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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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IN TEN VOLUMES

VOL. II

WITH A FOREWORD BY

SIR GEORGE A. GRIERSON, K.C.I.E., PHD., D.LITT., LLD.

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PREFATORY NOTE TO THE NEW EDITION

Since 1948 the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), upon the recommendation of the General Assembly of the United Nations, has been concerned with facilitating the translation of the works most representative of the culture of certain of its Member States and, in particular, those of Asia.

One of the major difficulties confronting this programme is the lack of translators having both the qualifications and the time to undertake translations of the many outstanding books meriting publication. To help overcome this difficulty in part, UNESCO'S advisers in this field (a panel of experts convened every other year by the International Council for Philosophy and Humanistic Studies), have recommended that many worthwhile translations published many years ago, and now impossible to find except in a limited number of libraries, should be brought back into print in low-priced editions, for the use of students and of the general public.

This proposal was warmly endorsed by the Indian National Academy of Letters (Sahitya Akademi), and the Indian National Commission for UNESCO.

It is in the spirit of this recommendation that the famous Tawney-Penzer version of Somadeva's KATHĀSARITSĀGARA (*Ocean of Story*) is now once again being made available to the general public as part of the Indian Series of the UNESCO Collection of Representative Works.

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

IT is a source of great pleasure to me that, by being invited to write the Foreword to this volume, I have been given an opportunity of paying tribute to the memory of an old friend and a great scholar. If, here, I confine myself to the latter aspect of his character, it is at the same time impossible to abstain from associating with it recollections of a cordial friendship extending over more than forty years. It was in Calcutta, in 1880, that I first met Charles Henry Tawney, who was then Principal of the Sanskrit College and had already achieved a high reputation for Sanskrit learning. A warm friendship, fostered on both sides by similarity of tastes, and on my part by his ever-ready kindness and help, then sprang up, and continued unchecked from that time till his lamented death two years ago in Camberley. A master of the Sanskrit language, and widely read in other branches of knowledge, he was an ideal translator of Somadeva's famous work, into the spirit of which he readily allowed himself to enter. The Attic salt of his fancy—a perpetual source of joy to those who were intimate with him—enabled him to reproduce the dry humour of the Sanskrit author in a sympathetic phraseology that few could equal. Whether it was such sophisms as those with which Yaugandharāyaṇa won over the simple straightforward soldier, Rumaṇvat, or such mock solemnity as that with which he tells the exploits of the two scapegrace rogues, Śiva and Mādhava, in this translation we seem to hear the original author's very voice. But it was not only as a capable translator that Tawney shone. A remarkably wide range of reading enabled him to adorn his work with numerous parallels taken from the legends of other countries, and that at a time when little had been done in the scientific examination of folk-lore. Since the first volume appeared in 1880 there has been a great advance in that science, and throughout the quest, up to the present day, his version of

the *Kathā Sarit Sāgara* has been an indispensable tool in the hands of inquirers, without which much that has been discovered would still remain unknown. Now, with Mr Penzer's edition, the seed then sown by him has borne—too late, alas, to rejoice the original sower—rich and ample fruit, and, as Tawney himself would have done, we can welcome his admirable additions to the original notes, bringing Tawney's information up to date and making correction of such few mistakes as the advance of science has rendered inevitable. Besides these notes Mr Penzer has added several appendixes of really absorbing interest, in which he has summarised all the information that has up to the present time been collected regarding certain important questions connected with folk-lore and anthropology that arise in the course of editing the work. I shall refer to some of these later on, but here a general expression of appreciation cannot be omitted.

My knowledge of the subject is not sufficient to justify me in attempting to emulate Sir Richard Temple's example by giving notes on the origin and history of the many stories contained in this volume. That is a thing that I must leave to other and more capable hands; but a good part of my life was spent in fairly intimate relations with the peoples of the Ganges Valley, and I may, perhaps, be pardoned if I jot down a few disjointed reminiscences that may illuminate passages which struck me as I read through the tales and Mr Penzer's notes.

On the very first page of this volume we are told how the amorous king, Udayana of Vatsa, absorbed in the delights of his harem, neglected the responsibilities of his rule, and again, on page 55, a similar story is told of King Ādityasena of Ujjayinī. For India such stories are only too true to life. Over and over again does history tell us how kings have been destroyed, and how India has been lost, through the love of women. Somadeva tells us how, in each of the two cases mentioned by him his ministers succeeded in arousing the royal voluptuary to a sense of his kingly duties, and we have a pretty version of the same idea for modern times in the well-known story of the poet Vihārī and King Jai Singh Mirza of Ambēr, who reigned in the seventeenth century. Jai Singh

had been a mighty warrior, serving the emperor with high renown, but, in an evil moment, he wedded a girl wife of surpassing beauty. He retired with her into his inner apartments, and gave orders that any person disturbing him with official business should be blown from a gun. So matters went on for a year, and ended in dire confusion, but none of the ministers dared acquaint the king. At last the poet solved the problem by composing a verse that, while ostensibly praising the beauty of the young queen, gave no uncertain hint as to the state of affairs.[1] This he concealed among the flower petals that each day were sent into the inner apartments of the palace to form the bed of the happy couple. In the morning the paper remained stiff among the withered petals and bruised the king's body. He drew it out, read it, and at once returned to a sense of his responsibilities. He came forth, held a public court, summoned the ingenious poet and promised him a gold coin for every verse that he might bring him. As a result the kingdom was saved, and Vihārī became a rich man; for he wrote seven hundred more verses that were later put together by his admirers and form that inimitable collection of miniature picture-poems known all over Northern India as the *Bihārī Satsaī* or the "Seven Centuries of Vihārī."

A sadder instance is that of the gallant Pṛithīrāj, the Chauhān monarch of Delhi. He wooed and carried off by force the fair Sanjogin, daughter of Jaichand of Kanauj. In the ensuing war Jaichand, hard pressed by Pṛithīrāj, called to his assistance the Musalmāns, who had already invaded India, and who had established themselves at Lahore. Lulled in the arms of Sanjogin, Pṛithīrāj paid little heed to the threatening storm. When he awoke it was too late. The storm had burst in all its fury, and Pṛithīrāj was defeated and slain in "The Great Battle" of A.D. 1192 at Thānesar. Sanjogin ended her life upon his funeral pyre, and Delhi became, and remained until it was captured by the English in the Mutiny, a Moslem capital.

The long story of Vidūshaka (p. 54 *ff.*) suggests more than one parallel with the beliefs of the Indian peasant of

[1] *Bihārī Satsaī*, 630.

to-day. On page 57 Mr Penzer supplies an interesting note on horses in folk-lore and their devotion to their masters. The Rājpūt *Lay of Ālhā* is full of this. Each of the heroes possesses a horse of fairy breed that saves him in many a difficult situation. For instance, Malkhān's mare, Kabūtrī, or "the Pigeon," is ridden by her master in a furious battle charge. I quote Waterfield's translation [1]:

"As the lion the kine, as the wolf the sheep,
As the schoolboy drives the ball,
So trench by trench did Malkhān leap
With his Rājpūts following all.

'If I gave thee barley in winter,
And oil in time of rain,
If Parmāl stinted thee not of milk
In thy foalhood lightsome and vain,

'Kabūtrī, my mare, my Pigeon,
Mine honour save this day,
And let not thy foot take a backward step
Whilst foes uphold the fray!'

Kabūtrī arched her brown neck free,
And they rushed on the Chauhān men;
But, where her master dealt with three,
The mare she smote down ten.

For with teeth she tore and her heels she flang
That she made a passage wide,
And each howda she passed, in air she sprang,
That her lord might reach the side."

In India it is natural that elephants should play a rôle similar to that of horses. In folk-lore they betray, or serve, their masters like human beings, and even converse with them in human voice. We have a striking example of this in the same *Lay of Ālhā*. Dasrāj's elephant, Pachsāwaḍ, has been carried off by his enemy, Karinghā, and years

[1] The *Lay of Ālhā* (Oxford University Press, 1923), p. 234.

later, when Dasrāj's sons, Ālhā and Ūdan, with their cousin, Malkhān, wage a war of vengeance on their father's murderer, we find Pachsāwaḍ faithfully serving his new masters, Jambay and his son Karinghā, and aiding in the capture of Ūdan. On hearing the news, Devī, Dasrāj's widow, hastens to the battle-field and accosts the elephant[1]

"A mother's yearning filled her breast,
For fear she nothing shrunk;
As it were a cow her calf caressed,
She clasped Pachsāwaḍ's trunk.

'I reared thee up in my house from youth,
And gave thee milk good store;
O little of grace, was this thy truth,
My Ūdan to bind so sore?'

At her words a shame o'er Pachsāwaḍ came,
'I was pledged to the king Jambay;
I have eaten his salt, 'twas in me no fault
I should bind thine Ūdan Ray.

'Were Malkhān now to the battle seat,
He would soon set Ūdan free.'"

Following Pachsāwaḍ's advice, she dispatches Malkhān to the field, and he challenges Karinghā, mounted on Pachsāwaḍ, with Ūdan as his prisoner, to mortal combat. Karinghā orders his Mahout to charge upon Malkhān:

"The driver laid on strokes well told,
Not a step Pachsāwaḍ went;
His trunk between his tusks he rolled,
And down on his knees he bent.

And Ālhā then with all his men
Came charging o'er the plain;
With a battle shout their swords flashed out,
Like the sweep of the hurricane.

[1] P. 120.

'Pachsāwaḍ doth play me false to-day;
He quits the foremost line';
Karinghā's soul was troubled sore,
And round he turned his eyne.

Then straight he bade Papīhā [1] bring,
And lighted down to ride;
From his courser's back did Malkhān spring,
And sat by Ūdan's side.

Ūdan unbound he laid on the ground,
And Rupnā Bendulā [2] led;
Queen Devī down from her litter came,
And worshipped Pachsāwaḍ's head.

With sandal free, so fair to see,
She painted his frontal wide;
'Behold I entrust my sons to thee,
Now help in this perilous tide.

'Lo, Ālhā, here thy father's beast,
Mount up, my son, and ride':
He climbed, and stood on the painted wood
And sat as he grasped the side."

In this way, Pachsāwaḍ having returned to his former allegiance, the battle is resumed, and ends with the villain Karinghā's satisfactory death at the hands of Malkhān.

Again, the fatal brides of the same story of Vidūshaka (pp. 69 and 74), whose husbands die one after the other on the wedding night, have their counterpart in Kāshmīrī legend of the present day.[3] Here, however, it is a python, issuing from the princess's mouth, not a visiting Rākshasa, who kills the bridegroom. He is duly slain by the hero, who, like Vidūshaka, wins the lady for his wife, and, we hope, lives happy with her ever after.

On page 81 *ff.*, in his note on Rāhu, the demon of eclipse,

[1] Papīhā was the name of Karinghā's horse.

[2] Bendulā was the name of Ūdan's horse, and Rupnā here acts as squire.

[3] See *Hātim's Tales* (London, 1923), p. 69 *ff.* For numerous other variants of the Tobit legend see Groome, *Folk-Lore*, vol. ix, p. 226.

Mr Penzer tells us how, in the Indian Central Provinces, he is the deity of the sweeper caste. There can be no doubt about Rāhu being an aboriginal god, who has been borrowed by the Indo-Aryans as a demon, but who still retains his divine character among the non-Aryan, or semi-Aryan, lowest classes. In Northern India he is the god of the Dusādhs, a degraded caste, and is the object of a remarkable ceremony of fire-worship. On certain festal days a long trench is filled with burning coals, on which the devotees walk barefoot without apparently receiving any harm.[1]

Cutting off the nose of an unfaithful wife, as narrated on page 88, is still practised in India. An old friend, a Civil surgeon in Bihār, told me that he had more than once sewed on the nose of an erring spouse. There is a well-authenticated story that a woman once came to a surgeon with her severed nose. There was no time to be lost, so there and then, in the bungalow verandah, he set her on a table, and laid down beside her the severed portion while he prepared the surface of the wound. A watchful crow interfered with the operation, flew down and carried off the tasty piece of flesh, so that the unfortunate patient had to go noseless for the rest of her days. The moral, of course, is that spouses should remain faithful, or else, if this is impossible, that crows should not be encouraged in the neighbourhood of Indian hospitals.

In the story of Kārttikeya (p. 101) we are told how Kāma —the Indian God of Love—was consumed by a glance of the irate Śiva, but was allowed to be born again—without a body—in the minds of animate creatures. We shall see later on how the curse was removed, and how Kāma received bodily form in the shape of Kṛishṇa's son, Pradyumna; but here I may mention that this story of his having no body seems to be an interesting example of false folk-etymology. One of his names was "Ananga," which was popularly explained as *an-aṅga*, or "in-corporeal"; but, as Professor Konow has pointed out,[2] the word has probably an altogether

[1] See Risley, *The Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, i, 254, and also page 169 of this work.

[2] In the *Wackernagel Festschrift*, p. 1 *ff*. The word is probably merely an intensive form derived from the root *añj*, "anoint."

different meaning, which can hardly be given in these pages. Popular etymology has divided it wrongly, and has thus given birth to a pretty legend that has inspired some of the most famous poetry of India.

Mr Penzer, on p. 117 *ff.*, has given an important note on nudity in magic. In India the ceremonial use of nudity is especially prevalent in the north-east, where the population is largely of Tibeto-Burman origin. For instance, in Rangpur —a Bengal district bordering on Assam—in time of drought, the women set up by night a plantain-tree in honour of a non-Aryan god named Hudum Deo, and dance round it naked, singing obscene songs.[1] Mr Penzer refers to a similar custom among the Meithei women of Manipur, who also are not of Aryan stock; and in Assam and parts of Bengal, when one person wishes to insult another, he makes himself naked before him. When I was a magistrate in Murshidabad a complainant who was angry at having failed to prove his case, met his enemies on the way home and insulted them in this manner. I shall never forget the speechless fury of these men when they came to me about it, although they had previously borne the abuse and perjury in the witness-box with unmoved faces. Perjury was a thing to be expected, and could be met in the orthodox manner by counter-perjury, —but this conduct was breaking the rules of the game. In an Assam bazaar, when two old crones fall out there is a race between them as to who can disrobe first, in order to win a battle that had begun with only wordy warfare.

The use of iron in the birth-chamber to scare away evil spirits, described by Mr Penzer (p. 166 *ff.*), is, I believe, universal in India. I have come across it as far north as Kashmīr, where, as elsewhere, not only is iron found in the lying-in room, but the woman's drink is water in which a piece of red-hot iron has been quenched.[2] This might be supposed to be a kind of rude tonic, but the superstition regarding the metal as a demon-scarer shows its true nature.

On page 192 we are told how Śaktideva was swallowed

[1] See the present writer in *Journ. As. Soc. Bengal*, vol. xlvi, Pt. I, p. 188.

[2] Cf. *Islām in India*, p. 23.

by an enormous fish and afterwards rescued. This, as Mr Penzer shows, is a common feature in Indian stories, but the *locus classicus* is the tale of Kṛishṇa's son, Pradyumna. We have seen above how Kāma had been consumed by Siva and condemned for ever to be bodiless. The curse being remitted, he was born again as Pradyumna. His wife Rati, who all these ages had been searching for him without success, was shortly before this born as Māyāvatī, and became the wife of a demon named Śambara. Śambara, hating Kṛishṇa, stole Pradyumna while yet a babe and cast him into the sea. There he was swallowed by a great fish, which was afterwards caught and came into Śambara's kitchen. The child was found inside it and was taken care of and reared by Māyāvatī. When he grew up the pair learnt from Nārada that they were respectively Kāma and Rati, and so Pradyumna killed Śambara, and, taking Māyāvatī with him, returned to his parents. The whole story is told in detail in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*.[1]

Mr Penzer has a most interesting note on the sacred cow of the Hindūs. He is inclined to look upon the Hindū veneration of this animal as dating from prehistoric times. Now it is a curious fact that, north of Kashmīr, there is the important Dard tribe of Shiṇs, the members of which loathe cows. They inhabit the country round Gilgit, and once extended far to the east, into Tibet. These people are certainly of Aryan stock, but, in my opinion, are not Indo-Aryans. They probably came, independently of the great Indo-Aryan migration, into their present seat from the north, over the Pāmīrs. To these people the cow, so far from being sacred, is abhorrent. This has been noted by more than one observer.[2] For instance, Drew says :

"They hold the cow in abhorrence; they look on it much in the same way that the ordinary Muhammadan regards the pig. They will not drink cow's milk, nor do

[1] X, lv. See also *Vishṇu Purāṇa*, Wilson-Hall trans., v, 73 *ff*.

[2] *E.g.* Drew, *Jummoo and Kashmir*, 428; Biddulph, *Tribes of the Hindoo Koosh*, 37; Shaw, "Stray Arians in Tibet," *Journ. As. Soc. Bengal*, xlvii, Pt. I, 29.

they eat or make butter from it. Nor even will they burn cowdung, the fuel that is so commonly used in the East. Some cattle they are obliged to keep for ploughing, but they have as little as possible to do with them; when the cow calves they will put the calf to the udder by pushing it with a forked stick, and will not touch it with their hands."

Here we have apparently an ancient taboo among non-Indian Aryans, contrasted with the sacredness attributed to the same animal by their Indian cousins; and this leads us to the consideration that in prehistoric times, before the Indo-Aryan invasion, the still united Aryans looked upon the cow as subject to certain taboos, which developed independently on two separate lines, into the complete taboo of the Shiṇs, and into the reverence of a sacred animal among the Indo-Aryans.

I have much more that I could write about this interesting volume, but considerations of space compel me to restrict myself to Mr Penzer's very full treatment of the legends about poison-damsels in his important Appendix III. It is curious how the different versions of the story current in widely distant parts of India agree even in small details. Mr Penzer (p. 301) quotes Barbosa's account of Maḥmūd of Gujarāt, who was so poisonous that "when a fly touched him, as soon as it reached his flesh it forthwith died and swelled up." We have also read on page 284 how Chāṇakya saved Chandragupta from a poison-damsel who had been sent to him by Rākshasa, but we are not told how he detected her poisonous character. We learn this, however, from another work written in Bihār—the *Purusha-parīksha* of the poet Vidyāpati Ṭhakkura, who flourished in the fourteenth century. He too, in chapter xx of his work, tells the story of Chāṇakya, and describes how he recognised the dangerous nature of the girl by noting that *when flies settled on her to sip her perspiration they fell down dead.*

Perhaps I may add a few instances of my personal experience regarding the effects of opium to the very interesting account given by Mr Penzer in the same appendix.

Most of my Indian service was in the poppy-growing districts of Bihār, and for part of the time I was in charge of the Opium Department. I found ample evidence that among the millions of people with whom I was brought into contact the number of confirmed opium-sots was very small indeed. As for the educated classes, I have often been told that a man, after he has passed his fortieth year, should eat opium in moderation, merely to keep him in good health; and, though I have had hundreds of officials under me, I can remember only two of them who were slaves to the habit. One of these managed to do his work, if not brilliantly, at least efficiently, and lived to retire on a pension, when I lost sight of him. The other was once found asleep in his office and was threatened with dismissal. He was able to pull himself together and the offence was not repeated. As for the peasantry, every little cultivator in the opium districts kept back a small quantity of the drug, which he had to hand over to Government. This he stored at home as a family medicine, and took a little of it when he felt out of sorts. It may in fact be said that the people of Bihār, owing to generations of use, have as a body become immune to the evil effects of the drug. The evils that do arise from its use are seen in the case of its introduction among a population hitherto unaccustomed to it and, hence, not immune. Here its ravages are terrible, and total prohibition, as is the case in Burma, is the only remedy.

It will be seen, therefore, that in the case of opium there is evidence that its use through many generations makes consumers immune to its evil effects, and that the power of restricting its use within the limits of moderation appears to be an hereditary habit acquirable by an entire nationality. That this immunity, as in the case of snake-charmers' traditional immunity to cobra poison, was an observed fact familiar to the Indian mind can easily be conceived, which strengthens Mr Penzer's explanation of the origin of the legend of his poison-damsels.

I have now trespassed more than enough on Mr Penzer's kindness and on the space allotted for this Foreword. I

therefore conclude with again congratulating him on his success in honouring my old friend's *magnum opus* by the preparation of this edition with such competent and, at the same time, such reverent hands.

GEORGE A. GRIERSON.

CAMBERLEY, *Sept.* 2, 1924.

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PREFACE

WITH the issue of this second volume of the *Ocean of Story* I would like to take the opportunity of thanking my many subscribers for their kind support. The appreciative and sympathetic manner in which the reviewers have received the first volume of the work has also been most encouraging.

Subscribers will be pleased to hear that great progress is being made with the subsequent volumes. Volume III is now in the press and Volume IV is well in hand.

It remains but to acknowledge the kind help I have received from so many quarters.

To Sir George Grierson is due special thanks for his most interesting and relevant Foreword. I was particularly gratified when Sir George so kindly consented to write this, as I know how pleased Mr Tawney would have been to have seen the name of his old friend connected with the present edition of his *magnum opus*.

Dr L. D. Barnett has again read through all my proofs, and has not only given me the advantage of his inexhaustible store of Sanskrit knowledge, but has translated afresh those passages which needed revision, owing either to improved readings in the D. text or to omissions made by Mr Tawney himself.

Mr C. Fenton has also been through the proofs from the general point of view, and his microscopic eye has detected many errors which I had passed unnoticed. In addition to which his knowledge of Central American ancient history and mythology has been particularly helpful, especially in portions of the " Poison-damsel " appendix.

To the list of names already given in my Introduction to Volume I, I would add those of Mr H. Balfour, Professor Henri Cordier, Dr M. Gaster, Rev. A. S. Geden, Mr J. D. Gimlette, Lady Gomme, Mr R. Grant Brown, Mr F. H. Hudleston, Mr Edward Hutton, Professor Julius Jolly, Dr A. B. Keith, Dr D. B. Macdonald, Professor D. S. Margoliouth, Miss Joan Procter, Professor C. G. Seligman, and Mr P. G. Trendell.

N. M. P.

12 Clifton Hill,
St John's Wood, N.W.8,
30th September 1924.

THE
OCEAN OF STORY

BOOK III: LĀVĀNAKA

CHAPTER XV

INVOCATION

HONOUR to the Conqueror of Obstacles whose favour, I ween, even the creator[1] implored, in order that he might accomplish the creation of the world without let or hindrance.

That five-arrowed God of Love conquers the world, at whose command even Śiva trembles, when he is being embraced by his beloved.

[M] Thus having obtained Vāsavadattā, that King of Vatsa gradually became most exclusively devoted to the pleasure of her society. But his prime minister Yaugandharāyaṇa, and his general Rumaṇvat, upheld day and night the burden of his empire. And once upon a time the minister Yaugandharāyaṇa, full of anxiety, brought Rumaṇvat to his house at night and said to him as follows:—"This lord of Vatsa is sprung from the Pāṇḍava race, and the whole earth is his by hereditary descent, as also the city named of the elephant.[2] All these this king has abandoned, not being desirous of making conquests, and his kingdom has so become confined to this one small corner of the earth. For he certainly remains devoted to women, wine and hunting, and he has delegated to us all the duty of thinking about his kingdom. So we by our own intelligence must take such steps as that he shall obtain the empire of the whole earth, which is his by hereditary right. For, if we do this, we shall have exhibited devotion to his cause, and performed our duty as ministers; for everything is accomplished by intellect, and in proof of this listen to the following tale:—

[1] I read *dhātā* for *dhātrā*.

[2] *I.e.* Hastināpura.

11. *Story of the Clever Physician*

Once on a time there was a king named Mahāsena, and he was attacked by another king far superior to him in power. Then the king's ministers met together, and in order to prevent the ruin of his interests Mahāsena was persuaded by them to pay tribute to that enemy. And after he had paid tribute that haughty king was exceedingly afflicted, thinking to himself: "Why have I made submission to my enemy?" And his sorrow on that account caused an abscess to form in his vitals, and he was so pulled down by the abscess that at last he was at the point of death. Then a certain wise physician, considering that that case could not be cured by medicine, said falsely to that king: "O King, your wife is dead." When he heard that, the king fell on the ground, and owing to the excessive violence of his grief the abscess burst of itself. And so the king recovered from his disease, and long enjoyed in the society of that queen the pleasures he desired, and conquered his enemies in his turn.[1]

[M] "So, as that physician did his king a good turn by his wisdom, let us also do our king a good turn; let us gain for him the empire of the earth. And in this undertaking our

[1] Here Wilson observes: "The circumstances here related are not without analogies in fact. It is not marvellous, therefore, that we may trace them in fiction. The point of the story is the same as that of the 'Deux Anglais à Paris,' a *Fabliau*." Webster, *Duchess of Malfi*, Act IV, sc. 2, tells a similar story:

> "A great physician, when the Pope was sick
> Of a deep melancholy, presented him
> With several sorts of madmen, which wild object,
> Being full of change and sport, freed him to laugh,
> And so the imposthume broke."

Cf. Henderson's *Folk-Lore of the Northern Counties*, p. 131.——Reference should also be made to the *Heptameron*, Margaret of Navarre, nouvelle lxxi, which treats of "Une femme à l'extremité qui se mit en si grosse colère, voyant son mari qui baisait sa servante, qu'elle recouvra la santé." For the English translation see the five-volume edition printed in 1894 for the Society of English Bibliophilists, vol. v, p. 219 *et seq.* The story was imitated by Noel du Fail de la Hérissaye in his *Contes d'Eutrapel* (ch. v, "De la Goutte"),

only adversary is Pradyota, the King of Magadha [1]; for he is a foe in the rear that is always attacking us behind. So we must ask for our sovereign that pearl of princesses, his daughter,[2] named Padmāvatī. And by our cleverness we will conceal Vāsavadattā somewhere, and setting fire to her house, we will give out everywhere that the queen is burnt. For in no other case will the King of Magadha give his daughter to our sovereign, for when I requested him to do so on a former occasion he answered: 'I will not give my daughter, whom I love more than myself, to the King of Vatsa, for he is passionately attached to his wife Vāsavadattā.' Moreover, as long as the queen is alive, the King of Vatsa will not marry anyone else; but if a report is once spread that the queen is burnt, all will succeed. And when Padmāvatī is secured, the King of Magadha will be our marriage connection, and will not attack us in the rear, but will become our ally. Then we will march to conquer the eastern quarter, and the others in due succession, so we shall obtain for the King of Vatsa all this earth. And if we only exert ourselves, this king will obtain the dominion of the earth, for long ago a divine voice predicted this."

The Plot

When Rumaṇvat heard this speech from the great minister

where the hero is called Glaume Esnaut de Tremeril. In Frere's *Old Deccan Days*, p. 217, we read of a quarrel between a blind man and a deaf man, which got so serious that the blind man gave the deaf man a tremendous box on the ear, so violent indeed that it made the deaf man hear. The deaf man returned the blow so hard on the blind man's face that his eyesight was immediately restored. It is unnecessary to give examples of the extraordinary cases of restoration of sight and hearing which constantly occurred in the Great War. A similar story to that in our text also occurs on p. 36 of this volume.—N.M.P.

[1] This ancient kingdom corresponds to the modern districts of Patna, Gayā and Shāhābād in South Bihār. Its great importance in Indian history will be realised when we remember that it was not only the home of Buddhism and Jainism, but also the nucleus of two of the greatest of the Indian empires, the Maurya and the Gupta. Until the sixth century B.C. its capital was Girivraja, when its place was taken by Rājagṛiha, the modern Rājgīr. Further information will be found in Rhys Davids' *Buddhist India*, 1905; Cunningham's *Ancient Geography of India*, 1871; and the *Cambridge History of India*, vol. i, 1922.—N.M.P.

[2] In the dramatic version (see note 1, p. 21) of this incident Padmāvatī is described as *sister* of King Praydota.—N.M.P.

Yaugandharāyaṇa, he feared that the plan would cover them with ridicule, and so he said to him: "Deception practised for the sake of Padmāvatī might some day be the ruin of us both; in proof of this listen to the following tale:—

12. *Story of the Hypocritical Ascetic*

On the bank of the Ganges there is a city named Mākandikā; in that city long ago there was a certain ascetic who observed a vow of silence, and he lived on alms, and, surrounded by numerous other holy beggars, dwelt in a monastery within the precincts of a god's temple where he had taken up his abode. Once, when he entered a certain merchant's house to beg, he saw a beautiful maiden coming out with alms in her hand, and the rascal, seeing that she was wonderfully beautiful, was smitten with love, and exclaimed: "Ah! Ah! Alas!" And that merchant overheard him. Then, taking the alms he had received, he departed to his own house; and then the merchant went there and said to him in his astonishment: "Why did you to-day suddenly break your vow of silence [1] and say what you did?" When he heard that, the ascetic said to the merchant: "This daughter of yours has inauspicious marks [2]; when she marries, you will undoubtedly perish, wife, sons and all. So, when I saw her, I was afflicted, for you are my devoted adherent; and thus it was on your account that I broke silence and said what I did. So place this daughter of yours by night in a basket, on the top of which there must be a light, and set her adrift on the Ganges." The merchant said, "So I will," and went away; and at night he did all he had been directed to do, out of pure fear. The timid are ever unreflecting.

The hermit for his part said at that time to his own pupils: "Go to the Ganges, and when you see a basket floating along with a light on the top of it, bring it here secretly, but you must not open it, even if you hear a noise inside." They said, "We will do so," and off they went;

[1] For the amazing austerities of ascetics see Vol. I, p. 79, note 1.—N.M.P.

[2] See note on p. 7.—N.M.P.

but before they reached the Ganges, strange to say, a certain prince went into the river to bathe. He, seeing that basket, which the merchant had thrown in, by the help of the light on it, got his servants to fetch it for him, and immediately opened it out of curiosity. And in it he saw that heart-enchanting girl, and he married her on the spot by the *gāndharva* ceremony of marriage. And he set the basket adrift on the Ganges, exactly as it was before, putting a lamp on the top of it, and placing a fierce monkey inside it.

The prince having departed with that pearl of maidens, the pupils of the hermit came there in the course of their search, and saw that basket, and took it up and carried it to the hermit. Then he, being delighted, said to them: "I will take this upstairs and perform incantations with it alone, but you must lie in silence this night." When he had said this, the ascetic took the basket to the top of the monastery and opened it, eager to behold the merchant's daughter. And then a monkey of terrible appearance sprang out of it,[1] and rushed upon the ascetic, like his own immoral conduct incarnate in bodily form. The monkey in its fury immediately tore off with its teeth the nose of the wicked ascetic, and his ears with its claws, as if it had been a skilful executioner; and in that state the ascetic ran downstairs, and when his pupils beheld him they could with difficulty suppress their laughter. And early next morning everybody heard the story, and laughed heartily; but the merchant was delighted, and his daughter also, as she had obtained a good husband.

[M] "And even as the ascetic made himself ridiculous, so too may we possibly become a laughing-stock, if we employ

[1] Cf. *Sagas from the Far East*, tale xi, pp. 123, 124. Here the crime contemplated is murder, and the ape is represented by a tiger. This story bears a certain resemblance to the termination of "Alles aus einer Erbse," Kaden's *Unter den Olivenbäumen*, p. 22. See also pp. 75 and 220 of the same collection.——In the *Pentamerone* of Basile (Burton, vol. i, second diversion of the third day, p. 149 *et seq.*) a princess is set afloat in a box and found by a king, whose wife she eventually becomes. See also Tawney's *Kathākoça*, pp. 131-134.—N.M.P

deceit, and fail after all. For the separation of the king from Vāsavadattā involves many disadvantages."

When Rumaṇvat had said this to Yaugandharāyaṇa, the latter answered: "In no other way can we conduct our enterprise successfully, and if we do not undertake the enterprise, it is certain that with this self-indulgent king we shall lose even what territory we have got; and the reputation which we have acquired for statesmanship will be tarnished, and we shall cease to be spoken of as men who show loyalty to their sovereign. For when a king is one who depends on himself for success, his ministers are considered merely the instruments of his wisdom; and in the case of such monarchs you would not have much to do with their success or failures. But when a king depends on his ministers for success, it is their wisdom that achieves his ends, and if they are wanting in enterprise he must bid a long farewell to all hope of greatness.[1] But if you fear the queen's father Chaṇḍamahāsena, I must tell you that he and his son and the queen also will do whatever I bid them."

When Yaugandharāyaṇa, most resolute among the resolute, had said this, Rumaṇvat, whose heart dreaded some fatal blunder, again said to him: "Even a discerning prince is afflicted by the pain of being separated from a beloved woman, much more will this King of Vatsa be. In proof of what I say, listen to the following tale:—

13. *Story of Unmādinī*[2]

Once on a time there was a king named Devasena, best of wise men, and the city of Śrāvastī was his capital. And in

[1] Literally, a handful of water, such as is offered to the Manes, is offered to Fortune. It is all over with his chance of attaining glory.

[2] Cf. *Sicilianische Märchen*, Gonzenbach, vol. i, p. 220. Liebrecht, in note 485 to page 413 of his translation of Dunlop's *History of Fiction*, compares this story with one in *The Thousand and One Days* of a princess of Kashmīr, who was so beautiful that everyone who saw her went mad, or pined away. He also mentions an Arabian tradition with respect to the Thracian sorceress Rhodope: "The Arabs believe that one of the pyramids is haunted by a guardian spirit in the shape of a beautiful woman, the mere sight of whom drives men mad." He refers also to Thomas Moore, *The Epicurean*, note 6 to ch. vi. and *The Adventures of Hatim Tai*, translated by Duncan Forbes, p. 18.

chat city there was a wealthy merchant, and to him there was born a daughter of unparalleled beauty. And that daughter became known by the name of Unmādinī, because everyone who beheld her beauty became mad. Her father, the merchant, thought: "I must not give this daughter of mine to anyone without telling the king, or he may be angry." So he went and said to the king Devasena: "King, I have a daughter who is a very pearl; take her if she finds favour in your eyes."

When he heard that, the king sent some Brāhmans, his confidential ministers, saying to them: "Go and see if that maiden possesses the auspicious marks [1] or not." The

[1] The interpreting of bodily marks is known as *sāmudrika*, and there are several works on the art. Buddha was said to have possessed thirty-two lucky marks (*mahāpurushalakshaṇa*) and eighty minor marks. Thurston tells us (*Ethnographic Notes in Southern India*, p. 84) that among the Kurubas the bridegroom's father observes certain marks, or "curls," on the head of the proposed bride. If she has one on her forehead it is considered lucky; but the opposite is the case if one is found at the back of the head, or near the right temple.

Among the Pallis (Tamil agriculturists) a "curl" on the forehead is considered as an indication that the girl will become a widow; and one on the back of the head portends the death of the eldest brother of her husband.

The following notes on *sāmudrika* were kindly obtained for me from Rai Bahadur B. A. Gupta by Mr Enthoven:—

The number of horizontal lines on the forehead indicate years of longevity. If a man has two lines, he will live for forty years or so; if three, he will live for seventy-five years or so; if four, for full hundred years. If while smiling he gets a dimple or depression in his cheeks, he will be a loose character. If his chin is double and broad, he will be strong-willed. If his chin be thin and rounded, he would like to be loved by a woman. If he has very long ears, he will be licentious. If there be a deep horizontal line at the top of the nose, he would like to be authoritative. If he has five whorls at the five tips of his fingers, he will be a princeling; if all the ten fingers have that mark, he will become a sovereign. If a man has a line on the sole of his foot running between his big toe and the second toe, he will get a palanquin. A woman with the little toe overlapping the next one, or if it does not reach the earth, will be morally bad-charactered and will seek many men. If the four fingers of a man when held up against the sun show light through interstices, he is an extravagant person. On the other hand, if he has fat fingers and no interstices, he is a close-fisted man, and likely to be a miser.

As we shall see in a later volume (Chapter XLIII), Naravāhanadatta is recognised as a future emperor by special distinguishing signs "such as the peculiar freckle and other marks."—N.M.P.

ministers said, "We will do so," and went. But when they beheld that merchant's daughter, Unmādinī, love was suddenly produced in their souls, and they became utterly bewildered. When they recovered their senses, the Brāhmans said to one another: "If the king marries this maiden, he will think only of her, and will neglect the affairs of the state, and everything will go to rack and ruin; so what is the good of her?" Accordingly they went and told the king, what was not true, that the maiden had inauspicious marks.

Then the merchant gave that Unmādinī, whom the king had refused, and who in her heart felt a proud resentment at it, to the king's commander-in-chief. When she was in the house of her husband, she ascended one day to the roof, and exhibited herself to the king, who she knew would pass that way. And the moment the king beheld her, resembling a world-bewildering drug employed by the God of Love, distraction seemed to be produced within him. When he returned to his palace, and discovered that it was the same lady he had previously rejected, he was full of regret, and fell violently ill with fever. The commander-in-chief, the husband of the lady, came to him and earnestly entreated him to take her, saying: "She is a slave; she is not the lawful wife of another; or, if it seem fit, I will repudiate her in the temple, then my lord can take her for his own." But the king said to him: "I will not take unto myself another man's wife, and if you repudiate her, your righteousness will be at an end, and you will deserve punishment at my hands." When they heard that, the other ministers remained silent, and the king was gradually consumed by love's burning, and so died.[1]

[M] "So that king perished, though of firm soul, being deprived of Unmādinī; but what will become of the lord of Vatsa without Vāsavadattā?" When Yaugandharāyaṇa heard this from Rumaṇvat, he answered: "Affliction is bravely endured by kings who have their eyes firmly fixed

[1] See note to next story.—N.M.P.

on their duty. Did not Rāma, when commissioned by the gods, who were obliged to resort to that contrivance to kill Rāvaṇa, endure the pain of separation from Queen Sītā?" When he heard this, Rumaṇvat said in answer: "Such as Rāma are gods; their souls can endure all things. But the thing is intolerable to men; in proof whereof listen to the following tale:—

14. *Story of the Loving Couple who died of Separation*

There is on this earth a great city rich in jewels, named Mathurā. In it there lived a certain young merchant called Illaka. And he had a dear wife whose mind was devoted to him alone. Once on a time, while he was dwelling with her, the young merchant determined to go to another country on account of the exigencies of his affairs. And that wife of his wished to go with him. For when a woman is passionately attached to anyone she cannot endure to be separated from him. And then that young merchant set out, having offered the usual preliminary prayer for success in his undertaking, and did not take with him that wife of his, though she had dressed herself for the journey. She, looking after him when he had started, with tears in her eyes, stood supporting herself against the panel of the door of the courtyard. Then, he being out of sight, she was no longer able to endure her grief; but she was too timid to follow him. So her breath left her body. And as soon as the young merchant came to know of that, he returned, and to his horror found that dear wife of his a corpse, with pale though lovely complexion, set off by her waving locks, like the spirit of beauty that tenants the moon fallen down to earth in the day during her sleep.[1] So he took her in his arms and wept over her, and immediately the vital spirits left his body, which was on fire with the flame of grief, as if they were afraid to remain.[2] So that

[1] In the original it is intended to compare the locks to the spots in the moon.

[2] Among the Hindus death was the tenth, and final, stage of love-sickness. Vātsyāyana in his *Kāma Sūtra* (*circa* A.D. 250) gives the ten stages as follows:—(1) love of the eyes—*i.e.* pleasure in seeing the beloved one; (2) attraction and dwelling of the mind; (3) the birth of desire for union; (4) loss of sleep;

married couple perished by mutual separation, and therefore we must take care that the king is not separated from the queen.

[M] When he had said this, Rumaṇvat ceased, with his mind full of apprehension, but the wise Yaugandharāyaṇa, that ocean of calm resolution, answered him: "I have arranged the whole plan, and the affairs of kings often require such steps to be taken; in proof of it hear the following tale:—

15. *Story of Puṇyasena*

There lived long ago in Ujjayinī a king named Puṇyasena, and once on a time a powerful sovereign came and attacked him. Then his resolute ministers, seeing that that king was hard to conquer, spread everywhere a false report that their own sovereign Puṇyasena was dead; and they placed him in concealment, and burnt some other man's corpse with all the ceremonies appropriate to a king, and they proposed to the hostile king through an ambassador that, as they had now no king, he should come and be their king. The hostile monarch was pleased and consented, and then the ministers

(5) emaciation; (6) total indifference to other objects; (7) loss of shame; (8) distraction and madness; (9) fainting, and (10) death.

This list was repeated in rather more detail in the *Ananga-Ranga*; see the Kāma Shastra Society edition, 1885, pp. 87, 88, and my *Annotated Bibliography of Sir Richard Burton*, pp. 161-173.

In Arabian fiction the favourite stage appears to be the ninth, and nearly every hero faints for love on the slightest provocation. There are, however, cases of death. See the *Nights* (Burton, vol. v, p. 134), where three unhappy people die through love of each other. *Cf.* also the story of "The Mad Lover" on p. 138 of the same volume. In Europe the favourite form of the *motif* was for one of the lovers to die naturally or unintentionally, whereupon the other would either commit suicide or die of grief—the consequence being that they were buried together in the same tomb. See, for example, *Decameron*, day 4, novs. 1, 5, 7, 8 and 9; *Straparola*, night 9, nov. 2; *Bandello*, part i, nov. 33; *Heptameron*, day 7, nov. 70. *Cf.* also the ballad of "Fair Margaret and Sweet William" (Percy, *Reliques*, iii, p. 125) and "Lord Thomas and Fair Annet" (*op. cip.*, iii, p. 234). For numerous imitations of the tale in the *Decameron*, day 4, nov. 8, reference should be made to Lee, *The Decameron, its Sources and Analogues*, pp. 140-143.—N.M.P.

assembled, accompanied by soldiers, and proceeded to storm his camp. And the enemy's army being destroyed, Puṇyasena's ministers brought him out of concealment, and having recovered their power put that hostile king to death.

[M] "Such necessities will arise in monarchs' affairs, therefore let us resolutely accomplish this business of the king's by spreading a report of the queen's having been burnt." When he heard this from Yaugandharāyaṇa, who had made up his mind, Rumaṇvat said: "If this is resolved upon, let us send for Gopālaka, the queen's respected brother, and let us take all our measures duly, after consultation with him." Then Yaugandharāyaṇa said, "So be it," and Rumaṇvat allowed himself to be guided, in determining what was to be done, by the confidence which he placed in his colleague.

The next day these dexterous ministers sent off a messenger of their own to bring Gopālaka, on the pretext that his relations longed to see him. And as he had only departed before on account of urgent business, Gopālaka came at the request of the messenger, seeming like an incarnate festival. And the very day he came Yaugandharāyaṇa took him by night to his own house, together with Rumaṇvat, and there he told him of that daring scheme which he wished to undertake, all of which he had before deliberated about together with that Rumaṇvat; and Gopālaka, desiring the good of the King of Vatsa, consented to the scheme, though he knew it would bring sorrow to his sister; for the mind of good men is ever fixed upon duty.

Gopālaka is let into the Secret

Then Rumaṇvat again said: "All this is well planned; but when the King of Vatsa hears that his wife is burnt he will be inclined to yield up his breath, and how is he to be prevented from doing so? This is a matter which ought to be considered. For though all the usual politic expedients may advantageously be employed, the principal element of sound statecraft is the averting of misfortune."

Then Yaugandharāyaṇa, who had reflected on everything that was to be done, said : " There need be no anxiety about this, for the queen is a princess, the younger sister of Gopālaka, and dearer to him than his life, and when the King of Vatsa sees how little afflicted Gopālaka is, he will think to himself, ' Perhaps the queen may be alive after all,' and so will be able to control his feelings. Moreover, he is of heroic disposition, and the marriage of Padmāvatī will be quickly got through, and then we can soon bring the queen out of concealment."

Then Yaugandharāyaṇa and Gopālaka and Rumaṇvat, having made up their minds to this, deliberated as follows :— " Let us adopt the artifice of going to Lāvānaka with the king and queen, for that district is a border district near the kingdom of Magadha. And because it contains admirable hunting-grounds, it will tempt the king to absent himself from the palace, so we can set the women's apartments there on fire and carry out the plan [1] on which we have determined. And by an artifice we will take the queen and leave her in the palace of Padmāvatī, in order that Padmāvatī herself may be a witness to the queen's virtuous behaviour in a state of concealment."

Having thus deliberated together during the night, they all, with Yaugandharāyaṇa at their head, entered the king's palace on the next day. Then Rumaṇvat made the following representation to the king :—" O King, it is a long time since we have gone to Lāvānaka, and it is a very delightful place ; moreover, you will find capital hunting-grounds there, and grass for the horses can easily be obtained. And the King of Magadha, being so near, afflicts all that district. So let us go there for the sake of defending it, as well as for our own enjoyment." And the king, when he heard this, having his mind always set on enjoyment, determined to go to Lāvānaka together with Vāsavadattā.

The next day, the journey having been decided on, and the auspicious hour having been fixed by the astrologers, suddenly the hermit Nārada came to visit the monarch.

He illuminated the region with his splendour as he

[1] Reading *yad hi*.

descended from the midst of heaven, and gave a feast to the eyes of all spectators, seeming as if he were the moon come down out of affection towards his own descendants.[1] After accepting the usual hospitable attentions, the hermit graciously gave to the king, who bowed humbly before him, a garland from the Pārijāta [2] tree. And he congratulated the queen, by whom he was politely received, promising her that she should have a son, who should be a portion of Kāma and king of all the Vidyādharas. And then he said to the King of Vatsa, while Yaugandharāyaṇa was standing by: "O King, the sight of your wife, Vāsavadattā, has strangely brought something to my recollection. In old time you had for ancestors Yudhishṭhira and his brothers. And those five had one wife between them,[3] Draupadī by name. And she, like Vāsavadattā, was matchless in beauty. Then, fearing that her beauty would do mischief, I said to them: 'You must avoid jealousy, for that is the seed of calamities; in proof of it listen to the following tale, which I will relate to you:—

16. *Story of Sunda and Upasunda* [4]

There were two brothers, Asuras by race, Sunda and Upasunda, hard to overcome, inasmuch as they surpassed

[1] The moon was the progenitor of the Pāṇḍava race.

[2] One of the five trees of Paradise.

[3] See note at the end of the chapter.—N.M.P.

[4] There is a certain resemblance in this story to that of Otus and Ephialtes. See Preller's *Griechische Mythologie*, vol. i, p. 81. *Cf.* also Grohmann's *Sagen aus Böhmen*, p. 35.——The story of Sunda and Upasunda is found in the *Mahābhārata*, Book I, sections ccxi-ccxiv (see Roy's new edition, 1920, vol. i, part iv, pp. 407-413). Here we have the tale in full, and learn how the two brothers went to the Vindhya hills to practise the severest austerities, until their power became so great that the gods grew alarmed. All their schemes to tempt the brothers from their asceticism failed. Finally Brahmā asks the brothers what boon it is they want. They demand knowledge of all weapons and powers of illusion, to be endued with great strength, to assume any form at will, and finally to be immortal. All these demands are granted except the latter, which was denied them because they had performed their great penances only to subdue the three worlds. They are, however, allowed to name some form of death which would practically amount to their being immortal. Thinking it an absolute impossibility for two such loving brothers

the three worlds in valour. And Brahmā, wishing to destroy them, gave an order to Viśvakarman,[1] and had constructed a heavenly woman named Tilottamā, in order to behold whose beauty even Śiva truly became four-faced, so as to look four ways at once, while she was devoutly circumambulating him. She, by the order of Brahmā, went to Sunda and Upasunda, while they were in the garden of Kailāsa, in order to seduce them. And both those two Asuras, distracted with love, seized the fair one at the same time by both her arms the moment they saw her near them. And as they were dragging her off in mutual opposition, they soon came to blows, and both of them were destroyed. To whom is not the attractive object called woman the cause of misfortune?

[M] "'And you, though many, have one love, Draupadī, therefore you must without fail avoid quarrelling about her. And by my advice always observe this rule with respect to her. When she is with the eldest, she must be considered a mother by the youngest; and when she is with the youngest, she must be considered a daughter-in-law by the eldest.'

to quarrel with each other, they say: "Let us have no fear [of death] then from any created thing, mobile or immobile, in the three worlds, except only from each other." At first all goes well—from the brothers' point of view. They subdue the gods, extirpate the Brāhman caste, and lead a life of luxury and voluptuousness.

In their misery the Ṛishis and Siddhas implore Brahmā to aid them. It is at this point that he calls upon the divine architect, Viśvakarman, to construct the celestial maiden, as related in the *Ocean of Story*. The story is repeated in chapter cxxi, where the two brothers are called Ghaṇṭa and Nighaṇṭa. Here they are described as Dānavas who were trying to impede Prajāpati in his work of creation. The *dénouement* of this version is weakened by the fact that there are *two* beautiful things created.

Stories of hostile brothers are of quite common occurrence in Sanskrit literature. See *Pārçvanātha*, iv, 53 *et seq.*, and vi, 280 *et seq.*; *Dharmakalpadruma*, ii, and the story of "The Two Brothers" in Schiefner and Ralston's *Tibetan Tales*, p. 279. Bloomfield (*Life and Stories of Pārçvanātha*, pp. 15, 16) gives short extracts from the above.—N.M.P.

[1] The architect or artist of the gods.

Your ancestors, O King, accepted that speech of mine with unanimous consent, having their minds fixed on salutary counsels. And they were my friends, and it is through love for them that I have come to visit you here, King of Vatsa; therefore I give you this advice. Do you follow the counsel of your ministers, as they followed mine, and in a short time you will gain great success. For some time you will suffer grief, but you must not be too much distressed about it, for it will end in happiness."

After the hermit Nārada, so clever in indirectly intimating future prosperity, had said this duly to the King of Vatsa, he immediately disappeared. And then Yaugandharāyaṇa and all the other ministers, auguring from the speech of that great hermit that the scheme they had in view was about to succeed, became exceedingly zealous about carrying it into effect.

NOTE ON POLYANDRY

For the sake of readers who are unacquainted with the plot of the world's greatest epic I may, perhaps, be excused for beginning this note with a very brief outline of the events in the first book of the *Mahābhārata*, which has already been so often quoted in Volume I.

The *Mahābhārata*, meaning "great poem relating to the Bharatas," consists of eighteen *parvans*, or books, made up of about 400,000 verses of eight and eleven syllables each.

The outline of the story up to the polyandrous marriage of Draupadī, mentioned in our text, is as follows:—

There once lived in the country of the Bharatas, in the city of Hastināpura (about sixty miles north-east of the modern Delhi), two princes named Dhṛitarāshṭra and Pāṇḍu. Their uncle, Bhīshma, governed the kingdom until they came of age. Legally the eldest brother, Dhṛitarāshṭra, should have ruled, but he was born blind and so his younger brother took his place. There was also a third brother named Vidura, but as his mother was only a Śūdra woman he could not succeed. Dhṛitarāshṭra married Gāndhārī, the daughter of King Subala of Gāndhāra.

Pāṇḍu had two wives, Pṛithā, or Kuntī, and Mādrī, daughter of the King of Madra. After a series of most successful campaigns Pāṇḍu retired with his wives to the Himālayas, leaving the reins of government in the hands of his blind brother, and his uncle Bhīshma as regent.

Both brothers had sons by supernatural birth. Dhṛitarāshṭra had a hundred sons, called Kauravas, or Kuru princes, while Pāṇḍu had but five—three from Kuntī, named Yudhishṭhira, Bhīma and Arjuna, and two from Mādrī, who were twins, Nakula and Sahadeva.

While the five princes were still but children, their father Pāṇḍu died as the result of the fulfilment of a curse. On hearing of this misfortune Dhṛitarāshṭra took his brother's wives and children under his care, and brought up the latter with his own hundred sons. Owing to the general superiority in all feats of strength of the Pāṇḍu princes, inordinate jealousy of their cousins finally led to Arjuna and his brothers leaving Hastināpura. They lived at Ekācakrā, disguised as mendicant Brāhmans. From there they went to the Court of King Drupada, whose beautiful daughter Draupadī was about to hold her *svayaṃvara* (marriage by choice). Only the man who could perform a certain great feat in archery could win her. All Dhṛitarāshṭra's sons tried and failed, and Arjuna alone succeeded in filling the conditions of the contest.

We now come to the incident which is supposed to have caused the polyandrous marriage of Draupadī.

The five Pāṇḍus returned to their mother with Draupadī, and she, thinking they had merely brought back alms, called out from within the house: "Share the gift between you." This command of a parent was law, and accordingly Arjuna informed Drupada that he and his four brothers were going to have his daughter in common The king was taken aback, and begged the

brothers not to commit an act that was sinful and opposed both to usage and the Vedas. At this juncture the illustrious Ṛishi Vyāsa appears and, by relating the supernatural history of both the Pāṇḍus and Draupadī herself, shows that in reality the five Pāṇḍus originated in a single divine being. Thus the proposed marriage was not really polyandrous, and so could be consummated without breach of propriety or transgression against the sacred Vedas. Examples of similar marriages in the past are quoted, and finally the marriage takes place.

This brings us to the consideration of the practice of polyandry, which is the subject of this note.

From the above story it is clear that the practice was regarded with disfavour by the Aryans. If it *did* occur, it was necessary to explain it away, or to prove that it was not a *true* case of polyandry. In fact the practice can be described as non-Aryan. It was certainly non-Vedic, and was strongly opposed by the Brāhmans.

On the other hand, it was not denounced in the Sūtras, though we must not infer from this that the Pāṇḍus lived before they were composed.

Polyandry was practised by both the Tibetans and Dravidians, and this fact has often been brought forward to explain the reference to the polyandrous marriage in the *Mahābhārata*. It has been suggested that, as the Pāṇḍus were themselves a northern hill tribe or family, probably they were really polyandrous, and needed no excuse. The Pāndavas were of the Kshatriya caste and enjoyed the lowest forms of marriage sanctioned by Manu; thus they would have little scruple in imitating the practices of the peoples they conquered, especially as the number of their own women was bound to be very limited. The subject is an interesting one, especially when we remember that in modern times the practice is almost entirely confined to the Indian Empire and Tibet.

In speaking of any form of human marriage it is as well to explain the exact scope of the terms employed. For instance, the word polygamy is now used as a generic term to include all forms of marriage which are non-monogamic, and not merely that form in which a single husband has more than one wife.

There are three distinct forms of polygamy:

1. Polygyny, where one man has more than one wife.
2. Polyandry, where one woman has more than one husband.
3. Communal- or group-marriage, in which there is more than one husband and more than one wife in a single household.

In a true case of polyandry, therefore, the woman must be *married* to more than one husband, and not merely have one husband and several lovers. In India it is not so easy as it may appear to ascertain whether a woman is properly married or not. We have already seen that in various localities *dēva-dāsīs* are married (Vol. I, App. IV) to idols, knives, drums, etc., and in making up their statistical tables, reporters of the Census of India were in considerable doubt as to how to classify them.

Among the Nairs or Nāyars of Travancore, Cochin and Malabar, marriage may mean either the formal ceremony of tying a *tāli* round the neck of a

girl, known as *tālikaṭṭu*; or the ceremony of actual alliance as husband and wife, known as *sambandham*.

For an interesting account of polyandry in Malabar, reference should be made to M. Longworth Dames' translation of the *Book of Duarte Barbosa*, published for the Hakluyt Society, 1918, 1921, vol. ii, pp. 40, 40n^2, 42, 42n^1, 43, 59, 59n^2, 60, 61n^2. The passages are most ably annotated by Dames, and many useful references are given.

Although polyandry can be described as non-existent among the Nāyars of to-day (except perhaps in certain remote country parts), its prevalence has been repeatedly testified by travellers and missionaries from the fifteenth century onwards. The two distinct marriage ceremonies have always existed, but the significance of the second has apparently greatly changed. The *tālikaṭṭu* took place (and still does) before the girl attains puberty, and the *tāli* is tied by a mock bridegroom. The second ceremony was a kind of official leave for the girl to cohabit with any Brāhman or Nāyar she chose. Such men were in no way related; consequently this system of polyandry, if so it can be called, is known as non-fraternal.

The more usual variety of polyandry is that in which the woman marries the head of a family of brothers, the younger ones sharing the marital rights. This "fraternal polyandry" is still found widely disseminated in Tibet and the neighbouring Himālayan regions, as well as among the Todas of the Nilgiri hills. Full references and adequate accounts of polyandry in these regions, as well as evidence from the Pacific Islands, and isolated cases in Africa and elsewhere, have been collected and admirably presented by Westermarck in his *History of Human Marriage*, fifth edition, 1921, vol. iii, chapters xxix and xxx.

Thus there is no need for repetition here. It will suffice to enumerate briefly the different suggestions put forward to explain polyandry and to add any fresh reference of importance.

We will take fraternal polyandry first. The most usual explanation given is excess of males over females. This has been found to exist in most localities where polyandry occurs—viz. Siberia, Turkestan, Tibet, Mongolia, North and Central Bhutan, on the Sikkim-Bengal frontier, among the Todas and in Coorg in South India. It has also been noticed in the New Hebrides, the Bismarck Archipelago, the Hawaian Islands and New Caledonia.

Some of the other possible causes of polyandry may be looked for in the factors which have produced this shortage of women.

For the 1921 Census of India the following causes of the low proportion of females to males in the Indian Empire were suggested as a basis for inquiry:—

1. Infanticide.
2. Neglect of female children.
3. Evil effects of early marriage and premature child-bearing.
4. High birth-rate and primitive methods of midwifery.
5. Hard treatment accorded to women, especially widows.
6. Hard work done by women.

The reports showed that the two commonest causes of paucity of females were Nos. 3 and 4. Infanticide was rare, although its practice in former times

in such provinces as the Panjāb and Bombay may still have effect in the low female birth-rate.

In Eastern Bengal and the Central India Agency the hard life of the women has also to be taken into account, while in Travancore, where the women are well cared for both before and after marriage, the sole cause of the excess of males is that their mortality is increasingly small.

There are, however, other reasons for a general scarcity of women, which are not at first apparent. For instance, polygyny of the richer classes may lead to polyandry among the poorer families. In many countries a wife is an expensive luxury, and consequently the brothers club together to meet the cost.

There are still other factors to be considered. Polyandry of the fraternal variety strengthens family ties, and keeps the property intact.

Among the pastoral tribes of Tibet and Southern India a man will wander for months on end with his flocks, leaving his brothers and co-husbands in charge of their common wife.

When considering non-fraternal polyandry none of these factors applies, and we have to look for other reasons to explain the practice as formerly found among the Nāyars.

It cannot be said that they are in a stage of development only a little further advanced than promiscuity, because, on the contrary, they are considerably more highly civilised than the neighbouring castes who do not practise polyandry.

The explanation probably lies in the history of the Nāyars. They were originally a military caste, and as such adhered to a system of polity incompatible with the then existing marriage state. The men never lived in the same houses as the women with whom they consorted, and inheritance ran through the mother. Burton, in his first published work, *Goa and the Blue Mountains,* 1851, p. 218 *et seq.*, drew attention to this very point: "The domestic ties, always inconvenient to a strictly military population, were thereby [the Brahmaic adoption of the Matriarchal inheritance] conveniently weakened, and the wealth, dignity and unbroken unity of interests were preserved for generations unimpaired in great and powerful families, which, had the property been divided among the several branches, according to the general practice of Hinduism, would soon have lost their weight and influence. As it was unnecessary that a woman should be removed from her home, or introduced into a strange family, the eldest nephew on the sister's side, when he became the senior male member of the household, succeeded, as a matter of course, to the rights, property and dignity of Karnovun [head of the house]."

For other suggested origins of the non-fraternal polyandry reference should be made to Westermarck, *op. cit.*, vol. iii, pp. 198-206.

In conclusion, I would quote a short passage from his summary on p. 206:

"To explain in full why certain factors in some cases give rise to polyandry and in other cases not is as impossible as it often is to say exactly why one people is monogamous and another people polygynous. But, generally speaking, there can be little doubt that the main reason why polyandry is not more commonly practised is the natural desire in most men to be in exclusive possession of their wives."—N.M.P.

