriched these volumes. It is evident, as might have been anticipated by students of this period of Indian history, that the prevailing beliefs were a curious medley of the purer forms of Hindu mythology, of the later and sometimes debased Buddhistic doctrines and of *tantric* practices of comparatively recent development. The conflict between the Hindu and the Buddhist ideals of life is very clearly brought out in the tale of the Buddhist merchant Vitastadatta of Taxila and his Hindu son Ratnadatta (III, 2-5). We see incidentally how Buddhism had been the more popular religion with "low-caste men," and it is pleasant to note the spirit of toleration underlying the declaration of the philosophic Buddhist—"Religion is not confined to one form." While in the course of the work we are treated to learned and highly technical discussions on the doctrine of "Māyā," we have also many allusions to the more common practice of the worship of Durgā. The very frequent references to the famous temple of Durgā in the town of Bindhachal (Vindhyāchala, or literally Vindhya mountain), close to Mirzapur, are probably accounted for by the proximity of the regions peopled by forest tribes such as Bhillas, Śavaras, or Pulindas, who are described in many parts of the *Ocean*. These references also indicate that one of the main routes between the Gangetic Valley and the Deccan must have been in those days, as it is now, from Mirzapur by a ford over the Narmadā above Jabalpur, and through the forest districts, to Pratishṭhāna on the Godāvarī. It is interesting to find that the temple of the Mahākāla Śiva at Ujjayinī described in Kālidāsa's *Meghadūta* was equally famous in the days of Somadeva, and, like the Durgā temple at Bindhachal, still attracts votaries from all parts of the country. Belief in magic ceremonial is illustrated in many of the stories; in the tale of Kamalākara and

Haṃsāvalī we have gruesome details of the rites connected with human sacrifice (VI, 52). The synthesis of the philosophic tenets of Hinduism and Buddhism and the animistic rites and practices of the forest tribes, had produced a mixture which was not calculated to impart either social or political stability to Hindu India in the coming struggle with Islam. A careful reader of the *Ocean of Story* cannot fail to be struck by the spirit of gentle satire which underlies most of the stories, but unfortunately the criticism was not sufficiently trenchant for the purposes of reform and purification.

Similar observations apply to the picture of the political organisation of India in the tenth and eleventh centuries that is presented by these tales. Somadeva and his associates delineate for us a country divided into a large number of small states each ruled by a personal monarch, with dynastic ambitions and a desire for territorial aggrandisement. The King is usually guided by an intelligent and devoted minister, often a Brāhman. We have also a reference to a system where the Crown Prince had a court composed of young men in training for the posts of ministers. But there is little evidence of any complex political or administrative organisation at the centres of government. We are led to presume that the system of regional administration by means of a trained bureaucracy, which had been inaugurated by rulers such as Aśoka, continued to survive and function, and was a familiar feature which the editors of the stories did not consider it worthy to stress. It is difficult on any other hypothesis to account for the easy revival of the ancient bureaucracy by early Muslim rulers like Alauddin. There is no trace in the stories of the *Ocean* of any "state" or civic patriotism among the masses of the population. On the other hand there is much dynastic intrigue in the ruling families; territorial expansion was frequently sought by means of matrimonial alliances, which naturally led to counter-alliances. The picture thus sketched furnishes abundant explanation for the jealousies and weaknesses which characterised the defence of these kingdoms when the Muslim invaders arrived in the twelfth and succeeding centuries. A point to be noted in passing is that although we have many references to

kingdoms so far apart as Ujjayinī, Pāṭaliputra and Kashmir, and although there is mention of Takshaśilā in the north, Lāṭa (Guzerat) on the west, Choḷa and Kalinga in the south, and Kāmarūpa in the east, there is no allusion to any state in modern Rajputana. Not the least interesting passages in the stories are concerned with the "non-Aryan" kingdoms in the Vindhya country, peopled by the older tribes such as Bhillas, Śavaras and Pulindas, and the efforts made by the Aryan chiefs to secure their friendship and support. In these fragmentary references to the political organisation of the country the frequent demoralisation of the rulers is also vividly described. (Compare the story of King Bhīmabhaṭa in VI, 162.) No doubt there were popular risings in consequence and the replacement of one ruler by another. But we cannot expect many stories describing such incidents in a collection specifically dedicated to a royal personage.

The social fabric of India in the tenth and eleventh centuries was composed of the four chief castes, but it is remarkable that even at that comparatively late epoch, although we have mention of many different vocations and professions, there is no allusion to any subcastes within the limits of which intermarriage was restricted. Indeed, leaving out the rather doubtful cases of *gāndharva* marriage in the stories of the *Ocean*, we find frequent instances, without provoking any comment or criticism from the authors, of marriages with women of an inferior caste. In the story of the Golden City (II, 171), the king, who is presumably a Kshatriya, is willing to marry the Princess Kanakarekhā to a Brāhman or a Kshatriya, and the first aspirant to her hand is a Brāhman. In a later story, Aśokadatta, the son of "a great Brāhman," marries the daughter of a Kshatriya king (II, 204). Other instances will be found in III, 134, IV, 140, and VI, 73. In the story of Anangarati (IV, 144), four suitors belonging respectively to the four castes seek the hand of the princess, and, in spite of a decided preference for the Kshatriya and the Brāhman on account of their caste, the Vaiśya and the Śūdra were not summarily ruled out. On the other hand, there is no instance in the *Ocean* of a man actually marrying a woman of a superior caste. In modern times

efforts are being made to break down provincial or regional caste-barriers, and until recently instances were very rare of intermarriage between people of different provinces. In the *Ocean*, however, there is no indication of any such barriers, and no surprise is caused when we hear of a Pāṭaliputra man bringing a wife from Pauṇḍravardhana.

It is also noteworthy that caste did not determine the occupation or profession of a man. We come across Brāhmans employed in the secular departments of the State; a Brāhman youth becomes a professional wrestler (II, 200), and another becomes a bandit (VI, 166), apparently without losing caste. In the story of Vīravara, we have a Brāhman becoming a soldier of fortune (VI, 173). In the story of Phalabhūti, the Brāhman Somadatta adopts the occupation of a husbandman (II, 95).

A subject of speculation among students of Indian social history is the extent to which the custom of the seclusion of women existed in the pre-Muslim period. There can be little question that at all periods of Indian history the women of the richer classes led a more sheltered life than is the case with the modern Western woman. In the *Purāṇas*, as well as in the secular literature, there are frequent references to the "antaḥpura," or the inner apartments of a palace, or a rich man's dwelling-house, which are usually occupied by the womenfolk of the family. The stories in the *ean*, however, prove that in no part of the country in the eleventh century was there anything corresponding to the "parda" system of northern India in recent days. We have in the story of Arthalobha (III, 286) an indication of the fact that it was not unusual for a woman to participate in mercantile business of some importance. At the same time it would appear that a polygamous chief or ruler occasionally endeavoured to introduce stricter seclusion for his wives. We have a reference to such attempts in the incident described at III, 169. Ratnaprabhā, after successfully insisting that her apartments "must not be closed against the entrance of her husband's friends," made the following remarks, which are as true to-day as they were in the eleventh century: "I consider that the strict seclusion of women is a mere social

custom, or rather folly produced by jealousy. It is of no use whatever. Women of good family are guarded by their own virtue as their only chamberlain. But even God Himself can scarcely guard the unchaste. Who can restrain a furious river and a passionate woman?"

Polygamy was legally permissible to all Hindus in Somadeva's time as it is now, but in spite of the fact that the hero of the *Ocean* frequently indulges in the pastime of taking to himself a new wife, the practice of polygamy appears to have been confined in the main to chiefs and ruling princes. In the tale of Guṇaśarman (IV, 99), we have the very pertinent economic explanation of monogamy among the common people in spite of the legal sanction for polygamy. The wise Brāhman Agnidatta says: "Wives generally have many rivals when the husband is fortunate; a poor man would find it difficult to support one, much more to support many." In the story of Akshakshapaṇaka we have an instance of a man belonging to the middle classes who was persuaded by his relations to take a second wife after his first wife had deserted him (VI, 152). We do not come across any other tale in the *Ocean* illustrating a polygamous marriage by a person who did not belong to a semi-divine or princely category. It is hard to believe that if polygamy had been a common practice, the authors of the tales would not have utilised the theme for the obviously amusing situations that were bound to arise.

Mr Penzer has dealt with the custom of *satī* in an illuminating appendix, and it is not necessary for me to refer to it here. But it is worthy of note that the remarriage of widows does not receive disapproval or condemnation in any tale in the *Ocean*; in the story of the Eleven Slayer (V, 184), although the exceptional and extraordinary circumstances bring ridicule on the woman, she incurs no religious penalty or social ostracism for her repeated marriages. Another question frequently asked in modern India is whether the custom of child-marriage was prevalent in older days. We have an echo of the oft-quoted text enjoining the marriage of immature girls in the statement of the harassed King Paropakārin to his "grown-up" daughter: "If a daughter

reaches puberty unmarried, her relations go to hell and she is an outcast and her bridegroom is called the husband of an outcast" (VI, 173). But this very story, where the princess has already been reared to womanhood and there are many suitors for her hand, proves that the pious text was not unoften honoured in the breach. The general tenor of most of the tales in the *Ocean* indicates that, though child-marriage may not have been unknown and some social theorists were advocating it, young men and young women seldom married before they were "grown up." The custom of child-marriage, like that of the strict seclusion of women, seems to have been a later development.

The profession of courtesans that existed in all the court-cities of the country has been described by Mr Penzer in an elaborate and exhaustive manner in the Appendix on Sacred Prostitution (Vol. I). Another unpleasant feature of the social organisation of the pre-Muslim epoch appears to have been the wide prevalence of wine-drinking. In the Parrot's Story (VI, 186), we find a young merchant "drowsy with wine," while all the people of the house also sink into a drunken sleep. To those who are familiar with the abstemious habits of the Hindu merchant castes of the present time this story would cause natural surprise. What is still more shocking is the laxness that prevailed in this respect even among women. Somadeva relates several stories, without any hint of disapproval, of princesses of noble birth indulging in drinking bouts. (See III, 107, III, 174, and VII, 10.) In his Terminal Essay Mr Penzer has put forward the hypothesis that the Kashmirian editors of the *Ocean* gave a much higher social rank to the original characters of the stories. But this does not improve matters from our point of view. There can be little doubt that, so far as wine-drinking is concerned, the position has been very much better in recent times among the middle classes in India: among the women of all classes the habit is almost unknown. It is a matter of speculation whether this change was effected through the influence of the Hindu reformers of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, or as the result of Muslim rule.

There are in the *Ocean* references to the *datura* as a

stupefying intoxicant (I, 160, and V, 145), but it is difficult to say whether it was in common use except for criminal purposes. It is worthy of note that there is no allusion in any of the tales to the consumption of opium either as a medicine or as an intoxicant. Nor do we find any mention of *ganja*, *charas* or *bhāng* (different forms of hemp drugs). The proximity of Kashmir to the natural habitat of some of these drugs ought to have familiarised the editors with them had they been in vogue in the tenth or eleventh centuries. Gambling appears to have been a widespread vice in the time of Somadeva. It is true that sometimes it may have been indulged in as a mere amusement or recreation (see the story at V, 86). But we have a graphic description of a gambling den in the story of Chandrasvāmin (VII, 72), and there are tales in the *Ocean* devoted to the same theme. Certain classes in India do not seem to have changed their habits in this respect since the date of the Vedas and the *Mahābhārata* (II, 231*n*).

A more pleasant diversion, the subsequent disappearance of which one notes with regret, was dancing among respectable ladies. It is difficult to trace how in later days dancing in public became confined to women of the " dancing-girl " class. Was it merely an accompaniment of the introduction of the custom of strict seclusion of women, or was it the result of contact with the puritanic ideals of Islam? In the *Ocean* we find many instances of ladies of position giving fine exhibitions of the dancing art. We have the spectacle of the Princess Haṃsāvalī dancing before her father (and apparently many others present at the Court) " to the music of a great tabor, looking like a creeper of the tree of love agitated by the wind of youth, shaking her ornaments like flowers, curving her hand like a shoot " (VI, 41). The " dancing teacher " for the ladies of the Court was apparently a regular institution (IV, 156). In the story of King Kanakavarsha (IV, 208), his ambassador sent to the Court of King Devaśakti to secure the hand of Princess Madanasundarī has the good fortune of witnessing " the elegance in the dance " of the princess. There is no reason to presume that the art was known only in the Courts and was not practised by respectable women in a humbler sphere of life.

Music was an equally popular art, both among men and women. There were professors of singing as of dancing (VI, 41). It is unnecessary for me here to quote further instances, for they will be found throughout the tales.

Painting was also one of the fine arts held in high esteem. Picture galleries were a regular feature in royal palaces (IV, 205), and portrait painters moved from one Court to another, being often entrusted with delicate missions. The art of fresco-painting, of which such excellent examples survive at Ajanta and Bagh, was also in request. The father of the Princess Haṃsāvalī employs an artist to paint his daughter's bower, and the artist thereupon paints the Prince Kamalākara and his servants on the wall of the bower (VI, 41). The kindred arts of sculpture and architecture must have flourished at the same time, for they were needed not only for the palaces of which we have such glowing descriptions in various stories, but also for the temples and the figures in them, to which there is constant reference. There are also indications in various passages in the *Ocean* that gardening was a highly patronised art.

Among professions of a different type to which allusion is made in the *Ocean* are those of the astrologer and the fortune-teller. It was recognised that there were many pretenders in these professions, and much fun is made of the dupes of false astrologers in the story of the Brāhman Hariśarman (III, 70). A story of similar purport in regard to fortune-tellers will be found at II, 90.

References to the economic condition of the people are unfortunately meagre in the *Ocean*. We find Brāhmans and others subsisting on royal grants of land, but no details are available of the conditions of tenure of such grants or of other land. Slavery was a recognised institution. We have in the story of Dharmadatta (III, 7) a case of a female slave in the house of a Brāhman married to " an excellent hired servant in the house of a certain merchant." In this instance at any rate the bonds of slavery were not rigorous, for the woman and her (free) husband were permitted to set up a separate house of their own. It would have been interesting to know whether she was only a life slave, or

whether the offspring of the union would have become slaves.

The same story furnishes a description of "a grievous famine." Owing to it the allowance of food which the couple received every day "began to come to them in small quantities. Then their bodies became attenuated by hunger, and they began to despond in mind, when once on a time at meal-time there arrived a weary Brāhman guest. To him they gave all their own food (cooked rice brought from the houses of their respective masters), as much as they had, though they were in danger of their lives." The famine must have been grievous indeed to compel a Brāhman to eat cooked rice from the hands of low-caste slaves. After the Brāhman has eaten and departed, the husband dies of starvation, and the wife "lays down the load of her own calamity" by burning herself with her husband's corpse. The miseries and privations suffered during famines, together with the familiar phenomenon of migration of whole families with their cattle from famine-stricken tracts, are vividly portrayed in several other passages in the *Ocean* (II, 196, and VI, 27). In the story of Chandrasvāmin (IV, 220) even "the King began to play the bandit, leaving the right path and taking wealth from his subjects unlawfully." There is unfortunately no description in any story of special measures of protection or prevention such as watercourses, embankments, or grain stores which must have been familiar to the people.

The amusing story of Devadāsa (II, 86) is based on the habit of hoarding gold—a propensity which has not yet died out in the country. There are no stories about money-lenders —a theme which might have easily provided some humorous situations.

Trade and commerce were honourable professions, and the stories abound in references to merchants who not only traded between different parts of the country, but ventured across the seas. In the story of the Golden City, we find Saktideva accompanying seafaring merchants from the seaport of Viṭankapura to the islands in the midst of the ocean (II, 191). The merchant Hiraṇyagupta (IV, 160), after getting together wares, goes off to an island named Suvarṇabhūmi

to trade, and afterwards travels "some days over the sea" in a ship (see also IV, 190-191, V, 198, and VII, 15). Realistic descriptions of countries beyond the seas are not likely to be found in the work of editors living in land-locked Kashmir, but it is clear that in the epoch of Somadeva there was no social or religious ban on sea-voyages, even of considerable duration. The circumstances that led to the subsequent prejudice against sea-voyages would be an appropriate subject for research by the student of Indian social history.

Curiously enough, one is disappointed at the absence in a work edited in Kashmir of clear references to the regions north and west of India. In the legendary account in II, 93, 94, of Udayana's conquests there are vague allusions to the defeat of Mlechchhas, Turushkas, Pārasīkas and Hūṇas, but this appears to be a mere echo of the account of the conquests of Raghu in Kālidāsa. In another story (III, 185) four young merchants travel "to the northern region, abounding in barbarians," where they are sold to a Tājika (Persian ?), who sends them as a present to a Turushka (Turk). After a miraculous escape, three of the travellers prefer to leave a quarter of the world infested with barbarians and return to the Deccan, while the fourth finally reaches the banks of the Vitastā (the Jhelum). It must be confessed that even this passage is not very illuminating.

We also look in vain in the stories for any enlightening evidence about the favourite crops and vegetables. Among edible fruits, mango, citron, *āmalaka* and *jambu* are mentioned, as also *triphalā*, which Tawney interprets to mean three varieties of myrobolan. Fish appears to have been popular, at least with certain classes, for we have many references to fishermen and fishing. The flesh of deer and other wild animals was consumed, but there is no evidence of any animals reared for food. In the allegorical tale of Arthavarman and Bhogavarman (IV, 196), even the abstemious and dyspeptic Arthavarman has a meal consisting of "barley-meal, with half a *pala* of ghee, and a little rice *and a small quantity of meat-curry*," while Bhogavarman, who believes in good living, soon after a meal at a friend's house where he has "excellent food" with wine returns home and

" again enjoys all kinds of viands and wines at his own house in the evening."

It is hoped that the examples given above will illustrate how the stories in the *Ocean* give us very interesting glimpses into the social and economic life of the later centuries in the " Hindu period " of the history of India. In this respect they ought to prove valuable to the historical student who has at present only very limited material at his disposal.

As a pupil of Charles Tawney at Calcutta, it is gratifying to me to be associated in a humble manner with a work which will remain for ever a testimony to his erudition, industry and scholarly method. Precision of thought and expression, thoroughness and breadth of mind were the striking attributes of Tawney's character. Kindliness of temper and a genial sense of humour endeared him to his pupils.

It may be permitted to me to congratulate Mr Penzer on the completion of his work as editor. Alike in conception and in execution, it has been a great task. The magnificent results must be a source of pride both to Mr Penzer and his publisher.

ATUL C. CHATTERJEE.

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PREFACE

THE present volume sees the conclusion of the *Ocean*, and we leave Śiva, with his beloved Pārvatī, on the summit of Mount Kailāsa.

Somadeva's Epilogue is now given for the first time—the translation and notes being the work of Dr Barnett.

My Terminal Essay follows.

In a work of this size, the publication of which stretches over a number of years, it is only natural that much additional matter, as well as slips and errors, both in the text and in the notes, are bound to accrue. I have considered it best to put all this fresh material in the present volume under the general title of "Addenda and Corrigenda."

The rest of the volume is taken up with the Bibliography. Volume X will contain various Appendixes and a single general index to the complete work.

N. M. P.

ST JOHN'S WOOD, N.W.8,
November 1927.

THE
OCEAN OF STORY

BOOK XVIII: VISHAMAŚĪLA

CHAPTER CXX

INVOCATION

GLORY be to that god, half of whose body is the moon-faced Pārvatī, who is smeared with ashes white as the rays of the moon, whose eyes gleam with a fire like that of the sun and moon, who wears a half-moon on his head!

May that elephant-faced god protect you, who, with his trunk bent at the end, uplifted in sport, appears to be bestowing successes!

[M] Then Naravāhanadatta, in the hermitage of the hermit Kaśyapa, on that Black Mountain, said to the assembled hermits: "Moreover, when, during my separation from the queen, Vegavatī, who was in love with me, took me and made me over to the protection of a science, I longed to abandon the body, being separated from my beloved and in a foreign land; but while, in this state of mind, I was roaming about in a remote part of the forest, I beheld the great hermit Kaṇva.

"That compassionate hermit, seeing me bowing at his feet, and knowing by the insight of profound meditation that I was miserable, took me to his hermitage, and said to me: 'Why are you distracted, though you are a hero sprung from the race of the Moon? As the ordinance of the god standeth sure, why should you despair of reunion with your wife?

"'The most unexpected meetings do take place for men in this world. I will tell you, to illustrate this, the story of Vikramāditya. Listen.

171. *Story of King Vikramāditya*[1]

There is in Avanti a famous city, named Ujjayinī, the dwelling-place of Śiva, built by Viśvakarman in the commencement of the Yuga; which, like a virtuous woman, is invincible by strangers; like a lotus plant, is the resort of the Goddess of Prosperity; like the heart of the good, is rich in virtue; like the earth, is full of many wonderful sights.

There dwelt in that city a world-conquering king, named Mahendrāditya, the slayer of his enemies' armies, like Indra in Amarāvatī. In regard of prowess he was a wielder of many weapons; in regard of beauty he was the flower-weaponed god himself; his hand was ever open in bounty, but was firmly clenched on the hilt of his sword. That king had a wife named Saumyadarśanā, who was to him as Śachī to Indra, as Gaurī to Śiva, as Śrī to Vishṇu. And that king had a great minister named Sumati, and a warder named Vajrāyudha, in whose family the office was hereditary. With these the king remained ruling his realm, propitiating Śiva, and ever bearing various vows in order to obtain a son.

In the meanwhile, as Śiva was with Pārvatī on the mighty mountain Kailāsa, the glens of which are visited by troops of gods, which is beautiful with the smile that the northern quarter smiles, joyous at vanquishing all the others, all the gods, with Indra at their head, came to visit him, being afflicted by the oppression of the Mlechchhas[2]; and the immortals bowed, and then sat down and praised Śiva. And when he asked them the reason of their coming, they addressed to him this prayer: "O God, those Asuras, who were slain by thee and Vishṇu, have been now again born on the earth in the form of Mlechchhas. They slay Brāhmans, they interfere with the sacrifices and other ceremonies, and they carry off the daughters of hermits: indeed, what crime do not the villains commit? Now, thou knowest, lord, that

[1] This story, with its numerous sub-stories, stretches to p. 85, and forms the last tale in the whole work.—N.M.P.

[2] *I.e.* "outer barbarian"—anyone who disregards Hindu *dharma*. The name occurs continually in the *Mahābhārata*. See Sörensen's Index, p. 480 *et seq.*—N.M.P.

the world of gods is ever nourished by the earth, for the oblation offered in the fire by Brāhmans nourishes the dwellers in heaven. But, as the Mlechchhas have overrun the earth, the auspicious words are nowhere pronounced over the burnt-offering, and the world of gods is being exhausted by the cutting off of their share of the sacrifice and other supplies.[1] So devise an expedient in this matter; cause some hero to become incarnate on the earth, mighty enough to destroy those Mlechchhas."

When Śiva had been thus entreated by the gods, he said to them: "Depart! You need not be anxious about this matter; be at your ease. Rest assured that I will soon devise an expedient which will meet the difficulty." When Śiva had said this, he dismissed the gods to their abodes.[2]

And when they had gone, the holy one, with Pārvatī at his side, summoned a Gaṇa, named Mālyavat, and gave him this order: "My son, descend into the condition of a man, and be born in the city of Ujjayinī as the brave son of King Mahendrāditya. That king is a portion of me, and his wife is sprung from a portion of Ambikā; be born in their family, and do the heaven-dwellers the service they require. Slay all those Mlechchhas that obstruct the fulfilment of the law contained in the three Vedas. And by my favour thou shalt be a king ruling over the seven divisions of the world. Moreover, the Rākshasas, the Yakshas and the Vetālas shall own thy supremacy[3]; and after thou hast enjoyed human pleasures, thou shalt again return to me."

When the Gaṇa Mālyavat received this command from Śiva, he said: "The command of you two divine beings cannot be disobeyed by me; but what enjoyments are there in the life of a man which involve separations from relations, friends and servants very hard to bear, and the pain arising from loss of wealth, old age, disease and the other ills of humanity?" When the Gaṇa said this to Śiva, the god

[1] The central idea of the *Birds* of Aristophanes.

[2] Here Böhtlingk and Roth would read *svadhishṇyāny*. Two of the three India Office MSS. seem to read this, judging from the way in which they form the combination *shṇ*. No. 1882 is not quite clear.

[3] He is a kind of Hindu Solomon.

thus replied: "Go, blameless one! These woes shall not fall to thy lot. By my favour thou shalt be happy throughout the whole of thy sojourn on earth." When Śiva said this to Mālyavat, that virtuous Gaṇa immediately disappeared. And he went and was conceived in Ujjayinī, in the proper season, in the womb of the queen of King Mahendrāditya.

And at that time the god, whose diadem is fashioned of a digit of the moon, said to that king in a dream: "I am pleased with thee, King: so a son shall be born to thee, who by his might shall conquer the earth with all its divisions; and that hero shall reduce under his sway the Yakshas, Rākshasas, Piśāchas and others—even those that move in the air and dwell in Pātāla—and shall slay the hosts of the Mlechchhas; for this reason he shall be named Vikramāditya, and also Vishamaśīla, on account of his stern hostility to his enemies." [1]

When the god had said this, he disappeared; and next morning the king woke up, and joyfully related his dream to his ministers. And they also told the king, one after another, with great delight, that Śiva had made a revelation to each of them in a dream that he was to have a son. And at that moment a handmaid of the harem came and showed the king a fruit,[2] saying: "Śiva gave this to the queen in a dream." Then the king rejoiced, saying again and again: "Truly, Śiva has given me a son"; and his ministers congratulated him.

Then his illustrious queen became pregnant, like the eastern quarter in the morning, when the orb of the sun is about to rise; and she was conspicuous for the black tint of the nipples of her breasts, which appeared like a seal to secure the milk for the king with whom she was pregnant. In her dreams at that time she crossed seven seas, being worshipped by all the Yakshas, Vetālas and Rākshasas. And when the due time was come, she brought forth a glorious son, who lit up the chamber, as the rising sun does the heaven. And when he was born, the sky became indeed glorious, laughing with the falling rain of flowers, and ringing with the noise of the

[1] I adopt the correction of the Petersburg lexicographers, *vaishamyato* for *vaiśasyato*. I find it in No. 1882 and in the Sanskrit College MS.

[2] See Vol. II, p. 136*n*[1]; and Vol. III, p. 263*n*[2].—N.M.P.

gods' drums. And on that occasion the city was altogether distracted with festive joy, and appeared as if intoxicated, as if possessed by a demon, as if generally wind-struck. And at that time the king rained wealth there so unceasingly that, except the Buddhists, no one was without a god.[1] And King Mahendrāditya gave him the name of Vikramāditya, which Śiva had mentioned, and also that of Vishamaśīla.

When some more days had passed, there was born to that king's minister named Sumati a son, of the name of Mahāmati, and the warder Vajrāyudha had a son born to him, named Bhadrāyudha, and the chaplain Mahīdhara had a son of the name of Śrīdhara. And that prince Vikramāditya grew up with those three ministers' sons as with spirit, courage and might. When he was invested with the sacred thread, and put under teachers, they were merely the occasions of his learning the sciences, which revealed themselves to him without effort. And whatever science or accomplishment he was seen to employ, was known by those, who understood it, to be possessed by him to the highest degree of excellence. And when people saw that prince fighting with heavenly weapons, they even began to pay less attention to the stories about the great archer Rāma and other heroes of the kind. And his father brought for him beautiful maidens, given by kings who had submitted after defeat, like so many goddesses of fortune.

Then his father, King Mahendrāditya, seeing that his son was in the bloom of early manhood, of great valour, and beloved by his subjects, duly anointed him heir to his realm, and, being himself old, retired with his wife and ministers to Vārāṇāsi,[2] and made the god Śiva his refuge.

And King Vikramāditya, having obtained that kingdom of his father, began in due course to blaze forth, as the sun, when it has occupied the sky. Even haughty kings, when they saw the string fitted into the notch of his bending bow,[3]

[1] The word *anīśvara*, when applied to the Buddhists, refers to their not believing in a Disposer, but its other meaning is "wanting in health."

[2] *I.e.* Benares.

[3] As Dr Kern points out, there is a misprint here: *namatyā* should be *namaty*.

learned a lesson from that weapon, and bent likewise on every side. Of godlike dignity, having subdued to his sway even Vetālas, Rākshasas and other demons, he chastised righteously those that followed evil courses. The armies of that Vikramāditya roamed over the earth like the rays of the sun, shedding into every quarter the light of order. Though that king was a mighty hero, he dreaded the other world; though a brave warrior, he was not hard-handed[1]; though not uxorious, he was beloved by his wives. He was the father of all the fatherless, the friend of all the friendless, and the protector of all the unprotected among his subjects. Surely his glory furnished the Disposer with the material out of which he built up the White Island, the Sea of Milk, Mount Kailāsa and the Himālayas.[2]

And one day, as the King Vikramāditya was in the hall of assembly, the warder Bhadrāyudha came in and said to him: "Your Majesty dispatched Vikramaśakti with an army to conquer the southern region and other territories, and then sent to him a messenger named Anangadeva; that messenger has now returned, and is at the gate with another, and his delighted face announces good tidings, my lord." The king said, "Let him enter," and then the warder respectfully introduced Anangadeva, with his companion. The messenger entered and bowed, and shouted, "Victory!"[3] and sat down in front of the king; and then the king said to him: "Is it well with King Vikramaśakti, the general of my forces, and with Vyāghrabala and the other kings? And does good fortune attend on the other chief Rajputs in his army, and on the elephants, horses, chariots and footmen?"

When Anangadeva had been thus questioned by the king, he answered: "It is well with Vikramaśakti and the whole of the army. And your Majesty has conquered the Deccan and the western border, and Madhyadeśa and Saurāshṭra and all the eastern region of the Ganges; and

[1] Or "not cruel in exacting tribute."

[2] Glory is white according to the canons of Hindu rhetoric.

[3] It might merely mean, cried "All Hail," but here I think there is more in the expression than in the usual salutation.

the northern region and Kāśmīra have been made tributary; and various forts and islands have been conquered; and the hosts of the Mlechchhas have been slain, and the rest have been reduced to submission; and various kings have entered the camp of Vikramaśakti, and he himself is coming here with those kings, and is now, my lord, two or three marches off."

When the messenger had thus told his tale, King Vikramāditya was pleased, and loaded [1] him with garments, ornaments and villages. Then the king went on to say to that noble messenger: "Anangadeva, when you went there, what regions did you see, and what object of interest did you meet with anywhere? Tell me, my good fellow!" When Anangadeva had been thus questioned by the king, he began to recount his adventures, as follows:

The Adventures of Anangadeva

"Having set out hence by your Majesty's orders, I reached in course of time that army of yours assembled under Vikramaśakti, which was like a broad sea resorted to by allied kings, adorned by many princes of the Nāgas that had come together with horses and royal magnificence.[2] And when I arrived there, that Vikramaśakti bowed before me, and treated me with great respect, because I had been sent by his sovereign; and while I was there considering the nature of the triumphs he had gained, a messenger from the King of Siṃhala [3] came there.

"And that messenger, who had come from Siṃhala, told to Vikramaśakti, in my presence, his master's message, as follows: 'I have been told by messengers, who have been sent by me to your sovereign and have returned, that your sovereign's very heart, Anangadeva, is with you, so send him to me quickly; I will reveal to him a certain auspicious affair that concerns your king.' Then Vikramaśakti said to me:

[1] Dr Kern would read *abhyapūjayat* = honoured. The three India Office MSS. and the Sanskrit College MS. confirm Brockhaus' text.

[2] A most elaborate pun! There is an allusion to the sea having proved the refuge of the mountains that wished to preserve their wings, to the serpent Vāsuki's having served as a rope with which to whirl round Mount Mandara when the sea was churned and produced Śrī or Lakshmī. In this exploit Hari or Vishṇu bore a distinguished part.

[3] *I.e.* Ceylon.

'Go quickly to the King of Siṃhala, and see what he wishes to say to you when he has you before him.'

"Then I went through the sea in a ship to the island of Siṃhala with that King of Siṃhala's ambassador. And in that island I saw a palace all made of gold, with terraces of various jewels, like the city of the gods. And in it I saw that King of Siṃhala, Vīrasena, surrounded by obedient ministers, as Indra is by the gods. When I approached him he received me politely, and asked me about your Majesty's health, and then he refreshed me with most sumptuous hospitality.

"The next day the king summoned me, when he was in his hall of audience, and showing his devotion to you, said to me, in the presence of his ministers: 'I have a maiden daughter, the peerless beauty of the world of mortals, Madanalekhā by name, and I offer her to your king. She is a fitting wife for him, and he a suitable husband for her. For this reason I have invited you; so accept her in the name of your king.[1] And go on in front with my ambassador to tell your master; I will send my daughter here close after you.'

"When the king had said this, he summoned into that hall his daughter, whose load of ornaments was adorned by her graceful shape, loveliness and youth. And he made her sit on his lap, and showing her, said to me: 'I offer this girl to your master: receive her.' And when I saw that princess I was astonished at her beauty, and I said joyfully, 'I accept this maiden on behalf of my sovereign,' and I thought to myself: 'Well, the Creator is never tired of producing marvels, since even after creating Tilottamā he has produced this far superior beauty.'

"Then, having been honoured by that king, I set forth from that island, with this ambassador of his, Dhavalasena. So we embarked on a ship, and as we were sailing along in it, through the sea, we suddenly saw a great sandbank in the middle of the ocean. And on it we saw two maidens of singular beauty: one had a body as dark as *priyangu*,[2] the

[1] Böhtlingk and Roth explain *pratīpa* in this passage as *werben um*.

[2] This is a well-known small millet, "Panic" (*Panicum Italicum*). It is familiar to Kāshmīris, who now call it *pingi*.—N.M.P.

other gleamed white like the moon, and they both looked more splendid from having put on dresses and ornaments suited to their respective hues. They made a sound like the clashing of cymbals with their bracelets adorned with splendid gems, and they were making a young toy-deer, which, though of gold and studded with jewels to represent spots, possessed life, dance in front of them.[1] When we saw this we were astonished, and we said to one another: 'What can this wonder mean? Is it a dream, magic or delusion? Who would ever expect to see a sandbank suddenly start up in the middle of the ocean, or such maidens upon it? And who would ever have thought of seeing such a thing as this living golden deer studded with jewels, which they possess? Such things are not usually found together.'

"While we were saying this to one another, King, in the greatest astonishment, a wind suddenly began to blow, tossing up the sea. That wind broke up our ship, which was resting on the surging waves, and the people in it were whelmed in the sea, and the sea-monsters began to devour them. But those two maidens came and supported both of us in their arms, and lifted us up and carried us to the sand-bank, so that we escaped the jaws of the sea-monsters. And then that bank began to be covered with waves, at which we were terrified; but those two ladies cheered us, and made us enter what seemed like the interior of a cave. There we began to look at a heavenly wood of various trees, and while we were looking at it the sea disappeared, and the bank and the young deer and the maidens.

"We wandered about there for a time, saying to ourselves: 'What is this strange thing? It is assuredly some magic.' And then we saw there a great lake, transparent, deep and broad, like the heart of great men, looking like a material representation of Nirvāṇa that allays the fire of desire.[2]

[1] I read *praṇartayantyau* with Dr Kern for the obvious misprint in the text. The *y* is found in the three India Office MSS. and in the Sanskrit College MS. ——Tawney refers us to *Iliad*, xviii, 417-420, but the gold and silver dogs of *Odyssey*, vii, 91, are surely more apposite. See my note on "Automata" in Vol. III, pp. 56-59, and Crooke, "Some Notes on Homeric Folk-Lore," *Folk-Lore*, vol. xix, p. 71.—N.M.P.

[2] In the original, *tṛishṇā*.

"And we saw a certain beautiful woman coming to bathe in it, accompanied by her train, looking like an incarnation of the beauty of the wood. And that lady alighted from her covered chariot[1] and gathered lotuses in that lake, and bathed in it, and meditated on Śiva. And thereupon, to our astonishment, Śiva arose from the lake, a present god, in the form of a *liṅga*, composed of splendid jewels, and came near her; and that fair one worshipped him with various luxuries suited to her Majesty, and then took her lyre. And then she played upon it, singing skilfully to it with rapt devotion, following the southern style in respect of notes, time and words. So splendid was her performance that even the Siddhas and other beings appeared there in the air, having their hearts attracted by hearing it, and remained motionless, as if painted. And after she had finished her music[2] she dismissed the god, and he immediately sank in the lake. Then the gazelle-eyed lady rose up and mounted her chariot, and proceeded to go away slowly with her train.

"We followed her, and eagerly asked her train over and over again who she was, but none of them gave us any answer. Then, wishing to show that ambassador of the King of Siṃhala your might, I said to her aloud: 'Auspicious one, I adjure thee, by the touch of King Vikramāditya's feet, that thou depart not hence without revealing to me who thou art.' When the lady heard this she made her train retire, and alighted from her chariot, and coming up to me, she said with a gentle voice: 'Is my lord the noble King Vikramāditya well? But why do I ask, Anangadeva, since I know all about him? For I exerted magic power, and brought you here for the sake of that king, for I must honour him, as he delivered me from a great danger. So come to my palace; there I will tell you all—who I am, and why I ought to honour that king, and what service he needs to have done him.'

"When she had said this, having left her chariot out of courtesy, that fair one went along the path on foot and respect-

[1] All the India Office MSS. give *karṇīrathāvatīrṇā*.

[2] The word *Gandharvā* should be *Gāndharvā*; see Böhtlingk and Roth, s.v. *har* with *upa* and *saṃ*. No. 2166 has *Gāndhāras*; the other two MSS. agree with Brockhaus' text.

fully conducted me to her castle, which looked like heaven. It was built of various jewels and different kinds of gold; its gates were guarded on every side by brave warriors wearing various forms and bearing various weapons; and it was full of noble ladies of remarkable beauty, looking as if they were charms that drew down endless heavenly enjoyments. There she honoured us with baths, unguents, splendid dresses and ornaments, and made us rest for a time."

CHAPTER CXXI

171. *Story of King Vikramāditya*

WHEN Anangadeva had told this to King Vikramāditya in his hall of audience, he continued as follows: "Then, after I had taken food, that lady, sitting in the midst of her attendants, said to me: 'Listen, Anangadeva, I will now tell you all.

171A. *Madanamanjarī and the Kāpālika*[1]

I am Madanamanjarī, the daughter of Dundubhi, the King of the Yakshas, and the wife of Maṇibhadra, the brother of Kuvera. I used always to roam about happily with my husband on the banks of rivers, on hills, and in charming groves.

And one day I went with my beloved to a garden in Ujjayinī called Makaranda to amuse myself. There it happened that in the dawn a low hypocritical scoundrel of a *kāpālika*[1] saw me, when I had just woke up from a sleep brought on by the fatigue of roaming about. That rascal, being overcome with love, went into a cemetery, and proceeded to try to procure me for his wife by means of a spell and a burnt-offering. But I, by my power, found out what he was about, and informed my husband; and he told his elder brother, Kuvera. And Kuvera went and complained to Brahmā, and the holy Brahmā, after meditating, said to him: "It is true that *kāpālika* intends to rob your brother of his wife, for such is the power of those spells for mastering Yakshas, which he possesses. But when she feels herself

[1] Böhtlingk and Roth explain the word *khaṇḍakāpālika* as "ein Stück von einem Kāpālika, ein Quasi-kāpālika." A *kāpālika* is, according to Monier Williams, *s.v.*, a worshipper of Śiva of the left-hand order, characterised by carrying skulls of men as ornaments, and by eating and drinking from them. ——These are the same as the Aghorī, for which see Vol. II, p. 90*n*³.—N.M.P.

being drawn along by the spell, she must invoke the protection of King Vikrāmaditya; he will save her from him." Then Kuvera came and told this answer of Brahmā's to my husband, and my husband told it to me, whose mind was troubled by that wicked spell.

And in the meanwhile that hypocritical *kāpālika*, offering a burnt-offering in the cemetery, began to draw me to him by means of a spell, duly muttered in a circle. And I, being drawn by that spell, reached in an agony of terror that awful cemetery, full of bones and skulls, haunted by demons. And then I saw there that wicked *kāpālika*: he had made an offering to the fire, and he had in a circle [1] a corpse lying on its back, which he had been worshipping. And that *kāpālika*, when he saw that I had arrived, was beside himself with pride, and with difficulty tore himself away to rinse his mouth in a river, which happened to be near.

At that moment I called to mind what Brahmā had said, and I thought: "Why should I not call to the king for aid? He may be roaming about in the darkness somewhere near." When I had said this to myself, I called aloud for his help in the following words: "Deliver me, noble King Vikramāditya! See, protecting talisman of the world, this *kāpālika* is bent on outraging by force, in your realm, me, a chaste woman, the Yakshī Madanamanjarī by name, the daughter of Dundubhi, and the wife of Maṇibhadra, the younger brother of Kuvera."

No sooner had I finished this plaintive appeal than I saw that king coming toward me, sword in hand; he seemed to be all resplendent with brightness of valour, and he said to me: "My good lady, do not fear; be at ease. I will deliver you from that *kāpālika*, fair one. For who is able to work such unrighteousness in my realm?" When he had said this, he summoned a Vetāla, named Agniśikha. And he, when summoned, came—tall, with flaming eyes, with upstanding hair—and said to the king: "Tell me what I am to do." Then the king said: "Kill and eat this wicked *kāpālika*, who is trying to carry off his neighbour's wife." Then that

[1] For the magic circle see Vol. II, p. 98*n*[4], and Vol. III, p. 201 *et seq.*—N.M.P.,

Vetāla, Agniśikha, entered the corpse that was in the circle of adoration, and rose up and rushed forward, stretching out his arms and mouth. And when the *kāpālika*, who had come back from rinsing his mouth, was preparing to fly, he seized him from behind by the legs; and he whirled him round in the air, and then dashed him down with great force on the earth, and so at one blow crushed his body and his aspirations.

When the demons saw the *kāpālika* slain they were all eager for flesh, and a fierce Vetāla, named Yamaśikha, came there. As soon as he came he seized the body of the *kāpālika*; then the first Vetāla, Agniśikha, said to him: "Hear, villain! I have killed this *kāpālika* by the order of King Vikramāditya; pray what have you to do with him?" When Yamaśikha heard that, he said to him: "Then tell me, what kind of power has that king?" Then Agniśikha said: "If you do not know the nature of his power, listen, I will tell you.

171AA. *The Cunning Gambler Dāgineya and the Vetāla Agniśikha who submitted himself to King Vikramāditya*

There once lived in this city a very resolute gambler of the name of Dāgineya. Once on a time some gamblers, by fraudulent play, won from him all he possessed, and then bound him in order to obtain from him the borrowed money which he had lost in addition. And as he had nothing, they beat him with sticks and other instruments of torture,[1] but he made himself like a stone, and seemed as rigid as a corpse. Then all those wicked gamblers took him and threw him into a large dark well, fearing that, if he lived, he might take vengeance on them.

But that gambler Dāgineya, when flung down into that very deep well, saw in front of him two great and terrible men. But they, when they saw him fall down terrified, said to him kindly: "Who are you, and how have you managed to fall into this deep well? Tell us!" Then the gambler

[1] For *aruntudaiś*, MS. No. 1882 has *adadanstachcha*, No. 2166 has *adadattaścha* and 3008 *aḍadattuścha*. These point, I suppose, to a reading *adadattachcha*; which means, "not paying what he owed."

recovered his spirits, and told them his story, and said to them: "Do you also tell me who you are, and whence you come." When those men who were in the pit heard that, they said: "Good sir, we were Brāhman demons[1] dwelling in the cemetery belonging to this city, and we possessed two maidens in this very city; one was the daughter of the principal minister, the other of the chief merchant. And no conjurer on the earth, however powerful his spells, was able to deliver those maidens from us.

"Then King Vikramāditya, who had an affection for their fathers, heard of it, and came to the place where those maidens were with a friend of their fathers'. The moment we saw the king, we left the maidens and tried to escape, but we were not able to do so, though we tried our utmost. We saw the whole horizon on fire with his splendour. Then that king, seeing us, bound us by his power. And seeing us unhappy, as we were afraid of being put to death, he gave us this order: 'Ye wicked ones, dwell for a year in a dark pit, and then ye shall be set at liberty. But when freed, ye must never again commit such a crime; if ye do, I will punish you with destruction.' After King Vishamaśila had given us this order, he had us flung into this dark pit; but out of mercy he did not destroy us.

"And in eight more days the year will be completed, and with it the period during which we were to dwell in this cave, and we shall then be released from it. Now, friend, if you engage to supply us with some food during those days, we will lift you out of this pit, and set you down outside it; but if you do not, when lifted out, supply us with food according to your engagement, we will certainly, when we come out, devour you."

When the Brāhman demons made this proposal to the gambler, he consented to it, and they put him out of the pit. When he got out of it, he went to the cemetery at night to deal in human flesh, as he saw no other chance of getting what he wanted. And I, happening to be there at that time, saw that gambler, who was crying out: "I have human flesh for sale; buy it, somebody!" Then I said: "I will take it

[1] Sanskrit, Brahma-Rākshasa.

off your hands: what price do you want for it?" And he answered: "Give me your shape and power." Then I said again to him: "My fine fellow, what will you do with them?" The gambler then told me his whole story, and said to me: "By means of your shape and power I will get hold of those enemies of mine, the gamblers, together with the keeper of the gambling-house, and will give them to the Brāhman demons to eat." When I heard that, I was pleased with the resolute spirit of that gambler, and gave him my shape and my power for a specified period of seven days. And by means of them he drew those men that had injured him into his power, one after another, and flung them into the pit, and fed the Brāhman demons on them during seven days.

Then I took back from him my shape and power, and that gambler Dāgineya, beside himself with fear, said to me: "I have not given those Brāhman demons any food this day, which is the eighth, so they will now come out and devour me. Tell me what I must do in this case, for you are my friend." When he said this, I, having got to like him, from being thrown with him, said to him: "If this is the case, since you have made those two demons devour the gamblers, I for your sake will in turn eat the demons. So show them to me, my friend." When I made the gambler this offer, he at once jumped at it, and took me to the pit where the demons were.

I, suspecting nothing, bent my head down to look into the pit, and, while I was thus engaged, the gambler put his hand on the back of my neck and pushed me into it. When I fell into it, the demons took me for someone sent for them to eat, and laid hold of me, and I had a wrestling-match with them. When they found that they could not overcome the might of my arms, they desisted from the struggle, and asked me who I was.

Then I told them my own story from the point where my fortunes became involved with those of Dāgineya,[1] and they made friends with me, and said to me: "Alas! What a trick that evil-minded gambler has played you, and us two,

[1] They had heard Dāgineya's story up to this point from his own lips.

and those other gamblers! But what confidence can be placed in gamblers who profess exclusively the science of cheating; whose minds are proof against friendship, pity and gratitude for a benefit received? Recklessness and disregard of all ties are ingrained in the nature of gamblers: near in illustration of this the story of Ṭhiṇṭhākarāla.

171AAA. *The Bold Gambler Ṭhiṇṭhākarāla*

Long ago there lived in this very city of Ujjayinī a ruffianly gambler, who was rightly named Ṭhiṇṭhākarāla.[1] He lost perpetually, and the others, who won in the game, used to give him every day a hundred *cowries*.[2] With those he bought wheat-flour from the market, and in the evening made cakes by kneading them somewhere or other in a pot with water, and then he went and cooked them in the flame of a funeral pyre in the cemetery, and ate them in front of Mahākāla, smearing them with the grease from the lamp burning before him: and he always slept at night on the ground in the court of the same god's temple, pillowing his head on his arm.

Now, one night he saw the images of all the Mothers,[3] and of the Yakshas and other divine beings in the temple of Mahākāla trembling from the proximity of spells, and this thought arose in his bosom: "Why should I not employ an artful device here to obtain wealth? If it succeeds, well and good; if it does not succeed, wherein am I the worse?" When he had gone through these reflections, he challenged those deities to play, saying to them: "Come now, I will have a game with you, and I will act as keeper of the

[1] This may be loosely translated: "Terror of the gambling saloon."

[2] I.e. *Cypræa moneta*, found chiefly off the Maldive Islands, Ceylon, the Malabar coast, Borneo, etc. It was used as a currency both in India and Africa. For a short bibliography on shell-money see *Ency. Brit.*, 11th edit., vol. xxiv, p. 833. In Kashmir the *cowrie* appears to have been the unit of the monetary system. The number of *cowries* that went to the rupee was 4096. See further, M. A. Stein, *Kalhaṇa's Rājataraṅgiṇī*, vol. ii, pp. 323, 324; Yule's *Hobson-Jobson*, under "Cowry," and especially Briffault, *The Mothers*, 1927, vol. iii, pp. 275-278.—N.M.P.

[3] See *Ocean*, Vol. IV, pp. 69*n*[1], 225*n*[1]; and Briffault, *op. cit.*, vol. iii, ch. xxiv. —N.M.P.

gaming-table, and will fling the dice; and mind, you must always pay up what you lose." When he said this to the deities, they remained silent; so Ṭhiṇṭhākarāla staked some spotted *cowries*, and flung the dice. For this is the universally accepted rule among gamblers, that, if a gambler does not object to the dice being thrown, he agrees to play.[1]

Then, having won much gold, he said to the deities: "Pay me the money I have won, as you agreed to do." But though the gambler said this to the deities over and over again, they made no answer. Then he flew into a passion and said to them: "If you remain silent, I will adopt with you the same course as is usually adopted with a gambler who will not pay the money he has lost, but makes himself as stiff as a stone. I will simply saw through your limbs with a saw as sharp as the points of Yama's teeth, for I have no respect for anything." When he had said this, he ran towards them, saw in hand; and the deities immediately paid him the gold he had won. Next morning he lost it all at play, and in the evening he came back again, and extorted more money from the Mothers in the same way by making them play with him.

He went on doing this every day, and those deities, the Mothers, were in very low spirits about it; then the goddess Chamuṇḍā said to them: "Whoever, when invited to gamble, says, 'I sit out of this game,' cannot be forced to play; this is the universal convention among gamblers, ye Mother deities. So when he invites you, say this to him, and so baffle him." When Chamuṇḍā had said this to the Mothers, they laid her advice up in their minds. And when the gambler came at night and invited them to play with him, all the goddesses said with one accord: "We sit out of this game."

When Ṭhiṇṭhākarāla had been thus repulsed by those goddesses, he invited their sovereign Mahākāla himself to play. But that god, thinking that the fellow had taken this opportunity of trying to force him to gamble, said: "I sit out of this game." Even gods, you see, like feeble persons, are afraid of a thoroughly self-indulgent, ruffianly scoundrel, flushed with impunity.

[1] See Vol. VII, p. 72.

Then that Ṭhiṇṭhākarāla, being depressed at finding his gambler's artifice baffled by a knowledge of the etiquette of play, was disgusted, and said to himself: "Alas! I am baffled by these deities through their learning the conventions of gamblers; so I must now flee for refuge to this very sovereign of gods." Having formed this resolution in his heart, Ṭhiṇṭhākarāla embraced the feet of Mahākāla, and praising him, addressed to him the following petition: "I adore thee that sittest naked[1] with thy head resting on thy knee; thy moon, thy bull, and thy elephant-skin having been won at play by Devī. When the gods give all powers at thy mere desire, and when thou art free from longings, having for thy only possessions the matted lock, the ashes and the skull, how canst thou suddenly have become avaricious with regard to hapless me, in that thou desirest to disappoint me for so small a gain? Of a truth the wishing-tree no longer gratifies the hope of the poor, as thou dost not support me, lord Bhairava, though thou supportest the world. So, as I have fled to thee as a suppliant, holy Sthāṇu, with my mind pierced with grievous woe, thou oughtest even to pardon presumption in me. Thou hast three eyes, I have three dice,[2] so I am like thee in one respect; thou hast ashes on thy body, so have I; thou eatest from a skull, so do I: show me mercy. When I have conversed with you gods, how can I afterwards bear to converse with gamblers? So deliver me from my calamity."

With this and similar utterances the gambler praised that Bhairava, until at last the god was pleased, and manifesting himself, said to him: "Ṭhiṇṭhākarāla, I am pleased with thee; do not be despondent. Remain here with me: I will provide thee with enjoyments." In accordance with this command of the god's that gambler remained there, enjoying all kinds of luxuries provided by the favour of the deity.

[1] Two of the India Office MSS. and the Sanskrit College MS. have *indu* for *Indra*; the other has *inmu*. I have adopted *indu*. In *śloka* 100 for *dadate* No. 1882, and the Sanskrit College MS., read *dadhate*, which means that the god's possession of wealth and power depends on the will of Śiva. In *śl.* 89 the Sanskrit College MS. reads *ekadā* for the unmetrical *devatāḥ*.

[2] *Tryaksha* can probably mean "having three dice," as well as "having three eyes."

Now, one night the god saw certain Apsarases, that had come to bathe in that holy pool of Mahākāla, and he gave this command to Ṭhiṇṭhākarāla: "While all these nymphs of heaven are engaged in bathing, quickly snatch up the clothes, which they have laid on the bank, and bring them here; and do not give them back their garments until they surrender to you this young nymph, named Kalāvatī." [1]

When Ṭhiṇṭhākarāla had received this command from Bhairava, he went and carried off the garments of those heavenly beauties, while they were bathing; and they said to him: "Give us back our garments, please; do not leave us naked." But he answered them, confident in the power which Śiva gave: "If you will give me the young nymph Kalāvatī, I will give you back these garments, but not otherwise." When they heard that, seeing that he was a stubborn fellow to deal with, and remembering that Indra had pronounced a curse of this kind upon Kalāvatī, they agreed to his demand. And on his giving back the garments, they bestowed on him, in due form, Kalāvatī, the daughter of Alambushā.

Then the Apsarases departed, and Ṭhiṇṭhākarāla remained there with that Kalāvatī in a house built by the wish of Śiva. And Kalāvatī went in the day to heaven to attend upon the king of the gods, but at night she always returned [2] to her husband. And one day she said to him in the ardour of her affection: "My dear, the curse of Śiva, which enabled me to obtain you for a husband, has really proved a blessing." Thereupon her husband, Ṭhiṇṭhākarāla, asked her the cause of the curse, and the nymph Kalāvatī thus answered him:

"One day, when I had seen the gods in a garden, I praised the enjoyments of mortals, depreciating the pleasures of the dwellers in heaven, as giving joys that consist only in seeing.[3] When the king of the gods heard that, he cursed me, saying: 'Thou shalt go and be married by a mortal, and enjoy those human pleasures.' In this way has come about our union

[1] *Cf.* Vol. VIII, p. 58, and see also Appendix I, on "Swan-maidens," in that volume.—N.M.P.

[2] *Upāyan* is a misprint for *upāyayau*, as is evident from the MSS.

[3] The three India Office MSS. and the Sanskrit College MS. give *dṛishṭi*.

that is mutually agreeable. And to-morrow I shall return to heaven after a long absence: do not be unhappy about it, for Rambhā is going to dance a new piece before Vishṇu, and I must remain there, my beloved, until the exhibition is at an end."

Then Ṭhiṇṭhākarāla, whom love had made like a spoiled child, said to her: "I will go there and look at that dance unperceived, take me there." When Kalāvatī heard that, she said: "How is it fitting for me to do this? The king of the gods might be angry, if he found it out." Though she said this to him, he continued to press her; then, out of love, she agreed to take him there.

So the next morning Kalāvatī, by her power, concealed Ṭhiṇṭhākarāla in a lotus, which she placed as an ornament in her ear, and took him to the palace of Indra. When Ṭhiṇṭhākarāla saw that palace, the doors of which were adorned by the elephant of the gods, which was set off by the garden of Nandana, he thought himself a god, and was highly delighted. And in the Court of Indra, frequented by gods, he beheld the strange and delightful spectacle of Rambhā's dance, accompanied by the singing of all the nymphs of heaven. And he heard all the musical instruments played by Nārada and the other minstrels; for what is hard to obtain in this world, if the supreme god [1] is favourable to one?

Then, at the end of the exhibition, a mime, in the shape of a divine goat, rose up, and began to dance with heavenly [2] movements. And Ṭhiṇṭhākarāla, when he saw him, recognized him, and said to himself: "Why, I see this goat in Ujjayinī, figuring as a mere animal, and here he is dancing as a mime before Indra. Of a truth this must be some strange incomprehensible heavenly delusion." While Ṭhiṇṭhākarāla was going through these reflections in his mind, the dance of the goat-mime came to an end, and then Indra returned to his own place. And then Kalāvatī, in high spirits, also took back Ṭhiṇṭhākarāla to his own home, concealed in the lotus ornament of her ear.

[1] *I.e.* Śiva in this instance.

[2] For the second *divya* in *śl.* 132 b, MSS. Nos. 1882 and 2166 give *navya*, "new."

And the next day Ṭhiṇṭhākarāla beheld in Ujjayinī that goat-formed mime of the gods, who had returned there, and he insolently said to him: "Come, dance before me, as you dance before Indra. If you do not, I shall be angry with you; show off your dancing powers, you mime." When the goat heard this he was astonished, and remained silent, saying to himself: "How can this mere mortal know so much about me?" But when, in spite of persistent entreaties, the goat refused to dance, Ṭhiṇṭhākarāla beat him on the head with sticks. Then the goat went with bleeding head to Indra, and told him all that had taken place. And Indra, by his supernatural powers of contemplation, discovered the whole secret, how Kalāvatī had brought Ṭhiṇṭhākarāla to heaven when Rambhā was dancing, and how that profane fellow had there seen the goat dancing. Then Indra summoned Kalāvatī, and pronounced on her the following curse: "Since, out of love, thou didst secretly bring here the man who has reduced the goat to this state to make him dance, depart and become an image on a pillar [1] in the temple built by King Narasiṃha in the city of Nāgapura."

When Indra had said this, Alambushā, the mother of Kalāvatī, tried to appease him, and at last he was with difficulty appeased, and he thus fixed an end to the curse: "When that temple, which it has taken many years to complete, shall perish and be levelled with the ground, then shall her curse come to an end." So Kalāvatī came weeping and told to Ṭhiṇṭhākarāla the curse Indra had pronounced, together with the end he had appointed to it, and how he himself was to blame, and then, after giving him her ornaments, she entered into an image on the front of a pillar in the temple in Nāgapura.

Ṭhiṇṭhākarāla for his part, smitten with the poison of separation from her, could neither hear nor see, but rolled swooning on the ground. And when that gambler came to his senses he uttered this lament: "Alas! fool that I was. I revealed the secret, though I knew better all the time—for how can people like myself, who are by nature thoughtless,

[1] For a large number of references to metamorphoses into stone, see Chauvin, *op. cit.*, vi, p. 58.—N.M.P.

show self-restraint? So now this intolerable separation has fallen to my lot." However, in a moment he said to himself: "This is no time for me to despond; why should I not recover firmness and strive to put an end to her curse?"

After going through these reflections, the cunning fellow thought carefully over the matter, and assuming the dress of a mendicant devotee, went with rosary, antelope-skin, and matted hair, to Nāgapura. There he secretly buried, in a forest outside the city, four pitchers containing his wife's ornaments—one towards each of the cardinal points; and one full of sets of the five precious things [1] he deliberately buried within the city, in the earth of the market-place, in front of the god himself.

When he had done this, he built a hut on the bank of the river, and remained there, affecting a hypocritical asceticism,[2] pretending to be meditating and muttering. And by bathing three times in the day, and eating only the food given him as alms, after washing it with water on a stone, he acquired the character of a very holy man.

In course of time his fame reached the ears of the king, and the king often invited him, but he never went near him; so the king came to see him, and remained a long time in conversation with him. And in the evening, when the king was preparing to depart, a female jackal suddenly uttered a yell at a distance. When the cunning gambler, who was passing himself off as an ascetic, heard that, he laughed. And when the king asked him the meaning of the laugh,[3] he said: "Oh! never mind." But when the king went on persistently questioning him, the deceitful fellow said: "In the forest to the east of this city, under a *ratan*, there is a pitcher full of jewelled ornaments; so take it." This, King, is what that female jackal told me, for I understand the language of animals."

Then the king was full of curiosity: so the ascetic took

[1] Gold, diamond, sapphire, ruby, and pearl. The Buddhists usually enumerate seven: see Burnouf, *Lotus de la Bonne Loi*, p. 319.——The list is nearly the same as that of the five jewels. See Vol. VII, p. 247*n*[2].—N.M.P.

[2] See section iv, p. 228, of Bloomfield's "False Ascetics and Nuns in Hindu Fiction," *Journ. Amer. Orient. Soc.*, vol. xliv, pp. 202-242.—N.M.P.

[3] See Vol. VII, pp. 253-256.—N.M.P.

him to the spot, and dug up the earth, and took out that pitcher, and gave it to him. Then the king, having obtained the ornaments, began to have faith in the ascetic, and considered that he not only possessed supernatural knowledge, but was a truthful and unselfish devotee. So he conducted him to his cell, and prostrated himself at his feet again and again, and returned to his palace at night with his ministers, praising his virtues.

In the same way, when the king again came to him, the ascetic pretended to understand the cry of an animal, and in this way made over to the king the other three pitchers, buried towards the other three cardinal points. Then the king and the citizens and the king's wives became exclusively devoted to the ascetic, and were, so to speak, quite absorbed in him.

Now, one day, the king took that wicked ascetic to the temple for a moment; so he contrived to hear in the market-place the cry of a crow. Then he said to the king: "Did you hear what the crow said? 'In this very market-place there is a pitcher full of valuable jewels buried in front of the god: why do you not take it up also?' This was the meaning of his cry; so come and take possession of it." When the deceitful ascetic had said this, he conducted him there, and took up out of the earth the pitcher full of valuable jewels, and gave it to the king. Then the king, in his excessive satisfaction, entered the temple holding that pretended seer by the hand.

There the mendicant brushed against that image on the pillar which his beloved Kalāvatī had entered, and saw her. And Kalāvatī, wearing the form of the image on the pillar, was afflicted when she saw her husband, and began to weep then and there. When the king and his attendants saw this, they were amazed and cast down, and said to that pretended seer: "Reverend sir, what is the meaning of this?" Then the cunning rascal, pretending to be despondent and bewildered, said to the king: "Come to your palace; there I will tell you this secret, though it is almost too terrible to be revealed."

When he had said this, he led the king to the palace, and

said to him: "Since you built this temple on an unlucky spot and in an inauspicious moment, on the third day from now a misfortune will befall you. It was for this reason that the image on the pillar wept when she saw you. So, if you care for your body's weal, my sovereign, take this into consideration, and this very day quickly level this temple with the earth; and build another temple somewhere else, on a lucky spot, and in an auspicious moment. Let the evil omen be averted, and ensure the prosperity of yourself and your kingdom." When he had said this to the king, he, in his terror, gave command to his subjects, and in one day levelled that temple with the earth, and he began to build another temple in another place. So true is it that rogues with their tricks gain the confidence of princes, and impose upon them.

Accordingly, the gambler Ṭhiṇṭhākarāla, having gained his object, abandoned the disguise of a mendicant, and fled, and went to Ujjayinī. And Kalāvatī, finding it out, went to meet him on the road, freed from her curse and happy, and she comforted him, and then went to heaven to visit Indra. And Indra was astonished, but when he heard from her mouth the artifice of her husband the gambler, he laughed and was highly delighted.

The Gambler who cheated Yama[1]

Then Bṛihaspati, who was at his side, said to Indra: "Gamblers are always like this, abounding in every kind of trickery. For instance, in a previous *kalpa* there was in a certain city a gambler, of the name of Kuṭṭanīkapaṭa, accomplished in dishonest play. When he went to the other world, Indra said to him: 'Gambler, you will have to live a *kalpa* in hell on account of your crimes, but, owing to your charity, you are to be Indra for one day, for once on a time you gave a gold coin to a knower of the Supreme Soul. So say whether you will take out first your period in hell or your period as Indra.' When the gambler heard that, he said: 'I will take out first my period as Indra.'

"Then Yama sent the gambler to heaven, and the gods

[1] *Cf.* Vol. VI, p. 92 *et seq.*, and see p. 99 *et seq.* of Brown's article, as mentioned in the note on p. 92.—N.M.P.

deposed Indra for a day, and crowned him sovereign in his stead. He, having obtained sovereign sway, summoned to heaven the gamblers, his friends, and his female favourites, and in virtue of his regal authority gave this order to the gods: 'Carry us all in a moment to all the holy bathing-places,[1] those in heaven, and those on earth, and those in the seven *dvīpas*; and enter this very day into all the kings on the earth and bestow without ceasing great gifts for our benefit.'

"When he gave this order to the gods, they did everything as he had desired, and by means of those holy observances his sins were washed[2] away, and he obtained the rank of Indra permanently. And by his favour his friends and his female favourites, that he had summoned to heaven, had their sins destroyed, and obtained immortality. The next day Chitragupta informed Yama that the gambler had, by his discretion, obtained the rank of Indra permanently. Then Yama, hearing of his meritorious actions, was astonished, and said: 'Oho! this gambler has cheated us.'"

When Bṛihaspati had told this story, he said, "Such, O wielder of the thunderbolt, are gamblers," and then held his peace. And then Indra sent Kalāvatī to summon Ṭhiṇṭhākarāla to heaven. There the king of the gods, pleased with his cleverness and resolution, honoured him, and gave him Kalāvatī to wife, and made him an attendant on himself. Then the brave Ṭhiṇṭhākarāla lived happily, like a god, in heaven, with Kalāvatī, by the favour of Śiva.

171AA. *The Cunning Gambler Dāgineya and the Vetāla Agniśikha who submitted himself to King Vikramāditya*

"So you see, such is the style in which gamblers exhibit their treachery and audacity; accordingly, Agniśikha the

[1] No. 1882 reads *snapayata tatkshaṇāt* at the end of *śl.* 194 a. It seems to remove a tautology, but is unmetrical. "Take us and cause us to bathe." The Sanskrit College MS. has *snapayata taṭshanaṃ*.

[2] I read *dhūta* for *dyūta*; No. 1882 (the Taylor MS.) and the Sanskrit College MS. have *dhūta*; No. 3003 has *dhūta*; the other MS. does not contain the passage.

Vampire, what is there to be surprised at in your having been treacherously thrown into this well by Dāgineya the gambler? So come out of this pit, friend, and we will come out also."

When the Brāhman demon said this to me, I came up out of that pit, and being hungry, I came across a Brāhman traveller that night in the city. So I rushed forward and seized that Brāhman to eat him, but he invoked the protection of King Vikramāditya. And the moment the king heard his cry, he rushed out like flame, and while still at a distance, checked me by exclaiming: "Ah, villain! do not kill the Brāhman": and then he proceeded to cut off the head of a figure of a man he had drawn—that did not sever my neck, but made it stream with blood.[1]

Then I left the Brāhman and clung to the king's feet, and he spared my life.

171A. *Madanamanjarī and the Kāpālika*

"Such is the power of that god, King Vikramāditya. And it is by his orders that I have slain this hypocritical *kāpālika*. So he is my proper prey, to be devoured by me as being a Vetāla; let him go, Yamaśikha!"

Though Agniśikha made this appeal to Yamaśikha, the latter proceeded contumaciously to drag with his hand the corpse of that hypocritical *kāpālika*. Then King Vikramāditya appeared there, and drew the figure of a man on the earth, and then cut off its hand with his sword. That made the hand of Yamaśikha fall severed; so he left the corpse, and fled in fear. And Agniśikha immediately devoured the corpse of that *kāpālika*. And I witnessed all this, securely protected by the might of the king.[2]

[1] An interesting use of sympathetic black magic, occurring again a little lower, but in this case with the hand.

[2] I read *ālikhya purushaṃ bhīmau*. This is the reading of the Taylor MS., the other has *atikhya*. The Sanskrit College MS. has *ālikhya purushaṃ*.

171. *Story of King Vikramāditya*

In these words did that wife of the Yaksha, Madanamanjarī by name, describe your power, O King, and then she went on to say to me:

"Then, Anangadeva, the king said to me in a gentle voice: 'Yakshī, being delivered from the *kāpālika*, go to the house of your husband.' Then I bowed before him, and returned to this my own home, thinking how I might repay to that king the benefit he had conferred on me. In this way your master gave me life, family and husband; and when you tell him this story of mine, it will agree with his own recollections.

"Moreover I have to-day found out that the King of Siṃhala has sent to that king his daughter, the greatest beauty in the three worlds, who has of her own accord elected to marry him. And all the kings, being jealous, have gathered themselves together and formed the intention of killing Vikramaśakti and the dependent kings,[1] and of carrying off that maiden. So, do you go, and make their intention known to Vikramaśakti, in order that he may be on his guard and ready to repel their attack. And I will exert myself to enable King Vikramāditya to conquer those enemies and gain the victory.

"For this reason I brought you here by my own deluding power, in order that you might tell all this to King Vikramaśakti and the dependent monarchs; and I will send to your sovereign such a present as shall to a certain small extent be a requital for the benefit that he conferred on me."

Continuation of Anangadeva's Adventures

While she was saying this, the two maidens that we had seen in the sea came there with the deer; one had a body white as the moon, the other was dark as a *priyangu*; so they seemed like Gangā and Yamunā returned from worshipping the ocean, the monarch of rivers. When they had sat down, I put this question to the Yakshī: "Goddess, who are these maidens, and what is the meaning of this golden deer?" When the

[1] Both the India Office MSS. in which this passage is found give *tatsamantaṃ*. So Vikramaśakti would himself be a "dependent king."

Yakshiṇī heard this, King, she said to me: "Anangadeva, if you feel any curiosity about the matter, listen, I will tell you.

171B. *Ghaṇṭa and Nighaṇṭa and the Two Maidens*

Long ago there came to impede Prajāpati, in his creation of creatures, two terrible Dānavas, named Ghaṇṭa and Nighaṇṭa, invincible even by gods. And the Creator, being desirous of destroying them, created these two maidens, the splendour of whose measureless beauty seemed capable of maddening the world. And those two mighty Asuras, when they saw these two exceedingly wonderful maidens, tried to carry them off; and fighting with one another, they both of them met their death.[1]

Then Brahmā bestowed these maidens on Kuvera, saying, "You must give these girls to some suitable husband"; and Kuvera made them over to my husband, who is his younger brother; and in the same way my husband passed these fair ones[2] on to me; and I have thought of King Vikramāditya as a husband for them, for, as he is an incarnation of a god, he is a fit person for them to marry.

171. *Story of King Vikramāditya*

"Such are the facts with regard to these maidens; now hear the history of the deer.

171C. *Jayanta and the Golden Deer*

Indra had a beloved son named Jayanta. Once on a time, when he, still an infant, was being carried about in the air by the celestial nymphs, he saw some princes in a wood on earth playing with some young deer. Then Jayanta[3] went

[1] *Cf.* the story of Sunda and Upasunda, Vol. II, pp. 13-14; and Preller, *Griechische Mythologie*, vol. i, p. 81*n*[1].

[2] For *ete manorame* No. 3003 and the Sanskrit College MS. have *vara-kāraṇaṃ*: "in order that I might find a husband for them." No. 1882 has *vāraṇam* for *kāraṇaṃ*.

[3] For *Jayanto* MSS. Nos. 1882 and 3003 and the Sanskrit College MS. give *hevāki*—*i.e.* "full of longing."

to heaven, and cried in the presence of his father because he had not got a deer to play with, as a child would naturally do. Accordingly Indra had a deer made for him by Viśvakarman, of gold and jewels, and life was given to the animal by sprinkling it with nectar. Then Jayanta played with it, and was delighted with it, and the young deer was continually roaming about in heaven.

In course of time that son of Rāvaṇa, who was rightly named Indrajit,[1] carried off the young deer from heaven and took it to his own city Laṅkā. And after a further period had elapsed—Rāvaṇa and Indrajit having been slain by the heroes Rāma and Lakshmaṇa, to avenge the carrying off of Sītā, and Vibhīshaṇa having been set upon the throne of Laṅkā, as King of the Rākshasas—that wonderful deer of gold and jewels remained in his palace. And once on a time, when I was taken by my husband's relations to Vibhīshaṇa's palace on the occasion of a festival, he gave me the deer as a complimentary present. And that young heaven-born deer is now in my house, and I must bestow it on your master.

171. *Story of King Vikramāditya*

And while the Yakshiṇī was telling me this string of tales, the sun, the friend of the *kamalinī*, went to rest. Then I and the ambassador of the King of Siṃhala went to sleep, both of us, after the evening ceremonies, in a palace which the Yakshiṇī assigned to us.

In the morning we woke up and saw, my sovereign, that the army of Vikramaśakti, your vassal, had arrived. We reflected that that must be a display of the Yakshiṇī's power, and quickly went wondering into the presence of Vikramaśakti. And he, as soon as he saw, showed us great honour, and asked after your welfare; and was on the point of asking us what message the King of Siṃhala had sent, when the two heavenly maidens—whose history the Yakshiṇī has related to us—and the young deer arrived there, escorted by the army of the Yakshas. When King Vikramaśakti saw this, he suspected some glamour of malignant demons, and he said

[1] *I.e.* conqueror of Indra.

to me apprehensively: "What is the meaning of this?" Then I told him in due course the commission of the King of Siṃhala, and the circumstances connected with the Yakshiṇī, the two maidens, and the deer. Moreover, I informed him of the hostile scheme of your Majesty's enemies, which was to be carried out by all the kings in combination, and which I had heard of from the Yakshī. Then Vikramaśakti honoured us two ambassadors, and those two heavenly maidens; and being delighted, made his army ready for battle with the assistance of the other vassal kings.

Anangadeva tells of the Great Battle

And immediately, King, there was heard in the army the loud beating of drums, and at the same instant there was seen the mighty host of hostile kings, accompanied by the Mlechchhas. Then our army and the hostile army, furious at beholding one another, closed with a rush, and the battle began. Thereupon some of the Yakshas sent by the Yakshī entered our soldiers, and so smote the army of the enemies, and others smote them in open fight.[1] And there arose a terrible tempest of battle, overspread with a cloud formed of the dust raised by the army, in which sword-blades fell thick as rain, and the shouts of heroes thundered. And the heads of our enemies flying up, as they were cut off, and falling again, made it seem as if the Fortune of our victory were playing at ball. And in a moment those kings that had escaped the slaughter, their troops having been routed, submitted and repaired for protection to the camp of your vassal.

Then, lord of earth, as you had conquered the four cardinal points and the *dvīpas*, and had destroyed all the Mlechchhas, that Yakshiṇī appeared, accompanied by her husband, and said to King Vikramaśakti and to me: "You must tell your master that what I have done has been done merely by way of service to him, and you must also request him, as from me, to marry these two god-framed maidens, and to look upon them with favour, and to cherish this deer also, for it is a present from me." When the Yakshī had said this, she bestowed a heap of jewels, and disappeared with her husband and her attendants. The next day, Madanalekhā,

[1] It is just possible that *sankhyād* ought to be *sākshād*.

the daughter of the King of Siṃhala, came with a great retinue and much magnificence. And then Vikramaśakti went to meet her and, bending low, joyfully conducted her into his camp. And on the second day Vikramaśakti, having accomplished his object, set out with the other kings from that place, in order to come here and behold your Majesty's feet, bringing with him that princess and the two heavenly maidens, and that deer composed of gold and jewels—a marvel for the eyes of the three worlds. And now, sovereign, that vassal prince has arrived near this city, and has sent us two on in front to inform your Highness. So let the king out of regard for the lord of Siṃhala and the Yakshī, go forth to meet those maidens and the deer, and also the subject kings.

When Anangadeva had said this to King Vikramāditya, though the king recollected accomplishing that difficult rescue of the Yakshiṇī, he did not consider it worth a straw when he heard of the return she had made for it; great-souled men, even when they have done much, think it worth very little. And, being much pleased, he loaded [1] Anangadeva, for the second time, with elephants, horses, villages and jewels, and bestowed similar gifts on the ambassador of the King of Siṃhala.

And after he had spent that day, the king set out from Ujjayinī, with his warriors mounted on elephants and horses, to meet that daughter of the King of Siṃhala, and those two maidens created by Brahmā. And the following speeches of the military officers, assigning elephants and horses, were heard in the neighbourhood of the city when the kings started, and within the city itself when the sovereign started: "Jayavardhana must take the good elephant Anangagiri, and Raṇabhaṭa the furious elephant Kālamegha, and Siṃhaparākrama Sangrāmasiddhi, and the hero Vikramanidhi Ripurākshasa, and Jayaketu Pavanajava, and Vallabhaśakti Samudrakallola, and Bāhu and Subāhu the two horses Śaravega and Garuḍavega, and Kirtivarman the black Konkan mare Kuvalayamālā, and Samarasiṃha the white mare Gangālaharī of pure Sindh breed."

[1] This expression is very similar to that in Taranga 120, *fl.* 80 b, to which Dr Kern objects.

When that king, the supreme sovereign of all the *dvīpas*, had started on his journey, the earth was covered with soldiers, the quarters were full of nothing but the shouts that they raised, even the heaven was obscured with the dust that was diffused by the trampling of his advancing army, and all men's voices were telling of the wonderful greatness of his might.