CHAPTER XVI

THEN Yaugandharāyaṇa and the other ministers [M] managed to conduct the King of Vatsa with his beloved, by the above-mentioned stratagem, to Lāvānaka. The king arrived at that place, which, by the roar of the host echoing through it, seemed, as it were, to proclaim that the ministers' object would be successfully attained. And the King of Magadha, when he heard that the lord of Vatsa had arrived there with a large following, trembled, anticipating attack. But he, being wise, sent an ambassador to Yaugandharāyaṇa, and that excellent minister, well versed in his duties, received him gladly. The King of Vatsa, for his part, while staying in that place, ranged every day the wide-extended forest for the sake of sport.

One day, the king having gone to hunt, the wise Yaugandharāyaṇa, accompanied by Gopālaka, having arranged what was to be done, and taking with him also Rumaṇvat and Vasantaka, went secretly to the Queen Vāsavadattā, who bowed at their approach. There he used various representations to persuade her to assist in furthering the king's interests, though she had been previously informed of the whole affair by her brother. And she agreed to the proposal, though it inflicted on her the pain of separation. What, indeed, is there which women of good family, who are attached to their husbands, will not endure? Thereupon the skilful Yaugandharāyaṇa made her assume the appearance of a Brāhman woman, having given her a charm which enabled her to change her shape. And he made Vasantaka one-eyed, and like a Brāhman boy, and as for himself, he in the same way assumed the appearance of an old Brāhman. Then that mighty-minded one took the queen, after she had assumed that appearance, and, accompanied by Vasantaka, set out leisurely for the town of Magadha. And so Vāsavadattā

Vāsavadattā plays her part in the Scheme

left her house and went in bodily presence along the road, though she wandered in spirit to her husband. Then Rumaṇvat burned her pavilion with fire, and exclaimed aloud: "Alas! alas! the queen and Vasantaka are burnt."[1] And so in that place there arose to heaven at the same time flames and lamentation; the flames gradually subsided; not so the sound of weeping.

Then Yaugandharāyaṇa, with Vāsavadattā and Vasantaka, reached the city of the King of Magadha, and seeing the Princess Padmāvatī in the garden he went up to her with those two, though the guards tried to prevent him. And Padmāvatī, when she saw the Queen Vāsavadattā in the dress of a Brāhman woman, fell in love with her at first sight. The princess ordered the guards to desist from their opposition, and had Yaugandharāyaṇa, who was disguised as a Brāhman, conducted into her presence. And she addressed to him this question: "Great Brāhman, who is this girl you have with you, and why are you come?" And he answered her: "Princess, this is my daughter, Āvantikā by name, and her husband, being addicted to vice,[2] has deserted her and fled somewhere or other. So I will leave her in your care, illustrious lady, while I go and find her husband and bring him back, which will be in a short

The two Queens meet

[1] The story of the stratagem of Yaugandharāyaṇa forms the plot of a drama known as *Svapna-vāsavadattā*, attributed to the poet Bhāsa, although this authorship is uncertain. Its date is given by scholars at widely differing periods, varying from the fourth century B.C. to the seventh century A.D. The latest discussions on the subject will be found in the *Journ. Roy. As. Soc.*, as follows:—Banerji-Śāstri, "The Plays of Bhāsa," July 1921, pp. 267-282; Barnett, "Bhāsa," Oct. 1921, pp. 587-589; Thomas, "The Plays of Bhāsa," Jan. 1922, pp. 79-83. See also A. K. and K. R. Pisharoti, "Bhāsa's Works, are they Genuine?"—*Bull. Sch. Orient. Stud.*, vol. iii, 1923, pp. 107-117.

Translations of the *Svapna-vāsavadattā* have been made into several European languages. For the English renderings reference should be made to those by K. Rama Pisharoti, *Quart. Journ. Mythic. Soc.*, Bangalore, Jan., Apr., July, 1920, and Jan. 1921; and V. S. Sukthankar, Oxford, 1923. A full bibliography of texts, translations and critical articles appears in Sukthankar's "Studies in Bhāsa," *Journ. Bom. Br. Roy. As. Soc.*, vol. xxvi, No. 2, 1923, pp. 230-249.—N.M.P.

[2] This is literally true. The king was addicted to the *vyasana*, or vice, of hunting.

time. And let this one-eyed boy, her brother, remain here near her, in order that she may not be grieved at having to remain alone." He said this to the princess, and she granted his request, and, taking leave of the queen, the good minister quickly returned to Lāvānaka.

Then Padmāvatī took with her Vāsavadattā, who was passing under the name of Āvantikā, and Vasantaka, who accompanied her in the form of a one-eyed boy ; and showing her excellent disposition by her kind reception and affectionate treatment of them, entered her splendidly adorned palace ; and there Vāsavadattā, seeing Sītā in the history of Rāma represented upon the painted walls, was enabled to bear her own sorrow.[1] And Padmāvatī perceived that Vāsavadattā was a person of very high rank, by her shape, her delicate softness, the graceful manner in which she sat down and ate, and also by the smell of her body,[2] which was fragrant as the blue lotus, and so she entertained her with luxurious comfort to her heart's content, even such as she enjoyed herself. And she thought to herself: "Surely she is some distinguished person remaining here in concealment; did not Draupadī remain concealed in the palace of the King of Virāṭa ?" Then Vāsavadattā, out of regard to the princess, made for her unfading garlands and forehead-streaks,[3] as the

[1] The painting would represent Sītā in a cave in Laṅkā guarded by female demons. She had been abducted by Rāvaṇa, and, on her refusing to become his wife, had been confined in the cave, where she was patiently waiting for Rāma to rescue her. See Book III of the *Rāmāyaṇa*.—N.M.P.

[2] The seclusion of ladies of high rank and the continual use of cosmetics after the bath would doubtless give a perfume to the skin which would require continued disuse to entirely eradicate. At a Brāhman wedding the bride is only allowed to use scented soaps provided they contain no animal fats.—N.M.P.

[3] We are told in the text that Vāsavadattā had learned this art from the King of Vatsa. It will be remembered that he, in his turn, had acquired the art from the snake Vasunemi, whom he had rescued from a Śavara (see Vol. I, p. 100). The reference, therefore, must be to the *ṭikā*, or spangles worn by Hindu women of good caste, and not merely to the *tilaka*, or caste marks, already mentioned in Vol. I, p. 69 and 69*n*[3].

The name *ṭikā* is derived from *tīka*, which means a mark on the forehead made in an initiation ceremony. The basis of the *ṭikā* is vermilion, which is smeared on lac-clay, while above it a piece of mica or glass is attached as an additional ornament.

Russell describes them, and gives a plate of twenty-four specimens in

King of Vatsa had previously taught her; and Padmāvatī's mother, seeing her adorned with them, asked her privately who had made those garlands and streaks. Then Padmāvatī said to her: "There is dwelling here in my house a certain lady of the name of Āvantikā; she made all these for me." When her mother heard that she said to her: "Then, my daughter, she is not a woman: she is some goddess, since she possesses such knowledge; gods and also hermits remain in the houses of good people for the sake of deluding them, and in proof of this listen to the following anecdote:—

17. *Story of Kuntī*

There was once a king named Kuntibhoja; and a hermit of the name of Durvāsas, who was exceedingly fond of deluding people, came and stayed in his palace. He

colour in his *Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces* (vol. iv, pp. 106-110). He says that the *ṭikṭī* is worn in the Hindustāni districts and not in the south. Women from Rājputāna, such as the Mārwāri Banias and Banjāras, wear large spangles set in gold, with a border of jewels as well, if they can afford it. Thus it will be seen that considerable art in making and designing *ṭikṭīs* can be achieved.

The *ṭikṭī* forms part of the *sohāg* or lucky trousseau. It is made chiefly by the Lakheras and Patwas in the Jubbulpore, Betūl, Raipur and Saugor districts of the Central Provinces. It is affixed to the girl's forehead at her marriage and is worn until her husband's death. It appears that sometimes unmarried girls also wear small ornamental spangles. Another constituent of the *sohāg* is *sindūr*, or vermilion, which is not usually worn if a *ṭikṭī* has already been affixed. The reason for this is that, as we have seen above, the basis of the *ṭikṭī* is vermilion. Thus we can look upon the *ṭikṭī* as a later development of the smear of vermilion. In some cases the bride and bridegroom mark each other with red lead, while the custom of mixing or exchanging blood prevails among certain Bengal tribes. It is interesting to note that in Brittany the bridegroom sucks a drop of blood from an incision made below the bride's left breast (see F. C. Conybeare, "A Brittany Marriage Custom," *Folk-Lore*, vol. xviii, p. 448, 1907).

Evidence seems to point to the fact that all these uses of vermilion or red lead are later survivals of the original blood rite by which a woman was received into her husband's clan. This explanation has not, however, found universal acceptance, and Westermarck (*History of Human Marriage*, vol. iii, pp. 446-448) considers that the colour red is used in marriage rites in circumstances which do not allow us to presume that the use of it is the survival of an earlier practice of using human blood. Although he does not advance proof to the contrary, he gives a large number of useful references to articles

commissioned his own daughter Kuntī to attend upon the hermit, and she diligently waited upon him. And one day he, wishing to prove her, said to her: "Cook boiled rice with milk and sugar quickly while I bathe, and then I will come and eat it." The sage said this and bathed quickly, and then he came to eat it, and Kuntī brought him the vessel full of that food; and then the hermit, knowing that it was almost red-hot with the heated rice, and seeing that she could not hold it in her hands,[1] cast a look at the back of Kuntī, and she, perceiving what was passing in the hermit's mind, placed the vessel on her back; then he ate to his heart's content, while Kuntī's back was being burned, and because, though she was terribly burnt, she stood without being at all discomposed, the hermit was much pleased with her conduct, and after he had eaten granted her a boon.

[M] "So the hermit remained there, and in the same way this Āvantikā, who is now staying in your palace, is some

on the use of red in wedding rites. I hope to include a note on the colour red in a later volume.

In conclusion I would quote from the writings of W. Crooke. In a paper on the "Hill Tribes of the Central Indian Hills" (*Journ. Anth. Inst.*, 1899, p. 240 *et seq.*), he mentions a case of marriage by capture in which a Bhuiyār girl wrestles with a youth as he applies vermilion to her hair. After discussing other modes of marriage he says: "More obvious still is the motive of the blood covenant. Here we can observe the stages of the degradation of custom from the use of blood drawn from the little finger of the husband which is mixed with betel and eaten by the bride among some of the Bengal tribes (Risley, *Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, ii, pp. 189, 201). The next stage comes among the Kurmis, where the blood is mixed with lac dye. Lastly come the rites, common to all these tribes, by which the bridegroom, often in secrecy, covered by a sheet, rubs vermilion on the parting of the girl's hair, and the women relations smear their toes with lac dye—all palpable degradations of the original blood rite. That the rite is sacramental is clearly shown by the fact that the widow after her husband's death solemnly washes off the red from her hair or flings the little box in which she keeps the colouring matter into running water."

The whole subject is very interesting, and opens up a field for much anthropological research.—N.M.P.

[1] I read *hastagrahāyogyām* for the *āhastagrahāyogyām* of Dr Brockhaus.

distinguished person; therefore endeavour to conciliate her." When she heard this from the mouth of her mother, Padmāvatī showed the utmost consideration for Vāsavadattā, who was living disguised in her palace. And Vāsavadattā for her part, being separated from her lord, remained there pale with bereavement, like a lotus in the night.[1] But the various boyish grimaces which Vasantaka exhibited,[2] again and again called a smile into her face.

In the meanwhile the King of Vatsa, who had wandered away into very distant hunting-grounds, returned late in the evening to Lāvānaka. And there he saw the women's apartments reduced to ashes by fire, and heard from his ministers that the queen was burnt, with Vasantaka. And when he heard it, he fell on the ground, and he was robbed of his senses by unconsciousness, that seemed to desire to remove the painful sense of grief. But in a moment he came to himself, and was burnt with sorrow in his heart, as if penetrated with the fire that strove to consume[3] the image of the queen imprinted there.

Then overpowered with sorrow he lamented, and thought of nothing but suicide; but a moment after he began to reflect, calling to mind the following prediction:—"From this queen shall be born a son who shall reign over all the Vidyādharas. This is what the hermit Nārada told me, and it cannot be false. Moreover, that same hermit warned me that I should have sorrow for some time. And the affliction of Gopālaka seems to be but light. Besides, I cannot detect any excessive grief in Yaugandharāyaṇa and the other ministers, therefore I suspect the queen may possibly be alive. But the ministers may in this matter have employed a certain amount of politic artifice, therefore I may some day be reunited with the queen. So I see an end to this affliction."[4]

[1] The flower closes when the sun sets.

[2] To keep up his character as a Brāhman boy.

[3] I read *dāhaishiṇā*.

[4] This suspicion of Udayana seems to rather weaken the plot. In the *Svapna-vāsavadatta* the king is made to believe that not only Vāsavadattā but also Yaugandharāyaṇa have been burnt to death. Thus the *dénouement* is considerably strengthened.—N.M.P.

Thus reflecting, and being exhorted by his ministers, the king established in his heart self-control. And Gopālaka sent off a private messenger immediately, without anyone's knowing of it, to his sister, to comfort her, with an exact report of the state of affairs. Such being the situation in Lāvānaka, the spies of the King of Magadha, who were there, went off to him and told him all. The king, who was ever ready to seize the opportune moment, when he heard this, was once more anxious to give to the King of Vatsa his daughter Padmāvatī, who had before been asked in marriage by his ministers. Then he communicated his wishes with respect to this matter to the King of Vatsa, and also to Yaugandharāyaṇa. And by the advice of Yaugandharāyaṇa the King of Vatsa accepted the proposal, thinking to himself that perhaps this was the very reason why the queen had been concealed.

The King agrees to his Marriage with Padmāvatī

Then Yaugandharāyaṇa quickly ascertained an auspicious moment, and sent to the sovereign of Magadha an ambassador, with an answer to his proposal, which ran as follows :—" Thy desire is approved by us, so on the seventh day from this the King of Vatsa will arrive at thy court to marry Padmāvatī, in order that he may quickly forget Vāsavadattā." This was the message which the great minister sent to that king. And that ambassador conveyed it to the King of Magadha, who received him joyfully.

Then the lord of Magadha made such preparations for the joyful occasion of the marriage as were in accordance with his love for his daughter, his own desire and his wealth ; and Padmāvatī was delighted at hearing that she had obtained the bridegroom she desired ; but when Vāsavadattā heard that news she was depressed in spirit. That intelligence, when it reached her ear, changed the colour of her face, and assisted the transformation effected by her disguise. But Vasantaka said : " In this way an enemy will be turned into a friend, and your husband will not be alienated from you." This speech of Vasantaka's consoled her like a confidante, and enabled her to bear up.

Then the discreet lady again prepared for Padmāvatī unfading garlands and forehead-streaks, both of heavenly

beauty, as her marriage was now nigh at hand; and when the seventh day from that arrived, the monarch of Vatsa actually came there with his troops, accompanied by his ministers, to marry her. How could he, in his state of bereavement, have ever thought of undertaking such a thing, if he had not hoped in that way to recover the queen? And the King of Magadha immediately came with great delight to meet him (who was a feast to the eyes of the king's subjects), as the sea advances to meet the rising moon.

Then the monarch of Vatsa entered that city of the King of Magadha, and at the same time great joy entered the minds of the citizens on every side. There the women beheld him fascinating the mind,[1] though his frame was attenuated from bereavement, looking like the God of Love deprived of his wife Rati.

The Marriage Ceremony

Then the King of Vatsa entered the palace of the lord of Magadha, and proceeded to the chamber prepared for the marriage ceremony, which was full of women whose husbands were still alive. In that chamber he beheld Padmāvatī adorned for the wedding, surpassing with the full moon of her face the circle of the full moon. And seeing that she had garlands and forehead-streaks such as he himself only could make, the king could not help wondering where she got them. Then he ascended the raised platform of the altar, and his taking her hand there was a commencement of his taking the tribute[2] of the whole earth. The smoke of the altar dimmed his eyes with tears, as supposing that he could not bear to witness the ceremony, since he loved Vāsavadattā so much. Then the face of Padmāvatī, reddened with circumambulating the fire, appeared as if full of anger on account of her perceiving what was passing in her husband's mind.

When the ceremony of marriage was completed, the King of Vatsa let the hand of Padmāvatī quit his, but he never even for a moment allowed the image of Vāsavadattā to be absent from his heart. Then the King of Magadha gave him jewels in such abundance that the earth seemed to be deprived

[1] This applies also to the God of Love, who bewilders the mind.

[2] *Kara* means "hand," and also "tribute."

of her gems, they all having been extracted. And Yaugandharāyaṇa, calling the fire to witness on that occasion, made the King of Magadha undertake never to injure his master. So that festive scene proceeded, with the distribution of garments and ornaments, with the songs of excellent minstrels and the dancing of dancing-girls. In the meanwhile Vāsavadattā remained unobserved, hoping for the glory of her husband, appearing[1] to be asleep, like the beauty of the moon in the day.

Then the King of Vatsa went to the women's apartments, and the skilful Yaugandharāyaṇa, being afraid that he would see the queen, and that so the whole secret would be divulged, said to the sovereign of Magadha: "Prince, this very day the King of Vatsa will set forth from thy house." The King of Magadha consented to it, and then the minister made the very same announcement to the King of Vatsa, and he also approved of it.

Then the King of Vatsa set out from that place, after his attendants had eaten and drunk, together with his ministers, escorting his bride Padmāvatī. And Vāsavadattā, ascending a comfortable carriage send by Padmāvatī, with its great horses[2] also put at her disposal by her, went secretly in the rear of the army, making the transformed Vasantaka precede her. At last the King of Vatsa reached Lāvānaka, and entered his own house, together with his bride, but thought all the time only of the Queen Vāsavadattā. The queen also arrived, and entered the house of Gopālaka at night, making the chamberlains wait round it. There she saw her brother Gopālaka, who showed her great attention, and she embraced his neck, weeping, while his eyes filled with tears; and at that moment arrived Yaugandharāyaṇa, true to his previous agreement, together with Rumaṇvat, and the queen showed him all due courtesy.

[1] I read *iva* for *eva*.

[2] It seems unnecessary to add "with its great horses," and this is explained by the reading of the Durgāprasād text, where we find *tan mahattarakaiḥ* instead of *tanmahāturagaiḥ*, thus meaning that attendants of high rank were put at her disposal. See Speyer, "Studies about the *Kathāsaritsāgara*," *Verh. Kon. Akad. Weten. Amst.*, viii, No. 5, 1908, p. 97.

And while he was engaged in dispelling the queen's grief, caused by the great effort she had made and her separation from her husband, those chamberlains repaired to Padmāvatī and said: "Queen, Āvantikā has arrived, but she has in a strange way dismissed us, and gone to the house of Prince Gopālaka." When Padmāvatī heard that representation from her chamberlains she was alarmed, and in the presence of the King of Vatsa answered them: "Go and say to Āvantikā: 'The queen says: "You are a deposit in my hands, so what business have you where you are? Come where I am."'"

When they heard that they departed, and the king asked Padmāvatī in private who made for her the unfading garlands and forehead-streaks. Then she said: "It is all the product of the great artistic skill of the lady named Āvantikā, who was deposited in my house by a certain Brāhman."

The Reunion with Vāsavadattā

No sooner did the king hear that than he went off to the house of Gopālaka, thinking that surely Vāsavadattā would be there. And he entered the house, at the door of which eunuchs were standing,[1] and within which were the queen, Gopālaka, the two ministers and Vasantaka. There he saw Vāsavadattā returned from banishment, like the orb of the moon freed from its eclipse. Then he fell on the earth delirious with the poison of grief, and trembling was produced in the heart of Vāsavadattā. Then she too fell on the earth with limbs pale from separation, and lamented aloud, blaming her own conduct. And that couple, afflicted with grief, lamented so that even the face of Yaugandharāyaṇa was washed with tears.

And then Padmāvatī too heard that wailing, which seemed so little suited to the occasion, and came in a state of bewilderment to the place whence it proceeded. And gradually finding out the truth with respect to the king and Vāsavadattā, she was reduced to the same state; for good women are affectionate and tender-hearted. And Vāsavadattā frequently exclaimed with tears: "What profit is there in my

[1] Reading *taddvārasthitamahattaram* as one word.——I shall give a long note on Indian eunuchs in a later volume (Chapter XXXIII).—N.M.P.

life that causes only sorrow to my husband?" Then the calm Yaugandharāyaṇa said to the King of Vatsa: "King, I have done all this in order to make you universal emperor, by marrying you to the daughter of the sovereign of Magadha, and the queen is not in the slightest degree to blame; moreover this, her rival wife, is witness to her good behaviour during her absence from you."

Thereupon Padmāvatī, whose mind was free from jealousy, said: "I am ready to enter the fire on the spot to prove her innocence." And the king said: "I am in fault, as it was for my sake that the queen endured this great affliction." And Vāsavadattā, having firmly resolved, said: "I must enter the fire to clear from suspicion the mind of the king."

Then the wise Yaugandharāyaṇa, best of right-acting men, rinsed his mouth, with his face towards the east, and spoke a blameless speech: "If I have been a benefactor to this king, and if the queen is free from stain, speak, ye guardians of the world; if it is not so, I will part from my body."[1] Thus he spoke and ceased, and this heavenly utterance was heard: "Happy art thou, O King, that hast for minister Yaugandharāyaṇa, and for wife Vāsavadattā, who in a former birth was a goddess; not the slightest blame attaches to her." Having uttered this the Voice ceased.

All who were present, when they heard that sound, which resounded through all the regions, delightful as the deep thunder roar at the first coming of the rain-clouds, having endured affliction for a long time, lifted up their hands[2] and plainly imitated peafowl in their joy. Moreover, the King of Vatsa and Gopālaka praised that proceeding of Yaugandharāyaṇa's, and the former already considered that the whole earth was subject to him. Then that king, possessing those two wives, whose affection was every day increased by living with him, like joy and tranquillity come to visit him in bodily form, was in a state of supreme felicity.

[1] See note at the end of this chapter.—N.M.P.

[2] Here the Durgāprasād text reads *utkandharāç ca suciram*, etc., meaning "with uplifted necks," which is more in keeping with the rest of the simile than "with uplifted hands."—N.M.P.

NOTES ON THE "ACT OF TRUTH" *MOTIF* IN FOLK-LORE

"If I have been a benefactor to this king, and if the queen is free from stain, speak, ye guardians of the world; if it is not so, I will part from my body" (p. 30).

This is a good example of the "act of truth" *motif*, to which reference has already be made in Vol. I, pp. 166, 167. As I stated on p. 166, I intend (in a note to Chapter XXXVI) giving examples of the various uses to which the *motif* can be put, and the numerous ways in which it can be introduced. I shall, therefore, confine myself here to explaining the meaning of the *motif* and the religious significance attached to the act.

Truth has been regarded all over the world and in all ages as irresistible, as something possessing a power which even gods cannot spurn, and from which the wicked shrink in terror. The deities of the Jew, the Christian and the Mohammedan are regarded as acting in accordance with truth—one might almost say as being the personification of truth in its widest sense. No wonder, then, that the utterance of a simple truth was considered sufficiently powerful to cause miracles to take place. For instance, we read in 2 Kings i, 10-12: "And Elijah answered and said to the captain of fifty, If I be a man of God, then let fire come down from heaven, and consume thee and thy fifty. And there came down fire from heaven, and consumed him and his fifty."

It lies at the background of the magic art of primitive peoples and is still used in some form or other among the most civilised countries. We have all heard a man in expressing surprise, or in making a resolution, begin with the words "as sure as my name's so-and-so . . ." This is a form of oath introduced by a statement of absolute truth, thus lending power to what follows.

It is obvious what a useful *motif* the "act of truth" can become in the hands of the story-teller. The hero or heroine is in a tight corner and suddenly, as a *deus ex machina*, an "act of truth" saves the situation. It is as sudden and unexpected as the use of the *dohada motif* (see Vol. I, pp. 221-228) when a woman suddenly demands some jewel, fruit or animal, which at once starts an entirely fresh series of adventures, when the dutiful husband sets out on his journeys to procure the desired article.

The word *sachchakiriyā*, or simply *kiriyā*, is used to express an "act of truth" in Pāli, but *satyādhishṭhānaṃ* ("truth-command") and *satyavādya* ("truth-utterance") are also found. For fuller details see Burlingame, *Journ. Roy. Asiat. Soc.*, July 1917, p. 429 *et seq.*, to whose article I am indebted for much of the information contained in my notes on this *motif*.

Owing to the omnipotence of truth we are not surprised to find that a direct appeal to its great power is not a casual action, but a formality of considerable religious importance. In the present text of the *Ocean of Story* we read that Yaugandharāyaṇa "rinsed his mouth, with his face towards the east, and spoke a blameless speech." Thus before making his *sachchakiriyā* he performed distinct religious acts—firstly he turns in the direction in which all Brāhmans turn at sunrise, read the Vedas and make their daily offerings, and

secondly he undergoes a form of purification. He is then in a fit state to invoke the great power of truth to his aid.

The actual form of the act differs considerably—thus in one instance, when the Buddha was in a previous existence as a quail, before making his "act of truth," he ponders deeply on the Buddhas of the past and their great powers and achievements. In another instance a king and queen, wishing to cross rivers dryshod, meditate on the virtues of the Buddha, the Law and the Order. Numerous other examples could be given. There is no necessity for the truth to refer to good actions, qualities or resolutions. It can, on the contrary, have reference to the very opposite. A man may affirm he is a liar and a scoundrel of the deepest dye, a woman may state she is the lowest kind of prostitute—it matters not, as long as it is the absolute truth—and as a result their power will be temporarily as great as the mightiest king or most righteous Brāhman.

The *locus classicus* of the "act of truth" is one of the dialogues of King Milinda and the Buddhist sage Nāgasena (*Milindapañhā*, 119-123). The king inquires whether Nāgasena's statement that Śivi received Heavenly Eyes is not inconsistent with the Scriptural statement that the Heavenly Eye cannot be produced after the destruction of the physical cause. Nāgasena explains that it was the power of truth that caused the restoration of Śivi's eyesight, and continues as follows:—

"But, your Majesty, is there such a thing in the world as Truth, by which truth-speakers perform an Act of Truth?—Yes, reverend sir, there is in the world such a thing as Truth. By Truth, reverend Nāgasena, truth-speakers perform an Act of Truth, and by this means cause rain, extinguish fire, counteract poison, and do all manner of other things besides that have to be done. —Well then, your Majesty, the two statements are perfectly consistent and harmonious. King Śivi received Heavenly Eyes by the power of Youth: by the power of Truth, your Majesty, on no other basis, is the Heavenly Eye produced; the Truth alone was in this case the basis for the production of the Heavenly Eye.

"The case was precisely the same, your Majesty, as when accomplished persons recite a Truth, saying, 'Let a mighty cloud send down rain'; and immediately upon their recitation of the Truth, a mighty cloud sends down rain. Your Majesty, is there stored up in the sky any cause of rain, by which the mighty cloud sends down rain?—Of course not, reverend sir; the Truth alone is in this case the cause whereby the mighty cloud sends down rain. —In precisely the same manner, your Majesty, no ordinary cause operated in the case in question; the Truth alone was in that case the basis for the production of the Heavenly Eye.

"It was precisely the same, your Majesty, as when accomplished persons recite a Truth, saying, 'Let the mighty mass of flaring, flaming fire turn back'; and immediately upon their recitation of the Truth, the mighty mass of flaring, flaming fire turns back. . . . It was precisely the same as when accomplished persons recite a Truth, saying, 'Let the deadly poison become an antidote'; and immediately upon their recitation of the Truth the deadly poison becomes an antidote. Your Majesty, is there stored up in this deadly poison any cause whereby it immediately becomes an antidote?—Of course

not, reverend sir; the Truth alone is in this case the cause of the immediate counteraction of the deadly poison.—In precisely the same manner, your Majesty, in the case of King Śivi, the Truth alone, to the exclusion of any ordinary cause, was the basis for the production of the Heavenly Eye" (Burlingame's translation, pp. 437, 438 of *Journ. Roy. As. Soc.*, op. cit.).

In conclusion Nāgasena gives instances of the "act of truth" causing the ocean to roll back, and a river to flow backwards.—N.M.P.

CHAPTER XVII

THE next day the King of Vatsa, sitting in private [M] with Vāsavadattā and Padmāvatī, engaged in a festive banquet, sent for Yaugandharāyaṇa, Gopālaka, Rumaṇvat and Vasantaka, and had much confidential conversation with them. Then the king, in the hearing of them all, told the following tale, with reference to the subject of his separation from his beloved :—

18. *Story of Urvaśī* [1]

Once on a time there was a king of the name of Purūravas, who was a devoted worshipper of Vishṇu ; he traversed heaven as well as earth without opposition, and one day, as he was sauntering in Nandana, the garden of the gods, a certain Apsaras of the name of Urvaśī, who was a second stupefying weapon [2] in the hands of Love, cast an eye upon him. The moment she beheld him, the sight so completely robbed her of her senses that she alarmed the timid minds of Rambhā and her other friends. The king too, when he saw that torrent of the nectar of beauty, was quite faint with thirst, because he could not obtain possession of her. Then Vishṇu, who knoweth all, dwelling in the sea of milk, gave the following command to Nārada, an excellent hermit, who came to visit him : "O divine sage,[3] the King Purūravas, at present abiding in the garden of Nandana, having had his mind captivated by Urvaśī, remains incapable of bearing the pain of separation from his love. Therefore go, O hermit, and, informing Indra as from me, cause that Urvaśī to be

[1] This interesting story, dating back to *Ṛig-Veda* days, is fully treated in Appendix I of this volume, see pp. 245-259.—N.M.P.

[2] This, with the water weapon, and that of whirlwind, is mentioned in the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Uttara Rāma Charita*.

[3] Or Devarshi, belonging to the highest class of Ṛishis or patriarchal saints.

quickly given to the king." Having received this order from Vishṇu, Nārada undertook to execute it, and going to Purūravas, who was in the state described, roused him from his lethargy and said to him: "Rise up, O King; for thy sake I am sent here by Vishṇu, for that god does not neglect the sufferings of those who are unfeignedly devoted to him." With these words, the hermit Nārada cheered up Purūravas, and then went with him into the presence of the king of the gods.

Then he communicated the order of Vishṇu to Indra, who received it with reverent mind, and so the hermit caused Urvaśī to be given to Purūravas. That gift of Urvaśī deprived the inhabitants of heaven of life, but it was to Urvaśī herself an elixir to restore her to life. Then Purūravas returned with her to the earth, exhibiting to the eyes of mortals the wonderful spectacle of a heavenly bride. Thenceforth those two, Urvaśī and that king, remained, so to speak, fastened together by the leash of gazing on one another, so that they were unable to separate. One day Purūravas went to heaven, invited by Indra to assist him, as a war had arisen between him and the Dānavas. In that war the King of the Asuras, named Māyādhara, was slain, and accordingly Indra held a great feast, at which all the nymphs of heaven displayed their skill.[1] And on that occasion Purūravas, when he saw the nymph Rambhā performing a dramatic dance called *chalita*,[2] with the teacher Tumburu standing by her, laughed. Then Rambhā said to him sarcastically: "I suppose, mortal, you know this heavenly dance, do you not?" Purūravas answered: "From associating with Urvaśī, I know dances which even your teacher Tumburu does not know." When Tumburu heard that, he laid this curse on him in his wrath: "Mayest thou be separated from Urvaśī until thou propitiate Kṛishṇa." When he heard that curse, Purūravas went and told Urvaśī what had happened to him, which was terrible as "a thunderbolt from the blue." Immediately some Gandharvas swooped down, without the

[1] Durgāprasād reads *pranṛtta* instead of *pravṛtta*, thus the translation would be: "where the Apsarases executed their dances."—N.M.P.

[2] This dance is mentioned in Act I of the *Mālavikāgnimitra*.

king seeing them, and carried off Urvaśī, whither he knew not. Then Purūravas, knowing that the calamity was due to that curse, went and performed penance to appease Vishṇu in the hermitage of Badarikā.

But Urvaśī, remaining in the country of the Gandharvas, afflicted at her separation, was as void of sense as if she had been dead, asleep, or a mere picture. She kept herself alive with hoping for the end of the curse, but it is wonderful that she did not lose her hold on life, while she remained like the female chakravāka during the night, the appointed time of her separation from the male bird. And Purūravas propitiated Vishṇu by that penance, and, owing to Vishṇu having been gratified, the Gandharvas surrendered Urvaśī to him. So that king, reunited to the nymph whom he had recovered at the termination of the curse, enjoyed heavenly pleasures, though living upon earth.

[M] The king stopped speaking, and Vāsavadattā felt an emotion of shame at having endured separation, when she heard of the attachment of Urvaśī to her husband.

Then Yaugandharāyaṇa, seeing that the queen was abashed at having been indirectly reproved by her husband, said, in order to make him feel in his turn [1] : " King, listen to this tale, if you have not already heard it :

19. *Story of Vihitasena*

There is on this earth a city of the name of Timirā, the dwelling of the Goddess of Prosperity ; in it there was a famous king named Vihitasena ; he had a wife named Tejovatī, a very goddess upon earth. That king was ever hanging on her neck, devoted to her embraces, and could not even bear that his body should be for a short time scratched with the coat of mail. And once there came upon the king

[1] The Durgāprasād text makes better sense : "in order to dispel that thought from her mind . . ." See Speyer, *op. cit.*, pp. 97-98.—N.M.P.

a lingering fever with diminishing intensity; and the physicians forbade him to continue in the queen's society. But when he was excluded from the society of the queen, there was engendered in his heart a disease not to be reached by medicine or treatment. The physicians told the ministers in private that the disease might relieve itself by fear or the stroke of some affliction. The ministers reflected: "How can we produce fear in that brave king, who did not tremble when an enormous snake once fell on his back, who was not confused when a hostile army penetrated into his harem? It is useless thinking of devices to produce fear; what are we ministers to do with the king?" Thus the ministers reflected, and after deliberating with the queen, concealed her, and said to the king: "The queen is dead." While the king was tortured with that exceeding grief, in his agitation that disease in his heart relieved itself.[1] When the king had got over the pain of the illness, the ministers restored to him that great queen, who seemed like a second gift of ease, and the king valued her highly as the saviour of his life, and as too wise to bear anger against her afterwards for concealing herself.

[M] "For it is care for a husband's interests that entitles a king's wife to the name of queen; by mere compliance with a husband's whims the name of queen is not obtained. And discharging the duty of minister means undivided attention to the burden of the king's affairs, but the compliance with a king's passing fancies is the characteristic of a mere courtier. Accordingly we made this effort in order to come to terms with your enemy, the King of Magadha, and with a view to your conquering the whole earth. So it is not the case that the queen, who, through love for you, endured intolerable separation, has done you a wrong; on the contrary she has conferred on you a great benefit."

When the King of Vatsa heard this true speech of his prime

[1] Literally, "broke." The *vyādhi* or disease must have been of the nature of an abscess.

minister, he thought that he himself was in the wrong, and was quite satisfied. And he said: "I know this well enough, that the queen, like Policy incarnate in bodily form, acting under your inspiration, has bestowed upon me the dominion of the earth. But that unbecoming speech which I uttered was due to excessive affection. How can people whose minds are blinded with love bring themselves to deliberate calmly?"[1] With such conversation that King of Vatsa brought the day and the queen's eclipse of shame to an end.

On the next day a messenger sent by the King of Magadha, who had discovered the real state of the case, came to the sovereign of Vatsa, and said to him as from his master: "We have been deceived by thy ministers, therefore take such steps as that the world may not henceforth be to us a place of misery."

When he heard that, the king showed all honour to the messenger, and sent him to Padmāvatī to take his answer from her. She, for her part, being altogether devoted to Vāsavadattā, had an interview with the ambassador in her presence. For humility is an unfailing characteristic of good women. The ambassador delivered her father's message: "My daughter, you have been married by an artifice, and your husband is attached to another, thus it has come to pass that I reap in misery the fruit of being the father of a daughter." But Padmāvati thus answered him: "Say to my father from me here: 'What need of grief? For my husband is very indulgent to me, and the Queen Vāsavadattā is my affectionate sister, so my father must not be angry with my husband, unless he wishes to break his own plighted faith and my heart at the same time.'"

When this becoming answer had been given by Padmāvatī, the Queen Vāsavadattā hospitably entertained the ambassador and then sent him away. When the ambassador had departed, Padmāvatī remained somewhat depressed with regret, calling to mind her father's house. Then Vāsavadattā ordered Vasantaka to amuse her, and he came near, and with that object proceeded to tell the following tale:—

[1] "Amare et sapere vix deo conceditur" (Publius Syrus).

20. *Story of Somaprabhā*

There is a city, the ornament of the earth, called Pāṭaliputra,[1] and in it there was a great merchant named Dharmagupta. He had a wife named Chandraprabhā, and she once on a time became pregnant, and brought forth a daughter beautiful in all her limbs. That girl, the moment she was born, illuminated the chamber with her beauty, spoke distinctly,[2] and got up and sat down. Then Dharmagupta,

[1] This great city (the modern Patna) was built about 482 B.C., and became the capital of Aśoka, the first emperor of India (274-236 B.C.). It was known at this time as Pātaliputta, which the Greek ambassador, Megasthenes, corrupted to Palibothra. As the great Buddhist centre, Aśoka enriched the city with magnificent temples and works of art of every kind. Its foundation is ascribed by Buddhists to Kālāsoka, although nothing definite can be said on this point.

The most curious fact connected with Pāṭaliputra is that from the seventh to eighteenth centuries A.D. its site seems to have been entirely lost, and many fantastic tales arose about its early history. One of these crept into the pages of Somadeva, as we have already seen (Vol. I, p. 18 *et seq.*).

In 1878 the Government Archæological Survey of India reported that Pāṭaliputra must have stood *near* the modern Patna, but have been long since swept away by the Ganges. This theory, however, was disproved in 1893 by the discovery of extensive ruins at Patna by Waddell and Spooner. The meaning of Pāṭaliputra is still uncertain. It is said to signify the "city of flowers," but this is the meaning of Kusumapura, another name for Pāṭaliputra. (See the story of Harasvāmin in Book V, Chapter XXIV, and the twenty-second vampire story in Chapter XCVI of the *Ocean of Story*.) Waddell considers it to mean simply the "son of Pāṭali," from the old seaport at the mouth of the Indus. See D. B. Spooner, "The Zoroastrian Period of Indian History," *Journ. Roy. As. Soc.*, 1915, p. 63 *et seq.*; L. A. Waddell, *Discovery of the Lost Site of Pāṭaliputra*, 1892; and *Report on the Excavations of Pāṭaliputra* (Patna), 1903.—N.M.P.

[2] Liebrecht in an essay on some modern Greek songs (*Zur Volkskunde*, p. 211) gives numerous stories of children who spoke shortly after birth. It appears to have been generally considered an evil omen. *Cf.* the "Romance of Merlin" (Dunlop's *History of Fiction*, p. 146). See also Baring Gould's *Curious Myths of the Middle Ages* (new edition, 1869), p. 170. In a startling announcement of the birth of Antichrist which appeared in 1623, purporting to come from the brothers of the Order of St John, the following passage occurs:—"The child is dusky, has pleasant mouth and eyes, teeth pointed like those of a cat, ears large, stature by no means exceeding that of other children; *the said child, incontinent on his birth, walked and talked perfectly well.*" ——See Crooke, "The Legends of Kṛishṇa," *Folk-Lore*, Vol. xi, 1900, p. 10.—N.M.P.

seeing that the women in the lying-in chamber were astonished and terrified, went there himself in a state of alarm. And immediately he asked that girl in secret, bowing before her humbly: "Adorable one, who art thou that art thus become incarnate in my family?" She answered him: "Thou must not give me in marriage to anyone; as long as I remain in thy house, father, I am a blessing to thee; what profit is there in inquiring further?" When she said this to him, Dharmagupta was frightened, and he concealed her in his house, giving out abroad that she was dead.

Then that girl, whose name was Somaprabhā, gradually grew up with human body, but celestial splendour of beauty. And one day a young merchant, of the name of Guhachandra, beheld her, as she was standing upon the top of her palace, looking on with delight at the celebration of the spring festival; she clung like a creeper of love round his heart, so that he was, as it were, faint,[1] and with difficulty got home to his house. There he was tortured with the pain of love, and when his parents persistently importuned him to tell them the cause of his distress, he informed them by the mouth of a friend.

Then his father, whose name was Guhasena, out of love for his son, went to the house of Dharmagupta to ask him to give his daughter in marriage to Guhachandra. Then Dharmagupta put off Guhasena when he made the request, desiring to obtain a daughter-in-law, and said to him: "The fact is, my daughter is out of her mind."[2] Considering that he meant by that to refuse to give his daughter, Guhasena returned home, and there he beheld his son prostrate by the fever of love, and thus reflected: "I will persuade the king to move in this matter, for I have before this conferred an obligation on him, and he will cause that maiden to be given to my son, who is at the point of death." Having thus deter-

[1] In the Durgāprasād text we find that he was faint "because his heart was hit, as it were, by love's arrow."—N.M.P.

[2] It seems curious that, after publicly declaring that his daughter died at birth, he should now say she was alive, but mad. The Durgāprasād text reads *kuto* and *mūḍheti* instead of *'arthato* and *mūḍhā 'iti*, making the meaning, "Whence can I have a daughter, fool!" which makes much better sense, and is, moreover, more in accordance with the rest of the tale.—N.M.P.

mined, the merchant went and presented to the king a splendid jewel, and made known to him his desire. The king, for his part, being well disposed towards him, commissioned the head of the police to assist him, with whom he went to the house of Dharmagupta, and surrounded it on all sides with troops,[1] so that Dharmagupta's throat was choked with tears, as he expected utter ruin.

Then Somaprabhā said to Dharmagupta: "Give me in marriage, my father; let not calamity befall you on my account; but I must never be treated as a wife[2] by my husband, and this agreement you must make in express terms with my future father-in-law." When his daughter had said this to him, Dharmagupta agreed to give her in marriage, after stipulating that she should not be treated as a wife[3]; and Guhasena, with inward laughter, agreed to the condition, thinking to himself: "Only let my son be once married." Then Guhachandra, the son of Guhasena, went to his own house, taking with him his bride Somaprabhā. And in the evening his father said to him: "My son, treat her as a wife, for who abstains from the society of his own wife?"[4]

When she heard that, the bride Somaprabhā looked angrily at her father-in-law, and whirled round her threatening forefinger, as it were the decree of death. When he saw that finger of his daughter-in-law, the breath of that merchant immediately left him, and fear came upon all besides. But Guhachandra, when his father was dead, thought to himself: "The goddess of death has entered into my house as a wife." And thenceforth he avoided the society of that wife, though she remained in his house, and so observed a vow difficult as that of standing on the edge of a sword. And being inly consumed by that grief, losing his taste for all enjoyment, he made a vow and feasted Brāhmans every day. And that wife of his, of heavenly beauty, observing strict silence, used always to give a fee to those Brāhmans after they had eaten.

[1] More literally, "blockaded his house with troops and his throat with tears."——The Durgāprasād text reads *asubhiḥ*, "with his breath."—N.M.P.

[2] Literally, "I must never be bedded by my husband."—N.M.P.

[3] Literally, "bedded."—N.M.P.

[4] Literally, "put this bride to bed, for who will not lie with his wife."—N.M.P.

One day an aged Brāhman, who had come to be fed, beheld her exciting the wonder of the world by her dower of beauty; then the Brāhman, full of curiosity, secretly asked Guhachandra: "Tell me who this young wife of yours is." Then Guhachandra, being importuned by that Brāhman, told him with afflicted mind her whole story. When he heard it, the excellent Brāhman, full of compassion, gave him a charm for appeasing the fire, in order that he might obtain his desire. Accordingly, while Guhachandra was in secret muttering that charm, there appeared to him a Brāhman from the midst of the fire. And that god of fire in the shape of a Brāhman said to him, as he lay prostrate at his feet: "To-day I will eat in thy house, and I will remain there during the night. And after I have shown thee the truth with respect to thy wife, I will accomplish thy desire." When he had said this to Guhachandra, the Brāhman entered his house. There he ate like the other Brāhmans, and lay down at night near Guhachandra for one watch of the night only, such was his unwearying zeal. And at this period of the night Somaprabhā, the wife of Guhachandra, went out of the house of her husband, all the inmates of which were asleep. At that moment the Brāhman woke up Guhachandra, and said to him: "Come, see what thy wife is doing."

Guhachandra discovers his Wife is a Divine Being

And by magic power he gave Guhachandra and himself the shape of bees,[1] and going out he showed him that wife of his, who had issued from the house. And that fair one went a long distance outside the city, and the Brāhman with Guhachandra followed her. Thereupon Guhachandra saw before him a Nyagrodha[2] tree of wide extent, beautiful with its shady stem, and under it he heard a heavenly sound of singing, sweet with strains floating on the air, accompanied with the music of the lyre and the flute. And on the trunk

[1] So in the twenty-first of Miss Stokes' *Indian Fairy Tales* the *fakir* changes the king's son into a fly. *Cf.* also Veckenstedt's *Wendische Sagen*, p. 127.

[2] *Ficus Indica.* Such a tree is said to have sheltered an army. Its branches take root and form a natural cloister. *Cf.* Milton's *Paradise Lost*, Book IX, line 1000 *et seq.*

of the tree he saw a heavenly maiden,[1] like his wife in appearance, seated on a splendid throne, eclipsing by her beauty the moonbeam, fanned with white *chowries*, like the goddess presiding over the treasure of all the moon's beauty. And then Guhachandra saw his wife ascend that very tree and sit down beside that lady, occupying half of her throne. While he was contemplating those two heavenly maidens of equal beauty sitting together, it seemed to him as if that night were lighted by three moons.[2]

Then he, full of curiosity, thought for a moment: "Can this be sleep or delusion? But away with both these suppositions! This is the expanding of the blossom from the bud of association with the wise, which springs on the tree of right conduct, and this blossom gives promise of the appropriate fruit." While he was thus reflecting at his leisure, those two celestial maidens, after eating food suited for such as they were, drank heavenly wine. Then the wife of Guhachandra said to the second heavenly maiden: "To-day some glorious Brāhman has arrived in our house, for which reason, my sister, my heart is alarmed and I must go." In these words she took leave of that other heavenly maiden and descended from the tree. When Guhachandra and the Brāhman saw that, they returned in front of her, still preserving the form of bees, and arrived in the house by night before she did. And afterwards arrived that heavenly maiden, the wife of Guhachandra, and she entered the house without being observed. Then that Brāhman of his own accord said to Guhachandra: "You have had ocular proof that your wife is divine and not human, and you have to-day seen her sister, who is also divine; and how do you suppose that a heavenly nymph can desire the society of a man? So I will give you a charm to be written up over her door, and I will also teach you an artifice to be employed outside the

[1] Grimm in his *Teutonic Mythology* (translation by Stallybrass, p. 121, note) connects the description of wonderful maidens sitting inside hollow trees, or perched on the boughs, with tree-worship. See also Grohmann's *Sagen aus Böhmen*, p. 41.

[2] For the illuminating power of female beauty see note 3 to the first tale in Miss Stokes' collection, where parallels are cited from the folk-lore of Europe and Asia.

house, which must increase the force of the charm. A fire burns even without being fanned, but much more when a strong current of air is brought to bear on it; in the same way a charm will produce the desired effect unaided, but much more readily when assisted by an artifice."

When he had said this, the excellent Brāhman gave a charm to Guhachandra, and instructed him in the artifice, and then vanished in the dawn. Guhachandra for his part wrote it up over the door of his wife's apartment, and in the evening had recourse to the following stratagem calculated to excite her affection. He dressed himself splendidly and went and conversed with a certain courtesan before her eyes. When she saw this, the heavenly maiden, being jealous, called to him with voice set free by the charm, and asked him who that woman was. He answered her falsely: "She is a courtesan who has taken a fancy to me, and I shall go and pay her a visit[1] to-day." Then she looked at him askance with wrinkled brows, and, lifting up her veil with her left hand,[2] said to him: "Ah! I see: this is why you are dressed up so grandly; do not go to her, what have you to do with her? Lie with me, for I am your wife." When he had thus been implored by her, agitated with excitement, as if she were possessed, though that evil demon which held her had been expelled by the charm, he was in a state of ecstatic joy, and he immediately entered into her chamber with her, and enjoyed, though a mortal, celestial happiness not conceived of in imagination. Having thus obtained her as a loving wife, conciliated by the magic power of the charm, who abandoned for him her celestial rank, Guhachandra lived happily ever after.

But by Magic Aid gains her Love

[M] "Thus heavenly nymphs, who have been cast down by some curse, live as wives in the houses of righteous men,

[1] Literally, "I go to her house."—N.M.P.

[2] Reading *nivārya* (as in the Durgāprasād text) instead of *vidārya* we get much better sense—"retaining him with her left hand."—N.M.P.

as a reward for their good deeds, such as acts of devotion and charity.[1] For the honouring of gods and Brāhmans is considered the wishing-cow [2] of the good. For what is not obtained by that? All the other politic expedients, known as conciliation and so on, are mere adjuncts.[3] But evil actions are the chief cause of even heavenly beings, born in a very lofty station, falling from their high estate, as a hurricane is the cause of the falling of blossoms." When he had said this to the princess, Vasantaka continued: "Hear moreover what happened to Ahalyā:

21. *Story of Ahalyā*[4]

Once upon a time there was a great hermit named Gautama, who knew the past, the present and the future. And he had a wife named Ahalyā, who in beauty surpassed the nymphs of heaven. One day Indra, in love with her beauty, tempted her in secret; for the mind of rulers, blinded with power, runs towards unlawful objects.

And she in her folly encouraged that husband of Śachī, being the slave of her passions; but the hermit Gautama

[1] The Durgāprasād reading differs slightly and means "sacrifices, acts of charity and the like." See Speyer, *op. cit.*, p. 99.—N.M.P.

[2] Kāmadhenu means a cow granting all desires; such a cow is said to have belonged to the sage Vaśishṭa.

[3] Conciliation, bribery, sowing dissension, and war.

[4] There are several versions of this tale. One of them in the *Rāmāyaṇa* (see Griffith's metrical translation, vol. i, 1870, pp. 211-216) describes Ahalyā as being herself deceived, as Indra takes the form of her husband. Another story is that Indra was assisted in his designs by Soma (the moon), who, disguised as a cock, crowed at midnight. The unsuspecting Gautama left his bed and started his early morning devotions, while Indra immediately took his place. The morals of Indra were never above suspicion, but by the time of the Epics he had degenerated into nothing more than a "debonair debauchee." In the Vedic age he is a god of the people, the champion of the fighting man, a kind of Hindu Zeus. For the gradual changing and explanation of the attributes of Indra see L. D. Barnett, *Hindu Gods and Heroes*, "Wisdom of the East" Series, 1922, pp. 26-34, 74, etc. See also Bloomfield, *Vedic Concordance*, under "Ahalyāyai," p. 150; ditto, *Proc. Am. Phil. Soc.*, vol. lvi, p. 7; V. Fausböll, *Indian Mythology according to the Mahābhārata*, 1903, pp. 88-92; and A. A. Macdonell, *A History of Sanskrit Literature*, 1909, pp. 84-87, etc.—N.M.P.

found out the intrigue by his superhuman power, and arrived upon the scene. And Indra immediately assumed, out of fear, the form of a cat. Then Gautama said to Ahalyā: "Who is here?" She answered her husband ambiguously in the Prakrit dialect: "Here forsooth is a cat"—so managing to preserve verbal truth.[1] Then Gautama said, laughing: "It is quite true that your lover is here"—and he inflicted on her a curse, but ordained that it should terminate, because she had showed some regard for truth. The curse ran as follows:—"Harlot,[2] take for a long time the nature of a stone, until thou behold Rāma wandering in the forest." And Gautama at the same time inflicted on the god Indra the following curse:—"A thousand pictures of that which thou has desired shall be upon thy body, but when thou shalt behold Tilottamā, a heavenly nymph, whom Viśva-karman shall make, they shall turn into a thousand eyes." When he had pronounced this curse, the hermit returned to his austerities according to his desire, but Ahalyā for her part assumed the awful condition of a stone.[3] And Indra immediately had his body covered with representations of the female *pudenda*[4]; for to whom is not immorality a cause of humiliation?

[M] "So true is it that every man's evil actions always bear fruit in himself, for whatever seed a man sows, of that he reaps the fruit. Therefore persons of noble character never desire that which is disagreeable to their neighbours, for this is the invariable observance of the good, prescribed

[1] The Prakrit word *majjāo* means "a cat" and also "my lover."

[2] Literally, "woman of bad character."—N.M.P.

[3] For numerous references to stone metamorphoses see Chauvin, *Bibliographie des Ouvrages Arabes*, vi, 58.—N.M.P.

[4] In some accounts Gautama repented of his curse and himself turned the marks into a thousand eyes. Another legend states that Indra obtained his numerous eyes in his eagerness to see as much as possible of the wonderful Tilottamā. We have already seen how Śiva became four-faced owing to the same cause (p. 14). Here the two stories seem rather muddled.—N.M.P.

by divine law. And you two were sister goddesses in a former birth, but you have been degraded in consequence of a curse, and accordingly your hearts are free from strife and bent on doing one another good turns."

When they heard this from Vasantaka, Vāsavadattā and Padmāvatī dismissed from their hearts even the smallest remnants of mutual jealousy. But the Queen Vāsavadattā made her husband equally the property of both, and acted as kindly to Padmāvatī as if she were herself, desiring her welfare.

When the King of Magadha heard of that so great generosity of hers from the messengers sent by Padmāvatī, he was much pleased. So on the next day the minister Yaugandharāyaṇa came up to the King of Vatsa in the presence of the queen, the others also standing by, and said: "Why do we not go now to Kauśāmbī, my prince, in order to begin our enterprise, for we know that there is nothing to be feared from the King of Magadha, even though he has been deceived? For he has been completely gained over by means of the negotiation termed 'Giving of a daughter': and how could he make war and so abandon his daughter, whom he loves more than life? He must keep his word; moreover he has not been deceived by you; I did it all myself; and it does not displease him; indeed I have learned from my spies that he will not act in a hostile way, and it was for this very purpose that we remained here for these days."

While Yaugandharāyaṇa, who had accomplished the task he had in hand, was speaking thus, a messenger belonging to the King of Magadha arrived there, and entered into the palace immediately, being announced by the warder, and after he had done obeisance he sat down, and said to the King of Vatsa: "The King of Magadha is delighted with the intelligence sent by the Queen Padmāvatī, and he now sends this message to your Highness: 'What need is there of many words? I have heard all, and I am pleased with thee. Therefore do the thing for the sake of which this beginning has been made; we submit ourselves.'" The King of Vatsa joyfully received this clear speech of the messenger, resembling the blossom of the tree of policy planted

by Yaugandharāyaṇa. Then he brought Padmāvatī with the queen and, after he had bestowed a present upon the messenger, he dismissed him with honour.

Then a messenger from Chaṇḍamahāsena also arrived, and, after entering, he bowed before the king, according to custom, and said to him: "O King, his Majesty Chaṇḍamahāsena, who understands the secrets of policy, has learnt the state of thy affairs and delighted sends this message: 'Your Majesty's excellence is plainly declared by this one fact, that you have Yaugandharāyaṇa for your minister; what need of further speeches? Blessed too is Vāsavadattā, who, through devotion to you, has done a deed which makes us exalt our head for ever among the good; moreover Padmāvatī is not separated from Vāsavadattā in my regard, for the two have one heart; therefore quickly exert yourself.'"

When the King of Vatsa heard this speech of his father-in-law's messenger, joy suddenly arose in his heart, and his exceeding warmth of affection for the queen was increased, and also the great respect which he felt for his excellent minister. Then the king, together with the queens, entertained the messenger according to the laws of hospitality, in joyful excitement of mind, and sent him away pleased; and as he was bent on commencing his enterprise, he determined, after deliberating with his ministers, on returning to Kauśāmbī.

CHAPTER XVIII

SO on the next day the King of Vatsa set out from [M] Lāvānaka for Kauśāmbī, accompanied by his wives and his ministers, and as he advanced shouts broke forth from his forces, that filled the plains like the waters of the ocean overflowing out of due time. An image would be furnished of that king advancing on his mighty elephant, if the sun were to journey in the heaven accompanied by the eastern mountain. That king, shaded with his white umbrella,[1] showed as if waited upon by the moon, delighted at having outdone the splendour of the sun. While he towered resplendent above them all, the chiefs circled around him, like the planets [2] in their orbits around the polar star. And those queens, mounted on a female elephant that followed his, shone like the Earth Goddess and the Goddess of Fortune accompanying him out of affection in visible shape. The earth, that lay in his path, dinted with the edges of the hoofs of the troops of his prancing steeds, seemed to bear the prints of loving nails,[3] as if it had been enjoyed by the king.

In this style progressing, the King of Vatsa, being continually praised by his minstrels, reached in a few days the city of Kauśāmbī, in which the people kept holiday. The city was resplendent on that occasion, her lord [4] having returned from sojourning abroad. She was clothed in the red silk of banners, round windows were her expanded eyes,

[1] For full details of the history and significance of the umbrella see Appendix II, pp. 263-272—N.M.P.

[2] *Cf.* Schiller's *Gedichte*, "Der Graf von Habsburg," lines 8, 9.

[3] Vātsyāyana devotes a whole chapter in his *Kāma Sūtra* (Book II, ch. iv) to love-scratching with the finger-nails. He describes eight distinct varieties of scratches, and lists the desirable qualities in finger-nails. As this work is hard to obtain I shall give certain extracts in a note to the "Story of King Sinhāksha" in Book X, Chapter LXVI.—N.M.P.

[4] The word *pati* here means king and husband.

the full pitchers in the space in front of the gates were her two swelling breasts, the joyous shouts of the crowd were her cheerful conversation, and white palaces her smile.[1] So, accompanied by his two wives, the king entered the city, and the ladies of the town were much delighted at beholding him. The heaven was filled with hundreds of faces of fair ones standing on charming palaces, as if with the soldiers of the moon[2] that was surpassed in beauty by the faces of the queens, having come to pay their respects. And other women, established at the windows, looking with unwinking eyes,[3] seemed like heavenly nymphs in aerial chariots, that had come there out of curiosity. Other women, with their long-lashed eyes closely applied to the lattice of the windows, made, so to speak, cages of arrows to confine love. The eager eye of one woman, expanded with desire to behold the king, came, so to speak, to the side of her ear,[4] that did not perceive him, in order to inform it. The rapidly heaving breasts of another, who had run up hastily, seemed to want to leap out of her bodice[5] with ardour to behold him. The necklace of another lady was broken with her excitement, and the pearl beads seemed like teardrops of joy falling from her heart. Some women, beholding Vāsavadattā and remembering the former

The Triumphant Entry into Kauśāmbī

[1] A smile is always white according to the Hindu poetic canons.

[2] The countenances of the fair ones were like moons.

[3] There should be a mark of elision before *nimishekshaṇāh*.

[4] The eyes of Hindu ladies are said to reach to their ears. I read *tadākhyātum* for *tadākhyātim* with a MS. in the Sanskrit College, kindly lent me by the Librarian with the consent of the Principal.——See the introductory part of Appendix II ("Collyrium and *Kohl*") to the *Ocean of Story*, Vol. I, p. 211 *et seq.*—N.M.P.

[5] This is the *angia* or *angiyā* worn by the Hindu and Mohammedan women of the north. It is really nothing more than a breast-cloth, being short, tight and usually sleeveless. It is tied behind with strings or ribbons. In Western India it is known as a *choḷi*, and differs from the *angiyā* in that it buttons up in front. In Kashmir the *kūrtā*, a kind of blouse open at the front, is worn instead of the *angiyā*. Young married women sometimes wear both the *kūrtā* and *angiyā*. The Pathān women have two varieties of *kūrtās*: a coloured and decorated one worn by unmarried girls, and a more sombre one adopted by married women.

Other terms for this bodice are *maḥram* and *sînaband* (breast-cover).—N.M.P.

report of her having been burned, said as if with anxiety: "If the fire were to do her an injury at Lāvānaka, then the sun might as well diffuse over the world darkness, which is alien to his nature." Another lady, beholding Padmāvatī, said to her companions: "I am glad to see that the queen is not put to shame by her fellow-wife, who seems like her friend." And others beholding those two queens, and throwing over them garlands of eyes expanded with joy so as to resemble blue lotuses, said to one another: "Surely Śiva and Vishṇu have not beheld the beauty of these two, otherwise how could they regard with much respect their consorts Umā and Śrī?"

In this way feasting the eyes of the population, the King of Vatsa with the queens entered his own palace, after performing auspicious ceremonies. Such as is the splendour of a lotus-pool in windy weather,[1] or of the sea when the moon is rising, such was at that period the wonderful splendour of the king's palace. And in a moment it was filled with the presents which the feudatories offered to procure good luck, and which foreshadowed the coming in of offerings from innumerable kings. And so the King of Vatsa, after honouring the chiefs, entered with great festivity the inner apartments, at the same time finding his way to the heart of everyone present. And there he remained between the two queens, like the God of Love between Rati and Prīti,[2] and spent the rest of the day in drinking and other enjoyments.

The next day, when he was sitting in the hall of assembly accompanied by his ministers, a certain Brāhman came and cried out at the door: "Protection for the Brāhmans, O King! Certain wicked herdsmen have cut off my son's foot in the forest without any reason." When he heard that, the king immediately had two or three herdsmen seized and brought before him, and proceeded to question them. Then they gave the following answer:—"O King, being herdsmen we roam in the wilderness, and there we have among us a herdsman named Devasena, and he sits in a certain place in

[1] The Durgāprasād text (in future this will be referred to as the D. text) reads *prabhāte*, "at daybreak," instead of *pravāte*, "in windy weather."—N.M.P.

[2] Love and Affection, the wives of Kāmadeva, the Hindu Cupid.

the forest on a stone seat, and says to us, 'I am your king,' and gives us orders. And not a man among us disobeys his orders. Thus, O King, that herdsman rules supreme in the wood. Now to-day the son of this Brāhman came that way, and did not do obeisance to the herdsman king, and when we, by the order of the king, said to him, 'Depart not without doing thy reverence,' the young fellow pushed us aside, and went off laughing, in spite of the admonition. Then the herdsman king commanded us to punish the contumacious boy by cutting off his foot. So we, O King, ran after him, and cut off his foot; what man of our humble degree is able to disobey the command of a ruler?" When the herdsmen had made this representation to the king, the wise Yaugandharāyaṇa, after thinking it over, said to him in private: "Certainly that place must contain treasure, on the strength of which a mere herdsman has such influence.[1] So let us go there." When his minister had said this to him, the king made those herdsmen show him the way, and went to that place in the forest with his soldiers and his attendants.

The Finding of the Jewelled Throne

And while, after the ground had been examined, peasants were digging there, a Yaksha, in stature like a mountain, rose up from beneath it, and said: "O King, this treasure, which I have so long guarded, belongs to thee, as having been buried by thy forefathers, therefore take possession of it." After he had said this to the king, and accepted his worship, the Yaksha disappeared, and a great treasure was displayed in the excavation. And from it was extracted a valuable throne studded with jewels,[2] for in the time of prosperity a long series of happy and fortunate events takes place. The lord of Vatsa took away the whole treasure from the spot in high glee, and after chastising those herdsmen returned to his own city. There the people saw that golden throne brought

[1] So the mouse in the *Pañchatantra* possesses power by means of a treasure (Benfey's *Pañchatantra*, vol. i, p. 320; vol. ii, p. 178). The story is found also in Chapter LXI of this work. *Cf.* also *Sagas from the Far East*, pp. 257, 268. The same idea is found in *Jātaka*, No. 39, p. 322, of Rhys Davids' translation, and in *Jātaka*, No. 257, vol. ii, p. 297, of Fausböll's edition.

[2] Cf. *Sagas from the Far East*, p. 268.

by the king, which seemed, with the streams of rays issuing from its blood-red jewels, to foretell[1] the king's forceful conquest of all the regions, and which, with its pearls fixed on the end of projecting silver spikes, seemed to show its teeth as if laughing again and again when it considered the astonishing intellect of the king's ministers[2]; and they expressed their joy in a charming manner, by striking drums of rejoicing, so that they sent forth their glad sounds. The ministers too rejoiced exceedingly, making certain of the king's triumph; for prosperous events happening at the very commencement of an enterprise portend its final success. Then the sky was filled with flags resembling flashes of lightning, and the king like a cloud rained gold on his dependents.

And this day having been spent in feasting, on the morrow Yaugandharāyaṇa, wishing to know the mind of the king of Vatsa, said to him: "O King, ascend and adorn that great throne, which thou hast obtained by inheritance from thy ancestors." But the king said: "Surely it is only after conquering all the regions that I can gain glory by ascending that throne, which those famous ancestors of mine mounted after conquering the earth. Not till I have subdued this widely gemmed earth, bounded by the main, will I ascend the great jewelled throne of my ancestors."[3] Saying this, the king did not mount the throne as yet. For men of high birth possess genuine loftiness of spirit.

Thereupon Yaugandharāyaṇa being delighted said to him in private: "Bravo, my King! So make first an attempt to conquer the eastern region." When he heard that, the king eagerly asked his minister: "When there are other cardinal points, why do kings first march towards the East?" When Yaugandharāyaṇa heard this, he said to him again: "The North, O King, though rich, is defiled by intercourse with barbarians; and the West is not honoured as being the cause of the setting of the sun and other heavenly bodies;

[1] I read *darśayat*.

[2] *Sati* is a misprint for *mati*—Böhtlingk and Roth, *s.v.*

[3] In the D. text the dialogue of *śl.* 52-54 is divided somewhat differently. See Speyer, *op. cit.*, p. 99.—N.M.P.

and the South is seen to be neighboured by Rākshasas and inhabited by the God of Death; but in the eastern quarter the sun rises, over the East presides Indra, and towards the East flows the Ganges, therefore the East is preferred.[1] Moreover among the countries situated between the Vindhya and Himālaya mountains, the country laved by the waters of the Ganges is considered most excellent. Therefore monarchs who desire success march first towards the East, and dwell, moreover, in the land visited by the river of the gods.[2] For your ancestors also conquered the regions by beginning with the East, and made their dwelling in Hastināpura on the banks of the Ganges; but Śatānīka repaired to Kauśāmbī on account of its delightful situation, seeing that empire depended upon valour, and situation had nothing to do with it."

When he had said this, Yaugandharāyaṇa stopped speaking; and the king out of his great regard for heroic exploits said: "It is true that dwelling in any prescribed country is not the cause of empire in this world, for to men of brave disposition their own valour is the only cause of success. For a brave man by himself without any support obtains prosperity. Have you never heard, *à propos* of this, the tale of the brave man?" Having said this, the lord of Vatsa, on the entreaty of his ministers, again began to speak, and related in the presence of the queens the following wonderful story:—

22. *Story of Vidūshaka*

In the city of Ujjayinī, which is celebrated throughout the earth, there was in former days a king named Ādityasena. He was a treasure-house of valour, and on account of his sole supremacy his war chariot, like that of the sun,[3] was not im-

[1] For a good general article on orientation see T. D. Atkinson, "Points of the Compass," Hastings' *Ency. Rel. Eth.*, vol. x, pp. 73-88. For the extent to which the subject enters into the life of a Brāhman see Mrs Stevenson's *The Rites of the Twice-born*, Oxford, 1920.—N.M.P.

[2] *I.e.* the Ganges.

[3] In Sanskrit *pratāpa* the word translated "valour" also means "heat," and *chakra* may refer to the wheels of the chariot and the orb of the sun, so that there is a pun all through.

peded anywhere. When his lofty umbrella,[1] gleaming white like snow, illuminated the firmament, other kings free from heat depressed theirs. He was the receptacle of the jewels produced over the surface of the whole earth, as the sea is the receptacle of waters. Once on a time he was encamped with his army on the banks of the Ganges, where he had come for some reason or other. There a certain rich merchant of the country, named Guṇavartman, came to the king, bringing a gem of maidens as a present, and sent this message by the mouth of the warder: "This maiden, though the gem of the three worlds, has been born in my house, and I cannot give her to anyone else; only your Highness is fit to be the husband of such a girl." Then Guṇavartman entered and showed his daughter to the king. The king, when he beheld that maiden, Tejasvatī by name, illuminating with her brightness the quarters of the heavens, like the flame of the rays from the jewels in the temple of the God of Love, was all enveloped with the radiance of her beauty and fell in love with her, and, as if heated with the fire of passion, began to dissolve in drops of sweat. So he at once accepted her, who was fit for the rank of head queen, and, being highly delighted, made Guṇavartman equal to himself in honour.

Then, having married his dear Tejasvatī, the king thought all his objects in life accomplished, and went with her to Ujjayinī. There the king fixed his gaze so exclusively on her face that he could not see the affairs of his kingdom, though they were of great importance. And his ear being, so to speak, riveted on her musical discourse, could not be attracted by the cries of his distressed subjects. The king entered into his harem for a long time and never left it, but the fever of fear left the hearts of his enemies. And after some time there was born to the king, by the Queen Tejasvatī, a girl, welcomed by all. And there arose in his heart the desire of conquest, which was equally welcome to his subjects. That girl of exceeding beauty, who made the three worlds seem worthless as stubble, excited him in joy, and desire of conquest excited his valour. Then that King Ādityasena set out one day from Ujjayinī to attack a certain contumacious

[1] See Appendix II, pp. 263-272.—N.M.P.

chieftain; and he made that Queen Tejasvatī go with him mounted on an elephant, as if she were the protecting goddess of the host. And he mounted an admirable horse, that in spirit and fury resembled a torrent,[1] tall like a moving mountain, with a curl on its breast, and a girth. It seemed to imitate, with its feet raised as high as its mouth, the going of Garuḍa,[2] which it had seen in the heaven, rivalling its own swiftness; and it lifted up its head and seemed with fearless eye to measure the earth, as if thinking: "What shall be the limit of my speed?"

King Ādityasena's Horse runs away with him

And after the king had gone a little way he came to a level piece of ground, and put his horse to its utmost speed to show it off to Tejasvatī. That horse, on being struck with his heel, went off rapidly, like an arrow impelled from a catapult, in some unknown direction, so that it became invisible to the eyes of men. The soldiers, when they saw that take place, were bewildered, and horsemen galloped in a thousand directions after the king, who was run away with by his horse, but could not overtake him. Thereupon the ministers with the soldiers, fearing some calamity, in their anxiety took with them the weeping queen and returned to Ujjayinī; there they remained with gates closed and ramparts guarded, seeking for news of the king, having cheered up the citizens

In the meanwhile the king was carried by the horse in an instant to the impassable forest of the Vindhya hills, haunted by horrible lions.[3] Then the horse happened to stand still, and the king was immediately distracted with bewilderment, as the great forest made it impossible for him to know whereabouts he was. Seeing no other way out of his difficulties, who knew what the horse had been in a former birth, he got down from his saddle and, prostrating himself before the excellent horse, said to him: "Thou art a god; a creature like thee should not commit treason against his lord; so I look upon thee as my protector; take me by a pleasant

[1] More literally, "a torrent of pride and kicking."——The D. text differs, and can be translated, "sweating from (ardour and) pride."—N.M.P.

[2] See note in *Ocean of Story*, Vol. I, pp. 103-105.—N.M.P.

[3] See *Ocean of Story*, Vol. I, p. 67*n*.—N.M.P.

path." When the horse heard that, he was full of regret, remembering his former birth, and mentally acceded to the king's request; for excellent horses are divine beings.[1] Then the king mounted again, and the horse set out by a road bordered with clear cool lakes, that took away the fatigue of the journey; and by evening the splendid horse had taken the king another hundred *yojanas*[2] and brought him near Ujjayinī.

As the Sun, beholding his horses, though seven in number, excelled by this courser's speed, had sunk, as it were through shame, into the ravines of the western mountain, and as the darkness was diffused abroad, the wise horse, seeing that the gates of Ujjayinī were closed, and that the burning-place outside the gates was terrible at that time, carried the king for shelter to a concealed monastery of Brāhmans, that was situated in a lonely place outside the walls. And the King Ādityasena, seeing that that monastery was a fit place to spend the night in, as his horse was tired, attempted to enter it. But the Brāhmans who dwelt there opposed his entrance, saying that he must be some keeper of a cemetery[3] or some thief. And out they poured in quarrelsome mood, with savage gestures, for Brāhmans who live by chanting the Sāma Veda are the home of timidity, boorishness and ill temper.

[1] Grimm in his *Teutonic Mythology* (translation by Stallybrass, p. 392) remarks: "One principal mark to know heroes by is their possessing intelligent horses, and conversing with them. The touching conversation of Achilles with his Xanthos and Balios finds a complete parallel in the beautiful Karling legend of Bayard." (This is most pathetically told in Simrock's *Deutsche Volksbücher*, vol. ii, "Die Heimonskinder," see especially p. 54.) Grimm proceeds to cite many other instances from European literature. See also note 3 to the twentieth story in Miss Stokes' collection, and the remarks in Bernhard Schmidt's *Griechische Märchen*, p. 237.——Owing to the great value of war horses among the early Aryans we find them an object of worship from Vedic days. See *Rig-Veda*, iv, 33. For notes on horse-worship and horse-sacrifice see Crooke, *Folk-Lore of Northern India*, vol. ii, pp. 204-208 and the numerous references given on those pages. When horses were first introduced to the Central American Indians by the Spaniards, they were regarded as supernatural beings and worshipped as such. For the horse in mythology see Negelein in *Teutonia*, ii; de Gubernatis, *Zoological Mythology*, vol. i, pp. 290-296 and 330-355; Pauly-Wissowa, under "Aberglaube," p. 76; and Crooke, "Some Notes on Homeric Folk-Lore," *Folk-Lore*, vol. xix, 1908, p. 65.—N.M.P.

[2] See *Ocean of Story*, Vol. I, p. 3*n*[1].—N.M.P.

[3] The keeper of a burning or burial ground would be impure.

While they were clamouring, a virtuous Brāhman named Vidūshaka, the bravest of the brave, came out from that monastery. He was a young man distinguished for strength of arm, who had propitiated the Fire by his austerities, and obtained a splendid sword from that divinity, which he had only to think of and it came to him.[1] That resolute youth Vidūshaka, seeing that king of distinguished bearing, who had arrived by night, thought to himself that he was some god in disguise. And the well-disposed youth pushed away all those other Brāhmans, and bowing humbly before the king, caused him to enter the monastery. And when he had rested, and had the dust of the journey washed off by female slaves, Vidūshaka prepared for him suitable food. And he took the saddle off that excellent horse of his, and relieved its fatigue by giving it grass and other fodder. And after he had made a bed for the wearied king, he said to him: "My lord, I will guard your person, so sleep in peace." And while the king slept that Brāhman kept watch the whole night at the door with the sword of the Fire God in his hand, that came to him on his thinking of it.

And on the morrow early Vidūshaka, without receiving any orders, of his own accord saddled the horse for the king as soon as he awoke. The king for his part took leave of him, and mounting his horse entered the city of Ujjayinī, beheld afar off by the people bewildered with joy. And the moment he entered, his subjects approached him with a confused hum of delight at his return. The king accompanied by his ministers entered the palace, and great anxiety left the breast of the Queen Tejasvatī. Immediately grief seemed to be swept away from the city by the rows of silken flags displayed out of joy, which waved in the wind; and the queen made high festival until the end of the day, until such time as the people of the city and the sun were red as

[1] This summoning by thought is found many times in the *Ocean of Story*. It is, however, a supernatural being who is usually thus summoned. Readers will remember that Vararuchi had made a friend of a Rākshasa who appeared on thought (Vol. I, p. 50). In the *Nights* the jinn is summoned by the rubbing of a magic article, such as a lamp, ring, etc., or less frequently by burning hair (contagious magic). See Chauvin, *Bibliographie des Ouvrages Arabes*, v, 5.—N.M.P.

vermilion.[1] And the next day the King Ādityasena had Vidūshaka summoned from the monastery, with all the other Brāhmans. And as soon as he had made known what took place in the night, he gave his benefactor Vidūshaka a thousand villages. And the grateful king also gave that Brāhman an umbrella[2] and an elephant and appointed him his domestic chaplain, so that he was beheld with great interest by the people. So Vidūshaka then became equal to a chieftain; for how can a benefit conferred on great persons fail of bearing fruit?

Vidūshaka wins the King's Favour

And the noble-minded Vidūshaka shared all those villages which he had received from the king with the Brāhmans who lived in the monastery. And he remained in the court of the king in attendance upon him, enjoying, together with the other Brāhmans, the income of those villages. But as time went on those other Brāhmans began striving each of them to be chief, and made no account of Vidūshaka, being intoxicated with the pride of wealth. Dwelling in separate parties, seven in one place, with their mutual rivalries they oppressed the villages like malignant planets. Vidūshaka regarded their excesses with scornful indifference; for men of firm mind rightly treat with contempt men of little soul.

Once upon a time a Brāhman of the name of Chakradhara, who was naturally stern, seeing them engaged in wrangling, came up to them. Chakradhara, though he was one-eyed, was keen-sighted enough in deciding what was right in other men's affairs, and though a hunchback, was straightforward enough in speech. He said to them: "While you were living by begging you obtained this windfall, you rascals; then why do you ruin the villages with your mutual intolerance? It is all the fault of Vidūshaka, who has permitted you to act thus; so you may be certain that in a short time you will again have to roam about begging. For a situation in which there is no head, and everyone has to shift for

[1] Probably the people sprinkled one another with red powder, as at the Holī festival.——For a description of this see Crooke, "The Holī: A Vernal Festival of the Hindus," *Folk-Lore*, vol. xxv, 1914, pp. 55-83.—N.M.P.

[2] See Appendix II, pp. 263-272.—N.M.P.

himself by his own wits as chance directs,[1] is better than one of disunion under many heads, in which all affairs go to rack and ruin. So take my advice and appoint one firm man as your head, if you desire unshaken prosperity, which can only be ensured by a capable governor." On hearing that, every one of them desired the headship for himself; thereupon Chakradhara after reflection again said to those fools: "As you are so addicted to mutual rivalry I propose to you a basis of agreement. In the neighbouring cemetery three robbers have been executed by impalement; whoever is daring enough to cut off the noses of those three by night, and to bring them here, he shall be your head; for courage merits command."[2]

When Chakradhara made this proposal to the Brāhmans, Vidūshaka, who was standing near, said to them: "Do this; what is there to be afraid of?" Then the Brāhmans said to him: "We are not bold enough to do it; let whoever is able do it, and we will abide by the agreement." Then Vidūshaka said: "Well, I will do it. I will cut off the noses of those robbers by night and bring them from the cemetery." Then those fools, thinking the task a difficult one, said to him: "If you do this you shall be our lord; we make this agreement."[3] When they had pronounced this agreement, and night had set in, Vidūshaka took leave of those Brāhmans and went to the cemetery. So the hero entered the cemetery, awful as his own undertaking, with the sword of the Fire God, that came with a thought, as his only companion. And in the middle of that cemetery, where the cries of vultures and jackals were swelled by the screams of witches and the flames

Vidūshaka undertakes a daring Task

[1] The D. text perhaps makes better sense: "better, indeed, is a state without a ruler, so that their prosperity merely depends on Fate, than one with many discordant rulers, which entails the scattering of all their wealth." See Speyer, *op. cit.*, p. 100.—N.M.P.

[2] So in Grimm's *Märchen*, "Von einem der auszog das Furchten zu lernen," the youth is recommended to sit under the gallows where seven men have been executed. *Cf.* also the story of "The Shroud" in Ralston's *Russian Folk-Tales*, p. 307.——*Cf.* also the extraordinary tale of Bellephoron in Apuleius' *Golden Ass*, ch. xi.—N.M.P.

[3] Literally, "we consider ourselves bound by this word." See Speyer, *op. cit.*, p. 100.—N.M.P.

of the funeral pyres were reinforced by the fires in the mouths of the fire-breathing demons, he beheld those impaled men with their faces turned up, as if through fear of having their noses cut off. And when he approached them those three, being tenanted by demons, struck him with their fists[1]; and he for his part slashed them in return with his sword, for Fear has not learned to bestir herself in the breast of the resolute. Accordingly the corpses ceased to be convulsed

[1] *Cf.* Ralston's account of the vampire as represented in the Skazkas: "It is as a vitalised corpse that the visitor from the other world comes to trouble mankind, often subject to human appetites, constantly endowed with more than human strength and malignity" (Ralston's *Russian Folk-Tales*, p. 306). The belief that the dead rose from the tomb in the form of vampires appears to have existed in Chaldæa and Babylon. Lenormant observes in his *Chaldæan Magic and Sorcery* (English translation, p. 37): "In a fragment of the Mythological *epopée* which is traced upon a tablet in the British Museum, and relates the descent of Ishtar into Hades, we are told that the goddess, when she arrived at the doors of the infernal regions, called to the porter whose duty it was to open them, saying:

'Porter, open thy door;
Open thy door that I may enter.
If thou dost not open the door, and if I cannot enter,
I will attack the door, I will break down its bars,
I will attack the enclosure, I will leap over its fences by force;
I will cause the dead to rise and devour the living,
I will give the dead power over the living.'"

The same belief appears also to have existed in Egypt. The same author observes (p. 92): "These formulæ also kept the body from becoming, during its separation from the soul, the prey of some wicked spirit which would enter, reanimate, and cause it to rise again in the form of a vampire. For, according to the Egyptian belief, the possessing spirits, and the spectres which frightened or tormented the living, were but the souls of the condemned returning to earth, before undergoing the annihilation of the 'second death.'"——Another version of the above translation of the attempt of Ishtar to get into Aralū (Sheol or Hades) is to be found in Morris Jastrow's *The Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*, 1898, pp. 568-569. There are seven doors, and at each Ishtar is forced to abandon some portion of her clothing and ornaments, until finally she is entirely naked. This is symbolic of the gradual decay of vegetation (see Jastrow, *op. cit.*, p. 570). The whole reference, however, although very interesting, has little to do with vampires. For these see R. Campbell Thompson, *The Devils and Evil Spirits of Babylonia*, 1903-1904, which contains numerous Babylonian and Assyrian incantations against vampires; while for Indian vampires and other evil spirits see W. Crooke, "Demons and Spirits (Indian)," Hastings' *Ency. Rel. Eth.*, vol. iv, pp. 601-608.—N.M.P.

with demons, and then the successful hero cut off their noses and brought them away, binding them up in his garment.

And as he was returning he beheld in that cemetery a religious mendicant sitting on a corpse muttering charms, and through curiosity to have the amusement of seeing what he was doing he stood concealed behind that mendicant. In a moment the corpse under the mendicant gave forth a hissing sound, and flames issued from its mouth, and from its navel mustard-seeds. And then the mendicant took the mustard-seeds, and rising up struck the corpse with the flat of his hand, and the corpse, which was tenanted by a mighty demon, stood up, and then that mendicant mounted [1] on its shoulder and began to depart at a rapid rate, and Vidūshaka silently followed him unobserved, and after he had gone a short distance Vidūshaka saw an empty temple with an image of Durgā in it. Then the mendicant got down from the shoulder of the demon, and entered the inner shrine of the temple, while the demon fell flat on the earth. But Vidūshaka was present also, contriving to watch the mendicant, unperceived by him. The mendicant worshipped the goddess there and offered the following prayer:—"If thou art pleased with me, O Goddess, grant me the desired boon. If not, I will propitiate thee with the sacrifice of myself." When the mendicant, intoxicated with the success of his powerful spells, said this, a voice coming from the inner shrine thus addressed the mendicant: "Bring here the maiden daughter of King Ādityasena, and offer her as a sacrifice, then thou shalt obtain thy desire." When the mendicant heard this he went out, and striking once more with his hand the demon,[2] who hissed at the blow, made him stand upright. And, mounting on the shoulder of the demon, from whose mouth issued flames of fire, he flew away through the air to bring the princess.

Vidūshaka seeing all this from his place of concealment

[1] *Cf.* the way in which the witch treats the corpse of her son in the sixth book of the *Æthiopica* of Heliodorus, ch. xiv, and Lucan's *Pharsalia*, Book VI, ll. 754-757.

[2] *I.e.* the corpse tenanted by the Vetāla or demon.——See *Ocean of Story*, Appendix I, Vol. I, p. 206; and Sir Richard Temple's Foreword to Vol. I, p. xxv.—N.M.P.

thought to himself: "What! shall he slay the king's daughter while I am alive? I will remain here until the scoundrel returns." Having formed this resolve, Vidūshaka remained there in concealment. But the mendicant entered the female apartments of the palace through the window, and found the king's daughter asleep, as it was night. And he returned, all clothed in darkness, through the air, bringing with him the princess, who illuminated with her beauty the region, as Rāhu[1] carries off a digit of the moon. And bearing along with him that princess, who exclaimed in her grief, "Alas! my father! Alas! my mother!" he descended from the sky into that very temple of the goddess. And then, dismissing the demon, he entered with that pearl of maidens into the inner shrine of the goddess, and while he was preparing to slay the princess there Vidūshaka came in with his sword drawn. He said to the mendicant: "Villain! Do you wish to smite a jasmine flower with a thunderbolt, in that you desire to employ a weapon against this tender form?" And then he seized the trembling mendicant by the hair, and cut off his head. And he consoled the princess, distracted by fear, who clung to him closely as she began to recognise him.

And saves the Life of the Princess

And then the hero thought: "How can I manage during the night to convey this princess from this place to the harem?" Then a voice from the air addressed him: "Hear this, O Vidūshaka! The mendicant whom thou hast slain had in his power a great demon and some grains of mustard-seed. Thence arose his desire to be ruler of the earth and marry the daughters of kings, and so the fool has this day been baffled. Therefore, thou hero, take those mustard-seeds, in order that for this night only thou mayest be enabled to travel through the air." Thus the aerial voice addressed the delighted Vidūshaka; for even the gods often take such a hero under their protection. Then he took in his hand those grains of mustard-seed from the corner of the mendicant's robe, and the princess in his arms.

And while he was setting out from that temple of the goddess another voice sounded in the air: "Thou must

[1] See note at the end of this chapter.—N.M.P.

return to this very temple of the goddess at the end of a month; thou must not forget this, O hero!" When he heard this, Vidūshaka said: "I will do so"—and by the favour of the goddess he immediately flew up into the air,[1] bearing with him the princess. And flying through the air he quickly placed that princess in her private apartments, and said to her after she had recovered her spirits: "To-morrow morning I shall not be able to fly through the air, and so all men will see me going out, so I must depart now." When he said this to her, the maiden, being alarmed, answered him: "When you are gone, this breath of mine will leave my body, overcome with fear. Therefore do not depart, great-souled hero; once more save my life; for the good make it their business from their birth to carry out every task they have undertaken."

When the brave Vidūshaka heard that he reflected: "If I go and leave this maiden she may possibly die of fear; and then what kind of loyalty to my sovereign shall I have exhibited?" Thinking thus he remained all night in those female apartments, and he gradually dropped off to sleep, wearied with toil and watching. But the princess in her terror passed the night without sleeping; and even when the morning came she did not wake up the sleeping Vidūshaka,[2] as her mind was made tender by love, and she said to herself: "Let him rest a little longer." Then the servants of the harem came in and saw him, and in a state of consternation they went and told the king. The king for his part sent the warder to discover the truth, and he entering beheld Vidūshaka there. And he heard the whole story from the mouth of the princess, and went and repeated it all to the king. And the king, knowing the excellent character of Vidūshaka, was immediately bewildered, wondering what it could mean. And he had Vidūshaka brought from his daughter's apartment, escorted all the way by her soul, which followed him out of affection.

[1] This art has always been regarded in Hindu mythology as the mark of dignity and a necessary adjunct to kingship. See A. M. Hocart, "Flying through the Air," *Ind. Ant.*, vol. lii, 1923, pp. 80-82.—N.M.P.

[2] *Cf.* Simrock's *Deutsche Volksbücher*, vol. iii, p. 399.

His Conduct satisfactorily explained

And when he arrived, the king asked him what had taken place, and Vidūshaka told him the whole story from the beginning, and showed him the noses of the robbers fastened up in the end of his garment, and the mustard-seeds which had been in the possession of the mendicant, different from those found on earth. The high-minded monarch suspected that Vidūshaka's story was true from these circumstances, so he had all the Brāhmans of the monastery brought before him, together with Chakradhara, and asked about the original cause of the whole matter. And he went in person to the cemetery and saw those men with their noses cut off, and that base mendicant with his neck severed, and then he reposed complete confidence in, and was much pleased with, the skilful and successful Vidūshaka, who had saved his daughter's life. And he gave him his own daughter on the spot. What do generous men withhold when pleased with their benefactors? Surely the Goddess of Prosperity,[1] out of love for the lotus, dwelt in the hand of the princess, since Vidūshaka obtained great good fortune after he had received it in the marriage ceremony.

Then Vidūshaka, enjoying a distinguished reputation, and engaged in attending upon the sovereign, lived with that beloved wife in the palace of King Ādityasena. Then as the days went on, once upon a time the princess, impelled by some supernatural power, said at night to Vidūshaka: "My lord, you remember that when you were in the temple of the goddess a divine voice said to you: 'Come here at the end of a month.' To-day is the last day of the month and you have forgotten it." When his beloved said this to him, Vidūshaka was delighted, and recalled it to mind, and said to his wife: "Well remembered on thy part, fair one! But I had forgotten it." And then he embraced her by way of reward.

And then, while she was asleep, he left the women's

[1] Lakshmī or Śrī, the Goddess of Prosperity, appeared after the Churning of the Ocean with a lotus in her hand. According to another story she is said to have appeared at the Creation floating on the expanded leaves of a lotus-flower. The hand of a lady is often compared to a lotus.

apartments by night, and in high spirits he went armed with his sword to the temple of the goddess; then he exclaimed outside: "I, Vidūshaka, am arrived." And he heard this speech uttered by someone inside: "Come in, Vidūshaka." Thereupon he entered and beheld a heavenly palace, and inside it a lady of heavenly beauty with a heavenly retinue, dispelling with her brightness the darkness, like a night set on fire, looking as if she were the medicine to restore to life the God of Love consumed with the fire of the wrath of Śiva. He, wondering what it could all mean, was joyfully received by her in person, with a welcome full of affection and great respect. And when he had sat down and had gained confidence from seeing her affection, he became eager to understand the real nature of the adventure, and she said to him: "I am a maiden of the Vidyādhara race, of high descent, and my name is Bhadrā, and as I was roaming about at my will I saw you here on that occasion. And as my mind was attracted by your virtues, I uttered at that time that voice which seemed to come from someone invisible, in order that you might return. And to-day I bewildered the princess by employing my magic skill, so that under my impulse she revived your remembrance of this matter, and for your sake I am here, and so, handsome hero, I surrender myself to you; marry me." The noble Vidūshaka, when the Vidyādharī Bhadrā addressed him in this style, agreed that moment, and married her by the *gāndharva* ceremony. Then he remained in that very place, having obtained celestial joys, the fruits of his own valour, living with that beloved wife.

His return to the Temple

Meanwhile the princess woke up when the night came to an end, and not seeing her husband, was immediately plunged in despair. So she got up and went with tottering steps to her mother, all trembling, with her eyes flooded with gushing tears. And she told her mother that her husband had gone away somewhere in the night, and was full of self-reproach, fearing that she had been guilty of some fault. Then her mother was distracted owing to her love for her daughter, and so in course of time the king heard of it, and came there, and fell into a state of the utmost anxiety. When his

daughter said to him, "I know my husband has gone to the temple of the goddess outside the cemetery," the king went there in person. But he was not able to find Vidūshaka there, in spite of all his searching, for he was concealed by virtue of the magic science of the Vidyādharī. Then the king returned, and his daughter in despair determined to leave the body, but while she was thus minded some wise man came to her and said this to her: "Do not fear any misfortune, for that husband of thine is living in the enjoyment of heavenly felicity, and will return to thee shortly." When she heard that, the princess retained her life, which was kept in her by the hope of her husband's return, that had taken deep root in her heart.

Then, while Vidūshaka was living there, a certain friend of his beloved, named Yogeśvarī, came to Bhadrā, and said to her in secret: "My friend, the Vidyādharas are angry with you because you live with a man, and they seek to do you an injury; therefore leave this place. There is a city called Kārkoṭaka on the shore of the eastern sea, and beyond that there is a sanctifying stream named Śītodā, and after you cross that, there is a great mountain named Udaya,[1] the land of the Siddhas,[2] which the Vidyādharas may not invade; go there immediately, and do not be anxious about the beloved mortal whom you leave here, for before you start you can tell all this to him, so that he shall be able afterwards to journey there with speed." When her friend said this to her, Bhadrā was overcome with fear, and though attached

[1] *Udaya* is a Sanskrit word meaning "rising," "appearance," and then as the eastern mountain behind which the sun was supposed to rise. Writing to me on the subject the Rev. A. S. Geden says that in this sense compounded words like *udayagiri, udayaparvata,* "eastern mountain," were probably more common than the simple term *udaya,* and he does not remember the word being found with this meaning in the Vedas. It does not play a conspicuous part in Hindu classical mythology, and is, of course, distinct from Meru, the world mountain, and Mandara, the mountain used at the Churning of the Ocean. The myth would seem to have arisen in the Himālayan country, or behind the Hindu Kush, where the sun did actually appear behind a mountain in the east. It could hardly have suggested itself on a dead plain like that of the Ganges. See Bohtlingk and Roth.—N.M.P.

[2] *I.e.* semi-divine beings supposed to be of great purity and holiness.—— See Vol. I, Appendix I, p. 204.—N.M.P.

to Vidūshaka, she consented to do as her friend advised. So she told her scheme to Vidūshaka, and providently gave him her ring, and then disappeared at the close of the night. And Vidūshaka immediately found himself in the empty temple of the goddess, in which he had been before, and no Bhadrā and no palace. Remembering the delusion produced by Bhadrā's magic skill, and beholding the ring, Vidūshaka was overpowered by a paroxysm of despair and wonder. And remembering her speech as if it were a dream, he reflected: "Before she left, she assigned as a place of meeting the mountain of the sun-rising; so I must quickly go there to find her; but if I am seen by the people in this state, the king will not let me go: so I will employ a stratagem in this matter, in order that I may accomplish my object."

So reflecting, the wise man assumed another appearance, and went out from that temple with tattered clothes, begrimed with dust, exclaiming: "Ah, Bhadrā! Ah, Bhadrā!" And immediately the people who lived in that place, beholding him, raised a shout: "Here is Vidūshaka found!" And the king hearing of it came out from his palace in person, and seeing Vidūshaka in such a state, conducting himself like a madman, he laid hold on him and took him back to his palace. When he was there, whatever his servants and connections, who were full of affection, said to him he answered only by exclaiming: "Ah, Bhadrā! Ah, Bhadrā!" And when he was anointed with unguents prescribed by the physicians, he immediately defiled his body with much cinder-dust; and the food which the princess out of love offered to him with her own hands he instantly threw down and trampled underfoot. And in this condition Vidūshaka remained there some days, without taking interest in anything, tearing his own clothes, and playing the madman. And Ādityasena thought to himself: "His condition is past cure, so what is the use of torturing him? He may perhaps die, and then I shall be guilty of the death of a Brāhman, whereas if he roams about at his will he may possibly recover in course of time." So he let him go.

Then the hero Vidūshaka, being allowed to roam where

he liked, set out the next day at his leisure to find Bhadrā, taking with him the ring. And as he journeyed on day by day towards the East, he at last reached a city named Pauṇḍravardhana,[1] which lay in his way as he travelled on; there he entered the house of a certain aged Brāhman woman, saying to her: "Mother, I wish to stop here one night." And she gave him a lodging and entertained him, and shortly after she approached him, full of inward sorrow, and said to him: "My son, I hereby give thee all this house, therefore receive it, since I cannot now live any longer." He, astonished, said to her: "Why do you speak thus?" Then she said: "Listen, I will tell you the whole story," and so continued as follows:—

He goes in search of Bhadrā

"My son, in this city there is a king named Devasena, and to him there was born a daughter, the ornament of the earth. The affectionate king said, 'I have with difficulty obtained this one daughter,' so he gave her the name of Duḥkhalabdhikā. In course of time, when she had grown up, the king gave her in marriage to the King of Kachchhapa, whom he had brought to his own palace.[2] The King of Kachchhapa entered at night the private apartments of his bride, and died the very first time he entered them. Then the king, much distressed, again gave his daughter in marriage to another king; he also perished in the same way[3]: and when through fear of the same fate other kings did not wish to marry her, the king gave this order to his general: 'You must bring a man in turn from every single house in this country, so that one shall be supplied every day, and he must be a Brāhman or a Kshatriya. And after you have brought the man, you must cause him to enter by night into

Duḥkhalabdhikā and the Rākshasa

[1] General Cunningham identifies Pauṇḍravardhana with the modern Pubna.

[2] There is a curious parallel to this story in Tārānātha's *History of Buddhism*, translated into German by Schiefner, p. 203. Here a Rākshasī assumes the form of a former king's wife, and kills all the subjects, one after another, as fast as they are elected to the royal dignity.

[3] Compare the apocryphal Book of Tobit. See p. 30 of Lenormant's *Chaldæan Magic and Sorcery*, English translation.

the apartment of my daughter; let us see how many will perish in this way, and how long it will go on. Whoever escapes shall afterwards [1] become her husband; for it is impossible to bar the course of Fate, whose dispensations are mysterious.' The general having received this order from the king, brings a man every day in turn from every house in this city, and in this way hundreds of men have met their death in the apartment of the princess.[2] Now I, whose merits in a former life must have been deficient, have one son here; his turn has to-day arrived to go to the palace to meet his death; and I being deprived of him must to-morrow enter the fire. Therefore, while I am still alive, I give to you, a worthy object, all my house with my own hand, in order that my lot may not again be unfortunate in my next birth."

When she had said this, the resolute Vidūshaka answered: "If this is the whole matter, do not be despondent, mother. I will go there to-day: let your only son live. And do not feel any commiseration with regard to me, so as to say to yourself, 'Why should I be the cause of this man's death?' for owing to the magical power which I possess I run no risk by going there." When Vidūshaka had said this, that Brāhman woman said to him: "Then you must be some god come here as a reward for my virtue, so cause me, my son, to recover life, and yourself to gain felicity." When she had expressed her approval of his project in these words, he went in the evening to the apartment of the princess, together with a servant appointed by the general to conduct him. There he beheld the princess flushed with the pride of youth, like a creeper weighed down with the burden of its abundant flowers that had not yet been gathered. Accord-

[1] As the word *bhaviṣyati* is future, the addition of *paścāt* (afterwards) seems unnecessary. It is, moreover, not found in the D. text, which is rendered by Speyer: "who survives in this (trial) shall become her husband." —N.M.P.

[2] For reference to such tales of the Perseus and Andromeda type see Frazer, *Pausanias*, vol. ix, 26, 27; I. V. Zingerle, *Kinder- und Hausmärchen aus Tirol*, Nos. 8, 21, 35, pp. 35 *et seq.*, 100 *et seq.*, and 178 *et seq.*; G. F. Abbott, *Macedonian Folk-Lore*, p. 270 *et seq.*; and especially E. S. Hartland, *The Legend of Perseus*, 1894-1896.—N.M.P.

ingly, when night came, the princess went to her bed, and Vidūshaka remained awake in her apartment, holding in his hand the sword of the Fire God, which came to him with a thought, saying to himself. "I will find out who it is that slays men here." And when people were all asleep, he saw a terrible Rākshasa coming from the side of the apartment where the entrance was, having first opened the door; and the Rākshasa, standing at the entrance, stretched forward into the room an arm, which had been the swift wand of Death to hundreds of men. But Vidūshaka, in wrath springing forward, cut off suddenly the arm of the Rākshasa with one stroke of his sword.[1] And the Rākshasa immediately fled away through fear of his exceeding valour, with the loss of one arm, never again to return. When the princess awoke, she saw the severed arm lying there, and she was terrified, delighted, and astonished at the same time. And in the morning the King Devasena saw the arm of the Rākshasa, which had fallen down after it was cut off, lying at the door of his daughter's apartments; in this way Vidūshaka—as if to say, "Henceforth no other men must enter here"—fastened the door as it were with a long bar.[2] Accordingly the delighted king gave to Vidūshaka, who possessed this divine power, his daughter and much wealth; and Vidūshaka dwelt there some days with this fair one, as if with prosperity incarnate in bodily form.

He continues his search for Bhadrā

But one day he left the princess while asleep, and set out at night in haste to find his Bhadrā. And the princess in the morning was afflicted at not seeing him, but she was comforted by her father with the hope of his return. Vidūshaka, journeying on day by day, at last reached the city of Tāmraliptā, not far from the eastern sea. There he joined himself to a certain merchant, named Skandhadāsa,[3] who desired to cross the sea. In his company, embarking on a ship laden

[1] Ralston in his *Russian Folk-Tales*, p. 270, compares this incident with one in a Polish story, and in the Russian story of "The Witch Girl." In both the arm of the destroyer is cut off.

[2] I read *iva*; the arm was the long bar, and the whole passage is an instance of the rhetorical figure called *utprekshā*.

[3] A better reading is Skandadāsa, with the D. text.—N.M.P.

with much wealth belonging to the merchant, he set out on the ocean path. Then that ship was stopped suddenly when it had reached the middle of the ocean, as if it were held by something. And when it did not move, though the sea was propitiated with jewels,[1] that merchant Skandhadāsa being grieved, said this: "Whosoever releases this ship of mine which is detained, to him I will give half my own wealth and my daughter." The resolute-souled Vidūshaka, when he heard that, said: "I will descend into the water of the sea and search it, and I will set free in a moment this ship of yours which is stopped: but you must support me by ropes fastened round my body. And the moment the ship is set free, you must draw me up out of the midst of the sea by the supporting ropes."

The merchant welcomed this speech with a promise to do what he asked, and the steersmen bound ropes under his armpits. Supported in that way, Vidūshaka descended in the sea; a brave man never desponds when the moment for action has arrived. So taking in his hand the sword of the Fire God, that came to him with a thought, the hero descended into the midst of the sea under the ship. And there he saw a giant asleep, and he saw that the ship was stopped by his leg. So he immediately cut off his leg with his sword, and at once the ship moved on freed from its impediment.[2] When the wicked merchant saw that, he cut the ropes by which Vidūshaka was supported, through desire to save the wealth he had promised him, and went swiftly to the other shore of the ocean, vast as his own avarice, in the ship which had thus been set free. Vidūshaka for his part, being in the midst of the sea with the supporting ropes cut, rose to the surface, and seeing how matters stood he calmly reflected for a moment: "Why did the merchant do this? Surely in this case the proverb is applicable: 'Ungrateful men blinded by desire of gain cannot see a benefit.' Well, it is now high time for me to

[1] For collected evidence of sacrifices to water-spirits see Frazer, *Golden Bough*, vol. ii, pp. 155-170.—N.M.P.

[2] *Cf.* the freeing of *Argo* by Hercules cutting off Pallair's arm in the *Togail Troi*, ed. Stokes, p. 67.

display intrepidity, for if courage fails, even a small calamity cannot be overcome."

Thus he reflected on that occasion, and then he got astride on the leg which he had cut off from the giant sleeping in the water, and by its help he crossed the sea, as if with a boat, paddling with his hands; for even destiny takes the part of men of distinguished valour. Then a voice from heaven addressed that mighty hero who had come across the ocean, as Hanumān did for the sake of Rāma [1]: "Bravo, Vidūshaka! Bravo! Who except thee is a man of valour? I am pleased with this courage of thine: therefore hear this. Thou hast reached a desolate coast here, but from this thou shalt arrive in seven days at the city of Kārkoṭaka; then thou shalt pluck up fresh spirits, and journeying quickly from that place, thou shalt obtain thy desire. But I am the Fire, the consumer of the oblations to gods and the spirits of deceased ancestors, whom thou didst before propitiate: and owing to my favour thou shalt feel neither hunger nor thirst —therefore go prosperously and confidently." Having thus spoken, the voice ceased.

And Vidūshaka, when he heard that, bowed, adoring the Fire God, and set forth in high spirits, and on the seventh day he reached the city of Kārkoṭaka. And there he entered a monastery, inhabited by many noble Brāhmans from various lands, who were noted for hospitality. It was a wealthy foundation of the king of that place, Āryavarman, and had annexed to it beautiful temples all made of gold. There all of the Brāhmans welcomed him, and one Brāhman took the guest to his chamber, and provided him with a bath, with food and with clothing. And while he was living in the monastery, he heard this proclamation being made by beat of drum [2] in the evening: "Whatever Brāhman or Kshatriya wishes to-morrow morning to marry the king's daughter, let him spend a night in her chamber."

When he heard that, he suspected the real reason, and being always fond of daring adventures, he desired immediately

[1] There is probably a pun here. *Rāmārtham* may mean "for the sake of a fair one."

[2] See the note on the uses of the drum, Vol. I, p. 118*n*[2].—N.M.P.

to go to the apartment of the princess. Thereupon the Brāhmans of the monastery said to him: "Brāhman, do not be guilty of rashness. The apartment of the princess is not rightly so called, rather is it the open mouth of death,[1] for whoever enters it at night does not escape alive, and many daring men have thus met their death there." In spite of what these Brāhmans told him, Vidūshaka would not take their advice,[2] but went to the palace of the king with his servants.

There the King Āryavarman, when he saw him, welcomed him in person, and at night he entered the apartment of the king's daughter, looking like the sun entering the fire. And he beheld that princess, who seemed by her appearance to be attached to him, for she looked at him with tearful eye, and a sad look expressive of the grief produced by utter despair. And he remained awake there all night gazing intently, holding in his hand the sword of the Fire God, that came to him with a thought. And suddenly he beheld at the entrance a very terrible Rākshasa, extending his left hand because his right had been cut off. And when he saw him, he said to himself: "Here is that very Rākshasa whose arm I cut off in the city of Pauṇḍravardhana. So I will not strike at his arm again, lest he should escape me and depart as before, and for this reason it is better for me to kill him." Thus reflecting, Vidūshaka ran forward and seized his hair, and was preparing to cut off his head when suddenly the Rākshasa in extreme terror said to him. "Do not slay me; you are brave, therefore show mercy." Vidūshaka let him go, and said: "Who are you, and what are you about here?" Then the Rākshasa, being thus questioned by the hero, continued: "My name is Yamadanshṭra, and I had two daughters—this is one, and she who lives in Pauṇḍravardhana is another. And Śiva favoured me by laying on me this command: 'Thou must save the two princesses from marrying anyone who is not a hero.' While thus engaged I first had an arm cut off at Pauṇḍravardhana, and now I have been conquered by you here, so this duty of mine is accomplished."

And again encounters the Rākshasa

[1] I read *na tad* for *tatra* with a MS. in the Sanskrit College.

[2] Here there is a pun on Ananga, a name of Kāma, the Hindu Cupid.

When Vidūshaka heard this he laughed, and said to him in reply: "It was I that cut off your arm in Pauṇḍravardhana." The Rākshasa answered: "Then you must be a portion of some divinity, not a mere man. I think it was for your sake that Śiva did me the honour of laying that command upon me. So henceforth I consider you my friend, and when you call me to mind I will appear to you to ensure your success even in difficulties." In these words the Rākshasa Yamadanshṭra out of friendship chose him as a sworn brother, and when Vidūshaka accepted his proposal, disappeared. Vidūshaka, for his part, was commended for his valour by the princess, and spent the night there in high spirits; and in the morning the king, hearing of the incident and highly pleased, gave him his daughter as the conspicuous banner of his valour, together with much wealth. Vidūshaka lived there some nights with her, as if with the Goddess of Prosperity, bound so firmly by his virtue [1] that she could not move a step. But one night he went off of his own accord from that place, longing for his beloved Bhadrā; for who that has tasted heavenly joys can take pleasure in any other?

And after he had left the town he called to mind that Rākshasa, and said to him, who appeared the moment he called him to mind, and made him a bow: "My friend, I must go to the land of the Siddhas on the eastern mountain for the sake of the Vidyādharī named Bhadrā, so do you take me there." The Rākshasa said: "Very good." So he ascended his shoulder, and travelled in that night over sixty *yojanas* of difficult country [2]; and in the morning he crossed the Śītodā, a river that cannot be crossed by mortals, and without effort reached the border of the land of the Siddhas.[3] The Rākshasa said to him: "Here is the blessed mountain, called the mountain of the rising sun, in front of you, but I cannot set foot upon it, as it is the home of the Siddhas."

Then the Rākshasa, being dismissed by him, departed, and there Vidūshaka beheld a delightful lake; and he sat down

[1] Here there is a pun. The word *guṇa* also means "rope."

[2] For stories of transportation through the air see Wirt Sikes, *British Goblins*, p. 157 *et seq.*

[3] See Vol. I, Appendix I, p. 204.—N.M.P.

on the bank of that lake, beautiful with the faces of full-blown lotuses, which, as it were, uttered a welcome to him with the hum of roaming bees. And there he saw unmistakable footsteps as of women, seeming to say to him : "This is the path to the house of your beloved." While he was thinking to himself, "Mortals cannot set foot on this mountain, therefore I had better stop here a moment and see whose footsteps these are," there came to the lake to draw water many beautiful women with golden pitchers in their hands. So he asked the women, after they had filled their pitchers with water, in a courteous manner. "For whom are you taking this water?" And those women said to him: "Excellent sir, a Vidyādharī of the name of Bhadrā is dwelling on this mountain; this water is for her to bathe in."

Wonderful to say, Providence, seeming to be pleased with resolute men who attempt mighty enterprises, makes all things subserve their ends. For one of these women suddenly said to Vidūshaka : "Noble sir, please lift this pitcher on to my shoulder." He consented, and when he lifted the pitcher on to her shoulder the discreet man put into it the jewelled ring he had before received from Bhadrā,[1] and then he sat

[1] *Cf.* the way in which Torello informs his wife of his presence in Boccaccio's *Decameron*, tenth day, nov. ix. The novels of the tenth day must be derived from Indian, and probably Buddhistic, sources. There is a Buddhistic vein in all of them. A striking parallel to the fifth novel of the tenth day will be found farther on in this work. *Cf.* also for the incident of the ring Thorpe's *Yule-tide Stories*, p. 167. See also the story of "Heinrich der Lowe," Simrock's *Deutsche Volksbücher*, vol. i, pp. 21, 22; Waldau's *Böhmische Märchen*, pp. 365, 432; Coelho's *Contos Populares Portuguezes*, p. 76; Prym and Socin's *Syrische Märchen*, p. 72, and Ralston's *Tibetan Tales*, Introduction, pp. xlix and l.——

In his *Decameron, its Sources and Analogues*, p. 343 *et seq.*, A. C. Lee gives several examples of recognition by a ring or portion of a ring in folk-tales. It is usually dropped in a cup of wine, as in the old French poem, "Horn and Rimenhild," and the old English version, "Geste of King Horn." For full bibliographical details see H. Schofield, "The Story of Horn and Rimenhild," *Mod. Lang. Ass. Amer.*, vol. xviii, No. 1, 1903. A similar tale occurs in the French romance of "Pontus and the Fair Sidone," for which see E. J. Matter, *Mod. Lang. Ass. Amer.*, vol. xii (N.S., vol. v), 1895. In many European collections of poems and ballads we read of parting couples breaking a ring in half for future recognition. For full particulars see Child, *English and Scotch Popular Ballads*, 10 parts, Boston, 1882 [1898]. *Cf.* also W. E. A. Axon,

down again on the bank of that lake, while those women went with the water to the house of Bhadrā. And while they were pouring over Bhadrā the water of ablution, her ring fell into her lap. When Bhadrā saw it she recognised it, and asked those friends of hers whether they had seen any stranger about. And they gave her this answer: "We saw a young mortal on the banks of the lake, and he lifted this pitcher for us." Then Bhadrā said: "Go and make him bathe and adorn himself, and quickly bring him here, for he is my husband, who has arrived in this country."

When Bhadrā had said this, her companions went and told Vidūshaka the state of the case, and after he had bathed, brought him into her presence. And when he arrived he saw, after long separation, Bhadrā, who was eagerly expecting him, like the ripe blooming fruit of the tree of his own valour in visible form: she for her part rose up when she saw him, and offering him the *argha*,[1] so to speak, by sprinkling him with her tears of joy, she fastened her twining arms round his neck like a garland. When they embraced one another the long-accumulated affection[2] seemed to ooze from their limbs in the form of sweat, owing to excessive pressure. Then they sat down, and never satisfied with gazing at one another, they both, as it were, endured the agony of longing multiplied a hundredfold. Bhadrā then said to Vidūshaka: "How did you come to this land?" And he thereupon gave her this answer: "Supported by affection for thee, I came here enduring many risks to my life; what else can I say, fair one?" When she heard that, seeing that his love was excessive, as it

Vidūshaka at last meets Bhadrā

Lancashire Gleanings, 1883, p. 343; *Trans. Roy Soc. Lit.*, 2nd series, vol. ix, p. 440, and *Antiquary*, vol. xxxviii, 1902, p. 24.

This "declaring presence" *motif*, as it might be called, is sometimes mixed up with other *motifs*; thus it appears in the well-known cycle of tales where the hero is given various tasks to perform before he can gain his bride, and must pick out the girl from a number exactly alike. It is sometimes an animal that helps, or the girl herself makes some sign. Readers will remember the well-known story of "Nala and Damayantī" in the *Mahābhārata*; but of this more later.—N.M.P.

[1] An oblation to gods, or venerable men, of rice, *dūrva* grass, flowers, etc., with water, or of water only in a small boat-shaped vessel.

[2] *Sneha* means "oil," and also "affection."

caused him to disregard his own life, Bhadrā said to him who through affection had endured the utmost[1]: "My husband, I care not for my friends, nor my magic powers; you are my life, and I am your slave, my lord, bought by you with your virtues." Then Vidūshaka said: "Then come with me to live in Ujjayinī, my beloved, leaving all this heavenly joy." Bhadrā immediately accepted his proposal, and gave up all her magic gifts (which departed from her the moment she formed that resolution) with no more regret than if they had been straw. Then Vidūshaka rested with her there during that night, being waited on by her friend Yogeśvarī, and in the morning the successful hero descended with her from the mountain of the sunrise, and again called to mind the Rākshasa Yamadanshṭra; the Rākshasa came the moment he was thought of, and Vidūshaka told him the direction of the journey he had to take, and then ascended his shoulder, having previously placed Bhadrā there. She too endured patiently to be placed on the shoulder of a very loathsome Rākshasa. What will not women do when mastered by affection?

And collecting his numerous Wives

So Vidūshaka, mounted on the Rākshasa, set out with his beloved, and again reached the city of Kārkoṭaka; and there men beheld him with fear, inspired by the sight of the Rākshasa; and when he saw King Āryavarman he demanded from him his daughter; and after receiving that princess surrendered by her father, whom he had won with his arm, he set forth from that city in the same style, mounted on the Rākshasa. And after he had gone some distance he found that wicked merchant on the shore of the sea who long ago cut the ropes when he had been thrown into the sea. And he took, together with his wealth, his daughter, whom he had before won as a reward for setting free the ship in the sea. And he considered the depriving that villain of his wealth as equivalent to putting him to death; for grovelling souls often value their hoards more than their life. Then mounted on the Rākshasa as on a chariot, taking with him that daughter of the merchant, he

[1] The D. text edits *kāṣṭhāgatasnehāt*, thus meaning "at hearing this, her affection came to its highest pitch."—N.M.P.

flew up into the heaven with the princess and Bhadrā, and journeying through the air he crossed the ocean, which like his valour was full of boisterous impetuosity, exhibiting it to his fair ones.[1] And he again reached the city of Pauṇḍravardhana, beheld with astonishment by all as he rode on a Rākshasa. There he greeted his wife, the daughter of Devasena, who had long desired his arrival, whom he had won by the defeat of the Rākshasa; and though her father tried to detain him, yet longing for his native land, he took her also with him and set out for Ujjayinī. And owing to the speed of the Rākshasa he soon reached that city, which appeared like his satisfaction at beholding his home, exhibited in visible form. There Vidūshaka was seen by the people, perched on the top of that huge Rākshasa, whose vast frame was illuminated by the beauty of his wives seated on his shoulder, as the moon[2] rising over the eastern mountain with gleaming herbs on its summit. The people being astonished and terrified, his father-in-law the King Ādityasena came to hear of it, and went out from the city. But Vidūshaka, when he saw him, quickly descended from the Rākshasa, and after prostrating himself approached the king; the king too welcomed him. Then Vidūshaka caused all his wives to come down from the shoulder of the Rākshasa, and released him to wander where he would. And after that Rākshasa had departed, Vidūshaka, accompanied by his wives, entered the king's palace together with the king his father-in-law. There he delighted by his arrival that first wife of his, the daughter of that king, who suffered a long regret for his absence. And when the king said to him, "How did you obtain these wives, and who is that Rākshasa?" he told him the whole story.

Returns safely to Ujjayinī

Then that king, pleased with his son-in-law's valour, and knowing what it was expedient to do, gave him half his

[1] *Sattva* when applied to the ocean probably means "monsters." So the whole compound would mean "in which was conspicuous the fury of gambling monsters." The pun defies translation.

[2] I read *aushadheḥ*. The Rākshasa is compared to the mountain, Vidūshaka to the moon, his wives to the gleaming herbs.

kingdom; and immediately Vidūshaka, though a Brāhman, became a monarch, with a lofty white umbrella and *chowries* waving on both sides of him. And then the city of Ujjayinī was joyful, full of the sound of festive drums and music, uttering shouts of delight. Thus he obtained the mighty rank of a king, and gradually conquered the whole earth, so that his foot was worshipped by all kings, and with Bhadrā for his consort he long lived in happiness with those wives of his, who were content, having abandoned jealousy. Thus resolute men, when Fortune favours them, find their own valour a great and successful stupefying charm that forcibly draws towards them prosperity.

[M] When they heard from the mouth of the King of Vatsa this varied tale [1] full of marvellous incident, all his ministers sitting by his side and his two wives experienced excessive delight.

[1] Thorpe in his *Yule-tide Stories* remarks that the story of Vidūshaka somewhat resembles in its ground-plot the tale of the "Beautiful Palace East of the Sun and North of the Earth." With the latter he also compares the story of Śaktivega in the fifth book of the *Kathā Sarit Sāgara.* (See the Table of Contents of Thorpe's *Yule-tide Stories*, p. xi.) *Cf.* also *Sicilianische Märchen*, vol. ii, p. 1, and for the cutting off of the giant's arm, p. 50.—— Numerous stories from all parts of Europe bearing a certain similarity to that in our text will be found in G. H. Gerould's *The Grateful Dead*, Folk-Lore Society, 1908, pp. 44-75.