CHAPTER CXXII

171. *Story of King Vikramāditya*

THEN King Vikramāditya reached that victorious army commanded by that Vikramaśakti, his general, and he entered it at the head of his forces, accompanied by that general, who came to meet him, eager and with loyal mind, together with the vassal kings.

The kings were thus announced by the warders in the tent of assembly: "Your Majesty, here is Śaktikumāra, the King of Gauḍa, come to pay you his respects, here is Jayadhvaja, the King of Karṇāṭa, here is Vijayavarman of Lāṭa, here is Sunandana of Kaśmīra, here is Gopāla, King of Sindh, here is Vindhyabala, the Bhilla, and here is Nirmūka, the King of the Persians." And when they had been thus announced, the king honoured them, and the feudal chiefs, and also the soldiers. And he welcomed in appropriate fashion the daughter of the King of Siṃhala, and the heavenly maidens, and the golden deer, and Vikramaśakti. And the next day the successful monarch Vikramāditya set out with them and his forces, and reached the city of Ujjayinī.

Then, the kings having been dismissed with marks of honour [1] to their own territories, and the world-gladdening festival of the spring season having arrived, when the creepers began, so to speak, to adorn themselves with flowers for jewels, and the female bees to keep up a concert with their humming, and the ranges of the wood to dance embraced by the wind, and the cuckoos with melodious notes to utter auspicious prayers, King Vikramāditya married on a fortunate day that daughter of the King of Siṃhala, and those two heavenly maidens. And Siṃhavarman, the eldest brother of the Princess of Siṃhala, who had come with her, bestowed at the marriage-altar a great heap of jewels.

[1] Dr Kern would read *sammānitavisṛishṭeshu*; and this is the reading of the Taylor MS. and of the Sanskrit College MS.; No. 3003 has *sammānitair*.

And at that moment the Yakshiṇī Madanamanjarī appeared, and gave those two heavenly maidens countless heaps of jewels. The Yakshī said: "How can I ever, King, recompense you for your benefits? But I have done this unimportant service to testify my devotion to you. So you must show favour to these maidens, and to the deer." When the Yakshiṇī had said this, she departed honoured by the king.

Then the successful King Vikramāditya, having obtained those wives and the earth with all its *dvīpas*, ruled a realm void of opponents: and he enjoyed himself roaming in all the garden grounds—during the hot season living in the water of tanks and in artificial fountain-chambers; during the rains in inner apartments, charming on account of the noise of cymbals that arose in them; during the autumn on the tops of palaces, joyous with banquets under the rising moon; during the winter in chambers where comfortable couches were spread, and which were fragrant with black aloes—being ever surrounded by his wives.

Now, this king, being such as I have described, had a painter named Nagarasvāmin, who enjoyed the revenues of a hundred villages, and surpassed Viśvakarman. That painter used every two or three days to paint a picture of a girl, and give it as a present to the king, taking care to exemplify different types of beauty.

The Wonderful Picture

Now, once on a time, it happened that that painter had, because a feast was going on, forgotten to paint the required girl for the king. And when the day for giving the present arrived, the painter remembered and was bewildered, saying to himself: "Alas! what can I give to the king?" And at that moment a traveller, come from afar, suddenly approached him and placed a book in his hand, and went off somewhere quickly. The painter, out of curiosity, opened the book, and saw within a picture of a girl on canvas. Inasmuch as the girl was of wonderful beauty, no sooner did he see her picture than he took it and gave it to the king, rejoicing that, so far from having no picture to present that day, he had obtained such an exceedingly beautiful one. But the king, as soon as he saw it, was astonished, and said to him: "My good fellow, this is not

your painting, this is the painting of Viśvakarman: for how could a mere mortal be skilful enough to paint such beauty?" When the painter heard this, he told the king exactly what had taken place.

Then the king kept ever looking at the picture of the girl, and never took his eyes off it; and one night he saw in a dream a girl exactly like her, but in another *dvīpa*. But as he eagerly rushed to embrace her, who was eager to meet him, the night came to an end, and he was woke up by the watchman.[1] When the king awoke, he was so angry at the interruption of his delightful interview with that maiden, that he banished that watchman from the city. And he said to himself: "To think that a traveller should bring a book, and that in it there should be the painted figure of a girl, and that I should in a dream behold this same girl apparently alive! All this elaborate dispensation of destiny makes me think that she must be a real maiden, but I do not know in what *dvīpa* she lives; how am I to obtain her?"

Full of such reflections, the king took pleasure in nothing,[2] and burned with the fever of love so that his attendants were full of anxiety. And the warder Bhadrāyudha asked the afflicted king in private the cause of his grief, whereupon he spake as follows:

"Listen, I will tell you, my friend. So much at any rate you know—that that painter gave me the picture of a girl. And I fell asleep thinking on her; and I remember that in my dream I crossed the sea, and reached and entered a very beautiful city. There I saw many armed maidens in front of me, and they, as soon as they saw me, raised a tumultuous cry of 'Kill, kill.'[3] Then a certain female ascetic came and, with great precipitation, made me enter her house, and briefly said to me this: 'My son, here is the man-hating princess Malayavatī come this way, diverting herself as she pleases.

[1] For falling in love with a lady seen in a dream see Vol. III, p. 82, 82*n*[2], and Rohde, *Der Griechische Roman*, pp. 45, 46 and 49. For falling in love with a lady seen in a picture, see Vol. IV, p. 132, 132*n*[1].

[2] I read *aratimān* for *ratimān* in the Sanskrit College MS. The Taylor MS. has *sarvatrānratimān*; the other agrees with Brockhaus.

[3] I read *praveśyaiva*.

And the moment she sees a man, she makes these maidens of hers kill him: so I brought you in here to save your life.' [1]

"When the female ascetic had said this, she immediately made me put on female attire; and I submitted to that, knowing that it was not lawful to slay those maidens. But when the princess entered into the house with her maidens, I looked at her, and lo! she was the very lady that had been shown me in the picture. And I said to myself: 'Fortunate am I in that, after first seeing this lady in a picture, I now behold her again in flesh and blood, dear as my life.'

"In the meanwhile the princess, at the head of her maidens, said to that female ascetic: 'We saw some male enter here.' The ascetic showed me, and answered: 'I know of no male; here is my sister's daughter, who is with me as a guest.' Then the princess, seeing me—although I was disguised as a woman—forgot her dislike of men, and was at once overcome by love. She remained for a moment, with every hair on her body erect, motionless, as if in thought, being, so to speak, nailed to the spot at once with arrows by Love, who had spied his opportunity. And in a moment the princess said to the ascetic: 'Then, noble lady, why should not your sister's daughter be my guest also? Let her come to my palace; I will send her back duly honoured.' Saying this, she took me by the hand, and led me away to her palace. And I remember, I discerned her intention, and consented, and went there, and that sly old female ascetic gave me leave to depart.

"Then I remained there with that princess, who was diverting herself with the amusement of marrying her maidens to one another, and so forth. Her eyes were fixed on me, and she would not let me out of her sight for an instant, and no occupation pleased her in which I did not take part. Then

[1] *Cf.* Ralston's *Russian Folk-Tales*, p. 97; in Waldau's *Böhmische Märchen*, p. 444, there is a beautiful Amazon who fights with the prince on condition that if he is victorious she is to be his prisoner, but if she is victorious, he is to be put to death. Rohde, in *Der Griechische Roman*, p. 148, gives a long list of "coy huntress maids." Spenser's Radigund, *Faerie Queene*, Book V, cantos 4-7, bears a close resemblance to Malayavatī.——*Cf.* the fair Amazon in the "Tale of King Omar bin al-Nu'uman," *Nights*, Burton, vol. ii, p. 96.—N.M.P.

those maidens, I remember, made the princess a bride, and me her husband, and married us in sport. And when we had been married, we entered at night the bridal chamber, and the princess fearlessly threw her arms round my neck. And then I told her who I was, and embraced her; and, delighted at having attained her object, she looked at me and then remained a long time with her eyes bashfully fixed on the ground. And at that moment that villain of a watchman woke me up. So, Bhadrāyudha, the upshot of the whole matter is that I can no longer live without that Malayavatī, whom I have seen in a picture and in a dream."

When the king said this, the warder, Bhadrāyudha, perceived that it was a true dream, and he consoled the monarch, and said to him: "If the king remembers it all exactly, let him draw that city on a piece of canvas in order that some expedient may be devised in this matter." The moment the king heard this suggestion of Bhadrāyudha's, he proceeded to draw that splendid city on a piece of canvas, and all the scene that took place there. Then the warder at once took the drawing, and had a new monastery [1] made, and hung it up there on the wall. And he directed that in relief-houses attached to the monastery, a quantity of food, with pairs of garments and gold, should be given to bards coming from distant countries. And he gave this order to the dwellers in the monastery: "If anyone comes here who knows the city represented here in a picture, let me be informed of it." [2]

In the meanwhile the fierce elephant of the rainy season, with irresistible loud deep thunder-roar and long *ketaka* tusks, came down upon the forest of the heats—a forest, the breezes of which were scented with the perfume of the jasmine, in which travellers sat down on the ground in the shade, and trumpet-flowers bloomed. At that time the forest-fire of separation of that King Vikramāditya began to burn more fiercely, fanned by the eastern breeze.[3] Then the following

[1] Sanskrit, *maṭha*.

[2] For a note on methods of finding people, see Chauvin, *op. cit.*, v, p. 90. —N.M.P.

[3] The Petersburg lexicographers would read *paurastya*; and I find this in the Taylor MS. and the Sanskrit College MS. The same MSS. read *ambudaśyāmo* for *atha durdarśa*. The latter word should be spelt *durdharsha*.

cries were heard among the ladies of his court: "Hāralatā, bring ice! Chitrāngī, sprinkle him with sandalwood juice! Patralekhā, make a bed cool with lotus leaves! Kandarpasenā, fan him with plantain leaves!" And in course of time the cloudy season, terrible with lightning, passed away for that king, but the fever of love, burning[1] with the sorrow of separation, did not pass away.

Then the autumn, with her open-lotus face and smile of unclosed flowers, came, vocal with the cries of swans,[2] seeming to utter this command: "Let travellers advance on their journey; let pleasant tidings be brought about absent dear ones; happy may their merry meetings be!" On a certain day in that season a bard—who had come from a distance—of the name of Śambarasiddhi, having heard the fame of that monastery, built by the warder, entered it to get food. After he had been fed, and presented with a pair of garments, he saw that painting on the wall of the monastery. When the bard had carefully scanned the city delineated there, he was astonished, and said: "I wonder who can have drawn this city? For I alone have seen it, I am certain, and no other; and here it is drawn by some second person." When the inhabitants of the monastery heard that, they told Bhadrāyudha; then he came in person, and took that bard to the king. The king said to Śambarasiddhi: "Have you really seen that city?" Then Śambarasiddhi gave him the following answer:

"When I was wandering about the world, I crossed the sea that separates the *dvīpas*, and beheld that great city Malayapura. In that city there dwells a king of the name of Malayasiṃha, and he has a matchless daughter, named Malayavatī, who used to abhor males. But one night she somehow or other saw in a dream a great hero in a convent.[3]

[1] I read *savirahajvālo* and *sakāśa* in *śl.* 72.

[2] The two India Office MSS. that contain this passage, and the Sanskrit College MS., make the compound end in *ravaiḥ*, so the command will be given by the cries of the swans. In *śl.* 71, for *grathyantām*, No. 1882 and the Sanskrit College MS. give *budhyantām*. In *śl.* 73, for *ākhyātim*, three MSS. give *khyātim*.

[3] Sanskrit, *vihāra*. The *tāpasī* of *śl.* 39 was therefore a Buddhist. No. 3003 reads *vihāranirgatā*, which agrees with *śl.* 40. No. 1882 has *viharanirgataṃ*. The Sanskrit College MS. has *vihāranirgataṃ*.

The moment she saw him, that evil spirit of detestation of the male sex fled from her mind, as if terrified. Then she took him to her palace, and in her dream married him, and entered with him the bridal chamber. And at that moment the night came to an end, and an attendant in her room woke her up. Then she banished that servant in her anger, thinking upon that dear one whom she had seen in her dream; seeing no way of escape owing to the blazing fire of separation, utterly overpowered by love, she never rose from her couch except to fall back upon it again with relaxed limbs. She was dumb—as if possessed by a demon; as if stunned by a blow [1]—for when her attendants questioned her, she gave them no answer.

"Then her father and mother came to hear of it, and questioned her; and at last she was, with exceeding difficulty, persuaded to tell them what happened to her in the dream, by the mouth of a confidential female friend. Then her father comforted her, but she made a solemn vow that, if she did not obtain her beloved in six months, she would enter the fire. And already five months are past; who knows what will become of her? This is the story that I heard about her in that city."

When Śambarasiddhi had told this story, which tallied so well with the king's own dream, the king was pleased at knowing the certainty of the matter, and Bhadrāyudha said to him: "The business is as good as effected, for that king and his country own your paramount supremacy. So let us go there before the sixth month has passed away." When the warder had said this, King Vikramāditya made him inform Śambarasiddhi of all the circumstances connected with the matter, and honoured him with a present of much wealth, and bade him show him the way, and then he seemed to bequeath his own burning heat to the rays of the sun, his paleness to the clouds, and his thinness to the waters of the rivers,[2] and having become free from sorrow, set out at once, escorted by a small force, for the dwelling-place of his beloved.

[1] For *ghāta*, No. 1882 has *tamaḥ* and No. 3003 *vāta*.

[2] This probably means that he started in the autumn.

In course of time, as he advanced, he crossed the sea, and reached that city, and there he saw the people in front of it engaged in loud lamentation, and when he questioned them, he received this answer: "The Princess Malayavatī here, as the period of six months is at an end, and she has not obtained her beloved, is preparing to enter the fire." Then the king went to the place where the pyre had been made ready.

When the people saw him, they made way for him, and then the princess beheld that unexpected nectar-rain to her eyes. And she said to her ladies-in-waiting: "Here is that beloved come who married me in a dream, so tell my father quickly." They went and told this to her father, and then that king, delivered from his grief, and filled with joy, submissively approached the sovereign.

At that moment the bard Śambarasiddhi, who knew his time, lifted up his arm, and chanted aloud this strain: "Hail, thou that with the flame of thy valour hast consumed the forest of the army of demons and Mlechchhas! Hail, King, lord of the seven-sea-girt earth-bride! Hail, thou that hast imposed thy exceedingly heavy yoke on the bowed heads of all kings, conquered by thee! Hail, Vishamaśīla! Hail, Vikramāditya, ocean of valour!"

When the bard said this, King Malayasiṃha knew that it was Vikramāditya himself that had come, and embraced his feet.[1] And after he had welcomed him, he entered his palace with him, and his daughter Malayavatī, thus delivered from death. And that king gave that daughter of his to King Vikramāditya, thinking himself fortunate in having obtained such a son-in-law. And King Vikramāditya, when he saw in his arms, in flesh and blood, that Malayavatī, whom he had previously seen in a picture and in a dream, considered it a wonderful fruit of the wishing-tree of Śiva's favour. Then Vikramāditya took with him his wife Malayavatī, like an incarnation of bliss, and crossed the sea resembling his long regretful[2] separation, and being submissively waited

[1] No. 3003, *yathā chitre tathā svapne yathā svapne tathaivatāṃ vilokya sākshād*; so too No. 1882. The Sanskrit College MS. agrees, but omits *yathā svapne*.

[2] The word that means "regret" may also mean "wave."

upon at every step by kings, with various presents in their hands, returned to his own city Ujjayinī. And on beholding there that might of his, that satisfied [1] freely every kind of curiosity, what people were not astonished, what people did not rejoice, what people did not make high festival?

[1] I follow Böhtlingk and Roth. Dr Kern would read *saṃjñikṛita* in the sense of "prepared"; he takes *kautukam* in the sense of nuptial ceremonies. No. 1882 (the Taylor MS.) has *mantū* and No. 3003 has *satyī*. The Sanskrit College MS. supports Brockhaus' text.

CHAPTER CXXIII

171. *Story of King Vikramāditya*

THEN, once on a time, in the course of conversation, one of Vikramāditya's queens, called Kalingasenā, said to her rival queens: "What the king did for the sake of Malayavatī was not wonderful, for this King Vishamaśīla has ever been famous on the earth for such like acts. Was not I swooped down on by him and married by force, after he had seen a carved likeness of me and been overcome by love? On this account the *kārpaṭika* [1] Devasena told me a story: that story I will proceed to tell you. Listen.

"I was very much vexed, and exclaimed: 'How can the king be said to have married me lawfully?' Then the *kārpaṭika* said to me: 'Do not be angry, Queen, for the king married you in eager haste out of a violent passion for you. Hear the whole story from the beginning.

171D. *Kalingasenā's Marriage to King Vikramāditya*

Once on a time, when I was serving your husband as a *kārpaṭika*, I saw a great boar far away in the wood. Its mouth was formidable with tusks, its colour was black as a *tamāla* tree, it looked like an incarnation of the black fortnight devouring the digits of the moon. And I came, Queen, and informed the king of it, describing to him as I have done to you. And the king went out to hunt, attracted by his love for the sport. And when he reached the wood, and was dealing death among the tigers and deer, he saw in the distance that boar of which I had informed him. And when he saw that wonderful boar, he came to the conclusion that some being had assumed that form with an object, and he ascended his horse called Ratnākara, the progeny of Uchchhaiḥśravas.

[1] See Vol. II, p. 178, 178*n*[1]; Vol. IV, p. 168, 168*n*[1], and Vol. VI, p. 209, 209*h*[2].—N.M.P.

For every day at noon, the sun waits a brief space in the sky, and then his charioteer, the dawn, lets the horses loose, that they may bathe and feed: and one day Uchchhaiḥśravas, having been unyoked from the chariot of the sun, approached a mare of the king's, that he saw in the forest, and begot that horse.[1]

So the king mounted that swift horse, and quickly pursued that boar, that fled to a very remote[2] part of the forest. Then that boar escaped somewhere from his view, being swifter even than that horse that had Uchchhaiḥśravas for a sire. Then the king, not having caught him, and seeing that I alone had followed him, while he had left the rest of his suite far behind, asked me this question: "Do you know how much ground we have traversed to get to this place?" When I heard that, Queen, I made the king this answer: "My lord, we have come three hundred *yojanas*." Then the king, being astonished, said: "Then how have you managed to come so far on foot?" When he asked me this question I answered: "King, I have an ointment for the feet; hear the way in which I acquired it.

"Long ago, on account of the loss of my wife, I went forth to make a pilgrimage to all the holy bathing-places, and in the course of my journey I came one evening to a temple with a garden. And I went in there to pass the night, and I saw inside a woman, and I remained there hospitably welcomed by her. And during the course of the night she elevated one lip to heaven, resting the other on the earth, and with expanded jaws said to me: 'Have you seen before anywhere such a mouth as this?' Then I fearlessly drew my dagger with a frown, and said to her: 'Have you seen such a man as this?' Then she assumed a gentle appearance without any horrible distortion of shape, and said to me: 'I am a Yakshī, Vandhyā by name, and I am pleased with your courage; so now tell me what I can do to gratify you.'

How Devasena obtained the Magic Ointment

"When the Yakshiṇī said this, I answered her: 'If you are really pleased with me, then enable me to go round to all

[1] Cf. *Iliad*, v, 265 *et seq.*; and (still better) *Æneid*, vii, 280 *et seq.*

[2] *Deviyasīm* is a misprint for *daviyasīm*, as Dr Kern points out.

the holy waters without any suffering.' When the Yakshī heard this, she gave me an ointment for my feet[1]; by means of it I travelled to all the holy bathing-places, and I have been able to run behind you now so far as this place. And by its aid I come to this wood here every day, and eat fruits, and then return to Ujjayinī and attend upon you."

When I had told that tale to the king, I saw by his pleased face that he thought in his heart that I was a follower well suited to him. I again said to him: "King, I will bring you here some very sweet fruits, if you will be pleased to eat them." The king said to me: "I will not eat; I do not require anything; but do you eat something, as you are exhausted." Then I got hold of a gourd and ate it, and no sooner had I eaten it than it turned me into a python.

But King Vishamaśīla, when he saw me suddenly turn into a python, was astonished and despondent. So, being there alone, he called to mind the Vetāla Bhūtaketu, whom he had long ago made his servant, by delivering him with a look from a disease of the eyes. That Vetāla came, as soon as the king called him to mind, and bowing before him said: "Why did you call me to mind, great king? Give me your orders." Then the king said: "Good sir, this my *kārpaṭika* has been suddenly turned into a python by eating a gourd; restore him to his former condition." But the Vetāla said: "King, I have not the power to do this. Powers are strictly limited. Can water quench the flame of lightning?" Then the king said: "Then let us go to this village, my friend. We may eventually hear of some remedy from the Bhillas there."

When the king had come to this conclusion, he went to that village with the Vetāla. There the bandits surrounded

[1] In European superstition we find the notion that witches can fly through the air by anointing themselves with the fat of a toad, Veckenstedt, *Wendische Märchen*, p. 288. In Bartsch, *Sagen und Gebräuche aus Meklenburg*, we read (vol. ii, p. 19) that Margretha Detloses confesses that she smeared her feet with some black stuff that Satan brought, and then said, *Auf und darvan und nergens an.* Anneke Mettinges (*ibid.*, p. 23) smeared herself with yellow fat; Anneke Swarten (*ibid.* p. 27) with black stuff from an unused pot.——*Cf.* the magic ointment in the *Nights*, "The Adventures of Bulukiya," vol. v, p. 308 *et seq.*—N.M.P.

him, seeing that he wore ornaments. But when they began to rain arrows upon him, the Vetāla, by the order of the king, devoured five hundred of them. The rest fled and told their chief what had occurred, and he, whose name was Ekākikeśarin, came there in wrath, with his host. But one of his servants recognized the monarch, and the chief, hearing from him who it was, came and clung to Vikramāditya's feet, and announced himself. Then the king welcomed kindly the submissive chief, and asked after his health, and said to him: "My *kārpaṭika* has become a python by eating the fruit of a gourd in the forest; so devise some plan for releasing him from his transformation."

When that chief heard that speech of the king's, he said to him: "King, let this follower of yours show him to my son here." Then that son of his came with the Vetāla, and made me a man as before by means of a sternutatory made of the extract of a plant. And then we went joyfully into the presence of the king; and when I bent at the feet of the king, the king informed the delighted chief who I was.

Then the Bhilla chief, Ekākikeśarin, after obtaining the king's consent, conducted him and us to his palace. And we beheld that dwelling of his, crowded with Śavaras, having its high walls covered with the tusks of elephants, adorned with tiger-skins; in which the women had for garments the tails of peacocks, for necklaces strings of *gunjā* fruit, and for perfume the ichor that flows from the forehead of elephants. There the wife of the chief, having her garments perfumed with musk, adorned with pearls and such like ornaments, herself waited on the king.

Then the king, having bathed and taken a meal, observed that the chief's sons were old, while he was a young man, and put this question to him: "Chief, explain, I pray you, this that puzzles me. How comes it that you are a young man, whereas these children of yours are old?"

When the king had said this to the Śavara chief, he answered him: "This, King, is a strange story. Listen, if you feel any curiosity about it.

171D (1). *The Grateful Monkey* [1]

I was long ago a Brāhman named Chandrasvāmin, and I lived in the city of Māyāpurī. One day I went by order of my father to the forest to fetch wood. There a monkey stood barring my way, but without hurting me, looking at me with an eye of grief, pointing out to me another path. I said to myself: "This monkey does not bite me, so I had better go along the path which he points out, and see what his object is." Thereupon I set out with him along that path, and the monkey kept going along in front of me, and turning round to look at me. And after he had gone some distance, he climbed up a *jambu* tree, and I looked at the upper part of the tree —which was covered with a dense network of creepers—and I saw a female monkey there with her body fettered by a mass of creepers twisted round her, and I understood that it was on this account that the monkey had brought me there. Then I climbed up the tree, and cut with my axe the creepers [2] that had twisted round and entangled her, and set that female monkey at liberty.

And when I got down from the tree, the male and female monkey came down also and embraced my feet. And the male monkey left that female clinging to my feet for a moment and went and fetched a heavenly fruit, and gave it to me. I took it and returned home after I had got my fuel, and there I and my wife ate that splendid fruit together, and as soon as we had eaten it, we ceased to be liable to old age and disease.[3]

[1] See Vol. V, pp. 157, 157*n*[1], 158*n*. The present story bears perhaps a closer resemblance to that of Androclus, Aulus Gellius, *Noctes Atticæ*, v, 14, the Indian form of which may be found in Miss Stokes' tale of "The Man who went to seek his Fate," *Indian Fairy Tales*, p. 63 *et seq.*——Owing to the large number of sub-tales introduced, a slightly different form of enumeration has to be adopted.—N.M.P.

[2] *Valī* should, of course, be *vallī*.

[3] *Cf.* Oesterley's *Baitāl Pachīsī*, p. 14; and the note on p. 176. In Ælian's *Varia Historia*, iii, 19, there is a tree, the fruit of which makes an old man become gradually younger and younger until he reaches the antenatal state of non-existence. The passage is referred to by Rohde, *Der Griechische Roman*, p. 207. Baring-Gould, in Appendix A to his *Curious Myths of the Middle Ages*, gives a very curious passage from the Bragda Māgus Saga, an Icelandic version of the romance of Maugis. Here we have a man named Vidförull who

Then there arose in that country of ours the scourge of famine. And afflicted by that calamity the people of that land fled in all directions. And I happened in course of time to reach this country with my wife. And at that time there was a king of the Śavaras named Kānchanadaṃshṭra. I entered his service with my sword. And as Kānchanadaṃshṭra saw that I came to the front in several engagements, he appointed me general. And as I had won the affections of that master of mine by my exclusive devotion to him, when he died, having no son, he bestowed on me his kingdom. And twenty-seven hundred years have passed over my head, since I have been in this place, and yet, owing to eating that fruit, I do not suffer from old age.

171D. *Kalingasenā's Marriage to King Vikramāditya*

When Ekākikeśarin, the King of the Bhillas, had told in these words his own history, he went on to ask a favour of the astonished monarch, saying: "By the fruit given by the monkey I gained a long life, and by that long life I have again obtained a perfect fruit—namely, the sight of your august self. So I entreat, King, that the condescension towards me which you have shown by coming to my house, may be developed into gracious approval. I have, King, a daughter of matchless beauty, born to me by a Kshatriyā wife, and her name is Madanasundarī. That pearl of maidens ought not to fall to the lot of anyone but your Highness. Therefore I bestow her on you; marry her with due ceremonies. And I, sovereign, will follow you as your slave with twenty thousand archers."

When the Bhilla chief addressed this petition to the king, he granted it. And in an auspicious hour he married the daughter of that chief, who gave him a hundred camels laden with pearls and musk. And after the king had remained there seven days, he set out thence with Madanasundarī and the army of the Bhillas.

was in the habit of changing his skin and becoming young again. He changed his skin once when he was 330 years old, a second time at the age of 215 and a third time in the presence of Charlemagne. It is quite possible that the story in the text is a form of the fable of the Wandering Jew.

In the meanwhile, after the king had been carried away by his horse, our army remained despondent in the forest, where the hunting took place; but the warder Bhadrāyudha said to them: "Away with despondency! Even though our king has been away for a long time, he is of divine power, and no serious misfortune will happen to him. Do you not remember how he went to Pātāla and married there the daughter of a Nāga, whose name was Surūpā, and came back here alone; and how the hero went to the world of the Gandharvas, and returned here with Tārāvalī, the daughter of the king of the Gandharvas?" With these words Bhadrāyudha consoled them all; and they remained at the entrance of the forest waiting for the king.

And while that Madanasundarī was advancing leisurely by an open path, accompanied by the Śavara hosts, the king entered that forest on horseback, with myself and the Vetāla, in order to get a sight of the boar he had before seen; and when he entered it, the boar rushed out in front of him, and the moment the king saw it, he killed it with five arrows. When it was slain, the Vetāla rushed to it and tore its belly open, and suddenly there issued from it a man of pleasing appearance.

The king, astonished, asked him who he was, and then there came there a wild elephant, resembling a moving mountain. When the king saw that wild elephant charging down on him, he smote it in a vital place and slew it with a single arrow. The Vetāla tore open its belly also, and there issued from it a man of heavenly appearance, and a woman beautiful in all her limbs. And when the king was about to question the man who issued from the boar, he said to him: "Listen, King, I am going to tell you my history.

"We two, King, are two sons of gods[1]; this one's name is Bhadra, and I am Śubha. As we were roaming about we observed the hermit Kaṇva engaged in meditation. We assumed in sport the forms of an elephant and a boar, and having done so, we terrified the great sage in our reckless folly, and he pronounced on us this curse: 'Become in this forest an elephant and boar such as you are now; but when you

[1] I read *devakumārau*.

shall be killed by King Vikramāditya, you shall be released from the curse.' So we became an elephant and a boar by the curse of the hermit, and we have to-day been set free by you. As for this woman, let her tell her own story. But touch this boar on the neck and this elephant on the back, and they will become for you celestial sword and shield."

When he had said this he disappeared with his companion, and the boar and elephant, touched by the hand of the king, became for him a sword and a shield. Then the woman, being questioned about her history, spoke as follows:

"I am the wife of a great merchant in Ujjayinī named Dhanadatta. One night, as I was sleeping on the top of a palace, this elephant came and swallowed me and brought me here; however, this man was not inside the elephant, but when its belly was torn open he came out of it with me."

When the woman said this in grief, the king said to her: "Be of good courage! I will take you to your husband's house. Go and journey along in security with my harem." When he had said this, he made the Vetāla take her and hand her over to the Queen Madanasundarī, who was travelling by a different path.

Then, the Vetāla having returned, we suddenly saw there in the wood two princesses, with a numerous and splendid retinue. And the king sent me and summoned their chamberlains, and they, when asked whence the two maidens came, told the following story:

171D (2). *The Two Princesses*

There is a *dvīpa* named Kaṭāha, the home of all felicities. In it there is a king rightly named Guṇasāgara.[1] He had born to him by his principal queen a daughter named Guṇavatī, who by her beauty produced astonishment even in the Creator who made her. And holy seers announced that she should have for a husband the lord of the seven *dvīpas*. Whereupon her father, the king, deliberated with his counsellors, and came to this conclusion: "King Vikramāditya

[1] *I.e.* "sea of virtues."

is a suitable husband for my daughter; so I will send her to marry him."

Accordingly, the king made his daughter embark in a ship on the sea, with her retinue and wealth, and sent her off. But it so happened that when the ship came near Suvarṇadvīpa it was swallowed, with the princess and the people on board, by a large fish. But that monstrous fish was carried by the current of the sea, as if by the course of Destiny, and thrown up on a coast near that *dvīpa*, and there stranded. And the people of the neighbourhood, the moment they saw it, ran with many weapons in their hands, and killed that marvellous fish, and cut open its belly.[1] And then there came out of it that great ship full of people. And when the king of that *dvīpa* heard of it, he came there greatly wondering. And that king, whose name was Chandraśekhara, and who was the brother-in-law of King Guṇasāgara, heard the whole story from the people in the ship. Then the king, finding that Guṇavatī was the daughter of his sister, took her into his palace, and out of joy celebrated a feast. And the next day that king put on board a ship in a lucky moment his daughter Chandravatī, whom he had long intended to give to King Vikramāditya, with that Guṇavati, and sent her off with much magnificence as a gift to that sovereign.

These two princesses, having crossed the sea, by advancing gradually, have at length arrived here; and we are their attendants. And when we reached this place, a very large boar and a very large elephant rushed upon us. Then, King, we uttered this cry: "These maidens have come to offer themselves for wives to King Vikramāditya: so preserve them for him, ye Guardians of the World, as is meet." When the boar and the elephant heard this, they said to us with articulate speech: "Be of good courage! The mere mention of that king's name ensures your safety. And you shall see him arrive here in a moment." When the boar and the

[1] See Vol. II, pp. 193, 193*n*[1], 194*n*, and Vol. VI, p. 154, 154*n*[3], and Rohde's note on page 196 of *Der Griechische Roman*. This is probably the incident depicted on the Bharhut Stūpa. See General Cunningham's work, Plate XXXIV, Medallion 2.

elephant, who were, no doubt, some heavenly beings or others, had said this, they went away.

171D. *Kalingasenā's Marriage to King Vikramāditya*

"This is our story," said the chamberlain, and then, Queen, I said to them: "And this is the king you seek." Then they fell at the king's feet, rejoicing, and made over to him those two princesses Guṇavatī and Chandravatī. And the king gave orders to the Vetāla and had those two fair ones also taken to his queen, saying: "Let all three travel with Madanasundarī."

The Vetāla returned immediately, and then, Queen, the king went with him and myself by an out-of-the-way path. And as we were going along in the forest, the sun set; and just at that time we heard there the sound of a drum. The king asked: "Whence comes this sound of a drum?" The Vetāla answered him: "King, there is a temple here. It is a marvel of heavenly skill, having been built by Viśvakarman; and this beating of the drum is to announce the commencement of the evening spectacle."

When the Vetāla had said this, he and the king and I went there out of curiosity, and after we had tied up the horse we entered. And we saw worshipped there a great *liṅga* of *tārkshyaratna*,[1] and in front of it a spectacle with blazing lights. And there danced there for a long time three nymphs of celestial beauty, in four kinds of measures, accompanied with music and singing. And at the end of the spectacle we beheld a wonder, for the dancing nymphs disappeared in the figures carved on the pillars of the temple; and in the same way the singers and players went into the figures of men painted on the walls. When the king saw this he was astonished; but the Vetāla said to him: "Such is this heavenly enchantment produced by Viśvakarman, lasting for ever, for this will always take place at both twilights."

[1] A certain dark-coloured precious stone. Böhtlingk and Roth *s.v.*—— Sir George Grierson tells me he thinks it must be the same as the *Garuḍa-māṇikya*, which means "emerald." Both words have the same literal meaning anyway.—N.M.P.

When he had said this, we wandered about in the temple, and saw in one place a female figure, on a pillar, of extraordinary beauty. When the king saw her, he was bewildered by her beauty, and remained for a moment absent-minded and motionless, so that he himself was like a figure cut on a pillar. And he exclaimed: "If I do not see a living woman like this figure, of what profit to me is my kingdom or my life?" When the Vetāla heard this, he said: "Your wish is not hard to gratify, for the King of Kalinga has a daughter named Kalingasenā, and a sculptor of Vardhamāna seeing her, and being desirous of representing her beauty, carved this figure in imitation of her.[1] So return to Ujjayinī, King, and ask that King of Kalinga for his daughter, or carry her off by force." This speech of the Vetāla's the king laid up in his heart.

Then we spent that night there. And the next morning we set out, and we saw two handsome men under an *aśoka* tree, and then they rose up and bowed before the king. Then the king said to them: "Who are you, and why are you in the forest?" One of them answered: "Listen, King, I will tell you the whole story.

171D (3). *The Merchant Dhanadatta who lost his Wife*

I am the son of a merchant in Ujjayinī, and my name is Dhanadatta. Once on a time I went to sleep on the top of my palace. In the morning I woke up and looked about me, and lo! my wife was not in the palace, nor in the garden attached to it, nor anywhere about it. I said to myself: "She has not lost her heart to another man; of that I am convinced by the fact that the garland which she gave me, telling me that as long as she remained chaste it would certainly not fade, is still as fresh as ever.[2] So I cannot think where she has gone—whether she has been carried off by a demon or some other evil being, or what has happened to

[1] The Petersburg lexicographers explain it as a statue of *sāla* wood. They explain *stambhotkīrṇa* too as *wie aus einem Pfosten geschnitten, wie eine Statue von Holz*. But could not the figures be cut in stone, as the Bharhut sculptures are?

[2] See Vol. I, pp. 156, 165-168. The parallel to the story of the "Wright's Chaste Wife" is strikingly close.

her." With these thoughts in my mind I remained looking for her, crying out, lamenting and weeping; consumed by the fire of separation from her; taking no food. Then my relations succeeded at last in consoling me to a certain extent, and I took food, and I made my abode in a temple, and remained there plunged in grief, feasting Brāhmans.

Once when I was quite broken down, this Brāhman came to me there, and I refreshed him with a bath and food, and after he had eaten, I asked him whence he came, and he said: "I am from a village near Vārāṇasī." My servants told him my cause of woe, and he said: "Why have you, like an unenterprising man, allowed your spirits to sink? The energetic man obtains even that which it is hard to attain; so rise up, my friend, and let us look for your wife. I will help you."

I said: "How are we to look for her, when we do not even know in what direction she has gone?" When I said this, he answered me kindly: "Do not say this. Did not Keśaṭa long ago recover his wife, when it seemed hopeless he should ever be reunited with her? Hear his story in proof of it.

171D (4). *The Two Brāhmans Keśaṭa and Kandarpa*

There lived in the city of Pāṭaliputra a wealthy young Brāhman, the son of a Brāhman; his name was Keśaṭa, and he was in beauty like a second God of Love. He wished to obtain a wife like himself, and so he went forth secretly [1] from his parents' house, and wandered through various lands on the pretext of visiting holy bathing-places. And in the course of his wanderings he came once on a time to a bank of the Narmadā, and he saw a numerous procession of bridegroom's friends coming that way. And a distinguished old Brāhman, belonging to that company, when he saw Keśaṭa in the distance, left his companions, and coming up to him accosted him, and respectfully said to him in private: "I have a certain favour to ask of you, and it is one which you can easily do for me, but the benefit conferred on me will be

[1] Dr Kern would read *avidito*. This is confirmed by the Sanskrit College MS. and by MS. No. 1882; No. 3003 has *avadito*.

a very great one; so, if you will do it, I will proceed to say what it is." When Keśaṭa heard this, he said: "Noble sir, if what you say is possible, I must certainly do it: let the benefit be conferred on you."

When the Brāhman heard that, he said: "Listen, my good young man. I have a son, who is the prince of ugly, as you are of good-looking, men. He has projecting teeth, a flat nose, a black colour, squinting eyes, a big belly, crooked feet, and ears like winnowing-baskets. Though he is such, I, out of my love for him, described him as handsome, and asked a Brāhman, named Ratnadatta, to give him his daughter, named Rūpavatī, and he has agreed to do it. The girl is as beautiful as her name expresses, and to-day they are to be married. For this reason we have come. But I know that, when that purposed connection of mine sees my son, he will refuse to give him his daughter, and this attempt will be fruitless. And while thinking how I could find some way out of the difficulty, I have met you here, courteous sir; so quickly perform for me my desire, as you have pledged your word to do. Come with us and marry that maiden, and hand her over to my son to-day, for you are as good-looking as the bride."