For some inexplicable reason Gerould heads the chapter "The Grateful Dead and the Poison Maiden," when not one of the stories have anything to do with poison maidens. The women in question merely have snakes, dragons, etc. (which have caused the death of many husbands), extracted by magic or divine aid. He should have called this sub-*motif* "Possessed Women," as he originally did on page 26 of the same volume, or else some such title as "The Fatal Bride," "The Wedding of Death."

For the connection of snakes and poisoned women, see Appendix III, pp. 306, 307 of this volume.—N.M.P.

NOTE ON RĀHU AND ECLIPSES

Rāhu was the Asura (see Vol. I, pp. 197-200) who, disguised as a god at the Churning of the Ocean (see Vol. I, pp. 1n^2, 3n^3, 55n^1 and 202), obtained possession of some of the Amṛita and proceeded to drink it in order to become immortal. Sūrya and Soma (the sun and moon), however, noticed what was going on, and immediately told Nārāyaṇa (Vishṇu), who instantly cut off Rāhu's head with his discus. As the head contained Amṛita it became immortal and came to represent the ascending nodes of the moon's orbit. The body of Rāhu, according to the Puranic notion, was called Ketu, and represented the descending nodes. It also became the progenitor of the whole tribe of meteors and comets. Not having obtained his wish to become completely immortal, Rāhu naturally bore a grudge against Sūrya and Soma, and, whenever he gets the opportunity, he tries to swallow them. His shadow is thus thrown on the intended victim, and so are caused what we call the eclipses!

The interesting point about this myth is that the origin appears to be unknown. As E. J. Thomas has mentioned (Hastings' *Ency. Rel. Eth.*, "Sun, Moon and Stars (Buddhist)," vol. xii, p. 72), the story is not early Buddhist, nor even ancient Hindu. Although it occurs in the *Mahābhārata* (I, xix), it is not found in the account of the Churning of the Ocean in the *Vishṇu Purāṇa*. Is it, then, Aryan or non-Aryan? An eclipse of the sun or moon has everywhere been regarded with dread, and in many parts of the world its advent still gives rise to a variety of rites, some of a threatening and others of a propitiatory nature. The usual explanatory myth resembles that described above, at least as far as the idea of the sun or moon being devoured is concerned. It is an animal or demon who is trying to eat up the sun or moon, hence it is necessary to frighten it away by terrifying noises.

In China and Assam gongs are sounded for this purpose, while more primitive peoples scream, hit their cooking utensils and fire pistols, and among the Sencis of Eastern Peru lighted arrows are shot at the intruder. It is interesting to notice that in the Confucian classic *Tsun Tsiu* ("Springs and Autumns") the word for "eclipse" is the same as that for "eat." Among the Tlaxcalans of Mexico matters became very serious during an eclipse. The phenomenon was thought to be caused by a fight between the sun and moon, and in order to appease them red-skinned people were sacrificed to the sun and albinos to the moon.

The Peruvians (and at one period the Mexicans also) considered that, owing to a former kindness rendered it, dogs were held in high esteem by the moon. Accordingly when an eclipse of the moon occurred, they beat all the dogs, so that the moon, angry at this treatment of her friends, would immediately uncover her face.

Another primitive idea is that the light of the sun and moon has gone out, and consequently a fire or torches lit during the eclipse will persuade the luminary to smile upon the world once more.

As in China, the Hindus see a hare in the moon in place of our "man" (see *Ocean of Story*, Vol. I, p. 109*n*[1]). The Todas of the Nilgiri Hills imagine that during an eclipse of the moon a snake is devouring the hare. They fast until the eclipse is over and shout out to frighten away the snake (see Rivers, *The Todas*, p. 593).

In the Central Provinces it is believed that Rāhu was either a sweeper or the deity of the sweepers; thus the Mehtar caste of scavengers collect alms during an eclipse, as it is thought that Rāhu will be thus appeased and loose his hold on the luminaries. Similarly the Teli, or oil-pressers caste of the Chhattīsgarh and Nāgpur divisions, believe that the sun owes the sweeper a debt which he refuses to pay. The sweeper, however, is not to be put off easily and sits *dharnā* at the sun's door. This is obvious, for his dark shadow can be seen quite clearly. In time the debt is paid and the sweeper departs.

In Bombay, J. J. Modi (see reference below) was told the following as the usual explanation of an eclipse.

Rāma, on his return from the defeat of Rāvaṇa in Laṅkā, gave a feast to his victorious army. Mahādēva (Śiva) and Pārvatī were serving the meals. Presently Mahādēva drew the attention of Pārvatī to the presence of a low-caste Māng boy (a caste who act as village musicians and castrate bullocks, the women serving as midwives) in the assembly, and asked her to be careful, and to serve him the meals from a distance. But as soon as Rāma saw the Māng he slew him for daring to mar the sacredness of the feast by his impure presence. The mother of the slain boy took up the head, placed it in a basket and tried in vain to resuscitate it with fresh water. With the basket containing the head of her lost son, she went to the gods and goddesses begging for her meals. In turn she still goes to the sun and moon, threatening to touch them if her request is not granted, thus desecrating their sacred character. It is the shadow of her basket that causes the eclipse, and so it is to remove this Māng woman, this importunate creditor, that people are asked to give offerings to the luminaries and alms to the Māng caste.

An eclipse is always of evil omen, and is regarded rather like an evil eye from whose influence everything should be protected. The wise housewife (says Crooke, *op. cit.*, vol. i, pp. 21, 22), when an eclipse is announced, takes a leaf of the Tulasī or sacred basil, and sprinkling Ganges water on it, puts the leaf in the jars containing the drinking water for the use of the family and the cooked food, and thus keeps them pure while the eclipse is going on. Confectioners, who are obliged to keep large quantities of cooked food ready, relieve themselves and their customers from the taboo by keeping some of the sacred *kuśa* or *dūb* grass in their vessels when an eclipse is expected. A pregnant woman will do no work during an eclipse, as otherwise she believes that her child would be deformed, and the deformity is supposed to bear some relation to the work which is being done by her at the time. Thus, if she were to sew anything, the baby would have a hole in its flesh, generally near the ear; if she cut anything, the child would have a hare-lip. On the same principle the horns of pregnant cattle are smeared with red paint during an eclipse, because red is a colour abhorred by demons. While the eclipse is going on, drinking water, eating food,

and all household business, as well as the worship of the gods, are all prohibited. No respectable Hindu will at such a time sleep on a bedstead or lie down to rest, and he will give alms in barley or copper coins to relieve the pain of the suffering luminaries.

An eclipse is an important event among modern Hindus, and considerable ritual is carried out in every Brāhman household (see Mrs Stevenson, *The Rites of the Twice-born*, p. 352). For further information on the superstitions of eclipses reference should be made to E. B. Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, vol. i, pp. 288, 328 *et seq.*, and 356; W. Crooke, *Folk-Lore of Northern India*, vol. i, pp. 18-23; Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, "A few Ancient Beliefs about the Eclipse and a few Superstitions based on these Beliefs," *Journ. Anth. Soc. Bomb.*, vol. iii, 1894, pp. 346-360; Frazer, *Golden Bough*, vol. i, pp. 311, 312; vol. x, pp. 70, 162*n*; Russell, *Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces*, vol. iv, pp. 232, 550; W. D. Wallis, "Prodigies and Portents," Hastings' *Ency. Rel. Eth.*, vol. x, pp. 368, 369, and the numerous authors on "Sun, Moon and Stars" in ditto vol. xii, pp. 48-103.—N.M.P.

CHAPTER XIX

THEN Yaugandharāyaṇa said to the King of Vatsa: [M] "King, it is known that you possess the favour of destiny, as well as courage; and I also have taken some trouble about the right course of policy to be pursued in this matter: therefore carry out as soon as possible your plan of conquering the regions." When his chief minister had said this to him, the King of Vatsa answered: "Admitting that this is true, nevertheless the accomplishment of auspicious undertakings is always attended with difficulties, accordingly I will with this object propitiate Śiva by austerities, for without his favour how can I obtain what I desire?" When they heard that, his ministers approved of his performing austerities, as the chiefs of the monkeys did in the case of Rāma, when he was intent upon building a bridge over the ocean.[1]

[1] This well-known incident occurs in the sixth book of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, known as the *Yuddha-kāṇḍa* ("Battle Section"). Rāma, having concluded an alliance with Sugrīva, king of the monkeys, is advised by him to build a bridge from the mainland to Laṅkā (Ceylon), where the Rākshasa, Rāvaṇa, is holding Sītā (Rāma's wife) captive.

Accordingly a huge army of monkeys assembles on the seashore. Vibhishaṇa, Rāvaṇa's brother, advises the surrender of Sītā, but is insulted by Rāvaṇa. He thereupon joins Rāma and advises him to propitiate the God of the Sea, before starting building the bridge. This is done, and then, tearing up rocks and trees, the multitude of monkeys construct a bridge across the straits. A fearful battle ensues, Rāvaṇa is killed, and after Sītā has proved her purity she is joyfully received back by Rāma.

Thus the Hindus have given the name Rāma's Bridge (Rāmasetu) to the row of islands and sandbanks stretching from the island of Manaar, near the north-west coast of Ceylon, to the island of Rāmeśvarman, just off the Indian mainland. It is a famous place of pilgrimage, and contains a wonderful carved temple, 700 ft. long, with pillared corridors.

The English name Adam's Bridge is in all probability adopted from the Arabs, who regard Ceylon as the place of Adam's exile after he had been driven from Eden. The well-known depression on Adam's Peak, the most prominent, though not the largest, mountain in Ceylon, is considered to

And after the king had fasted for three nights, engaged in austerities with the queens and the ministers, Śiva said to him in a dream : " I am satisfied with thee, therefore rise up ; thou shalt obtain an unimpeded triumph, and thou shalt soon have a son who shall be king of all the Vidyādharas." Then the king woke up, with all his fatigue removed by the favour of Śiva, like the new moon increased by the rays of the sun. And in the morning he delighted his ministers by telling them that dream, and the two queens, tender as flowers, who were worn out by the fasting they had endured to fulfil the vow. And they were refreshed by the description of his dream, well worthy of being drunk in with the ears, and its effect was like that of medicine,[1] for it restored their strength.

The king obtained by his austerities a power equal to that of his ancestors, and his wives obtained the saintly renown of matrons devoted to their husband. But on the morrow, when the feast at the end of the fast was celebrated, and the citizens were beside themselves with joy, Yaugandharāyaṇa thus addressed the king : " You are fortunate, O King, in that the holy Śiva is so well disposed towards you, so proceed now to conquer your enemies, and then enjoy the prosperity won by your arm. For when prosperity is acquired by a king's own virtues it remains fixed in his family, for blessings acquired by the virtues of the owners are never lost. And for this reason it was that that treasure long buried in the ground, which had been accumulated by your ancestors and then lost, was recovered by you. Moreover with reference to this matter hear the following tale :—

be Adam's footprint by the Mohammedans, Buddha's footprint by the Buddhists, Śiva's by the Brāhmans, while the claims of the Portuguese Christians are divided between St Thomas and the eunuch of Candace, Queen of Ethiopia.

For further information on this subject reference should be made to T. W. Rhys Davids' " Adam's Peak," Hastings' *Ency. Rel. Eth.*, vol. i, pp. 87, 88, with the references given ; Yule and Cordier, *Marco Polo* (1903), vol. ii, pp. 321, 322, 328*n*, and *Cathay and the Way Thither*, vol. i, pp. 171, 172, vol. iii, pp. 233, 242.—N.M.P.

[1] Perhaps we should read *svādvaushadha*, " sweet medicine."

23. *Story of Devadāsa*

Long ago there was in the city of Pāṭaliputra a certain merchant's son, sprung from a rich family, and his name was Devadāsa. And he married a wife from the city of Pauṇḍravardhana, the daughter of some rich merchant. When his father died, Devadāsa became, in course of time, addicted to vice, and lost all his wealth at play. And then his wife's father came and took away to his own house in Pauṇḍravardhana his daughter, who was distressed by poverty and the other hardships of her lot.[1] Gradually the husband began to be afflicted by his misfortunes, and wishing to be set up in his business, he came to Pauṇḍravardhana to ask his father-in-law to lend him the capital which he required. And having arrived in the evening at the city of Pauṇḍravardhana, seeing that he was begrimed with dust and in tattered garments, he thought to himself: "How can I enter my father-in-law's house in this state? In truth for a proud man death is preferable to exhibiting poverty before one's relations." Thus reflecting, he went into the market-place, and remained outside a certain shop during the night, crouching with contracted body, like the lotus which is folded at night. And immediately he saw a certain young merchant open the door of that shop and enter it. And a moment after he saw a woman come with noiseless step to that same place, and rapidly enter. And while he fixed his eyes on the interior of the shop, in which a light was burning, he recognised in that woman his own wife. Then Devadāsa seeing that wife of his repairing to another man, and bolting the door, being smitten with the thunderbolt of grief, thought to himself: "A man deprived of wealth loses even his own body, how then can he hope to retain the affections of a woman? For women have fickleness implanted in their nature by an invariable law, like the flashes of lightning. So here I have an instance of the misfortunes which befall men who fall into the sea of vice, and of the behaviour of an independent woman who lives in her father's house."

[1] As we shall see in the note on p. 88*n*[1], this was considered in the *Ṛig-Veda* quite sufficient for the wife to turn to another man.—N.M.P.

Thus he reflected as he stood outside, and he seemed to himself to hear his wife confidentially conversing with her lover. So he applied his ear to the door, and that wicked woman was at that moment saying in secret to the merchant, her paramour: "Listen; as I am so fond of you, I will to-day tell you a secret: my husband long ago had a great-grandfather named Vīravarman; in the courtyard of his house he secretly buried in the ground four jars of gold, one jar in each of the four corners. And he then informed one of his wives of that fact, and his wife at the time of her death told her daughter-in-law, she told it to her daughter-in-law, who was my mother-in-law, and my mother-in-law told it to me. So this is an oral tradition in my husband's family, descending through the mothers-in-law. But I did not tell it to my husband though he is poor, for he is odious to me as being addicted to gambling, but you are above all dear to me. So go to my husband's town and buy the house from him with money, and after you have obtained that gold come here and live happily with me."

When the merchant, her paramour, heard this from that treacherous woman, he was much pleased with her, thinking that he had obtained a treasure without any trouble. Devadāsa, for his part, who was outside, bore henceforth the hope of wealth, so to speak, riveted in his heart with those piercing words of his wicked wife. So he went thence quickly to the city of Pāṭaliputra, and after reaching his house he took that treasure and appropriated it. Then that merchant, who was in secret the paramour of his wife, arrived in that country on pretence of trading, but in reality eager to obtain the treasure. So he bought that house from Devadāsa, who made it over to him for a large sum of money. Then Devadāsa set up another home, and cunningly brought back that wife of his from the house of his father-in-law. When this had been done, that wicked merchant, who was the lover of his wife, not having obtained the treasure, came and said to him: "This house of yours is old and I do not like it; so give me back my money and take back your own house."

Thus he demanded, and Devadāsa refused, and being engaged in a violent altercation, they both went before the

king. In his presence Devadāsa poured forth the whole story of his wife, painful to him as venom concealed in his breast. Then the king had his wife summoned, and after ascertaining the truth of the case he punished that adulterous merchant with the loss of all his property. Devadāsa for his part cut off the nose [1] of that wicked wife, and married another, and then lived happily in his native city on the treasure he had obtained.

[M] "Thus treasure obtained by virtuous methods is continued to a man's posterity, but treasure of another kind is as easily melted away as a flake of snow when the rain begins to fall. Therefore a man should endeavour to obtain wealth by lawful methods, but a king especially, since wealth is the root of the tree of empire. So honour all your ministers according to custom, in order that you may obtain success, and then accomplish the conquest of the regions, so as to gain opulence in addition to virtue. For out of regard to the fact that you are allied by marriage with your two powerful fathers-in-law, few kings will oppose you; most will join you. However, this King of Benares named Brahmadatta is always your enemy, therefore conquer him first; when he is

[1] In the oldest historical period of India there was no word for "adultery"; yet its occurrence is distinctly proved, if proof be needed among a highly developed culture like the Aryan, by various passages in the *Rig-Veda*. One in particular is of special interest here as it shows that the adultery of a woman whose husband gambled was of quite ordinary occurrence. The passage is in verse 4 of the didactic poem *Rig-Veda*, x, 34: "Others lay hands on the wife of the man who abandons himself to the dice."

The method of punishment mentioned in our text is found in other places besides India; thus in Mexico the woman had her nose and ears cut off, and was stoned to death (see A. de Herrera, *West Indies*, vol. iv, p. 338, and W. Prescott, *Peru*, p. 21). Every conceivable form of punishment imaginable has been employed in different parts of the world. For full details reference should be made to the numerous articles on "Adultery" in Hastings' *Ency. Rel. Eth.*, vol. i, pp. 122-137. Among the Pārdhi caste of Central India, the punishment for adultery in either sex consists in cutting off a piece of the left ear with a razor. See Russell, *Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces*, vol. iv, p. 364; Ronaldshay, *India, a Bird's-Eye View*, 1924, p. 48, and *cf.* Flinders Petrie "Assyrian and Hittite Society," *Ancient Egypt*, March 1924, p 23 *et seq.*—N.M.P.

conquered, conquer the eastern quarter and gradually all the quarters, and exalt the glory of the race of Pāṇḍu gleaming white like a lotus."

When his chief minister said this to him, the King of Vatsa consented, eager for conquest, and ordered his subjects to prepare for the expedition; and he gave the sovereignty of the country of Videha to his brother-in-law Gopālaka, by way of reward for his assistance, thereby showing his knowledge of policy; and he gave to Sinhavarman, the brother of Padmāvatī, who came to his assistance with his forces, the land of Chedi, treating him with great respect; and the monarch summoned Pulindaka, the friendly King of the Bhillas,[1] who filled the quarters with his hordes, as the rainy season fills them with clouds; and while the preparation for the expedition was going on in the great king's territories a strange anxiety was produced in the heart of his enemies; but Yaugandharāyaṇa first sent spies to Benares to find out the proceedings of King Brahmadatta; then on an auspicious day, being cheered with omens portending victory, the King of Vatsa first marched against Brahmadatta in the eastern quarter, having mounted[2] a tall victorious elephant, with a lofty umbrella on its back, as a furious lion ascends a mountain with one tree in full bloom on it.

The King prepares for Conquest

And his expedition was facilitated[3] by the autumn, which arrived as a harbinger of good fortune, and showed him an easy path, across rivers flowing with diminished volume, and he filled the face of the land with his shouting forces, so as to produce the appearance of a sudden rainy season without clouds; and then the cardinal points, resounding with the echoes of the roaring of his host, seemed to be telling one another their fears of his coming, and his horses, collecting the brightness of the sun on their golden trappings, moved along, followed, as it were, by the fire pleased with the purification of his army.[4]

[1] *I.e.* Bheels.——See Vol. I, p. 152*n*[1].—N.M.P. [2] I read *ārūḍhaḥ*.

[3] A MS. in the Sanskrit College reads *sambhavaḥ* for the *sampadaḥ* of Dr Brockhaus' text.

[4] *Lustratio exercitus*; waving lights formed part of the ceremony.

And his elephants with their ears like white *chowries*, and with streams of ichor flowing from their temples reddened by being mixed with vermilion, appeared, as he marched along, like the sons of the mountains, streaked with the white clouds of autumn, and pouring down streams of water coloured with red mineral, sent by the parent hills, in their fear, to join his expedition. And the dust from the earth concealed the brightness of the sun, as if thinking that the king could not endure the effulgent splendour of rivals. And the two queens followed the king step by step on the way, like the Goddess of Fame, and the Fortune of Victory, attracted by his politic virtues.[1] The silk of his host's banners, tossed to and fro in the wind, seemed to say to his enemies: "Bend in submission, or flee." Thus he marched, beholding the districts full of blown white lotuses, like the uplifted hoods of the serpent Śesha [2] terrified with fear of the destruction of the world.

In the meanwhile those spies, commissioned by Yaugandharāyaṇa, assuming the vows of skull-bearing worshippers of Śiva,[3] reached the city of Benares. And one of them, who was acquainted with the art of juggling, exhibiting his skill, assumed the part of teacher, and the others passed themselves off as his pupils. And they celebrated that pretended teacher, who subsisted on alms, from place to place, saying: "This master of ours is acquainted with past, present and future." Whatever that sage predicted, in the way of fires and so on, to those who came to consult him about the future, his pupils took care to bring about secretly; so he

[1] It also means "drawing cords."

[2] He is sometimes represented as bearing the entire world on one of his heads.——See Vol. I, p. 109*n*[2].—N.M.P.

[3] The Śaiva mendicants have ten classes, known collectively as Daśnāmīs, "ten names." Among other more respectable orders are included the Aghorī, a sect of ascetics who follow the most vile practices imaginable. They are also known by the name of Kāpālika or Kapāladhārin (Skr. *kāpāla*, "a skull," *dhārin*, "carrying"). For fuller details see H. W. Barrow, "Aghoris and Aghorapanthis," *Journ. Anth. Soc. Bomb.*, vol. iii, No. 4, 1893, pp. 197-251; W. Crooke, "Aghorī," Hastings' *Ency. Rel. Eth.*, vol. i, pp. 210-213. The connection of skulls with the worship of Śiva has already occurred in the *Ocean of Story* (Vol. I, p. 5, 5*n*[1]).—N.M.P.

became famous. He gained complete ascendancy over the mind of a certain Rājpūt courtier there, a favourite of the king, who was won over by this mean skill of the teacher. And when the war with the King of Vatsa came on, the King Brahmadatta began to consult him by the agency of the Rājpūt, so that he learnt the secrets of the government.

Then the minister of Brahmadatta, Yogakaraṇḍaka, laid snares in the path of the King of Vatsa as he advanced. He tainted, by means of poison and other deleterious substances, the trees, flowering creepers, water and grass all along the line of march. And he sent poison damsels [1] as dancing-girls among the enemy's host, and he also dispatched nocturnal assassins into their midst. But that spy, who had assumed the character of a prophet, found all this out, and then quickly informed Yaugandharāyaṇa of it by means of his companions. Yaugandharāyaṇa for his part, when he found it out, purified at every step along the line of march the poisoned grass, water, and so on, by means of corrective antidotes, and forbade in the camp the society of strange women, and with the help of Rumaṇvat he captured and put to death those assassins. When he heard of that, Brahmadatta, having found all his stratagems fail, came to the conclusion that the King of Vatsa, who filled with his forces the whole country, was hard to overcome. After deliberating and sending an ambassador, he came in person to the King of Vatsa, who was encamped near, placing his clasped hands upon his head in token of submission.

The King of Vatsa for his part, when the King of Benares came to him, bringing a present, received him with respect and kindness; for heroes love submission. He being thus subdued, that mighty king went on pacifying the East, making the yielding bend, but extirpating the obstinate, as the wind treats the trees, until he reached the eastern ocean, rolling with quivering waves, as it were, trembling with terror on account of the Ganges having been conquered. On its extreme shore he

And after subduing all his Enemies

[1] For a detailed account of poison damsels, etc., see Appendix III at the end of this volume.—N.M.P.

set up a pillar of victory,[1] looking like the king of the serpents emerging from the world below to crave immunity for Pātāla. Then the people of Kalinga[2] submitted and paid tribute, and acted as the king's guides, so that the renown of that renowned one ascended the mountain of Mahendra. Having conquered a forest of kings by means of his elephants, which seemed like the peaks of the Vindhya come to him terrified at the conquest of Mahendra, he went to the southern quarter. There he made his enemies cease their threatening murmurs and take to the mountains, strengthless[3] and pale, treating them as the season of autumn treats the clouds.

The Kāverī being crossed by him in his victorious onset, and the glory of the king of the Chola[4] race being surpassed, were befouled at the same time. He no longer allowed the Muralas[5] to exalt their heads, for they were completely beaten down by tributes imposed on them.[6] Though his elephants drank the waters of the Godāvarī divided into

[1] *Jayastambha.* Wilson remarks that the erection of these columns is often alluded to by Hindu writers, and explains the characters of the solitary columns which are sometimes met with, as the Lāṭ at Delhi, the pillars at Allahābād, Bubbal, etc.

[2] Kalinga is usually described as extending from Orissa to Drāviḍa or below Madras, the coast of the Northern Circars. It appears, however, to be sometimes the Delta of the Ganges. It was known to the ancients as Regio Calingarum, and is familiar to the natives of the Eastern Archipelago by the name of Kling (Wilson).

[3] The clouds are *nihsāra,* void of substance, as being no longer heavy with rain. The thunder ceases in the autumn.

[4] Chola was the sovereignty of the western part of the peninsula on the Carnatic, extending southwards to Tanjore, where it was bounded by the Pāṇḍyan kingdom. It appears to have been the Regio Soretanum of Ptolemy, and the Chola *maṇḍala,* or district, furnishes the modern appellation of the Coromandel coast (Wilson, *Essays,* p. 241*n*).

[5] Murala is another name for Kerala, now Malabar (Hall). Wilson identifies it with the Curula of Ptolemy.——Barnett, however, considers this very dubious—N.M.P.

[6] By *kāntā* and *kuceṣu* being separated in the Brockhaus text, Tawney misunderstood the whole phrase. The D. text reads it as one word, the translation being: "Not only did he not allow the Muralas to keep their heads high, he abated also the elevation of the women's breasts beaten down by their own hands (in mourning over their killed relations)." See Speyer, *op. cit.,* p. 102.—N.M.P.

seven streams, they seemed to discharge them again sevenfold in the form of ichor. Then the king crossed the Revā and reached Ujjayinī, and entered the city, being made by King Chaṇḍamahāsena to precede him. And there he became the target of the amorous sidelong glances of the ladies of Mālava, who shine with twofold beauty by loosening their braided hair and wearing garlands; and he remained there in great comfort, hospitably entertained by his father-in-law, so that he even forgot the long-regretted enjoyments of his native land. And Vāsavadattā was continually at her parent's side, remembering her childhood, seeming despondent even in her happiness.

The King Chaṇḍamahāsena was as much delighted at meeting Padmāvatī as he was at meeting again his own daughter. But after he had rested some days, the delighted King of Vatsa, reinforced by the troops of his father-in-law, marched towards the western region; his curved sword[1] was surely the smoke of the fire of his valour, since it dimmed with gushing tears the eyes of the women of Lāṭa; the mountain of Mandara, when its woods were broken through by his elephants, seemed to tremble lest he should root it up to churn the sea.[2] Surely he was a splendid luminary excelling the sun and other orbs, since in his victorious career he enjoyed a glorious rising even in the western quarter. Then he went to Alakā, distinguished by the presence of Kuvera, displaying its beauties before him—that is to say, to the quarter made lovely by the smile of Kailāsa—and having subdued the King of Sindh, at the head of his cavalry he destroyed the Mlechchhas as Rāma destroyed the Rākshasas at the head of the army of monkeys; the cavalry squadrons of the Turushkas[3] were broken on the masses of his elephants, as the waves of the agitated sea on the woods that line the seashore. The august hero received the tribute

[1] Or perhaps more literally "creeper-like sword." Probably the expression means "flexible, well-tempered sword," as Professor Nilmani Mukhopādhyāya has suggested to me.

[2] It has been employed for this purpose by the gods and Asuras. Lāṭa = the Larice of Ptolemy (Wilson).——*i.e.* Gujarāt. See *Cambridge History of India*, vol. i, p. 606.

[3] Turks, the Indo-scythæ of the ancients (Wilson).

of his foes, and cut off the head of the wicked King of the Pārasīkas [1] as Vishṇu did that of Rāhu.[2] His glory, after he had inflicted a defeat on the Hūṇas,[3] made the four quarters resound, and poured down the Himālaya like a second Ganges. When the hosts of the monarch, whose enemies were still from fear, were shouting, a hostile answer was heard only in the hollows of the rocks. It is not strange that then the King of Kāmarūpa,[4] bending before him with head deprived of the umbrella,[5] was without shade and also without brightness. Then that sovereign returned, followed by elephants presented by the King of Kāmarūpa, resembling moving rocks made over to him by the mountains by way of tribute.

Returns to Lāvānaka victorious

Having thus conquered the earth, the King of Vatsa with his attendants reached the city of Magadha, the father of Padmāvatī. But the King of Magadha, when he arrived with the queens, was as joyous as the God of Love when the moon illuminates the night. Vāsavadattā, who had lived with him before without being recognised, was now made known to him, and he considered her deserving of the highest regard.

Then that victorious King of Vatsa, having been honoured by the King of Magadha with his whole city, followed by the minds of all the people which pursued him out of affection, having swallowed the surface of the earth with his mighty army, returned to Lāvānaka in his own dominions.

[1] Persians.

[2] See note on p. 81.—N.M.P.

[3] Perhaps the Huns.

[4] The western portion of Assam (Wilson).

[5] See Appendix II, pp. 263-272.—N.M.P.

CHAPTER XX

THEN the King of Vatsa, while encamped in Lāvānaka [M] to rest his army, said in secret to Yaugandharāyaṇa: "Through your sagacity I have conquered all the kings upon the earth, and they being won over by politic devices will not conspire against me. But this King of Benares, Brahmadatta, is an ill-conditioned fellow, and he alone, I think, will plot against me; what confidence can be reposed in the wicked-minded?" Then Yaugandharāyaṇa, being spoken to in this strain by the king, answered: "O King, Brahmadatta will not plot against you again, for when he was conquered and submitted, you showed him great consideration; and what sensible man will injure one who treats him well? Whoever does, will find that it turns out unfortunately for himself, and on this point listen to what I am going to say; I will tell you a tale.

24. *Story of Phalabhūti*

There was once on a time in the land of Padma an excellent Brāhman of high renown, named Agnidatta, who lived on a grant of land given by the king. He had born to him two sons, the elder named Somadatta, and the second Vaiśvānaradatta. The elder of them was of fine person, but ignorant, and ill-conducted, but the second was sagacious, well-conducted, and fond of study. And those two after they were married, and their father had died, divided that royal grant and the rest of his possessions between them, each taking half; and the younger of the two was honoured by the king, but the elder, Somadatta, who was of unsteady character, remained a husbandman.

One day a Brāhman, who had been a friend of his father's, seeing him engaged in conversation with some Śūdras, thus addressed him: "Though you are the son of Agnidatta,

you behave like a Śūdra, you blockhead, and you are not ashamed, though you see your own brother in favour with the king." Somadatta, when he heard that, flew into a passion, and, forgetting the respect due to the old man, ran upon him, and gave him a kick. Then the Brāhman, enraged on account of the kick, immediately called on some other Brāhmans to bear witness to it, and went and complained to the king. The king sent out soldiers to take Somadatta prisoner, but they, when they went out, were slain by his friends, who had taken up arms. Then the king sent out a second force, and captured Somadatta, and blinded by wrath ordered him to be impaled. Then that Brāhman, as he was being lifted on to the stake, suddenly fell to the ground, as if he were flung down by somebody. And those executioners, when preparing to lift him on again, became blind, for the Fates protect one who is destined to be prosperous.

The king, as soon as he heard of the occurrence, was pleased, and being entreated by the younger brother, spared the life of Somadatta; then Somadatta, having escaped death, desired to go to another land with his wife on account of the insulting treatment of the king, and when his relations in a body disapproved of his departure, he determined to live without the half of the king's grant, which he resigned; then, finding no other means of support, he desired to practise husbandry, and went to the forest on a lucky day to find a piece of ground suitable for it. There he found a promising piece of ground, from which it seemed likely that an abundant crop could be produced, and in the middle of it he saw an Aśvattha tree of great size. Desiring ground fit for cultivation, and seeing that tree to be cool like the rainy season, as it kept off the rays of the sun with its auspicious thick shade, he was much delighted. He said: "I am a faithful votary of that being, whoever he may be, that presides over this tree," [1] and walking round the tree so as to keep it on his

[1] For the worship of trees and tree-spirits, see Grimm's *Teutonic Mythology*, p. 75 *et seq.*, and Tylor's *Primitive Culture*, vol. ii, p. 196 *et seq.*——Besides the references already given in Vol. I, p. 144*n*[1], see also Sidney Hartland, *Legend of Perseus*, 1895, vol. ii, pp. 175-231; Crooke, *Popular Religion of Northern India*, vol. ii, pp. 83-121; Westermarck, *Origin and Development of*

right,[1] he bowed before it. Then he yoked a pair of bullocks, and recited a prayer for success, and after making an oblation to that tree, he began to plough there. And he remained under that tree night and day, and his wife always brought him his meals there. And in course of time, when the corn was ripe, that piece of ground was, as fate would have it, unexpectedly plundered by the troops of a hostile kingdom. Then the hostile force having departed, the courageous man, though his corn was destroyed, comforted his weeping wife, gave her the little that remained, and after making an offering as before, remained in the same place, under the same tree. For that is the character of resolute men, that their perseverance is increased by misfortune.

The Reward of Perseverance

Then one night, when he was sleepless from anxiety and alone, a voice came out from that Aśvattha tree: "O Somadatta, I am pleased with thee, therefore go to the kingdom of a king named Ādityaprabha in the land of Śrīkaṇṭha; continually repeat at the door of that king (after reciting the form of words used at the evening oblation to Agni) the following sentence:—'I am Phalabhūti by name, a Brāhman, hear what I say: he who does good will obtain good, and he who does evil will obtain evil'; by repeating this thou shalt obtain great prosperity; and now learn from me the form of words used at the evening oblation to Agni; I am a Yaksha." Having said this, and having immediately taught him by his power the form of words used in the evening oblation, the voice in the tree ceased.

And the next morning the wise Somadatta set out with his wife, having received the name of Phalabhūti by imposition of the Yaksha, and after crossing various forests, uneven and labyrinthine as his own calamities,[2] he reached the land of Śrīkaṇṭha. There he recited at the king's door the form of words used at the evening oblation, and then he

the Moral Idea (2nd edit.), 1919, vol. ii, p. 516; T. C. Hodson, "Primitive Culture of India," *Roy. As. Soc.*, 1922, p. 104.—N.M.P.

[1] See Vol. I, pp. 190-193.—N.M.P.

[2] I here read *durdaśāḥ* for the *durdarśāḥ* of Dr Brockhaus' text. It must be a misprint. A MS. in the Sanskrit College reads *durdaśāḥ*.

announced, as he had been directed, his name as Phalabhūti, and uttered the following speech, which excited the curiosity of the people :—"The doer of good will obtain good, but the doer of evil, evil." And after he had said this frequently, the King Ādityaprabha, being full of curiosity, caused Phalabhūti to be brought into the palace, and he entered, and over and over again repeated that same speech in the presence of the king. That made the king and all his courtiers laugh. And the king and his chiefs gave him garments and ornaments, and also villages, for the amusement of great men is not without fruit; and so Phalabhūti, having been originally poor, immediately obtained by the favour of the Guhyaka [1] wealth bestowed by the king; and by continually reciting the words mentioned above he became a special favourite of the monarch; for the regal mind loves diversion. And gradually he attained to a position of love and respect in the palace, in the kingdom, and in the female apartments, as being beloved by the king.

The King's amazing Discovery

One day that King Ādityaprabha returned from hunting in the forest, and quickly entered his harem [2]; his suspicions were aroused by the confusion of the warders, and when he entered, he saw the queen named Kuvalayāvalī engaged in worshipping the gods, stark naked [3] with her hair standing on end, and her eyes half closed, with a large patch of red lead upon her forehead, with her lips trembling in muttering charms, in the midst of a great circle [4] strewed with various coloured powders,

[1] The Guhyakas are demigods, attendants upon Kuvera and guardians of his wealth.——See Vol. I, Appendix I, p. 203.—N.M.P.

[2] See note, p. 162.—N.M.P.

[3] Literally, "having the cardinal points as her only garment."——For nudity in ritual and magic see Note 1 at the end of this chapter.—N.M.P.

[4] For the circle see *Henry VI*, Part II, Act i, sc. 4, line 25, and *Henry V*, Act v, sc. 2, line 420: "If you would conjure . . . you must make a circle." See also Ralston's *Russian Folk-Tales*, p. 272; Veckenstedt's *Wendische Sagen*, pp. 292, 302, 303. See also Wirt Sikes, *British Goblins*, pp. 200, 201; Henderson's *Northern Folk-Lore*, p. 19; Bartsch's *Sagen, Märchen und Gebräuche aus Meklenburg*, vol. i, pp. 128, 213. Prof. Jebb, in his notes on Theophrastus' "Superstitious Man," observes: "The object of all those ceremonies, in which the offerings were carried round the person or place to be purified, was to trace a charmed circle within which the powers of evil should not

after offering a horrible oblation of blood, spirits and human flesh. She for her part, when the king entered, in her confusion seized her garments, and when questioned by hir i immediately answered, after craving pardon for what she had done: "I have gone through this ceremony in order that you might obtain prosperity, and now, my lord, listen to the way in which I learnt these rites, and the secret of my magic skill.

24A. *Kuvalayāvalī and the Witch Kālarātri*

Long ago, when I was living in my father's house, I was thus addressed, while enjoying myself in the garden during the spring festival, by my friends who met me there: "There is in this pleasure-garden an image of Gaṇeśa, the god of gods, in the middle of an arbour made of trees, and that image grants boons, and its power has been tested. Approach with devout faith that granter of petitions, and worship him, in order that you may soon obtain without difficulty a suitable husband." When I heard that, I asked my friends in my ignorance: "What! do maidens obtain husbands by

come." *Cf.* also Grossler's *Sagen aus der Grafschaft Mansfeld*, p. 217; Brand's *Popular Antiquities*, vol. iii, p. 56; Grohmann's *Sagen aus Böhmen*, p. 226.—— In his *Popular Religion and Folk-Lore of Northern India* (vol. i, pp. 103, 142; vol. ii, p. 41) W. Crooke gives details of the circle among the Hindus. For the magic circle in Babylonia, Assyria and adjacent countries see R. Campbell Thompson, *Semitic Magic*, 1908, pp. lx *et. seq.*, 102, 123, 165, 204 and 207. The numerous mediæval references in the works of William of Auvergne, Roger Bacon, Raymond Lull, Peter of Abano, etc., are all to be found in Thorndike, *A History of Magic and Experimental Science*, 1923. (See the General Index in each volume under "Circle, magic.") For a comprehensive article on the whole subject reference should be made to A. E. Crawley, "Magical Circle," Hastings' *Ency. Rel. Eth.*, vol. viii, pp. 321-324. I would also draw the attention of readers to the exhaustive series of articles on "Magic" by a large number of eminent scholars in the same volume (pp. 245-321).

It appears that the use of the magical circle is really twofold. Firstly it serves as a protective barrier to the dead and dying, and also round a house, subsequently giving rise to the superstitions connected with wedding rings, bangles, etc. Secondly it appears in black magic as a kind of magical vantage ground in which the "operator" is himself safe and to which he can compel the presence of evil spirits. The circle also denotes finality and continuity. It commands every point of the compass and can be regarded as an inner concentric circle of the horizon itself. All these points are made quite clear

worshipping Gaṇeśa?" Then they answered me: "Why do you ask such a question? Without worshipping him no one obtains any success in this world; and in proof of it we will give you an instance of his power. Listen." Saying this, my friends told me the following tale:—

24AA. *The Birth of Kārttikeya*

Long ago, when Indra, oppressed by Tāraka, was desirous of obtaining a son from Śiva to act as general of the gods, and the God of Love had been consumed,[1] Gaurī by performing austerities sought and gained as a husband the three-eyed god, who was engaged in a very long and terrible course of mortification. Then she desired the obtaining of a son, and the return to life of the God of Love, but she did not remember to worship Gaṇeśa in order to gain her end. So, when his beloved asked that her desire should be granted, Śiva said to her: "My dear goddess, the God of Love was born long ago from the mind of Brahmā, and no sooner was he born than he said in his insolence: 'Whom shall I make mad (*kan darpayāmi*)?' So Brahmā called him Kandarpa, and said to him: 'Since thou art very confident, my son, avoid attacking Śiva only, lest thou receive death from him.' Though the creator gave him this warning, the ill-disposed god came to trouble my austerities, therefore he was burned up by me, and he cannot be created again with his body.[2]

if we look through the voluminous literature on the subject. There is, however, one further point I would mention. The circle is not only a safe place to be in when "conjuring," but often acts as a prison from which escape is impossible. Thus in J. H. Bridges, *Opus Maius of Roger Bacon*, vol. ii, p. 208, we read: "Moreover, there are numerous things which kill every venomous animal by the slightest contact; and if a circle is drawn about such animals with objects of this sort [herbs, stones, metals, etc.] they cannot get out, but die without having been touched." *Cf.* with this the curious story of the magic circle made of dittany juice as told in Appendix III of this volume, p. 295. In Chapter XXXVII we shall come across a great circle made of ashes, where I shall add a further note.—N.M.P.

[1] *I.e.* by the fire of Śiva's eye.

[2] Perhaps we ought to read *sadehasya*. I find this reading in a MS. lent to me by the Librarian of the Sanskrit College with the kind permission of the Principal.

But I will create by my power a son from you, for I do not require the might of love in order to have offspring as mortals do."

While the god, whose ensign is a bull,[1] was saying this to Pārvatī, Brahmā accompanied by Indra appeared before him; and when he had been praised by them, and entreated to bring about the destruction of the Asura Tāraka, Śiva consented to beget on the goddess a son of his body. And, at their entreaty, he consented that the God of Love should be born without body in the minds of animate creatures, to prevent the destruction of created beings. And he gave permission to love to inflame his own mind; pleased with that, the creator went away and Pārvatī was delighted.

Some days after this, Śiva in privacy pursued the sport of love with Umā. When there was no end to his amorous play, though centuries passed by, the triple world trembled at the friction thereof. Then from fear of the world perishing, the gods, by order of Brahmā, called to mind Agni in order to stop Śiva's amorous play. Agni, for his part, the moment they called him to mind, thinking that the foe of the God of Love was irresistible, and afraid to interfere, fled from the gods and entered the water; but the frogs, being burned by his heat, told the gods, who were searching for him, that he was in the water; then Agni by his curse immediately made the speech of the frogs thenceforth inarticulate, and again disappearing fled to a paradise tree.[2] There the gods found him, concealed in the trunk of the tree, in the form of a snail, for he was betrayed by the elephants and parrots, and he appeared to them. And after making by a curse the tongues of the parrots and the elephants incapable of clear utterance, he promised to do what the gods requested, having been praised by them. So he went to Śiva and by his heat stopped Śiva from his amorous play, and after inclining humbly before him, through fear of being cursed, he informed him of the commission the gods had given him. Śiva, in his turn, as the impulse arose in him, deposited his

[1] *I.e.* Śiva.

[2] The correct reading here is *mandara*, "paradise" tree; Tawney originally had "place of refuge."—N.M.P.

seed in the fire. Neither the Fire nor Umā was able to bear this. The goddess, distracted with anger and grief, said: "I have not obtained a son from you after all"; and Śiva said to her: "An obstacle has arisen in this matter, because you neglected to worship Gaṇeśa, the Lord of Obstacles; therefore adore him now in order that a son may speedily be born to us in the fire."

When thus addressed by Śiva, the goddess worshipped Gaṇeśa, and the fire became pregnant with that germ of Śiva. Then, bearing that embryo of Śiva, the fire shone even in the day as if the sun had entered into it. And then it discharged into the Ganges the germ difficult to bear, and the Gaṇas, by the order of Śiva, placed it in a sacrificial cavity on Mount Meru. There that germ was watched by the Gaṇas, Śiva's attendants, and after a thousand years had developed it, it became a boy with six faces.[1] Then, drinking milk with his six mouths from the breasts of the six Kṛittikās [2] appointed by Gaurī to nurse him, the boy grew big in a few days. In the meanwhile, the king of the gods, overcome by the Asura Tāraka, fled to the difficult peaks of Mount Meru, abandoning the field of battle. And the gods, together with the Ṛishis, went to the six-mouthed Kārttikeya for protection, and he, defending the god, remained surrounded by them. When Indra heard that, he was troubled, considering that his kingdom was taken from him, and being jealous he went and made war upon Kārttikeya. But from the body of Kārttikeya, when struck by the thunderbolt of Indra, there sprang two sons called Śākha and Viśākha, both of incomparable might.

Then Śiva came to his offspring Kārttikeya, who exceeded Indra in might, and forbade him and his two sons to fight, and rebuked him in the following words:—"Thou wast born in order that thou mightest slay Tāraka and protect the realm of Indra, therefore do thy own duty." Then Indra was delighted, and immediately bowed before him, and commenced the ceremony of consecrating by ablutions

[1] *Cf.* with this wild legend a similar one in the first book of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. Tawney omitted some details here in the translation. They have now been added from the D text by Dr Barnett.—N.M.P

[2] *I.e.* the six Pleiades.

Kārttikeya as general of his forces. But when he himself lifted the pitcher for that purpose, his arm became stiff, wherefore he was despondent, but Śiva said to him: "Thou didst not worship the elephant-faced god when thou desiredst a general; it was for this reason that thou hast met with this obstacle, therefore adore him now." Indra, when he heard that, did so, and his arm was set free, and he duly performed the joyful ceremony of consecrating the general. And, not long after, the general slew the Asura Tāraka, and the gods rejoiced at having accomplished their object, and Gaurī at having obtained a son. So, princess, you see even the gods are not successful without honouring Gaṇeśa, therefore adore him when you desire a blessing.

24A. *Kuvalayāvalī and the Witch Kālarātri*

After hearing this from my companions, I went, my husband, and worshipped an image of Gaṇeśa that stood in a lonely part of the garden, and after I had finished the worship I suddenly saw that those companions of mine had flown up by their own power and were disporting themselves in the fields of the air; when I saw that, out of curiosity I called them and made them come down from the heaven, and when I asked them about the nature of their magic power, they immediately gave me this answer: "These are the magic powers of witches' spells, and they are due to the eating of human flesh, and our teacher in this is a Brāhman woman known by the name of Kālarātri." When my companions said this to me, I, being desirous of acquiring the power of a woman that can fly in the air, but afraid of eating human flesh, was for a time in a state of hesitation; then, eager to possess that power, I said to those friends of mine: "Cause me also to be instructed in this science." And immediately they went and brought, in accordance with my request, Kālarātri, who was of repulsive appearance. Her eyebrows met,[1] she had dull eyes, a depressed flat nose,

[1] Mr Tylor (in his *Primitive Culture*, vol. ii, p. 176), speaking of Slavonian superstition, says: "A man whose eyebrows meet as if his soul were taking flight to enter some other body, may be marked by this sign either as a werewolf or a vampire." In Icelandic Sagas a man with meeting eyebrows

large cheeks, widely parted lips, projecting teeth, a long neck, pendulous breasts, a large belly, and broad expanded feet. She appeared as if the creator had made her as a specimen of his skill in producing ugliness.[1] When I fell at her feet, after bathing and worshipping Gaṇeśa, she made me take off my clothes and perform, standing in a circle, a horrible ceremony in honour of Śiva in his terrific form, and after she had sprinkled me with water she gave me various spells known to her, and human flesh to eat that had been offered in sacrifice to the gods; so, after I had eaten man's flesh and had received the various spells, I immediately flew up, naked as I was, into the heaven with my friends, and after I had amused myself, I descended from the heaven by command of my teacher, and I, the princess, went to my own apartments. Thus even in my girlhood I became one of the society of witches,[2] and in our meetings we devoured the

is said to be a werewolf. The same idea holds in Denmark, also in Germany, whilst in Greece it is a sign that a man is a Brukolak or vampire (note by Baring-Gould in Henderson's *Folk-Lore of the Northern Counties*). The same idea is found in Bohemia, see Grohmann's *Sagen aus Böhmen*, p. 210. *Cf.* Grimm's *Irische Märchen*, p. cviii.——See Tawney's original note on this subject in *Ind. Ant.*, vol. vii, 1878, p. 87. We have already seen (Vol. I, p. 214) that the Persians considered joined eyebrows beautiful. The Arabs held the same views, and we read in the *Nights* (Burton, vol. i, p. 227; vol. iii, p. 164; vol. viii, p. 206) of "high-bosomed maids and of an equal age, with black eyes and cheeks like the rose, joined eyebrows and looks languorous" and "she had eyes *koḥl'd* with nature's dye and joined eyebrows, a mouth as it were Solomon's seal and lips and teeth bright with pearls' and coral's ight."—N.M.P.

[1] The D. text reads *nayanānanavāntolkā* as one of the epithets, "casting forth flames out of her eyes and mouth." The Arab story-tellers have equally lucid descriptions of old hags and witches. Thus in the *Nights* (Burton, vol. ii, p. 233) we read: "Now this accursed old woman was a witch of the witches, past mistress in sorcery and deception; wanton and wily, deboshed and deceptious; with foul breath, red eyelids, yellow cheeks, dull-brown face, eyes bleared, mangy body, hair grizzled, back humped, skin withered and wan, and nostrils which ever ran." Similarly in vol. viii, p. 86, Hasan meets a "grizzled old woman, blue-eyed [unlucky] and big-nosed, a calamity of calamities, the foulest of all created things, with face pock-marked and eyebrows bald, gap-toothed and chap-fallen, with hair hoary, nose running and mouth slavering . . ."—N.M.P.

[2] These magical rides in the air remind us of the orgies held by witches on the Brocken mountain in the Harz on Walpurgis night (1st May). Readers

bodies of many men. But listen, King, to a story which is a digression from my main tale.

24B. *Sundaraka and the Witches*

That Kālarātri had for husband a Brāhman of the name of Vishṇusvāmin, and he, being an instructor in that country, taught many pupils who came from different lands, as he was skilful in the exposition of the Vedas. And among his pupils he had one young man of the name of Sundaraka, the beauty of whose person was set off by his excellent character. One day the teacher's wife Kālarātri being love-sick secretly courted him, her husband having gone away to some place or other. Truly Kāma makes great sport with ugly people as his laughing-stocks, in that she, not considering her own appearance, fell in love with Sundaraka. But he, though tempted, detested with his whole soul the crime; however women may misbehave, the mind of the good is not to be shaken.

Then, he having departed, Kālarātri in a rage tore her own body with bites and scratches, and she remained weeping,[1] with dress and locks disordered, until the teacher Vishṇusvāmin entered the house. And when he had entered she said to him: "Look, my lord, to this state has Sundaraka reduced me, endeavouring to gain possession of me by force."[2] As soon as the teacher heard that, he was inflamed with anger; for confidence in women robs even wise men of their power of reflection; and when Sundaraka returned home at night he ran upon him, and he and his pupils kicked him, and struck him with fists and sticks; moreover, when he was senseless

will, naturally, think of the famous "Brocken scene" in Goethe's *Faust*. See the Index volume to Frazer's *Golden Bough*, p. 517. A similar night was 31st October, known as Hallowe'en or All-Hallows day, which was the one night in all the year that ghosts and witches were sure to be found wandering about. See Brand's *Popular Antiquities of Great Britain*, 1882-1883; Grimm's *Deutsche Mythologie*, ch. xx (Elemente) and ch. xxxiv; and the references given in Frazer, *Golden Bough*, vol. x, p. 266 *et seq.*, and vol. xi, pp. 184*n*[4], 185.—N.M.P.

[1] I read *āsta* for *āśu*.

[2] See Note 2 at the end of this chapter.—N.M.P.

with the blows, he ordered his pupils to fling him out in the road by night, without regard to his safety; and they did so.

Then Sundaraka was gradually restored to consciousness by the cool night breeze, and seeing himself thus outraged he reflected: "Alas! the instigation of a woman troubles the minds even of those men whose souls are not under the dominion of passion, as a storm disturbs the repose of lakes which are not reached by dust.[1] This is why that teacher of mine, in the excess of his anger, though old and wise, was so inconsiderate as to treat me so cruelly. But the fact is, lust and wrath are appointed in the dispensation of fate, from the very birth even of wise Brāhmans, to be the two bolts on the door of their salvation.[2] For were not the sages long ago angry with Śiva in the *devadāru* wood, being afraid that their wives would go astray? And they did not know that he was a god, as he had assumed the appearance of a Buddhist mendicant, with the intention of showing Umā that even Rishis do not possess self-restraint. But after they had cursed him, they discovered that he was the ruling god that shakes the three worlds, and they fled to him for protection. So it appears that even hermits injure others when beguiled by the six faults that are enemies of man,[3] lust, wrath and their crew, much more so Brāhmans learned in the Vedas."

Thinking thus, Sundaraka, from fear of robbers during the night, climbed up and took shelter in a neighbouring cow-house. And while he was crouching unobserved in a corner of that cow-house, Kālarātri came into it with a drawn sword in her hand,[4] terrible from the hissing she uttered, with wind and flames issuing from her mouth and eyes, accompanied by a crowd of witches. Then the terrified Sundaraka, beholding Kālarātri arriving in such a guise, called to mind the spells that drive away Rākshasas, and bewildered by

[1] *Rajas* in Sanskrit means "dust" and also "passion."

[2] *I.e.* immunity from future births.

[3] *I.e.* desire, wrath, covetousness, bewilderment, pride and envy.

[4] *Cf.* the *Æthiopica* of Heliodorus, Book VII, ch. xv, where the witch is armed with a sword during her incantations; and Homer's *Odyssey*, xi, 48. See also for the magic virtues of steel, Liebrecht, *Zur Volkskunde*, pp. 312, 313.

these spells Kālarātri did not see him crouching secretly in a corner, with his limbs drawn together from fear. Then Kālarātri with her friends recited the spells that enable witches to fly, and they flew up into the air, cow-house and all.

And Sundaraka heard the spell and remembered it[1];

[1] See Veckenstedt's *Wendische Sagen*, p. 289, where a young man overhears a spell with similar results. See also Bartsch's *Sagen, Märchen und Gebräuche aus Meklenburg*, vol. i, p. 115.——This well-known *motif* has already occurred in the *Ocean of Story* (Vol. I, p. 48), where Vararuchi discovers why the fish laughed by overhearing the conversation of a female Rākshasa. I gave a few analogues in a short note (p. $48n^2$) and will add some more in a note in Vol. III, Chapter XXIX. I shall, therefore, chiefly confine myself here to a brief discussion of the origin of the *motif* with special reference to the art of learning the languages of animals.

That birds and beasts have a language of their own which can sometimes be understood by human beings is a most natural and universal *motif* of folk-tales. All manner of ways in which this great gift can be obtained have suggested themselves to the story-teller. It is sometimes given as a reward for some kind service rendered to an animal, it may be acquired by the aid of magic, it can be a boon from a god, or the hero may be actually born with the power. Primitive minds have always credited animals with great wisdom and understanding, and as possessing important secrets which can only be discovered if the language is understood. Stories have, therefore, naturally arisen to explain how the hero acquired this most useful gift.

The language of birds enters into folk-lore much more than the language of beasts. This is not to be wondered at, owing, I think, to the simple fact that a bird can get to inaccessible places much more easily than a beast. Thus the bird can fly to a magic island, to an enchanted tree or a hidden cave—it can perch on the window-sill of a room and see and hear what goes on inside. In fact it becomes a most useful *Deus ex machina* to the story-teller. The English expression "a little bird told me" contains the same idea. Cf. *Eccles.* x, 20.

But to return to the *motif* of overhearing. A bird or beast meets his mate and proceeds to tell his most recent adventures—what strange place he has visited, what rare jewel he has found, or the latest scandal from the palace in the neighbouring city. The hero in nearly all cases happens to be hiding or sleeping in the tree on which the birds perch or under which the animals are resting.

In other cases it is supernatural beings who converse—Rākshasas, giants, vampires, etc. Sometimes they give away a secret which is fatal to themselves—a snake will tell his companion what is the only way he could be killed, and, of course, the hero takes the tip at the earliest opportunity, usually securing some hidden jewel or gold

The above gives, roughly, the usual uses to which this *motif* is put. The origin of the idea can perhaps be traced to homœopathic or imitative magic. Thus

but Kālarātri with the cow-house quickly flew through the air to Ujjayinī: there she made it descend by a spell in a garden of herbs, and went and sported in the cemetery among the witches: and immediately Sundaraka, being hungry, went down into the garden of herbs and made a meal on some roots which he dug up, and after he had allayed the pangs of hunger, and returned to the cow-house, Kālarātri came back in the middle of the night from her meeting. Then she got up into the cow-house, and, just as before, she flew through the air with her pupils by the power of her magic, and returned home in the night. And after she had replaced the cow-house, which she made use of as a vehicle, in its original situation, and had dismissed those followers of

if you wish to acquire a certain quality of an animal all you have to do is to kill it and eat it, and, *ipso facto*, the particular quality of your victim becomes yours. In a widely distributed number of stories the eating of a snake imparts the power of understanding the language of birds and beasts. The exact reason for this is not clear unless it is because the snake (or dragon) is often considered as half-way between a beast and a bird. It is interesting to note that Pliny (*Hist. Nat.*, x, 137; xxix, 72) reports Democritus to have said that serpents were generated from the mixed blood of certain birds, and that in consequence anyone who ate a serpent would acquire the power to understand the bird language. In describing the "Dragons of India," Apollonius of Tyana (iii, 9) says that the Indians eat the dragon's heart and liver in order to be able to understand the language and thoughts of animals. During his sojourn among the Arab tribes he is said to have mastered this great art and to have listened to the birds, as these predict the future (i, 20). See Thorndike, *A History of Magic and Experimental Science*, vol. i, p. 261. For other examples of the use of the snake to give the power of understanding the language of birds see J. A. Macculloch, *The Childhood of Fiction*, p. 41; Frazer, *Golden Bough*, vol. viii, p. 146.

At times (see for instance Tawney's *Prabandhacintāmaṇi*, p. 174) it is an ordinary human conversation that is overheard, but I would not include these examples under this *motif* (as does Bloomfield, *Life and Stories of Pārçvanātha*, p. 185), as such an ordinary and commonplace occurrence ceases to have the same degree of interest and importance as the overheard conversation of the animal world. As we shall see in my note in Chapter XXIX, the *motif* of overhearing is found in the *Mahābhārata*, the *Jātakas*, *Pañchatantra*, *Kathākoça*, *Pariśishṭaparvan* and numerous collections of Indian tales—such as those by Temple, Frere, Steel, Day, etc. For further references see Clouston, *Popular Tales and Fictions*, vol. i, pp. 242-248; ditto, *A Group of Eastern Romances and Stories*, pp. 505, 510; Chauvin, *Bibliographie des Ouvrages Arabes*, v, p. 180, and G. Nicasi, "Le credenze religiose delle popolazioni rurali dell'alte valle del Taveri," in *Lares*, vol. i (1912), p. 169.—N.M.P.

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hers, she entered her sleeping apartment. And Sundaraka, having thus passed through that night, astonished at the troubles he had undergone, in the morning left the cow-house and went to his friends; there he related what had happened to him, and, though desirous of going to some other country, he was comforted by those friends and took up his abode among them, and leaving the dwelling of his teacher, and taking his meals in the almshouse for Brāhmans, he lived there, enjoying himself at will in the society of his friends.

One day Kālarātri, having gone out to buy some necessaries for her house, saw Sundaraka in the market. And being once more love-sick, she went up to him and said to him a second time: "Sundaraka, enjoy me even now, for my life depends on you." When she said this to him, the virtuous Sundaraka said to her: "Do not speak thus, it is not right; you are my mother, as being the wife of my teacher." Then Kālarātri said: "If you know what is right, then grant me my life, for what righteousness is greater than the saving of life?" Then Sundaraka said: "Mother,[1] do not entertain this wish, for what righteousness can there be in approaching the bed of my preceptor?" Thus repulsed by him, and threatening him in her wrath, she went home, after tearing her upper garment with her own hand, and showing the garment to her husband, she said to him: "Look, Sundaraka ran upon me and tore this garment of mine in this fashion." So her husband went in his anger and stopped Sundaraka's supply of food at the almshouse, by saying that he was a felon who deserved death.[2] Then Sundaraka in disgust, being desirous of leaving that country, and knowing the spell for flying up into the air which he had learnt in the cow-house, but being conscious that he had forgotten, after hearing it, the spell for descending from the sky, which he had been taught there also, again went in the night to that deserted cow-house, and while he was there Kālarātri came as before, and flying up in the cow-house in the same way as on the former occasion, travelled through the air to Ujjayinī, and having made the cow-house descend by a spell in the

[1] See note on p. 201*n*[3] of this volume.—N.M.P.