When Keśaṭa heard this, he said: "Agreed!" And so the old Brāhman took Keśaṭa with him, and they crossed the Narmadā in boats and landed on the opposite bank. And so he reached the city, and rested outside it with his followers, and at that time the sun also, the traveller of the sky, went to his rest on the mountain of setting. Then the darkness began to diffuse itself abroad, and Keśaṭa, having gone to rinse his mouth, saw a terrible Rākshasa rise up near the water. And the Rākshasa said: "Where will you go from me,[1] Keśaṭa? I am about to devour you." Thereupon Keśaṭa said to the Rākshasa: "Do not devour me now; I will certainly come back to you presently, when I have done the Brāhman the service I promised." When the Rākshasa heard this, he made Keśaṭa take an oath to this effect,[2] and then let him

[1] Both the India Office MSS. and the Sanskrit College MS. have *yāsyasi* for *pāsyasi*. The latter would mean: "Where will you drink?"

[2] This is another example of the "Promise to Return" *motif*. See *Ocean*, Vol. VII, p. 203, 203*n*[1].—N.M.P.

go; and he returned to the company of the bridegroom's friends.

Then the old Brāhman brought Keśaṭa adorned with the ornaments of a bridegroom, and entered that city with all the bridegroom's party. And then he made him enter the house of Ratnadatta, in which an altar-platform was ready prepared, and which was made to resound with the music of various instruments. And Keśaṭa married there with all due ceremonies that fair-faced Rūpavatī, to whom her father gave great wealth. And the women there rejoiced, seeing that the bride and bridegroom were well matched. And not only Rūpavatī, when she saw that such a bridegroom had arrived, but her friends also, fell in love with him. But Keśaṭa at that time was overpowered with despondency and astonishment.

And at night Rūpavatī, seeing that her husband, as he lay on the bed, was plunged in thought, and kept his head turned away, pretended to be asleep. And in the dead of night Keśaṭa, thinking that she was asleep, went out to that Rākshasa to keep his promise, And that faithful wife Rūpavatī also gently rose up unobserved and followed her husband, full of curiosity. And when Keśaṭa arrived where the Rākshasa was, the latter said to him: "Bravo! You have kept your promise faithfully, Keśaṭa: you are a man of noble character. You sanctify your city of Pāṭaliputra and your father Deśaṭa by your virtue, so approach, that I may devour you." When Rūpavatī heard that, she came up quickly and said: "Eat me, for if my husband is eaten, what will become of me?" The Rākshasa said: "You can live on alms." She replied: "Who, noble sir, will give alms to me who am a woman?" The Rākshasa said: "If anyone refuses to give you alms when asked to do so, his head shall split in a hundred pieces." [1] Then she said: "This being so, give me my husband by way of alms." And as the Rākshasa would not give him, his head at once split asunder, and he died. Then Rūpavatī returned to her bridal chamber with her husband, who was exceedingly astonished at her virtue, and at that moment the night came to an end.

And the next morning the bridegroom's friends took food

[1] *Cf.* Vol. V, pp. 95, 96.—N.M.P.

and set out from that city, and reached the bank of the Narmadā with the newly married pair. Then the old Brāhman, who was their leader, put the wife Rūpavatī, with her attendants, on board one boat, and went on board a second himself, and cunningly made Keśaṭa embark on a third, having previously made an agreement with the boatmen; but before he went on board he took from him all the ornaments he had lent him. Then the Brāhman was ferried across with the wife and the bridegroom's party, but Keśaṭa was kept out in the middle of the stream by the boatmen, and carried to a great distance. Then those boatmen pushed the boat and Keśaṭa into a place where the current ran full and strong, and swam ashore themselves, having been bribed by the old Brāhman.

But Keśaṭa was carried with the boat, by the river which was lashed into waves by the wind, into the sea, and at last a wave flung him up on the coast. There he recovered strength and spirits, as he was not doomed to die just yet; and he said to himself: "Well, that Brāhman has made me a fine recompense! But was not the fact that he married his son by means of a substitute in itself sufficient proof that he was a fool and a scoundrel?"

While he remained there, buried in such thoughts, the night came on him, when the companies of air-flying witches begin to roam about. He remained sleepless through it, and in the fourth watch he heard a noise in the sky, and saw a handsome[1] man fall from heaven in front of him. Keśaṭa was terrified at first, but after some time he saw that he had nothing uncanny about him, so he said to him: "Who are you, sir?" Then the man said: "First tell me who you are, and then I will tell you who I am." Hearing that, Keśaṭa told him his history. Then the man said: "My friend, you are exactly in the same predicament as myself, so I will now tell you my history. Listen.

"There is on the bank of the River Veṇā a city named Ratnapura; I am a Brāhman householder in that city, the son of a rich man, and my name is Kandarpa. One evening I went down to the River Veṇā to draw water, and I slipped and fell into it, and was carried away by the current. The

[1] I insert *subhayaṃ* before *khād*, from the Sanskrit College MS.

current carried me a long way during that night, and when the morning came, as I was not doomed to die yet, it brought me to the foot of a tree that grew on the bank. I climbed up the bank by the help of the tree, and when I had recovered breath I saw in front of me a great empty temple dedicated to the Mothers. I entered it, and when I saw before me the Mothers flashing, as it were, with brightness and power, my fear was allayed, and I bowed before them, and praised them, and addressed this prayer to them: 'Venerable ones, deliver me, a miserable man; for I have to-day come here as a suppliant for your protection.' When I had uttered this prayer, being exhausted with my struggles in the current of the river, I rested, my friend, till my fatigue gradually disappeared, and the day disappeared also. And then there appeared the horrible female ascetic called Night, furnished with many stars by way of a bone necklace, white with moonlight instead of ashes, and carrying the moon for a gleaming skull.

Kandarpa relates his Adventures

"And then, I remember, a band of witches came out from the company of the Mothers, and they said to one another: 'To-night we must go to the general assembly of the witches in Chakrapura,[1] and how can this Brāhman be kept safe in this place which is full of wild beasts? So let us take him to some place where he will be happy; and afterwards we will bring him back again: he has fled to us for protection.' When they had said this, they adorned me, and, carrying me through the air, placed me in the house of a rich Brāhman in a certain city, and went away.

"And when I looked about me there, lo! the altar was prepared for a marriage, and the auspicious hour had arrived, but the procession of bridegroom's friends was nowhere to be seen. And all the people, seeing me in front of the door arrayed in bridegroom's garments of heavenly splendour, said: 'Here is the bridegroom at any rate arrived.' Then the Brāhman of the house took me to the altar, and led his daughter there adorned, and gave her to me with the usual ceremonies. And the women said to one another:

[1] Both the India Office MSS. read *Vakrapura*. The Sanskrit College MS. supports Brockhaus' text.

'Fortunate is it that the beauty of Sumanas has borne fruit by winning her a bridegroom like herself!' Then, having married Sumanas, I slept with her in the palace, gratified by having every want supplied in the most magnificent style.

"Then those witches came back from their assembly in this last watch of the night, and by their supernatural power carried me off, and flew up into the air with me. And while they were flying through the air they had a fight with another set of witches, who came wishing to carry me off, and they let me go, and I fell down here. And I do not know the city where I married that Sumanas; and I cannot tell what will become of her now. This succession of misfortunes, which Destiny has brought upon me, has now ended in happiness by my meeting with you."

When Kandarpa had given this account of his adventures, Keśaṭa said to him: "Do not be afraid, my friend: the witches will have no power over you henceforth, since I possess a certain irresistible charm, which will keep them at a distance. Now let us roam about together; Destiny will bestow on us good fortune." And while they were engaged in this conversation the night came to an end.

In the morning Keśaṭa and Kandarpa set out from that place together, and, crossing the sea, reached in due course a city named Bhīmapura, near the river called Ratnanadī. There they heard a great noise on the bank of that river, and when they went to the place whence it came, they saw a fish that filled the channel of the stream from bank to bank. It had been thrown up by the tide of the sea, and had got fast in the river owing to the vastness of its bulk, and men with various weapons in their hands were cutting it up to procure flesh. And while they were cutting it open there came out of its belly a woman, and being beheld by the people with astonishment, she came terrified to the bank.

Then Kandarpa looked at her, and said exultingly to Keśaṭa: "My friend, here is that very Sumanas, whom I married! But I do not know how she came to be living in the belly of a fish. So let us remain here in silence, until the whole matter is cleared up." Keśaṭa consented, and they remained there. And the people said to Sumanas:

"Who are you, and what is the meaning of this?" Then she said very reluctantly:

"I am the daughter of a crest-jewel of Brāhmans, named Jayadatta, who lived in the city of Ratnākara. My name is Sumanas, and one night I was married to a certain handsome young Brāhman, who was a suitable match for me. That very night my husband went away somewhere, while I was asleep; and though my father made diligent search for him, he could not find him anywhere. Then I threw myself into the river to cool the fire of grief at separation from him, and I was swallowed by this fish; and now Destiny has brought me here."

While she was saying this a Brāhman named Yajnasvāmin rushed out of the crowd and embraced her, and said this to her: "Come, come with me, niece! You are the daughter of my sister; for I am Yajnasvāmin, your mother's own brother. When Sumanas heard that, she uncovered her face and looked at him, and recognising her uncle, she embraced his feet, weeping. But after a moment she ceased weeping, and said to him: "Do you give me fuel, for, as I am separated from my husband, I have no other refuge but the fire."

Her uncle did all he could to dissuade her, but she would not abandon her intention; and then Kandarpa, having thus seen her real feelings tested, came up to her. When the wise Sumanas saw him near her she recognised him, and fell weeping at his feet. And when the discreet woman was questioned by the people, and by that uncle of hers, she answered: "He is my husband." Then all were delighted. And Yajnasvāmin took her husband Kandarpa to his house, together with Keśaṭa. There they told their adventures, and Yajnasvāmin and his family lovingly waited on them with many hospitable attentions.

After some days had passed, Keśaṭa said to Kandarpa: "You have gained all you want by recovering your longed-for wife; so now go with her to Ratnapura, your own city. But as I have not attained the object of my desire, I will not return to my own country. I, my friend, will make a pilgrimage to all the holy bathing-places and so destroy my body." When Yajnasvāmin, in Bhīmapura, heard this, he said to

Keśaṭa: "Why do you utter this despondent speech? As long as people are alive there is nothing they cannot get. In proof of this hear the story of Kusumāyudha, which I am about to tell you.

171D (5). *Kusumāyudha and Kamalalochanā*

There was in a town named Chandrapura a Brāhman named Devasvāmin: he had a very beautiful daughter named Kamalalochanā; and he had a young Brāhman pupil named Kusumāyudha, and that pupil and his daughter loved one another well.

One day her father made up his mind to give her to another suitor, and at once that maiden sent by her confidante the following message to Kusumāyudha: "Though I have long ago fixed my heart on you for a husband, my father has promised to give me to another, so devise a scheme for carrying me off hence." So Kusumāyudha made an arrangement to carry her off, and he placed outside her house at night a servant with a mule for that purpose. So she quietly went out and mounted the mule, but that servant did not take her to his master; he took her somewhere else, to make her his own.

And during the night he took Kamalalochanā a long distance, and they reached a certain city by the morning, when that chaste woman said to the servant: "Where is my husband, your master? Why do you not take me to him?" When the cunning rogue heard this, he said to her who was alone in a foreign country: "I am going to marry you myself: never mind about him; how can you get to him now?" When the discreet woman heard this, she said: "Indeed I love you very much."[1] Then the rascal left her in the garden of the city, and went to the market to buy the things required for a wedding. In the meanwhile that maiden fled, with the mule, and entered the house of a certain old man who made garlands. She told him her history, and he made her

[1] No. 1882 and the Sanskrit College MS. give *tarhi* for *tvaṃ hi* and *priyaṃ* for *priyaḥ*. No. 3003 agrees with the above MSS. in the first point and in the second with Brockhaus.

welcome; so she remained there. And the wicked servant, not finding her in the garden, went away from it disappointed, and returned to his master Kusumāyudha. And when his master questioned him, he said: "The fact is, you are an upright man yourself, and you do not understand the ways of deceitful women. No sooner did she come out and was seen, than I was seized there by those other men, and the mule was taken away from me. By good luck I managed to escape, and have come here." When Kusumāyudha heard this, he remained silent and plunged in thought.

One day his father sent him to be married, and as he was going along he reached the city where Kamalalochanā was. There he made the bridegroom's followers encamp in a neighbouring garden, and while he was roaming about alone, Kamalalochanā saw him, and told the garland-maker in whose house she was living. He went and told her intended husband what had taken place, and brought him to her. Then the garland-maker collected the necessary things, and the long-desired marriage between the youth and the maiden was immediately celebrated. Then Kusumāyudha punished that wicked servant, and married in addition that second maiden, who was the cause of his finding Kamalalochanā, and in order to marry whom he had started from home. And he returned rejoicing to his own country with those two wives.

171D (4). *The Two Brāhmans Keśaṭa and Kandarpa*

"Thus the fortunate are reunited in the most unexpected manner; and so you may be certain, Keśaṭa, of regaining your beloved soon in the same way." When Yajnasvāmin had said this, Kandarpa, Sumanas and Keśaṭa remained for some days in his house, and then set out for their own country. But on the way they reached a great forest, and they were separated from one another in the confusion produced by a charge of wild elephants. Of the party Keśaṭa went on alone, and grieved, and in course of time reached the city of Kāśī and found his friend Kandarpa there. And he went with him to his own city Pāṭaliputra, and he remained there some time welcomed by his father. And there he told his parents all his

adventures, beginning with his marrying Rūpavatī, and ending with the story of Kandarpa.

In the meanwhile Sumanas fled, terrified at the elephants, and entered a thicket, and while she was there the sun set for her. And when night came on she cried out in her woe: "Alas, my husband! Alas, my father! Alas, my mother!" and resolved to fling herself into a forest fire. And in the meanwhile that company of witches, that were so full of pity for Kandarpa, having conquered the other witches, reached their own temple. There they remembered Kandarpa, and finding out by their supernatural knowledge that his wife had lost her way in a wood, they deliberated as follows: "Kandarpa, being a resolute man, will unaided obtain his desire; but his wife, being a young girl, and having lost her way in the forest, will assuredly die. So let us take her and put her down in Ratnapura, in order that she may live there in the house of Kandarpa's father with his other wife." When the witches had come to this conclusion, they went to that forest and comforted Sumanas there, and took her and left her in Ratnapura.

When the night had passed, Sumanas, wandering about in that city, heard the following cry in the mouths of the people, who were running hither and thither: "Lo! the virtuous Anangavatī, wife of the Brāhman Kandarpa, who, after her husband had gone somewhere or other, lived a long time in hope of reunion with him, not having recovered him, has now gone out in despair to enter the fire, followed by her weeping father-in-law and mother-in-law." When Sumanas heard that, she went quickly to the place where the pyre had been made, and going to Anangavatī, said to her, in order to dissuade her: "Noble lady, do not act rashly, for that husband of yours is alive." Having said this, she told the whole story from the beginning. And she showed the jewelled ring that Kandarpa gave her. Then all welcomed her, perceiving that her account was true. Then Kandarpa's father honoured that bride Sumanas, and gladly lodged her in his house with the delighted Anangavatī.

Then Kandarpa left Pāṭaliputra [1] without telling Keśaṭa,

[1] I read *Pāṭaliputrakāt.*

as he knew he would not like it, in order to roam about in search of Sumanas. And after he had gone, Keśaṭa, feeling unhappy without Rūpavatī, left his house without his parents' knowledge, and went to roam about hither and thither. And Kandarpa, in the course of his wanderings, happened to visit that very city where Keśaṭa married Rūpavatī. And hearing a great noise of people, he asked what it meant, and a certain man said to him: "Here is Rūpavatī preparing to die, as she cannot find her husband Keśaṭa; the tumult is on that account. Listen to the story connected with her." Then that man related the strange story of Rūpavatī's marriage with Keśaṭa and of her adventure with the Rākshasa, and then continued as follows:

"Then that old Brāhman, having tricked Keśaṭa, went on his way, taking with him Rūpavatī for his son; but nobody knew where Keśaṭa had gone after marrying her. And Rūpavatī, not seeing Keśaṭa on the journey, said: 'Why do I not see my husband here, though all the rest of the party are travelling along with me?' When the old Brāhman heard that, he showed her that son of his, and said to her: 'My daughter, this son of mine is your husband: behold him!' Then Rūpavatī said in a rage to the old man there: 'I will not have this ugly fellow for a husband! I will certainly die if I cannot get that husband who married me yesterday.'

"Saying this, she at once stopped eating and drinking; and the old man, through fear of the king, had her taken back to her father's house. There she told the trick that the old Brāhman had played her, and her father, in great grief, said to her: 'How are we to discover, my daughter, who the man that married you is?' Then Rūpavatī said: 'My husband's name is Keśaṭa, and he is the son of a Brāhman named Deśaṭa in Pāṭaliputra; for so much I heard from the mouth of a Rākshasa.' When she had said this, she told her father the whole story of her husband and the Rākshasa. Then her father went and saw the Rākshasa lying dead, and so he believed his daughter's story, and was pleased with the virtue of that couple.

"He consoled his daughter with hopes of reunion with her husband, and sent his son to Keśaṭa's father in Pāṭaliputra

to search for him. And after some time he came back and said: 'We saw the householder Deśaṭa in Pāṭaliputra. But when we asked him where his son Keśaṭa was, he answered us with tears: "My son Keśaṭa is not here. He did return here, and a friend of his named Kandarpa came with him; but he went away from here without telling me, pining for Rūpavatī." When we heard this speech of his, we came back here in due course.'

"When those sent to search had brought back this report, Rūpavatī said to her father: 'I shall never recover my husband, so I will enter the fire; how long, father, can I live here without my husband?' She went on saying this, and as her father has not been able to dissuade her, she has come out to-day to perish in the fire. And two maidens, friends of hers, have come out to die in the same way; one is called Śṛingāravatī, and the other Anurāgavatī. For long ago, at the marriage of Rūpavatī, they saw Keśaṭa and made up their minds that they would have him for a husband, as their hearts were captivated by his beauty. This is the meaning of the noise which the people here are making."

When Kandarpa heard this from that man, he went to the pyre which had been heaped up by those ladies. He made a sign to the people from a distance to cease their tumult, and, going up quickly, he said to Rūpavatī, who was worshipping the fire: "Noble lady, desist from this rashness. That husband of yours, Keśaṭa, is alive; he is my friend: know that I am Kandarpa." When he had said this, he told her all Keśaṭa's adventures, beginning with the circumstance of the old Brāhman's treacherously making him embark on the boat. Then Rūpavatī believed him, as his story tallied so completely with what she knew, and she joyfully entered her father's house with those two friends. And her father kindly welcomed Kandarpa and took good care of him. And so he remained there, to please him.

In the meanwhile it happened that, as Keśaṭa was roaming about, he reached Ratnapura, and found there the house of Kandarpa, in which the two wives were. And as he was wandering about near the house, Sumanas, the wife of Kandarpa, saw him from the top of her house, and said,

delighted, to her father-in-law and mother-in-law, and the other people in the house: "Here, now, is Keśaṭa, my husband's friend, arrived; we may hear news of my husband from him. Quickly invite him in." Then they went and, on some pretext or other, brought in Keśaṭa as she advised, and when he saw Sumanas come towards him, he was delighted. And after he had rested she questioned him, and he immediately told her his own and Kandarpa's adventures, after the scare produced by the wild elephants.

He remained there some days, hospitably entertained, and then a messenger came from Kandarpa with a letter. The messenger said: "Kandarpa and Rūpavatī are in the town where Kandarpa's friend Keśaṭa married Rūpavatī"; and the contents of the letter were to the same effect. And Keśaṭa, with tears, communicated the tidings to the father of Kandarpa.

And the next day Kandarpa's father sent, in high glee, a messenger to bring his son, and dismissed Keśaṭa, that he might join his beloved. And Keśaṭa went with that messenger, who brought the letter, to that country where Rūpavatī was living in her father's house. There, after a long absence, he greeted and refreshed the delighted Rūpavatī, as the cloud does the *chātakī*. He met Kandarpa once more, and he married, at the instance of Rūpavatī, her two before-mentioned friends, Anurāgavatī and Śṛingāravatī. And then Keśaṭa went with Rūpavatī and them to his own land, after taking leave of Kandarpa. And Kandarpa returned to Ratnapura with the messenger, and was once more united to Sumanas and Anangavatī and his relations. So Kandarpa regained his beloved Sumanas, and Keśaṭa his beloved Rūpavatī, and they lived enjoying the good things of this life, each in his own country.

171D (3). *The Merchant Dhanadatta who lost his Wife*

"Thus men of firm resolution, though separated by adverse destiny, are reunited with their dear ones, despising even terrible sufferings, and taking no account of their interminable duration. So rise up quickly, my friend; let

us go. You also will find your wife, if you search for her. Who knows the way of Destiny? I myself regained my wife alive after she had died."

171D. *Kalingasenā's Marriage to King Vikramāditya*

"Telling me this tale, my friend encouraged me; and himself accompanied me. And so roaming about with him, I reached this land, and here I saw a mighty elephant and a wild boar. And (wonderful to say!) I saw that elephant bring my helpless wife out of his mouth and swallow her again. And I followed that elephant, which appeared for a moment and then disappeared for a long time; and in my search for it I have now, thanks to my merits, beheld your Majesty here."

When the young merchant had said this, Vikramāditya sent for his wife, whom he had rescued by killing the elephant, and handed her over to him. And then the couple, delighted at their marvellous reunion, recounted their adventures to one another, and their mouths were loud in praise of the glorious King Vishamaśīla.

CHAPTER CXXIV

171D. *Kalingasenā's Marriage to King Vikramāditya*

THEN King Vikramāditya put this question to the friend of the young merchant, who came with him: "You said that you recovered your wife alive after she was dead: how could that be? Tell us, good sir, the whole story at length." When the king said this to the friend of the young merchant, the latter answered: "Listen, King, if you have any curiosity about it, I proceed to tell the story.

171D (6). *The Brāhman who recovered his Wife alive after her Death*

I am a young Brāhman of the name of Chandrasvāmin, living on that magnificent grant to Brāhmans called Brahmasthala, and I have a beautiful wife in my house. One day I had gone to the village for some object, by my father's orders, and a *kāpālika*, who had come to beg, cast eyes on that wife of mine. She caught a fever from the moment he looked at her, and in the evening she died. Then my relations took her and put her on the pyre during the night. And when the pyre was in full blaze I returned there from the village; and I heard what had happened from my family, who wept before me.

Then I went near the pyre, and the *kāpālika* came there, with the magic staff dancing [1] on his shoulder and the booming drum in his hand. He quenched the flame of the pyre, King, by throwing ashes on it,[2] and then my wife rose up

[1] The *khaṭvāṅga*, a club shaped like the foot of a bedstead—*i.e.* a staff with a skull at the top—considered as the weapon of Śiva, and carried by ascetics and Yogis. For *karaḥ* the MSS. give *ravaḥ*. This would mean that the ascetic was beating his drum. The word in No. 1882 might be *khaḥ*, but is no doubt meant for *ravaḥ*.

[2] *Cf.* Vol. VI, p. 180, and Canney, "Ashes," Hastings' *Ency. Rel. Eth.*, vol. ii, p. 112 *et seq.*—N.M.P.

from the midst of it uninjured. The *kāpālika* took with him my wife, who followed him, drawn by his magic power, and ran off quickly; and I followed him with my bow and arrows.

And when he reached a cave on the bank of the Ganges he put the magic staff down on the ground, and said exultingly to two maidens who were in it: "She, without whom I could not marry you, though I had obtained you, has come into my possession; and so my vow has been successfully accomplished." [1] Saying this, he showed them my wife, and at that moment I flung his magic staff into the Ganges. And when he had lost his magic power by the loss of the staff, I reproached him, exclaiming: "*Kāpālika*, as you wish to rob me of my wife, you shall live no longer." Then the scoundrel, not seeing his magic staff, tried to run away; but I drew my bow and killed him with a poisoned arrow. Thus do heretics, who feign the vows of Śiva only for the pleasure of accomplishing nefarious ends, fall, though their sin has already sunk them deep enough.

Then I took my wife, and those other two maidens, and I returned home, exciting the astonishment of my relations. Then I asked those two maidens to tell me their history, and they gave me this answer: "We are the daughters respectively of a king and a chief merchant in Benares, and the *kāpālika* carried us off by the same magic process by which he carried off your wife; and thanks to you we have been delivered from the villain without suffering insult." This was their tale. And the next day I took them to Benares and handed them over to their relations, after telling what had befallen them.[2]

And as I was returning thence I saw this young merchant, who had lost his wife, and I came here with him. Moreover, I anointed my body with an ointment that I found in the cave

[1] I separate *pratijñā* from *siddhim*.

[2] It is possible that this may be the original of the fourth story in the tenth day of the *Decameron*.——Personally I can see no resemblance whatsoever. Boccaccio's tale of Carisendi and Catalina is merely intended as an example of great liberality on the part of a lover whose passion was not returned. The lady in question was buried as dead, but her lover, on giving her a last kiss in her tomb, finds her heart feebly beating, and rescues her.—N.M.P.

of the *kāpālika*; and, observe, perfume still exhales from it, even though it has been washed.

171D. *Kalingasenā's Marriage to King Vikramāditya*

"In this sense did I recover my wife arisen from the dead."

When the Brāhman had told this story, the king honoured him and the young merchant, and sent them on their way. And then that King Vikramāditya, taking with him Guṇavatī, Chandravatī and Madanasundarī, and having met his own forces, returned to the city of Ujjayinī, and there he married Guṇavatī and Chandravatī.

Then the king called to mind the figure carved on a pillar that he had seen in the temple built by Viśvakarman, and he gave this order to the warder: "Let an ambassador be sent to Kalingasena to demand from him that maiden whose likeness I saw carved on the pillar." When the warder received this command from the king, he brought before him an ambassador named Suvigraha, and sent him off with a message.

So the ambassador went to the country of Kalinga, and when he had seen the King Kalingasena, he delivered to him the message with which he had been entrusted, which was as follows: "King, the glorious sovereign Vikramāditya sends you this command: 'You know that every jewel on the earth comes to me as my due; and you have a pearl of a daughter, so hand her over to me, and then by my favour you shall enjoy in your own realm an unopposed sway.'" When the King of Kalinga heard this, he was very angry, and he said: "Who is this King Vikramāditya? Does he presume to give me orders and ask for my daughter as a tribute? Blinded with pride he shall be cast down." When the ambassador heard this from Kalingasena, he said to him: "How can you, being a servant, dare to set yourself up against your master? You do not know your place. What, madman! do you wish to be shrivelled like a moth in the fire of his wrath?"

When the ambassador had said this, he returned and com-

municated to King Vikramāditya that speech of Kalingasena's. Then King Vishamaśila, being angry, marched out with his forces to attack the King of Kalinga, and the Vetāla Bhūtaketu went with him. As he marched along, the quarters, re-echoing the roar of his army, seemed to say to the King of Kalinga, "Surrender the maiden quickly"; and so he reached that country. When King Vikramāditya saw the King of Kalinga ready for battle, he surrounded him with his forces. But then he thought in his mind: "I shall never be happy without this king's daughter; and yet how can I kill my own father-in-law? Suppose I have recourse to some stratagem."

When the king had gone through these reflections, he went with the Vetāla, and by his supernatural power entered the bedchamber of the King of Kalinga at night, when he was asleep, without being seen. Then the Vetāla woke up the king, and, when he was terrified, said to him, laughing: "What! Do you dare to sleep when you are at war with King Vikramāditya?" Then the King of Kalinga rose up, and seeing the monarch, who had thus shown his daring, standing with a terrible Vetāla at his side, and recognising him, bowed trembling at his feet, and said: "King, I now acknowledge your supremacy; tell me what I am to do." And the king answered him: "If you wish to have me as your overlord, give me your daughter Kalingasenā." Then the King of Kalinga agreed, and promised to give him his daughter. And so the monarch returned successful to his camp.

And the next day, Queen, your father, the King of Kalinga, bestowed you on King Vishamaśila with appropriate ceremonies, and a splendid marriage gift. Thus, Queen, you were lawfully married by the king out of his deep love for you, and at the risk of his own life, and not out of any desire to triumph over an enemy.

171. *Story of King Vikramāditya*

"When I heard this story, my friends, from the mouth of the *kārpaṭika* Devasena, I dismissed my anger, which was caused by the contempt with which I supposed myself to

have been treated. So, you see, this king was induced to marry me by seeing a likeness of me carved on a pillar, and to marry Malayavatī by seeing a painted portrait of her." In these words Kalingasenā, the beloved wife of King Vikramāditya, described her husband's might, and delighted his other wives. Then Vikramāditya, accompanied by all of them, and by Malayavatī, remained delighting in his empire.

Then one day a Rājpūt named Kṛishṇaśakti, who had been oppressed by the members of his clan, came there from the Deccan. He went to the palace gate surrounded by five hundred Rājpūts, and took on himself the vow of *kārpaṭika* to the king. And though the king tried to dissuade him, he made this declaration: "I will serve King Vikramāditya for twelve years." And he remained at the gate of the palace, with his followers, determined to carry out his vow; and while he was thus engaged, eleven years passed over his head.

And when the twelfth year came, his wife, who was in another land, grieved at her long separation from him, sent him a letter; and he happened to be reading this Āryā verse, which she had written in the letter, at night, by the light of a lamp, when the king, who had gone out in search of adventures, was listening, concealed: "Hot, long and tremulous, do these sighs issue forth from me, during thy absence, my lord, but not the breath of life, hard-hearted woman that I am."

When the king had heard this read over and over again by the *kārpaṭika*, he went to his palace and said to himself: "This *kārpaṭika*, whose wife is in such despondency, has long endured affliction, and if his objects are not gained he will, when this twelfth year is at an end, yield his breath. So I must not let him wait any longer." After going through these reflections, the king at once sent a female slave, and summoned that *kārpaṭika*. And after he had caused a grant to be written, he gave him this order: "My good fellow, go towards the northern quarter, through Oṃkārapīṭha; there live on the proceeds of a village of the name of Khaṇḍavaṭaka, which I give you by this grant; you will find it by asking your way as you go along."

When the king had said this, he gave the grant into his

hands, and the *kārpaṭika* went off by night without telling his followers. He was dissatisfied, saying to himself: "How shall I be helped to conquer my enemies by a single village that will rather disgrace me? Nevertheless, my sovereign's orders must be obeyed." So he slowly went on, and having passed Oṃkārapīṭha, he saw in a distant forest many maidens playing, and then he asked them this question: "Do you know where Khaṇḍavaṭaka is?" When they heard that, they answered: "We do not know; go on farther. Our father lives only ten *yojanas* from here; ask him. He may perhaps know of that village."

When the maidens had said this to him, the *kārpaṭika* went on, and beheld their father, a Rākshasa of terrible appearance. He said to him: "Whereabouts here is Khaṇḍavaṭaka? Tell me, my good fellow." And the Rākshasa, quite taken aback by his courage, said to him: "What have you got to do there? The city has been long deserted; but if you must go, listen. This road in front of you divides into two: take the one on the left hand, and go on until you reach the main entrance of Khaṇḍavaṭaka, the lofty rampart on each side of which make it attract the eye."

When the Rākshasa had told him this, he went on, and reached that main street, and entered that city, which, though of heavenly beauty, was deserted and awe-inspiring. And in it he entered the palace, which was surrounded with seven zones, and ascended the upper storey of it, which was made of jewels and gold. There he saw a gem-bestudded throne, and he sat down on it. Thereupon a Rākshasa came with a wand in his hand and said to him: "Mortal, why have you sat down here on the king's throne?" When the resolute *kārpaṭika* Kṛishṇaśakti heard this, he said: "I am lord here; and you are tribute-paying householders whom King Vikramāditya has made over to me by his grant."

When the Rākshasa heard that, he looked at the grant, and, bowing before him, said: "You are king here, and I am your warder; for the decrees of King Vikramāditya are binding everywhere." When the Rākshasa had said this, he summoned all the subjects, and the ministers and the king's retinue presented themselves there; and that city was filled

with an army of four kinds of troops. And everyone paid his respects to the *kārpaṭika*; and he was delighted, and performed his bathing and his other ceremonies with royal luxury.

Then, having become a king, he said to himself in amazement: "Astonishing, truly, is the power of King Vikramāditya; and strangely unexampled is the depth of his dignified reserve, in that he bestows a kingdom like this and calls it a village!" Full of amazement at this, he remained there, ruling as a king; and Vikramāditya supported his followers in Ujjayinī.

And after some days this *kārpaṭika*, become a king, went eagerly to pay his respects to King Vikramāditya, shaking the earth with his army. And when he arrived, and threw himself at the feet of Vikramāditya, that king said to him: "Go and put a stop to the sighs of your wife who sent you the letter." When the king dispatched him with these words, Kṛishṇaśakti, full of wonder, went with his friends to his own land. There he drove out his kinsmen, and delighted his wife, who had been long pining for him; and having gained more even than he had ever wished for, enjoyed the most glorious royal fortune.

So wonderful were the deeds of King Vikramāditya.

Now one day he saw a Brāhman with every hair on his head and body standing on end; and he said to him: "What has reduced you, Brāhman, to this state?" Then the Brāhman told him his story in the following words:

171E. *The Permanently Horripilant Brāhman*

There lived in Pāṭaliputra a Brāhman of the name of Agnisvāmin, a great maintainer of the sacrificial fire; and I am his son, Devasvāmin by name. And I married the daughter of a Brāhman who lived in a distant land, and because she was a child I left her in her father's house. One day I mounted a mare and went with one servant to my father-in-law's house to fetch her. There my father-in-law welcomed me; and I set out from his house with my wife, who was mounted on the mare, and had one maid with her.

And when we had got half way, my wife got off the mare and went to the bank of the river, pretending that she wanted to drink water. And as she remained a long time without coming back, I sent the servant, who was with me, to the bank of the river to look for her. And as he also remained a long time without coming back, I went there myself, leaving the maid to take care of the mare. And when I went and looked, I found that my wife's mouth was stained with blood, and that she had devoured my servant, and left nothing of him but the bones.[1] In my terror I left her and went back to find the mare, and lo! her maid had in the same way eaten that. Then I fled from the place, and the fright I got on that occasion still remains in me, so that even now I cannot prevent the hair on my head and body from standing on end.[2]

171. *Story of King Vikramāditya*

"So you, King, are my only hope." When the Brāhman said this, Vikramāditya by his sovereign fiat relieved him of all fear. Then the king said: "Out on it! One cannot repose any confidence in women, for they are full of daring wickedness." When the king said this, a minister remarked: "Yes, King, women are fully as wicked as you say. By the by, have you not heard what happened to the Brāhman Agniśarman here?

171F. *The Brāhman Agniśarman and his Wicked Wife.*[3]

There lives in this very city a Brāhman named Agniśarman, the son of Somaśarman, whom his parents loved as their life, but who was a fool and ignorant of every branch of knowledge. He married the daughter of a Brāhman in the city of Vardhamāna; but her father, who was rich, would

[1] See Vol. II, p. 202, 202*n*[1]. To the references given there I would add Macculloch's excellent article, "Cannibalism," in Hastings' *Ency. Rel. Eth.*, vol. iii, pp. 194-209 (see especially p. 208), and Coxwell, *Siberian Folk-Tales*, pp. 104, 110.—N.M.P.

[2] No. 3003 and the Sanskrit College MS. give *antaḥsthena* for *sambhramayya*. No. 1882 has *tva-taḥsthena*; an insect has devoured the intermediate letter.

[3] This is substantially the same story as the second in Chapter LXXVII.

not let her leave his house, on the ground that she was a mere child.

And when she grew up, Agniśarman's parents said to him: "Son, why do you not now go and fetch your wife?" When Agniśarman heard that, the stupid fellow went off alone to fetch her, without taking leave of his parents. When he left his house a partridge appeared on his right hand and a jackal howled on his left hand—a sure prophet of evil.[1] And the fool welcomed the omen, saying: "Hail! Hail!" And when the deity presiding over the omen heard it, she laughed at him unseen. And when he reached his father-in-law's place, and was about to enter it, a partridge appeared on his right and a jackal on his left, boding evil. And again he welcomed the omen, exclaiming: "Hail! Hail!" And again the goddess of the omen, hearing it, laughed at him unseen. And that goddess presiding over the omen said to herself: "Why, this fool welcomes bad luck as if it were good! So I must give him the luck which he welcomes. I must contrive to save his life." While the goddess was going through these reflections, Agniśarman entered his father-in-law's house, and was joyfully welcomed. And his father-in-law and his family asked him why he had come alone, and he answered them: "I came without telling anyone at home."

Then he bathed and dined in the appropriate manner, and, when night came on, his wife came to his sleeping apartment, adorned. But he fell asleep, fatigued with the journey. And then she went out to visit a paramour of hers, a thief, who had been impaled. But while she was embracing his body the demon that had entered it bit off her nose, and she fled thence in fear. And she went and placed an unsheathed[2] dagger at her sleeping husband's side, and cried out loud enough for all her relations to hear: "Alas! Alas! I am murdered. This wicked husband of mine has got up and, without any cause, actually cut off my nose." When her relations heard that, they came, and seeing that her nose was

[1] See Vol. IV, pp. 93, 93*n*[2], 94*n*.—N.M.P.

[2] *Vikrośām* is a misprint for *vikośām*. The latter is found in MS. No. 1882 and the Sanskrit College MS. and, I think, in No. 3003; but the letter is not very well formed.

cut off, they beat Agniśarman with sticks and other weapons. And the next day they reported the matter to the king, and by his orders they made him over to the executioners, to be put to death, as having injured his innocent wife.

But when he was being taken to the place of execution the goddess presiding over that omen, who had seen the proceedings of his wife during the night, said to herself: "This man has reaped the fruit of the evil omens, but as he said, 'Hail! Hail!' I must save him from execution." Having thus reflected, the goddess exclaimed unseen from the air: "Executioners, this young Brāhman is innocent; you must not put him to death. Go and see the nose between the teeth of the impaled thief." When she had said this, she related the proceedings of his wife during the night. Then the executioners, believing the story, represented it to the king by the mouth of the warder; and the king, seeing the nose between the teeth of the thief, remitted the capital sentence passed on Agniśarman and sent him home, and punished that wicked wife, and imposed a penalty on her relations [1] also.

171. *Story of King Vikrāmaditya*

"Such, King, is the character of women." When that minister had said this, King Vikramāditya approved his saying, exclaiming: "So it is!" Then the cunning Mūladeva, who was near the king, said: "King, are there no good women, though some are bad? Are there no mango-creepers as well as poisonous creepers? In proof that there are good women, hear what happened to me.

171G. *Mūladeva and the Brāhman's Daughter* [2]

I went once to Pāṭaliputra with Śaśin, thinking that it was the home of polished wits, and longing to make trial of

[1] The word *badhūns* is evidently a misprint for *bandhūns*: as appears from the MSS.

[2] This story is known in Europe, and may perhaps be the original source of Shakespeare's *All's Well that Ends Well*. At any rate there is a slight resemblance in the leading idea of the two stories. It bears a close resemblance

their cleverness. In a tank outside that city I saw a woman washing clothes, and I put this question to her: "Where do travellers stay here?" The old woman gave me an evasive answer, saying: "Here the Brahmany ducks stay on the banks, the fish in the water, the bees in the lotuses, but I have never seen any part where travellers stay." When I got this answer I was quite nonplussed, and I entered the city with Śaśin.

There Śaśin saw a boy crying at the door of a house, with a warm [1] rice-pudding on a plate in front of him, and he said: "Dear me! this is a foolish child not to eat the pudding in front of him, but to vex himself with useless weeping." When the child heard this, he wiped his eyes, and said, laughing: "You fools do not know the advantages I get by crying. The pudding gradually cools and so becomes nice. And another good comes out of it; my phlegm is diminished thereby. These are the advantages I derive from crying. I do not cry out of folly. But you country bumpkins are fools because you do not see what I do it for."

When the boy said this, Śaśin and I were quite abashed at our stupidity, and we went away, astonished, to another part of the town. There we saw a beautiful young lady on the trunk of a mango-tree, gathering mangoes, while her attendants stood at its foot. We said to the young lady: "Give us also some mangoes, fair one." And she answered: "Would you like to eat your mangoes cold or hot?" When I heard that, I said to her, wishing to penetrate the mystery: "We should like, lovely one, to eat some warm ones first, and to have the others afterwards." When she heard this, she flung

to the story of Sorfarina, No. 36 in Gonzenbach's *Sicilianische Märchen*, and to that of Sapia in the *Pentamerone* of Basile. In the Sicilian and in the Neapolitan tale a prince is angry with a young lady who, when teaching him, gave him a box on the ear, and married her in order to avenge himself by ill-treating her; but finding that he has, without suspecting it, had three children by her, he is obliged to seek reconciliation. Dr Köhler, in his note on the Sicilian tale, gives no other parallel than Basile's tale, which is the sixth of the fifth day. See Burton's translation, vol. ii, p. 526 *et seq.*——See, further, Bloomfield, *Amer. Journ. Phil.*, vol. xliv, 1923, p. 202 *et seq.*—N.M.P.

[1] I think we should read *ushṇe*. I believe that Nos. 1882 and 3003 have this, judging from the way in which *shṇ* is usually formed in those MSS.

down some mango-fruits into the dust on the ground. We blew the dust off them and then ate them. Then the young lady and her attendants laughed, and she said to us: "I first gave you these warm mangoes, and you cooled them by blowing on them and then ate them: catch these cool ones, which will not require blowing on, in your clothes." When she had said this, she threw some more fruits into the flaps of our garments.

We took them, and left that place thoroughly ashamed of ourselves. Then I said to Śaśin and my other companions: "Upon my word I must marry this clever girl and pay her out for the way in which she has made a fool of me! Otherwise what becomes of my reputation for sharpness?" When I said this to them, they found out her father's house, and on a subsequent day we went there disguised, so that we could not be recognised.

And while we were reading the Veda there, her father, the Brāhman Yajnasvāmin, came up to us and said: "Where do you come from?" We said to that rich and noble Brāhman: "We have come here from the city of Māyāpurī to study." Thereupon he said to us: "Then stay the next four months in my house; show me this favour, as you have come from a distant country." When we heard this, we said: "We will do what you say, Brāhman, if you will give us, at the end of the four months, whatever we may ask for." When we said this to Yajnasvāmin, he answered: "If you ask for anything that it is in my power to give, I will certainly give it." When he made this promise, we remained in his house. And when the four months were at an end we said to that Brāhman: "We are going away, so give us what we ask for, as you long ago promised to do." He said: "What is that?" Then Śaśin pointed to me and said: "Give your daughter to this man, who is our chief." Then the Brāhman Yajnasvāmin, being bound by his promise, thought: "These fellows have tricked me. Never mind; there can be no harm in it; he is a deserving youth." So he gave me his daughter with the usual ceremonies.

And when night came I said, laughing, to the bride in the bridal chamber: "Do you remember those warm and those

cool mangoes?" When she heard this she recognised me, and said, with a smile: "Yes, country bumpkins are tricked in this way by city wits." Then I said to her: "Rest you, fair city wit. I vow that I, the country bumpkin, will desert you and go far away." When she heard this, she also made a vow, saying: "I too am resolved, for my part, that a son of mine by you shall bring you back again." When we had made one another these promises she went to sleep, with her face turned away, and I put my ring on her finger while she was asleep. Then I went out, and, joining my companions, started for my native city of Ujjayinī, wishing to make trial of her cleverness.

The Brāhman's daughter, not seeing me next morning when she woke up, but seeing a ring on her finger marked with my name, said to herself: "So he has deserted me and gone off! Well, he has been as good as his word; and I must keep mine too, dismissing all regrets. And I see by this ring that his name is Mūladeva; so no doubt he is that very Mūladeva who is so renowned for cunning. And people say that his permanent home is Ujjayinī; so I must go there, and accomplish my object by an artifice." When she had made up her mind to this, she went and made this false statement to her father: "My father, my husband has deserted me immediately after marriage; and how can I live here happily without him. So I will go on a pilgrimage to holy waters, and will so mortify this accursed body."

Having said this, and having wrung a permission from her unwilling father, she started off from her house with her wealth and her attendants. She procured a splendid dress suitable to a courtesan, and travelling along she reached Ujjayinī, and entered it as the chief beauty of the world. And having arranged with her attendants every detail of her scheme, that young Brāhman lady assumed the name of Sumangalā. And her servants proclaimed everywhere: "A courtesan named Sumangalā has come from Kāmarūpa, and her goodwill is only to be procured by the most lavish expenditure."

Then a distinguished courtesan of Ujjayinī, named Devadattā, came to her, and gave her her own palace, worthy of a

king, to dwell in by herself. And when she was established there, my friend Śaśin first sent a message to her, by a servant, saying: "Accept a present from me which is won by your great reputation." But Sumangalā sent back this message by the servant: "The lover who obeys my commands may enter here. I do not care for a present, nor for other beastlike men." Śaśin accepted the terms, and repaired at nightfall to her palace.

And when he came to the first door of the palace, and had himself announced, the doorkeeper said to him: "Obey our lady's commands. Even though you may have bathed, you must bathe again here, otherwise you cannot be admitted." When Śaśin heard this, he agreed to bathe again as he was bid. Then he was bathed and anointed all over by her female slaves, in private; and while this was going on, the first watch of the night passed away. When he arrived, having bathed, at the second door, the doorkeeper said: "You have bathed: now adorn yourself appropriately." He consented; and thereupon the lady's female slaves adorned him, and meanwhile the second watch of the night came to an end. Then he reached the door of the third zone, and there the guards said to him: "Take a meal, and then enter." He said, "Very well"; and then the female slaves managed to delay him with various dishes until the third watch passed away. Then he reached at last the fourth door, that of the lady's private apartments; but there the doorkeeper reproached him in the following words: "Away, boorish suitor, lest you draw upon yourself misfortune. Is the last watch of the night a proper time for paying the first visit to a lady?" When Śaśin had been turned away in this contemptuous style by the warder, who seemed like an incarnation of untimeliness, he went away home with countenance sadly fallen.

In the same way that Brāhman's daughter, who had assumed the name of Sumangalā, disappointed many other visitors. When I heard of it I was moved of curiosity, and, after sending a messenger to and fro, I went at night splendidly adorned to her house. There I propitiated the warders at every door with magnificent presents, and I reached without delay the private apartments of that lady. And as I had

arrived in time I was allowed by the doorkeepers to pass the door, and I entered and saw my wife, whom I did not recognise, owing to her being disguised as a courtesan. But she knew me again, and she advanced towards me and paid me all the usual civilities—made me sit down on a couch, and treated me with the attentions of a cunning courtesan. Then I passed the night with that wife of mine, who was the most beautiful woman of the world, and I became so attached to her that I could not leave the house in which she was staying.

She, too, was devoted to me, and never left my side until, after some days, the blackness of the tips of her breasts showed that she was pregnant. Then the clever woman forged a letter, and showed it to me, saying: "The king, my sovereign, has sent me a letter: read it." Then I opened the the letter, and read as follows: "The august sovereign of the fortunate Kāmarūpa, Mānasiṃha, sends thence this order to Sumangalā: 'Why do you remain so long absent? Return quickly, dismissing your desire of seeing foreign countries.'"

When I had read this letter, she said to me, with affected grief: "I must depart. Do not be angry with me; I am subject to the will of others." Having made this false excuse, she returned to her own city Pāṭaliputra. But I did not follow her, though deeply in love with her, as I supposed that she was not her own mistress.

And when she was in Pāṭaliputra she gave birth in due time to a son. And that boy grew up and learned all the accomplishments. And when he was twelve years old, that boy, in a childish freak, happened to strike with a creeper a fisherman's son of the same age. When the fisherman's son was beaten he flew in a passion, and said: "You beat me, though nobody knows who your father is; for your mother roamed about in foreign lands, and you were born to her by some husband or other." [1]

[1] *Cf.* Ralston's *Tibetan Tales*, p. 89.——The accusation of bastardy, as also of marriage or intercourse with a person of low birth, is a *motif* well developed in Sanskrit literature. See Professor Bloomfield's Foreword to Vol. VII, p. xxvi, and the numerous examples given on p. 195 of his *Life and Stories of the Jaina Savior Pārçvanātha*. See also Chauvin, *op. cit.*, v, pp. 72*n*[1], 294, where the "Accusation of Bastardy" *motif* occurs in the tale of "Ali and Zafer," as given in Weil's translation of the *Nights*, vol. iv, p. 194.—N.M.P.

When this was said to the boy, he was put to shame. So he went and said to his mother: "Mother, who and where is my father? Tell me!" Then his mother, the daughter of the Brāhman, reflected a moment, and said to him: "Your father's name is Mūladeva: he deserted me and went to Ujjayinī." After she had said this, she told him her whole story from the beginning. Then the boy said to her: "Mother, then I will go and bring my father back a captive. I will make your promise good."

Having said this to his mother, and having been told by her how to recognise me, the boy set out thence, and reached this city of Ujjayinī. And he came and saw me playing dice in the gambling-hall, making certain of my identity from the description his mother had given him, and he conquered in play all who were there. And he astonished everyone there by showing such remarkable cunning, though he was a mere child. Then he gave away to the needy all the money he had won at play. And at night he artfully came and stole my bedstead from under me, letting me gently down on a heap of cotton while I was sleeping. So when I woke up, and saw myself on a heap of cotton, without a bedstead, I was at once filled with mixed feelings of shame, amusement and astonishment.

Then, King, I went at my leisure to the market-place, and roaming about, I saw that boy there, selling the bedstead. So I went up to him and said: "For what price will you give me this bedstead?" Then the boy said to me: "You cannot get the bedstead for money, crest-jewel of cunning ones; but you may get it by telling some strange and wonderful story." When I heard that, I said to him: "Then I will tell you a marvellous tale. And if you understand it, and admit that it is really true, you may keep the bedstead; but if you say that it is not true, and that you do not believe it,[1] you will be illegitimate, and I shall get back the bedstead. On this condition I agree to tell you a marvel.

[1] I read *pratyayo na me*, which I find in the Taylor MS., and which makes sense. I take the words as part of the boy's speech: "It is untrue; I do not believe it." But *vakshyasyapratyayena me* would also make sense. The Sanskrit College MS. supports Brockhaus' text.

And now listen. Formerly there was a famine in the kingdom of a certain king. That king himself cultivated the back of the beloved of the boar with great loads of spray from the chariots of the snakes. Enriched with the grain thus produced the king put a stop to the famine among his subjects, and gained the esteem of men."

When I said this, the boy laughed and said: "The chariots of the snakes are clouds; the beloved of the boar is the earth, for she is said to have been most dear to Vishṇu in his boar incarnation; and what is there to be astonished at in the fact that rain from the clouds made grain to spring on the earth?"

When the cunning boy had said this, he went on to say to me, who was astonished at his cleverness: "Now I will tell you a strange tale. If you understand it, and admit that it is really true, I will give you back this bedstead; otherwise you shall be my slave."

I answered "Agreed," and then the cunning boy said this: "Prince of knowing ones, there was born long ago on this earth a wonderful boy, who, as soon as he was born, made the earth tremble with the weight of his feet, and when he grew bigger, stepped into another world."

When the boy said this, I, not knowing what he meant, answered him: "It is false; there is not a word of truth in it." Then the boy said to me: "Did not Vishṇu, as soon as he was born, stride across the earth, in the form of a dwarf, and make it tremble? And did he not, on that same occasion, grow bigger, and step into heaven? So you have been conquered by me, and reduced to slavery. And these people present in the market are witnesses to our agreement. So, wherever I go, you must come along with me." When the resolute boy had said this, he laid hold of my arm with his hand; and all the people there testified to the justice of his claim.

Then, having made me a prisoner, bound by my agreement, he, accompanied by his attendants, took me to his mother in the city of Pāṭaliputra. And then his mother looked at him and said to me: "My husband, my promise has to-day been made good. I have had you brought here

by a son of mine begotten by you." When she had said this, she related the whole story in the presence of all.

Then all her relations respectfully congratulated her on having accomplished her object by her wisdom, and on having her disgrace wiped out by her son. And I, having been fortunate, lived there for a long time with that wife and that son, and then returned to this city of Ujjayinī.

171. *Story of King Vikramāditya*

"So you see, King, honourable matrons are devoted to their husbands, and it is not the case that all women are always bad." [1] When King Vikramāditya had heard this speech from the mouth of Mūladeva, he rejoiced with his ministers. Thus hearing, and seeing, and doing wonders, that King Vikramāditya [2] conquered and enjoyed all the divisions of the earth.

[M] "When the hermit Kaṇva had told, during the night, this story of Vishamaśīla, dealing with separations and reunions, he went on to say to me who was cut off from the society of Madanamanchukā: 'Thus do unexpected separations and reunions of beings take place, and so you, Naravāhanadatta, shall soon be reunited to your beloved. Have recourse to patience, and you shall enjoy for a long time, son of the King of Vatsa, surrounded by your wives and ministers, the position of a beloved emperor of the Vidyādharas.' This admonition of the hermit Kaṇva enabled me to recover patience. And so I got through my time of separation; and I gradually obtained wives, magic science, and the sovereignty over the Vidyādharas. And I told you before, great hermits, how I obtained all these by the favour of Śiva, the giver of boons."

By telling this his tale, in the hermitage of Kaśyapa,

[1] *Cf.* the tale of the "Badawi and his Wife," *Nights*, Burton, vol. vii, p. 124 *et seq.*—N.M.P.

[2] In the original there is the following note: "Here ends the tale of King Vikramāditya."

Naravāhanadatta delighted his mother's brother Gopālaka and all the hermits. And after he had passed there the days of the rainy season, he took leave of his uncle and the hermits in the grove of asceticism, and mounting his chariot departed with his wives and ministers, filling the air with the hosts of his Vidyādharas. And in course of time he reached the mountain of Ṛishabha, his dwelling-place. And he remained there, delighting in the enjoyments of empire, in the midst of the kings of the Vidyādharas, with Queen Madanamanchukā, and Ratnaprabhā and his other wives; and his life lasted for a *kalpa*.

This is the story called Bṛihatkathā, told long ago, on the summit of Mount Kailāsa, by the undaunted [1] Śiva, at the request of the daughter of the Himālaya, and then widely diffused in the world by Pushpadanta and his fellows, who were born on the earth wearing the forms of Kātyāyana and others, in consequence of a curse. And on that occasion that god, her husband, attached the following blessing to this tale: "Whoever reads this tale that issued from my mouth, and whoever listens to it with attention, and whoever possesses it, shall soon be released from his sins, and triumphantly attain the condition of a splendid Vidyādhara, and enter my everlasting world."

[1] Having reached the end of my translation, I am entitled to presume that this epithet refers to the extraordinary length of the *Kathā Sarit Sāgara*.

AUTHOR'S EPILOGUE[1]

(1) THERE was a lord of earth, King Sangrāma, a *pārijāta* tree [issued] from the ocean of the blest Sātavāhana race,[2] who, being attended by diverse *vibudhas*[3] descending [to him], rendered the realm of Kashmir a Nandana.[4]

(2) To him was born a son, an emperor whose footstool was made a touchstone for masses of rubies on the crests of all lords of earth as they bowed [before him], the *kalpa* tree[5] of his stock, a peculiar store of valour, the blest Ananta.

(3) The head of a king which was rolled in the ground at the front of his (Ananta's) doorway, severed at the neck, with the belly cast away, was like Rāhu come to do service because he was delighted on hearing the pleasant fame of (Ananta's) *chakra* (dominion) which surpassed the *chakra* (discus) of great Hari.[6]

[1] These verses, translated by Dr L. D. Barnett, appear here in English for the first time. They are not found in Brockhaus' text, and consequently are not in Tawney's translation either. They appear, however, in the first edition of Durgāprasād's text. Subsequently, they were printed separately, and in some copies of the third edition of the Durgāprasād text they have inadvertently been omitted.

As previously stated, these verses contain all we know of our author. Although Sir Aurel Stein has kindly endeavoured to obtain information in Kashmir, no evidence whatever has been forthcoming.

The notes to these final verses, as well as the translation, are the work of Dr Barnett.

[2] This metaphor is based on the myth of the Churning of the Milk-ocean by the gods and Asuras. Among the precious objects that issued from the ocean on this occasion was the celestial *pārijāta*, or coral-tree (see *Ocean*, Vol. II, p. 13, 13n^2).

[3] Meaning both *sages* and *gods*.

[4] The paradise or park of the god Indra.

[5] The wishing-tree of paradise: see Vol. I, p. 8, 8n^1.

[6] This apparently refers to an episode narrated in the *Rājatarangiṇī*, vii, 167 *et seq.*: The Darad king, Achalamangala, was defeated and slain by Ananta's general, Rudrapāla, who cut off his head and brought it to Ananta. Here this head, thrown down before the doorway of the palace, is compared by Somadeva

(4) Now this moon of kings wedded as his queen a daughter of the monarch of Trigarta, Sūryavatī, who, like the juncture of dawn, dispelled darkness from her subjects and was universally adored.[1]

(5)-(6) The Kaśmīras were adorned with excellent monasteries built by his queen, which were like holy traditions, in being kept by hundreds of Brāhmans born in various lands; like gem-filled oceans, in being hospitable even to terrified *bhūbhṛits*[2]; like noble *kalpa* trees, in dispelling daily the distress of the needy.

(7) The dwellings of the gods, white with palatial plaster, which were built by her on the spacious bank of the Vitastā, assuredly possess the semblance of peaks of Himālaya, the ends whereof are encompassed by the Heavenly River.[3]

(8) Because of the countless gems, gold, great estates, black antelope-skins, mountains of wealth and thousands of kine which were bestowed [by her], that lady indeed bears even . . . Earth.[4]

(9) Her son was the blest monarch King Kalaśa, who, though a unique *tilaka* on the circle of the earth, was

to the demon Rāhu, a head without any body, who is said to have been thus mutilated by Vishṇu (Hari) with his *chakra* or discus (see *Ocean*, Vol. VIII, p. 72*n*); and Rāhu is conceived as coming thus to do homage to Ananta because he is glad to hear that Ananta's *chakra* (dominion) has surpassed Vishṇu's *chakra* (discus) by which he was decapitated—in short, it is suggested that Ananta is superior to the god Vishṇu.

One is tempted to understand *dvāra*, which I have translated as "doorway," in the common Kashmiri sense of "mountain pass" or "hill-fort"; but to do so would spoil the point of the simile, in which Rāhu is represented as "come to do service" to Ananta, which implies that he came to the latter's palace door.

[1] A play on the name *Sūryavatī*, which means "she to whom the sun belongs." The dawn dispels darkness for beings (*prajā*) and is greeted with prayers (*sandhyā-vandana*); Sūryavatī saved her subjects (*prajā*) from moral darkness and was adored by all (*viśva-vandyā*).

[2] A pun: *bhūbhṛit*, "bearer of earth," means both a king and a mountain. Taken in the latter sense, it refers to the legend that when Indra cut off the wings of the mountains, the mountain Maināka took refuge in the ocean (see Vol. VI, p. 3*n*[1]).

[3] The celestial Ganges.

[4] The text is here defective. The sense seems to be that Sūryavatī may be compared to the earth (*viśvambharā*, "all-supporter") because of her gifts to mankind.

nevertheless *an-alīka-lagna*,[1] and, though a friend to the *guṇi*, was full of rich ambrosia.[2]

(10) Her excellent grandson was the blest King Harsha, who was like a modern Child of the Jar created by the gods, a puissant one who was able to make all lofty *urvībhṛits* bow [before him] and to drink up the seven oceans.[3]

(11) In order to interest somewhat for a moment the mind of that queen, who was ever intent upon the rules for the diverse offerings of oblation-rites for the worship of him who couches on the mountains,[4] and constantly devoted her efforts to learning from books of instruction,

(12) This summary of the *Bṛihat-kathā's* essence, consisting of the ambrosia of diverse tales, [a summary which is] a full-moon [attracting] the ocean of good men's minds, was verily composed by Soma, the son of Rāma, a worthy Brāhman, agreeable because of his abounding virtues.

(13) May this Ocean of Streams of Story, composed by the stainless-minded Soma, which has the semblance of very widespread waves, be for the delight of good men's hearts.

[1] A pun. *Tilaka* means the mark (ornamental or sectarian) made on the forehead with paint, etc., and generally an ornament; *alīka* signifies either "forehead" or "inauspicious," and *lagna* is both "attached" and "astrological moment." The poet thus says that the king, though he is metaphorically a frontal decoration on the brow of the goddess Earth—*i.e.* an ornament of the circle of earth—was in one sense not bound upon any brow (*an-alīka-lagna*), because (in the other sense) he was subject to no inauspicious moments (*an-alīka-lagna*).

[2] A pun based on the king's name, Kalaśa, which means "jar." He is said to be *ghanāmṛita-maya*, literally "(as a jar) full of rich ambrosia" (*amṛita*); but *amṛita* also signifies the state of salvation, the condition of the redeemed soul (*moksha* or *nirvāṇa*), so *ghanāmṛita-maya* may also signify "consisting of compact (perfect) spirituality," and in this sense it is opposed to one of the meanings of *guṇi-bāndhava*, "friend to the *guṇi*." For *guṇi* denotes both "virtuous," "bow," and "physical nature" as characterised by the three *guṇas* or phases of materiality; and while Kalaśa is "a friend to the virtuous" and "a friend of the bow" (*i.e.* a brave warrior), he is *not* "a friend to materiality," because he is perfectly spiritual."

[3] A pun: *kalaśodbhava* means both "son of Kalaśa" and "child of the jar"—*i.e.* the mythical saint Agastya, who made the Vindhya mountains (*urvībhṛit*, meaning both "mountain" and "king") bow down to let him pass, and drank the ocean (see Vol. VI, pp. 43*n*[1], 44*n*).

[4] The god Śiva.

TERMINAL ESSAY

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WHEN, in the summer of 1919, I first approached Mr Tawney with the suggestion of reissuing his *Magnum opus*, little was decided about the form the Terminal Essay was to take. At that time there were so many immediate points connected with the work to be considered that any questions relating to the final volumes were to be deferred to a later date.

My own idea was to discuss briefly the manners and customs of the Hindus as illustrated in the work, together with some account of the different religious systems introduced. I then intended to speak of the debt Western literature owes to the East, and conclude with a few paragraphs on the classification of the world's folk-tales. If room could be found, I was also going to give extracts from Speyer's work on the *Kathā-sarit-sāgara*.

At that time, however, the idea of a Foreword to each volume by some eminent scholar had not been formulated, nor had the number or length of my own notes been determined.

As the scheme of the work began to take definite shape, matters became more established, and a precedent was gradually formed in accordance with what seemed to be the best way of dealing with subjects as they arose. Thus, whenever some custom, ceremony, name or incident was thought to require a note, it seemed most practicable to give it on the same page, or, if too long, at the end of the chapter.

Following this plan, all the notes which would have been used for the Terminal Essay were given in their respective places. It also proved much better to give Speyer's translations and suggestions *in situ*, and not relegate them to the present volume.

My idea of inviting a different scholar to write a Foreword to each volume has proved a great success, and my work is now enriched by nine excellent Essays, each dealing with the great collection from a different angle.

With the appearance of the present volume, and its most interesting Foreword by Sir Atul Chatterjee, which approaches the *K.S.S.* from the economic standpoint, I find practically every subject which I might have treated in this present Essay already dealt with in a manner which I could never have equalled.

All general questions have been dealt with by Sir Richard Temple, Sir George Grierson and Dr Thomas; the study and classification of folk-tales has received expert attention from Dr Gaster, Mr Wright, Professor Bloomfield and Professor Halliday; while Sir Denison Ross has contributed original research work on the Persian recension of the *Pañchatantra.* I think it will thus be agreed that, on the face of it, there seems little left to write about.

There is, however, one subject which, as yet, we have not discussed in sufficient detail—the "frame-story" of the *Kathā-sarit-sāgara,* the arrangement and order of its contents, the sequence of events in the history of Udayana and Naravāhanadatta, the introduction of the numerous sub-stories, and the resemblance the whole bears to the original *Bṛihat-kathā* of Guṇāḍhya.

I shall, therefore, devote this Terminal Essay to a brief discussion of this subject.

The "Frame-Story" of the Kathā-sarit-sāgara

In order to determine, as far as possible, the changes any recension of a lost original text may have undergone, two distinct methods at once suggest themselves: a critical examination of the version in question; and a reconstruction of the original with the help of other versions known to be derived from that same original.

In some cases it may happen that both these methods cannot be applied, and until quite recently this has been so with Somadeva's work. Thanks, however, to the researches of Professor Lacôte, the Nepalese recension of the *Bṛihat-kathā,* known as the *Bṛihat-kathā-śloka-saṃgraha,* supplies us with evidence which can be compared with the results obtained from a close examination of the text of the *Kathā-sarit-sāgara.*

If the evidence from the one source corroborates that from the other, some definite conclusions will result. It is, of course, unnecessary to discuss all the points raised by Lacôte in his *Essai sur Guṇāḍhya*, but I shall endeavour to lay before my readers the main arguments for his conclusions, as far as they concern the present work.

The method I have adopted throughout of affixing a number to each story has not only enabled the thread of a tale long since suspended to be picked up again with ease, but facilitates the separation of the Main Story from the mass of sub-stories introduced on every possible occasion.

Readers will have noticed to what a great extent the latter are in excess of the former. This fact alone should make us suspicious, particularly when we remember [1] how, after the adventures of Naravāhanadatta had been brought to a successful close by his coronation, the long series of Vikrama tales are introduced for no apparent reason. The final return to the Main Story [2] is purely conventional, and clearly betrays the hand of a later editor.

Although many of the shorter sub-stories justify their position and introduction sufficiently well, there is a large number that fit uneasily into the places where we find them, and display no reason whatever for being there rather than anywhere else. This, of course, specially applies to whole collections, such as the *Pañchatantra*. Since studying Lacôte's *Essai*, I am now convinced that it could never have been included in Guṇāḍhya's original poem. A closer examination of Somadeva's text of the Main Story will reveal many inconsistencies and inaccuracies which are largely hidden and unnoticed with the inclusion of so many sub-stories.

Book I: Kathāpīṭha (Vol. I, pp. 1-91).

Let us first, then, consider the Introduction to Somadeva. It will be remembered that it consists of a strange legend in which Guṇāḍhya himself plays a part. This fact did not diminish the belief of Brockhaus, Wilson and Lassen that such a person as Guṇāḍhya never existed in reality. Since their

[1] See Vol. VIII, p. 93.

[2] Pp. 85, 86 of this volume.

day, however, the advance in Sanskrit literary research has proved his existence beyond a doubt.

The evidence contained in the *Bṛihat-kathā-śloka-saṃgraha* only strengthens this opinion. We are introduced to Śiva and Pārvatī on Mount Kailāsa. In reply to a request from his wife for a story, Śiva relates his own history in one of his former lives. This is received with scorn as an age-worn tale, and Śiva is called a fraud. As compensation he promises to tell an entirely new tale that Pārvatī could never have heard before—the history of the Vidyādharas. Thus the hackneyed tales of gods, on the one hand, with their usual accompanying laudatory eulogies, and of men, on the other hand, with their sad and commonplace happenings, would both be avoided.

Pārvatī is placated, and, we are led to conjecture, listens in silence and interest to the long tale which Śiva unfolds.

This fact is significant as showing that the author puts forward strong claims to originality. The well-known Vedic and Puranic legends are not to be given—there is something that even a goddess would get a thrill over!

Yet this high standard is hardly borne out when we see later what old tales *have* crept in.

Kshemendra is more cautious, and allows Pārvatī to raise no objections to Śiva's first tale about himself, thus at once disarming criticism if well-known tales *are* introduced.

But let us proceed with the story.

Pushpadanta, one of Śiva's Gaṇas, overhears the tale by a trick and repeats it to his wife, who in turn tells it to Pārvatī. Thus Pushpadanta is discovered, and Pārvatī's wrath is pitiless. Both the eavesdropper and his friend Mālyavān, who pleaded on his behalf, are cursed to fall into mortal wombs.

Pushpadanta, now to be born in Kauśāmbī under the names of Vararuchi and Kātyāyana, will obtain release from the curse only when he meets a Yaksha named Supratīka residing in the Vindhya forest under the name of Kāṇabhūti, and tells him the Great Tale. Mālyavān is to be born in Supratishṭhita under the name of Guṇāḍhya, and will be freed from the curse only when he has heard the tale from Kāṇabhūti.

In course of time Pushpadanta-Vararuchi-Kātyāyana

meets Supratīka-Kāṇabhūti and tells him the Great Tale; then, after also relating his life-story in detail, reaches his heavenly home once again.

It is, however, with the history of Mālyavān-Guṇāḍhya that we are mainly concerned, for the legend may contain some clue to the real Guṇāḍhya. According to the story he is of semi-divine birth, his mother being a Brāhman girl and his father a Nāga prince. Thus he takes rank with the two other semi-divine authors—Vālmīki of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and Vyāsa of the *Mahābhārata*—and he is actually mentioned in Sanskrit literature as forming the third of the Epic trio.

Kshemendra wrote *mañjarīs* (abridged versions) of them all. The *Nepālamāhātmya* draws a comparison between the (Nepalese) versions of the legends of Vālmīki and Guṇāḍhya, showing how both men had to visit Nepal by divine command, the former to find a sacred spot worthy to be the cradle of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, and the latter to fulfil certain conditions necessary for his return to his previous semi-divine state. Both men erect *liṅgas* before leaving Nepal.

To return to Somadeva's version, we find that Guṇāḍhya becomes a minister of King Sātavāhana in a city named Supratishṭhita, capital of the Pratishṭhāna (Vol. I, p. 60). On one occasion the king shows his ignorance of grammar (p. 69), and Guṇāḍhya offers to teach him Sanskrit grammar in six years. Thereupon another minister, Śarvavarman, promises to do it in six months, or carry his shoes on his head for twelve years. Guṇāḍhya considers this impossible, and says that if he succeeds, he, in his turn, will renounce for ever Sanskrit, Prakrit, and his own vernacular dialect.

By the favour of the god Kārttikeya a grammar known as Kātantra and Kālāpaka (on account of its conciseness) is revealed to Śarvavarman, who, with its help, wins the bet. In accordance with his vow, Guṇāḍhya, now reduced to silence, retires to the Vindhya forest. Here he learns the language of the Piśāchas, and, on meeting Vararuchi, writes down the Great Tale, as it is told him, in his own blood (p. 89). This done, he sends it to King Sātavāhana, who, however, rejects it as being written in a barbarous language. On hearing this, Guṇāḍhya is in despair, and reads out the

whole work to the animals of the forest, who crowd round, lost in admiration at its beauty. As he reads, so he burns the tale page by page.

Meanwhile the king, owing to a sudden and unexplained lack of nutritive qualities in his food, has fallen sick. He is informed that the explanation of this curious state of affairs is to be found in a Brāhman who is reciting a wonderful story in the forest, to which all the animals are listening motionless. Out of curiosity he goes to see for himself, and recognises Guṇāḍhya. He is, however, too late to save the Great Tale. All has been burnt, with the exception of the Adventures of Naravāhanadatta. This Sātavāhana takes back to his palace, and, in order that these strange happenings shall not be lost to the world, himself composes "the book named Kathāpīṭha, in order to show how the tale came to be first made known in the Paiśācha language" (p. 91).

Thus the first book of the *Kathā-sarit-sāgara* ends. But what does it all mean? Who is this Sātavāhana, at whose Court Guṇāḍhya became a minister? And what is the point of introducing a kind of grammatical controversy on the respective qualities of Sanskrit and Prakrit?

These are some of the queries that present themselves.

Sātavāhana is the family name, in inscriptions, of the Andhra dynasty, whose home lay in the Deccan, between the rivers Godāvarī and Kistna. Their capital was Pratishṭhāna, the modern Paithan on the north bank of the Godāvari. Thus Guṇāḍhya's connection of king and capital is historically correct, although (as far as we can judge from Somadeva) he omits to mention which Sātavāhana is meant.

The third of the line, Śātakarṇi, is perhaps the most important of these kings. For he it was who wrested Ujjayinī from the Śuṅga king, Pushyamitra. The evidence for this is numismatic, but the horse-sacrifice performed by him would find justification only in some such important feat of arms. Śātakarṇi gave his name to many subsequent Andhra kings, so that altogether his pre-eminence is undoubted.

But it seems most unlikely that our author would have omitted to mention, and even to enlarge on, such great victories, or to allude to the Aśvamedha. It looks, therefore,

as if we must search among other Sātavāhanas. A most important point to notice is that the Andhra kings were patrons of Prakrit, and that it was only late in the history of the dynasty that Sanskrit was finally accepted as the Court language, and Prakrit was ousted from its former place of honour. Among the Sātavāhanas there was one king who became specially famous for being the centre of a literary Court and for being himself a poet of no mean order [1]—and that was Hāla. His date, though still uncertain, is considered to have been about the second or third century A.D.[2] Whether he finally became a convert to the use of Sanskrit we do not know, but grammatical controversies could not have been unknown. If it was not Hāla himself whom the legend of Guṇāḍhya makes ignorant of Sanskrit grammar, it is one of the succeeding Sātavāhanas; but in connecting any tale about the introduction of Sanskrit in the place of Prakrit with a Sātavāhana, it is Hāla that at once would be thought of.

A change so important and far-reaching as the use of a different language at the Court, and in literature generally, would, of course, take a considerable time to effect.

As patrons of Prakrit the Sātavāhanas would be the most vigorous opposers of such an innovation, and it is only in the time of Daṇḍin (sixth century) that we find the use of Prakrit becoming rare. The fact that in subsequent centuries native opinion looks upon Hāla as the central figure of Prakrit literature is surely a sufficient explanation of why Guṇāḍhya himself is represented in the legend as a native of Pratishṭhāna. Such evidence as exists points to Ujjayinī, or rather Kauśāmbī,

[1] In the article on "Prakrit," by Sir George Grierson, in the *Ency. Brit.*, vol. xxii, p. 253, he says: "Hāla's work is important, not only on its own account, but also as showing the existence of a large Prakrit literature at the time when it was compiled. Most of this is now lost. There are some scholars (including the present writer) who believe that Sanskrit literature owes more than is generally admitted to works in the vernacular, and that even the *Mahābhārata* first took its form as a folk-epic in an early Prakrit, and was subsequently translated into Sanskrit, in which language it was further manipulated, added to, and received its final shape."

[2] See further Winternitz, *Geschichte der Indischen Litteratur*, vol. iii, pp. 102, 103.

as the birthplace of the real Guṇāḍhya; but once he is connected with Hāla, the champion of Prakrit, no further excuse for the work being in Paiśāchī would be needed.

It is only after the Kātantra grammar has converted the king to Sanskrit that he regards Paiśāchī as a barbarous language. Whether the real Guṇāḍhya and Hāla, or Hāla and Sarvavarman, were contemporaries or not in no way affects the argument, but it seems highly probable that Guṇāḍhya antedates Hāla, and that the growing legend used as an introduction to his work came into being later. It was well known by the sixth century, as Daṇḍin not only refers to the *Bṛihat-kathā*, but to the legend of Guṇāḍhya as well.

It now remains to mention Vararuchi and his strange story, which, for some reason or other, has become connected with the legend of Guṇāḍhya. The stories of the two men are quite distinct. They never meet in the tale, and Vararuchi could disappear, with his complete history, without upsetting the story in the least.

But the name of Vararuchi is famous in connection with both Sanskrit and Prakrit grammar, and its introduction would merely assist in bringing the most famous grammarians on the stage at once. It then needed some clever invention to link the two entirely separate tales together as a single legend. On earth Kāṇabhūti is the common point of contact. But in the realms of heaven the person of Guṇāḍhya has been divided into two. It will be remembered that it is Pushpadanta-Vararuchi who originally overhears the tale and is cursed by Pārvatī. Surely, then, it is he who should have been made to repeat it on earth. Yet not only is it not so, but he receives less punishment than his friend Mālyavān-Guṇāḍhya, whose only crime was to plead for him.

Finally, Vararuchi is born at Ujjayinī, the very place where internal evidence places the birthplace of Guṇāḍhya. From all these considerations Lacôte has come to the conclusion that the form of the legend as reproduced by the Kashmirian poets is purely a Kashmirian work. "... dans la forme originale," says Lacôte (*Essai sur Guṇāḍhya*, p. 38), "Vararuci n'y paraissait pas et un seul gaṇa était maudit,

le futur Guṇāḍhya. C'est ce dernier état de la légende qui devait être courant dans l'Inde."

All the evidence certainly seems to point to this conclusion —the compiler or editor has been at work, and has produced a composite legend which, by its inclusion of grammatical disputes on the one hand, and lively sub-stories on the other hand, would appeal to both savant and bourgeois. The legend of Guṇāḍhya, as told in the Nepalese version by Budhasvāmin, confirms the belief in a much simpler original form than we find in Somadeva. There is only one Gaṇa, and he is known as Guṇāḍhya in his mortal life. Such alterations as there are can easily be explained by remembering that one of the chief objects the Nepalese had in view was to connect the names of heroes with their holy places of pilgrimage, and allow their actions to further sanctify those places.

The important point of this evidence is that Budhasvāmin dates from the eighth or ninth century, and thus antedates the Kashmirian poets. The work had not received the attention of editors who padded out the text with other collections, and thus the form of tales in the *Bṛihat-kathā-śloka-saṃgraha* is much more likely to be closer to the original of Guṇāḍhya.