[2] See Note 2 at the end of this chapter.—N.M.P.

garden of herbs, went again to the cemetery to perform her nightly ceremonies.

And Sundaraka heard that spell again, but failed again to retain it; for how can magic practices be thoroughly learnt without explanation by a teacher? Then he ate some roots there, and put some others in the cow-house to take away with him, and remained there as before; then Kālarātri came, and climbing up into the cow-house, flew through the air by night, and stopping the vehicle, entered her house. In the morning Sundaraka also left that house, and taking the roots with him he went to the market in order to procure money with which to purchase food. And while he was selling them there some servants of the king, who were natives of Mālava, took them away without paying for them, seeing that they were the produce of their own country. Then he began to remonstrate angrily, so they manacled him, and took him before the king on a charge of throwing stones at them, and his friends followed him. Those villains said to the king: "This man, when we asked him how he managed continually to bring roots from Mālava and sell them in Ujjayinī, would not give us any answer; on the contrary he threw stones at us."

When the king heard this, he asked about that marvel[1]: then his friends said: "If he is placed on the palace with us, he will explain the whole wonder, but not otherwise." The king consented, and Sundaraka was placed on the palace, whereupon by the help of the spell he suddenly flew up into the heaven with the palace. And travelling on it with his friends, he gradually reached Prayāga,[2] and being now weary, he saw a certain king bathing there, and after stopping the palace there, he plunged from the heaven into the Ganges, and, beheld with wonder by all, he approached that king. The king, inclining before him, said to him: "Who art thou, and why hast thou descended from heaven?" Sundaraka

[1] I read *tan tad*.

[2] Called more usually by English people Allāhābād.——Prayāga means "*the* place of sacrifice," while Allāhābād, "abode of Allāh," was the name given to the place by Akbar in 1572. For further details see Cunningham, *Archæological Reports*, vol. i, p. 296 *et seq.*—N.M.P.

answered: "I am an attendant of the god Śiva, named Murajaka, and by his command I have come to thee desiring human pleasures." When the king heard this, he supposed it was true, and gave him a city, rich in corn, filled with jewels, with women and all the insignia of rank. Then Sundaraka entered that city and flew up into the heaven with his followers, and for a long time roamed about at will, free from poverty. Lying on a golden bed, and fanned with *chowries* by beautiful women, he enjoyed happiness like that of Indra. Then once on a time a Siddha, that roamed in the air, with whom he had struck up a friendship, gave him a spell for descending from the air, and Sundaraka, having become possessed of this spell enabling him to come down to earth, descended from the sky-path in his own city of Kanyākubja.

Then the king, hearing that he had come down from heaven, possessed of full prosperity, with a city, went in person to meet him out of curiosity, and Sundaraka, when recognised and questioned, knowing what to say on all occasions, informed the king of all his own adventures brought about by Kālarātri. Then the king sent for Kālarātri and questioned her, and she fearlessly confessed her improper conduct; and the king was angry, and made up his mind to cut off her ears, but she, when seized, disappeared before the eyes of all the spectators. Then the king forbade her to live in his kingdom, and Sundaraka, having been honourably treated by him, returned to the air.

24A. *Kuvalayāvalī and the Witch Kālarātri*

Having said this to her husband, the King Ādityaprabha, the Queen Kuvalayāvalī went on to say: "King, such magic powers, produced by the spells of witches, do exist, and this thing happened in my father's kingdom, and it is famous in the world, and, as I told you at first, I am a pupil of Kālarātri's, but because I am devoted to my husband I possess greater power even than she did. And to-day you saw me just at the time when I had performed ceremonies to ensure your welfare, and was endeavouring to attract by a spell a man to offer as a victim. So do you enter now into our

practice, and set your foot on the head of all kings, conquering them by magic power." [1]

24. *Story of Phalabhūti*

When he heard this proposal, the king at first rejected it, saying: "What propriety is there in a king connecting himself with the eating of human flesh, the practice of witches?" But when the queen was bent on committing suicide, he consented; for how can men who are attracted by the objects of passion remain in the good path? Then she made him enter into the circle previously consecrated, and said to the king after he had taken an oath. "I attempted to draw hither as a victim that Brāhman named Phalabhūti, who is so intimate with you, but drawing him hither is a difficult task, so it is the best way to initiate some cook in our rites, that he may himself slay him and cook him. And you must not feel any compunction about it, because by eating a sacrificial offering of his flesh, after the ceremonies are complete, the enchantment will be perfect, for he is a Brāhman of the highest caste."

When his beloved said this to him, the king, though afraid of the sin, a second time consented. Alas! terrible is compliance with women! Then that royal couple had the cook summoned, whose name was Sāhasika, and after encouraging him, and initiating him, they both said to him: "Whoever comes to you to-morrow morning and says, 'The king and queen will eat together to-day, so get some food ready quickly,' him you must slay, and make for us secretly a savoury dish of his flesh." When the cook heard this, he consented, and went to his own house. And the next morning, when Phalabhūti arrived, the king said to him: "Go and tell the cook Sāhasika in the kitchen: 'The king together

[1] From the days of the ancient Egyptians it was customary for kings to dabble in magic, and the magicians of Pharaoh often had Pharaoh himself as a pupil. See Maspero, *Popular Stories of Ancient Egypt*, p. 1. In a note he says: "Even as late as the time of the Renaissance a prince was more highly regarded because he was a sorcerer. For example, in the *Weisskunig* one finds the young Maximilian of Austria instructed by his ecclesiastical preceptors not only in the secrets of white magic, but of black."—N.M.P.

with the queen will eat to-day a savoury mess, therefore prepare as soon as possible a splendid dish.'" Phalabhūti said, "I will do so," and went out.

When he was outside, the prince whose name was Chandraprabha came to him, and said: "Have made for me this very day with this gold a pair of earrings, like those you had made before for my noble father." When the prince said this, Phalabhūti, in order to please him, went that moment, as he was commissioned, to get the earrings made, and the prince readily went with the king's message, which Phalabhūti told him, alone to the kitchen. When he got there and told the king's message, the cook Sāhasika, true to his agreement, immediately killed him with a knife, and made a dish of his flesh, which the king and queen, after performing their ceremonies, ate, not knowing the truth[1];

[1] This incident reminds one of Schiller's ballad: "Der Gang nach dem Eisenhammer" (Benfey, *Pañchatantra*, vol. i, p. 320). The story of Fridolin in Schiller's ballad is identical with the story of Fulgentius which is found in the English *Gesta Romanorum* (see Bohn's *Gesta Romanorum*, Introduction, p. 1). Douce says that the story is found in Scott's *Tales from the Arabic and Persian*, p. 53, and in the *Contes Dévots* or *Miracles of the Virgin* (Le Grand, *Fabliaux*, v, 74). Mr Collier states upon the authority of M. Boettiger that Schiller founded his ballad upon an Alsatian tradition which he heard at Mannheim *Cf.* also the eightieth of the *Sicilianische Märchen*, which ends with these words: "*Wer gutes thut, wird gutes erhalten.*" There is a certain resemblance in this story to that of Equitan in Marie's *Lais*. See Ellis's *Early English Metrical Romances*, pp. 46 and 47. It also resembles the story of Lalitānga in the *Kathākoça* (see my translation, p. 166), and the conclusion of the story of Damannaka (pp. 173, 174). The story of Fridolin is also found in Schoppner's *Sagenbuch der Bayerischen Lande*, vol. i, p. 204.——

As Tawney mentions above, the incident in our story appears in the *Contes Dévots*. The title of this tale is: "D'un Roi qui voulut faire brûler le fils de son Seneschal." It was adapted in the Italian *Cento Novelle Antiche*, No. 68, where the plot is cleverly worked out. An envious knight advises one of the king's favourites, of whom he is jealous, to hold his head farther back when serving the king, who, he says, objects to his unpleasant breath. The knight then tells the king that his favourite page acts in this way to avoid *his* breath. The enraged monarch orders his kilnman to throw the first man who brings him a message into the furnace. The page is immediately dispatched, but passing a monastery, goes in to listen to Mass. The knight now sets out to see if his plan has worked, and arrives at the kiln before the page, where he pays the penalty of his wickedness.

The story is also found in a work of Walter Mapes of the twelfth

and after spending that night in remorse, the next morning the king saw Phalabhūti arrive with the earrings in his hand. So, being bewildered, he questioned him about the earrings immediately; and when Phalabhūti had told him his story, the king fell on the earth, and cried out, "Alas, my son!" blaming the queen and himself; and when his ministers questioned him, he told them the whole story, and repeated what Phalabhūti had said every day: "'The doer of good will obtain good, and the doer of evil, evil.' Often the harm that one wishes to do to another, recoils on oneself, as

century. It was printed and annotated by Thomas Wright, *De Nugis Curialium* (1850), Camden Society. It reappears in the *Liber de Donis* of Etienne de Bourbon (thirteenth century); John of Bromyard's *Summa Præducantuum* (fourteenth century); the *Dialogus Creaturarum* of Nicolaus Pergamenus, etc. Reference should be made to Clouston, *Popular Tales and Fictions*, vol. ii, pp. 444, 445, whence these latter have been taken.

The Arabic form of the story is found in the *Book of Sindibād*, Clouston's edition, pp. 137-141 (see also pp. 292, 293). Here a sultan adopts an abandoned infant who is given the name of Ahmed. When grown up he discovers by chance one day that the favourite concubine has a slave as lover. He does not report the matter, but the guilty woman is afraid, and feigning to have been raped by Ahmed, calls upon the sultan for a suitable punishment to be inflicted. The executioner is told to behead the first man who says to him: "Hast thou performed the business?" Ahmed is told to ask this question in a certain house. On the way he meets a group of slaves, and among them is the concubine's lover. He tries to delay Ahmed in order to get him into trouble with the king, and finally agrees to take the message himself—with the usual result.

Two similar tales occur in C. Vermeux, *Indian Tales and Anecdotes*, Calcutta, 1873. In the second of these it is a letter, and not a message, which is used as the instrument of death.

As already mentioned in Vol. I, p. 52*n*[1], "the letter of death" *motif* is a *lieu commun* in folk-lore. It has been referred to by various names, such as the "Uriah letter," "Bellerophon letter," and "Mutalammis letter" *motif*, according as to which the particular author took as the standard example—the Biblical, Greek or Arabic.

I think, however, that a general term, such as that suggested above, is preferable. As compared with the "letter of death," examples of the "message of death" are rare, but they are, of course, only different varieties of the same *motif*. I shall discuss this *motif* at greater length at the end of Chapter XLII, where a good example of the "letter of death" occurs.

The incident of innocently eating the flesh or heart of a loved one is well known from the story in Boccaccio, day 4, nov. 10. For full details see Lee, *The Decameron, its Sources and Analogues*, pp. 152-156.—N.M.P.

a ball thrown against a wall rebounding frequently; thus we, wicked ones, desiring to slay a Brāhman, have brought about our own son's death, and devoured his flesh."

After the king had said this, and informed his ministers, who stood with their faces fixed on the earth, of the whole transaction, and after he had anointed that very Phalabhūti as king in his place, he made a distribution of alms, and then, having no son, entered the fire with his wife to purify himself from guilt, though already consumed by the fire of remorse · and Phalabhūti, having obtained the royal dignity, ruled the earth; thus good or evil done by a man is made to return upon himself.

[M] Having related the above tale in the presence of the King of Vatsa, Yaugandharāyaṇa again said to that king: "If Brahmadatta therefore were to plot against you, O great King, who, after conquering him, treated him kindly, he ought to be slain." When the chief minister had said this to him, the King of Vatsa approved of it, and rising up went to perform the duties of the day, and the day following he set out from Lāvānaka to go to his own city Kauśāmbī, having accomplished his objects in effecting the conquest of the regions. In course of time the lord of earth, accompanied by his retinue, reached his own city, which seemed to be dancing with delight, imitating with banners uplifted the taper arms[1] of the dancing-girl. So he entered the city, producing at every step, in the lotus garden composed of the eyes of the women of the city, the effect of the rising of a breeze. And the king entered his palace, sung by minstrels, praised by bards, and worshipped by kings.

Then the monarch of Vatsa laid his commands on the kings of every land, who bowed before him, and triumphantly ascended that throne, the heirloom of his race, which he had found long ago in the deposit of treasure. And the heaven was filled with the combined high and deep echoes of the sound of the drums, which accompanied the auspicious

[1] Literally, "creeper-like"

ceremonies on that occasion, like simultaneous shouts of applause uttered by the guardians of the world, each in his several quarter, being delighted with the prime minister of the King of Vatsa. Then the monarch, who was free from avarice, distributed to the Brāhmans all kinds of wealth cquired by the conquest of the world, and, after great festivities, satisfied the desires of the company of kings and of his own ministers.

Then in that city filled with the noise of drums resembling the thunder of the clouds, while the king was raining benefits on the fields[1] according to each man's desert, the people, expecting great fruit in the form of corn, kept high festival in every house. Having thus conquered the world, that victorious king devolved on Rumaṇvat and Yaugandharāyaṇa the burden of his realm, and lived at ease there with Vāsavadattā and Padmāvatī. So he, being praised by excellent bards, seated between those two queens as if they were the goddesses of Fame and Fortune, enjoyed the rising of the moon, white as his own glory, and continually drank wine as he had swallowed the might of his foes.

[1] There is a double meaning here: *kshetra* means "fit recipients" as well as "field." The king no doubt distributed corn.——The point is obscured by Tawney's translation. The poet uses as a term for "king" the word *narendra*, "Indra of men"; so the words mean that "the king (*narendra*) pours forth benefits upon worthy objects (*kshetras*) with beating of drums, as the god Indra pours forth rain upon the fields (*kshetras*) amidst the thunders of the clouds" (Barnett).—N.M.P.

NOTE 1.—NUDITY IN MAGIC RITUAL

In many forms of black magic nudity appears to be an essential factor. The reason for this is hard to explain, and many suggestions have been put forward.

The most probable are:

1. Dread of pollution which may arise during a rite, and so spoil the incantation.
2. Clothes used in a sacred or magical rite become taboo and cannot be used again.
3. In order to do abnormal things successfully, the state of the operator should also be abnormal; hence nudity is a great asset.
4. Complete nudity represents total submission to the spirit power whose aid is needed in the particular rite to be carried out.
5. Nudity is supposed to shock the spirits and so force them to grant the desired aid.
6. The belief in the apotropæic powers attributed to the sexual organs.

As will be readily seen, it would be little short of pure guess-work in most cases to pick out a nudity rite and definitely assign to it one or other of the above explanations. We can only be certain of the true reason when actions accompanying the ritual make it obvious. For instance, in many countries ceremonies to obtain rain are often carried out in a state of complete nudity. Here the reasons seem to be twofold. In the first place, as the nature of the rite is usually to produce rain, by drenching the body with water, or standing up to the neck in water, it is obvious that any clothes would be ruined. Secondly, if other methods have failed it is necessary to give the Rain God a shock, to wake him up, to arouse his pity or to make him give what is wanted through fear. Thus some unusual and curious sight would be bound to arrest his attention. A few examples will help to explain these points.

On the principles of homœopathic or imitative magic, various methods to produce rain after a drought are employed in many parts of the world. After prayers and sacrifices have proved ineffective, other means are tried. Thus in the Rumanian village of Ploska both girls and women go naked at night to the boundaries of the village, and pour water on the ground, in the hope that the sky will do likewise. Similarly in Serbia a girl is stripped and covered in grass, flowers and herbs. She is then conducted, dancing and singing, to every house, where she has a pail of water thrown over her (Frazer, *Golden Bough*, vol. i, pp. 248, 273). In other cases nude women have recourse to a ploughing rite to procure rain. Thus in Russia they draw a furrow round the village, and bury at the juncture a cock, a cat and a dog. The cat is sacred, and the dog is considered a demonic character, so both sides are thus conciliated (Conway, *Demonology*, vol. i, p. 267). In Chunār, Mirzapur district, after the drought in 1892 had continued a long time, the following ceremony was performed secretly:—"Between the hours of nine and ten P.M. a barber's wife went

from door to door and invited all the women to join in ploughing. They all collected in a field from which all males were excluded. Three women from a cultivator's family stripped off all their clothes; two were yoked to a plough like oxen, and a third held the handle. They then began to imitate the operation of ploughing. The woman who had the plough in her hand shouted: 'O Mother Earth! bring parched grain, water and chaff. Our bellies are bursting to pieces from hunger and thirst.' Then the landlord and village accountant approached them and laid down some grain, water and chaff in the field. The women then dressed and went home" (*North Indian Notes and Queries*, vol. i, p. 210). *Cf.* Russell, *Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces*, vol. iii, p. 563.

In a district of Transylvania the girls take off all their clothes and, led by an older woman, who is also naked, steal a barrow and carry it across the fields to a brook, where they set it afloat. They then sit on the barrow, keeping a tiny flame burning on each corner of it for an hour. Then they leave the barrow in the water and return home (Frazer, *op. cit.*, p. 282, where other examples are also given).

Volleys of abuse and curses often accompany these rites; thus, when rain fails, the Meitheis of Manipur, headed by their Rājā, strip off all their clothes, and stand cursing each other in the streets of Imphāl, the capital town, while women strip themselves at night and throw rice-pounders into the river (T. C. Hodson, *The Meitheis*, p. 108. See also A. E. Crawley, "Dress," Hastings' *Ency. Rel. Eth.*, vol. v, p. 60).

Nudity also enters into fertility-rites practised by women. In the Panjāb on a Sunday or Tuesday night, or during the Divālī, or Feast of Lights, a barren woman desiring a child sits on a stool, which is then lowered down a well. After divesting herself of her clothes and bathing, she is drawn up again and performs the *Chaukpūrnā* ceremony with incantations taught by a wizard. Should there be any difficulty about descending the well, the ceremony is performed beneath a sacred *pīpal* or fig-tree. It is believed that, after such a ceremony is performed, the well runs dry and the tree withers, the *Mana* of both having been exhausted during the rite (*Census Report, Panjāb*, 1901, vol. i, p. 164. For another version see *Panjab Notes and Queries*, vol. iv, p. 58). Crooke records an interesting rite, also from the Panjāb, performed during the Divālī ("The Divālī, the Lamp Festival of the Hindus," *Folk-Lore*, vol. xxxiv, Dec. 1923, p. 276. This was a posthumous publication). On the Amāvas, or no-moon night, barren women, and those who have lost several children, go to a place where four roads meet, strip themselves naked, and cover a piece of ground with the leaves of five "royal" trees, the *pīpal* (*ficus religiosa*), the *bar* (*ficus indica*), the *siras* (*acacia speciosa*), and the *ām* or mango. On this they lay a black bead representing the demigod Rāma, and, sitting down, bathe from pitchers containing water drawn from five wells, one in each of the four quarters of the town or village, and one outside it in the direction of the north-east. The water is poured from the pitchers into a vessel with a hole in the bottom, from which it is allowed to drop all over the women's bodies. The well from which the water has been drawn for this purpose is supposed to lose its fertilising power and runs dry.

Magical powers of healing disease are often practised in a state of nudity. In the Sirsā district a man can cure a horse attacked by a fit by taking off all his clothes and striking the animal seven times with his shoe on its forehead. In the Jālandhar district paralysis in cattle is cured by a man stripping himself naked and walking round the animal with a wisp of burning straw in his hand. The Orāon tribe supplies many instances of similar practices. At the time of the rice harvest they practise a solemn rite for driving fleas out of the village, in the course of which young men strip off their clothes, bathe, wrap themselves in rice-straw, and march round the houses, where they receive doles of food (W. Crooke, "Nudity in India in Custom and Ritual," *Journ. Anth. Inst.*, vol. xlix, 1919, p. 248. See the whole paper for numerous other references, only a few of which are quoted in this note).

Semi-nudity has always been regarded by Brahmans as a mark of respect when in a holy place or before superiors. Thus they bare their bodies in the more sacred precincts of a temple or in the presence of the Mahārāja. This is still observed at the Darbārs of H.H. the Mahārāja of Mysore (see Crooke, *Journ. Anth. Inst.*, vol. xlix, p. 238).

In circumambulating the Kaaba at Mecca pilgrims at one time used to either strip or borrow other clothes, as their own would become taboo owing to contact with the sacred place or function (W. Robertson Smith, *Lectures on the Religion of the Semites*, 2nd edition, p. 481).

From the above examples we can see that there is a distinct mystic significance attached to the naked body, an uncanny power which can be utilised for the purposes of producing rain, procuring offspring, etc. But as is the case with all power, it can also be used for less praiseworthy purposes. It can be employed for acquiring magical properties, to gain control over a person or a spirit. Thus, in Gujarāt, to obtain control over a spirit, the Hindu exorcist goes to a burial-ground alone at midnight on the dark fourteenth day of Aso (October), unearths the body of a low-caste Hindu, and bathes in the river. After bathing, while still naked, he carries the body within a circle cut with a knife or formed by sprinkling a line of water; then he goes on muttering charms, and evil spirits of all kinds congregate round him (*Bombay Gazetteer*, vol. ix, part i, p. 418).

A strange story is told in the United Provinces of a noted witch, known as Lonā or Nonā Chamārin, a woman of the caste of leather-dressers. One day all the village women were transplanting rice, and it was noticed that Lonā could do as much work as all her companions put together. So they watched her, and when she thought she was unobserved she stripped off her clothes, muttered some spells, and throwing a bundle of seedlings into the air, each settled down into its proper hole (Crooke, *Tribes and Castes of the North-West Provinces and Oudh*, vol. ii, p. 171).

Finally there is the question of the apotropæic power of the sexual organs themselves to be considered. Hartland points out (see his article, "Phallism," Hastings' *Ency. Rel. Eth.*, vol. ix, p. 830) that as the great instruments of reproduction, and consequently the enemies of sterility and death, the sexual organs are in many countries exhibited and employed, actually and by symbol —*i.e.* magically—to counteract the depredations of mortality. Furthermore,

they are regarded as having prophylactic virtue against all sorts of evil influences. Hence their common use of priapic figures and ithyphallic statues. In his article quoted above, Hartland gives numerous references and examples, some of which we have already noticed.

NOTE 2.—WOMEN WHOSE LOVE IS SCORNED

As is only natural, the *motif* of the revenge of a woman whose love has been scorned enters into nearly every collection of stories in the world. It is, moreover, not only in fiction that we have records of such happenings. Apart from Joseph and Potiphar's wife, we read (Paulin Paris, *Étude sur les différents Textes, imprimés et manuscripts, du Roman des Sept Sages*), of Fausta, second wife of Constantine the Great, who caused the death of Crispus, son of his first wife, and also of Lucinian, son of Lucinius, by similar false accusations. Then there was the case of Aśoka, the great Buddhist Emperor of India (274-237 B.C.). After the death of his first wife, named (according to the Ceylon records) Asandhimitrā, he married one of her attendants, Tishyarakshitā, and made her his chief wife. She had fallen in love with Aśoka's eldest son and heir (by another wife), Kuṇāla, Viceroy of Taxila. He rejected her advances, however, and was shortly sent abroad to put down a revolt. The Emperor became ill in his son's absence and decided to recall Kuṇāla and set him on the throne. Tishyarakshitā, seeing what this would mean for her, managed to cure the Emperor herself, obtaining in return the favour of exercising regal power for seven days. She immediately has Kuṇāla's eyes put out, but later the blind son comes to the court disguised as a lute-player, and the queen is burnt. (See Benfey, *Orient und Occident*, vol. iii, p. 177; *Cambridge History of India*, vol. i, p. 500; Przyluski, "La Légende de l'Empereur Açoka," *Annales du Musée Guimet*, vol. xxxiii, 1923, chap. iv, "Avadāna de Kuṇāla," p. 281-295.)

Both the above stories appear in W. A. Clouston's *Book of Sindibād*, pp. xxvii, xxix, to which we shall refer again later.

In Greek legend we have the stories of Hippolytus and his stepmother Phædra; Phineus and his sons with their mother-in-law; Bellerophon and Anteia, wife of Prœtus; and Peleus and Astydameia (called Hippolyte in Horace, *Odes*, iii, 7, 17), wife of Acastus.

The oldest tale of this nature comes from Egypt, and was current in Thebes towards the end of the XIXth Dynasty. It is known as "The Story of the Two Brothers," and has already been referred to (Vol. I, pp. 129, 130) in connection with the "External Soul" *motif*. I take the following from Maspero's *Popular Stories of Ancient Egypt*. It forms the first story in his excellently annotated collection, and is preceded by a full bibliography.

The two brothers Anupu and Baîti lived in the same house. Anupu, the elder brother, was married and owned the house, while Baîti did all the field work and slept with the cows each night. One day both brothers were in the fields and Anupu sent Baîti to the village to get seed. He asks Anupu's wife for it; she is dressing her hair and tells him to take it. He shoulders

five measures of the seed, which exhibition of strength at once rouses her admiration.

"And her heart went out to him as one desires a young man. She arose, she laid hold on him, she said to him: 'Come, let us lie together for the space of one hour. If thou wilt grant me this, in faith I will make thee two beauteous garments.' The youth became like a cheetah of the south in hot rage, because of the evil suggestion she had made to him, and she was frightened exceedingly, exceedingly. He spake to her, saying; 'But in truth thou art to me as a mother, and thy husband is to me as a father, and he who is my elder, it is he who enables me to live. Ah! this horrible thing that thou hast said to me, do not say it to me again, and for me I shall tell it to no one; I shall not let it escape from my mouth for anyone.' He took up his burden and went to the fields. When he reached his elder brother they set to work at their labour."

That evening Anupu's wife tore her garments, rubbed fat on her body to look like bruises and told her husband, who was the first to get home, that his brother had reduced her to this condition. Accordingly Anupu prepares to slay Baîti and awaits his arrival behind the stable door. The cows, however, warn Baîti of his impending fate, and he flies with all his might. We then get the earliest example of the "Magical Impediments" *motif*—a sheet of water full of crocodiles separates the two brothers, and after waiting till the next morning Baîti tells his brother the whole truth, and castrates himself on the spot.

"The elder brother cursed his heart exceedingly, exceedingly, and he remained there and wept over him. He leapt, but he could not pass over to the bank where his younger brother was, because of the crocodiles. His younger brother called to him, saying: 'Thus whilst thou didst imagine an evil action, thou didst not recall one of the good actions or even one of the things that I did for thee. Ah! go to thy house, and do thou thyself care for thy cattle, for I shall not live longer in the place where thou art—I go to the Vale of the Acacia.'"

Anupu is overcome, and returning home kills his wife and throws her to the dogs.

Turning to India, we find examples of the *motif* occur very frequently. See, for instance, the story of "Pāla und Gōpāla," translated by J. Hertel, *Indische Erzählen*, vol. vii, 1922, pp. 64-68.

In his *Book of Sindibād* (pp. xxx, xxxi) Clouston cites two examples from H. H. Wilson, *Descriptive Catalogue of the Mackenzie Collection of Oriental MSS., etc.*, 1828.

"In a Telugū palm-leaf manuscript entitled *Sārangdhara Charita*, the hero, Sārangdhara, is the son of Rājamahendra, King of Rājamahendri, whose stepmother Chitrāngī falls in love with him. He rejects her advances, on which she accuses him to the king of attempting to violate her, and the king orders him to have his feet cut off, and to be exposed in the forest to wild beasts. There a voice from heaven proclaims that the prince in his former life was Jayanta, minister of Dhaval Chandra, who, being envious of Sumanta, one of his colleagues, contrived to hide the slippers of Sumanta under the bed of the queen. The king, finding them and ascertaining whose they were,

commanded Sumanta to be exposed to wild beasts after having his legs and hands cut off; in retribution of which Jayanta, now Sārangdhara, suffers the like mutilation. He acknowledges the justice of the sentence, and his wounds are healed by a Yogī. A voice from heaven apprises the king of the innocence of his son, and he takes Sārangdhara back and puts Chitrāngī to death. Sārangdhara adopts a religious life. In the Tamil version, when the prince has been mutilated and cast into the jungle, his dead mother's lamentations are heard by the Siddhas, who restore the prince's limbs, and a voice from heaven apprises the king of Chitrāngī's guilt. Again: In the *Kumara Rāma Charita*, Ratnangī, one of the wives of Rāja Kāmpila, became enamoured of Kumara Rāma, his youngest son, and importuned him to gratify her desires. Finding him inexorable, her love was changed to hatred, and she complained to Kāmpila that Rāma had attempted her chastity. Kāmpila in a rage ordered Rāma to be put to death instantly, with his four chief leaders. The minister Bachapa, however, secreted Rāma and his friends in his palace, and decapitating five ordinary criminals, produced their heads to the raja as those of his intended victims. Kāmpila soon repented of his haste, and the prince's death was the subject of universal sorrow. After some time Rama reappeared, and the Princess Ratnangī, on hearing of this, hanged herself, by which Kāmpila was satisfied of the innocence of his son."

The *motif* is also found in the *Mahāpaduma Jātaka* (see Cambridge Edition, vol. iv, p. 116, No. 47[0]), and Bloomfield, *Life and Stories of Pārçvanātha*, pp. 64, 85, 146, 199. On the latter page a preliminary bibliography of the *motif* is given, which includes references to the *Mahābhārata*, *Kathā Sarit Sāgara*, *Jātakas*, *Kathāprakāça*, etc., besides the collections of Ralston, Steel and Temple, and Clouston. One of the references is to Ralston's *Tibetan Tales*, p. 206. In this story the mother of Utpalavarṇā seduces her own son-in-law and he complies with her desires. A maid discloses the matter and Utpalavarṇā leaves the house. I would not include such examples under this *motif*. Bloomfield, however, divides it into three forms: the woman tempts, and the man rejects; the woman out of hatred [or fear] pretends that a man has made overtures to her, so as to get him into trouble; and the woman tempts and the man succumbs. The whole point of the *motif* is, I feel, the refusal of the man and the consequent intended revenge of the woman. Thus, whereas the first variety is the only true example of the *motif*, the second also may be included, but the third seems quite beside the point—the most important incident of the *motif* being missing.

Both Persian and Arabic fiction abound in examples of the *motif*. The best-known collection is that entitled *The Book of Sindibād, or the Story of the King, his Son, the Damsel and the Seven Vazīrs*. For further details of its history, etc., reference should be made to Comparetti's *Ricerche intorno al Libro di Sindibād*, translated by H. C. Coote for the Folk-Lore Society, 1882; *The Book of Sindibād*, W. A. Clouston, privately printed, 1884; and V. Chauvin, *Bibliographie des Ouvrages Arabes*, viii, Syntipas.

The frame-story in every case is based on the *motif* here under consideration. A brief outline is as follows:—

After numerous failures to teach the only son of the king, the sage Sindibād finally succeeds in under six months. He then discovers that the prince is threatened with loss of life if he speaks a single word during the next seven days. Nevertheless, he goes to his father, who is anxious to test his newly acquired knowledge. To all the king's questions he answers not a word. At this juncture one of the king's harem, who is secretly enamoured of the prince, enters the audience-chamber and asks leave to try privately to induce the prince to speak. On leave being given she tells him of her love, and offers to poison the king. The prince flies from her in horror. The girl, fearing exposure, tears her clothes, scratches her face and in this condition returns to the king, stating that the prince, only pretending to be dumb, has attempted to rape her, and has suggested poisoning the king. The king orders the executioner to cut off his son's head. There are seven vazirs at the court and they determine to do what they can to prolong the carrying out of this hasty sentence, hoping in time to establish the prince's innocence. Accordingly the First Vazir tells a story showing the deceit of women, with the result that the king wavers in his decision. The guilty woman, however, now relates a tale exemplifying the deceits of man. The Second Vazir thereupon retaliates. These alternate stories continue till all the Vazirs have spoken. By this time the unlucky seven days have passed and the innocence of the prince is established, as he can now safely speak and give the real facts of the case.

The collection also appears in the *Nights* (see Burton, vol. vi, p. 127), under the title, "The Craft and Malice of Women." In the Persian *Bakhtyār Nāma* it is the vazirs (ten in number) who urge the death of the accused man, and it is he himself who tells the stories. It also appears in the *Nights* (Burton, Supp., vol. i, p. 55 *et seq.*) as "The Ten Wazirs: or, the History of King Āzādbakht and his Son." In Supp., vol. ii, pp. 295, 296, Clouston writes a note on the story. The plot, however, differs from the other similar collections, not only because of the fact stated above, but also because the son, in a state of drunkenness, wanders into the queen's bedroom and falls asleep on the bed, to be later discovered by the royal couple. The king refuses to believe that she knows nothing about the matter and the jealous ten vazirs do all they can to bring about the prince's death. Closely allied to these is the Tamil *Alakeswara Kathā* (see H. H. Wilson, *Descriptive Catalogue of the Mackenzie Collection of MSS., etc.*, vol. i, p. 220). In the Turkish version, however, the plot follows the Arabic, and it is the prince's mother-in-law who tempts his virtue. His horoscope shows that his life is in danger for forty days (not seven, as in the other versions) and forty vazirs tell stories. See E. J. W. Gibb, *The History of the Forty Vezirs*, 1886. The work is very popular in Turkey, where it is known as, *Qirq Vezīr Tārīkhi*. The original Turkish translation is said to have been made by one Sheykh-zāda, and the title of the work to have been *Hikāyetu-Erba'ina-Sabāhin we Mesā*—i.e. *The Story of the Forty Morns and Eves.*

There are two other occurrences of the "scorned love of women" in the *Nights*.

The first of these is in the long "Tale of Kamar al-Zaman" (Burton, vol. iii, p. 314). The two brothers, Amjad and As'ad, are tempted to incest by each other's mother. On being repulsed they shut themselves up in the harem, and tell the king that his two sons have raped them and they refuse to come out until their two hearts are brought to them. The enraged monarch gives the necessary order, but the pitying treasurer, whose duty it is to kill the brothers, takes back to the king two vials of a lion's blood which the brothers chance to slay. Later the repentant father finds the original letters written by the queens in his sons' clothes. After numerous adventures Amjad and As'ad meet their father (vol. iv, p. 27), and marry two beautiful women they met during their wanderings, and all is well "till there overtook them the Destroyer of delights, and the Sunderer of societies; and Allah knoweth all things!"

The second tale is that of the "History of Gharib and his Brother Ajib" (vol. vii, p. 83). Queen Jan Shah is suddenly called out as her prisoner, Gharib, had broken her idol and slain her men. She immediately goes to the temple and (like Anupu's wife in the Egyptian tale) on seeing the great strength of Gharib "her heart was drowned in the love of him and she said to herself: 'I have no need of the idol and care for naught save this Gharib, that he may lie in my bosom the rest of my life.'" On his refusal he is turned into an ape by her magic, and kept carefully in a closet. After two years he pretends by signs to agree to her wishes, and is accordingly restored to his original shape. That evening, he seizes her by the neck, breaks it and so kills her.

The first of the above stories is common in Kashmir; see, *e.g.*, Stein and Grierson, "Tale of a King," *Hatim's Tales*, 1923, pp. 45-57; and Knowles, *Folk-Tales of Kashmir*, pp. 166, 423.

Thus we see that, in order for a story to be classified under the heading of this *motif*, the woman must make the suggestion, be repulsed, and seek revenge. This is the natural sequence of events which has proved so popular in every part of the East, whence it has travelled slowly westward. An interesting point to notice is that it can be traced from East to West in the same collection of stories—that of the *Sindibād Nāma* cycle, for besides the various versions already mentioned (see also Vol. I, p. 170) it is found in the French *Dolopathos*, the English *Seven Wise Masters*, and numerous other versions.—N.M.P.

BOOK IV

NARAVĀHANADATTAJANANA

CHAPTER XXI

INVOCATION

VICTORY to the Conqueror of Obstacles,[1] who marks with a line, like the parting of the hair, the principal mountains [2] by the mighty fanning of his ear-flaps, pointing out, as it were, a path of success !

[M] Then Udayana, the King of Vatsa, remaining in Kauśāmbī, enjoyed the conquered earth which was under one umbrella [3]; and the happy monarch devolved the care of his empire upon Yaugandharāyaṇa and Rumaṇvat, and addicted himself to pleasure only in the society of Vasantaka. Himself playing on the lute, in the company of the queens Vāsavadattā and Padmāvatī, he was engaged in a perpetual concert. While the notes of his lyre were married to the soft sweet song of the queens, the rapid movement of his executing finger alone indicated the difference of the sounds. And while the roof of the palace was white with moonlight as with his own glory, he drank wine in plenteous streams, as he had swallowed the pride of his enemies [4]; beautiful women brought him, as he sat retired, in vessels of gold, wine flaming with rosy glow,[5] as it were the water of his appointment as ruler in the empire of love; he divided between the two

[1] *I.e.* Gaṇeśa, who has an elephant's head.

[2] Seven principal mountains are supposed to exist in each Varsha, or division of a continent.

[3] See Appendix II, pp. 263-272.—N.M.P.

[4] There is a reference here to the *mada*, or ichor, which exudes from an elephant's temples when in rut.

[5] *Rāga* also means "passion."

queens the cordial liquor, red, delicious and pellucid, in which danced the reflection of their faces; as he did his own heart, impassioned, enraptured and transparent, in which the same image was found.

His eyes were never sated with resting on the faces of those queens, which had the eyebrows arched, and blushed with the rosy hue of love, though envy and anger were far from them. The scene of his banquet, filled with many crystal goblets of wine, gleamed like a lake of white lotuses tinged red with the rising sun. And occasionally, accompanied by huntsmen, clad in a vest of dark green as the *palāsa* tree, he ranged, bow and arrows in hand, the forest full of wild beasts, which was of the same colour as himself. He slew with arrows herds of wild boars besmeared with mud, as the sun disperses with its dense rays the masses of darkness; when he ran towards them the antelopes, fleeing in terror, seemed like the sidelong glances of the quarters previously conquered[1] by him.

And when he slew the buffaloes, the ground, red with blood, looked like a bed of red lotuses come to thank him humbly for delivering it from the goring of their horns. When the lions too were transfixed by his javelins falling in their open mouths, and their lives issued from them with a suppressed roar, he was delighted. In that wood he employed dogs in the ravines and nets in the glades; this was the method of his pursuit of the chase, in which he relied only upon his own resources.

While he was thus engaged in his pleasant enjoyments, one day the hermit Nārada came to him as he was in the hall of audience, diffusing a halo with the radiance of his body, like the sun, the orb of heaven, descending therefrom out of love for the Solar dynasty. The king welcomed him, inclining before him again and again, and the sage stood a moment as if pleased and said to that king: "Listen, O King; I will tell you a story in a few words. You had an ancestor once, a king of the name of Pāṇḍu; he like you had two noble wives; one wife of the mighty prince was named Kuntī and the

[1] The quarters are often conceived of as women.

other Mādrī.[1] That Pāṇḍu conquered this sea-engirdled earth, and was very prosperous, and being addicted to the vice of hunting, he went one day to the forest. There he let fly an arrow and slew a hermit of the name of Arindama, who was sporting with his wife in the form of a deer.[2] That hermit abandoned that deer-form, and with his breath struggling in his throat cursed that Pāṇḍu, who in his despair had flung away his bow: 'Since I have been slain while sporting at will by thee, inconsiderate one, thou also shalt die in the embraces of thy wife.' Having been thus cursed, Pāṇḍu, through fear of its effect, abandoned the desire of enjoyment, and accompanied by his wives lived in a tranquil grove of ascetic quietism. While he was there, one day, impelled by that curse, he suddenly approached his beloved Mādrī, and died. So you may rest assured that the occupation called hunting is a madness of kings, for other kings have been done to death by it, even as the various deer they have slain. For how can hunting produce benign results, since the genius of hunting is like a female Rākshasa, roaring horribly, intent on raw flesh, defiled with dust, with upstanding hair and lances for teeth. Therefore give up that useless exertion, the sport of hunting; wild elephants and their slayers are exposed to the same risk of losing their lives. And you, who are ordained for prosperity, are dear to me on account of my friendship with your ancestors, so hear how you are to have a son who is to be a portion of the God of Love.

Nārada condemns the Vice of Hunting

[1] For an outline of this story as related in the *Mahābhārata* see p. 16. —N.M.P.

[2] In the eighteenth tale of the *Gesta Romanorum* Julian is led into trouble by pursuing a deer. The animal turns round and says to him: "Thou who pursuest me so fiercely shalt be the destruction of thy parents." See also Bernhard Schmidt's *Griechische Märchen*, p. 38: "A popular ballad referring to the story of Digenes gives him a life of 300 years, and represents his death as due to his killing a hind that had on its shoulder the image of the Virgin Mary, a legend the foundation of which is possibly a recollection of the old mythological story of the hind of Artemis killed by Agamemnon" [Sophocles' *Electra*, 568]. In the "Romance of Doolin of Mayence," Guyon kills a hermit by mistake for a deer (Liebrecht's translation of Dunlop's *History of Fiction*, p. 138). See also De Gubernatis, *Zoological Mythology*, pp. 84-86;——and W. Crooke, *Popular Religion and Folk-Lore of Northern India*, vol. ii, p. 238.—N.M.P.

"Long ago, when Rati worshipped Śiva with praises in order to effect the restoration of Kāma's body, Śiva, being pleased, told her this secret in few words: 'This Gaurī,[1] desiring a son, shall descend to earth with a part of herself, and, after propitiating me, shall give birth to an incarnation of Kāma.' Accordingly, King, the goddess has been born in the form of this Vāsavadattā, daughter of Chaṇḍamahāsena, and she has become your queen. So she, having propitiated Śiva, shall give birth to a son who shall be a portion of Kāma, and shall become the emperor of all the Vidyādharas."

By this speech the Ṛishi Nārada, whose words command respect, gave back to the king the earth which he had offered him as a present, and then disappeared. When he had departed, the King of Vatsa, in company with Vāsavadattā, in whom had arisen the desire of obtaining a son, spent the day in thinking about it.

The Poor Brāhman Woman

The next day the chief warder, called Nityodita, came to the lord of Vatsa while he was in the hall of assembly and said to him: "A certain distressed Brāhman woman, accompanied by two children, is standing at the door, O King, desiring to see your Highness." When the king heard this, he permitted her to enter, and so that Brāhman woman entered, thin, pale and begrimed, distressed by the tearing of her clothes and wounding of her self-respect, carrying in her bosom two children looking like Misery and Poverty. After she had made the proper obeisance she said to the king: "I am a Brāhman woman of good caste, reduced to such poverty. As fate would have it, I gave birth to these two boys at the same time, and I have no milk for them, O King, without food. Therefore I have come, in my misery and helplessness, for protection to the king, who is kind to all who fly to him for protection; now my lord the king must determine what my lot is to be."

When the king heard that, he was filled with pity, and said to the warder: "Take this woman and commend her to the Queen Vāsavadattā." Then that woman was conducted into

[1] *I.e.* Umā or Pārvatī.

the presence of the queen by that warder, as it were by her own good actions marching in front of her. The queen, when she heard from that warder that the Brāhman woman who had come had been sent by the king, felt all the more confidence in her. And when she saw that the woman, though poor, had two children, she thought: "This is exceedingly unfair dealing on the part of the creator! Alas, he grudges a son to me, who am rich, and shows affection to one who is poor! I have not yet one son, but this woman has these twins." Thus reflecting, the queen, who was herself desiring a bath, gave orders to her servants to provide the Brāhman woman with a bath and other restoratives. After she had been provided with a bath, and had had clothes given her, and had been supplied by them with agreeable food, that Brāhman woman was refreshed like the heated earth bedewed with rain. And as soon as she had been refreshed, the Queen Vāsavadattā, in order to test her by conversation, artfully said to her: "O Brāhman lady, tell us some tale." When she heard that she agreed, and began to tell this story:

25. *Story of Devadatta*

In old time there was a certain petty monarch of the name of Jayadatta, and there was born to him a son, named Devadatta. And that wise king, wishing to marry his son, who was grown up, thus reflected: "The prosperity of kings is very unstable, being like a courtesan to be enjoyed by force[1]; but the prosperity of merchants is like a woman of good family; it is steady and does not fly to another man. Therefore I will take a wife to my son from a merchant's family, in order that misfortune may not overtake his throne, though it is surrounded with many relations." Having formed this resolve, that king sought for his son the daughter

[1] As a courtesan is *not* enjoyed by force, the sense seems doubtful. Barnett explains in a letter to me on the subject that *balavad* does literally mean "forcibly," but that the word is more usual in the sense of "intensely," as of rain, wind, sound, etc. Thus the meaning here is "to be intensely (or thoroughly) enjoyed."—N.M.P.

of a merchant in Pāṭaliputra named Vasudatta. Vasudatta for his part, eager for such a distinguished alliance, gave that daughter of his to the prince, though he dwelt in a remote foreign land.

And he loaded his son-in-law with wealth to such an extent that he no longer felt much respect for his father's magnificence.[1] Then King Jayadatta dwelt happily with that son of his who had obtained the daughter of that rich merchant. Now one day the merchant Vasudatta came, full of desire to see his daughter, to the palace of his connection by marriage, and took away his daughter to his own home. Shortly after the King Jayadatta suddenly went to heaven, and that kingdom was seized by his relations, who rose in rebellion; through fear of them his son Devadatta was secretly taken away by his mother during the night to another country.

Then that mother, distressed in soul, said to the prince: "Our feudal lord is the emperor who rules the eastern region; repair to him, my son; he will procure you the kingdom."

When his mother said this to him, the prince answered her: "Who will respect me if I go there without attendants?" When she heard that, his mother went on to say: "Go to the house of your father-in-law, and get money there, and so procure followers; and then repair to the emperor." Being urged in these words by his mother, the prince, though full of shame, slowly plodded on and reached his father-in-law's house in the evening. But he could not bear to enter at such an unseasonable hour, for he was afraid of shedding tears, being bereaved of his father and having lost his worldly splendour; besides, shame withheld him.

So he remained in the verandah of an almshouse near, and at night he suddenly beheld a woman descending with a rope from his father-in-law's house, and immediately he recognised her as his wife, for she was so resplendent with jewels that she looked like a meteor fallen from the clouds; and he was much grieved thereat. But she, though she saw him, did not recognise him, as he was emaciated and

[1] The D. text reads *agalad* instead of *acalad*, "that his pride on account of his father's splendour vanished."—N.M.P.

begrimed, and asked him who he was. When he heard that, he answered: "I am a traveller." Then the merchant's daughter entered the almshouse, and the prince followed her secretly to watch her. There she advanced towards a certain man, and he towards her, and asking why she had come so late, he bestowed several kicks on her.[1] Then the passion of the wicked woman was doubled, and she appeased him, and remained with him on the most affectionate terms.[2]

When he saw that, the discreet prince reflected: "This is not the time for me to show anger, for I have other affairs in hand; and how could I employ against these two contemptible creatures, this wife of mine and the man who has done me this wrong, this sword which is to be used against my foes? Or what quarrel have I with this adulteress, for this is the work of malignant desire that showers calamities upon me, showing skill in the game of testing my firmness? It is my marriage with a woman below me in rank that is in fault, not the woman herself; how can a female crow leave the male crow to take pleasure in a cuckoo?"

Thus reflecting, he allowed that wife of his to remain in the society of her paramour; for in the minds of heroes possessed with an ardent desire of victory, of what importance is woman, valueless as a straw? But at the moment when his wife ardently embraced her paramour there fell from her ear an ornament thickly studded with valuable jewels. And she did not observe this, but at the end of her interview, taking leave of her paramour, returned hurriedly to her house as she came. And that unlawful lover also departed somewhere or other.

Then the prince saw that jewelled ornament, and took it up; it flashed with many jewel-gleams, dispelling the gathering darkness of despondency, and seemed like a hand-lamp obtained by him to assist him in searching for his lost

[1] *Cf.* an incident in "Gul and Sanaubar" (Liebrecht, *Zur Volkskunde*, p. 144)——also the "Tale of the Ensorcelled Prince," *Nights* (Burton, vol. i, p. 72), and see Chauvin, *Bibliographie des Ouvrages Arabes*, vi, p. 57n².—N.M.P.

[2] This is not a correct rendering of *yadṛichchhayā*. It means literally, "casually," "by chance," or "arbitrarily." Barnett suggests that its meaning here is "at her own pleasure," "of her own free will"—thus "wantonly" would perhaps be the best translation.—N.M.P.

prosperity. The prince immediately perceived that it was very valuable, and went off, having obtained all he required, to Kanyākubja; there he pledged that ornament for a hundred thousand gold pieces, and after buying horses and elephants went into the presence of the emperor. And with the troops which he gave him he marched, and slew his enemies in fight, and recovered his father's kingdom; and his mother applauded his success.

Then he redeemed from pawn that ornament, and sent it to his father-in-law to reveal that unsuspected secret; his father-in-law, when he saw that earring of his daughter's, which had come to him in such a way, was confounded, and showed it to her. She looked upon it, lost long ago like her own virtue; and when she heard that it had been sent by her husband she was distracted, and called to mind the whole circumstance: "This is the very ornament which I let fall in the almshouse the night I saw that unknown traveller standing there; so that must undoubtedly have been my husband come to test my virtue, but I did not recognise him, and he picked up this ornament."

While the merchant's daughter was going through this train of reflection, her heart, afflicted by the misfortune of her unchastity having been discovered, in its agony, broke. Then her father artfully questioned a maid of hers who knew all her secrets, and found out the truth, and so ceased to mourn for his daughter; as for the prince, after he recovered the kingdom, he obtained as wife the daughter of the emperor, won by his virtues, and enjoyed the highest prosperity.

[M] "So you see that the hearts of women are hard as adamant in daring sin, but are soft as a flower when the tremor of fear falls upon them. But there are some few women born in good families that, having hearts virtuous [1] and of transparent purity, become like pearls, the ornaments of the earth. And the fortune of kings is ever bounding

[1] Here there is a pun, *suvṛitta* meaning also "well rounded."

away like a doe, but the wise know how to bind it by the tether of firmness, as you see in my story; therefore those who desire good fortune must not abandon their virtue even in calamity, and of this principle my present circumstances are an illustration, for I preserved my character, O Queen, even in this calamity, and that has borne me fruit in the shape of the good fortune of beholding you."

Having heard this tale from the mouth of that Brāhman woman, the Queen Vāsavadattā, feeling respect for her, immediately thought: "Surely this Brāhman woman must be of good family, for the indirect way in which she alluded to her own virtue and her boldness in speech prove that she is of gentle birth, and this is the reason why she showed such tact in entering the king's court of justice." Having gone through these reflections, the queen again said to the Brāhman woman: "Whose wife are you, or what is the history of your life? Tell me." When she heard that, the Brāhman woman again began to speak:

26. *Story of Pingalikā*

Queen, there was a certain Brāhman in the country of Mālava, named Agnidatta, the home of Fortune and of Learning, who willingly impoverished himself to help suppliants. And in course of time there were born to him two sons like himself: the eldest was called Śankaradatta and the other Śāntikara. Of these two, O glorious one, Śāntikara suddenly left his father's house in quest of learning, while he was still a boy, and went I know not whither, and the other son, his elder brother, married me, who am the daughter of Yajnadatta, who collected wealth for the sake of sacrifice only. In the course of time the father of my husband, who was named Agnidatta, being old, went to the next world, and his wife followed him[1]; and my husband left me, when I was pregnant, to go to holy places, and through sorrow for his loss abandoned the body in fire purified by the goddess Sarasvatī; and when that fact was told us by those who

[1] *I.e.* burned herself with his body.

accompanied him in his pilgrimage, I was not permitted to follow him by my relations, as I was pregnant.

Then, while my grief was fresh, brigands suddenly swooped down on us and plundered my house and all the royal grant; immediately I fled with three Brāhman women from that place, for fear that I might be outraged, taking with me very few garments. And, as the whole kingdom was ravaged, I went to a distant land, accompanied by them, and remained there a month, only supporting myself by menial drudgery. And then, hearing from people that the King of Vatsa was the refuge of the helpless, I came here with the three Brāhman women, with no other travelling provision than my virtue; and as soon as I arrived I gave birth at the same time to two boys. Thus, though I have the friendly assistance of these three Brāhman women, I have suffered bereavement, banishment, poverty; and now comes this birth of twins. Alas, Providence has opened to me the door of calamity!

Accordingly, reflecting that I had no other means of maintaining these children, I laid aside shame, the ornament of women, and entering into the king's court I made a petition to him. Who is able to endure the sight of misery of youthful offspring? And in consequence of his order, I have come into your august presence, and my calamities have turned back, as if ordered away from your door. This is my history: as for my name, it is Pingalikā, because from my childhood my eyes have been reddened by the smoke of burnt-offerings. And that brother-in-law of mine Śāntikara dwells in a foreign land, but in what land he is now living I have not as yet discovered.

[M] When the Brāhman woman had told her history in these words, the queen came to the conclusion that she was a lady of high birth, and, after reflecting, said this to her with an affectionate manner: "There is dwelling here a foreign Brāhman of the name of Śāntikara, and he is our domestic chaplain; I am certain he will turn out to be your brother-in-law." After saying this to the eager Brāhman lady, the

queen allowed that night to pass, and the next morning sent for Śāntikara and asked him about his descent. And when he had told her his descent, she, ascertaining that the two accounts tallied completely, showed him that Brāhman lady, and said to him : " Here is your brother's wife." And when they recognised one another, and he had heard of the death of his relations, he took the Brāhman lady, the wife of his brother, to his own house. There he mourned exceedingly, as was natural, for the death of his parents and his brother, and comforted the lady, who was accompanied by her two children.

And the Queen Vāsavadattā settled that the Brāhman lady's two young sons should be the domestic chaplains of her future son, and the queen gave the eldest the name of Śāntisoma, and the next of Vaiśvānara, and she bestowed on them much wealth. The people of this world are like a blind man, being led to the place of recompense by their own actions going before them,[1] and their courage is merely an instrument. Then those two children and their mother and Śāntikara remained united there, having obtained wealth.

Then once upon a time, as days went on, the Queen Vāsavadattā beheld from her palace a certain woman of the caste of potters coming with five sons, bringing plates, and she said to the Brāhman lady Pingalikā, who was at her side : " Observe, my friend, this woman has five sons, and I have not even one as yet[2] ; to such an extent is such a one the possessor of merit, while such a one as myself is not."

Then Pingalikā said : " Queen, these numerous sons are people who have committed many sins in a previous existence, and are born to poor people in order that they may suffer for them ; but the son that shall be born to such a one as you must have been in a former life a very virtuous person. Therefore do not be impatient, you will soon obtain a son such as you deserve." Though Pingalikā said this to her, Vāsavadattā, being eager for the birth of a son, remained with her mind overpowered by anxiety about it. At that

[1] *Purogaiḥ* means " done in a previous life," and also " going before."

[2] *Cf.* Gaal, *Märchen der Magyaren*, p. 364; Gonzenbach's *Sicilianische Märchen*, vol. i, pp. 285, 294.

moment the King of Vatsa came, and perceiving what was in her heart, said: "Queen, Nārada said that you should obtain a son by propitiating Śiva, therefore we must continually propitiate Śiva, that granter of boons." Upon that, the queen quickly determined upon performing a vow, and when she had taken a vow, the king and his ministers, and the whole kingdom also, took a vow to propitiate Śiva; and after the royal couple had fasted for three nights, that lord was so pleased that he himself appeared to them and commanded them in a dream: "Rise up; from you shall spring a son who shall be a portion of the God of Love, and owing to my favour shall be king of all the Vidyādharas."

When the god, whose crest is the moon, had said this and disappeared, that couple woke up, and immediately felt unfeigned joy at having obtained their boon, and considered that they had gained their object. And in the morning the king and queen rose up, and after delighting the subjects with the taste of the nectarous story of their dream, kept high festival with their relations and servants, and broke in this manner the fast of their vow. After some days had passed, a certain man with matted locks came and gave the Queen Vāsavadattā a fruit in her dream. Then the King of Vatsa rejoiced with the queen, who informed him of that clear dream, and he was congratulated by his ministers, and supposing that the god of the moon-crest had given her a son under the form of a fruit, he considered the fulfilment of his wish to be not far off.[1]

[1] The whole question of supernatural birth in *Märchen*, Sagas and custom has been ably discussed in detail by Hartland, *The Legend of Perseus*, vol. i, pp. 71-181 (the reference on p. 76 to the *Kathā Sarit Sāgara* should be ii, 565). See also V. Chauvin, *op. cit.*, v, p. 43, under the heading "Conceptions extraordinaires."

In the "Story of King Parityāgasena, his Wicked Wife and his Two Sons," which appears in a later volume, the two wives receive two heavenly fruits from Durgā. So in Chapter CXX the mother of the future King Vikramāditya is given a fruit by Śiva. The fruit in question is sometimes a mango, as in Stokes, *Indian Fairy Tales*, p. 41; Frere, *Old Deccan Days*, p. 254; Śāstrī, *Folk-Lore in Southern India*, p. 140. In Stokes, *op. cit.*, p. 91, *lichi* fruits are given, while in other tales it is a pomegranate. It is unnecessary to give further examples, as Hartland has recorded anything of importance.—N.M.P.

CHAPTER XXII

THEN, in a short time, Vāsavadattā became pregnant [M] with a child, glorious inasmuch as it was an incarnation of the God of Love, and it was a feast to the eyes of the King of Vatsa. She shone with a face the eyes of which rolled, and which was of palish hue, as if with the moon come to visit her out of affection for the God of Love conceived in her. When she was sitting down, the two images of her form, reflected in the sides of the jewelled couch, seemed like Rati and Prīti come there out of regard for their husband.[1] Her ladies-in-waiting attended upon her like the Sciences that grant desires come in bodily form to show their respect for the future King of the Vidyādharas[2] conceived in her. At that time she had breasts with points dark like a folded bud, resembling pitchers intended for the inaugural sprinkling[3] of her unborn son. When she lay down on a comfortable couch in the middle of the palace, which gleamed with pavement composed of translucent, flashing, lustrous jewels, she appeared as if she were being propitiated by the waters, that had come there trembling, through fear of being conquered by her future son, with heaps of jewels on every side.

Her image, reflected from the gems in the middle of the chariot, appeared like the Fortune of the Vidyādharas coming in the heaven to offer her adoration. And she felt a longing[4] for stories of great magicians provided with incantations by means of spells, introduced appropriately in conversation. Vidyādhara ladies, beginning melodious songs,

[1] I read with a MS. in the Sanskrit College *patisnehād* for *pratisnehād*. The two wives of the God of Love came out of love to their husband, who was conceived in Vāsavadattā.

[2] *Vidyādhara* means, literally, "magical knowledge-holder."

[3] The ceremony of coronation.