The title of this first Book of Somadeva is Kathāpīṭhā, which means " Introduction " or " Preface."

The second Book has a very similar name : in fact the two words *kathāpīṭha* and *kathāmukha* differ in meaning little more than our " Introduction " and " Foreword." But why should a work contain two introductions ? Lacôte suggests that if, as is probable, the legend was added to the work later, a Kathāmukha was already there. The next best thing would be to use another word with almost exactly the same meaning.

Book II : Kathāmukha (Vol. I, pp. 94-189).

In accordance with the title of this Book, we should have expected it to contain merely introductory matter, such as the name of the narrator, the scope and object of his work, with possibly some laudatory reference to King Udayana and his son Naravāhanadatta. In fact we should have expected it to have resembled other " Kathāmukhas," such as that

which introduces the *Pañchatantra.* We have already seen that Somadeva omitted the Kathāmukha of the *Pañchatantra,* probably because the tales could quite easily be put into the mouths of characters in the Main Story. In this case, however, he has retained the title which he doubtless found in the texts he followed, although in the original *Bṛihat-kathā* the subject-matter may have been different and more in accordance with the usually accepted contents of a Kathāmukha. More than half the Book contains sub-stories which have but little connection with the Main Story, which, in order to make room for them, has had to be very considerably condensed. Otherwise the Book would have swelled to an undue size.

Thus we find the Main Story in this second Book crowded with incidents. We are hurried through the hero's birth and childhood, and are introduced to Chaṇḍamahāsena, King of Ujjayinī, who is anxious to marry his daughter Vāsavadattā to our hero. The schemes and counter-schemes to obtain this end follow, and finally the wedding takes place at Kauśāmbī. Udayana proves a fickle husband, but we are clearly given only a very condensed form of his amours. The Book ends, then, on a dramatic note, and we naturally turn to the next one to discover how things turn out.

Book III : Lāvānaka (Vol. II, pp. 1-116).

We are not disappointed. The Book opens with the lamentations of Udayana's ministers at his desultory life—spent either with women or in the hunting-field. They fear he will never enlarge his realm, and are anxious for him to begin a series of conquests. Their eyes are first fixed upon Magadha, and their knowledge of political statecraft tells them that a marriage with Padmāvatī, daughter of Pradyota, King of Magadha, would be the easiest method to employ in the winning of their object. Vāsavadattā is naturally rather in the way for such an alliance, but a plot is cleverly engineered, and finally Udayana marries his second wife.

After all is smoothed over, and everyone is conciliated, the king, now roused from his idleness, determines on conquest.

Accordingly he marches east to the sea, and circles India in a clockwise rotation, finally returning to Kauśāmbī.

The Book being almost entirely devoted to the Padmāvatī incident is much more easily condensed than was the case in the former Book. Hence ample opportunity occurs for the inclusion of a large number of sub-stories. The chief feature of interest in this Book, from an historic point of view, is Udayana's conquest. We hear very little about it really, and, with the one exception of Brahmadatta, no particulars of the conquered kings, their countries, or deeds of prowess of the conquerors are forthcoming. The first point to be considered is the names of the people he conquers. He sets out eastwards to Benares, turns south, sweeps westwards and occupies Sindh. Among the tribes defeated are the Mlechchhas, Turushkas, Pārasīkas and Hūṇas (Vol. II, pp. 93, 94).

Now Udayana was an ancient king of legendary times, yet here we find him fighting with peoples of comparatively recent times—Mohammedans, Turks, Persians and Huns. In fact the Hūṇas did not appear till the second half of the fifth century. Surely he should have fought with such peoples as the Yavanas and Śakas. The explanation seems simple. The peoples mentioned by Somadeva are those of the western and north-western frontiers, whose names would be known and appreciated *in Somadeva's time*, and which, moreover, a Kashmirian would be most likely to employ.

Lacôte points out that the places supposed to have been conquered by Udayana constitute a *pradakshiṇa*: the campaign is arranged like a pilgrimage. Central India is always kept on the right; and finally he visits Alakā, the city of the god Kuvera. Not a word is said as to how he gets there. No aerial chariot, magic shoes or any similar contrivance appears. Now several of the sub-stories in this Book are concerned with spells to enable one to fly through the air, yet we are given no clue as to why especially they are found in this Book. Might it not be that ancient tradition associated together Udayana's campaign and some story of aerial transit? This would certainly explain the journey to Alakā. So perhaps in the original *Bṛihat-kathā* Udayana made a kind of

aerial pilgrimage. In support of such a theory we have the fact that nothing more is said of all these vast conquests.

In fact, when finally Udayana leaves the world of mortals and gives all his possessions to Gopālaka, we find (Vol. VII, p. 102) that these consist only of Kauśāmbī. Surely we should be justified in expecting a long list of conquests to be enumerated!

The Kashmirian editors seem to have been very busy with this Book.

Book IV: Naravāhanadattajanana (Vol. II, pp. 125-165).

The story continues in due chronological sequence. Vāsavadattā longs for a son, and, after her pregnant whim for aerial chariots has been satisfied, Naravāhanadatta is born.

As in previous Books, the sub-stories occupy a very large part of the text.

Book V: Chaturdārikā (Vol. II, pp. 170-239).

As we have already seen, Books II, III and IV form an uninterrupted series of events in the history of Udayana, but now comes a very distinct break.

Naravāhanadatta has been proclaimed a future king of the Vidyādharas, and this fact is an excuse for Śaktivega, a Vidyādhara prince, to relate in full how he reached his present high position. The tale, with its sub-stories, occupies the whole Book, and is a unity in itself. Whether it was in Guṇāḍhya's original work in the same form as it appears here, or whether it has been compiled out of some of the adventures which formed part of Naravāhanadatta's own adventures, are questions it seems impossible to answer.

The only point to stress is that the contents of this Book are entirely unconnected with previous or subsequent matter, and could be removed and inserted anywhere else without upsetting the text at all.

Book VI : Madanamanchukā (Vol. III, pp. 1-149).

The curious thing about this Book lies in the opening lines. Here we are informed that it is N.[1] himself who from this point onwards is the true narrator, and that he tells his own history on a certain occasion after his coronation. The actual words are :

"Now hear the heavenly adventures which N., speaking of himself in the third person, told from the very beginning, after he had obtained the sovereignty of the Vidyādharas and had been questioned about the story of his life on some occasion or other by the seven Ṛishis and their wives."

What does it all mean? It looks like the beginning of a new tale altogether, yet it is in reality a direct continuation of the story of N. when last he was mentioned. So far it has been told in the third person, yet here is a note which specially tells us that henceforward N. will narrate the tale *in the third person.* Now if it had said, *in the first person,* a distinct difference would naturally have been noticed at once. The value of this curious sentence, then, is quite inexplicable. If it had not appeared at all, we should have noticed nothing, for the tale would have gone straight on —still in the third person.

Why this sudden wish to introduce N. as the teller of his own story ? Perhaps the author of the Kashmirian recension thought that this was in accordance with tradition, and he was anxious at least to give some indication of this well-known fact. Even if this were so, we are still in the dark as to why it is inserted at this particular place, making it look like the very beginning of the whole work.

We are told nothing as to the occasion on which N. was asked questions by the Ṛishis. In fact the whole matter would remain a mystery if we were not to look ahead and find that full details of the visit to the Ṛishis are given in Book XVI, chapters cxi, cxii.

Here we learn (Vol. VIII, p. 103) that after Udayana's death, N. spent the rainy season at Kaśyapa's hermitage with

[1] In future I shall thus refer to the hero Naravāhanadatta.

his uncle, Gopālaka. Here it is that the Ṛishis are assembled, and, in answer to their questions, he begins to relate his adventures.

Yet, if we are to believe the opening lines of Book VI, it was N. who had been speaking all the time!

It is obvious, then, that Book XVI must have originally stood before Book VI, and, in fact, have led up to the statement that has caused all the trouble. It is not Somadeva who is to blame. He has merely followed his texts. It is the Kashmirian compilers who have purposely changed the order of the Books. Perhaps they worked from composite and incomplete texts, or perhaps they considered that the new order was better fitted to embrace all the new matter to be incorporated. Whatever may have been the true explanation, there can be no doubt that the order of the Books in the Kashmirian recension does not agree with that originally laid down by Guṇāḍhya.

The early part of the Book is taken up with the story of the Buddhist king, Kalingadatta, and his daughter, Kalingasenā. Many sub-stories are introduced, several of obvious Buddhist origin. The tale now centres on Kalingasenā. With the help of her Apsaras friend Somaprabhā she sees Udayana, who immediately falls in love with her.

His faithful minister, Yaugandharāyaṇa, however, considers such a marriage undesirable for reasons of state, and finally manages to make it impossible by proving Kalingasenā to be unchaste. A daughter is born to her by her lover, the Vidyādhara Madanavega. This child was in reality a son, but by Śiva's orders was replaced at birth by a girl who was an incarnation of Rati. Her name is to be Madanamanchukā, and she is the destined wife of N. All this is told in detail, but the rest of the Book is greatly condensed, and the events of the next ten or twelve years—the time to allow Madanamanchukā to grow up—are all crammed into Chapter XXXIV. In the next chapter we are in Book VII, and our hero is a full-grown man!

Although by far the greater portion of the Book deals with Kalingasenā, yet it takes its title from Madanamanchukā. It seems obvious that the original work must have

been much longer, and that the second half of the Book as it appears in Somadeva is a mere summary.

In fact there are places where we can clearly see the ruthless hand of the Kashmirian compiler, reducing what must have been incidents of considerable length to a single sentence.

For instance, we read in Chapter XXXIV (Vol. III, p. 140) that one day N. goes to a garden called Nāgavana. What for? Nothing happens at all, except that he worships the snakes. It surely must have been the beginning of some adventure now entirely suppressed.

Even in the first part of the Book there are signs of mischievous alterations in the work. Why is Kalingadatta such a nonentity, and why does he make no effort at all to protect his daughter after her trouble with Madanavega and the childish scruples of Yaugandharāyaṇa? Numerous other examples of improbabilities in the text could be given, but I think sufficient has been said to show that Guṇāḍhya's original must have been very different to what we find in the *Kathā-sarit-sāgara.*

Book VII : Ratnaprabhā (Vol. III, pp. 155-300).

The first part of this Book is taken up with N.'s marriage to a Vidyādharī whose name gives the Book its title. He is taken in a magic chariot to heaven for the wedding. This is the first time we hear of N. leaving the earth. There is no connection between this adventure and the end of the previous Book.

With Chapter XLII (Vol. III, p. 259) begins the adventures of N. in search of Princess Karpūrikā. They are far more important than the affair with Ratnaprabhā, and would much more fitly have given their name to the Book. It seems likely that the two parts formed separate Books in the original *Bṛihat-kathā.*

Book VIII : Sūryaprabha (Vol. IV, pp. 1-121).

Like Book V, this stands alone, and could be inserted anywhere as a separate story. It exhibits the highest flights

of an unbridled imagination, and can be regarded as a great hotchpotch of ancient Buddhist myths and popular Hindu beliefs.

Book IX : Alankāravatī (Vol. IV, pp. 122-251).

The first part of this Book is taken up with another Vidyādharī marriage—this time to Alankāravatī, who gives her name to the Book. It is in no way connected with Book VIII, and could go in anywhere. The second part of the Book, beginning with Chapter LIV (Vol. IV, p. 184), stands as a complete entity, and is of considerable interest. It deals with N.'s visit to Vishṇu, and resembles the journey of the brothers Ekata, Dvita and Trita and of Nārada to the same " white island," as related in the *Mahābhārata* (xii, 138, 139). The allusion in these passages to the worship of Christian communities in the East has already been pointed out.[1] Lacôte considers that the accounts of the visit to the " White Island," as found in the *Mahābhārata* and the *K.S.S.*, agree sufficiently well to suspect a common origin. Either the latter has borrowed from the former, or the *Mahābhārata* has taken the episode from the *Bṛihat-kathā*, or possibly both versions have been independently developed from a narrative derived from some traveller who had visited the Christian communities in Bactria.

Book X : Śaktiyaśas (Vol. V, pp. 1-192).

There is no connection between this Book and the previous one. After a series of tales dealing with the favourite subject of " fickleness of women," introduced on the slightest pretext, we once again find N. marrying a Vidyādharī. The wedding cannot be arranged for a month, and so an exceptionally large number of stories, including the whole of the *Pañchatantra*, can be successfully introduced.

[1] Sir George Grierson, "Modern Hinduism and its Debt to the Nestorians," *Journ. Roy. As. Soc.*, 1907, p. 7 *et seq.*

Book XI : Velā (Vol. V, pp. 196-204).

This deals with N.'s visit to Vaiśākha and his subsequent marriage to Jayendrasenā. The story of the merchant and his wife, Velā, gives its name to the Book. But why it is so very short and devoid of any continuity is impossible to say.

It looks as if it had been purposely compressed out of all recognition, in order, perhaps, to make up for the very long Books that precede and follow it.

Book XII : Śaśānkavatī (Vol. VI, pp. 1-221, and Vol. VII, pp. 1-193).

This Book has been discussed already in Vol. VII, pp. 194-196. We saw there that it is obviously in its wrong position, because we are continually told that N. has lost his beloved Madanamanchukā ; yet not only do we know nothing about this, but we are definitely told at the beginning of the Book (Vol. VI, p. 9) that it is Lalitalochanā who is lost.

Our attention, however, is taken off such trifles (!) by the appearance of the hermit Piśangajaṭa, who proceeds to relate the huge tale of Mṛigānkadatta (Vol. VI, p. 10 *et seq.*), which stretches to p. 192 of Vol. VII.

The Book finishes without solving the mystery in the least.

Book XIII : Madirāvatī (Vol. VIII, pp. 1-17).

This short Book is a continuation of the last, for we find N. still disconsolate at the loss of his beloved, who is now definitely stated to be Madanamanchukā, and not Lalitalochanā. The latter unhappy lady also is lost, but N. seems to care little about her.

He meets two Brāhmans who tell tales of how they have successfully overcome difficulties, and so encourage N. in his search. The heroine of the first Brāhman's story gives her name to the Book. When the stories are finished, lo ! N.'s ministers turn up, and so does Lalitalochanā (nobody knows how or whence, and nobody seems to care !), and all proceed

to Kauśāmbī. We have no clue whatsoever as to the loss of Madanamanchukā.

Book XIV: Pancha (Vol. VIII, pp. 21-69).

The long-awaited explanation of the loss of N.'s chief wife, Madanamanchukā, is found at the very beginning of this Book. She suddenly disappears without a trace, leaving N. distracted with grief. He searches for her in vain. Vegavatī, a certain unmarried Vidyādharī, is anxious to obtain N. for a husband, and, taking the form of his lost wife, manages to trick N. into going through the marriage ceremony again. The fraud is soon discovered, but she is soon forgiven on promising N. to help to find the real Madanamanchukā, who, it appears, has been carried off by her brother, a Vidyādhara named Mānasavega.

Accordingly Vegavatī carries him through the air to the mountain Āshāḍhapura, whither Mānasavega has hastened to kill them both. A magical combat ensues, in which Vegavatī is victorious. For safety she places N. in a dry well in the city of the Gandharvas, and there leaves him (Vol. VIII, p. 27). He is soon rescued and, by his skill of playing the lyre, wins the king's daughter Gandharvadattā for his wife. He seems to have entirely forgotten all about Madanamanchukā, and settles down to a married life of heavenly bliss. Suddenly a Vidyādharī appears, and takes N. through the air to the city of Śrāvastī, with the intention of marrying him later to her daughter Ajināvatī.

While waiting in a garden, King Prasenajit comes along and marries him to his daughter Bhagīrathayaśas. One night N. hears a low voice outside his sleeping-room. It is that of a beautiful Vidyādharī named Prabhāvatī, who moans the unhappy fate of Madanamanchukā in having so fickle a husband. At last N. is roused by the mention of her name, and begs to be led to her presence. Accordingly Prabhāvatī flies with him through the air, and, by cleverly flying round a fire, becomes the wife of N. Although N. is anxious to consummate the marriage, Prabhāvatī says he must wait, and takes him to Madanamanchukā (Vol. VIII, p. 36).

General rejoicings follow; but N., who is now wearing the shape of Prabhāvatī, is soon threatened by Mānasavega, who discovers his presence as N. assumes his own shape. The supreme court of the Vidyādharas judge the case, and N. wins. Mānasavega is far from satisfied, and a quarrel ensues. N. escapes with Prabhāvatī, but Madanamanchukā remains a prisoner with Mānasavega. While N. and Prabhāvatī are living together, Ajināvatī turns up with her mother and marries N. He returns to Kauśāmbī with the two wives, where he is soon joined by Vegavatī and Gandharvadattā and all the relations of his various wives. A great campaign is decided upon, before which N. has to obtain certain magical sciences from Śiva. While so engaged five (*pancha*) Vidyādharīs vow to marry him all together. This incident gives the name to the whole Book. After another marriage a great battle is fought. More marriages follow, including that to the five Vidyādharīs. N. is now informed that before overcoming his final vow it is necessary for him to become possessed of the seven jewels of the Chakravartin. He wins the magic sandalwood-tree, but his obtaining of the other " jewels " is reserved for Book XV.

It has been considered necessary to give a somewhat detailed *résumé* of this Book, because, with the exceptions of the brief sub-stories 164, 165 and 166, it is entirely devoted to the Main Story.

There are several important points to notice. In the first place, the Book is crowded with detail. Marriages and adventures follow one upon the other at an enormous rate. In the second place, we must remember that they are all centred round the disappearance of Madanamanchukā. The Book, then, is really a cycle of marriages, with intermediate adventures. In this cycle the incident of N.'s marriage to the five Vidyādharīs is comparatively unimportant, yet it gives its name to the whole Book. This fact, added to the obvious condensing of so many incidents in order to cram them into a single Book, makes it practically certain that originally each marriage must have formed the subject and title of a separate Book.

We have had several examples of this already—*e.g.* Books

VII, IX and X. Any doubt as to the probability of this is surely removed by finding that this is exactly what has happened in the case of the *Bṛihat-kathā-śloka-saṃgraha.* Each marriage has a Book to itself, and is recorded with far greater detail than in the *K.S.S.* On the evidence given by the *K.S.S.* itself we can definitely state that the present Book (and also Book XV, *q.v.*) originally must have come before Book XII, and consequently also Book XIII, which is a continuation of Book XII.

If this were not so, the events in Books XII and XIII could never have happened, for Madanamanchukā would not have been lost, and consequently the search, leading to all the other marriages and adventures, would never have taken place.

Book XV: Mahābhisheka (Vol. VIII, pp. 70-93).

This is a direct continuation of the previous Book. N. obtains the seven jewels, and starts on the last of his expeditions. After sundry adventures and vicissitudes he conquers his sole remaining enemy, Mandaradeva. N. proceeds to consolidate his empire. He marries five Vidyādharīs (a repetition of a similar incident in the last Book), and prepares for his coronation on the Ṛishabha mountain.

The coronation takes place, and of his two dozen odd wives, Madanamanchukā alone is crowned with N. Udayana, Vāsavadattā and Padmāvatī are invited, and with a blare of trumpets and general rejoicing the Book ends. Not only the Book, we would imagine, but the entire work.[1] Yet we find three more Books still unopened.

Book XVI: Suratamanjarī (Vol. VIII, pp. 94-131).

Years have passed. One night N. has an evil dream, and, on awakening, calls upon the science named Prajnapti for an explanation. He is told all the news of his family in Kauśāmbī. Udayana, his wives and ministers are dead, Gopālaka has given his kingdom to Pālaka, and has retired

[1] See Vol. VIII, p. 93*n*[2].

to the Black Mountain in company with the hermits of Kaśyapa. N. hastens there to see his uncle, and remains during the rainy season.

With Chapter CXII begins the incident of Ityaka's attempted ravishing of Suratamanjarī, who gives her name to the Book. An inquiry is started. It turns out to be a family matter, and the evidence of Pālaka, his son, and his minister are needed. They accordingly are sent for, and the court sits. Evidence is found against Ityaka, but, by the request of the hermits, his life is spared.

The next chapter, the last of this Book, deals with the history of Tārāvaloka, and has nothing whatsoever to do with what precedes or follows. At the end of it N. is still on the Black Mountain among the Ṛishis. Here, then, is the occasion on which he is among the Ṛishis already referred to in Book VI, and on which he is requested to relate "from the beginning" all his adventures.

If, then, Chapters CXI and CXII preceded Book VI, all would be clear.

Book XVII : Padmāvatī (Vol. VIII, pp. 132-209).

The Ṛishis now ask N. how he could bear his separation from Madanamanchukā. This is merely an excuse to introduce the story of Muktāphalaketu and Padmavatī, which takes up the rest of the Book. It is supposed to have been told during the period covered by Book XIV. Thus it is not in its proper chronological order.

Book XVIII : Vishamaśīla (Vol. IX, pp. 1-86).

This last Book also is out of place, as it is merely another tale told to N. while he was separated from Madanamanchukā. But it is even more extraneous, as it deals with Vikramāditya, who was much later than the period to which Udayana and N. must be assigned.

Somadeva (and perhaps even the Kashmirian compilers) places this Book at the very end as a kind of Appendix, for it would at once be apparent that heroes who were supposed to

date from the time of Buddha could not listen to tales about a king as recent as Vikramāditya.

As already mentioned, the final return to the Main Story is purely conventional. So tame and unconvincing is the conclusion of this work, especially after the "grand finale" at the end of Book XV, that the most casual reader must at once suspect textual commutation on a fairly large scale.

Before we compare the order of the Books as found in the *Bṛihat-kathā-mañjarī* and *Bṛihat-kathā-śloka-saṃgraha*, with a view to reconstructing as far as possible the original work of Guṇāḍhya, it will perhaps be best to arrange in tabular form the points we have noticed in the foregoing pages :

Name of Book	*Comments*
1. Kathāpīṭha	Legend of Guṇāḍhya. Complete in itself.
2. Kathāmukha 3. Lāvānaka 4. Naravāhanadatta-janana	Uninterrupted series of events describing period from birth of Udayana to that of his son N.
5. Chaturdārikā	Vidyādhara tale. Quite separate. Could go in anywhere.
6. Madanamanchukā	Unconnected. Apparently a fresh beginning. Must originally have stood after the first part of Book XVI, because of Ṛishis incident.
7. Ratnaprabhā	Two love adventures. Probably once formed two separate Books.
8. Sūryaprabha	Like Book V. Vidyādhara tale. Quite separate. Could go in anywhere.
9. Alankāravatī	Two distinct divisions. Both separate and unconnected.
10. Śaktiyaśas	Unconnected. Another marriage. Excuse for numerous sub-tales.

Name of Book	*Comments*
11. Velā	Another marriage. Very, and suspiciously, short.
12. Śaśānkavatī	Text shows Book must be in its wrong place. N.'s chief wife is lost.
13. Madirāvatī	Direct continuation. Wife is still lost.
14. Pancha	Mystery of loss explained. N. marries several other women.
15. Mahābhisheka	Direct continuation. Leads to coronation. Finale.
16. Suratamanjarī	Another unconnected Book. First part helps to explain Book VI and should precede it. Second part quite separate. Could go in anywhere.
17. Padmāvatī	Out of place. Told during period of Book XIV.
18. Vishamaśīla	Out of place. Told during period of Book XIV, but is also an obvious addition, and could not have been in the original.

We can now see the situation at a glance. Books II, III and IV form a group; V and VIII are unconnected and both Vidyādhara narratives; VI looks like a new beginning, but lacks any explanatory introduction; VII, IX, X and XI are marriages, more or less unconnected; XII and XIII are closely connected, but must come after XIV and XV (also connected), and consequently also after XVII and XVIII, because the events they relate happened during the period covered by XIV. The remaining Book, XVI, must be regarded as of two distinct divisions, the first supplying the necessary introductory matter to VI, and the second being quite unconnected.

It will thus be seen that the critical inspection of the work as presented by Somadeva shows without doubt that the work has undergone much reshuffling as far as the order of Books is concerned.

We can now turn to the *Bṛihat-kathā-mañjarī* and see if the order followed by Kshemendra in any way confirms our theories.

The first five Books correspond to those of Somadeva. Then the differences begin. We notice Books V and VIII are put together. This is followed by Velā, the very short Book, but the chief interest here lies in the fact that it finishes with the loss of Madanamanchukā. In the *K.S.S.* this incident is found at the beginning of Book XIV, Pancha. Thus, so far, we find Kshemendra's order much better than that adopted by Somadeva. After Velā he has placed Books XII, XVIII, XIII, XVII, thus obtaining a correct sequence of events, which is lacking in Somadeva. Book XIV follows, but with its opening incident transferred to the end of Book XI (Velā), as has been already mentioned.

Thus we see that our complaints about the order of the Books in the *K.S.S.* are fully justified by what we find in Kshemendra. The question which at once presents itself is, Why did not Somadeva copy the order in Kshemendra instead of changing it and so introducing muddling anachronisms? The answer would appear to be that he took what he considered to be the lesser of two evils; for although Kshemendra has followed a better order of Books dependent upon the loss of Madanamanchukā, he has had to pay dearly for it in the rest of his work. For here we find chaos, and no attempt made to remove it. Such inconsistency makes us chary of giving Kshemendra credit for the arrangement of the first part of the work. He probably left it as he found it. Somadeva, on the other hand, saw how unconnected his material was, but preferred to put together only such chapters as were undoubtedly connected. We have seen how Book XV follows directly on to XIV; but Kshemendra, by his placing of Pancha, has been forced to separate them by other three Books, thus introducing all kinds of improbabilities and chronological impossibilities.

The incident of N. relating his adventures to the Ṛishis in the third person must have seemed entirely upsetting to Kshemendra, and he gets over the difficulty by omitting it

altogether. As Lacôte has remarked, the above clearly shows that the Kashmirian *Bṛihat-kathā* was a compilation and not an original work.

I think we must attribute the unsatisfactory state of the text of the Kashmirian work very largely to the simple fact that the compilers (there may have been several at different dates) were not trying to reconstruct in their entirety the adventures of N. They had a very different object in view—namely, to use the story as a frame for all the tales they could collect together. The better-known incidents would have to appear in some detail, while many of N.'s love-adventures could be ignored or highly compressed. The result has its *pros* and *cons*. On the one hand we are given a jumbled and very defective version of the story of N., but on the other hand we have that huge mass of tales which sheds so much light on the manners and customs, the folklore and beliefs of a country so poor in historical documentary evidence.

True, the *Pañchatantra* and *Vetālapañchaviṁśati* are found in separate collections, but scholars are not yet agreed as to the respective values of the different versions.

That Somadeva was very conscious of the difficulties in the text or texts he was using is clear from his introductory remarks (*Ocean*, Vol. I, p. 2), where he says: "... the observance of propriety and natural connection, and the joining together of the portions of the poem so as not to interfere with the spirit of the stories, are *as far as possible* kept in view. ..." The meaning of this is not perfectly clear, and great importance should be laid on the correct translation of the passage.

Many suggestions have been made, but Lacôte alone has treated it in the light of his extensive critical examination of the whole subject, taking into consideration all debatable grammatical queries and all possible modes of construction.

His translation of the full passage is as follows :—

"Tel l'original, telle cette copie ; pas d'une ligne même elle ne s'en écarte. Je comprime le volume du recueil et je traduis, voilà toute la différence. Attentif à observer, autant que je le puis, les convenances (littéraires) et l'ordre logique,

en ayant soin de n'interrompre ni le récit ni le ton des sentiments, je ne le suis pas moins à disposer une portion de poème régulier. Mes efforts ne vont pas à gagner une réputation d'artiste consommé ; je veux simplement qu'on puisse retenir sans peine ce vaste ensemble de contes de toute espèce."

This clearly means that he has been accurate as far as the subject-matter is concerned, but has found it necessary to alter the order of some of the Books. Here he surely must refer to Books VI-XVIII, while the "portion de poème régulier" which he has been so careful to arrange in proper order can be none other than Books XIV-XV.

When we turn to the *Bṛihat-kathā-śloka-saṃgraha* [1] we at once find ample support for our theories. The order of the Books is reasonable and clear, and what in the Kashmirian versions was passed over with little more than a mere reference is now detailed in full. In fact, we not only meet with entirely new adventures, but find certain of the characters presented in quite a different light.

For the first time the improbabilities found in the Kashmirian accounts of Madanamanchukā's marriage and the romance of Kalingasenā entirely disappear. Their social standing is certainly much lower, but this only adds to the strength of the plot.

Vegavatī, being of much higher birth, has been accepted by the Kashmirians practically unaltered. Their desire to raise the social standing of the principal characters to the detriment of the tale is manifest. In some cases where they have raised merchants to the rank of princes, or mortals to the degree of Gandharvas, we are able to detect the fraud, for the same names have been retained with suffixes which violate the accepted rules of Sanskrit etymology.

So great appears to be the wish of the Kashmirian compilers to raise the social tone of the work, that tales which cannot escape their low-type settings are altogether omitted, but appear in detail in the Nepalese version.

Without giving other evidence of the accuracy of

[1] Discussed in detail by Lacôte, *Essai*, pp. 146-198, and edited by him, with a French translation, the same year (1908).

Budhasvāmin's work as detailed by Lacôte, I would mention one point which seems to me of great importance. We have, of course, noticed that throughout the whole of the *Ocean* the chief deity is Śiva. Now, in the *Śloka-saṃgraha* it is not Śiva, but Kuvera. The name of the hero alone tells us which is correct. Naravāhanadatta means "given by Naravāhana." Naravāhana is one of Kuvera's, and not Śiva's, titles. So, when Udayana was praying for a son, it must have been Kuvera whom he worshipped, otherwise our hero's name would have been Śivadatta or some other name compounded from one of Śiva's many titles.

It is obvious that the Kashmirian compilers have altered the name of the deity in accordance with local contemporary beliefs.

Numerous other examples of the reliability of Budhasvāmin's work could be quoted, but full details will be found in Lacôte's *Essai*. With the help, then, of the *Śloka-saṃgraha*, we are able to get a fairly shrewd idea of what Guṇāḍhya's original work must have been like. The first Book corresponded to Book XVI of the *K.S.S.* It contained the history and abdication of Gopāla and Pālaka, which led up to the incident of Ityaka and Suratamanjarī. The subsequent trial brought N. on the scene, who later was asked to relate his history. After some hesitation (only in the *B.K.S.S.*) he commenced (*K.S.S.*, Bk. VI, ch. xxvii) by relating his family history (*K.S.S.*, Bks. II, III—with possibly another, now lost, giving further details of Udayana's amours [1]).

The story of his own birth (*K.S.S.*, Bk. IV) follows. Ignoring the two Vidyādhara Books (*K.S.S.*, Bks. V and VIII), which, as we have already seen, could go in anywhere, we come to the heroine of the whole story, Madanamanchukā.

N. sees her as a child and falls in love with her (*K.S.S.*, Bk. VI, ch. xxxiv). Various adventures follow (only in the *B.K.S.S.*), leading up to the marriage (*K.S.S.*, Bk. VI,

[1] It seems probable that Guṇāḍhya used only a portion of the widely known Udayana cycle of legends current at the time.

Reference should be made to Burlingame's *Buddhist Legends*, Harvard Oriental Series, vol. xxviii, pp. 247-293; Synopsis, pp. 79-84; parallels, pp. 62-63.

ch. xxxiv-end). Then comes the sudden disappearance of Madanamanchukā (*K.S.S.*, Bk. XIV, ch. cv), resulting in numerous adventures, usually terminating in a fresh marriage. The order and number of Books thus formed cannot be determined for certain, but in the *K.S.S.* they certainly included Books XIV (chaps. cvi, cvii), VII, IX-XIII, XIV (ch. cviii) and XV.

We can also add Books XVII and XVIII, if, as Lacôte thinks is the case, they are not apocryphal.

The plan of the *Bṛihat-kathā* resembles that of the *Rāmāyaṇa* to a certain extent—the setting out of the hero to recover his lost love, acquiring others on the way, the constant help of a trusty friend, the purity of the captive wife, and the final triumph on her safe recovery.

We must not press the comparison further; but to disregard it would be a mistake, because then we would miss the due appreciation of the genius of Guṇāḍhya. Not that it is evident from the fact that he has copied the plan of the great Epic, but because, *having copied it*, he proceeds to treat his subject-matter in a way unheard of and absolutely original.

His heroes are *not* borrowed from the great national epics, the deity is *not* the omnipotent Śiva or Vishṇu, and the incidents in the tale are *not* confined to kings, princes and gods.

In place of this usually accepted precedent we find the heroes are but petty princes who rub shoulders with merchants, artisans, sailors, adventurers and beggars. The heroine is the daughter of a prostitute, but her desire to raise the level of her caste and be worthy of her husband gives great strength to the character that Guṇāḍhya has created. The chief deity is Kuvera, the god of merchants and treasures.

All this must have struck contemporary audiences as most original and novel. But there is another point that we must not miss. The nature of the work would reach a much wider public—the kind of public, in fact, which would flock together at the annual festivals held at Kauśāmbī and Ujjayinī. Perhaps long extracts from the *Bṛihat-kathā* were recited at these events; anyway I notice Lacôte thinks it likely.

We can now more readily understand that the Kashmirian

compilers would find much to alter and suppress. The necessity for an Introduction also becomes more apparent.

Thus at the end of our short inquiry we find that the *K.S.S.*, as we have it to-day, is but a poor and badly arranged version of the original work. This Somadeva must have known; and though we see he has done his best to rearrange certain portions of it, he was well aware that any attempt to reconstruct it entirely would mean little less than composing a new work.

There was, I think, another factor which prevented Somadeva from making too drastic alterations—namely, his wish to retain all that mass of sub-stories added by the Kashmirians. The frame-story had been altered in order to take them in as naturally as possible. Although in many cases they are introduced in the most clumsy fashion, it is clear that considerable alterations would have to be made in Guṇāḍhya's text before it was ready to receive so many new stories.

But we must not complain—far from it—for the result has been that in about A.D. 1070 Somadeva has presented us with one of the greatest collections of tales the world has ever seen —tales which not only mirrored contemporary customs and beliefs, and exhibited the versatile genius of the story-teller, but tales which were destined to inspire the genius of unborn giants of European literature—Boccaccio, Goethe, La Fontaine. Chaucer and Shakespeare.

As to Kshemendra, we should have lost little if he had not lived, or at any rate had not produced a version of the *Bṛihat-kathā*.

But with Somadeva matters are very different. We must hail him as the Father of Fiction, and his work as one of the masterpieces of the world.

RETROSPECT

THERE remains but the pleasant task of acknowledging the help received during my long work of editing the *Ocean*. So varied have been the subjects of my notes and appendixes, that my inquiries and correspondence have been very great. It is most gratifying to know that, with hardly a single exception, I have found scholars and fellow-students only too pleased to help in any way they could.

First and foremost, I would mention the superintendents of the Reading Room of the British Museum. The numerous bibliographical queries, which they have helped to clear up, have, I fear, taken up much of their valuable time, but the kindness and patience they have always shown is remarkable. In this connection I would especially mention Mr F. D. Sladen, Mr A. I. Ellis and Mr L. C. Wharton. In the Department of Oriental Books and MSS. I owe gratitude to Mr E. Edwards, while the continuous assistance afforded by the head of the department, Dr L. D. Barnett, has been a *sine qua non* of the whole work.

I have already mentioned names of eminent members of the Royal Asiatic Society, the Royal Anthropological Institute, the Folk-Lore Society, the School of Oriental Studies, and other similar scientific bodies who have allowed me to take advantage of their learning and erudition.

I would also like to mention the friendly way in which American scholars have so readily replied to my queries, forwarded me copies of their articles and works, and done everything they could to assist in my research.

As I am sure my subscribers will be only too ready to admit, the engineering of any ten-volume work is no light undertaking, particularly if it includes numerous indexes and appendixes, which continually have to be overhauled, rearranged and improved. Questions of " setting up," sizes

of type, and a hundred other important points in the general " make-up " of the work have had to be taken one by one and discussed in the most minute detail, before a working precedent could be set up.

I think, then, the feeling of satisfaction of an editor will be duly appreciated when he sees the completion of a work that has occupied what is usually considered the best ten years of his life. Before speaking of the incident that gave rise to the whole idea of the work, and the man who made the carrying out of that idea possible, I would offer unstinted thanks to my two secretaries, whose patience and pertinacity have so largely contributed to the success of the work, Miss Betty Krause (who had to return to America during the publication of Vol. V) and Miss Maud Lundblad, who continued her work to the end.

To the Riverside Press, who have devoted special care and attention to the printing of the volumes, and have always been ready with valuable suggestions, I am also very grateful.

Then there are my reviewers to be considered. They have, one and all, received the work in the kindest and most sympathetic way imaginable, and it is of course largely due to this that we have been able to get such a complete list of subscribers, and produce the work volume by volume with as little delay as possible.

The incidents which gave rise to the idea of re-editing Tawney's great translation form quite a little romance, and should, I think, find a place here.

In 1917 and 1918 I was working on my *Bibliography of Sir Richard Burton,* and my whole mind became saturated in what I may term " Burtoniana." My researches took me for many months to the Central Library, Kensington, where the remains of Burton's library are housed. My work was an arduous one, as I had to go through, not only every book Burton wrote, but every pamphlet, article and letter, either written by him, or in which he was interested. Many of these pamphlets were bound up into volumes, but the majority were packed away in thirty-four large book-boxes, containing close on five hundred pamphlets. I had examined nearly all

of them, when one especially arrested my attention. It proved to be an odd part of Tawney's original edition of the *Kathā-sarit-sāgara*. The work was entirely unknown to me, and, although I knew the *Nights* intimately from cover to cover, my knowledge of Sanskrit fiction was practically confined to the *Hitopadeśa* and "Pilpay's Fables." A hasty inspection of the odd part in question at once convinced me that it must belong to a work of the highest importance, although I knew nothing of its age, author or translator.

I cannot say what it was, but I felt instinctively that this odd part of an unknown Indian work was to be of the utmost importance to me personally. For a time my work on the Burton bibliography stopped, and I at once began to make inquiries about the *Kathā-sarit-sāgara*. It seemed almost as if Burton, with whom I had now become so intimate, was offering me the chance of giving to the public the Indian counterpart of his own great *Arabian Nights*. This feeling grew on me more and more, and I was determined somehow to see it through. And here, for the encouragement of students hesitating to undertake a work of similar difficulty and importance, I would add the following.