[4] See Vol. I, Appendix III, pp. 221-228, on the "*Dohada*, or Craving of the Pregnant Woman."—N.M.P.

waited upon her when in her dream she rose high in the sky, and when she woke up she desired to enjoy in reality the amusement of sporting in the air, which would give the pleasure of looking down upon the earth. And Yaugandharāyaṇa gratified that longing of the queen's by employing spells, machines, juggling, and such-like contrivances. So she roamed through the air by means of those various contrivances, which furnished a wonderful spectacle to the upturned eyes of the citizens' wives. But once on a time, when she was in her palace, there arose in her heart a desire to hear the glorious tales of the Vidyādharas. Then Yaugandharāyaṇa, being entreated by that queen, told her this tale while all were listening :

27. *Story of Jīmūtavāhana*

There is a great mountain named Himavat,[1] the father of the mother of the world,[2] who is not only the chief of hills, but the spiritual preceptor of Śiva, and on that great mountain, the home of the Vidyādharas, dwelt the lord of the Vidyādharas, the King Jīmūtaketu. And in his house there was a wishing-tree,[3] which had come down to him from his ancestors, called by a name which expressed its nature, " The Giver of Desires." And one day the King Jīmūtaketu approached that wishing-tree in his garden, which was of divine nature, and supplicated it : " We always obtain from you all we desire, therefore give me, O god, who am now childless, a virtuous son." [4] Then the wishing-tree said : " King, there shall be born to thee a son who shall remember his past birth, who shall be a hero in giving, and kind to all creatures." When he heard that, the king was delighted,

[1] See Vol. I, p. 2, $2n^2$.—N.M.P.

[2] Ambikā—*i.e.* Pārvatī the wife of Śiva.

[3] See Vol. I, pp. 8, 144, $144n^1$, and also W. Crooke, *Popular Religion and Folk-Lore of Northern India*, vol. ii, p. 88.—N.M.P.

[4] Liebrecht, speaking of the novel of Guerino Meschino, compares this tree with the sun and moon trees mentioned in the work of the *Pseudo-Callisthenes*, Book III, ch. xvii. They inform Alexander that the years of his life are accomplished, and that he will die in Babylon. See also Ralston's *Songs of the Russian People*, p. 111.

and bowed before that tree, and then he went and delighted his queen with the news: accordingly in a short time a son was born to him, and his father called the son Jīmūtavāhana.

Then that Jīmūtavāhana, who was of great goodness, grew up step by step with the growth of his innate compassion for all creatures. And in the course of time, when he was made crown prince, he, being full of compassion for the world, said in secret to his father, who was pleased by his attentions: "I know, O father, that in this world all things perish in an instant, but the pure glory of the great alone endures till the end of a kalpa.[1] If it is acquired by benefiting others, what other wealth can be, like it, valued by high-minded men more than life? And as for prosperity, if it be not used to benefit others, it is like lightning, which for a moment pains the eye and, flickering, disappears somewhere or other. So, if this wishing-tree, which we possess, and which grants all desires, is employed for the benefit of others, we shall have reaped from it all the fruit it can give. So let me take such steps as that by its riches the whole multitude of men in need may be rescued from poverty."

This petition Jīmūtavāhana made to his father, and having obtained his permission, he went and said to that wishing-tree: "O god, thou always givest us the desired fruit, therefore fulfil to-day this one wish of ours. O my friend, relieve this whole world from its poverty, success to thee, thou art bestowed on the world that desires wealth!" The wishing-tree, being addressed in this style by that self-denying one, showered much gold on the earth, and all the people rejoiced; what other compassionate incarnation of a Bodhisattva except the glorious Jīmūtavāhana would be able to dispose even of a wishing-tree in favour of the needy? For this reason every region of the earth[2] became devoted to Jīmūtavāhana, and his stainless fame was spread on high.

Then the relations of Jīmūtaketu, seeing that his throne was firmly established by the glory of his son, were envious, and became hostile to him. And they thought it would be easy to conquer that place, which possessed the excellent

[1] A period of 432 million years of mortals.

[2] More literally, "the cardinal and intermediate points."

wishing-tree that was employed for bestowing gifts, on account of its not being strong[1]: then they assembled and determined on war, and thereupon the self-denying Jīmūtavāhana said to his father: "As this body of ours is like a bubble in the water, for the sake of what do we desire prosperity, which flickers like a candle exposed to the wind? And what wise man desires to attain prosperity by the slaughter of others? Accordingly, my father, I ought not to fight with my relations. But I must leave my kingdom and go to some forest or other; let these miserable wretches be, let us not slay the members of our own family."

When Jīmūtavāhana had said this, his father, Jīmūtaketu, formed a resolution and said to him: "I too must go, my son; for what desire for rule can I, who am old, have, when you, though young, out of compassion abandon your realm as if it were so much grass?" In these words his father expressed his acquiescence in the project of Jīmūtavāhana, who then, with his father and his father's wife, went to the Malaya mountain. There he remained in a hermitage, the dwelling of the Siddhas, where the brooks were hidden by the sandalwood-trees, and devoted himself to taking care of his father. There he struck up a friendship with the self-denying son of Viśvāvasu, the chief prince of the Siddhas, whose name was Mitrāvasu. And once on a time the all-knowing Jīmūtavāhana beheld in a lonely place Mitrāvasu's maiden sister, who had been his beloved in a former birth. And the mutual gaze of those two young people was like the catching in a frail net of the deer of the mind.[2]

Then one day Mitrāvasu came up suddenly to Jīmūtavāhana, who deserved the respect of the three worlds, with a pleased expression, and said to him: "I have a younger sister, the maiden called Malayavatī; I give her to you, do not refuse to gratify my wish." When Jīmūtavāhana

[1] The sense here is not at all clear, but is explained in the D. text, which reads *mukta* instead of *yukta*, thus meaning: "They thought it would be easy to conquer that (kingdom) as it had lost its strength on account of the *change of place* of the excellent wishing-tree now employed to bestowing gifts." See Speyer, *op. cit.*, pp. 103, 104.—N.M.P.

[2] Reading *manomṛgī*, "the deer of the mind."

heard that, he said to him : " O Prince, she was my wife in a former birth, and in that life you became my friend, and were like a second heart to me. I am one who remembers the former state of existence; I recollect all that happened in my previous birth." When he said this, Mitrāvasu said to him : " Then tell me this story of your former birth, for I feel curiosity about it." When he heard this from Mitrāvasu, the benevolent Jīmūtavāhana told him the tale of his former birth as follows :—

27A. *Jīmūtavāhana's Adventures in a Former Birth*

Thus it is; formerly I was a sky-roaming Vidyādhara, and once on a time I was passing over a peak of the Himālaya. And then Śiva, who was below, sporting with Gaurī, being angry at my passing above him, cursed me, saying : " Descend into a mortal womb, and after obtaining a Vidyādharī for your wife, and appointing your son in your place, you shall remember your former birth, and again be born as a Vidyādhara." Having pronounced when this curse should end, Śiva ceased and disappeared; and soon after I was born upon earth in a family of merchants. And I grew up as the son of a rich merchant in a city named Vallabhī, and my name was Vasudatta.

And in course of time, when I became a young man, I had a retinue given me by my father, and went by his orders to another land to traffic. As I was going along, robbers fell upon me in a forest, and after taking all my property, led me in chains to a temple of Durgā in their village, terrible with a long waving banner of red silk like the tongue of Death eager to devour the lives of animals. There they brought me into the presence of their chief, named Pulindaka, who was engaged in worshipping the goddess, in order that I might serve as a victim. He, though he was a Śavara,[1] the moment he saw me, felt his heart melt with pity for me; an apparently causeless affectionate movement of the heart is a sign of friendship in a former birth. Then that Śavara king, having saved me from slaughter, was about to complete

[1] Member of a savage tribe.

the rite by the sacrifice of himself, when a heavenly voice said to him: "Do not act thus, I am pleased with thee, crave a boon of me." Thereupon he was delighted, and said: "O goddess, thou art pleased; what other blessing can I need; nevertheless I ask so much—may I have friendship with this merchant's son in another birth also." The voice said, "So be it," and then ceased; and then that Śavara gave me much wealth, and sent me back to my own home.

And then, as I had returned from foreign travel and from the jaws of death, my father, when he heard the whole occurrence, made a great feast in my honour. And in course of time I saw there that very same Śavara chief, whom the king had ordered to be brought before him as a prisoner for plundering a caravan. I told my father of it immediately, and making a petition to the king, I saved him from capital punishment by the payment of a hundred thousand gold pieces. And having in this way repaid the benefit which he conferred upon me by saving my life, I brought him to my house, and entertained him honourably for a long time with all loving attention. And then, after this hospitable entertainment, I dismissed him, and he went to his own village, fixing upon me a heart tender with affection.

Then, while he thought about a present for me that might be worthy of my return for his previous kindness, he came to the conclusion that the pearls and musk and treasures of that kind, which were at his disposal, were not valuable enough. Thereupon he took his bow and went off to the Himālaya to shoot elephants, in order to obtain a surpassingly splendid necklace[1] for me. And while he was roaming about there, he reached a great lake with a temple upon its shore, being welcomed by its lotuses, which were as devoted to their friend[2] as he was to me. And suspecting that the wild elephants would come there to drink

[1] *I.e.* of the pearls in the heads of the elephants.——The pearl (*kuñjaramaṇi gajamuktā*) is said to be found in the brain, forehead and stomach of the elephant. It possesses protective qualities and is used in charms. See *Bull. Madras Mus.*, vol. iii, p. 221; *North Indian Notes and Queries*, vol. iii, p. 53; Crooke, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 240; and Waddell, *Buddhism of Tibet*, p. 208.—N.M.P.

[2] *I.e.* the sun.

water, he remained in concealment with his bow in order to kill them.

In the meanwhile he saw a young lady of wonderful beauty riding upon a lion[1] to worship Śiva, whose temple stood on the shore of the lake; looking like a second daughter of the King of the Snowy Mountains, devoted to the service of Śiva while in her girlhood. And the Śavara, when he saw her, being overpowered with wonder, reflected: "Who can this be? If she is a mortal woman, why does she ride upon a lion? On the other hand, if she is divine, how can she be seen by such as me? So she must certainly be the incarnate development of the merits of my eyes in a former birth. If I could only marry my friend to her, then I should have bestowed upon him a new and wonderful recompense. So I had better first approach her to question her." Thus reflecting, my friend the Śavara advanced to meet her.

In the meanwhile she dismounted from the lion, that lay down in the shade, and advancing began to pick the lotuses of the lake. And seeing the Śavara, who was a stranger, coming towards her and bowing, out of a hospitable feeling she gratified him with a welcome. And she said to him: "Who are you, and why have you come to this inaccessible land?" Thereupon the Śavara answered her: "I am a prince of the Śavaras, who regard the feet of Bhavānī as my only refuge, and I am come to this wood to get pearls from the heads of elephants. But when I beheld you just now, O goddess, I called to mind my own friend that saved my life, the son of a merchant prince, the auspicious Vasudatta. For he, O fair one, is, like you, matchless for beauty and youth, a very fount of nectar to the eyes of this world. Happy is that maiden in the world whose braceleted hand is taken in this life by that treasure-house of friendship, generosity, compassion and patience. And if this beautiful form of yours is not linked to such a man, then I cannot help grieving that Kāma bears the bow in vain."

By these words of the king of the hunters the mind of the maiden was suddenly carried away, as if by the syllables of

[1] See Vol. I, p. 17*n*[1].—N.M.P.

the God of Love's bewildering spell. And, prompted by love, she said to that Śavara: "Where is that friend of yours? Bring him here and show him to me." When he heard that, he said: "I will do so." And that moment the Śavara took leave of her and set out on his journey in high spirits, considering his object attained. And after he had reached the village, he took with him pearls and musk, a weight sufficient for hundreds of heavily laden porters, and came to our house. There he was honoured by all the inmates and, entering it, he offered to my father that present, which was worth much gold. And after that day and that night had been spent in feasting, he related to me in private the story of his interview with the maiden from the very commencement. And he said to me, who was all excitement, "Come, let us go there," and so the Śavara carried me off at night just as he pleased. And in the morning my father found that I had gone off somewhere with the Śavara prince; but feeling perfect confidence in his affection, he remained master of his feelings. But I was conducted in course of time by that Śavara, who travelled fast, to the Himālaya, and he tended me carefully throughout the journey.

And one evening we reached that lake, and bathed; and we remained that one night in the wood, eating sweet fruits. That mountain wood, in which the creepers strewed the ground with flowers, and which was charming with the hum of bees, full of balmy breezes, and with beautiful gleaming herbs for lamps, was like the chamber of Rati to repose in during the night for us two, who drank the water of the lake. Then the next day that maiden came there, and at every step my mind, full of strange longings, flew to meet her, and her arrival was heralded by this my right eye, throbbing as if through eagerness to behold her.[1] And that maid with

[1] Throbbing of the right eye in men portends union with the beloved. ——In all countries involuntary twitchings or itchings are looked upon with great superstition—movements of the right ear, hand, leg, etc., signifying good luck and the left bad luck. This was the case among the Hindus, but it applied only to men. With women the omens were reversed. Thus in Kālidāsa's *Śakuntalā* (Act V), Sakuntalā says, "Alas! what means this throbbing of my right eyelid?" to which Gautamī replies, "Heaven avert the evil omen, my child! May the guardian deities of thy husband's family

lovely eyebrows was beheld by me, on the back of a knotty-maned lion, like a digit of the moon resting in the lap of an autumn cloud; and I cannot describe how my heart felt at that time while I gazed on her, being full of tumultuous emotions of astonishment, longing and fear; then that maiden dismounted from the lion, and gathered flowers, and after bathing in the lake, worshipped Śiva, who dwelt in the temple on its banks.[1]

And when the worship was ended, that Śavara, my friend, advanced towards her and, announcing himself, bowed, and said to her who received him courteously: "Goddess, I have brought that friend of mine as a suitable bridegroom for you: if you think proper, I will show him to you this moment." When she heard that, she said, "Show him," and that Śavara came and took me near her and showed me to her. She looked at me askance with an eye that shed love, and being overcome by Kāma taking possession of her soul, said to that chieftain of the Śavaras: "This friend of yours is not a man, surely he is some god come here to deceive me to-day: how could a mortal have such a handsome shape?"

When I heard that, I said myself, to remove all doubt

convert it into a sign of good fortune!" As is natural, such superstitions enter largely into English literature. To give a few examples:

"Mine eyes do itch;
Doth that bode weeping?"
SHAKESPEARE, *Othello*, iv, 3.

"If your lips itch, you shall kisse somebody."
MELTON, *Astrologaster*, p. 32.

"We shall ha' guests to-day
. . . My nose itcheth so."
DEKKER, *Honest Whore*.

"By the pricking of my thumbs,
Something wicked this way comes."
SHAKESPEARE, *Macbeth*, iv, 1.

In *The Encyclopædia of Superstitions, Folk-Lore and the Occult Sciences* (edited by Cora Linn Daniels and Prof. C. M. Stevans, Chicago and Milwaukee, 1903, vol. i, pp. 298-300 and p. 338) numerous references will be found under the headings "Itching" and "Twitching." Apart from superstitions relating to all parts of the face are included those regarding the palm, knee, elbow, leg, etc. For sneezing see Vol. III, Appendix I, of this work.—N.M.P.

[1] No doubt by offering the flowers which she had gathered.

from her mind: "Fair one, I am in very truth a mortal; what is the use of employing fraud against one so honest as yourself, lady? For I am the son of a merchant named Mahādhana, that dwells in Vallabhī, and I was gained by my father by the blessing of Śiva. For he, when performing austerities to please the god of the moony crest, in order that he might obtain a son, was thus commanded by the god in a dream being pleased with him: 'Rise up, there shall spring from thee a great-hearted son, and this is a great secret, what is the use of setting it forth at length?' After hearing this, he woke up, and in course of time I was born to him as a son, and I am known by the name of Vasudatta. And long ago, when I went to a foreign land, I obtained this Śavara chieftain for a chosen friend, who showed himself a true helper in misfortune. This is a brief statement of the truth about me."

When I had said this I ceased; and that maiden, with her face cast down from modesty, said: "It is so, I know; Śiva being propitiated deigned to tell me in a dream, after I had worshipped him, 'To-morrow morning thou shalt obtain a husband'; so you are my husband, and this friend of yours is my brother." When she had delighted me by this nectar-like speech, she ceased; and after I had deliberated with her, I determined to go to my own house with my friend, in order that the marriage might be solemnised in due form. Then that fair one summoned by a sign of her own that lion, on which she rode, and said to me: "Mount it, my husband." Then I, by the advice of my friend, mounted the lion, and taking that beloved one in my arms, I set out thence for my home, having obtained all my objects, riding on the lion with my beloved, guided by that friend. And living on the flesh of the deer that he killed with his arrows, we all reached in course of time the city of Vallabhī. Then the people, seeing me coming along with my beloved, riding on a lion, being astonished, ran and told that fact quickly to my father. He too came to meet me in his joy, and when he saw me dismount from the lion, and fall at his feet, he welcomed me with astonishment.

And when he saw that incomparable beauty adore his feet,

and perceived that she was a fit wife for me, he could not contain himself for joy. So he entered the house, and after asking us about the circumstances, he made a great feast, praising the friendship of the Śavara chieftain. And the next day, by the appointment of the astrologers, I married that excellent maiden, and all my friends and relations assembled to witness our wedding. And that lion, on which my wife had ridden, having witnessed the marriage, suddenly, before the eyes of all, assumed the form of a man.

Then all the bystanders were bewildered, thinking: "What can this mean?" But he, assuming heavenly garments and ornaments, thus addressed me: "I am a Vidyādhara named Chitrāngada, and this maiden is my daughter, Manovatī by name, dearer to me than life. I used to wander continually through the forest with her in my arms, and one day I reached the Ganges, on the banks of which are many ascetic groves. And as I was going along in the middle of the river, for fear of disturbing the ascetics, my garland by accident fell into its waters. Then the hermit Nārada, who was under the water, suddenly rose up, and, angry [1] because the garland had fallen upon his back, cursed me in the following words:—'On account of this insolence, depart, wicked one; thou shalt become a lion, and repairing

[1] Such unintentional injuries are common in folk-lore. We shall come across other examples in the *Ocean of Story*. Thus in the twentieth vampire story, in Chapter XCIV, the king and the hermit's daughter lie down on a bed of flowers under an Aśvattha tree. This disturbs the sacred home of the Brāhman demon Jvālāmukha, and the king has either to forfeit his own heart, or find a Brāhman boy willing to offer himself in his place. In the same way in Chapter C the king's ministers climb into a tree to gather fruit and, not knowing it was a dwelling-place of Gaṇeśa, do not rinse their mouths or wash their hands and feet. In consequence they become fruits themselves. Readers will remember the "Tale of the Trader and the Jinni" in the *Nights* (Burton, vol. i, p. 25), where the hapless trader is eating dates and throwing away the stones. A huge Ifrit suddenly appears, and accuses the merchant with the death of his son. On being asked how this was possible, he replies: "When thou atest dates and threwest away the stones, they struck my son full in the breast as he was walking by, so that he died forthwith." The death of the trader is only saved by the stories of the three Shaykhs whom the trader and the jinni meet by chance. For a note on the "jerking of the date-stone" see E. Forster, *Arabian Nights' Entertainments*, 1839, p. xxvi. See also V. Chauvin, *op. cit.*, vi, p. 23.—N.M.P.

to the Himālaya, shalt carry this daughter upon thy back. And when thy daughter shall be taken in marriage by a mortal, then, after witnessing the ceremony, thou shalt be freed from this curse.' After being cursed in these words by the hermit, I became a lion, and dwelt on the Himālaya, carrying this daughter of mine, who is devoted to the worship of Śiva. And you know well the sequel of the story, how by the exertions of the Śavara chieftain this highly auspicious event has been brought about. So I shall now depart; good luck to you all! I have now reached the termination of that curse."

Having said this, that Vidyādhara immediately flew up into the sky. Then my father, overwhelmed with astonishment at the marvel, delighted at the eligible connection, and finding that his friends and relations were overjoyed, made a great feast. And there was not a single person who did not say with astonishment, reflecting again and again on that noble behaviour of the Śavara chieftain: "Who can imagine the actions of sincere friends, who are not even satisfied when they have bestowed on their sworn brothers the gift of life?" The king of the land too, hearing of that occurrence, was exceedingly pleased with the affection which the Śavara prince had shown me, and finding he was pleased, my father gave him a present of jewels, and so induced him immediately to bestow on the Śavara a vast territory. Then I remained there in happiness, considering myself to have attained all that heart could wish, in having Manovatī for a wife, and the Śavara prince for a friend. And that Śavara chieftain generally lived in my house, finding that he took less pleasure in dwelling in his own country than he formerly did. And the time of us two friends, of him and me, was spent in continually conferring benefits upon one another without our ever being satisfied.

And not long after I had a son born to me by Manovatī, who seemed like the heart-joy of the whole family in external visible form; and being called Hiraṇyadatta he gradually grew up, and after having been duly instructed, he was married. Then my father, having witnessed that, and considering that the object of his life had been accomplished,

being old, went to the Ganges with his wife to leave the body. Then I was afflicted by my father's death, but having been at last persuaded by my relations to control my feelings, I consented to uphold the burden of the family. And at that time on the one hand the sight of the beautiful face of Manovatī, and on the other the society of the Śavara prince delighted me. Accordingly those days of mine passed, joyous from the goodness of my son, charming from the excellence of my wife, happy from the society of my friend.

Then, in course of time, I became well stricken in years, and old age seized me by the chin, as it were out of love giving me this wholesome reproach: "Why are you remaining in the house so long as this, my son?" Then disgust with the world was suddenly produced in my breast, and longing for the forest I appointed my son in my stead. And with my wife I went to the mountain of Kālinjara, together with the King of the Śavaras, who abandoned his kingdom out of love to me. And when I arrived there, I at once remembered that I had been a Vidyādhara in a former state of existence, and that the curse I had received from Śiva had come to an end. And I immediately told my wife Manovatī of that, and my friend the King of the Śavaras, as I was desirous of leaving this mortal body. I said, "May I have this wife and this friend in a future birth, and may I remember this birth," and then I meditated on Śiva in my heart, and flung myself from that hill-side, and so suddenly quitted the body together with that wife and friend. And so I have been now born, as you see, in this Vidyādl ara family, under the name of Jīmūtavāhana, with a power of recollecting my former existence. And you, that prince of the Śavaras, have been also born again by the favour of Śiva, as Mitrāvasu the son of Viśvāvasu, the King of the Siddhas. And, my friend, that Vidyādhara lady, my wife Manovatī, has been again born as your sister, Malayavatī by name. So your sister is my former wife, and you were my friend in a former state of existence, therefore it is quite proper that I should marry her. But first go and tell this to my parents, for, if the matter is referred to them, your desire will be successfully accomplished.

27. *Story of Jīmūtavāhana*

When Mitrāvasu heard this from Jīmūtavāhana, he was pleased, and he went and told all that to the parents of Jīmūtavāhana. And when they received his proposal gladly, he was pleased, and went and told that same matter to his own parents. And they were delighted at the accomplishment of their desire, and so the prince quickly prepared for the marriage of his sister. Then Jīmūtavāhana, honoured by the King of the Siddhas, received according to usage the hand of Malayavatī. And there was a great festival, in which the heavenly minstrels bustled about, the dense crowd of the Siddhas assembled, and which was enlivened by bounding Vidyādharas. Then Jīmūtavāhana was married, and remained on that Malaya mountain with his wife in very great prosperity. And once on a time he went with his brother-in-law Mitrāvasu to behold the woods on the shore of the sea. And there he saw a young man come in an agitated state, sending away his mother, who kept exclaiming: "Alas, my son!" And another man, who seemed to be a soldier, following him, conducted him to a broad and high slab of rock and left him there. Jīmūtavāhana said to him: "Who are you? What are you about to do, and why does your mother weep for you?" Then the man told him his story.

27B. *The Dispute about the Colour of the Sun's Horses*

Long ago Kadrū and Vinatā, the two wives of Kaśyapa, had a dispute in the course of a conversation which they were carrying on. The former said that the Sun's horses were black, the latter that they were white, and they made an agreement that the one that was wrong should become a slave to the other.[1] Then Kadrū, bent on winning, actually induced her sons, the snakes, to defile the horses of the Sun by spitting venom over them; and showing them to Vinatā

[1] Like the two physicians in *Gesta Romanorum*, lxxvi.——See *Ocean of Story*, Vol I, p. 143, 143*n*[2]. There was a misprint in this note: chap. xx should read chap. xxii.—N.M.P.

in that condition, she conquered her by a trick and made her her slave : terrible is the spite of women against each other ! When Garuḍa,[1] the son of Vinatā, heard of that, he came and tried to induce Kadrū by fair means to release Vinatā from her slavery ; then the snakes, the sons of Kadrū, reflecting, said this to him : " O Garuḍa, the gods have begun to churn the sea of milk, bring the nectar [2] thence and give it to us as a substitute, and then take your mother away with you, for you are the chief of heroes."

When Garuḍa heard that, he went to the sea of milk, and displayed his great might in order to obtain the nectar. Then the god Vishṇu, pleased with his might, deigned to say to him : " I am pleased with thee, choose some boon." Then Garuḍa, angry because his mother was made a slave, asked as a boon from Vishṇu : " May the snakes become my food." Vishṇu consented, and when Garuḍa had obtained the nectar by his own valour, he was thus addressed by Indra, who had heard the whole story : " King of Birds, you must take steps to prevent the foolish snakes from consuming the nectar, and to enable me to take it away from them again." When Garuḍa heard that, he agreed to do it, and elated by the boon of Vishṇu, he went to the snakes with the vessel containing the nectar.

And he said from a distance to those foolish snakes, who were terrified on account of the boon granted to him : " Here is the nectar brought by me ; release my mother and take it ; if you are afraid, I will put it for you on a bed of *darbha* grass. When I have procured my mother's release, I will go ; take the nectar thence." The snakes consented, and then he put the vessel of nectar on a pure bed of *kuśa* grass,[3] and they let his mother go. So Garuḍa departed, having thus released his mother from slavery ; but while the snakes were unsuspectingly taking the nectar, Indra suddenly swooped down and, bewildering them by his power, carried off the vessel of nectar from the bed of *kuśa* grass. Then the snakes

[1] See the note on the Garuḍa Bird, Vol. I, pp. 103-105.—N.M.P.

[2] For a long bibliography on the "*eau-de-jouvence*" see Chauvin, *Bibliographie des Ouvrages Arabes*, vi, p. 73.—N.M.P.

[3] A peculiarly sacred kind of *darbha* grass.

in despair licked that bed of *darbha* grass, thinking there might be a drop of spilt nectar on it; the effect was that their tongues were split, and they became double-tongued for nothing. What but ridicule can ever be the portion of the over-greedy?[1] Then the snakes did not obtain the nectar of immortality, and their enemy Garuḍa, on the strength of Vishṇu's boon, began to swoop down and devour them. And this he did again and again. And while he was thus attacking them, the snakes[2] in Pātāla were dead with fear, the females miscarried, and the whole serpent race was well-nigh destroyed.

And Vāsuki, the King of the Snakes, seeing him there every day, considered that the serpent world was ruined at one blow; then, after reflecting, he preferred a petition to that Garuḍa of irresistible might, and made this agreement with him: "I will send you every day one snake to eat, O King of Birds, on the hill that rises out of the sand of the sea. But you must not act so foolishly as to enter Pātāla,[3] for by the destruction of the serpent world your own object will be baffled." When Vāsuki said this to him, Garuḍa consented, and began to eat every day in this place one snake sent by him: and in this way innumerable snakes have met their death here. But I am a snake called Śankhachūḍa, and it is my turn to-day: for that reason I have to-day, by the command of the King of the Snakes, in order to furnish a meal to Garuḍa, come to this rock of execution, and to be lamented by my mother.[4]

[1] M. Lévêque considers that the above story, as told in the *Mahābhārata*, forms the basis of the *Birds* of Aristophanes. He identifies Garuḍa with the hoopoe (*Les Mythes et Légendes de l'Inde et de la Perse*, p. 14).

[2] *Rājila* is a striped snake, said to be the same as the *ḍuṇḍubha*, a non-venomous species.

[3] The D. text reads *mardakāriṇā*, instead of *mandakāriṇā*, thus making the sense: "You must not enter Pātāla, pursuing your work of destruction." —N.M.P.

[4] The remarks which Ralston makes (*Russian Folk-Tales*, p. 65) with regard to the snake, as represented in Russian stories, are applicable to the Nāga of Hindu superstition: "Sometimes he retains throughout the story an exclusively reptilian character, sometimes he is of a mixed nature, partly serpent and partly man." The snakes described in Veckenstedt's *Wendische Sagen* (pp. 402-409) resemble in some points the snakes which we hear so

27. *Story of Jīmūtavāhana*

When Jīmūtavāhana heard this speech of Śankhachūḍa's he was grieved, and felt sorrow in his heart, and said to him: "Alas! Vāsuki exercises his kingly power in a very cowardly fashion, in that with his own hand he conducts his subjects to serve as food for his enemy. Why did he not first offer himself to Garuḍa? To think of this effeminate creature choosing to witness the destruction of his race! And how great a sin does Garuḍa, though the son of Kaśyapa, commit! How great folly do even great ones commit for the sake of the body only! So I will to-day deliver you alone from Garuḍa by surrendering my body. Do not be despondent, my friend."

When Śankhachūḍa heard this, he, out of his firm patience, said to him: "This be far from thee, O great-hearted one; do not say so again. The destruction of a jewel for the sake of a piece of glass is never becoming. And I will never incur the reproach of having disgraced my race." In these words the good snake Śankhachūḍa tried to dissuade Jīmūtavāhana, and thinking that the time of Garuḍa's arrival would come in a minute, he went to worship in his last hour an image of Śiva under the name of Gokarṇa, that stood on the shore of the sea.

And when he was gone, Jīmūtavāhana, that treasure-house of compassion, considered that he had gained an opportunity of offering himself up to save the snake's life. Thereupon he quickly dismissed Mitrāvasu to his own house on the pretext of some business, artfully pretending that he himself had forgotten it. And immediately the earth near him trembled, being shaken by the wind of the wings of the approaching Garuḍa, as if through astonishment at his

much of in the present work. See also Bartsch's *Sagen, Märchen und Gebräuche, aus Meklenburg*, vol. i, p. 277 *et seq.*——Numerous references will be found in the General Index of Vol. I, under "Serpent" and "Snake."

In Arabian fiction the most extraordinary snake story is "The Queen of the Serpents," *Nights* (Burton, vol. v, p. 298 *et seq.*). The serpents in this story are wholly reptilian, except the queen herself, who "shone like a crystal and whose face was as that of a woman, and who spake with human speech." See also Hartland, *Legend of Perseus*, vol. ii, p. 44.—N.M.P.

valour. That made Jīmūtavāhana think that the enemy of the snakes was approaching, and full of compassion for others he ascended the stone of execution. And in a moment Garuḍa swooped down, darkening the heaven with his shadow, and carried off that great-hearted one, striking him with his beak. He shed drops of blood, and his crest-jewel dropped off, torn out by Garuḍa, who took him away and began to eat him on the peak of the mountain. At that moment a rain of flowers fell from heaven, and Garuḍa was astonished when he saw it, wondering what it could mean.

In the meanwhile Śankhachūḍa came there, having worshipped Gokarṇa, and saw the rock of execution sprinkled with many drops of blood; then he thought: "Alas! surely that great-hearted one has offered himself for me, so I wonder where Garuḍa has taken him in this short time. I must search for him quickly, perhaps I may find him." Accordingly the good snake went following up the track of the blood. And in the meanwhile Garuḍa, seeing that Jīmūtavāhana was pleased, left off eating and thought with wonder: "This must be someone else, other than I ought to have taken, for though I am eating him, he is not at all miserable; on the contrary the resolute one rejoices." While Garuḍa was thinking this, Jīmūtavāhana, though in such a state, said to him in order to attain his object: "O King of Birds, in my body also there is flesh and blood; then why have you suddenly stopped eating, though your hunger is not appeased?" When he heard that, that King of Birds, being overpowered with astonishment, said to him: "Noble one, you are not a snake; tell me who you are." Jīmūtavāhana was just answering him, "I am a snake,[1] so eat me, complete what you have begun, for men of resolution never leave unfinished an undertaking they have begun," when Śankhachūḍa arrived and cried out from afar: "Stop, stop, Garuḍa! he is not a snake; I am the snake meant for you, so let him go; alas! how have you suddenly come to make this mistake?"

On hearing that, the King of Birds was excessively be-

[1] The word *nāga*, which means "snake," may also mean, as Dr Brockhaus explains it, "a mountaineer"—from *naga*, "a mountain."

wildered, and Jīmūtavāhana was grieved at not having accomplished his desire. Then Garuḍa, learning, in the course of their conversation [1] with one another, that he had begun to devour by mistake the King of the Vidyādharas, was much grieved. He began to reflect: "Alas! in my cruelty I have incurred sin. In truth, those who follow evil courses easily contract guilt. But this great-hearted one who has given his life for another, and despising [2] the world, which is altogether under the dominion of illusion, come to face me, deserves praise." Thinking thus, he was about to enter the fire to purify himself from guilt, when Jīmūtavāhana said to him: "King of Birds, why do you despond? If you are really afraid of guilt, then you must determine never again to eat these snakes; and you must repent of eating all those previously devoured, for this is the only remedy available in this case; it was idle for you ever to think of any other."

Thus Jīmūtavāhana, full of compassion for creatures, said to Garuḍa, and he was pleased, and accepted the advice of that king, as if he had been his spiritual preceptor, determining to do what he recommended; and he went to bring nectar from heaven to restore to life rapidly that wounded prince, and the other snakes, whose bones only remained.[3] Then the goddess Gaurī, pleased with Jīmūtavāhana's wife's devotion to her, came in person and rained nectar on him: by that his limbs were reproduced with increased beauty, and the sound of drums of the rejoicing gods was heard at the same time. Then, on his rising up safe and sound, Garuḍa brought the nectar of immortality [4] from heaven and

[1] I conjecture *kramād* for *krandat*. If we retain *krandat* we must suppose that the King of the Vidyādharas wept because his scheme of self-sacrifice was frustrated.

[2] I read *adhaḥ* for *adaḥ*.

[3] See Manning, *Ancient India*, vol. ii, p. 330 *et seq.*, and Crooke, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 122.—N.M.P.

[4] In the Sicilian stories of Laura Gonzenbach, an ointment does duty for the Amṛita—*cf.*, for one instance out of many, page 145 of that work. Ralston remarks that in European stories the raven is connected with the Water of Life. See his exhaustive account of this cycle of stories on pages 231 and 232 of his *Russian Folk-Tales*. See also Veckenstedt's *Wendische Sagen*, p. 245, and the story which begins on page 227. In the thirty-third of the Syrian stories collected by Prym and Socin we have a King of Snakes and Water of Life.

sprinkled it along the whole shore of the sea. That made all the snakes there rise up alive, and then that forest along the shore of the sea, crowded with the numerous tribe of snakes, appeared like Pātāla[1] come to behold Jīmūtavāhana, having lost its previous dread of Garuḍa.

Then Jīmūtavāhana's relations congratulated him, having seen that he was glorious with unwounded body and undying fame. And his wife rejoiced with her relations, and his parents also. Who would not joy at pain ending in happiness? And with his permission Śankhachūḍa departed to Rasātala,[2] and without it his glory, of its own accord, spread through the three worlds. Then, by virtue of the favour of the daughter of the Himālaya, all his relations, Matanga and others, who were long hostile to him, came to Garuḍa, before whom the troops of gods were inclining out of love, and timidly approaching the glory of the Vidyādhara race, prostrated themselves at his feet. And being entreated by them, the benevolent Jīmūtavāhana went from that Malaya mountain to his own home, the slope of the Himālaya. There, accompanied by his parents and Mitrāvasu and Malayavatī, the resolute one long enjoyed the honour of Emperor of the Vidyādharas. Thus a course of fortunate events always of its own accord follows the footsteps of all those whose exploits arouse the admiration of the three worlds.

[M] When the Queen Vāsavadattā heard this story from the mouth of Yaugandharāyaṇa she rejoiced, as she was eager to hear of the splendour of her unborn son. Then, in the society of her husband, she spent that day in conversation about her son, who was to be the future King of the Vidyādharas, which was suggested by that story, for she placed unfailing reliance upon the promise of the favouring gods.

[1] The home of the serpent race below the earth.——See Vol. I, pp. 200, 203.—N.M.P.

[2] Here equivalent to Pātāla.

CHAPTER XXIII

THEN Vāsavadattā on the next day said to the King [M] of Vatsa in private, while he was surrounded by his ministers: "My husband, ever since I have been pregnant with this child the difficulty of taking care of it afflicts my heart; and last night, after thinking over it long, I fell asleep with difficulty, and I am persuaded I saw a certain man come in my dream, glorious with a shape distinguished by matted auburn locks and a trident-bearing hand; and he, approaching me, said as if moved by compassion: 'My daughter, you need not feel at all anxious about the child with which you are pregnant; I will protect it, for I gave it to you. And hear something more, which I will tell you to make you confide in me: a certain woman waits to make a petition to you to-morrow; she will come dragging her husband with her as a prisoner, reviling him, accompanied by five sons, begirt with many relations; and she is a wicked woman, who desires by the help of her relations to get that husband of hers put to death, and all that she will say will be false. And you, my daughter, must beforehand inform the King of Vatsa about this matter, in order that that good man may be freed from that wicked wife.' This command that august one gave and vanished, and I immediately woke up, and lo! the morning had come."

When the queen had said that, all spoke of the favour of Śiva, and were astonished, their minds eagerly expecting the fulfilment of the dream; when lo! at that very moment the chief warder entered and suddenly said to the King of Vatsa, who was compassionate to the afflicted: "O King, a certain woman has come to make a representation, accompanied by her relations, bringing with her five sons, reviling her helpless husband." When the king heard that, being astonished at the way it tallied with the queen's dream, he commanded the warder to bring her into his presence. And

the Queen Vāsavadattā felt the greatest delight, having become certain that she would obtain a good son, on account of the truth of the dream. Then that woman entered by the command of the warder, accompanied by her husband, looked at with curiosity by all, who had their faces turned towards the door. Then, having entered, she assumed an expression of misery, and making a bow according to rule, she addressed the king in council accompanied by the queen: "This man, though he is my husband, does not give to me, helpless woman that I am, food, raiment and other necessaries, and yet I am free from blame with respect to him."

When she had said this, her husband pleaded: "King, this woman speaks falsely, supported by her relations, for she wishes me to be put to death. For I have given her supplies beforehand to last till the end of the year; and other relations of hers, who are impartial, are prepared to witness the truth of this for me." When he had said this to the king, the king of his own accord answered: "The trident-bearing god himself has given evidence in this case, appearing to the queen in a dream. What need have we of more witnesses? This woman with her relations must be punished."

When the king had delivered this judgment, the discreet Yaugandharāyaṇa said: "Nevertheless, King, we must do what is right in accordance with the evidence of witnesses, otherwise the people, not knowing of the dream, would in no wise believe the justice of our proceedings." When the king heard that he consented, and had the witnesses summoned that moment, and they, being asked, deposed that that woman was speaking falsely. Then the king banished her, as she was plotting against one well known to be a good husband, from his territory, with her relations and her sons. And with heart melting from pity he discharged her good husband, after giving him much treasure, sufficient for another marriage. And in connection with the whole affair the king remarked: "An evil wife, of wildly [1] cruel nature, tears her still living husband like a she-wolf, when he has fallen into the pit of calamity; but an affectionate, noble

[1] Here there is a pun: *ākula* may also mean "by descent."

and magnanimous wife averts sorrow as the shade[1] of the wayside tree averts heat, and is acquired by a man's special merits." Then Vasantaka, who was a clever story-teller, being at the king's side, said to him *à propos* of this: "Moreover, King, hatred and affection are commonly produced in living beings in this world owing to their continually recalling the impressions of a past state of existence, and in proof of this hear the story which I am about to tell:

28. *Story of Sinhaparākrama*

There was a king in Benares named Vikramachaṇḍa, and he had a favourite follower named Sinhaparākrama, who was wonderfully successful in all battles and in all gambling contests. And he had a wife, very deformed both in body and mind, called by a name which expressed her nature, Kalahakārī.[2] This brave man continually obtained much money both from the king and from gambling, and, as soon as he got it, he gave it all to his wife. But the shrewish woman, backed by her three sons begotten by him, could not, in spite of this, remain one moment without a quarrel. She continually worried by yelling out these words at him with her sons: "You are always eating and drinking away from home, and you never give us anything." And though he was for ever trying to propitiate her with meat, drink and raiment, she tortured him day and night like an interminable thirst.

Then at last Sinhaparākrama, vexed with indignation on that account, left his house and went on a pilgrimage to the goddess Durgā, that dwells in the Vindhya hills. While he was fasting, the goddess said to him in a dream: "Rise up, my son; go to thy own city of Benares; there is an enormous Nyagrodha tree; by digging round its root thou wilt at once obtain a treasure. And in the treasure thou wilt find a dish of emerald, bright as a sword-blade, looking like a piece of

[1] *Kulīnā* may mean "falling on the earth," referring to the shade of the tree. *Mārgasthā* means "in the right path" when applied to the wife.

[2] *I.e.* Madam Contentious. Her husband's name means "of lion-like might."

the sky fallen down to earth; casting thy eyes on that, thou wilt see, as it were, reflected inside, the previous existence of every individual, in whatever case thou mayest wish to know it. By means of that thou wilt learn the previous birth of thy wife and of thyself, and having learned the truth wilt dwell there in happiness free from grief."

Having thus been addressed by the goddess, Sinhaparākrama woke up and broke his fast, and went in the morning to Benares; and after he had reached the city he found at the root of the Nyagrodha tree a treasure, and in it he discovered a large emerald dish, and, eager to learn the truth, he saw in that dish that in a previous birth his wife had been a terrible she-bear and himself a lion. And so, recognising that the hatred between himself and his wife was irremediable, owing to the influence of bitter enmity in a previous birth, he abandoned grief and bewilderment. Then Sinhaparākrama examined many maidens by means of the dish, and discovering that they had belonged to alien races in a previous birth, he avoided them, but after he had discovered one who had been a lioness in a previous birth, and so was a suitable match for him, he married her as his second wife, and her name was Sinhaśrī. And after assigning to that Kalahakārī one village only as her portion,[1] he lived, delighted with the acquisition of treasure, in the society of his new wife. Thus, O King, wives and others are friendly or hostile to men in this world by virtue of impressions in a previous state of existence.

[M] When the King of Vatsa had heard this wonderful story from Vasantaka, he was exceedingly delighted, and so was the Queen Vāsavadattā. And the king was never weary day or night of contemplating the moon-like face of the

[1] Speyer (*op. cit.*, p. 104) suggests *grāsaikabhāginī* as a more probable reading than *grāmaikabhāginī*, thus meaning that the repudiated wife was merely accorded her livelihood. Similar subsistence-allowances were given as punishment to the wicked officials in *Mudrā-Rākshasa*, Act. III (see p. 135 of the Bombay edition).—N M.P.

pregnant queen. And as days went on there were born to all of his ministers in due course sons with auspicious marks, which heralded approaching good fortune. First there was born to Yaugandharāyaṇa, the chief minister, a son, Marubhūti by name. Then Rumaṇvat had a son called Hariśikha, and to Vasantaka there was born a son named Tapantaka. And to the head warder, called Nityodita, whose other title was Ityaka,[1] there was born a son named Gomukha. And after they were born a great feast took place, and during it a bodiless voice was heard from heaven: "These ministers shall crush the race of the enemies of the son of the King of Vatsa here, the future universal emperor."

And as days went by the time drew near for the birth of the child with which the Queen Vāsavadattā was destined to present the King of Vatsa, and she repaired to the ornamented lying-in chamber, which was prepared by matrons having sons, and the windows of which were covered with *arka* and *śamī* plants. The room was hung with various weapons, rendered auspicious by being mixed with the gleam of jewel-lamps, shedding a blaze[2] able to protect the child[3]; and secured by conjurers who went through innumerable charms and spells and other incantations, so that it became a fortress of the matrons hard for calamity to storm; and there she brought forth in good time a prince of lovely aspect, as the heaven brings forth the moon from which stream pure nectarous rays.

The child, when born, not only irradiated that room, but the heart also of that mother, from which the darkness of grief had departed; then, as the delight of the inmates of the harem[4] was gradually extended, the king heard of the

[1] I read (after Böhtlingk and Roth) *Ityakāpara*. See chapter xxxiv, *śl.* 115.

[2] *Tejas* also means "might," "courage."

[3] See note at the end of this chapter.—N.M.P.

[4] The word *harem*, from the Arabic *ḥaram* and *ḥarīm*, means "that which is prohibited," and is applied to that portion of the house allotted to the women, and also to the women themselves. It is further used to denote a particularly sacred spot, such as the sanctuary at Mecca. Owing to its constant use in English, it is often employed in describing the women's quarters in non-Moslem lands, or in countries where only a certain proportion of the

birth of a son from the people who were admitted to it; the reason he did not give his kingdom in his delight to the person who announced it was that he was afraid of committing an impropriety, not that he was avaricious.

And so the king, suddenly coming to the harem with longing mind, beheld his son, and his hope bore fruit after a long delay. The child had a long red lower lip like a leaf, beautiful flowing hair like wool, and his whole face was like the lotus, which the Goddess of the Fortune of Empire carries for her delight. He was marked on his soft feet with umbrellas and *chowries*, as if the fortunes of other kings had beforehand abandoned their badges in his favour, out of fear. Then, while the king shed with tearful eye, that swelled with the pressure of the fullness of the weight of his joy, drops

inhabitants are Moslems. The other words used with a similar meaning are *zenana*, *seraglio* and *purdah*.

Zenana, or more correctly *zanana*, is from the Persian *zan*, "woman" (γυνή), and is almost exclusively used in India. The word has become familiar in Britain owing to the establishment in India of zenana schools, hospitals and missionary societies.

Seraglio has an interesting etymological history. It is derived directly from the Italian *serraglio*, "an enclosure" (Latin *sera*, a bar), and has become connected with *ḥarim*, through confusion with the Persian *sarā*, *sarāī*, which originally meant merely "an edifice," or "palace." In this sense *sarāī* was largely used by the Tartars, from whom the Russians obtained the use of the word, degrading it, however, to mean only a "shed." In the language of the Levantine Franks it became *serail* and *serraglio*. It was at this point that a mistaken "striving after meaning" with the Italian *serrato*, "shut up," etc., connected it with the private apartments of women.

The Italian traveller Pietro della Valle (1586-1652) refers to the subject in his *Travels* (vol. i, p. 36):—

"This term *serraglio*, so much used among us in speaking of the Grand Turk's dwelling . . . has been corrupted into that form from the word *serai*, which in their language signifies properly 'a palace.' . . . But since this word *serai* resembles *serraio*, as a Venetian would call it, or *seraglio* as *we* say, and seeing that the palace of the Turk is (*serrato* or) shut up all round by a strong wall, and also because the women and a great part of the courtiers dwell in it barred up and shut in, so it may perchance have seemed to some to have deserved such a name. And thus the real term *serai* has been converted into *serraglio*."

See Yule's *Hobson Jobson*, under "*Serai, serye*," whence I have taken the above extract.

The use of *sarāī*, meaning "house" or "building," is very well known,

that seemed to be drops of paternal affection,[1] and the ministers, with Yaugandharāyaṇa at their head, rejoiced, a voice was heard from heaven at that time to the following effect :—

" King, this son that is born to thee is an incarnation of Kāma, and know that his name is Naravāhanadatta ; and he will soon become emperor of the kings of Vidyādharas, and maintain that position unwearied for a Kalpa of the gods." [2] When so much had been said, the voice stopped, and immediately a rain of flowers fell from heaven, and the sounds of the celestial drums went forth. Then the king, excessively delighted, made a great feast, which was rendered all the more solemn from the gods having begun it. The sound of cymbals floated in the air, rising from temples, as if to tell all the Vidyādharas of the birth of their king ; and red banners, flying in the wind on the tops of the palaces, seemed with

though perhaps not often recognised, in the word "caravanserai" (Persian *karwānsarāi*), "a (halting)-place for camels."

Turning to the word *purdah*, or *pardah*, it is derived from *parda*, "a curtain," and has come to mean the women's part of the house, which is separated from the rest by a thick curtain or blinds to which this name is given.

The literature dealing with the *ḥarīm* life of the East is naturally voluminous. The following references, however, contain the more important accounts :—

"Harīm," Hughes' *Dictionary of Islam*, pp. 163-167 ; Hoffman's article in Ersch and Gruber's *Encyclopädie* ; J. M. Mitchell, *Ency. Brit.* (11th edit.), vol. xii, pp. 950-952 ; F. Millingen, "The Circassian Slaves and the Sultan's Harem," *Journ. Anth. Soc.*, 1870, pp. cix-cxx ; G. Dorys, *La Femme Turque*, 1902 ; Harvey, *Turkish Harems and Circassian Homes*, 1871 ; L. M. Garnett, *The Women of Turkey and their Folk-Lore*, 1901 ; E. Lott, *Harem Life in Egypt and Constantinople*, 1869 ; E. W. Lane, *Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians* (5th edit., 1860), pp. 175-191 ; B. Mullick, *Essays on the Hindu Family in Bengal*, Calcutta, 1882 ; J. Jolly, *Recht und Sitte*, Strassburg, 1896 ; S. C. Bose, *The Hindoos as They Are*, Calcutta, 1881 ; M. F. Billington, *Woman in India*, London, 1895 ; Otto Rothfeld, *Women of India* [1920].

For further references see the numerous articles in Hastings' *Ency. Rel. Eth.* under "Birth," "Education," "Emancipation," "Ethics," "Family" and "Marriage."—N.M.P.

[1] *Sneha*, which means "love," also means "oil." This is a fruitful source of puns in Sanskrit.

[2] Infinitely longer than a mortal Kalpa. A mortal Kalpa lasts 432 million years.

their splendour to fling red dye to one another. On earth beautiful women assembled and danced everywhere, as if they were the nymphs of heaven glad that the God of Love had been born with a body.[1] And the whole city appeared equally splendid with new dresses and ornaments bestowed by the rejoicing king. For while that rich king rained riches upon his dependents, nothing but the treasury was empty. And the ladies belonging to the families of the neighbouring chieftains came in from all sides, with auspicious prayers, versed in the good custom,[2] accompanied by dancing-girls bringing with them splendid presents, escorted by various excellent guards, attended with the sound of musical instruments, like all the cardinal points in bodily form. Every movement there was of the nature of a dance, every word uttered was attended with full vessels,[3] every action was of the nature of munificence, the city resounded with musical instruments, the people were adorned with red powder,[4] and the earth was covered with bards—all these were so in that city which was full of festivity.

Thus the great feast was carried on with increasing magnificence for many days, and did not come to an end before the wishes of the citizens were fully satisfied. And as days went on that infant prince grew like the new moon, and his father bestowed on him with appropriate formalities

[1] He is often called Ananga, "the bodiless," as his body was consumed by the fire of Śiva's eye.

[2] Or virtuous and generous.

[3] It is still the custom to give presents of vessels filled with rice and coins. Empty vessels are inauspicious, and even now if a Bengali on going out of his house meets a person carrying an empty pitcher he turns back, and waits a minute or two.

[4] This is the *kunkam, kunkum,* or *kunku* already mentioned in Vol. I, pp. 244, 256. It enters largely into Hindu ceremony and ritual, especially on auspicious occasions and at times of general rejoicing.

It is described as a pink powder made of turmeric, lime-juice and borax. It seems to be a more agreeable substitute for vermilion, whose constant use has probably an injurious effect on the skin and hair. The powder is used in the Maratha country in the same way as vermilion, and a married woman will smear a little patch on her forehead every day and never allow her husband to see her without it. See Russell, *op. cit.*, vol. iv, p. 109. In the month of fasting (Shrāwan) the auspicious *kunkam* is not used, but at festivals such as the Holi it is greatly in evidence.—N.M.P.

the name of Naravāhanadatta, which had been previously assigned to him by the heavenly voice. His father was delighted when he saw him make his first two or three tottering steps, in which gleamed the sheen of his smooth fair toe-nails, and when he heard him utter his first two or three indistinct words, showing his teeth which looked like buds.

Then the excellent ministers brought to the infant prince their infant sons, who delighted the heart of the king, and commended them to him. First Yaugandharāyaṇa brought Marubhūti, and then Rumaṇvat Hariśikha, and then the head warder named Ityaka brought Gomukha, and Vasantaka his son named Tapantaka. And the domestic chaplain Śāntikara presented the two twin sons of Pingalikā, his nephews Śāntisoma and Vaiśvānara. And at that moment there fell from heaven a rain of flowers from the gods, which a shout of joy made all the more auspicious, and the king rejoiced with the queens, having bestowed presents on that company of ministers' sons. And that Prince Naravāhanadatta was always surrounded by those six ministers' sons, devoted to him alone, who commanded respect even in their boyhood, as if with the six political measures[1] that are the cause of great prosperity. The days of the lord of Vatsa passed in great happiness, while he gazed affectionately on his son with his lotus-like face, going from lap to lap of the kings whose minds were lovingly attached to him, and making in his mirth a charming indistinct playful prattling.

[1] Peace, war, march, halt, stratagem, and recourse to the protection of a mightier king.

NOTE ON PRECAUTIONS OBSERVED IN THE BIRTH-CHAMBER

On page 161 we saw that the room in which Vāsavadattā was confined had its windows covered with sacred plants. These were to act as a protection against the possible intrusions of evil spirits, whose malign influence was feared on such an auspicious occasion. Furthermore, the room was hung with various weapons. Here again we have a charm to ward off danger.

In India iron does not bring good luck, but scares away evil spirits, consequently weapons hung up in the birth-chamber act as a powerful protection. In the same way our horseshoe is really only lucky because of the power in iron to repel evil influences. Steel is equally effective. In her *Rites of the Twice-born*, Mrs Stevenson, in describing the Brāhman birth-chamber, states that the scissors which have been used to sever the umbilical cord are put under the pillow on which the young mother's head is resting, and the iron rod with which the floor has been dug up for the burial of the after-birth is placed on the ground at the foot of the bed. This iron rod is part of a plough, and, if the householder does not possess one of his own, it is specially borrowed for the occasion; its presence is so important that it is not returned for six days, however much its owner may be needing it. The midwife, before leaving, often secretly introduces a needle into the mattress of the bed, in the hope of saving the mother after-pains.

Frazer (*Golden Bough*, vol. iii, p. 234 *et seq.*) has collected numerous examples showing the dislike of spirits for iron in various parts of the world, especially Scotland, India and Africa. Among the Majhwār, an aboriginal tribe in the hill country of South Mirzapur, an iron implement such as a sickle or a betel-cutter is constantly kept near an infant's head during its first year for the purpose of warding off the attacks of ghosts (W. Crooke, *Tribes and Castes of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh*, vol. iii, p. 431). Among the Maravars, an aboriginal race of Southern India, a knife or other iron object lies beside a woman after childbirth to keep off the devil (F. Jagor, "Bericht über verschiedene Volksstamme in Vorderindien," *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, vol. xxvi, 1894, p. 70). When a Māla woman is in labour, a sickle and some *nīm* leaves are always kept on the cot. In Malabar people who have to pass by burning-grounds or other haunted places commonly carry with them iron in some form, such as a knife, or an iron rod used as a walking-stick. When pregnant women go on a journey, they carry with them a few twigs or leaves of the *nīm* tree, or iron in some shape, to scare evil spirits lurking in groves or burial-grounds which they may pass (E. Thurston, *Ethnographic Notes in Southern India*, Madras, 1906, p. 341; and *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, vol. iv, p. 369 *et seq.*). See also the articles on pregnancy observances in the Panjāb by H. A. Rose, *Journ. Anth. Inst.*, vol. xxxv, 1905, pp. 271-282.

In Annam parents sometimes sell their child to a smith, who puts an iron anklet on the child's foot, usually adding a small iron chain. After the child

has grown and all danger from the attack of evil spirits is over, the anklet is broken.

The use of the sword to scare away evil spirits during childbirth is found in the Philippines, where the husband strips naked (see p. 117 of this volume) and, standing on guard either inside the house or on the roof, flourishes his sword incessantly until the child is born.

In Malaya a piece of iron is numbered among the articles necessary for the defence of infancy against its natural and spiritual foes. See R. J. Wilkinson, *Papers on Malay Subjects*, part i, p. 1, Kuala Lumpur, 1908.

As iron frightens demons away it is not surprising that it is used in cases of illness. Thus, during an outbreak of cholera, people often carry axes or sickles about with them. On the Slave Coast of Western Africa, when her child is ill, a mother will attach iron rings and bells to the child's ankles and hang iron chains round its neck.

Iron has a similar significance of driving away spirits at death, thus the chief mourners will carry iron with them. When a woman dies in childbed in the island of Salsette, they put a nail or other piece of iron in the folds of her dress; this is done specially if the child survives her. The intention plainly is to prevent her spirit from coming back; for they believe that a dead mother haunts the house and seeks to carry away her child (G. F. D'Penha, "Superstitions and Customs in Salsette," *Indian Antiquary*, vol. xxviii, 1899, p. 115).

In all these cases the original cause of the dread of iron by evil spirits appears to be simply that the spirits themselves date back to Stone Age times, and the discovery of iron, with its enormous advantages over stone, attached to it miraculous powers which the evil spirits, in their ignorance, came to dread.

Crooke in his article, "Charms and Amulets (Indian)," Hastings' *Ency. Rel. Eth.* (vol. iii, p. 443), gives other useful references. He first refers to W. Johnson, *Folk Memory*, 1908, p. 169 *et seq.*, where the protective value of iron is described. When a child is still-born, the Burmese place iron beside the corpse, with the invocation: "Never more return into thy mother's womb till this metal becomes as soft as down" (Shway Yoe [Sir George Scott], *The Burman*, vol. i, p. 3). The Vadvāls of Thāna, in order to guard against the spirit which attacks the child on the sixth day after birth (an unconscious recognition of the danger from infantile lockjaw, caused by neglect of sanitary precautions), place an iron knife or scythe on the mother's cot, and an iron bickern at the door of the lying-in room—a custom which also prevails in the Panjāb (Campbell, *Notes on the Spirit Basis of Belief and Custom*, Bombay, 1885, p. 387; Malik Muḥammad Dīn, *The Bahāwalpur State*, Lahore, 1908, p. 98). An iron bracelet is worn by all Hindu married women, those of high rank enclosing it in gold (Rajendralala Mitra, *The Indo-Aryans*, London, 1881, vol. i, pp. 233, 279; Risley, *Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, vol. i, p. 532, 533; vol. ii, p. 41). In the form of the sword it has special power. When a birth occurs among the Kachins of Upper Burma, guns are fired, knives (*dhā*) and torches are brandished over the mother, and old rags and chillies are burned to scare demons by the stench (*Gazetteer, Upper Burma*, vol. i, pt. i, p. 399).

The Mohammedans of North India wave a knife over a sufferer from cramp, with the invocation: "I salute God! The knife is of steel! The arrow is sharp! May the cramp cease through the power of Muhammad, the brave one!" (*North Indian Notes and Queries*, vol. v, p. 35). On the Irrawaddy river in Burma iron pyrites is valued as a charm against alligators (Yule, *Mission to Ava*, London, 1858, p. 198). A curious belief in the sanctity of iron appears among the Doms, a criminal tribe of North India. They inherit from the Stone Age the belief that it is unlawful to commit a burglary with an iron tool; anyone disobeying this rule is expelled from the community, and it is believed that the eyes of the offender will start from his head (*North Indian Notes and Queries*, vol. v, p. 63).

Apart from the reference to the birth-chamber of the son of the King of Vatsa being hung with various weapons, we are told that they were "rendered auspicious by being mixed with the gleam of jewel-lamps, shedding a blaze able to protect the child." There are two similar descriptions in Chapters XXVIII and XXXIV, where the light of the lamps is eclipsed by the beauty of the expectant mother.