After having found out all I could about the work, and having met Mr Tawney, I went straight to Dr Barnett at the British Museum and asked his advice. I told him that, apart from having a deep interest in Oriental folklore and kindred subjects, I could lay no claim whatever to Oriental scholarship; but that in spite of this fact I was particularly anxious to re-edit Tawney's work. Did he think the idea was presumptuous and ridiculous, and could I dare, with my strictly limited knowledge, to attempt so large an undertaking? So kind and encouraging was his reply that I at once started on a task that, alas! many authors and editors have attempted in vain—to find a publisher. After I had explained the nature of the work and the number of volumes I had estimated it would take, my hoped-for publisher smiled sympathetically and asked the sum I was prepared to put down for the work. My answer merely provoked the wishes for a "Good morning." In fact, as time went on, this termination of my interviews began to grow monotonous. However, I never despaired, and

finally discovered that the most enterprising and trenchant figure in the literary world was not a publisher at all, but a bookseller—Mr Sawyer of Grafton Street. Accordingly I hastened to Grafton House and once more explained my business, which by this time sounded to me more like a recitation than anything else. I waited for the usual "Good morning," but it did not come. "This work," he said, "must be of the highest importance, and should be published in a form worthy of that importance. From what you tell me, it is one of the world's greatest collections of stories, and in all my long experience of bookselling I have never once been asked for it, or even seen a copy. I conclude that it is known only to Oriental scholars. I regard it as an unknown masterpiece, and am willing to publish it myself at my own expense."

My chief difficulty was thus overcome, and we at once got to work on all those preliminary details necessary in the engineering of such a large undertaking.

Mr Sawyer is truly a wonderful man, and the initiative he displayed in sponsoring the work is deserving of the very highest praise. It is needless to say that without his support the work would never have seen light; and although the enormous expense involved would have deterred most men, however rich, once Mr Sawyer is determined on a project, nothing can stop him. If he is satisfied—and I think he is—and if in the Elysian Fields Mr Tawney is not disappointed with the new edition of his *Magnum opus*, my work will have received its reward.

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ADDENDA AND CORRIGENDA

ADDENDA AND CORRIGENDA

THE following pages (fully indexed in Vol. X) contain not merely corrected printer's errors, but additional references and information, which I have either come across personally since the publication of the particular volume in question, which have appeared in reviews, or which have been forwarded me by some of my subscribers. In this connection I would especially mention Sir George Grierson, Professor W. R. Halliday, Dr A. H. Krappe and Professor Paul Pelliot.

VOLUME I

Page xxxiii, line 21 from top. For "chapters" read "books."

P. 2, lines 12-20. *Cf.* Lacôte's translation in *Ocean*, Vol. IX, pp. 117, 118.

P. 10n^3. The World Egg. See further R. Eisler, *Weltenmantel u. Himmelszelt*, 2 vols., München, 1910 (esp. vol. ii). The material is mainly Iranian.

P. 12n^1. The reference from *Mélusine* should read "vol. i, 1878, col. 107." The extract given has been translated by Tawney from the French.

P. 14, lines 15 and 16 of note. "Gharib" and "Ajib" are more correctly written "Gharīb" and "Ajīb."

P. 15, line 11 of note. For "Hola" read "Holoa."

P. 16n^1. The bodiless voice. For a good example of Kledonomancy (the acceptance of the spoken word as an omen) *cf.* Halliday, *Greek Divination*, London, 1913, p. 229; *cf.* also *Voyage d'Ibn Batoutah*, Paris, 1853, vol. i, p. 34; Anibal, "Voces del cielo," *Romanic Review*, vol. xvi, p. 57 *et seq.*

P. 19n^2. Gold under pillow. After the Grimm reference add: "See Bolte and Polívka, *Anmerkungen zu den Kinder- und Hausmärchen der Brüder Grimm*, Leipzig, 1913, vol. i, p. 542. The Märchen type of 'Gold pieces under pillow' stories has been examined with the help of all known variants by A. Aarne, in his *Vergleichende Märchenforschungen*, Helsingfors, 1908, p. 143 *et seq.* *Cf.* also the review of K. Krohn in *Anzeiger der Finnisch-Ugrischen Forschungen*, pp. 1-10. See further Kretschmer, *Neugriechische Märchen*, 1921, p. 23 *et seq.*; Tille, *Verzeichnis der Böhmischen Märchen*, FF Com. 34, p. 285; Hertel, *Pantschâkhyâna-Wârttika*, Leipzig, 1923, p. 119; and also Halliday's note on p. 165 of this volume."

Page 24*n*[1]. Virgil, the sorcerer. Add to note: "See Chauvin, *Bibliographie des Ouvrages Arabes*, viii, pp. 188-190."

Pp. 25-29. Notes on "Magical Articles." See Bolte and Polívka, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 331; Coxwell, *Siberian Folk-Tales*, p. 238; and Halliday, *Journ. Gypsy Lore Soc.*, 3rd series, vol. ii, 1924, pp. 151-156.

P. 25, line 28. For "*Scandinavian Tales*" read "*Yule-Tide Stories.*"

P. 25, line 37. For "Ashbiörnsen" read "Asbjörnsen."

P. 26, line 1. For "Hamelin" read "Hameln."
line 21. For "Von" read "von."
line 41. For "J. C. Croker" read "T. C. Croker."

P. 27, line 4. For "Kinder" read "Kinder-."
line 23. For "Freer" read "Frere."

P. 28, last line. Read "'. . . Wonderful ape Ála,' which occurs in Chapter LVII of the *Ocean*, Vol. V, pp. 5-13."

Pp. 42-44. "Entrapped Suitors." See Halliday, *Journ. Gypsy Lore Soc.*, 3rd series, vol. i, 1922, pp. 55-58; Bédier, *Les Fabliaux*, Paris, 1925, pp. 454-457; R. Köhler, *Kleinere Schriften*, vol. ii, pp. 445-456; J. Bolte, *Zeitsch. d. Vereins f. Volkskunde*, vol. xxvi, p. 19; *Fornmanna Sögur*, vol. iii, p. 67 *et seq.*; Kretschmer, *op. cit.*, p. 175; Mazon, *Contes populaires de la Macédoine sud-occidentale*, Paris, 1923, pp. 123, 213. Professor Jolly sends me a German variant—J. Ayrer, "Die ehrlich Beckin mit iren drey vermeinten Bulern," *Dramen herausg. von Keller*, vol. iv, p. 2763 *et seq.*

P. 42. For line 8 from bottom read: "See *Ind. Ant.*, vol. ii, 1873, pp. 357-360, and *ditto*, vol. ix, 1880, pp. 2, 3, where G. H. Damant relates, in . . ."

P. 44, line 22. Insert "Early" before "English."
line 5 from bottom: "For variants of the 'Mastermaid' type see Bolte and Polívka, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 517*et seq.*"

P. 46, line 5 from bottom. For "Jacobi's" read "Jacobs'."

P. 46*n*[2]. For the laughing fish *cf.* Mazon, *op. cit.*, p. 137; *Halfs Saga*, chapter vii; Naumann, *Isländische Volksmärchen*, Jena, 1923, p. 287; P. Paris, *Les Romans de la Table Ronde*, vol. i, pp. 82, 85; vol. ii, pp. 42-43.

P. 48, line 12. For "todeath" read "to death."

P. 48*n*[2]. On "Svend's Exploits" *cf.* the Eddic *Fjolsvinnsmál*, Gering, *Die Edda*, p. 130 *et seq.*

P. 50*n*[1]. Riddles. Cf. *The Story of Aḥikar*, ed. F. C. Conybeare, J. Rendel Harris, A. S. Lewis, 1898, pp. 74-79.

Page 51n^1. For the "Riddle of the Sphinx" see Köhler, *Kleinere Schriften*, vol. i, p. 115; Schmidt, *Griechische Märchen*, p. 144; and *Apollodorus*, ed. Frazer, vol. i, p. 347.

P. 52, last 3 lines. Drought. *Cf.* 1 Kings xvii, 1.

P. 77n^1. For the cock's crow see Wilhelm, *Chinesische Volksmärchen*, Jena, 1921, pp. 201, 212.

P. 81, line 11 from bottom. For "ṣabbarah" read "ṣabbārah."

P. 82. Language of signs. For its use among the North American Indians see G. Mallery, *Introduction to the Study of Sign Language*, Washington, 1880. *Cf.* Kautilya, *Arthaśāstra*, I, xi, 21; I, xii, 13; and II, xxvii, 43.

P. 84n^2. The Ovid quotation is from *Metamorphoses*, viii, 684. See further *Ocean*, Vols. VI, p. 122n^2, and VII, p. 126n^2.

P. 93, line 9. For " and " read " on."

P. 95n^2. For " Freer " read " Frere."

P. 98*n*. Magical properties of blood. Three cases of the murder of children for obtaining offspring occurred in the Panjab as recently as 1921, in one of which a barren woman bathed in the blood of a child.

P. 98n^1. For an interesting note on the Constantine legend see Halliday, *Folk-Lore*, vol. xxxv, 1924, p. 404.

P. 101n^1, line 6 from bottom. For " Holin's " read " Hahn's." Grateful snakes. Add to note: " See also Aarne, *op. cit.*, p. 1 *et seq.*"

P. 109n^1, lines 1, 2. In his review, Mr S. M. Edwards says: " The explanation of *mṛigānka*, an epithet of the Moon, as ' hare-marked,' ' because Hindus see a " hare " in the moon,' appears scarcely correct. The words *Śasānka* and *Śasidhara* are applied to the Moon in that sense; whereas *mṛigānka* signifies ' the deer-marked,' in allusion to the alternative theory that there is an ' antelope ' in the Moon." For the moon-hare see Briffault, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, pp. 615-619.

P. 110n^1, line 8. A better reference to St Hildegard's work would be *Physica*, vi, 7, 5. (See Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, cxcvii, p. 1291.)

Poison detectors. See further the *Arthaśāstra*, I, xx. Certain plants such as *jīvantī* will keep off snakes. The parrot, the *maina*, and the Malabar bird shriek in the presence of snake poison. The heron swoons in the presence of poison, the pheasant becomes uncomfortable, the amorous cuckoo dies, and the eyes of a partridge lose their natural colour.

Pages 129-132. External Soul. See further Vol. VIII, p. 106n^2.

P. 131, line 1. For "Freer" read "Frere."

P. 142n^2. For "Freer" read "Frere."

P. 144n^1. Tree of life. See also Wünsche, "Die Sagen vom Lebensbaum und Lebenswasser," *Ex Oriente Lux*, vol. i, p. 50 *et seq.*

P. 160n^1. Datura poisoning. The late Mr S. M. Edwards said that in 1921 there were twenty-one cases of datura poisoning in the United and sixty-eight in the Central Provinces, and that this form of crime is particularly prevalent in Ghazipur, Bahraich and Gorakhpur. The victims in almost every case have been drugged and robbed at railway stations.

P. 170, line 11. For the "libertine husband" *cf.* G. Parabosco, *I Diporti*, No. 7.

P. 188n^2. Ceding part of life. See further Vol. VIII, p. 117n^2.

P. 190. Circumambulation. See further Hillebrandt, *Mitt. d. schles. Gesell. f. Volkskunde*, xiii-xiv, p. 1 *et seq.*

P. 211. For a note on the Kashmiri word *sȯr*, collyrium, see *Journ. Roy. As. Soc.*, April 1926, pp. 507, 508.

P. 212, line 24. For "*asand*" read "*asana.*"

P. 213, last two lines. Read ". . . *De simpl. Medic.*, ix, 25. . . ."

P. 221. The *Dohada motif* occurs in Grimm's tale of Rapunzel. See Bolte and Polívka, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 97. See also Professor Bloomfield's remarks in his Foreword to Vol. VII, pp. vii, viii. The source of the superstition appears to lie in the belief in transmigration. The embryo remembers its sensations in a former life. See J. Jolly, *Medicin*, § 40.

P. 224. Monkey and crocodile. See Dähnhardt, *Natursagen*, iv (1912), p. 1 *et seq.*

P. 226. Persons pierced without knowing it. See A. Rassmann, *Die deutsche Heldensage und ihre Heimat*, ii (1858), p. 235; B. Kuttner, *Jüdische Sagen und Legenden*, iii, 1920, p. 14.

P. 231 *et seq.* Sacred Prostitution. See Briffault, *The Mothers*, vol. iii, pp. 210-217.

P. 241, lines 10, 11. Sacred prostitution in Cambodia. *a-nan* is not exactly a transcription of the Sanskrit *ānanda*. In his review of Hirth and Rockhill's work in *T'oung Pao*,

vol. xiii, 1912, p. 467, Pelliot says : " Ānanda est en effet souvent transcrit en chinois, parce que c'est le nom d'un des plus célèbres disciples du Buddha ; mais ce nom est toujours écrit A-nan. On peut presque se hasarder à prédire qu'on ne le trouvera jamais écrit avec l'orthographie des *a-nan* de Tchao Jou-koua, car le *nan* de Tchao Jou-koua, au xiii[e] siècle encore, se prononçait **nam*, au lieu que le *nan* employé pour transcrire le nom d'Ānanda se terminait toujours, comme il convenait, par une nasale dentale et était alors *nan* comme aujourd'hui." In his review of the *Ocean* he adds : " C'est peut-être le Khmer *rām* ; cf. *Bull. de l'École Français d'extrême Orient*, vol. xviii, 1918, pt. ix, p. 9."

Page 242*n*[3]. The mystical number 108. See further Vol. VI, p. 14*n*[1]. It is also used in documents before the name of the " Mahārājas " or high priests of the Bhattia caste. In any letter or statement containing a reference to one of these Gosains, the name of the individual invariably appears as " 108 Devadīnandan Mahārāj " or " 108 Gokulnāthji Mahārāj."

M. Pelliot refers me to Bunyiu Nanjio's *Catalogue of the Chinese Translation of the Buddhist Tripiṭaka*, 1883, No. 755 (on the 108 beads of the Buddhist rosary) ; and to W. F. Mayers, " The Buddhist Rosary and its Place in Chinese Official Costume," *Notes and Queries of China and Japan*, vol. iii, pp. 26-28. M. Pelliot is inclined to see in the number 108 a multiplication of the 12 months by the 9 planets. I notice another suggestion pencilled in the copy of Vol. I of the *Ocean* in the Roy. As. Soc. Library—namely, that it is obtained by the following arrangement of the lucky 3 : {(3+3) (3+3)} 3.

P. 245. Castes of sacred prostitutes. The Śūdra caste of Nāikins. One of their chief strongholds is a district in Goa, which fact may account partly for the suggestion, current in Bombay some years ago, that these women are descended from the illicit unions of Portuguese priests and Hindu women. Mr Edwards states that there is little evidence to support this view, and that it is more likely that the women were originally descended from the courtesans of Vijayanagar, who must have taken refuge in the villages of the Carnatic and the South Konkan, when the city was finally destroyed by the Mohammedans.

Reference should also be made to the Mur(a)li and Vāghe (or Waghya) orders of mendicants, of whom the former are girls and the latter are male children dedicated to the god Khandoba, of Jejuri (an incarnation of Śiva), in the Poona district. For further information see Balfour, *Cyclopædia of India*, under "Murli," vol. ii, p. 1012; and Russell, *Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces*, "Wāghya," vol. iv, pp. 608-606.

Page 248, line 5 of text from bottom. For "south of Tungabhadrā" read "south of the Tuṅgabhadrā."

VOLUME II

P. $2n^1$. The title of Webster's play should be spelt "Dutchess of Malfey."

P. 28, line 21. For "send" read "sent."

P. 32, line 27. For "Youth" read "Truth."

P. 37, line 19. For "as" read "was."

P 46, line 14. For "has" read "hast."

P. $57n^1$. Horse. See M. Oldfield Howey, *The Horse in Magic and Myth*, 1923.

P. $76n^1$. For a large number of "lost wife" and "declaring presence" variants see Bolte and Polívka, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 329. *Cf.* also Coxwell, *op. cit.*, p. 471.

P. 81. Rāhu and eclipses. *Cf.* the monograph of R. Lasch, "Die Finsternisse in der Mythologie und im religiösen Brauch der Völker," *Arch. f. Rel. Wiss.*, iii, p. 97.

Lines 13 and 14 from bottom. For "Tsun Tsiu" read "Ch'un ch'iu." M. Pelliot says that the word *che* is *always* used for "eclipse" in the sense of "to eat." Since the beginning of the Christian era, however, the character has been added to "par l'addition de la clef de l'"insecte' (laquelle clef s'applique aussi aux plus grands reptiles; son emploi ici paraît avoir pour point de départ l'idée du monstre-dragon qui cause les éclipses."

P. 103, line 10 from bottom. Eating of human flesh. See Coxwell, *op. cit.*, p. 246 *et seq.*

P. $104n^3$. For the most recent work on Walpurgis night, Hallowe'en, etc., see chapter iv, "The Sabbat," of Montague Summers' *History of Witchcraft and Demonology*, London, 1926, pp. 110-172.

Page $107n^1$. Overhearing. Sir George Grierson refers me to R. B. Shaw, "On the Ghalchah Languages (Sariḳolí),"

Journ. As. Soc. Bengal, vol. xlv, pt. i, 1876, which contains a good example of the *motif*.

P. 113*n*[1]. Eating human flesh unknowingly. Cf. *Cento Novelle Antiche* (Gualteruzzi's edition, No. lxii).

Pp. 117-120. Nudity in magic ritual. See further J. Heckenbach, *De Nuditate sacra*, 1911; S. C. Mitra, "On a recent instance of the use of the nudity-spell for Rain-making in Northern Bengal," *Journ. Anth. Soc. Bombay*, vol. xii, 1924, pp. 919-926; R. O. Winstedt, "Notes on Malay Magic," *Journ. Malay Br. Roy. As. Soc.*, vol. iii, pt. iii, December 1925, p. 6; Briffault, *The Mothers*, 1927, vol. iii, pp. 209, 304.

P. 136*n*[1]. Conception through eating fruit, etc. See Briffault, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, pp. 457, 458.

P. 152*n*[4]. Snakes. See further Vol. VII, pp. 238-240.

P. 169. Jewel-lamps. In Kalhaṇa's *Rājataraṅgiṇī* (iv, 15) we read of "lamps formed of jewels (*maṇidīpikā*)." Stein (vol. i, p. 121*n*[15]) says a lamp is meant in which a shining jewel takes the place of a burning wick.

P. 190*n*[1], line 8. The *Mélusine* reference should read "vol. i, col. 447."

P. 196*n*[1]. The Two Brothers. See Bolte and Polívka, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 542.

P. 223*n*[1]. Forbidden chamber. See Bolte and Polívka, *op. cit.*, vol. i, pp. 20, 409; and Coxwell, *op. cit.*, p. 555.

P. 224*n*. Gil de Rais and Bluebeard. See Vincent and Binns, *Gilles de Rais*, London, 1926, especially the Bibliography in Appendix VI.

P. 263. Umbrellas — other forms of the Greek equivalent are σκιάδιον and σκιαδίσκη. See Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, under "umbraculum, umbrella," which includes the earliest Greek references from Anacreon, Aristophanes, etc. A woodcut is given from Millin's *Peintures de Vases Antiques*, showing the Greek umbrella in use. The original plate (No. lxx, vol. ii, p. 113) is well worth looking up. The whole work is a masterpiece of the engraver's art. See further Daremberg and Saglio, *Dict. des antiquités grecques et romaines* under "umbrella" and "umbraculum." The article in question seems to have been brought to Greece from the Middle East, like pheasants, peacocks and peaches, not later than the early part of the fifth century B.C.

Page 264, line 18. For "eleventh century B.C." read "second century A.D."
P. 280n^{6}. For "Bowick" read "Bonwick."
P. 281, line 5. For "*Exercito*" read "Esercito."
P. 289n^{3}. Insert "*Hebræischen*" before "*Uebersetzungen.*"
P. 289n^{4}. For "*Biblioth.*" read "*Bibliographie.*"
P. 294n^{2}. For "Atti, Series IV, . . ." read "*Atti dell' Accademia dei Lincei*, Serie IV, . . ."
P. 300n^{1}. For "*veneris*" read "*venenis.*" Omit "2" after "fol."
P. 302n^{1}. *Cf.* Vol. VIII, p. 245. Clusius wrote a *résumé*, not a translation, of Orta. Markham's work is not a translation of Clusius, but of the original *Coloquios dos simples* of da Orta.
P. 306n^{1}. Proxies at marriages. See further Briffault, *op. cit.*, vol. iii, pp. 223-226. For mechanical defloration of girls see *ditto*, p. 319.
P. 307n^{2}. Snake=phallus. See Eisler, *Weltenmantel u. Himmelszelt*, 1910, p. 123; and Briffault, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, pp. 664-669.
P. 308n^{2}. Syphilis. Add to note: A. F. Chamberlain, "Disease and Medicine (American)," Hastings' *Ency. Rel. Eth.*, vol. iv, p. 732.
P. 310n^{3}. *Cf.* the story of how the enemies of Francis I of France encompassed that monarch's death in 1547. They poisoned his concubine with syphilis germs.

VOLUME III.

P. 2n^{2}. *Cf.* Hiranandra Shastri, "The Origin and Cult of Tārā," *Mem. Arch. Surv. India*, No. 20, Calcutta, 1925.
P. 20n^{1}. Self-mutilation. See Bolte's edition of Pauli's *Schimpf und Ernst*, vol. ii, pp. 258, 259.
P. 21, line 18 from bottom. Delete "Orestes."
P. 21. line 5 from bottom. Circumcision, infibulation, excision. See Briffault, *op. cit.*, vol. iii, pp. 320-333.
P. 28n^{1}. Faithful John. For references to Grimm, No. 6, see Bolte and Polívka, *op. cit.*, vol. i, pp. 42-57.
P. 29, line 12. For "Ahichchhatra" read "Ahichchhatrā."
P. 40n^{1}. Mechanical doll. See Coxwell, *op. cit.*, p. 858
Page 52*n*. Worms in teeth. Add to note: "See also Codrington, *The Melanesians*, Oxford, 1891, p. 193; J. Batchelor, *The Ainu and their Folklore*, London, 1901, p. 293; C. S.

Myers, "Disease and Medicine (Introductory)," Hastings' *Ency. Rel. Eth.*, vol. iv, p. 724.

Pp. 56-59. Automata. M. Pelliot refers me to Gaṇapati Sâstrî's edition of *Samarâṅgaṇasûtradhâra*, thought to date back to the eleventh century. In the Preface to vol. i (Gaekwad's Oriental Series, No. xxv, Baroda, 1924) we are told that chapter xxxi "contains descriptions of various kinds of machines that are not found in other Silpa works, such as the elephant-machine, wooden bird-machine travelling in the sky, wooden *vimana* machine flying in the air, doorkeeper-machine, soldier-machine, etc. See also the Preface to vol. ii (G. O. S., No. xxxii). See S. Lévi, *Journ. As.*, vol. ccviii, 1926, pt. ii, p. 379. Automatons figure also in the several tales in the Chinese Tripiṭaka (see Chavannes, *Cinq Cents Contes et Apologues*, vol. ii, p. 12, No. 163; vol. iii, pp. 167, 170, 171, No. 427). *Cf.* the tale of the Mechanician and the Painter in Schiefner and Ralston's *Tibetan Tales*, p. 361.

P. 57, line 1. Vitrivius did not write till after Cæsar's death, so is more properly a contemporary of Augustus.

P. 63. Overhearing. Add Coxwell, *op. cit.*, p. 163, and Bolte and Polívka, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 53*n*[1].

P. 75. "Doctor Knowall" *motif*. See also Coxwell, *op. cit.*, pp. 193 *et seq.* and 244, 245; *cf.* Wesselski, *Märchen des Mittelalters*, pp. 242, 243.

P. 76. line 4 from bottom. For "Irubriani" read "Imbriani."

P. 105*n*, line 15. For "Cabnoy" read "Carnoy."

P. 118*n*[1]. The *Cento Novelle Antiche*. The reference to No. 74 of this collection (occurring again in Vol. V, p. 13*n*[1]) is to the edition of Borghini, and not to that of Gualteruzzi. The same applies to No. 68, quoted in Vol. II, p. 113*n*. Owing to the importance of this pre-Boccaccio work, and to the fact that its early history is uncertain, no excuse will be made for the following bibliographical notes.

The work in question is thought to have been compiled by one or more authors at the end of the thirteenth or first quarter of the fourteenth century. It was edited by Carlo Gualteruzzi in 1525 (2nd ed., Milano, 1825), and his hundred tales agree with seven out of the eight known manuscripts. There is also another edition, without date or place, considered by some to be earlier. A

copy of this is in the British Museum. I have compared the two copies very carefully and have come to the conclusion that the undated one is *later* than 1525. In the first place, the " errata " of the dated edition are almost entirely found corrected in the undated edition, and both the length of page and lack of abbreviated forms would seem to support this view. (*Cf.* Brunet, *Manuel du libraire*, vol. i, cols. 1786-1788.) Panzer (*Annales Typographici*, vol. i, p. 410) speaks of a 1482 edition, but nothing is known of it, and it may even have been an unrecorded version of the *Decameron*! See Biagi, *Le Novelle Antiche dei Codici Panciatichiano-Palatino*, pp. lx-lxii. With regard to the title of the work, Gualteruzzi calls it *Ciento Novelle Antike*, but it was later known as *Il Novellino*, and thus has occasionally been confused with Masuccio's work of fifty tales bearing the same name.[1]

The second editor of the *Cento Novelle* was Vincenzo Borghini, who issued his *Libro di Novelle et di bel Parlar Gentile*, Florence, in 1572. It contains several fresh tales, and the order of most of the others is altered. Of the eight codexes, that known as the Panciatichianus is the most interesting, as it contains about thirty tales and proverbs not found either in Gualteruzzi or Borghini. It was published in 1880 by Biagi, who has included a most useful bibliography, with notes on the different MSS. (see p. lx *et seq.*).

An English translation by Storer has recently (1925) appeared. Except for tales 57, 58, 80 and 86 it follows Gualteruzzi's original text.

Page 127, lines 12-15. Amphitryon and Alcmene. See Pausanias' Book V, xviii, 3, and Frazer's note, vol. iii, p. 618.

P. 152, line 6. Momiāī, or Mōmiyāī. This word means literally " extract of mummie " (mōmiyā), and originally meant this. In India it is properly a kind of bitumen said to be brought from Persia and elsewhere (*mōmiyā* is a Persian word). In Bihar the word is corrupted to *mimiyāī*. *Cf.* Grierson, *Bihar Peasant Life*, § 1158. " It is said to be extracted from the heads of coolies who emigrate to the colonies, by hanging them head downwards and roasting them over a slow fire. The threat of extracting it from the head of a child is therefore an active deterrent."

[1] Another collection with a similar title is Sansovino's *Cento Novelle*.

Page 161n^1, line 7 from bottom. For "Ahmadābād" read "Aḥmadābād."

P. 201 *et seq.* Magic circle. *Cf.* the story of Antiochus in Livy, xlv, 12, for an interesting use of the circle. The most complete treatment of the circle in classical religious and magical use is Eitrem, *Opferritus und Voropfer der Griechen und Römer*, chapter i, "Der Rundgang," pp. 6-75. Delete lines 6 and 7 from bottom on p. 201 (*i.e.* the references to Bouchet and Major).

P. 205, line 1. For "A. and W. Schott" read "A. and A. Schott."

P. 222n^1. See also Coxwell, *op. cit.*, p. 241.

P. 225n^2. This is a variant of the "Declaring Presence" *motif.* See further Coxwell, *op. cit.*, p. 859.

P. 230n^3. For "viii, 355" read "viii, 855."

Pp. 236-239. "Magic Obstacles" *motif.* Sir George Grierson sends me the following translation of a "magic obstacles" tale told by the Pashais, a Dard tribe of Laghman in East Afghanistan. It occurs in its original form in the *Linguistic Survey of India*, vol. viii, pt. ii, p. 109 *et seq.*

"There was a king who had one son and one daughter. The girl was a cannibal. The brother fled from her, and settled in another country, where he lived with a woman. He spent a long time there, and always kept two dogs. He returned to his father's city and found it desolate [his sister having eaten up everyone]. Only his sister was there. She made preparations for eating him, and he became afraid. She said to him: 'I am going to eat you.' The brother replied: 'Good! Take a sieve and bring water in it from the river, and come back when you have sharpened your teeth.' The sister went to the river, but before she started she put a drum before him and told him to keep beating it. He caught a rat and put it on the drum. The rat jumped about [on the drum] and made it sound, and [while it did so] the boy ran away. The sister returned, and found her brother missing. She pursued him. When she began to overtake him, he dropped a needle which became a mountain. She climbed this with great difficulty. Again, he threw down salt. It also became a mountain. She climbed this with great difficulty. Again, he threw down soap. It also became a mountain, and she ascended to the top. The brother then ascended a tree, and she came below

it. Just as she was about to eat her brother, his dogs arrived. He called to them: 'Eat her in such a way that not a drop of her blood falls to the ground.' The dogs immediately tore her to pieces."

Page 247*n*[1], line 1. For "thirteenth" read "twelfth."

Pp. 250-251. "Impossibilities" *motif*. For the tale of Pharaoh Nectanebo and Lycerus, King of Babylon, as related in a Syriac MS. (Cambridge Univ. Col. Add. 2020 = S_2) see Conybeare, Harris and Lewis, *Story of Aḥikar*, pp. 77, 78.

There is an amusing story told in Naṣr al-Dīn (see Arratoon, *Gems of Oriental Wit and Humour*, p. 82) in which Hajja was entertaining guests. He borrowed a large copper pot from his neighbour. When returning it, he gave one of their own small pots with it. The neighbour asked what this meant. He replied that their big copper had given birth while in his house. The little one was therefore its baby. The neighbour took both in. On another occasion Hajja called again and took the large copper pot, but this time he did not return it. On being asked for it he very much regretted to have to inform the owner that his pot was dead. "Dead!" said the owner; "how can you make such a felonious assertion!" "Oh," said Hajja, "so you are incredulous! How easily you admitted the possibility of its being able to give birth to a child on the day when I gave you a smaller copper pot with it; and now I tell you she is dead, poor thing!"

In commenting on my note, M. Pelliot gives some interesting information on "Impossibility" expressions. "La 'corne de lièvre' est un terme usuel dans l'Inde," he says, "pour désigner quelque chose d'impossible, et l'expression se retrouve dans la littérature chinoise. Comme en chinois la 'corne de lièvre' (*t'ou-kiao*) est souvent associée au 'poil de tortue,' il paraît bien que ce soit une expression bouddhique venue de l'Inde, car la 'corne de lièvre' et le 'poil de tortue' se trouvent, je crois, pour la première fois en chinois dans la traduction du *Parinirvāṇasūtra*. L'expression a dû devenir assez populaire quisque les Japonais l'ont adoptée, en valeur purement phonétique, pour écrire le terme japonais *tokaku*, 'en tout cas,' 'après tout.'"

Numerous English expressions, such as "making a silk

purse out of a sow's ear," "squaring the circle," "gathering grapes from thistles," etc., will occur to readers.

Page 268n^1. Cutting off heads. See also Hartland, *Legend of Perseus*, vol. iii, p. 23; various references in Dawkins, *Modern Greek in Asia Minor*, pp. 226, 226n^2, 373; and Coxwell, *op. cit.*, p. 88.

P. 272n^1, line 1. Amys and Amylion. See Chauvin, *op. cit.*, viii, p. 195.

P. 280. Letter of Death. Add to note: See Chauvin, *op. cit.*, viii, pp. 145-147.

P. 287n^1. For an amusing "loaning wife" tale see *Nights*, Burton, vol. vi, p. 150; and Chauvin, *op. cit.*, viii, p. 44.

P. 303 *et seq.* Sneezing. As a bad omen it is frequent in Indian folklore. See Waterfield's *Lay of Alha*, pp. 115, 193, 197-198. The omen generally turns out to be true, but in one or two cases Rājpūts refuse to be frightened by it and win through. See "The Lay of Brahma's Marriage," *Bull. School Orient. Studies*, vol. ii, pt. iv, p. 587.

P. 321, line 18. Eunuchs. Hijra. The word *hijṛa* means both "eunuch" and "hermaphrodite." In the nineties of the last century Sir George Grierson was informed on good authority that there was a colony of hermaphrodites at Pandua in the Hooghly District of Bengal. People who have seen and examined them say that the hermaphroditism seems to have been congenital.

P. 327, line 6. For "Tungabhadra" read "Tuṅgabhadrā."

P. 329. Add to Eunuch bibliography: H. R. M. Chamberlain, *The Eunuch in Society*, London, 1927 (privately printed). See also Briffault, *op. cit.*, vol. iii, p. 213.

VOLUME IV

P. 10. The Greek quotation should, of course, read: χαλκίδα κικλήσκουσι θεοί ἄνδρες δὲ κόμινδιν . . .

P. 14. "Le cheval," says M. Pelliot, "paraît en réalité avoir joué un rôle assez faible dans les anciens sacrifices chinois; *cf.* Granet, *Danses et légendes de la Chine ancienne*, Paris, 1926, pp. 153-154."

Page 16, lines 27, 28. Woman fertilised by horse. See A. M. Hocart, "Phallic Offerings to Hathor," *Man*, October 1926, No. 128, p. 192 (also printed, by some curious

mistake, in *Man*, July 1927, No. 92, p. 140); Briffault, *op. cit.*, vol. iii, p. 188.

P. 51, line 9 from bottom. For "myiard" read "myriad."

P. 69*n*[1], line 4. For "Engyion" read "Engyon." The mothers. See C. Hülsen, in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-encyclopädie*, v, 2568; and Briffault, *op. cit.*, vol. iii, p. 46 *et seq.*

P. 80*n*[1], last line. For "227" read "226."

P. 126, line 9. Daśaratha. See N. B. Utgikar, "The Story of the Daśaratha Jātaka and of the Rāmāyaṇa," *Journ. Roy. As. Soc.*, Centenary Supplement, October 1924, pp. 203-211.

P. 129*n*, line 5. For "Tunghwan" read "Tung-hun-hou." For trees and flowers of precious materials *cf. Artibus Asiæ*, 1927, p. 71. [Pelliot.]

P. 177*n*[1], line 5. For "ther ain-cloud" read "the rain-cloud."

P. 185. For the most recent article on Śvetadvīpa, see W. E. Clark, "Śākadvīpa and Śvetadvīpa," *Journ. Amer. Orient. Soc.*, vol. xxxix, pt. 4, October 1919, pp. 209-242.

P. 229*n*[2], last line. After "1881" add "p. 161." The article was reprinted in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. x, 1881, pp. 292, 293.

P. 257, line 20. Opium. "Le suicide par l'opium en Chine est moderne." [Pelliot.]

P. 272, line 18. Widow-burning. For "p. 153" read "pp. 44, 45." Add to bibliography: Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, vol. i, p. 459 *et seq.*; F. E. Maning, *Old New Zealand*, London, 1863, p. 172 *et seq.*; H. Ling Roth, *Great Benin*, Halifax, England, 1903, p. 43; J. Erskine, *Journal of a Cruise among the I*[*s*]*. of the Western Pacific*, 1853, p. 228; Winternitz, "Die Witwenverbrennung," *Die Frau in den indischen Religionen*, S. A. aus dem Archiv für Frauenkunde und Eugenik, vol. iii, pp. 55-85, Leipzig, 1920; Winternitz, "Die Witwe im Veda," *Wiener Zeitschrift f. Kunde des Morgenlandes*, vol. xxix, p. 172 *et seq.*; Zachariae, *Kleine Schriften*, Bonn and Leipzig, 1920, p. 33 *et seq.*

The *satī* stones in the Bombay Presidency have been recently described by G. V. Acharya, *Proc. Third Oriental Conference*, Madras, 1925, p. 237 *et seq.* The latest article on *satī* I have seen is E. Thompson, "The Suppression of Suttee in Native States," *Edinburgh Review*,

April 1927, pp. 274-286. He is shortly issuing a work on the whole subject.

Page 292. To the Nala bibliography add: Liebich, *Sanskrit-Lesebuch*, Leipzig, 1905 (containing the *Nalopākhyāna* with Rückert's translation); Fritze, *Nal und Damajanti, metrische Uebersetzung*, Berlin, 1910; Caland, *Savitri und Nala*, Utrecht, 1917; Winternitz, *Geschichte der indischen Litteratur*, vol. i, p. 327; S. Lévi, *La Légende de Nala et Damayantî*, "Les Classiques de l'Orient," Paris, 1920; A. F. Herold, *Nala et Damayanti*, Paris, 1923; Dumont, P. E., *Histoire de Nala*, Bruxelles, 1923; and N. M. Penzer, *Nala and Damayanti*, London, 1926.

VOLUME V

P. 11*n*[1]. Gold-spitting. Add to note: For a similar trick played by the courtesan see Bolte and Polívka, *op. cit.*, vol. iii, p. 3 *et seq.*; Aarne, *Vergleichende Märchenforschung*, p. 83 *et seq.*; and *cf.* Krohn, *Anzeiger der Finnisch-Ugrischen Forschungen*, p. 4 *et seq.* See further the note on "gold-spitting" by Professor Halliday on pp. 164, 165 of this volume.

P. 66, line 9 from bottom. "Where mice nibble iron." For classical references see Knox — Headlam, *The Mimes of Herodas*, iii, 76, p. 153; and Weinrich's note on Seneca, *Apocolocyntosis*.

Professor Halliday informs me that in Greek and Roman usage the proverb usually means a country so poor that mice have to gnaw iron in desperation [*cf.* our "poor as a church mouse"]. It means the "land of nowhere" only secondarily and less usually.

P. 80*n*[2]. Faithless wife. Add to note: Chauvin, *op. cit.*, viii, p. 120.

P. 117. The servant who looked after the door. I find this in the Persian (?) collection of "fool" stories, *Mutāyabāt i Mullā Nasr al-Dīn* (A.H. 1305). See N. Arratoon, *Gems of Oriental Wit and Humour . . . of Molla Nasraddin*, Calcutta, 1894, p. 15.

P. 122*n*.[1] The woman with a hundred lovers. Add to note: See further Wesselski, *Märchen des Mittelalters*, pp. 185-187.

P. 182*n*.[3] Imaginary debt and payment. Very similar to the Japanese story about the smell of fried eels is an

amusing tale in the *Cento Novelle Antiche* (Gualteruzzi, No. ix). Here a poor Saracen holds a loaf over the pot of a cook, thus letting the savoury steam soak into it. The cook demands payment, and finally the case is submitted to the "wise men" of the country. It is decided that as the cook takes money for the food he sells, he must in this case, where he has sold only steam, be content with the *sound* of money as payment.

Page 158*n*. Grateful animals. Add to note: See also Coxwell, *op. cit.*, pp. 259, 260.

P. 166. Pretending to be dead. In the Persian collection of Naṣr Al-Dīn are two stories not merely of pretending, but actually of believing that death had occurred. In the first (Arratoon's translation, p. 35), Hajja's death is foretold when his donkey should neigh three times. When this happened he concluded he must be dead, and insisted on being conveyed to the cemetery. The "mourners," however, lost their way, whereupon Hajja raised himself from the bier and, pointing in a certain direction, exclaimed: "That was the way I always went to the cemetery when I was alive."