We have already seen (Vol. I, p. 77*n*[1]) that demons fear the light and can indulge in their machinations only when it is dark. The same idea obtains at the time of childbirth, for being a most critical period, evil spirits naturally try to take every advantage. Thus it is an almost universal custom to have lights in the birth-chamber to scare away such spirits as may be hovering round to do what harm they can.

"The rule that, where a mother and new-born child are lying, fire and light must never be allowed to go out," says Hartland, "is equally binding in the Highlands of Scotland, in Korea, and in Basutoland; it was observed by the ancient Romans; and the sacred books of the Parsis enjoin it as a religious duty; for the evil powers hate and fear nothing so much as fire and light."

Among the Chinese, as soon as the birth-pangs are felt, the women light candles and burn incense before the household shrine and gods. Red candles are also lighted in the chamber as at a wedding, the idea being that a display of joy and cheerful confidence repels all evil influences.

Crooke (*op. cit. supra*, pp. 444, 445) also gives useful references about the protecting powers of light and fire in all parts of the world.

The Nāyars of Malabar place lights, over which rice is sprinkled, in the room in which the marriage is consummated (*Bull. Madras Museum*, vol. iii, p. 234; *cf.* Dubois, *Hindu Manners, Customs and Ceremonies*, p. 227). Among the Śavaras of Bengal the bridesmaids warm the tips of their fingers at a lamp, and rub the cheeks of the bridegroom (Risley, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 243). The Mohammedan Khojas of Gujarāt place a four-wicked lamp near a young child, while the friends scatter rice (*Bombay Gazetteer*, vol. ix, pt. ii, p. 45). In Bombay the lamp is extinguished on the tenth day, and again filled with butter and sugar, as a mimetic charm to induce the light to come again and bring another baby (*Panjab Notes and Queries*, vol. iv, p. 5). The Śrigaud Brāhmans of Gujarāt at marriage wear conical hats made of leaves of the

sacred tree *Butea frondosa*, and on the hat is placed a lighted lamp (*Bombay Gazetteer*, vol. ix, pt. i, p. 19; and *cf. idem*, p. 272).

Fire is commonly used for the same purpose. The fires lit at the Holī spring festival are intended as a purgation of evil spirits, or as a mimetic charm to produce sunshine. Touching fire is one of the methods by which mourners are freed from the ghost which clings to them. When an Arer woman of Kānara has an illegitimate child, the priest lights a lamp, plucks a hair from the woman's head, throws it into the fire, and announces that mother and child are free from taboo (*Bombay Gazetteer*, vol. ix, pt. i, p. 215). The rite of fire-walking practised in many parts of the country appears to be intended as a means of purging evil spirits; and the fire lighted by all castes in the delivery-room seems to have the same object. Such use of fire is naturally common among the Zoroastrian fire-worshippers (Shea-Troyer, *The Dabistān*, Paris, 1843, vol. i, p. 317).

In the *Nights* (Burton, Supp., vol. i, p. 279) we read: "When the woman came to her delivery, she gave birth to a girl-child in the night, and they sought fire of the neighbours."

In the text of the *Ocean of Story* under discussion the lamps are described as "jewel-lamps, shedding a blaze," and in Chapter XXXIV we read of "a long row of flames of the jewel-lamps." Tawney gives a note to this latter reference, but does not tell us what jewel-lamps are. The question arises as to whether they are lamps encrusted with jewels, lamps carved out of a solid jewel, or jewels so bright that they do the service of lamps. The first seems quite probable, while the second is most unlikely and, as far as I can discover, does not appear in folk-tales. But the luminous jewel is of very common occurrence, and not only appears largely in Eastern fiction, but enters into Alexandrian myths and is found in the works of mediæval physiologists.

Clouston, *Popular Tales and Fictions*, vol. i, p. 412, gives references from the *Gesta Romanorum*, the *Talmud*, *Pseudo-Callisthenes*, Lucian's *De Dea Syria*, *The Forty Vazirs*, and ends his note with "Jewel-lamps are often mentioned in the *Kathā Sarit Sāgara*," so he evidently thought the references were to jewels.

In the *Nights* (Burton, vol. i, p. 166) a room is lit by a light which "came from a precious stone big as an ostrich egg . . . and this jewel, blazing like the sun, cast its rays far and wide."

On the other hand, lamps enter so enormously into Hindu ritual that one is inclined to think that lamps are really meant, especially when we read of the "long row of flames." Whenever a luminous jewel is mentioned it is nearly always a single stone. There are exceptions, however. The gable of Prester John's palace was lit at night by two carbuncles, one at either end. But a whole row of such jewels used for such a purpose is unheard of.—N.M.P.

BOOK V: CHATURDĀRIKĀ

CHAPTER XXIV

INVOCATION

MAY Gaṇeśa, painting the earth with mosaic by means of the particles of red lead flying from his trunk whirled round in his madness,[1] and so, as it were, burning up obstacles with the flames of his might, protect you.

[M] Thus the King of Vatsa and his queen remained engaged in bringing up their only son Naravāhanadatta, and once on a time the minister Yaugandharāyaṇa, seeing the king anxious about taking care of him, said to him as he was alone: "King, you must never feel any anxiety now about the Prince Naravāhanadatta, for he has been created by the adorable god Śiva in your house as the future emperor over the kings of the Vidyādharas; and by their divine power the kings of Vidyādharas have found this out, and meaning mischief have become troubled, unable in their hearts to endure it; and knowing this, the god with the moon crest has appointed a prince of the Gaṇas,[2] Stambhaka by name, to protect him. And he remains here invisible, protecting this son of yours, and Nārada coming swiftly informed me of this."

While the minister was uttering these words there descended from the midst of the air a divine man wearing a diadem and a bracelet, and armed with a sword. He bowed, and then the King of Vatsa, after welcoming him, immediately asked him with curiosity: "Who are you, and what is your

[1] The elephant-headed god has his trunk painted with red lead like a tame elephant, and is also liable to become *mast*.

[2] Followers and attendants upon Śiva.——See Vol. I, p. 202.—N.M.P.

errand here?" He said: "I was once a mortal, but I have now become a king of the Vidyādharas, named Śaktivega, and I have many enemies. I have found out by my power that your son is destined to be our emperor, and I have come to see him, O King."

When Śaktivega, overawed at the sight of his future emperor, had said this, the King of Vatsa was pleased, and again asked him in his astonishment: "How can the rank of a Vidyādhara be attained, and of what nature is it, and how did you obtain it? Tell me this, my friend." When he heard this speech of the king's that Vidyādhara Śaktivega, courteously bowing, answered him thus: "O King, resolute souls having propitiated Śiva either in this or in a former birth, obtain by his favour the rank of Vidyādhara. And that rank, denoted by the insignia of supernatural knowledge, of sword, garland and so on, is of various kinds, but listen! I will tell you how I obtained it." Having said this, Śaktivega told the following story, relating to himself, in the presence of the Queen Vāsavadattā:—

29. *Story of the Golden City*

There lived long ago in a city called Vardhamāna,[1] the ornament of the earth, a king, the terror of his foes, called Paropakārin. And this exalted monarch possessed a queen of the name of Kanakaprabhā,[2] as the cloud holds the lightning, but she had not the fickleness of the lightning. And in course of time there was born to him by that queen a daughter, who seemed to have been formed by the creator to dash Lakshmī's pride in her own beauty. And that moon of the eyes of the world was gradually reared to womanhood by her father, who gave her the name of Kanakarekhā,[3] suggested by her mother's name Kanakaprabhā.

Once on a time, when she had grown up, the king, her father, said to the Queen Kanakaprabhā, who came to him in secret: "A grown-up daughter cannot be kept in one's

[1] The modern Burdwan.——This is, however, not necessarily so (Barnett). —N.M.P.

[2] *Kanaka-prabhā* means "lustre of gold."—N.M.P.

[3] *I.e.* "gold-gleam," or "streak of gold."—N.M.P.

house, accordingly Kanakarekhā troubles my heart with anxiety about a suitable marriage for her. For a maiden of good family who does not obtain a proper position is like a song out of tune; when heard of by the ears even of one unconnected with her she causes distress. But a daughter who through folly is made over to one not suitable is like learning imparted to one not fit to receive it, and cannot tend to glory or merit, but only to regret. So I am very anxious as to what king I must give this daughter of mine, and who will be a fit match for her."

When Kanakaprabhā heard this she laughed and said: "You say this, but your daughter does not wish to be married; for to-day, when she was playing with a doll and making believe it was a child, I said to her in fun: 'My daughter, when shall I see you married?' When she heard that, she answered me reproachfully: 'Do not say so; you must not marry me to anyone; and my separation from you is not appointed. I do well enough as a maiden, but if I am married, know that I shall be a corpse; there is a certain reason for this.' As she has said this to me I have come to you, O King, in a state of distress; for, as she has refused to be married, what use is there in deliberating about a bridegroom?"

When the king heard this from the queen he was bewildered, and going to the private apartments of the princess he said to his daughter: "When the maidens of the gods and Asuras practise austerities in order to obtain a husband, why, my daughter, do you refuse to take one?" When the Princess Kanakarekhā heard this speech of her father's she fixed her eyes on the ground and said: "Father, I do not desire to be married at present, so what object has my father in it, and why does he insist upon it?" That King Paropakārin, when his daughter addressed him in that way, being the discreetest of men, thus answered her: "How can sin be avoided unless a daughter is given in marriage? And independence is not fit for a maiden who ought to be in dependence on relations. For a daughter, in truth, is born for the sake of another and is kept for him. The house of her father is not a fit place for her except in childhood. For

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."

When her father said this to her, the Princess Kanakarekhā immediately uttered a speech that was in her mind: "Father, if this is so, then whatever Brāhman or Kshatriya has succeeded in seeing the city called the Golden City, to him I must be given, and he shall be my husband, and if none such is found, you must not unjustly reproach me." When his daughter said that to him, that king reflected: "It is a good thing at any rate that she has agreed to be married on a certain condition, and no doubt she is some goddess born in my house for a special reason, for else how comes she to know so much though she is a child?" Such were the king's reflections at that time; so he said to his daughter, "I will do as you wish," and then he rose up and did his day's work.

And on the next day, as he was sitting in the hall of audience, he said to his courtiers: "Has anyone among you seen the city called the Golden City? Whoever has seen it, if he be a Brāhman or a Kshatriya, I will give him my daughter Kanakarekhā and make him crown prince." And they all, looking at one another's faces, said: "We have not even heard of it, much less have we seen it."

Then the king summoned the warder and said to him: "Go and cause a proclamation to be circulated in the whole of this town with the beating of drums,[1] and find out if anyone has really seen that city." When the warder received this order, he said, "I will do so," and went out; and after he had gone out he immediately gave orders to the city guards, and caused a drum to be beaten all round the city, thus arousing curiosity to hear the proclamation, which ran as follows:—"Whatever Brāhman or Kshatriya youth has seen the city called the Golden City, let him speak, and the king will give him his daughter and the rank of crown prince." Such was the astounding announcement proclaimed all about the town after the drum had been beaten. And the citizens said, after hearing that proclamation: "What is this Golden City that is to-day proclaimed in our town, which has never

[1] See Vol. I, p. 118*n*[2].—N.M.P.

been heard of or seen even by those among us who are old?" But not a single one among them said: "I have seen it."

And in the meanwhile a Brāhman living in that town, Śaktideva by name, the son of Baladeva, heard that proclamation; that youth, being addicted to vice, had been rapidly stripped of his wealth at the gaming-table, and he reflected, being excited by hearing of the giving in marriage of the king's daughter: "As I have lost all my wealth by gambling, I cannot now enter the house of my father, nor even the house of a courtesan, so, as I have no resource, it is better for me to assert falsely to those who are making the proclamation by beat of drum that I have seen that city. Who will discover that I know nothing about it, for who has ever seen it? And in this way I may perhaps marry the princess."

Thus reflecting, Śaktideva went to the city guards and said falsely: "I have seen that city." They immediately said to him: "Bravo! Then come with us to the king's warder." So he went with them to the warder. And in the same way he falsely asserted to him that he had seen that city, and he welcomed him kindly, and took him to the king. And without wavering he maintained the very same story in the presence of the king: what indeed is difficult for a blackleg to do who is ruined by play?

Then the king, in order to ascertain the truth, sent that Brāhman to his daughter Kanakarekhā, and when she heard of the matter from the mouth of the warder, and the Brāhman came near, she asked him: "Have you seen that Golden City?" Then he answered her: "Yes, that city was seen by me when I was roaming through the earth in quest of knowledge."[1] She next asked him: "By what road did you go there, and what is it like?" That Brāhman then went on to say: "From this place I went to a town called Harapura, and from that I next came to the city of Benares; and from Benares in a few days to the city of Paundravardhana, thence I went to that city called the Golden City, and

[1] For an account of the *Wanderjahre* of young Brāhman students see Dr Bühler's introduction to the *Vikramānkadevacharita*.

I saw it, a place of enjoyment for those who act aright, like the city of Indra, the glory of which is made for the delight of gods.[1] And having acquired learning there, I returned here after some time; such is the path by which I went, and such is that city."

After that fraudulent Brāhman Śaktideva had made up this story, the princess said, with a laugh: "Great Brāhman, you have indeed seen that city; but tell me, tell me again, by what path you went." When Śaktideva heard that, he again displayed his effrontery, and then the princess had him put out by her servants. And immediately after putting him out she went to her father, and her father asked her: "Did that Brāhman speak the truth?" And then the princess said to her father: "Though you are a king you act without due consideration; do you not know that rogues deceive honest people? For that Brāhman simply wants to impose on me with a falsehood, but the liar has never seen the Golden City. And all kinds of deceptions are practised on the earth by rogues; for listen to the story of Śiva and Mādhava, which I will tell you." Having said this, the princess told the following tale:—

29A. *Siva and Mādhava*

There is an excellent city rightly named Ratnapura,[2] and in it there were two rogues named Śiva and Mādhava. Surrounding themselves with many other rogues, they contrived for a long time to rob, by making use of trickery, all the rich men in the town. And one day those two deliberated together and said: "We have managed by this time to plunder this town thoroughly; so let us now go and live in

[1] More literally, "those whose eyes do not wink." The epithet also means "worthy of being regarded with unwinking eyes." No doubt this ambiguity is intended.——"The city of Indra" is *svarga*—a temporary paradise, where the blessed enjoy unequalled delights before their next birth on earth. The duration of the stay is in proportion with their good deeds in their previous life. In Vol. I, p. 59, Vararuchi speaks of the "perishable joys of Svarga." It is here that the Gandharvas and Apsarases are in continual service of Indra, as we have already seen (Vol. I, p. 201).—N.M.P.

[2] *I.e.* the city of jewels.

the city of Ujjayinī; there we hear that there is a very rich man named Śankarasvāmin, who is chaplain to the king. If we cheat him out of his money we may thereby enjoy the charms of the ladies of Mālava. He is spoken of by Brāhmans as a miser, because he withholds[1] half their usual fee with a frowning face, though he possesses treasure enough to fill seven vessels; and that Brāhman has a pearl of a daughter spoken of as matchless; we will manage to get her too out of him along with the money."

Having thus determined, and having arranged beforehand what part each was to play, the two rogues Śiva and Mādhava went out of that town. At last they reached Ujjayinī, and Mādhava, with his attendants, disguised as a Rājpūt, remained in a certain village outside the town. But Śiva, who was expert in every kind of deception, having assumed the disguise of a religious ascetic, first entered that town alone. There he took up his quarters in a hut on the banks of the Siprā, in which he placed, so that that could be seen, clay, *darbha* grass, a vessel for begging, and a deerskin. And in the morning he anointed his body with thick clay, as if testing beforehand his destined smearing with the mud of the hell Avīchi. And plunging in the water of the river, he remained a long time with his head downward, as if rehearsing beforehand his future descent to hell, the result of his evil actions. And when he rose up from his bath he remained a long time looking up towards the sun,[2] as if showing that he deserved to be impaled. Then he went into the presence of the god, and making rings of *kuśa* grass,[3] and muttering prayers, he remained sitting in the posture called Padmāsana,[4] with a hypocritical, cunning face, and from time to time he made an offering to Vishṇu, having gathered white flowers, even as he took captive the simple hearts of the good by his villainy; and having made his offering he again

[1] *Āskandin* is translated "granting" by Monier Williams and the Petersburg lexicographers.

[2] For the amazing austerities of Hindu ascetics see Vol. I, p. 79*n*[1].—N.M.P.

[3] These are worn on the fingers when offerings are made.

[4] A particular posture in religious meditation, sitting with the thighs crossed, with one hand resting on the left thigh, the other held up with the thumb upon the heart, and the eyes directed to the tip of the nose.

pretended to betake himself to muttering his prayers, and prolonged his meditations as if fixing his attention on wicked ways.

And the next day, clothed in the skin of a black antelope, he wandered about the city in quest of alms, like one of his own deceitful leers intended to beguile it, and observing a strict silence, he took three handfuls of rice from Brāhmans' houses, still equipped with stick and deerskin, and divided the food into three parts, like the three divisions of the day,[1] and part he gave to the crows, and part to his guest, and with the third he filled his maw ; and he remained for a long time hypocritically telling his beads, as if he were counting his sins at the same time, and muttering prayers ; and in the night he remained alone in his hut, thinking over the weak points of his fellow-men, even the smallest ; and by thus performing every day a difficult pretended penance he gained complete ascendancy over the minds of the citizens in every quarter. And all the people became devoted to him, and a report spread among them in every direction that Śiva was an exceedingly self-denying hermit.

And in the meanwhile his accomplice, the other rogue, Mādhava, having heard from his emissaries how he was getting on, entered that city ; and taking up his abode there in a distant temple, he went to the bank of the Siprā to bathe, disguised as a Rājpūt, and after bathing, as he was returning with his retinue, he saw Śiva praying in front of the god, and with great veneration he fell at his feet and said before all the people : " There is no other such ascetic in the world, for he has been often seen by me going round from one holy place to another." But Śiva, though he saw him, kept his neck immovable out of cunning, and remained in the same position as before, and Mādhava returned to his own lodging.

And at night those two met together and ate and drank, and deliberated over the rest of their programme, what they must do next. And in the last watch of the night Śiva went

[1] There seem to be two or three mistakes in Brockhaus' text. D. reads *bhikṣātrayaṃ tataḥ . . . cakre triḥ satyam iva khaṇḍaśaḥ*, " he divided the begged food, three handfuls of rice, into three parts, just as he broke asunder the truth." See Speyer, *op. cit.*, pp. 104, 105.—N.M.P.

back leisurely to his hut. And in the morning Mādhava said to one of his gang: "Take these two garments and give them as a present to the domestic chaplain of the king here, who is called Śankarasvāmin, and say to him respectfully: 'There is a Rājpūt come from the Deccan of the name of Mādhava, who has been oppressed by his relations, and he brings with him much inherited wealth; he is accompanied by some other Rājpūts like himself, and he wishes to enter into the services of your king here, and he has sent me to visit you, O treasure-house of glory.'"

The rogue who was sent off by Mādhava with this message went to the house of that chaplain with the present in his hand, and after approaching him, and giving him the present at a favourable moment, he delivered to him in private Mādhava's message, as he had been ordered; he, for his part, out of his greed for presents, believed it all, anticipating other favours in the future, for a bribe is the sovereign specific for attracting the covetous. The rogue then came back, and on the next day Mādhava, having obtained a favourable opportunity, went in person to visit that chaplain, accompanied by attendants, who hypocritically assumed the appearance of men desiring service,[1] passing themselves off as Rājpūts, distinguished by the maces they carried; he had himself announced by an attendant preceding him, and thus he approached the family priest, who received him with welcomes which expressed his delight at his arrival. Then Mādhava remained engaged in conversation with him for some time, and at last being dismissed by him, returned to his own house.

On the next day he sent another couple of garments as a present, and again approached that chaplain and said to him: "I indeed wish to enter into service to please my retainers, for that reason I have repaired to you, but I possess wealth." When the chaplain heard that, he hoped to get something out of him, and he promised Mādhava to procure for him what he desired, and he immediately went and

[1] *Kārpaṭika* may mean a pilgrim, but it seems to be used in the *Kathā Sarit Sāgara* to mean a kind of dependent on a king or great man, usually a foreigner. See Chapters XXXVIII, LIII and LXXXI of this work.

petitioned the king on this account, and, out of respect for the chaplain, the king consented to do what he asked. And on the next day the family priest took Mādhava and his retinue, and presented them to the king with all due respect. The king too, when he saw that Mādhava resembled a Rājpūt in appearance, received him graciously and appointed him a salary. Then Mādhava remained there in attendance upon the king, and every night he met Śiva to deliberate with him. And the chaplain entreated him to live with him in his house, out of avarice, as he was intent on presents.

Then Mādhava with his followers repaired to the house of the chaplain; this settlement was the cause of the chaplain's ruin, as that of the mouse in the trunk of the tree was the cause of its ruin. And he deposited a chest in the strong-room of the chaplain, after filling it with ornaments made of false gems. And from time to time he opened the box and by cunningly half showing some of the jewels he captivated the mind of the chaplain, as that of a cow is captivated by grass. And when he had gained in this way the confidence of the chaplain, he made his body emaciated by taking little food, and falsely pretended that he was ill.

And after a few days had passed, that prince of rogues said with weak voice to that chaplain, who was at his bedside: "My condition is miserable in this body, so bring, good Brāhman, some distinguished man of your caste, in order that I may bestow my wealth upon him for my happiness here and hereafter, for, life being unstable, what care can a wise man have for riches?" That chaplain, who was devoted to presents, when addressed in this way, said, "I will do so," and Mādhava fell at his feet. Then whatever Brāhman the chaplain brought, Mādhava refused to receive, pretending that he wanted a more distinguished one. One of the rogues in attendance upon Mādhava, when he saw this, said: "Probably an ordinary Brāhman does not please him. So it will be better now to find out whether the strict ascetic on the banks of Siprā named Śiva pleases him or not." When Mādhava heard that, he said plaintively to that chaplain: "Yes, be kind, and bring him, for there is no other Brāhman like him."

The chaplain, thus entreated, went near Śiva, and beheld

him immovable, pretending to be engaged in meditation. And then he walked round him, keeping him on his right hand, and sat down in front of him: and immediately the rascal slowly opened his eyes. Then the family priest, bending before him, said with bowed head: "My lord, if it will not make you angry, I will prefer a petition to you. There is dwelling here a very rich Rājpūt from the Deccan, named Mādhava, and he, being ill, is desirous of giving away his whole property: if you consent, he will give you that treasure which glitters with many ornaments made out of priceless gems." When Śiva heard that, he slowly broke silence, and said: "O Brāhman, since I live on alms, and observe perpetual chastity, of what use are riches to me?" Then that chaplain went on to say to him: "Do not say that, great Brāhman; do you not know the due order of the periods in the life of a Brahman?[1] By marrying a wife, and performing in his house offerings to the Manes, sacrifices to the gods and hospitality to guests, he uses his property to obtain the three objects of life[2]; the stage of the householder is the most useful of all."[3]

Then Śiva said: "How can I take a wife, for I will not marry a woman from any low family?" When the covetous chaplain heard that, he thought that he would be able to enjoy his wealth at will, and, catching at the opportunity, he said to him: "I have an unmarried daughter named Vinayasvāminī, and she is very beautiful; I will bestow her in marriage on you. And I will keep for you all the wealth which you receive as a donation from Mādhava, so enter on the duties of a householder." When Śiva heard this, having got the very thing he wanted, he said: "Brāhman, if your heart is set on this,[4] I will do what you say. But I am an

[1] First he should be a *Brahmachārin* or unmarried religious student, next a *Grihastha* or householder, then a *Vānaprastha* or anchoret, lastly a *Bhikshu* or beggar.

[2] *I.e.* virtue, wealth, pleasure: *dharma, artha, kāma*

[3] In his translation of this story from the D. text in *The Golden Town*, 1909, Barnett adds "among the men in the four orders" before "the stage," thus making the meaning clearer. —N.M.P.

[4] *Graha* also means "planet" —*i.e.* inauspicious planet. Śiva tells the truth here.

ascetic who knows nothing about gold and jewels: I shall act as you advise; do as you think best."

When the chaplain heard that speech of Śiva's he was delighted, and the fool said, "Agreed," and conducted Śiva to his house. And when he had introduced there that inauspicious guest named Śiva,[1] he told Mādhava what he had done, and was applauded by him. And immediately he gave Śiva his daughter, who had been carefully brought up, and in giving her he seemed to be giving away his own prosperity lost by his folly. And on the third day after his marriage he took him to Mādhava, who was pretending to be ill, to receive his present. And Mādhava rose up and fell at his feet, and said what was quite true: "I adore thee whose asceticism is incomprehensible."[2] And in accordance with the prescribed form he bestowed on Śiva that box of ornaments made of many sham jewels, which was brought from the chaplain's treasury. Śiva for his part, after receiving it, gave it into the hands of the chaplain, saying: "I know nothing about this, but you do." And that priest immediately took it, saying: "I undertook to do this long ago, why should you trouble yourself about it?" Then Śiva gave them his blessing, and went to his wife's private apartments, and the chaplain took the box and put it in his strong-room.

Mādhava for his part gradually desisted from feigning sickness, affecting to feel better the next day, and said that his disease had been cured by virtue of his great gift. And he praised the chaplain when he came near, saying to him: "It was by your aiding me in an act of faith that I tided over this calamity." And he openly struck up a friendship with Śiva, asserting that it was due to the might of Śiva's holiness that his life had been saved. Śiva, for his part, after some days said to the chaplain: "How long am I to feast in your house in this style? Why do you not take from me those jewels for some fixed sum of money? If they are valuable, give me a fair price for them."

When the priest heard that, thinking that the jewels were

[1] *I.e.* the auspicious or friendly one.

[2] There is probably a double meaning in the word "incomprehensible."

of incalculable value, he consented, and gave to Śiva as purchase-money his whole living. And he made Śiva sign a receipt for the sum with his own hand, and he himself too signed a receipt for the jewels, thinking that that treasure far exceeded his own wealth in value. And they separated, taking one another's receipts, and the chaplain lived in one place, while Śiva kept house in another. And then Śiva and Mādhava dwelt together, and remained there, leading a very pleasant life consuming the chaplain's wealth. And as time went on, the chaplain, being in need of cash, went to the town to sell one of the ornaments in the *bazar*.

Then the merchants, who were connoisseurs in jewels, said after examining it: "Ha! the man who made these sham jewels was a clever fellow, whoever he was. For this ornament is composed of pieces of glass and quartz with various colours and fastened together with brass, and there are no gems or gold in it." When the chaplain heard that, he went in his agitation and brought all the ornaments from his house, and showed them to the merchants. When they saw them, they said that all of them were composed of sham jewels in the same way; but the chaplain, when he heard that, was, so to speak, thunderstruck. And immediately the fool went off and said to Śiva: "Take back your ornaments and give me back my own wealth." But Śiva answered him: "How can I possibly have retained your wealth till now? Why, it has all in course of time been consumed in my house."

Then the chaplain and Śiva fell into an altercation, and went, both of them, before the king, at whose side Mādhava was standing. And the chaplain made this representation to the king: "Śiva has consumed all my substance, taking advantage of my not knowing that a great treasure which he deposited in my house[1] was composed of skilfully coloured pieces of glass and quartz fastened together with brass." Then Śiva said: "King, from my childhood I have been a hermit, and I was persuaded by that man's earnest petition to accept a donation, and when I took it, though inexperienced in the ways of the world, I said to him, 'I am no connoisseur

[1] Perhaps we ought to read *dattvā* for *tatra*.

in jewels and things of that kind, and I rely upon you,' and he consented, saying, 'I will be your warrant in the matter.' And I accepted all the donation and deposited it in his hand. Then he bought the whole from me at his own price, and we hold from one another mutual receipts; and now it is in the king's power to grant me help in my sorest need."

Śiva having thus finished his speech, Mādhava said: "Do not say this; you are honourable, but what fault have I committed in the matter? I never received anything either from you or from Śiva; I had some wealth inherited from my father, which I had long deposited elsewhere; then I brought that wealth and presented it to a Brāhman. If the gold is not real gold, and the jewels are not real jewels, then let us suppose that I have reaped fruit from giving away brass, quartz and glass. But the fact that I was persuaded with sincere heart that I was giving something is clear from this, that I recovered from a very dangerous illness."

When Mādhava said this to him without any alteration in the expression of his face, the king laughed, and all his ministers, and they were highly delighted. And those present in court said, laughing in their sleeves: "Neither Mādhava nor Śiva has done anything unfair." Thereupon that chaplain departed with downcast countenance, having lost his wealth. For of what calamities is not the blinding of the mind with excessive greed the cause? And so those two rogues Śiva and Mādhava long remained there happy in having obtained the favour of the delighted king.[1]

[1] This is the first of several excellent "thieving" stories which appear in the *Ocean of Story*. The history of stealing plays a very important part in both fact and fiction in India. The "Art of Stealing in Hindu Fiction" has recently been treated by Bloomfield in two most entertaining and instructive papers, *Amer. Journ. Phil.*, vol. xliv, part ii, pp. 97-133; part iii, pp. 193-229, 1923. I shall have occasion to refer to these again. The arch-thief of Hindu fiction is Mūladeva, whom Bloomfield identifies with Karnisuta, Goniputraka, Gonikāputra and Gonikāsuta. We shall meet him in the fifteenth vampire story, Chapter LXXXIX, in the "Story of the Magic Pill," and also in the last story of the whole work. He is supposed to have written a famous manual of thievery entitled *Steyaśāstra-pravartaka* or *Steyasūtra-pravartaka*.

The science is regarded with the utmost seriousness, and thieving was regularly taught to a selected number of pupils, a high standard of mutual regard existing between teacher and pupil. See J. J. Meyer's remarks on

29. *Story of the Golden City*

"Thus do rogues spread the webs of their tongue with hundreds of intricate threads, like fishermen upon dry land, living by the net. So you may be certain, my father, that this Brāhman is a case in point. By falsely asserting that he has seen the City of Gold, he wishes to deceive you, and to obtain me for a wife. So do not be in a hurry to get me married; I shall remain unmarried at present, and we will see what will happen." When the King Paropakārin heard this from his daughter Kanakarekhā, he thus answered her: "When a girl is grown up, it is not expedient that she should remain long unmarried, for wicked people envious of good qualities falsely impute sin. And people are particularly fond of blackening the character of one distinguished; to illustrate this, listen to the story of Harasvāmin which I am about to tell you."

thieves' practices in his introduction to *Daśa Kumāra Charita*, or *The Story of the Ten Princes*, p. 15 *et seq*

Among the numerous extracts from thieving stories collected by Bloomfield, I will here quote a Tamil story, reported by De Rosairo in *The Orientalist*, vol. iii, p. 183. Apart from the excellence of the tale itself it affords a good parallel to the ascetic practices of the rogue Śiva in our text, showing to what a degree of risk and personal discomfort the expert thief must be prepared to go.

A king wishes to study the art of stealing, in order to mete out more perfect justice. His learned minister presents before him a notorious thief and pilferer. After the king has dismissed all attendants, he expresses his desire to become the thief's pupil. To his surprise, the thief pleads ignorance of the art of stealing, and asserts that he has been most unjustly accused. The king dismisses him, but on the next day misses his signet-ring off his ring-finger. The thief, though asserting his innocence, is condemned to be impaled upon a three-pronged stake. But the king, uneasy in his mind, disguises himself, and goes in the still of the night to the place of execution. As he comes near he hears the thief, in pitiful accents, address the Almighty Creator, pleading his innocence, and calling for vengeance from heaven on the head of him who had judged him so wrongly and pronounced so unjust and heavy a punishment. The king has the thief set free, but on the next morning the thief appears once more, and, with expressions of respect and civility, presents to his Majesty the lost signet-ring. When asked to explain, the thief says: "May it please your Majesty, I have the ring because I played my part with alacrity and decision. Should your Majesty wish to follow my profession, there would be no difficulty in doing so, if you could but behave as I did—

29B. *The Iniquity of Scandal*

There is a city on the banks of the Ganges named Kusumapura,[1] and in it there was an ascetic who visited holy places, named Harasvāmin. He was a Brāhman living by begging; and constructing a hut on the banks of the Ganges, he became, on account of his surprisingly rigid asceticism, the object of the people's respect.[2] And one day a wicked man among the inhabitants, who could not tolerate his virtue, seeing him from a distance going out to beg, said: "Do you know what a hypocritical ascetic that is? It is he that has eaten up all the children in this town." When a second there who was like him heard this, he said: "It is true; I also have heard people saying this." And a third confirming it said: "Such is the fact." The chain of villains' conversation binds reproach on the good. And in this way the report spread from ear to ear, and gained general credence in the city. And all the citizens kept their children by force in their houses, saying: "Harasvāmin carries off all the children and eats them."[3]

And then the Brāhmans in that town, afraid that their offspring would be destroyed, assembled and deliberated about his banishment from the city. And as they did not

namely, maintain a lie even when put to extreme trial. My behaviour is the first lesson in the art your Majesty is desirous of being taught."

For the practices of modern thieves see Russell, *Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces*, vol. i, pp. 234, 248; vol. iv, pp. 190, 191, 472-474, 483-487, 606-608; and Kennedy, *Criminal Classes of Bombay*, 1908.—N.M.P.

[1] The city of flowers—*i.e.* Pāṭaliputra.——See p. 39*n*[1] of this volume.—N.M.P.

[2] Perhaps we ought to read *yayau* for *dadau*. This I find is the reading of an excellent MS. in the Sanskrit College, for the loan of which I am deeply indebted to the Principal and Librarian.

[3] A report similar to that spread against Harasvāmin was in circulation during the French Revolution. Taine in his history of the Revolution, vol. i, p. 418, tells the following anecdote:—"M. de Montlosier found himself the object of many unpleasant attentions when he went to the National Assembly. In particular a woman of about thirty used to sharpen a large knife when he passed and look at him in a threatening manner. On inquiry he discovered the cause—*Deux enfants du quartier ont disparu enlevés par des bohémiens, et c'est maintenant un bruit répandu que M. de Montlosier, le marquis de Mirabeau, et d'autres députés du côté droit se rassemblent pour faire des orgies dans lesquelles ils mangent de petits enfants.*"

dare to tell him face to face, for fear he might perhaps eat them up in his rage, they sent messengers to him. And those messengers went and said to him from a distance: "The Brāhmans command you to depart from this city." Then in his astonishment he asked them: "Why?" And they went on to say: "You eat every child as soon as you see it." When Harasvāmin heard that, he went near those Brāhmans, in order to reassure them, and the people fled before him for fear. And the Brāhmans, as soon as they saw him, were terrified and went up to the top of their monastery. People who are deluded by reports are not, as a rule, capable of discrimination. Then Harasvāmin, standing below, called all the Brāhmans who were above, one by one, by name, and said to them: "What delusion is this, Brāhmans? Why do you not ascertain with one another how many children I have eaten, and whose, and how many of each man's children?"

When they heard that, the Brāhmans began to compare notes among themselves, and found that all of them had all their children left alive. And in course of time other citizens, appointed to investigate the matter, admitted that all their children were living. And merchants and Brāhmans and all said: "Alas! in our folly we have belied a holy man; the children of all of us are alive; so whose children can he have eaten?" Harasvāmin, being thus completely exonerated, prepared to leave that city, for his mind was seized with disgust at the slanderous report got up against him by wicked men.[1] For what pleasure can a wise man take in a wicked place, the inhabitants of which are wanting in discrimination? Then the Brāhmans and merchants, prostrating themselves at his feet, entreated him to stay there, and he at last, though with reluctance, consented to do so.

29. *Story of the Golden City*

"In this way evil men often impute crime falsely to good men, allowing their malicious garrulity full play on beholding their virtuous behaviour. Much more, if they obtain a slight

[1] *Cf.* Virgil's well-known description of the growth of rumour, *Æneid*, iv, 74 *et seq.*—N.M.P.

glimpse of any opportunity for attacking them, do they pour copious showers of oil on the fire thus kindled. Therefore if you wish, my daughter, to draw the arrow from my heart, you must not, while this fresh youth of yours is developing, remain unmarried to please yourself, and so incur the ready reproach of evil men."

Such was the advice which the Princess Kanakarekhā frequently received from her father the king, but she, being firmly resolved, again and again answered him: "Therefore quickly search for a Brāhman or Kshatriya who has seen that City of Gold and give me to him, for this is the condition I have named."

When the king heard that, reflecting that his daughter, who remembered her former birth, had completely made up her mind, and seeing no other way of obtaining for her the husband she desired, he issued another order to the effect that henceforth the proclamation by beat of drum was to take place every day in the city, in order to find out whether any of the new-comers had seen the Golden City. And once more it was proclaimed in every quarter of the city every day, after the drum had been beaten: "If any Brāhman or Kshatriya has seen the Golden City, let him speak; the king will give him his own daughter, together with the rank of crown prince." But no one was found who had obtained a sight of the Golden City.

CHAPTER XXV

29. *Story of the Golden City*

IN the meanwhile the young Brāhman Śaktideva, in very low spirits, having been rejected with contempt by the princess he longed for, said to himself: "To-day by asserting falsely that I had seen the Golden City I certainly incurred contempt, but I did not obtain that princess. So I must roam through the earth to find it, until I have either seen that city or lost my life. For of what use is my life, unless I can return, having seen that city, and obtain the princess as the prize of the achievement?"

Having thus taken a vow, that Brāhman set out from the city of Vardhamāna, directing his course toward the southern quarter; and as he journeyed he at last reached the great forest of the Vindhya range, and entered it, which was difficult and long as his own undertaking. And that forest, so to speak, fanned, with the soft leaves of its trees shaken by the wind, him, who was heated by the multitudinous rays of the sun; and through grief at being overrun with many robbers it made its cry heard day and night in the shrill screams of animals which were being slain in it by lions and other noisome beasts. And it seemed, by the unchecked rays of heat flashed upward from its wild deserts, to endeavour to conquer the fierce brightness of the sun: in it, though there was no accumulation of water, calamity was to be easily purchased [1]: and its space seemed ever to extend before the traveller as fast as he crossed it.

In the course of many days he accomplished a long journey through this forest, and beheld in it a great lake of pure cold water in a lonely spot, which seemed to lord it over all lakes, with its lotuses like lofty umbrellas, and its swans like gleaming white *chowries*. In the water of that lake he performed

[1] Probably a poor pun——there is a play upon the words *jala*, "water," and *jaḍa*, "fools," thus the sense is: "The forest is without gatherings of water (or fools), yet it is fertile in misfortune" (Barnett).—N.M.P.

the customary ablutions, and on its northern shore he beheld a hermitage with beautiful fruit-bearing trees; and he saw an old hermit named Sūryatapas sitting at the foot of an Aśvattha tree, surrounded by ascetics, adorned with a rosary, the beads of which by their number seemed to be the knots that marked the centuries of his life,[1] and which rested against the extremity of his ear that was white with age. And he approached that hermit with a bow, and the hermit welcomed him with hospitable greetings.

And the hermit, after entertaining him with fruits and other delicacies, asked him: "Whence have you come, and whither are you going? Tell me, good sir." And Śaktideva, inclining respectfully, said to that hermit: "I have come, venerable sir, from the city of Vardhamāna, and I have undertaken to go to the Golden City in accordance with a vow. But I do not know where that city lies; tell me, venerable sir, if you know." The hermit answered: "My son, I have lived eight hundred years in this hermitage, and I have never even heard of that city." Śaktideva, when he heard this from the hermit, was cast down, and said again: "Then my wanderings through the earth will end by my dying here."

Then that hermit, having gradually elicited the whole

[1] Lenormant in his *Chaldæan Magic and Sorcery*, p. 41 (English translation), observes: "We must add to the number of those mysterious rites the use of certain enchanted drinks, which doubtless really contained medicinal drugs, as a cure for diseases, and also of magic knots, the efficacy of which was firmly believed in, even up to the Middle Ages" See also Ralston's *Songs of the Russian People*, p. 288.——*Cf.* the speech of the river-goddess, Tamasā, in Act III of the *Uttara Rāma Charita* as translated by Wilson (*Select Specimens of the Theatre of the Hindus*, vol. II, 1827):

> "And homage therefore should be done
> This day to their great Sire, the Sun,
> For that the lucky knot has told,
> Twelve years their rapid course have rolled,
> Since, from the daughter of the Earth,
> *Kusa* and *Lava* drew their birth."

In a note explaining the "lucky knot" Wilson states that the expression alludes to the practice, still in use amongst the Hindus, of making a knot every year of a person's life in the string or thread which is wound round the paper scroll on which the calculations of his nativity are inscribed. For collected references on knots in magic and ritual see Frazer, *Golden Bough*, vol. iii, pp. 293-317.—N.M.P

story, said to him: "If you are firmly resolved, then do what I tell you. Three *yojanas* from here there is a country named Kāmpilya, and in it is a mountain named Uttara, and on it there is a hermitage. There dwells my noble elder brother named Dīrghatapas[1]; go to him, he being old may

[1] In the story of the "Beautiful Palace East of the Sun and North of the Earth" (Thorpe, *Yule-tide Stories*, p. 158) an old woman sends the youth, who is in quest of the palace, to her old sister, who again refers him to an older sister dwelling in a small ruinous cottage on a mountain. In Laura Gonzenbach's *Sicilianische Marchen*, p. 86, the prince is sent by one "Einsiedler" to his brother, and this brother sends him to an older brother, and he again to an older still, who is described as "*Steinalt*." See also p 162. We have a similar incident in *Mélusine*, p. 447. The story is entitled "La Montagne Noire ou Les Filles du Diable." See also *Il Pentamerone*, ninth diversion of the fifth day (Burton, vol. ii, pp. 549, 550); Ralston's *Russian Folk-Tales*, p. 76; Waldau's *Bohmische Marchen*, pp. 37, 255 *et seq.*; Dasent's *Popular Tales from the Norse*, 1859, pp. 31-32, 212-213, and 330-331; and Kaden's *Unter den Olivenbaumen*, p. 56.

——The *motif* is found in the first voyage of Aboulfaouaris, *Les Mille et un Jours*, Lille, 1784, vol. iv, p. 166, whence it was copied in "The Story of Qara Khan," a sub-tale in *The Story of Jewad*, translated by E. J. W. Gibb, Glasgow, 1884. See Chauvin, *op. cit.*, vii, pp. 60, 61*n*[4], where other references are given.

Clouston, *Popular Tales and Fictions*, vol. ii, pp. 94-98, quotes from a paper by Cowell, "The Legend of the Oldest Animals," in *Y Cymrodor* (Welsh Society's Journal), October 1882, where in the "Story of Kilhwch and Olwen" Arthur's ambassadors seek certain tidings by the aid of animals, each referring them to an older and cleverer one than themselves. In the "Tale of the Jealous Sisters," Dozon, *Contes Albanais* (No. 2), the hero meets a *lamia*, in quest of a magic flower, who not only refrains from eating him, but directs him to her elder sister, and she again refers him to *her* elder sister. In the tale of "Hasan of Bassorah" in the *Nights* (Burton, vol. viii, pp. 72-82), Hasan is sent by a venerable Shaykh to his brother, and thence to the King of the Camphor Islands, who all aid him in his search for the Islands of Wak. There is no mention of each being older than the last, although the story is always quoted as an example of this *motif*.

A curious variant is found in Sāstri's *Dravidian Nights*. The hero, in quest of the *pārijāta* flower, is sent to an ascetic who opened his eyes every watch, then to one who opened his eyes every second watch, and finally to one who only opened them every third watch.

I do not agree with Clouston (*op. cit.*, p. 98), who says: "The idea is probably a survival of some primitive myth, suggested by the physical and mental imbecility of extreme old age—'second childhood.'" On the contrary, old age in man is usually venerated in the East, and apart from the use of the *motif* to the story-teller to excite the curiosity of his audience as the *dénouement* is thus continually postponed, it serves as an excellent lesson in perseverance and patience.—N.M.P.

perhaps know of that city." When Śaktideva heard that, hope arose in his breast, and having spent the night there, he quickly set out in the morning from that place.

And wearied with the laborious journey through difficult forest country, he at last reached that region of Kāmpilya and ascended that mountain Uttara; and there he beheld that hermit Dīrghatapas in a hermitage, and he was delighted and approached him with a bow; and the hermit received him hospitably, and Śaktideva said to him: "I am on my way to the City of Gold spoken of by the king's daughter; but I do not know, venerable sir, where that city is. However, I am bound to find it, so I have been sent to you by the sage Sūryatapas in order that I may discover where it lies." When he had said this, the hermit answered him: "Though I am so old, my son, I have never heard of that city till to-day; I have made acquaintance with various travellers from foreign lands, and I have never heard anyone speak of it, much less have I seen it. But I am sure it must be in some distant foreign island, and I can tell you an expedient to help you in this matter; there is in the midst of the ocean an island named Utsthala, and in it there is a rich king of the Nishādas[1] named Satyavrata. He goes to and fro among all the other islands, and he may have seen or heard of that city. Therefore go first to the city named Viṭankapura, situated on the border of the sea. And from that place go with some merchant in a ship to the island where that Nishāda dwells, in order that you may attain your object."

When Śaktideva heard this from the hermit, he immediately followed his advice, and taking leave of him set out from the hermitage. And after accomplishing many *kos* and crossing many lands he reached the city of Viṭankapura, the ornament of the seashore. There he sought out a merchant named Samudradatta, who traded with the island of Utsthala, and struck up a friendship with him. And he went on board his ship with him, and having food for the voyage fully supplied by his kindness, he set out on the ocean path. Then, when they had but a short distance to travel, there arose a black cloud with rumbling thunder, resembling a roaring Rākshasa,

[1] Wild aboriginal tribes not belonging to the Aryan race.

with flickering lightning to represent his lolling tongue. And a furious hurricane began to blow like Destiny herself, whirling up light objects and hurling down heavy.[1] And from the sea, lashed by the wind, great waves rose aloft like the mountains equipped with wings,[2] indignant that their asylum had been attacked. And that vessel rose on high one moment, and the next moment plunged below, as if exhibiting how rich men are first elevated and then cast down.

And the next moment that ship, shrilly laden with the cries of the merchants, burst and split asunder as if with the weight. And the ship being broken, that merchant its owner fell into the sea, but floating through it on a plank he at last reached another vessel. But as Śaktideva fell a large fish, opening its mouth and neck, swallowed him without injuring any of his limbs. And as that fish was roaming at will in the midst of the sea it happened to pass near the island of Utsthala; and by chance some servants of that king of the fishermen, Satyavrata, who were engaged in the

[1] Destiny often elevates the worthless, and hurls down men of worth.—— Clouston (*Popular Tales and Fictions*, vol. i, p. 407) compares this sentiment with Defoe's seathing reply to Lord Haversham's Vindication of his Speech: "Fate makes footballs of men; kicks some upstairs and some down; some are advanced without honour, others suppressed without infamy;—some are raised without merit, some are crushed without crime; and no man knows, by the beginning of things, whether his course will issue in a peerage or a pillory." And these passages from the drama of *Mṛichchhakaṭika*, or *The Toy Cart* (Wilson, *Theatre of the Hindus*)

> "Fate views the world
> A scene of mutual and perpetual struggle:
> And sports with life as if it were a wheel
> That draws the limpid water from the well;
> For some are raised to affluence, some depressed
> In want, and some are borne awhile aloft,
> And some hurled down to wretchedness and woe."

> "O Fate! thou sportest with the fortunes of mankind,
> Like drops of water trembling on the lotus-leaf."

—N.M.P.

[2] The usual story is that Indra cut off the wings of all except Mainâka, the son of Himavat by Menâ. He took refuge in the sea. Here it is represented that more escaped. So in *Bhartṛihari Niti Śataka*, st. 76 (Bombay edition).

pursuit of small fish, came there and caught it. And those fishermen, proud of their prize, immediately dragged it along to show their king, for it was of enormous size. He too, out of curiosity, seeing that it was of such extraordinary size, ordered his servants to cut it open; and when it was cut open Śaktideva came out alive from its belly, having endured a second wonderful imprisonment in the womb.[1] Then the

[1] For Śaktideva's imprisonment in the belly of the fish *cf.* Chapter LXXIV of this work; *Indian Fairy Tales*, by Miss Stokes, No. xiv; and Lucian's *Vera Historia*, Book I. In this tale the fish swallows a ship. The crew discover countries in the monster's inside, establish a "scientific frontier," and pursue a policy of Annexation.——In Chapter CXXIII of the *Ocean of Story* the huge fish appears twice: firstly in the "Story of the Two Princesses," where it swallows a ship and all on board; and secondly in the tale of "Keśaṭa and Kandarpa," where a woman is rescued from a fish's belly. To the former of these Tawney adds a few further references.

Similar incidents are found in the Hindī *Bundēlkhandī*, where the hero Alhā is cut out from captivity in a fish's inside (see *Ind. Ant.*, vol. xiv, October 1885, p. 258). In some cases the flights of fancy of the story-teller fall little short of those indulged in by Lucian. In a Kasmīrī tale (J. H. Knowles, "Pride Abased," *Ind. Ant*, vol. xv, June 1886, p. 157) a king lives inside a fish for years, until he is finally rescued by a potter who is hacking at the stranded fish with an axe. Similarly in Miss Stokes' tale "Loving Lailī" lives twelve years in a rohita fish. All these stories appear to me to be merely examples of one of the numerous forms of exaggeration dear to Oriental story-tellers, and which comes in most handily as part of the hero's adventures during his travels in a foreign land, or while on his search for a lost bride, magic article or what not.

In the case of Sindbad, he is not swallowed by a fish, but lands with the crew on a huge fish's back mistaken for an island. See *Nights*, Burton, vol. vi, p. 6 with note. Further references will be found in Crooke, *Popular Religion and Folk-Lore of Northern India*, vol. ii, p. 254; and Chauvin, *op. cit.*, vii, p. 9, under "La Baleine."

Various explanations of this legend have been offered, some rather fantastic like that of a certain American astronomer of the last century who saw the star-group "Cetus" in the whale and the "moon passing through it in three days and nights" in Jonah. There are, however, other cosmological interpretations deserving of more attention. We have already seen (pp. 81-83 of this volume) how widespread was the belief that at eclipses the luminary was swallowed or attacked by some monster, and it is quite understandable that the primitive mind might easily conceive of the sunset being caused by a huge fish swallowing the sun. But when we come to the Jonah legend, we find that the prophet was in the fish—*i.e.* invisible to human eyes—for three days—the period of the moon's disappearance at the end of the month (see R. Campbell Thompson, *Semitic Magic*, pp. 53, 54). Jonah is the Hebrew

fisher-king Satyavrata, when he saw that young man come out and bestow his blessing on him, was astonished, and asked him: "Who are you, and how did this lot of dwelling in the belly of the fish befall you? What means this exceedingly strange fate that you have suffered?" When Śaktideva heard this he answered that king of the fishermen: "I am a Brāhman of the name of Śaktideva from the city of Vardhamāna; and I am bound to visit the City of Gold, and because I do not know where it is, I have for a long time wandered far over the earth; then I gathered from a speech of Dīrghatapas' that it was probably in an island, so I set out to find Satyavrata the king of the fishermen, who lives in the island of Utsthala, in order to learn its whereabouts, but on the way I suffered shipwreck, and so, having been whelmed in the sea and swallowed by a fish, I have been brought here now."

word for "dove," and, as Robertson Smith has pointed out (*Religion of the Semites*, quoting Al-Nadīm, 294), it was at Harran, the city sacred to the moon-god, that the dove was not sacrificed.

A fairly widely accepted interpretation of the Jonah legend, however, is that it is a prophecy conveyed under a parable. There are several reasons given for the propagation of this view. In the first place, no reference of the supposed conversion of Nineveh by Jonah is mentioned by Isaiah, Ezekiel, Hosea, or the other prophets, and no records of Jonah's visit to the city have been discovered. Jeremiah (li, 34) clearly shows the meaning of expressions similar to those found in the Jonah story. Here we read: "Nebuchadrezzar, the king of Babylon, hath devoured me, he hath crushed me, he hath made me an empty vessel, he hath swallowed me up like a dragon, he hath filled his belly with my delicates, he hath cast me out." See also Jeremiah l, 17; l, 44; and Isaiah xxvii, 1.

Other interpretations of the story have been advocated. W. Simpson (*The Jonah Legend*, London, 1899) considers that it is an initiatory legend showing death and subsequent resurrection, embodying the same principles as Christian baptism and the Brahmanic "rite of the twice-born." He points out that Jonah (ii, 2) cried out from "hell"—*i.e.* "Hades," "Sheol," or the "grave"—which shows that there was no real "fish" in the case, and that it was, on the contrary, the dramatic action of a ceremony, with its symbolic accessories.

For other interesting references see G. A. Smith, *The Book of the Twelve Prophets*, 1899, vol. ii, p. 524; Hans Schmitt, *Jona*, 1907; and T. K. Cheyne, "Jonah," *Ency. Brit.*, vol. xv, pp. 496, 497. For a Polynesian and Dutch New Guinea parallel of the Jonah story see respectively Macculloch, *Childhood of Fiction*, p 50, and Frazer, *Folk-Lore of the Old Testament*, vol. iii, p. 83.—N.M.P.

When Śaktideva had said this, Satyavrata said to him: "I am in truth Satyavrata, and this is the very island you were seeking; but though I have seen many islands I have never seen the city you desire to find, but I have heard of it as situated in one of the distant islands." Having said this, and perceiving that Śaktideva was cast down, Satyavrata, out of kindness for his guest, went on to say: "Brāhman, do not be despondent; remain here this night, and to-morrow morning I will devise some expedient to enable you to attain your object." The Brāhman was thus consoled by the king, and sent off to a monastery of Brāhmans, where guests were readily entertained. There Śaktideva was supplied with food by a Brāhman named Vishṇudatta, an inmate of the monastery, and entered into conversation with him. And in the course of that conversation, being questioned by him, he told him in a few words his country, his family and his whole history. When Vishṇudatta heard that, he immediately embraced him, and said in a voice indistinct from the syllables being choked with tears of joy: "Bravo! you are the son of my maternal uncle and a fellow-countryman of mine. But I long ago in my childhood left that country to come here. So stop here awhile, and soon the stream of merchants and pilots that come here from other islands will accomplish your wish."

Having told him his descent in these words, Vishṇudatta waited upon Śaktideva with all becoming attentions. And Śaktideva, forgetting the toil of the journey, obtained delight, for the meeting of a relation in a foreign land is like a fountain of nectar in the desert. And he considered that the accomplishment of his object was near at hand, for good luck befalling one by the way indicates success in an undertaking. So he reclined at night sleepless upon his bed, with his mind fixed upon the attainment of his desire, and Vishṇudatta, who was by his side, in order to encourage and delight him at the same time, related to him the following tale:—

29c. *Aśokadatta and Vijayadatta* [1]

Formerly there was a great Brāhman named Govindasvāmin, living on a great royal grant of land on the banks of the Yamunā. And in the course of time there were born to that virtuous Brāhman two sons like himself, Aśokadatta and Vijayadatta. While they were living there, there arose a terrible famine in that land, and so Govindasvāmin said to his wife: "This land is ruined by famine, and I cannot bear to behold the misery of my friends and relations. For who gives anything to anybody? So let us at any rate give away to our friends and relations what little food we possess and leave this country. And let us go with our family to Benares to live there." When he said this to his wife she consented, and he gave away his food and set out from that place with his wife, sons and servants. For men of noble soul cannot bear to witness the miseries of their relatives. And on the road he beheld a skull-bearing Śaiva ascetic, white with ashes, and with matted hair, like the god Śiva himself with his half-moon.

The Brāhman approached that wise man with a bow, and out of love for his sons asked him about their destiny, whether it should be good or bad, and that Yogī answered him: "The future destiny of your sons is auspicious, but you shall be separated, Brāhman, from this younger one, Vijayadatta, and finally by the might of the second, Aśokadatta, you shall be united to him." Govindasvāmin, when that wise man said this to him, took leave of him and departed, overpowered with joy, grief and wonder; and after reaching Benares he spent the day there in a temple of Durgā outside the town, engaged in worshipping the goddess and such-like occupations. And in the evening he encamped outside that temple under a tree with his family, in the company of pilgrims who had come from other countries. And at night, while all were asleep, wearied with their long journey, stretched out on strewn leaves and such other beds as travellers have to put up with, his younger son Vijayadatta, who was awake, was suddenly seized with a cold ague fit;

[1] *Cf.* Grimm's *Märchen*, No. 60; *Sicilianische Märchen*, Nos. 39 and 40, with Dr Kohler's notes.

that ague quickly made him tremble, and caused his hair to stand on end, as if it had been the fear of his approaching separation from his relations. And oppressed with the cold he woke up his father, and said to him: "A terrible ague afflicts me here now, father, so bring fuel and light me a fire to keep off the cold; in no other way can I obtain relief or get through the night." When Govindasvāmin heard him say this, he was distressed at his suffering, and said to him: "Whence can I procure fire now, my son?" Then his son said: "Why, surely we can see a fire burning near us on this side, and it is very large, so why should I not go there and warm my body? So take me by the hand, for I have a shivering fit, and lead me there." Thus entreated by his son, the Brāhman went on to say: "This is a cemetery,[1] and the fire is that of a funeral pyre, so how can you go to a place terrible from the presence of goblins and other spirits, for you are only a child?" When the brave Vijayadatta heard that speech of his affectionate father he laughed, and said in his confidence: "What can the wretched goblins and other evil ones do to me? Am I a weakling? So take me there without fear." When he said this so persistently, his father led him there, and the boy warming his body approached the pyre, which seemed to bear on itself the presiding deity of the Rākshasas[2] in visible form, with the smoke of the flames for dishevelled hair, devouring the flesh of men. The boy at once encouraged his father[3]

Vijayadatta becomes a Rākshasa

[1] If such a word can be applied to a place where bodies are burnt.—The usual expression is "burning-ground," or "burning-ghāṭ."—N.M.P.

[2] See Vol. I, pp. 204, 205. When Hanumān, the monkey-god, entered Laṅkā in the form of a cat, to reconnoitre, he saw that the Rākshasas who slept in the house "were of every shape and form. Some of them disgusted the eye, while some were beautiful to look on. Some had long arms and frightful shapes; some were very fat and some were very lean; some were dwarf and some were prodigiously tall. Some had only one eye, and others had only one ear. Some had monstrous bellies, hanging breasts, long projecting teeth, and crooked thighs; whilst others were exceedingly beautiful to behold and clothed in great splendour. Some had the heads of serpents, some the heads of asses, some of horses, and some of elephants." For further details see Crooke, *op. cit.*, vol. i, pp. 246-250.—N.M.P.

[3] *Samāśvasya*, the reading of a MS. in the Sanskrit College, would perhaps give a better sense.

and asked him what the round thing was that he saw inside the pyre. And his father, standing at his side, answered him: "This, my son, is the skull of a man which is burning in the pyre."

Then the boy in his recklessness struck the skull with a piece of wood lighted at the top and clove it. The brains spouted up from it and entered his mouth, like the initiation into the practices of the Rākshasas, bestowed upon him by the funeral flame. And by tasting them that boy became a Rākshasa,[1] with hair standing on end, with sword that he

[1] Although at first sight the disgusting method by which Vijayadatta becomes a Rākshasa may appear merely fantastic and revolting, the idea is based on practices which enter into the Tantric rites of the Śākta worshippers of Dēvī, in one of her various forms, as Kālī, Durgā, Chāmuṇḍā, etc. Apart from the cannibalism and human sacrifices connected with this worship, we find similar and even more loathsome practices among the Aghorī caste, who are not even extinct to-day (see p. 90*n*[3]). Members of this caste eat the most disgusting things imaginable, including putrid corpses, human and animal excretions, etc.