The second tale (Arratoon, p. 47) relates how Hajja once asked his wife what were the signs of death. She replied that when a man's body and hands were cold he was dead. One very cold day, while ascending a hill with his donkey, he chanced to feel his hands and then his body. Both were cold, so he concluded that he must be dead. Accordingly he lay down on the hill. Meanwhile a number of wolves approached his donkey and tore it into pieces. Hajja cried out: "Oh, ye wolves, eat the donkey, for the owner is dead; if I was alive be sure I would have made it hot for you!"

P. 168. "Story of the Fools and the Bull of Śiva." *Cf.* the story in the *Linguistic Survey of India*, vol. v, pt. ii, p. 161 *et seq.* The animal here is not a bull, but an elephant.

P. 186. "Story of the Rogue who managed to acquire Wealth by speaking to the King." A comical repetition of the above was actually witnessed by Sir George Grierson in India. He describes the incident as follows:

"In a certain district there was a planter—a most popular man, but so hard up that he had exhausted all his credit, and the Indian bankers refused to advance him money necessary for his outlay. It chanced that at

this time the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal was making an official visit to the headquarters of the district, and was arriving by special train. The planter, whom we may call 'X,' met the train at a watering-station some twenty miles from the terminus, and asked the aide-de-camp for permission to travel by it, as he was in a hurry. The aide-de-camp welcomed him, and gave him the lift. At the terminus 'X' issued from the train in the midst of the Lieutenant-Governor's staff, the observed of all observers—there being, of course, an assembly of notables (including the chief bankers) to welcome the Lieutenant-Governor.

"It was said that, after this, 'X' enjoyed a temporary almost unlimited credit in the local money market. I saw the arrival of 'X' with my own eyes, and heard the amused and admiring talk of his fellow-planters."

Page 193. Note on Nail-marks and Tooth-bites. For a reference to amorous scratches see the description of the *svayaṃvara* in Kālidāsa's *Raghuvaṃśa*, vi, 17.

P. 194, line 33. For "*Daśanchachhedya*" read "*Daśanachhedya.*"

P. 218 *et seq.* The Burzoe legend. Sir Denison Ross has now added to his authoritative Foreword to Vol. V by a note in *Journ. Roy. As. Soc.*, July 1926, pp. 503-505, and an article in *Bull. School Oriental Studies*, vol. iv, pt. 3, 1927, pp. 441-472, entitled "An Arabic and a Persian Metrical Version of Burzoe's Autobiography from 'Kalila and Dimna.'" The Persian version is by Qáni'í, of which a unique MS. is preserved in the British Museum, and the other MS. is by Naqqásh, of which only two copies are known to exist. Owing, therefore, to their great scarcity, their reproduction with notes forms an important addition to *Pañchatantra* research. See Pelliot's remarks in *T'oung Pao*, vol. xxv, 1927, p. 136.

P. 255 *et seq.* The classical versions of the story of Rhampsinitus. Professor Halliday tells me that it is almost certain that the tale dates back to the *Telegonia* of Eugammon of Cyrene, the last of the cyclic poets. He mentions the gift of a bowl ornamented with scenes from the history of Agamedes and Augeas. No other story is known which would correspond to the drawings. If this is accepted, the tale must have been known to

the Greeks before the time of Herodotus. This does not affect my contention that it is of Egyptian origin. On the contrary, if anything, it supports the view, for even Eugammon is "Eugammon *of Cyrene*."

See further Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencyclopädie*, under "Agamedes."

As regards analogues of the story, I have received two versions. As the first is unpublished, I give the *résumé* of it as sent me by Colonel Lorimer (via Sir George Grierson). It is from Gilgit, an outlying province in the extreme north-west of India, and is in the Shina language.

A father and a son, expert thieves, made a hole in the wall of the King's Treasury, by quite ordinary means, and carried off all the King's treasures. They returned again to search for more loot. The father entered the Treasury, while the son remained outside. The father knocked down some pots, and so woke up the guards, who seized him. He tried to escape by the hole, and a tug-of-war followed, the guards pulling him inwards by the legs, and the son pulling him outwards by the head. Finding he could not get him out, the son cut off the father's head and went off with it. In due course the King had the decapitated body hung up to act as a trap for its mourning relatives.

After that the detail is different. The mother succeeds in relieving her feelings with impunity in the presence of the corpse by dropping and breaking a gourd of milk as she passes it, and ostensibly weeping over the lost contents.

Then follow several episodes in which the thief soon gets the better of his would-be captors. There is a lot about the flesh of a camel he killed and an old woman. This also appears in a Bakhtiārī story, in which also there is a dead hand (possibly arm), corresponding to Herodotus' dead arm.

In the Shina story the thief further wins the respect and enthusiastic approval of the king by dealing very adequately with another king who had insulted him, the thief's king, by refusing him his daughter as wife for his son, on the grounds of his inability to deal with the thieves in his kingdom. The thief not only secures the foreign king's daughter for his king's son, but also her sister for himself. In recognition of his ability in deal-

ing with foreign affairs his king makes him "King for External Affairs," retaining to himself only the control of "Internal Affairs."

"And so they continued to live happily, eating and drinking."

The other variant has been sent me by Professor T. F. Crane. It is to be found on p. 73 of C. C. Jones' *Negro Myths from the Georgia Coast*, Boston and New York, 1888. It is entitled "Brother Lion, Brother Rabbit, Brother Fox, and Brother Raccoon." It contains practically all the incidents of the Rhampsinitus story. The first few sentences, as transliterated from the negro vernacular by Professor Crane, will be sufficient to show its amusing style:

"Brother Lion, he keeps a bank. In that bank he has chickens, and hogs and sheep. Brother Fox is married to Brother Coon's daughter. Brother Fox's father-in-law is a rogue. Brother Coon and Brother Rabbit make a plan to rob Brother Lion's bank, and they used to take things out of it every now and then, and nobody can find out who does the stealing. Brother Fox, Brother Rabbit and Brother Coon, they were fast friends and kept constant company. Brother Rabbit tells Brother Lion that he knows the man who robs his bank, but he don't want to tell his name, and he advises Brother Lion to set a steel trap to catch the thief. Brother Lion does as he says, and the next night, when Brother Coon, Brother Fox and Brother Rabbit went to rob the bank again, Brother Coon walked on the trap and it caught him by the foot. The thing broke Brother Coon's leg, and it hurt him very badly, but he was afraid to holler, because if he did holler, he knew that Brother Lion was going to run there and kill him. So he lay down and moaned, and begged his friends to help him. Brother Fox and Brother Rabbit, they study over the thing, and they make up their minds if Brother Lion finds Brother Coon in the trap, he is going to kill not only Brother Coon, but will send and kill all the family. Then they conclude that the best thing to do is that Brother Fox, who is his son-in-law, must take a sword and chop Brother Coon's head off and bury it, and that he skin Brother Coon and bury his hide and his clothes, and leave Brother Coon naked in the trap, so nobody can tell who was caught. . . ."

Page 284. M. Pelliot says that a large portion of the *Ka-gyur* had been translated by the beginning of the eleventh century. He refers me to a Chinese version which was translated at the end of the third century (the exact date is uncertain). For this see E. Huber "Études de Littérature Bouddhique," *Bull. de l'École Française d'extrême-orient*, vol. iv, 1904, pp. 698-726 (701-707), and Chavannes, *Cinq cents contes et apologues*, vol. ii, pp. 380-388, and vol. iii, p. 146.

VOLUME VI

P. xxiii. Preface, line 9. For "sixteen (really fifteen)" read "seventeen (really sixteen)."

P. 61, lines 2 and 3. The word *talisman*. In *Folk-Lore*, vol. xxxv, 1924, p. 230, Professor Dawkins points out that certain magical figures found in Thrace practically correspond to what we mean by *talisman*, and that the words used for them is τελεσμα from τελῶ, which, in the sense employed, means "to enchant." He considers it probable that both the English *talisman* and the Arabic *ṭilsam* are independent borrowings from the Greek. This would explain the final *n*, as the mediæval Greeks pronounced τέλεσμα as τέλεσμαν. There appears to be no semitic derivation for the Arabic word—a fact that supports the Greek origin.

P. 118, line 9 from bottom. Feet turned wrong way. This is quite a common feature in Indian folklore. See Grierson, *Bihār Peasant Life* (1st ed.), p. 408, where the *kīchin* (a kind of lamia) has feet back to front. In this way the wise can recognise her. Some years ago Whitley Stokes told Sir George Grierson of an Irish legend, that when the devil wanted to say his prayers, he was unable to do so, because his knees bent the wrong way (backwards instead of forwards).

P. 147, last line. For "ofnight" read "of night."

P. 150*n*, line 7. The reference to Henderson's *Folk-Lore of the Northern Counties* is to the 1879 edition. The corresponding page to the first edition is 19.

P. 150*n*[1], line 2. For "Λαρικη" read "Λαρικῆ."

P. 166 (also p. 240). Fruit containing jewels or money. Cf. *Cento Novelle Antiche* (Gualteruzzi), No. lxxix.

P. 191, line 12. Śūdraka. See Keith, *Sanskrit Drama*, pp. 128, 129.

Page 231. Frame-story. Reference should be made to J. Przyluski, "Le Prologue-Cadre des Mille et une Nuits," *Journal Asiatique*, 1924, pp. 101-137.

P. 241, line 16. The Chauvin reference should read ". . . v, pp. 144, 145."

P. 242*n*[1]. For "vol. lxxiv, Leipzig, 1920" read "vol. lxxv, Leipzig, 1921." Francke has now published a further article on the Tibetan version of the Vetāla tales: "Zur tibetischen Vetālapancaviṁśatikā (Siddhikür)," *Zeitschr. d. d. morgen. Gesell.*, Neue Folge, Band II, Leipzig, 1923, pp. 239-254.

P. 264, line 2. For "No. 2 of Jülg" read "No. 1 of Jülg."

P. 264, line 3. For "No. 4 of Coxwell" read "No. 3 of Coxwell."

P. 269, line 13. For "there s little in comimon" read "there is little in common."

P. 273, last line. The *śabda-bhēdī* arrow, which strikes what is heard, is a familiar feature in Hindu legend. In the Ālhā cycle of folk-epics, Prithīrāj of Delhi has such an arrow, and with it hits the sword-wound of a severely wounded ally, so as to sew up the wound, and enable the ally to go on fighting.

P. 282*n*[6]. Sirens. Add to note: V. Bérard, *Les Phéniciens et l'Odyssée*, vol. ii, p. 333 *et seq.*; and Daremberg and Saglio, *Dictionnaire des Antiquités grecques et romains*, vol. iv, pt. 2, pp. 1353-1355.

P. 283*n*[4]. For "Brumond" read "Brumund."

P. 286. The tale from the *Nights* is found also in the *Cento Novelle Antiche* (No. iii of Gualteruzzi's edition), where the boring-worm, horse and baker incidents are all repeated.

P. 287. For another variant of the "lost-camel" story see *Linguistic Survey of India*, vol. viii, pt. i, p. 278.

P. 287*n*[3], line 3. For "translations" read "translation."

P. 290*n*[3]. For "Sunblad" read "Sundblad."

P. 291*n*[4]. For "1915" read "1885."

P. 293. Add to the Andersen bibliography: L. M. Shortt, "H. C. Andersen and Fairyland," *Fortnightly Review*, July-December 1925, pp. 190-201; Clausen and Marr, "King, Queen and Knave," *Argosy*, vol. i, December 1926, pp. 145, 146.

VOLUME VII

Page xxix. Change of sex. To the list by Dr W. N. Brown must now be added, "Change of Sex as a Hindu Story *Motif*," *Journ. Amer. Orient. Soc.*, vol. xlvii, 1927, No. 1, pp. 3-24. See further below.

P. 92n^1, line 4. Delete the " s " in " Egypts."

P. 103, line 17. "And kissed her." I believe I am correct in saying that this is the only time kissing is mentioned in the whole of the *Ocean of Story*. This seems extraordinary, especially when we remember the large number of love scenes introduced into the work, and the existence (from about A.D. 250) of Vātsyāyana's *Kāma Sūtra*, in which a complete chapter (iii) is devoted to the subject. The explanation must lie in the fact that kissing, as we understand it, was unknown in the Vedas and only rarely indulged in during the period assigned to the *Mahābhārata* (*cf.* Book III, chapter cxii, 12). Moreover, the " sniff-kiss " of the Vedas still exists in parts of India, as it also does among many Mongol and semi-civilised peoples. The kiss can be described as very rare among all the lower races, the typical primitive kiss consisting of the contact of the nose and cheek followed by inhalation. The mouth kiss would certainly be unknown in the time of Udayana and Naravāhanadatta. See further Hopkins, "The Sniff-Kiss in Ancient India," *Journ. Amer. Orient. Soc.*, vol. xxviii, 1907, pp. 120-134; and Crawley, " Kissing," Hastings' *Ency. Rel. Eth.*, vol. vii, pp. 739-744.

P. 107. Sandalwood. Among the earliest mediæval references may be mentioned that by the Chinese writer, Chau Ju-Kua. See Hirth and Rockhill's edition of his *Chu-fan-chi*, pp. 208, 209.

P. 126n^2, lines 3 and 4. The *Mélusine* reference should read " vol. i, col. 447."

P. 191n^1. The name of and reference to Professor Bloomfield's article should be corrected as follows: " On Recurring Psychic Motifs in Hindu Fiction . . .," *Journ. Amer. Orient. Soc.*, vol. xxxvi, pp. 57, 58.

P. 222 *et seq.* Change of Sex. As mentioned above, Dr W. N. Brown has recently issued an article on change of sex in Hindu fiction. Although the author was kind enough to send me proofs in advance for use in the *Ocean*,

my volume was already in print. The article in question is of great importance and, among many other things, clearly shows that stories of sex-changing water are quite common in folk-tales (at any rate in Hindu fiction). Thus my remark at the bottom of p. 225 requires qualification.

Dr Brown deals first with bathing in enchanted water, dividing the first section into (*a*) Change of man into woman—unexpected, unwelcome; (*b*) Change of woman into man—unexpected, welcome. The next sections deal respectively with change of sex as a curse or blessing; exchanging sex with a Yaksha; change brought about by magic objects and charms; resulting from righteousness or wickedness; and finally the origin of the notion of sex change.

Page 231. Pretended change of sex. See W. Crooke, "Simulated Change of Sex to Baffle the Evil Eye," *Folk-Lore*, vol. xxiv, p. 385; also Stein and Grierson, *Hatim's Tales*, pp. 29, 30. Sir George Grierson tells me that in the Rādhāvallabhī sect the men pretend to be Rādhā, and dress in women's clothes, even pretending to be disabled once a month like women.

P. 237, last line. This work will not be issued until early in 1928.

P. 250 *et seq.* Self-sacrifice. Dr W. N. Brown sends me the following additional references: *Hitopadeśa* (Narayana's version), iii, 7; Benfey, *Pantschatantra*, i, 414; Dracott, *Simla Village Tales*, p. 194; Pantalu, *Folklore of the Telugus* (3rd ed.), p. 51.

He would differentiate the versions: (1) The hero kills his son, and others of his family also die (*Vetālapañchaviṁśati, Hitopadeśa*); (2) No blood is shed (*Ṭūṭī-nāmaḥ*, Dracott, Pantalu). The stories are related genetically within the two groups—that is, the modern Indian oral tales are derived from the Persian, not the Sanskrit.

P. 252, line 11. The boy's laugh. The *Forty Vazīrs*. The same story, with minor variations, will be found in the *Linguistic Survey of India*, vol. viii, pt. 1, p. 367.

P. 270. Bibliography of the *Vetālapañchaviṁśati*. After "Gothenburg, 1901" add Deromps, M., *Les vingt-cinq récits du mauvais génie traduits de l'hindi*. Paris, 1912.

VOLUME VIII

Page 19, line 21. "Festival . . . called Pongol." See the excellent description of this festival in Dubois, *Hindu Manners, Customs and Ceremonies*, 3rd ed., Oxford, 1906, p. 571 *et seq.*

P. 58*n*[1]. "Bathing-dress dripping with moisture." Sir George Grierson sends me a possible explanation of *hṛita-vastrā 'ardra-vasanā*. He suggests that *vastra* means the outer garment, and *vasana* the under garment, the *vêtement d'intimité*. In Bengal women bathe with their under (and only) garment on them. This is very thin, and they walk home unconcernedly, almost nude, owing to the transparent wet clothes clinging to their limbs. Up-country Hindus are horrified at this, and there is a proverb about the Bengali woman "saying '*hethā hethā*' when she means 'hither.' Modestly covering her face, and yet displaying her vulva; deserting her husband, and hastening to a lover—so shines in her glory the fair one of the noble Bangālī."

The swan-maiden puts her outer garment (her *vastra*) of feathers on the bank, but bathes in her *vasana*, which is, of course, wet when she comes out of the water. She is thus *ardra-vasanā*. As her outer garment of feathers has been taken away, she is also *hṛita-vastrā*.

P. 59*n*[3]. Gold-spitting. I am indebted to Professor Halliday for the following note:—

The magical property of dropping or spitting gold, jewels (*vel sim*), habitually occurs in three groups of stories:

(*I*) In stories related to *Frau Holle* (Grimm, No. 24), in which two sisters meet with their respective deserts; it is frequently part of the good girl's reward that whenever she opens her mouth to speak, gold and jewels drop out of it, and part of the bad girl's punishment that toads or other vermin drop similarly from her lips. Gold-spitting of this type is irrelevant here.

(*IIa*) A donkey or other animal, which vomits or excretes gold, is frequently one of the *Magical Articles* acquired by the hero and stolen by the villain in variants of Grimm, No. 54 (see Bolte and Polívka, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 470 *et seq.*).

(*IIb*) A fictitious gold-dropping donkey figures in what

is really a burlesque form of *IIa*, the *Sham Magical Articles*, with which the clever hero dupes his adversaries (see Bolte and Polívka, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, pp. 1-18). Connected with this group, though it is more exactly to be classed as belonging to one of the hybrid forms mentioned below, is the fraudulent gold-spitting monkey of Vol. V, p. 11. For other examples where the gold-producing animal is 'salted' by being given gold pieces to eat, see Clouston, *Popular Tales and Fictions*, vol. ii, p. 274; Campbell, *Popular Tales of the West Highlands*, vol. ii, p. 247; Cosquin, *Contes Populaires de Lorraine*, vol. i, p. 108; *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society*, 3rd series, vol. iv, p. 99; *cf.* also Dozon, *Contes Albanais*, No. 23, p. 177.

(*III*) In variants of Grimm, Nos. 60 and 85 (see Bolte and Polívka, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 542; vol. iii, p. 3), the hero acquires the gift of spitting gold, or, a somewhat more comfortable peculiarity, of finding gold beneath his pillow every morning, through having eaten part of a magical bird.

There is an obvious similarity between *II* and *III*, for it is usual in *III* for the hero to be deceived by a courtesan, who tricks him into betraying his secret, causes him to vomit the bird's heart (*vel sim*), and eats it herself. The hero ultimately is revenged by the discovery of a magic plant, by means of which he turns her into a donkey, or makes her nose grow indefinitely. In practice there are a good many hybrid versions intermediate between *II* and *III*. For example, the donkeyfying cabbage is often attached to form the *dénouement* of stories of type *IIa* in place of the magic club, in versions in which the villain is not an innkeeper but a courtesan. It is to this group, represented by *IIa* and *III* and their intermediate hybrids, that our gold-spitting hero belongs.

Page 111*n*[3]. The modesty of elephants. Professor Halliday refers me to a passage in Ælian, *De Natura Animalium*, i, 28:

> "γυναικὸς ὡραίας τόδε τὸ ζῶον ἡττᾶται, καὶ
> παραλυέται δὲ τοῦ θυμοῦ ἐκκωφωθεὶς κάλλος."

In viii, 17, the chastity of the elephant is lauded, and mention is made of its great modesty in sexual matters. The mediæval collection known as *Physiologus*,

or the *Bestiary*, relied on Ælian for much of its information. Being Christian allegories, the moral side of animals would be especially emphasised. Thus, in the *Gesta Romanorum* we should not be surprised to find an allusion to its modesty rather than its partiality to beauty.

Pages 227, 228. Swan-maidens. In tracing the swan-maiden story from India, I made no mention of Assam. Sir George Grierson refers me to a version current among the Angāmī Nāgas of the Assam Hills. It appears in the *Linguistic Survey of India*, vol. iii, pt. ii (Bodo, Naga and Kachin Groups), p. 219 *et seq.*, under the title of "How Jesu got a Goddess for his Wife." Here the article stolen is not a garment, but a head-band or rope used for carrying loads.

I have just noticed a much more developed and extremely interesting variant in Stack's *The Mikirs*, pp. 55-70. It is entitled "Story of Haratar Kunwa." After successfully evading death at the hands of his jealous brothers, Harata goes to live with his poor old grandmother. He discovers the bathing-pool of six beautiful maidens, who doff their clothes, bathe, and then fly away. After various stratagems Harata substitutes another petticoat (āpīnī) for that discarded by the youngest, and only unmarried one, of the sisters. On donning it, she discovers her inability to fly. Thus the marriage takes place, but Harata is warned not to make her cook, and never to touch her hand or foot. This taboo incident is curious, as nothing comes of it in the story at all. The sequel to it must have been forgotten in transit. A son is born, and the family return to Harata's father and brothers. The beautiful bride is admired by everyone, but points out that if she had her own petticoat she would be much more lovely still.[1] In the absence of Harata, his father procures it—with the usual result. By holding on to the tail of a celestial elephant,[2] he arrives at the land of his beloved. He employs the "Declaring Presence" *motif*[3] by means of his ring and enters into the presence

[1] *Cf.* the Gypsy story, Vol. VIII, p. 219.

[2] *Cf.* the way Śaktideva reaches the City of Gold (Vol. II, p. 219), and the bull of Siva in Vol. V, p. 168.

[3] See Vol. II, p. 76*n*[1].

of the whole Court, accompanied by his little son. The child runs to its mother, and in disgust the King of the Winds, who was about to marry the Princess, leaves the happy couple together. This is only a very brief *résumé* of the story, but it is an important variant and should not be overlooked.

Page 254*n*[3]. For "*Aupapātckā*" read "*Aupapātikā.*"

P. 270, line 9 from foot. For "Sheering" read "Sherring."

P. 272 *et seq.* Betel used as a challenge. Sir George Grierson tells me that a *bīṛā* (used in the sense of a single betel-roll) flung down on the ground is used as a kind of challenge. When a king wants some difficult or dangerous feat performed, he throws down in open court a *bīṛā* of *pān.* Whereupon the bravest of his knights picks it up and at once sets out on his adventures.

Readers will at once think of the well-known custom of flinging down a glove as a challenge. Here the use was symbolical. A "gage" originally signified only a pledge, and an article of value was actually deposited. In time the folded glove became the most handy symbol of such a bond, and its tendering was the accepted method of waging one's law. In the "wagers of battle" the glove was thrown on the ground as a challenge, which action was required by the "appellee" in answer to the charge of the "appellant."

At English coronations, up to the time of George IV, the "king's champion" challenged anyone to dispute his master's right to the throne by picking up the gauntlet flung down three times in succession.

It would seem that the betel chew also is symbolical, and denotes friendship, duty, trust and devotion. The throwing of it would be a challenge by which the champion's self-assertion would be put to the test.

P. 318*n*[1], line 13. Read "Balfour's *Cyclopædia of India,* 3rd ed., 1885. . . ."

P. 314 *et seq.* Betel-chewing (Solomon Islands). See also W. G. Ivens, *Melanesians of the South-east Solomon Islands*, Ldn., 1927. Pp. 285-289.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

BIBLIOGRAPHY

THE following Bibliography, or, more correctly, Bibliographical Index, is *arranged alphabetically under authors*, whether the work in question be a series of volumes, a work in a single volume, an article in a periodical, or a short note of a few lines in some scientific journal.

Although it lays no claim to perfection, it is not a mere "list of books quoted," but is intended to be of individual use to the student of folk-lore and "storiology."

With this view in mind, I have added brief notes where I have considered them necessary. Wherever possible, I have personally examined every title-page, and have not copied the (often incorrect) references of other people. Thus I have discovered numerous mistakes in references quoted in the notes and Appendixes of the *Ocean*, all of which have now been corrected, and, in many cases, annotated. In consideration of the enormous amount of work this has entailed, I may perhaps be permitted to say that I consider this Bibliography by far the most difficult and laborious part of my whole work.

Some references have taken weeks to track down, owing to incorrect data, or to the fact that what was taken to be a "work" turned out to be an article in, say, some Slavonic periodical unrecorded at the British Museum or University libraries.

I have departed from the usually accepted method of merely giving details of each work itself by stating in addition exactly where the work in question is quoted in the *Ocean*. Surely the student wants to know in what connection an author has been cited, even if an actual quotation is not given. I consider that a Bibliography thus arranged serves a double purpose.

That such a method is not superfluous I know from personal experience, and am merely at pains to spare my readers

and fellow-students a similar experience.[1] A glance at the Bibliography will show that the name of a work appears in *italics*, while that of an article is placed between inverted commas. References to the *Ocean* are in brackets thus: [I, 263*n*[1]; II, 41*n*; VIII, 81].

Any explanatory notes follow in smaller type. In conclusion I would mention that the Bibliography can be used in conjunction with the Index (see Vol. X of the *Ocean*). The names of authors quoted appear in the Bibliography only, but their works and subjects referred to in them will be found indexed and cross-indexed in Vol. X.

[ANONYMOUS.] "Betel-nut Chewing." *The Leisure Hour.* Part 209. No. 907. Ldn. 15th May 1869. Pp. 311, 312. [VIII, 318*n*[1].]

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[1] Thus I naturally was anxious to know in what connection Frazer had quoted Tawney. No cross-references were given, but I found the work mentioned under "Katha Sarit Ságara." I then had to go through each volume of the *Golden Bough* to discover where it was mentioned, and in what connection it was quoted. I have strictly avoided what appear to me useless references such as Frazer uses in his Bibliography—e.g. *Times, The*—weekly edition; *Daily Graphic, The*; *Athenæum, The*, etc., without any intimation whatsoever as to date, name of article or author!

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CRUSIUS, O. See under ANDERSON, W.

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The above work contains 37 *Märchen* and 140 Sagas.

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DAMANT, G. H. "Bengali Folklore-Legends from Dinajpur."

(" Legends from Dinagepore.") *Indian Antiquary.* Vol. i, 1872, pp. 115, 170, 218, 285, 344; ii, 1873, pp. 271, 357; iii, 1874, pp. 9, 320, 342; iv, 1875, pp. 54; ix, 1880, p. 1 *et seq.* Twenty-two tales in all. [I, 42, 131; IX, 142.]

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This work was reprinted six times (1697-1729) and has now appeared (under my editorship) with an Introduction by Sir Albert Gray. Argonaut Press. Ldn. 1927.

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Three further editions of the above volume were issued—1700, 1705, 1729.

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DAṆḌIN. *Daśa-kumāra-charita.* (Story of the Ten Princes.) [I, 25, 234, 234*n*[4], 235; II, 183*n*[1], 184*n*; VI, 247, 251, 259.] See also under HERTEL, J., *Die zehn Printzen . . .*; and MEYER, J. J.

DAṆḌIN. *Mṛichchhakaṭika.* See under RYDER, A. W.

DANIČIĆ, G. " Indijske priče prozvane Stefanit i Ihnilat." *Starine, na sviet izdaje Jugoslavenska Akademija Znanosti I Umjetnosti.* Vol. ii. Zagrebu (Agram). 1870. Pp. 261-310. [V, 235, 238.]

DANIELS, C. L., and STEVANS, C. M. *The Encyclopædia of Superstitions, Folk-Lore and the Occult Sciences of the World.* . . . 3 vols. Chicago and Milwaukee. [1903.] [II, 145*n*.]

DANTE ALIGHIERI. *Inferno.* [I, 40n^3; VIII, 99n^2.] *Purgatorio.* [IV, 239n^2; VIII, 100*n*.] See also under LOMBARDI, P. B.

DA ORTA, GARCIA. See under ORTA, GARCIA DA.

DAREMBERG, C. V., and SAGLIO, E. *Dictionnaire des Antiquités grecque et romaines, d'après les textes et les monuments* . . . *Ouvrage rédigé par une société d'ecrivains spéciaux* . . . *sous la direction de* . . . 5 vols. Paris, Corbeil [printed]. 1873-1919. [IX, 147, 161.]

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DAVIDS, T. W. RHYS. *Buddhist Birth Stories; or Jātaka Tales* . . . *being the Jātakatthavaṇṇanā, Edited by V. Fausböll, and Translated by* . . . Trübner's Oriental Series. 2 vols. Ldn. 1880. [II, 52n^1; V, 3n^1, 55n^3, 79n^3, 98n^1, 100n^1; VIII, 135n^2.]

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The above work forms vol. xi of the "Sacred Books of the East" Series, edited by F. Max Müller. The reference in the *Ocean* is to No. 6 of the work—the *Mahā-sudassanasuttanta*.

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DAY, LAL BEHARI. *Folk-Tales of Bengal.* Ldn. 1883. [I, 28, 95*n*², 131; II, 108*n*; III, 29*n*, 62, 280; VII, 261.]
The 2nd edition of the above was issued in 1912. The collection, formed at the suggestion of Sir Richard Temple, contains twenty-two excellent tales.

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DE GUBERNATIS. See under GUBERNATIS, A. DE.

DEKKER, T. *The Honest Whore.* (1604.) [II, 145*n*.]

DELLA VALLE, PIETRO. *Travels.* [II, 162*n*; III, 85*n*.] See further under GREY, EDWARD.

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The 1606 edition is not accessible to me.

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DESLONGCHAMPS, A. L. *Essai sur les Fables Indiennes et sur leur introduction en Europe. . . .* Paris. 1838. [I, 25, 169.]

DEWAR, D. See under WRIGHT, R. G., and DEWAR, D.

DEY, KANNY LALL. *Indigenous Drugs of India.* 2nd edit. Calcutta. 1896. [VI, 110n^1.]

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D'OHSSON, M * * * (*i.e.* MOURADJA). *Tableau Général de l'Empire Othoman, divisé en deux parties, dont l'une*

comprend le legislation Mahométane; l'autre, l'Histoire de l'Empire Othoman. 3 vols. Paris. 1787, 1790 and 1820. [III, 329.]

DONI. See under JACOBS, J.

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DORYS, G. *La Femme Turque.* Paris. 1902. [II, 163*n*.]

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DOUGHTY, C. M. *Travels in Arabia Deserta.* 2 vols. Cambridge. 1888. [I, 217.]

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DOUTTÉ, EDMOND. *La Société Musulmane du Maghrib. Magie & Religion dans L'Afrique du Nord.* Algiers. 1909. [III, 202; VIII, 100*n*.]

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D'PENHA, G. F. "Folklore in Salsette." *The Indian Antiquary.* Vol. xxii. Bombay. 1893. Pp. 243-250 (cont. on pp. 276-284). [I, 131.]

D'PENHA, G. F. "Folklore in Salsette." *Indian Antiquary.* Vol. xxiii. 1894. Pp. 134-139. [V, 65.]

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DRACOTT, A. E. *Simla Village Tales, or Folk Tales from the Himalayas.* Ldn. 1906. [IX, 163.]

DREW, F. *The Jummoo and Kashmir Territories: a Geographical Account.* Ldn. 1875. [II, 232*n*.]

DRURY, H. *The Useful Plants of India; with notices of their Chief Value in Commerce, Medicine, and the Arts.* 2nd edit. With Additions and Corrections. Ldn. 1873. [VII, 105.]

The first complete edition appeared in Madras, 1858.

DUBOIS, M. L'ABBÉ J.-A. *Le Pantcha-Tantra, ou Les Cinq Ruses, Fables du Brahme Vichnou-Sarma; Aventures de Paramarta, et Autres Contes. . .* Paris. 1826. [V, 48*n*[1], 55*n*[3]; VII, 224.]

The edition of 1872 had the same title-page and contents, but, in addition, thirteen *eaux-fortes* by M. Léonce Petit.

DUBOIS, M. L'ABBÉ J.-A. *Hindu Manners, Customs and Ceremonies. . . . Translated from the Author's Later French MS. and edited with Notes, Corrections, and Biography by Henry K. Beauchamp, C.I.E. . . . with a prefatory note by the Right Hon. F. Max Müller and a Portrait.* 3rd edit. Oxford. 1906. [I, 250, 250*n*[3], 251-253; II, 168, 242; III, 306, 306*n*[4]; IX, 164.]

This justly famous work has an interesting history. The original French MS. was purchased for 8000 rupees by the East India Company. It was then sent to England, translated and published in 1816 (reprinted with omissions in 1864). Meanwhile a copy of the MS. lying among the records of Fort St George had been forwarded to the Abbé for revision and addition. So great and important did this fresh work prove, when returned in 1815, that it was decided to send it to the Court of Directors in England. It arrived too late, and the 1816 edition had already been published. The translation and editing of the revised MS., undertaken by H. K. Beauchamp, first appeared in two vols. Oxford. 1897. By 1906 it had reached the third edition. Other editions can be ignored. Several stories occur in the work, chiefly from the *Pañchatantra*, and appear in Dubois' translation of that collection—see above.

DU FAIL, NOEL, SEIGNEUR DE LA HERISSAYE. *Les Contes et Discours d'Eutrapel.* Rennes. 1585. (Other editions: Rennes, 1598; 2 vols. [Paris] 1732; 2 vols., Paris, 1875.) [II, 2*n*[1], 3*n*.]

DUFF, J. C. G. *A History of the Mahrattas.* 3 vols. Ldn. 1826. (3rd edit. Bombay, 1873. Printed in Ldn.) [VII, 216*n*[2].]

DULAURE, J. A. *Des Divinités Génératrices, ou du Culte du Phallus chez les anciens et les modernes.* Paris. 1805. [I, 14*n*, 15*n*.]

The subsequent editions of this work require some elucidation. The first edition (1805) was in one volume of 428 pages. In 1825 appeared a two-volume work, of which vol. i was: *Histoire abregée de differens Cultes, des Cultes qui ont précédé et amené l'idolatrie ou l'adoration des figures humains.*[1] Vol. ii was an enlarged reprint of *Des Divinités Génératrices . . .* (464 pages). It was at once suppressed, but was reprinted separately in 1885. The most recent edition I have seen was dated 1905. All editions were published in Paris.

DU MÉRIL. See under MÉRIL, ÉDÉLESTAND DU.

DUMONT, P. E. *Histoire de Nala. Traduction Nouvelle par . . .* Bruxelles. 1923. [See IX, 155.]

[1] This had also been issued in 1805 as a separate work.

DUNLOP, JOHN. *History of Fiction.* Ldn. 1814. 2nd edit. 1816, 3rd 1845, with notes by H. Wilson (Bohn's Standard Library), 1888.

In the *Ocean* practically all references are to the valuable notes of Liebrecht in his German translation:

DUNLOP, JOHN. *Geschichte der Prosadichtungen oder Geschichte der Romane, Novellen, Märchen . . . Aus dem Englischen übertragen . . . und mit einleitender Vorrede, ausführlichen Anmerkungen . . . verschen von . . .* Berlin. 1851. [I, 24n^1, 44, 66n^1, 97n^2, 103, 137n^1, 145n^1, 166; II, 6n^2, 39n^2, 127n^2; III, 82n^2, 285n^1; IV, 129n, 132n^1, 145$n^{1,2}$; V, 13n^1, 87n^1, 111n^2, 162n^1, 186n^2; VI, 280$n^{2,3,4}$.]

DUTT, MANMATHA NATH. *The Ramayana. Translated into English Prose from the original Sanskrit of Valmiki.* 7 vols. Calcutta. 1892-1894. [VII, 174; VIII, 44n^1.]

The title-page of vol. iv is dated 1891. This is due to the fact that the first four books, and xli sections of the fifth book, had been previously issued in 1889-1891 in fourteen parts. All title-pages were reset and the date altered accordingly. In the case of the title-page to vol. iv, however, the printers forgot to change it—hence the error. There is nothing to tell us why this first edition suddenly stopped issue in 1891, for in the next year, instead of continuing the issue, it started from the beginning again, but this time the complete work was printed.

DUTT, MANMATHA NATH. *A Prose English Translation of Srimadbhagabatam* [*i.e.* Bhāgavata Purāṇa]. Edited and Published by . . . Calcutta. 1895. [VIII, 214n^2.]

The above work forms part of the "Wealth of India" Series, described as "A Monthly Magazine Solely devoted to the English Translation of the Best Sanskrit Works."

DUTT, UDOY CHAND. *The Materia Medica of the Hindus. Compiled from Sanskrit Medical Works. . . . With a Glossary of Indian Plants, by George King, M.B., F.L.S., Superintendent, Royal Botanical Garden, Calcutta, and the Author.* Calcutta. 1877. [VII, 105.]

In the Brit. Mus. Catalogue the work is entered under Udayachandra Datta. It was reprinted as follows:—

The Materia Medica of the Hindus . . . with a Glossary of Indian Plants by George King, K.C.I.E., F.R.S. . . . Revised Edition. With Additions and Alterations by Kaviraj Binod Lall Sen and Kaviraj Athutosh Sen. Calcutta. 1900.

DYCE, A. *Glossary to the Works of William Shakespeare.* Ldn. 1894. [III, 154.]

A revised edition, with new notes by H. Littledale, appeared in 1902.

DYER, T. F. THISELTON. *English Folk-Lore.* Ldn. 1878. Bogue's "Half-hour Volumes." (2nd edit.) [I, 191; IV, 93n^2, 99n^2, 116n^2.]

DYER, T. F. THISELTON. *The Folk-Lore of Plants.* Ldn. 1889. [III, 154.]

DYMOCK, W. "Flowers of the Hindu Poets." *Journ. Anth. Soc. Bombay.* Vol. ii. 1892. Pp. 80-91. [VIII, 7n^4.]

DYMOCK, W. "On the Use of Turmeric in Hindoo Ceremonial." *Journ. Anth. Soc. Bombay.* Vol. ii. 1892. Pp. 441-448. [I, 255n^1, 255n^3; VIII, 18.] See also under KIRTIKAR, K. R.

EASTWICK, E. B. See under BARKER, W. BURCKHARDT.

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Naturally all readers have their own favourite editions of Shakespeare, but, speaking purely from the point of view of the student of research, I find the one-volume Globe Edition (Macmillan & Co., 4s. 6d.) excellent in every way. On it was based Bartlett's *Complete Concordance* (also published by Macmillan), that amazing work which no Shakespearian student can afford to be without. For an annotated edition I prefer the Arden, 39 vols., 1899-1924 (Methuen).

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