As Crooke points out ("Aghorī," Hastings' *Ency. Rel. Eth.*, vol. i, p. 212), these vile practices may perhaps be accounted for by similar ones which existed, and in some cases do still exist, among wizards and medicine-men of savage tribes. The idea at the root of such practices is that the unusual and filthy food thus consumed enhances the spiritual exaltation of the eater. I consider it is really the same principle as we saw (p. 117) existed in the minds of people who perform rites in a state of nudity.

The following examples of eating disgusting food for magical reasons have been collected by Crooke (*op. cit.*, p. 212): According to Haddon (*Report Cambridge Exped.*, vol. v, p. 321), at Mabuiag in Torres Straits, the Maidelaig, or sorcerer, "made a practice of eating anything that was disgusting and revolting in character, or poisonous or medicinal in nature, not only during the course of instruction, but subsequently, whenever about to perform a special act of sorcery. For instance, they were said frequently to eat flesh of corpses, or to mix the juices of corpses with their food. One effect of this diet was to make them 'wild' so that they did not care for anyone, and all affection temporarily ceased for relatives, wife and children; and on being angered by any of them, they would not hesitate to commit murder." In parts of Melanesia, according to Codrington, *Mana*, or spiritual exaltation, is gained by eating human flesh; and in this way people obtain the power of becoming vampires, the ghost of the corpse which was eaten entering into friendly relations with the eater (*Journ. Anth. Inst.*, vol. x, p. 305; *Melanesians*, p. 222). In Central Africa, according to Macdonald, witches and wizards feed on human flesh, and anyone tasting a morsel of such food becomes himself a wizard (*Journ. Anth. Inst.*, vol. xxii, p. 107). Among nearly all the Bantu negro

had drawn from the flame, terrible with projecting tusks: so he seized the skull and, drinking the brains from it, he licked it with tongue restlessly quivering like the flames of fire that clung to the bone. Then he flung aside the skull, and lifting his sword he attempted to slay his own father Govindasvāmin. But at that moment a voice came out from the cemetery: "Kapālasphoṭa,[1] thou god, thou oughtest not to slay thy father. Come here." When the boy heard that, having obtained the title of Kapālasphoṭa and become a Rākshasa, he let his father alone and disappeared; and his father departed, exclaiming aloud: "Alas, my son! Alas, my virtuous son! Alas, Vijayadatta!" And he returned to the temple of Durgā, and in the morning he told his wife and his eldest son Aśokadatta what had taken place. Then that unfortunate man together with them suffered an attack of the fire of grief, terrible like the falling of lightning from a cloud, so that the other people who were sojourning in Benares, and had come to visit the shrine of the goddess, came up to him and sympathised heartily with his sorrow.

In the meanwhile a great merchant, who had come to worship the goddess, named Samudradatta, beheld Govindasvāmin in that state. The good man approached him and comforted him, and immediately took him and his family home to his own house. And there he provided him with a

races there is a lingering suspicion that the sorcerer, or person desiring to become a sorcerer, is a corpse-eater, a ghoul who digs up the bodies of dead persons to eat them, either from a morbid taste, or in the belief that this action will invest him with magical powers. In Uganda, as well as in many parts of Bantu Africa, there is believed to exist a secret society of such ghouls, who assemble at midnight for the purpose of disinterring and eating corpses. People cursed with this morbid taste are in Uganda called *basesi* (Johnston, *Uganda*, vol. ii, pp. 578, 692 *et. seq.*).

Stories similar to those in the present work are still told in India (*Panjab Notes and Queries*, vol. ii, p. 75; Steel and Temple's *Wide-Awake Stories*, p. 418). Even at the present day the Oḍi magicians in Malabar are said to eat filth as a means of acquiring power (Fawcett, *Bulletin of the Madras Museum*, vol. iii, p. 311).

For further details reference should be made to Bourke, *Scatalogic Rites of all Nations*, see especially ch. xliii, under "Witchcraft," etc.—N.M.P.

[1] *I.e.* "skull-cleaver."

bath and other luxuries, for this is the innate tendency of the great, to have mercy upon the wretched. Govindasvāmin also and his wife recovered their self-command, having heard [1] the speech of the great Śaiva ascetic, hoping to be reunited to their son. And thenceforth he lived in that city of Benares, in the house of that rich merchant, having been asked by him to do so. And there his other son Aśokadatta grew up to be a young man, and after studying the sciences learnt boxing and wrestling. And gradually he attained such eminence in these arts that he was not surpassed by any champion on the earth. And once on a time there was a great gathering of wrestlers at an idol procession,[2] and a great and famous wrestler came from the Deccan. He conquered all the other wrestlers of the King of Benares, who was called Pratāpamukuṭa, before his eyes. Then the king had Aśokadatta quickly summoned from the house of that excellent merchant, and ordered him to contend with that wrestler. That wrestler began the combat by catching the arm of Aśokadatta with his hand, but Aśokadatta seized his arm and hurled him to the ground. Then the field of combat, as it were, pleased, applauded the victor with the resounding noise produced by the fall of that champion wrestler. And the king being gratified, loaded Aśokadatta with jewels, and having seen his might, he made him his own personal attendant. So he became a favourite of the king's, and in time attained great prosperity, for to one who possesses heroic qualities a king who appreciates merit is a perfect treasure-house.

The Call from the Funeral Pyre

Once on a time that king went on the fourteenth day of the month away from his capital, to worship the god Śiva in a splendid temple in a distant town. After he had paid his devotions, he was returning by night near the cemetery when he heard this utterance issue from it: "O King, the chief magistrate out of private malice proclaimed that I deserved death, and it is

[1] Perhaps we ought to read *smritvā* for *śrutvā*, "remembering," "calling to mind."

[2] Barnett (*Golden Town*, p. 16) translates simply "a religious festival." —N.M.P.

now the third day since I was impaled, and even now my life will not leave my body, though I am innocent, so I am exceedingly thirsty. O King, order water to be given me." When the king heard it, out of pity he said to his personal attendant Aśokadatta: "Send that man some water." Then Aśokadatta said: "Who would go there at night? So I had better go myself." Accordingly he took the water and set off.

After the king had proceeded on his way to his capital, the hero entered that cemetery, the interior of which was difficult to penetrate, as it was filled with dense darkness within; in it there were awful evening oblations offered with the human flesh scattered about by the jackals; in places the cemetery was lighted up by the flaming beacons of the blazing funeral pyres, and in it the Vetālas made terrible music with the clapping of their hands, so that it seemed as if it were the palace of black night.[1] Then he cried aloud: "Who asked the king for water?" And he heard from one quarter an answer: "I asked for it." Following the voice he went to a funeral pyre near, and beheld a man impaled on the top of a stake, and underneath it he saw a woman that he had never seen before, weeping, adorned with beautiful ornaments, lovely in every limb—like the night adorned with the rays of the moon, now that the moon itself had set, its splendour having waned in the dark fortnight, come to worship the funeral pyre.[2] He asked the woman: "Who are you, mother,[3] and why are you standing weeping here?" She answered him: "I am the ill-fated

[1] Barnett (*op. cit.*, p. 17) translates "while the tuneless hand-clapping of goblins rang out; it was like black Night's own palace."—N.M.P.

[2] The passage is not clear. Speyer (*op. cit.*, p. 105) points out that the difficulty vanishes when we read *citārohāya* of the D. text instead of *citārcāya* in Brockhaus. The wife, who sits down on the earth near her impaled husband, is duly compared to a night of the dark half of the month, at the time when the moon has set; both, in fact, are preparing to ascend the pyre that is to consume their husband—the woman after the death of the tortured man, and Night in the glow of the approaching dawn.—N.M.P.

[3] As the lady was young and beautiful, this mode of address may seem strange, but it is an assurance that the speaker has no designs on the other's chastity. It corresponds with the Arabic "Yā Ummī!"—"O my mother!" See *Nights* (Burton, vol. viii, p. 87).—N.M.P.

wife of him who is here impaled, and I am waiting here with the firm intention of ascending the funeral pyre with him. And I am waiting some time for his life to leave his body, for though it is the third day of his impalement his breath does not depart. And he often asks for that water which I have brought here, but I cannot reach his mouth, my friend, as the stake is high." When he heard that speech of hers, the mighty hero said to her: "But here is water in my hand sent to him by the king, so place your foot on my back and lift it to his mouth, for the mere touching of another man in sore need does not disgrace a woman." When she heard that, she consented, and, taking the water, she climbed up so as to plant her two feet on the back of Aśokadatta, who bent down at the foot of the stake. Soon after, as drops of blood unexpectedly began to fall upon the earth and on his back, the hero lifted up his face and looked. Then he saw that woman cutting off slice after slice of that impaled man's flesh with a knife and eating it.[1]

Then, perceiving that she was some horrible demon,[2] he

[1] So in Laura Gonzenbach's *Sicilianische Märchen*, p. 66, a lovely woman opens with a knife the veins of the sleeping prince and drinks his blood. See also Veckenstedt's *Wendische Sagen*, p. 354. Ralston in his *Russian Folk-Tales*, p. 17, compares this part of the story with a Russian story called "The Friend" (*Afanasief*, vi, No. 66).——The incident in our text found its way into the story of "Brave Seventee Bai," Frere's *Old Deccan Days*, pp. 27, 28. The best-known story of people digging up corpses and eating them occurs in the "History of Sidi Nu'uman," *Nights* (Burton, Supp., vol. iii, pp. 325-336). A very similar tale is current at Palena, in the Abruzzi, and is given in vol. iii of the *Archivio per lo studio delle Tradizioni Popolari* (Palermo, 1882), p. 222. An important abstract was given by E. Sidney Hartland to W. S. Clouston, who printed it on pp. 585-586 of the same volume of the *Nights* as given above. In this case (as in that of Sidi Nu'uman) the attention of the husband is drawn to his wife's behaviour as she cannot eat anything when at home and merely "picks a few grains of rice with a large pin." Her suspicious husband follows her one night to the burial-ground, where she meets with certain female companions, who open a grave and feast on a newly buried corpse. When on the next day the husband shows he is no longer in ignorance of his wife's strange pastime, he is immediately turned into a dog by her magic.

Other references will be found in Crooke, *Popular Folk-Lore of Northern India*, vol. ii, pp. 168, 169; Chauvin, *op. cit.*, vii, p. 199; and Macculloch, *The Childhood of Fiction*, ch. x.—N.M.P.

[2] One is tempted to read *vikṛitām* for *vikṛitim*, but *vikṛiti* is translated by the Petersburg lexicographers as *Gespensterscheinung*. *Vikṛitām* would mean transformed into a Rākshasī.

dragged her down in a rage, and took hold of her foot with its tinkling anklets in order to dash her to pieces on the earth. She for her part dragged away from him that foot, and by her deluding power quickly flew up into the heaven and became invisible. And the jewelled anklet, which had fallen from her foot while she was dragging it away, remained in one of Aśokadatta's hands. Then he, reflecting that she had disappeared after showing herself mild at first, and evil-working in the middle, and at the end horror-striking by assuming a terrible form, like association with wicked men, and seeing that heavenly anklet in his hand, was astonished, grieved and delighted at the same time; and then he left that cemetery, taking the anklet with him, and went to his own house, and in the morning, after bathing, to the palace of the king.

And when the king said, "Did you give the water to the man who was impaled?" he said he had done so, and gave him that anklet; and when the king of his own accord asked him where it came from, he told that king his wonderful and terrible night adventure. And then the king, perceiving that his courage was superior to that of all men, though he was before pleased with his other excellent qualities, was now more exceedingly delighted; and he took that anklet in his joy and gave it with his own hand to the queen, and described to her the way in which he had obtained it. And she, hearing the story and beholding that heavenly-jewelled anklet, rejoiced in her heart and was continually engaged in extolling Aśokadatta. Then the king said to her: "Queen, in birth, in learning, in truthfulness and beauty Aśokadatta is great among the great; and I think it would be a good thing if he were to become the husband of our lovely daughter Madanalekhā; in a bridegroom these qualities are to be looked for, not fortune that vanishes in a moment, so I will give my daughter to this excellent hero."

When she heard that speech of her husband's, that queen approving the proposal said: "It is quite fitting, for the youth will be an appropriate match for her, and her heart has been captivated by him, for she saw him in a spring-garden, and for some days her mind has been in a state of

vacancy and she neither hears nor sees. I heard of it from her confidante, and, after spending an anxious night, towards morning I fell asleep, and I remember I was thus addressed by some heavenly woman in a dream: 'My child, thou must not give this thy daughter Madanalekhā to anyone but Aśokadatta, for she is his wife acquired by him in a former birth.' And when I heard it I woke up, and in the morning I went myself on the strength of that dream and consoled my daughter. And now my husband has of his own accord proposed the marriage to me. Let her, therefore, be united to him, as a spring-creeper to its stalk."[1] When the king's beloved wife said this to him, he was pleased, and he made festal rejoicings, and summoning Aśokadatta gave that daughter to him. And the union of those two, the daughter of the king, and the son of the great Brāhman, was such that each enhanced the other's glory, like the union of prosperity and modesty.

Aśokadatta marries the King's Daughter

And once upon a time the queen said to the king, with reference to the anklet brought by Aśokadatta: "My husband, this anklet by itself does not look well, so let another be made like it." When the king heard that, he gave an order to the goldsmiths and other craftsmen of the kind, to make a second anklet like that. But they, after examining it, said: "It is impossible, O king, to make another like it, for the work is heavenly, not human. There are not many jewels of this kind upon the earth, so let another be sought for where this was obtained." When the king and the queen heard this, they were despondent, and Aśokadatta, who was there, on seeing that, immediately said: "I myself will bring you a fellow to that anklet." And having made this promise he could not give up the project on which he was resolved, although the king, terrified at his temerity, endeavoured to dissuade him out of affection.

And taking the anklet he went again on the fourteenth

[1] Indian rhetoric always compares the union of husband and wife to the creeper clinging to a tree. This is, moreover, found in the D. text, which reads *vṛkṣheṇevārtavī latā*. See Speyer, *op. cit.*, p. 105. Barnett (*Golden Town*, p. 18) translates "as a climbing plant of spring with its tree."—N.M.P.

night of the black fortnight to the cemetery where he had first obtained it; and after he had entered that cemetery which was full of Rākshasas as it was of trees, besmirched with the copious smoke of the funeral pyres, and with men hanging from their trunks [1] which were weighed down and surrounded with nooses, he did not at first see that woman that he had seen before, but he thought of an admirable device for obtaining that bracelet, which was nothing else than the selling of human flesh.[2] So he pulled down a corpse from the noose by which it was suspended on the tree, and he wandered about in the cemetery, crying aloud: "Human flesh for sale, buy, buy!" [3] And immediately a woman called to him from a distance, saying: "Courageous man, bring the human flesh and come along with me." When he heard that, he advanced, following that woman, and beheld at no great distance under a tree a lady of heavenly appearance, surrounded with women, sitting on a throne, glittering with jewelled ornaments, whom he would never have expected to find in such a place, any more than to find a lotus in a desert.

He obtains the second Anklet

And having been led up by that woman, he approached the lady seated as has been described, and said: "Here I am; I sell human flesh; buy, buy!" And then the lady of heavenly appearance said to him: "Courageous hero, for what price will you sell the flesh?" Then the hero, the corpse hanging over his shoulder and back, said to her, showing her at the same time that single jewelled anklet which was in his hand: "I will give this flesh to whoever will give me a second anklet like this one; if you have got a second like it, take the flesh." When she heard that, she said to him: "I have a second like it, for this very single anklet was taken by you from me. I am that very woman who was seen by you near the impaled man, but you do not recognise me now, because I have

[1] *Skandha* when applied to the Rākshasas means "shoulder."

[2] Literally, "great flesh." "Great" seems to give the idea of unlawfulness, as in the Greek μέγα ἔργον.

[3] This resembles the Tantric rite described in the *Mālatī Mādhava*. See note at the end of this chapter.—N.M.P.

assumed another shape. So what is the use of flesh? If you do what I tell you, I will give you my second anklet, which matches the one in your hand." When she said this to the hero, he consented, and said: "I will immediately do whatever you say."

Then she told him her whole desire from the beginning: "There is, good sir, a city named Trighaṇṭa on a peak of the Himālayas. In it there lived a heroic prince of the Rākshasas named Lambajihva. I am his wife, Vidyuchchhikhā by name, and I can change my form at will. And as fate would have it, that husband of mine, after the birth of my daughter, was slain in battle fighting in front of the King Kapālasphoṭa; then that king being pleased gave me his own city, and I have lived with my daughter in great comfort on its proceeds up to the present time. And that daughter of mine has by this time grown up to fresh womanhood, and I have great anxiety in my mind as to how to obtain for her a brave husband. Then being here on the fourteenth night of the lunar fortnight, and seeing you coming along this way with the king, I thought: 'This good-looking youth is a hero and a fit match for my daughter, so why should I not devise some stratagem for obtaining him?' Thus I determined, and imitating the voice of an impaled person, I asked for water, and brought you into the middle of that cemetery by a trick. And there I exhibited my delusive power in assuming a false shape and other characteristics, and, saying what was false, I imposed upon you there, though only for a moment. And I artfully left one of my anklets there to attract you again, like a binding chain to draw you, and then I came away. And to-day I have obtained you by that very expedient; so come to my house, marry my daughter and receive the other anklet."

When the Rākshasī said this to him, the hero consented, and by means of her magic power he went with her through the air to her city. And he saw that city built of gold on a peak of the Himālayas, like the orb of the sun fixed in one spot, being weary with the toil of wandering through the heavens. There he married that daughter of the Prince of the Rākshasas, by name Vidyutprabhā, like the success of his

own daring incarnate in bodily form. And Aśokadatta dwelt with that loved one some time in that city, enjoying great comfort by means of his mother-in-law's wealth. Then he said to his mother-in-law: "Give me that anklet, for I must now go to the city of Benares, for I myself long ago promised the king that I would bring a second anklet, that would vie with the first one so distinguished for its unparalleled beauty." The mother-in-law gave him that second anklet of hers and in addition a golden lotus.[1]

And returns safely to the Palace

Then he left that city with the anklet and the lotus, after promising to return, and his mother-in-law by the power of her magic knowledge carried him once more through the air to the cemetery. And then she stopped under the tree and said to him: "I always come here on the fourteenth night of the black fortnight, and whenever you come here on that[2] night you will find me here under the banyan-tree." When Aśokadatta heard this, he agreed to come there on that night, and took leave of that Rākshasī, and went first to his father's house. And just as he was gladdening by his unexpected arrival his parents, who were grieved by such an absence of his, which doubled their grief for their separation from their younger son, the king, his father-in-law, who had heard of his arrival, came in. The king indulged in a long outburst of joy, embracing him who bent before him, with limbs the hairs of which stood on end like thorns, as if terrified at touching one so daring.[3]

Then Aśokadatta entered with him the palace of the king, like joy incarnate in bodily form; and he gave to the king those two anklets matched together, which so to speak praised his valour with their tinkling; and he bestowed on that king the beautiful golden lotus, as it were the lotus with which the presiding Fortune of the Rākshasas' treasure plays, torn from her hand. Then being questioned out of curiosity by the king and queen he told the story of his

[1] *Cf.* the golden rose in Gaal, *Märchen der Magyaren*, p. 44.

[2] Reading *tasyān* for *tasmān*.

[3] Somadeva no doubt means that the hairs on the king's body stood on end with joy.——See Vol. I, p. 120*n*[1].—N.M.P.

exploits, which poured nectar into their ears. The king then exclaimed: "Is glittering glory, which astonishes the mind by the description of wonderful exploits, ever obtained without a man's bringing himself to display boldness?" Thus the king spoke on that occasion, and he and the queen, who had obtained the pair of anklets, considered their object in life attained, now that they had such a son-in-law. And then that palace, resounding with festal instruments, appeared as if it were chanting the virtues of Aśokadatta.

And on the next day the king dedicated the golden lotus in a temple made by himself, placing it upon a beautiful silver vessel; and the two together, the vessel and the lotus, gleamed white and red like the glory of the king and the might[1] of Aśokadatta. And beholding them thus, the king, a devout worshipper of Śiva, with eyes expanded with joy, spoke inspired with the rapture of adoration: "Ah! this lofty vessel appears, with this lotus upon it, like Śiva white with ashes, with his auburn matted locks. If I had a second golden lotus like it I would place it in this second silver vessel." When Aśokadatta heard this speech of the king's, he said: "I, King, will bring you a second golden lotus." When the king heard that, he answered him: "I have no need of another lotus; a truce to your temerity!"

Then as days went on, Aśokadatta being desirous of bringing a golden lotus, the fourteenth day of the black fortnight returned; and that evening the sun, the golden lotus of the sky-lake, went to the mountain of setting, as if out of fear, knowing his desire for a golden lotus; and when the shades of night, brown as smoke, began immediately to spread everywhere like Rākshasas, proud of having swallowed the red clouds of evening as if they were raw flesh, and the mouth of night like that of an awful goblin began to yawn, shining and terrible as *tamāla*, full of flickering flames,[2] Aśokadatta of his own accord left the palace where the princess was asleep, and again went to that cemetery. There he beheld at the foot of that banyan-tree his mother-

[1] According to the canons of Hindu rhetoric glory is always white.

[2] Night is compared to a female goblin (Rākshasī). These creatures have fiery mouths.

in-law the Rākshasī, who had again come, and who received him with a courteous welcome; and with her the youth went again to her home, the peak of the Himālayas, where his wife was anxiously awaiting him. And after he had remained some time with his wife he said to his mother-in-law: "Give me a second golden lotus from somewhere or other." When she heard that, she said to him: "Whence can I procure another golden lotus? But there is a lake here belonging to our King Kapālasphoṭa, where golden lotuses of this kind grow on all sides. From that lake he gave that one lotus to my husband as a token of affection." When she said this, he answered her: "Then take me to that lake in order that I may myself take a golden lotus from it." She then attempted to dissuade him, saying: "It is impossible; for the lake is guarded by terrible Rākshasas"; but nevertheless he would not desist from his importunity. Then at last his mother-in-law was with much difficulty induced to take him there, and he beheld from afar that heavenly lake on the plateau of a lofty mountain, covered with dense and tall-stalked lotuses of gleaming gold, as if from continually facing the sun's rays they had drunk them in, and so become interpenetrated with them.

So he went there and began to gather the lotuses; and while he was thus engaged the terrible Rākshasas who guarded it endeavoured to prevent him from doing so. And being armed he killed some of them, but the others fled and told their King Kapālasphoṭa,[1] and when that King of the Rākshasas heard of it he was enraged, and came there himself, and saw Aśokadatta with the lotuses he had carried off. And in his astonishment he exclaimed as he recognised his brother: "What! is this my brother Aśokadatta come here?" Then he flung away his weapon, and, with his eyes washed with tears of joy, he quickly ran and fell at his feet, and said to him: "I am Vijayadatta, your younger brother; we are both the sons of that excellent Brāhman Govindasvāmin. And by the appointment of destiny I became a Rākshasa such as you see, and have continued such for this long time;

Aśokadatta meets his Brother

[1] Cf. *Sicilianische Märchen*, collected by Laura Gonzenbach, vol. i, p. 160.

and I am called Kapālasphoṭa from my cleaving the skull on the funeral pyre. But now from seeing you I have remembered my former Brāhman nature, and that Rākshasa nature of mine, that clouded my mind with delusion, has left me." When Vijayadatta said this, Aśokadatta embraced him, and, so to speak, washed with copious tears of joy his body defiled by the Rākshasa nature. And while he was thus engaged there descended from heaven by divine command the spiritual guide of the Vidyādharas, named Kauśika. And he, approaching these two brothers, said: "You and your family are all Vidyādharas, who have been reduced to this state by a curse, and now the curse of all of you has terminated. So receive these sciences, which belong to you, and which you must share with your relations. And return to your own proper dwelling, taking with you your relations." Having said this, the spiritual guide, after bestowing the sciences on them, ascended to heaven.

And they, having become Vidyādharas, awoke from their long dream and went through the air to that peak of the Himālayas, taking with them the golden lotuses; and there Aśokadatta repaired to his wife, the daughter of the King of the Rākshasas, and then her curse came to an end and she became a Vidyādharī. And those two brothers went in a moment with that fair-eyed one to Benares, travelling through the air. And there they visited their parents, who were scorched with the fire of separation, and refreshed them by pouring upon them the revivifying nectar of their own appearance. And those two, who, without changing the body, had gone through such wonderful transformations, produced joy not only in their parents, but in the people at large. And when Vijayadatta's father, after so long a separation, folded him in a close embrace, he filled not only his arms, but also his desire.

Then the King Pratāpamukuṭa, the father-in-law of Aśokadatta, hearing of it, came there in high delight; and Aśokadatta, being kindly received by the king, entered with his relations the king's palace, in which his beloved was anxiously awaiting him, and which was in a state of festal rejoicing. And he gave many golden lotuses to that king,

and the king was delighted at getting more than he had asked for. Then Vijayadatta's father Govindasvāmin, full of wonder and curiosity, said to him in the presence of all: "Tell me, my son, what sort of adventures you had after you had become a Rākshasa in the cemetery during the night."

Vijayadatta relates his Adventures

Then Vijayadatta said to him: "My father, when in my reckless frivolity I had cloven the burning skull on the funeral pyre, as fate would have it, I immediately, as you saw, became a Rākshasa by its brains having entered my mouth, being bewildered with delusion. Then I was summoned by the other Rākshasas, who gave me the name of Kapālasphoṭa, and I joined them. And then I was led by them to their sovereign, the King of the Rākshasas, and he, when he saw me, was pleased with me and appointed me commander-in-chief. And once on a time that King of the Rākshasas went, in his infatuation, to attack the Gandharvas, and was there slain in battle by his foes. And then his subjects accepted my rule, so I dwelt in his city and ruled those Rākshasas; and while I was there I suddenly beheld that elder brother of mine, Aśokadatta, who had come for golden lotuses, and the sight of him put a stop to that Rākshasa nature in me. What follows, how we were released from the power of the curse, and thereby recovered our sciences,[1] all this my elder brother will relate to you."

When Vijayadatta had told this story, Aśokadatta began to tell his from the beginning: "Long ago we were Vidyādharas, and from the heaven we beheld the daughters of the hermits bathing in the Ganges near the hermitage of Gālava,[2] and then we fell suddenly in love with them, and they returned our affection; all this took place in secret, but their relations, who possessed heavenly insight, found it out and cursed us in their anger: 'May you two wicked ones be born both of you to a mortal woman, and then you shall be separated in a marvellous manner, but when the second of you shall behold the first arrived in a distant land,

[1] Magical sciences, in virtue of which they were Vidyādharas or science-holders.

[2] A son or pupil of Viśvāmitra.

inaccessible to man, and shall recognise him, then you shall have your magic knowledge restored to you by the spiritual preceptor of the Vidyādharas, and you shall again become Vidyādharas, released from the curse and reunited to your friends.' Having been cursed in this way by those hermits, we were both born here in this land, and you know the whole story of our separation; and now by going to the city of the King of the Rākshasas, by virtue of my mother-in-law's magic power, to fetch the golden lotuses I have found this younger brother of mine. And in that very place we obtained the sciences [1] from our preceptor Prajnaptikauśika, and suddenly becoming Vidyādharas we have quickly arrived here." Thus Aśokadatta spoke, and then that hero of various adventures, delighted at having escaped the darkness of the curse, bestowed on his parents and his beloved, the daughter of the king, his wonderful sciences of many kinds, so that their minds were suddenly awakened and they became Vidyādharas.

Then the happy hero took leave of the king, and with his brother, his parents and his two wives flew up and quickly reached through the air the palace of his emperor. There he beheld him, and received his orders, and so did his brother, and he bore henceforth the name of Aśokavega, and his brother of Vijayavega. And both the brothers, having become noble Vidyādhara youths, went, accompanied by their relations, to the splendid mountain named Govindakūṭa, which now became their home. And Pratāpamukuṭa, the King of Benares, overpowered by wonder, placed one of the

[1] Prajñapti, "foreknowledge," is one of the many "sciences" controlled by Vidyadharas, or "holders of magic science."

She (for the science is feminine) occurs again at the beginning of Chapter XXX; in the "Story of Alankāravatī," Chapter LI; and in the "Story of the Silent Couple," Chapter CXI. In Chapter XLV the art is said to be founded on Sānkhya and Yoga and is described as "the famous supernatural power, and the independence of knowledge, the dominion over matter that is characterised by lightness and other mystic properties."

Various other sciences besides Prajñapti occur in this work, thus in Chapter XLVI the science called Mohanī, "bewitching," appears, and in Chapter CVII it is Gaurī, "with three eyes, armed with a trident," who paralysed the chief heroes of Naravāhanadatta's army. See Bloomfield, *Proc. Amer. Phil. Soc.*, vol. lvi, 1917, pp. 1-6.—N.M.P.

golden lotuses in the second vessel in his temple, and offered to Śiva the other golden lotuses presented by Aśokadatta, and, delighted with the honour of his connection, considered his family highly fortunate.

29. *Story of the Golden City*

"Thus divine persons become incarnate for some reason, and are born in this world of men, and possessing their native virtue and courage, attain successes which it is hard to win. So I am persuaded that you, O sea of courage, are some portion of a divinity, and will attain success as you desire; daring in achievements hard to accomplish even by the great, generally indicates a surpassingly excellent nature. Moreover, the Princess Kanakarekhā, whom you love, must surely be a heavenly being, otherwise being a mere child how could she desire a husband that has seen the Golden City?" Having heard in secret this long and interesting story from Vishṇudatta, Śaktideva, desiring in his heart to behold the Golden City, and supporting himself with resolute patience, managed to get through the night.

NOTE ON TANTRIC RITES IN THE *MĀLATĪ MĀDHAVA*

Bhavabhūti, the great romantic dramatist of India, who flourished towards the end of the seventh century, has three plays attributed to him—the *Mālatī Mādhava*, the *Mahā Vīra Charita*, and the *Uttara Rāma Charita*

It is in the first of these that we have such insight into the esoteric rites of Hinduism. The Tantric practices pictured here are so vivid and detailed that imagination must have been aided by a knowledge of actual fact. The goddess whose worship figures so largely in the play is Chāmuṇḍā, a form of Durgā. Among the rites of the high priest is the sacrifice of a human virgin, and by means of sorcery Mālatī is led to the dread temple of the goddess.

The hero Mādhava has decided, like Faust, to call the powers of evil to his aid in his winning of Mālatī. Accordingly he prepares for the necessary Tantric rites by procuring human flesh as an offering—flesh which had been obtained not by the common method of cutting it from a man slain in battle, but, we are led to suppose, by more grim and sanguinary means. Chance takes Mādhava, with his offering of flesh, to the very temple where, little as he knows it, his beloved is bound and about to be offered up as a sacrifice to Chāmuṇḍā.

The temple is situated in a burning-ground and as Mādhava approaches the terrors of the place begin to have their effect on him. On hearing a noise behind he speaks as follows (the extracts given here are taken from Act V of the play, as translated by H. H. Wilson; see his *Theatre of the Hindus*, vol. ii, 1827):—

"Now wake the terrors of the place, beset
With crowding and malignant fiends; the flames
From funeral pyres scarce lend their sullen light
Clogged with their fleshly prey, to dissipate
The fearful gloom that hems them round. Pale ghosts
Sport with foul goblins, and their dissonant mirth
In shrill respondent shrieks is echoed round.
Well, be it so. I seek, and must address them.
Demons of ill, and disembodied spirits,
Who haunt this spot, I bring you flesh for sale.
The flesh of man untouched by trenchant steel,
And worthy your acceptance. (*A great noise.*)
How, the noise
High, shrill, and indistinct, of chattering sprites
Communicative fills the charnel ground.
Strange forms like foxes flit along the sky;
From the red hair of their lank bodies darts
The meteor blaze; or from their mouths that stretch
From ear to ear thickset with numerous fangs,
Or eyes or beards or brows, the radiance streams.

And now I see the goblin host: each stalks,
On legs like palm-trees, a gaunt skeleton,
Whose fleshless bones are bound by starting sinews,
And scantly cased in black and shrivelled skin:
Like tall and withered trees by lightning scathed
They move, and as amidst their sapless trunks
The mighty serpent curls—so in each mouth
Wide-yawning rolls the vast blood-dripping tongue.
They mark my coming, and the half-chewed morsel
Falls to the howling wolf—and now they fly
(*Pauses and looks round.*)
Race—dastardly as hideous—all is plunged
In utter gloom. (*Considering.*) The river flows before me,
The boundary of the funeral ground, that winds
Through mouldering bones its interrupted way.
Wild raves the torrent as it rushes past,
And rends its crumbling bank; the wailing Owl
Hoots through its skirting groves, and to the sounds
The loud-moaning Jackal yells reply."

Suddenly Mādhava hears a voice and rushes off alarmed.

Meanwhile the priest and priestess in the temple have dressed the luckless Mālati as a victim and a ritual dance is being performed round her as she lies bound and terrified. The priest begins his incantations thus:

"Hail—hail—Chāmuṇḍa, mighty goddess, hail!
I glorify thy sport, when in the dance,
That fills the court of Śiva with delight,
Thy foot descending spurns the earthly Globe.
Beneath the weight the broad-backed tortoise reels;
The egg of Brahmā trembles at the shock;
And in a yawning chasm, that gapes like hell,
The sevenfold main tumultuously rushes.

The elephant hide that robes thee, to thy steps
Swings to and fro—the whirling talons rend
The crescent on thy brow—from the torn orb
The trickling nectar falls, and every skull
That gems thy necklace laughs with horrid life—
Attendant spirits tremble and applaud.
The mountain falls before thy powerful arms,
Around whose length the sable serpents twine
Their swelling forms, and knit terrific bands,
Whilst from the hood expanded frequent flash
Envenomed flames—

As rolls thy awful head,
The lowering eye that glows amidst thy brow

A fiery circle designates, that wraps
The spheres within its terrible circumference:
Whilst by the banner on thy dreadful staff,
High waved, the stars are scattered from their orbits.
The three-eyed God exults in the embrace
Of his fair Spouse, as Gauri sinks appalled
By the distracting cries of countless fiends,
Who shout thy praise. Oh, may such dance afford
Whate'er we need—whate'er may yield us happiness."

While this is proceeding Mādhava enters unseen and slaying the priest releases Mālati.

There are many other striking episodes in the play, but the above is sufficient to show the Tantric basis of the scene described in pp. 198, 199 and 205 of this volume.—N.M.P.

CHAPTER XXVI

29. *Story of the Golden City*

THE next morning, while Śaktideva was dwelling in the monastery, in the island of Utsthala, Satyavrata, the king of the fishermen, came to him and said to him in accordance with the promise which he had made before: "Brāhman, I have thought of a device for accomplishing your wish. There is a fair isle in the middle of the sea named Ratnakūṭa, and in it there is a temple of the adorable Vishṇu founded by the Ocean, and on the twelfth day of the white fortnight of Āshāḍha there is a festival there, with a procession, and people come there diligently from all the islands to offer worship. It is possible that someone there might know about the Golden City, so come let us go there, for that day is near."

When Satyavrata made this proposal, Śaktideva consented gladly, and took with him the provisions for the journey furnished by Vishṇudatta. Then he went on board the ship brought by Satyavrata, and quickly set out with him on the ocean-path; and as he was going with Satyavrata on the home of marvels [1] in which the monsters resembled islands, he asked the king, who was steering the ship: "What is this enormous object which is seen in the sea far off in this direction, looking like a huge mountain equipped with wings rising at will out of the sea?" Then Satyavrata said: "Brāhman, this is a banyan-tree [2]; underneath it they say that there is a gigantic whirlpool, the mouth of the submarine fire. And we must take care in passing this way to avoid that spot, for those who once enter that whirlpool never return again." While Satyavrata was thus speaking, the ship began to be carried in that very direction by the force of the wind.[3]

[1] *I.e.* the Ocean.

[2] *Cf.* the ἐρινεὸς μέγας φύλλοισι τεθηλώς in the *Odyssey*, Book XII, 103.

[3] The metre of this line is incorrect. There is a superfluous syllable. Perhaps we ought to read *ambuvegataḥ*, "by the current."——The D. text shows Tawney's guess was quite correct.—N.M.P.

When Satyavrata saw this he again said to Śaktideva: "Brāhman, it is clear that the time of our destruction has now arrived, for see, this ship suddenly drifts[1] in that direction. And now I cannot anyhow prevent it, so we are certain to be cast into that deep whirlpool, as into the mouth of death, by the sea which draws us on as if it were mighty Fate, the result of our deeds. And it grieves me not for myself; for whose body is continuing? But it grieves me to think that your desire has not been accomplished in spite of all your toils, so while I keep back this ship for a moment quickly climb on to the boughs of this banyan-tree; perhaps some expedient may present itself for saving the life of one of such noble form: for who can calculate the caprices of Fate or the waves of the sea?"

While the heroic Satyavrata was saying this the ship drew near the tree; at that moment Śaktideva made a leap in his terror[2] and caught a broad branch of that marine banyan-tree,[3] but Satyavrata's body and ship, which he offered for another, were swept down into the whirlpool, and he entered the mouth of the submarine fire. But Śaktideva, though he had escaped to the bough of that tree, which filled the regions with its branches, was full of despair, and reflected: "I have not beheld that Golden City, and I am perishing in an uninhabited place; moreover, I have also brought about the death of that king of the fishermen. Or, rather, who can resist the awful Goddess of Destiny, that ever places her foot upon the heads of all men?"[4] While the Brāhman youth was thus revolving thoughts suited to the occasion on the

[1] I think we ought to read *adhaḥ*, "downwards."

[2] Brockhaus does injustice to Śaktideva, who was no coward in the greatest dangers. The D. text reads *viśādhvasaḥ*, "fearless," instead of *'tha sādhvasāt*. —N.M.P.

[3] Cf. *Odyssey*, xii, 432:

αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ ποτὶ μακρὸν ἐρινεὸν ὕψοσ' ἀερθεὶς
τῷ προσφὺς ἐχόμην ὡς νυκτερίς.

——Similarly Sindbad saves himself by bestriding a tub which carried him under the lee of a lofty island, with trees overhanging the tide. Thereupon (*Nights*, Burton, vol. vi, p. 7) "I caught hold of a branch and by its aid clambered up on to the land, after coming nigh unto death."—N.M.P.

[4] ἀλλ' ἄρα ἤγε κατ' ἀνδρῶν κράατα βαίνει, *Iliad*, xix, v. 93.

trunk of the tree the day came to an end. And in the evening he saw many enormous birds, of the nature of vultures, coming into that banyan-tree from all quarters, filling the sides of heaven with their cries, and the waves of the sea, that was lashed by the wind of their broad wings, appeared as if running to meet them out of affection produced by long acquaintance.

Then he, concealed by the dense leaves, overheard[1] the conversation of those birds perched in the branches, which was carried on in human language. One described some distant island, another a mountain, another a distant region, as the place where he had gone to roam during the day, but an old bird among them said: "I went to-day to the Golden City to disport myself, and to-morrow morning I shall go there again to feed at my ease; for what is the use of my taking a long and fatiguing journey?" Śaktideva's sorrow was removed by that speech of the bird's, which resembled a sudden shower of nectar, and he thought to himself: "Bravo! that city does exist, and now I have an instrument for reaching it—this gigantic bird, given me as a means of conveyance." Thinking thus, Śaktideva slowly advanced and hid himself among the back-feathers of that bird while it was asleep, and next morning, when the other birds went off in different directions, that vulture, exhibiting a strange partiality to the Brāhman like destiny,[2] carrying Śaktideva on his back where he had climbed up, went immediately to the Golden City to feed again.[3] Then

The City of Gold at last

[1] Here we have another example of the "overhearing" *motif*. See Vol. I, p. 48*n*[1], and the note on p. 107 of this volume. As stated in this latter reference, I shall give further variants in a note in Vol. III, Chapter XXIX. —N.M.P.

[2] *Pakshapāta* also means "flapping of wings." So there is probably a pun here.

[3] So in the Swedish tale, "The Beautiful Palace East of the Sun and North of the Earth," the phœnix carries the youth on his back to the palace. *Cf.* the halcyon in Lucian's *Vera Historia*, Book II, 40 (see Fowler's translation, Oxford, 1905, vol. ii, p. 169), whose nest is seven miles in circumference, and whose egg is probably the prototype of that in the *Arabian Nights*. *Cf.* also the Glucksvogel in Prym and Socin, *Syrische Märchen*, p. 269, and the eagle which carries Chaucer in *The House of Fame*.

——In the *Kathākoça* (Tawney, pp. 29, 30) the hero Nāgadatta climbs up a

the bird alighted in a garden, and Śaktideva got down from its back unobserved and left it, but while he was roaming about there he saw two women engaged in gathering flowers; he approached them slowly, who were astonished at his appearance, and he asked them: "What place is this, good ladies, and who are you?" And they said to him: "Friend, this is a city called the Golden City, a seat of the Vidyādharas, and in it there dwells a Vidyādharī, named Chandraprabhā, and know that we are the gardeners in her garden, and we are gathering these flowers for her." Then the Brāhman said: "Obtain for me an interview with your mistress here." When they heard this, they consented, and the two women conducted the young man to the palace in their city.

When he reached it, he saw that it was glittering with pillars of precious stones, and had walls of gold,[1] as it were the very rendezvous of prosperity. And all the attendants, when they saw him arrived there, went and told Chandraprabhā the marvellous tidings of the arrival of a mortal; then she gave a command to the warder, and immediately had the Brāhman brought into the palace and conducted into her presence. When he entered he beheld her there giving a feast to his eyes, like the creator's ability to create marvels repre-

banyan-tree and sounds gongs in order to scare away enormous *bhāruṇḍa* birds, who, by the wind produced by the flapping of their wings, cause a stranded ship to continue on its course. In the same collection of Jain stories (pp. 164, 165) Lahtanga, having overheard a valuable secret from the conversation of two birds, crawled in among the feathers of one of the birds and lay there. "At the hour of dawn they all went to the city of Champā. Lalitānga crept out of the bird's feathers, and entered the city."

Our old friend Sindbad makes similar use of the *rukh* when stranded on a desert island. The great bird suddenly alighted on a great white dome, its egg, "and brooded over it with its wings covering it and its legs stretched out behind it on the ground, and in this posture it fell asleep, glory be to Him who sleepeth not! When I saw this, I arose and, unwinding my turband from my head, doubled it and twisted it into a rope, with which I girt my middle and bound my waist fast to the legs of the *rukh*, saying in myself: 'Peradventure, this bird may carry me to a land of cities and inhabitants, and that will be better than abiding in this desert island'" (*Nights*, Burton, vol. vi, p. 17). I have already given (Vol. I, pp. 103-105) full references to the Garuḍa bird, *rukh*, etc.—N.M.P.

[1] We should read *sauvarṇabhitti*.

sented in bodily form. And she rose from her jewelled couch, while he was still far off, and honoured him with a welcome herself, overpowered by beholding him. And when he had taken a seat she asked him: "Auspicious sir, who are you that have come here in such guise, and how did you reach this land inaccessible to men?" When Chandraprabhā in her curiosity asked him this question, Śaktideva told her his country and his birth and his name, and he related to her how he had come in order to obtain the Princess Kanakarekhā as the reward of beholding the Golden City.

When Chandraprabhā heard that, she thought a little and heaved a deep sigh, and said to Śaktideva in private: "Listen, I am about to tell you something, fortunate sir. There is in this land a king of the Vidyādharas named Śaśikhaṇḍa, and we four daughters were born to him in due course; I am the eldest, Chandraprabhā, and the next is Chandrarekhā, and the third is Śaśirekhā, and the fourth Śaśiprabhā. We gradually grew up to womanhood in our father's house, and once upon a time those three sisters of mine went together to the shore of the Ganges to bathe, while I was detained at home by illness; then they began to play in the water, and in the insolence of youth they sprinkled with water a hermit named Agryatapas while he was in the stream. That hermit in his wrath cursed those girls, who had carried their merriment too far,[1] saying: 'You wicked maidens, be born all of you in the world of mortals.' When our father heard that, he went and pacified the great hermit, and the hermit told how the curse of each of them severally should end, and appointed to each of them in her mortal condition the power of remembering her former existence, supplemented with divine insight. Then, they having left their bodies and gone to the world of men, my father bestowed on me this city, and in his grief went to the forest; but while I was dwelling here the goddess Durgā informed me in a dream that a mortal should become my husband. For this reason, though my father has

[1] It looks as if Tawney guessed at the more correct *atinirbandhinīḥ* of the D. text, which means "over-insisting," "with excessive insistence"; the *atinirvartinīḥ* of Brockhaus would mean "feeling satisfaction," "coming into being," or "coming to completion," all of which are quite inappropriate here.—N.M.P.

recommended to me many Vidyādhara suitors, I have rejected them all and remained unmarried to this day. But now I am subdued by your wonderful arrival and by your handsome form, and I give myself to you; so I will go on the approaching fourteenth day of the lunar fortnight to the great mountain called Ṛishabha to entreat my father for your sake, for all the most excellent Vidyādharas assemble there from all quarters on that day to worship the god Śiva, and my father comes there too, and after I have obtained his permission I will return here quickly; then marry me. Now rise up."

Having said this, Chandraprabhā supplied Śaktideva with various kinds of luxuries suited to Vidyādharas, and while he remained there he was as much refreshed as one heated by a forest conflagration would be by bathing in a lake of nectar. And when the fourteenth day had arrived Chandraprabhā said to him: "To-day I go to entreat my father's permission to marry you, and all my attendants will go with me. But you must not be grieved at being left alone for two days; moreover, while you remain alone in this palace, you must by no means ascend the middle terrace."

The Forbidden Terrace

When Chandraprabhā had said this to that young Brāhman she set out on her journey, leaving her heart with him, and escorted on her way by his. And Śaktideva, remaining there alone, wandered from one magnificent part of the palace to another to delight his mind; and then he felt a curiosity to know why that daughter of the Vidyādhara had forbidden him to ascend the roof of the palace, and so he ascended that middle terrace of the palace; for men are generally inclined to do that which is forbidden. And when he had ascended it he saw three concealed pavilions, and he entered one of them, the door of which was open; and when he had entered it he saw a certain woman lying on a magnificently jewelled sofa, on which there was a mattress placed, whose body was hidden by a sheet. But when he lifted up the sheet and looked he beheld lying dead in that guise that beautiful maiden, the daughter of King Paropakārin; and when he saw her there he thought: "What is this great wonder? Is she sleeping a sleep from which there is no awaking, or is it a complete

delusion on my part? That woman, for whose sake I have travelled to this foreign land, is lying here without breath, though she is alive in my own country, and she still retains her beauty unimpaired, so I may be certain that this is all a magic show, which the creator for some reason or other exhibits to beguile me."

Thinking thus, he proceeded to enter in succession those other two pavilions, and he beheld within them in the same way two other maidens. Then he went in his astonishment out of the palace, and sitting down he remained looking at a very beautiful lake below it, and on its bank he beheld a horse with a jewelled saddle; so he descended immediately from where he was, and out of curiosity approached its side; and seeing that it had no rider on it, he tried to mount it, and that horse struck him with its heel and flung him into the lake. And after he had sunk beneath the surface of the lake he quickly rose up to his astonishment from the middle of a garden lake in his own city of Vardhamāna; and he saw himself suddenly standing in the water of a lake in his own native city, like the *kumuda* plants, miserable without the light of the moon.[1] He reflected: "How different is this city

[1] Or Chandraprabhā, whose name means "light of the moon." The forbidden chamber will at once remind the reader of Perrault's *La Barbe Bleue*. The lake incident is exactly similar to one in Chapter LXXXI of this work and to that of Kandarpaketu in the *Hitopadeśa*. In Wirt Sikes' *British Goblins*, p. 84, a draught from a forbidden well has the same effect. See Ralston's *Russian Folk-Tales*, p. 99. He refers to this story and gives many European equivalents. See also Veckenstedt's *Wendische Sagen*, p. 214. Many parallels will be found in the notes to Grimm's *Märchen*, Nos. 3 and 46, to which Ralston refers in his exhaustive note.

——The "forbidden chamber" *motif* has already been ably discussed by Sidney Hartland ("The Forbidden Chamber," *Folk-Lore Journal*, vol. iii, 1885, pp. 193-242), so that there is no need to go into any great detail here. One of the closest accounts to that in our text occurs in the third Kalandar's tale (*Nights*, Burton, vol. i, p. 160). In this story Ajīb, son of Khazīb, is entrusted with the keys of a palace containing forty chambers all of which he can open except one, and he is warned that if he does, he and his beloved will be separated for ever. However, as usual, curiosity overcomes him, and as soon as he opens the door a wonderful perfume meets his nose which immediately sends him into a faint. After a time he recovers and inspects the room, which is lit with lamps of gold diffusing a scent of musk and ambergris. "Presently," he says when relating the story, "I espied a noble steed, black

of Vardhamāna from that city of the Vidyādharas! Alas! what is this great display of marvellous delusion? Alas! I, ill-fated wretch, am wonderfully deceived by some strange power; or rather, who on this earth knows what is the nature of destiny?" Thus reflecting, Śaktideva rose from the midst of the lake, and went in a state of wonder to his own father's house. There he made a false representation, giving as an excuse for his absence that he had been himself going about with a drum, and being gladly welcomed by his father he remained with his delighted relations; and on the second day he went outside his house, and heard again those words being proclaimed in the city by beat of drum: "Let whoever, being a Brāhman or a Kshatriya, has really seen the Golden City say so: the king will give him his daughter and make him crown prince."

as the murks of night when murkiest, standing, ready saddled and bridled (and his saddle was of red gold) before two mangers, one of clear crystal wherein was husked sesame, and the other also of crystal containing water of the rose scented with musk. When I saw this I marvelled and said to myself, 'Doubtless in this animal must be some wondrous mystery'; and Satan cozened me, so I led him without the palace and mounted him; but he would not stir from his place. So I hammered his sides with my heels, but he moved not, and then I took the rein-whip and struck him withal. When he felt the blow, he neighed a neigh with a sound like deafening thunder, and opening a pair of wings flew up with me in the firmament of heaven far beyond the eyesight of man. After a full hour of flight he descended and alighted on a terrace roof and shaking me off his back lashed me on the face with his tail and gouged out my left eye, causing it roll along my cheek. Then he flew away." He then goes down from the terrace and finds himself among the ten one-eyed youths who had met with similar adventures themselves, and through whom Ajīb had originally started on his adventure.

Reference should be made to W. Kirby (who wrote some of the analogues in Burton's edition of the *Nights*, vol. x, and Supp., vol. vi), "The Forbidden Doors of the Thousand and one Nights," *Folk-Lore Journal*, vol. v, pp. 112-124; Clouston, *Popular Tales and Fictions*, vol. i, pp. 198-205; ditto, *The Book of Sindibād*, pp. 173, 174, 308, 309; J. A. Macculloch, *Childhood of Fiction*, pp. 306-324; and V. Chauvin, *op. cit.*, v, p. 203. The whole subject has recently been discussed by P. Saintyves, *Les Contes de Perrault*, 1923, pp. 359-396, which contains a full bibliography. For the identification of Bluebeard with Gil de Rais and Comorre the Cursed see E. A. Vizetelly, *Bluebeard*, 1902, and *cf.* A. France, *Les Sept Femmes de Barbe Bleu*, 1909. —N.M.P.

Then Śaktideva hearing that, having successfully accomplished the task, again went and said to those who were proclaiming this by beat of drum: "I have seen that city." And they took him before that king, and the king, recognising him, supposed that he was again saying what was untrue, as he had done before. But he said: "If I say what is false, and if I have not really seen that city, I desire now to be punished with death; let the princess herself examine me." When he said this, the king went and had his daughter summoned by his servants. She, when she saw that Brāhman, whom she had seen before, again said to the king: "My father, he will tell us some falsehood again." Then Śaktideva said to her: "Princess, whether I speak truly or falsely, be pleased to explain this point which excites my curiosity. How is it that I saw you lying dead on a sofa in the Golden City and yet see you here alive?"

When the Princess Kanakarekhā had been asked this question by Śaktideva, and furnished with this token of his truth, she said in the presence of her father: "It is true that this great-hearted one has seen that city, and in a short time he will be my husband, when I return to dwell there. And there he will marry my other three sisters; and he will govern as king the Vidyādharas in that city. But I must to-day enter my own body and that city, for I have been born here in your house owing to the curse of a hermit, who moreover appointed that my curse should end in the following way: 'When you shall be wearing a human form, and a man, having beheld your body in the Golden City, shall reveal the truth, then you shall be freed from your curse, and that man shall become your husband.' And though I am in a human body I remember my origin, and I possess supernatural knowledge, so I will now depart to my own Vidyādhara home, to a happy fortune." Saying this, the princess left her body, and vanished, and a confused cry arose in the palace.

And Śaktideva, who had now lost both the maidens, thinking over the two beloved ones whom he had gained by various difficult toils, and who yet were not gained, and not only grieved but blaming himself, with his desire not

accomplished, left the king's palace and in a moment went through the following train of thought :—"Kanakarekhā said that I should attain my desire ; so why do I despond, for success depends upon courage ? I will again go to the Golden City by the same path, and destiny will without doubt again provide me with a means of getting there."

Thus reflecting, Śaktideva set out from that city ; for resolute men who have once undertaken a project do not turn back without accomplishing their object. And journeying on, he again reached after a long time that city named Viṭankapura, situated on the shore of the sea. And there he saw the merchant coming to meet him, with whom he originally went to sea, and whose ship was wrecked there. He thought : "Can this be Samudradatta, and how can he have escaped after falling into the sea ? But how can it be otherwise ? I myself am a strange illustration of its possibility." While he approached the merchant thinking thus, the merchant recognised him, and embraced him in his delight ; and he took him to his own house and after entertaining him asked him : "When the ship foundered, how did you escape from the sea ? "

Śaktideva sets out again

Śaktideva then told him his whole history, how, after being swallowed by a fish, he first reached the island of Utsthala ; and then he asked the good merchant in his turn : "Tell me also how you escaped from the sea." Then the merchant said : "After I fell into the sea that time, I remained floating for three days supported on a plank. Then a ship suddenly came that way, and I, crying out, was descried by those in her, and taken on board her. And when I got on board I saw my own father, who had gone to a distant island long before, and was now returning after a long absence. My father, when he saw me, recognised me, and embracing me asked my story with tears, and I told it him as follows :— 'My father, you had been away for a long time and had not returned, and so I set about trading myself, thinking it was my proper employment ; then on my way to a distant island my ship was wrecked, and I was plunged in the sea, and you have found me and rescued me.' When I had said this to him, my father asked me reproachfully : 'Why do you run

such risks? For I possess wealth, my son, and I am engaged in acquiring it; see, I have brought you back this ship full of gold.' Thus spoke my father to me, and comforting me, took me home in that very ship to my own dwelling in Viṭankapura."

When Śaktideva had heard this account from the merchant, and had rested that night, he said to him on the next day: "Great merchant, I must once more go to the island of Utsthala, so tell me how I can get there now." The merchant said to him. "Some agents of mine are preparing to go there to-day, so go on board the ship, and set out with them." Thereupon the Brāhman set out with the merchant's agents to go to that island of Utsthala, and by chance the sons of the king of the fishermen saw him there, and when they were near him they recognised him, and said: "Brāhman, you went with our father to search here and there[1] for the Golden City, and how is it that you have come back here to-day alone?" Then Śaktideva said: "Your father, when out at sea, fell into the mouth of the submarine fire, his ship having been dragged down by the current." When those sons of the fisher-king heard that, they were angry, and said to their servants: "Bind this wicked man, for he has murdered our father. Otherwise how could it have happened that, when two men were in the same ship, one should have fallen into the mouth of the submarine fire and the other escaped it? So we must to-morrow morning sacrifice our father's murderer in front of the goddess Durgā, treating him as a victim." Having said this to their servants, those sons of the fisher-king bound Śaktideva, and took him off to the awful temple of Durgā, the belly of which was enlarged, as if it continually swallowed many lives, and which was like the mouth of Death devouring *tamāla* with projecting teeth.[2]

And has strange Adventures

There Śaktideva remained bound during the night, in

[1] Brockhaus' *tataḥ* disturbs the sense. The D. text renders the passage *cirvann itas tadā*, "at that time you went . . ."—N.M.P.

[2] Following the D. text, Speyer (*op. cit.*, p. 105) would translate, "whose rows of teeth are adorned with bells."—N.M.P.

fear of his life, and he thus prayed to the goddess Durgā: "Adorable one, granter of boons, thou didst deliver the world with thy form, which was like the orb of the rising sun, appearing as if it had drunk its fill of the blood gushing freely from the throat of the giant Ruru [1]; therefore deliver me, thy constant votary, who have come a long distance out of desire to obtain my beloved, but am now fallen without cause into the power of my enemies." Thus he prayed to the goddess, and with difficulty went off to sleep; and in the night he saw a woman come out of the inner cell of the temple; that woman of heavenly beauty came up to him, and said in a compassionate manner: "Do not fear, Śaktideva, no harm shall happen to you. The sons of that fisher-king have a sister named Vindumatī; that maiden shall see you in the morning and claim you for a husband, and you must agree to that; she will bring about your deliverance: and she is not of the fisher caste: for she is a celestial female degraded in consequence of a curse." When he heard this he woke up, and in the morning that fisher-maiden came to the temple, a shower of nectar to his eyes. And announcing herself, she came up to him and said in her eagerness: "I will have you released from this prison, therefore do what I desire. For I have refused all these suitors approved of by my brothers, but the moment I saw you, love arose in my soul; therefore marry me." When Vindumatī, the daughter of the fisher-king, said this to him, Śaktideva, remembering his dream, accepted her proposal gladly; she procured his release, and he married that fair one, whose wish was gratified by her brothers receiving the command to do so from Durgā in a dream. And he lived there with that heavenly creature that had assumed a human form, obtained solely by his merits in a former life, as if with happy success.

And one day, as he was standing upon the roof of his palace, he saw a Chaṇḍāla coming along with a load of cow's flesh, and he said to his beloved: "Look, slender one! how can this evil-doer eat the flesh of cows, those animals that

[1] The Dānavas are a class of demons or giants. Ruru was a Dānava slain by Durgā.—See Vol. I, pp. 199-200.—N.M.P.

are the object of veneration[1] to the three worlds?" Then Vindumatī, hearing that, said to her husband: "The wickedness of this act is inconceivable; what can we say in palliation of it? I have been born in this race of fishermen for a very small offence owing to the might of cows, but what can atone for this man's sin?" When she said this, Śaktideva said to her: "That is wonderful. Tell me, my beloved, who are you, and how came you to be born in a family of fishermen?" When he asked this with much importunity, she said to him: "I will tell you, though it is a secret, if you promise to do what I ask you." He affirmed with an oath: "Yes, I will do what you ask me."

The Strange Bargain

She then told him first what she desired him to do: "In this island you will soon marry another wife, and she, my husband, will soon become pregnant, and in the eighth month of her pregnancy you must cut her open and take out the child,[2] and you must feel no compunction about it." Thus she said, and he was astonished, exclaiming: "What can this mean?" And he was full of horror; but that daughter of the fisher-king went on to say: "This request of mine you must perform for a

[1] For details of the cow-worship of the Hindus see the note at the end of this chapter.—N.M.P.

[2] Once again this extraordinary act is not merely the product of the story-teller's fertile imagination, but is founded on fact. Risley (*Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, vol. i, p. 94) states that among the Bhandāris of Bengal, when a pregnant woman dies before delivery, her body is cut open and the child taken out, both corpses being buried in the same grave. J. S. Campbell (*Notes on the Spirit Basis of Belief and Custom*, Bombay, 1885) tells us that in Bombay, when a woman dies in pregnancy, her corpse, after being bathed and decked with flowers and ornaments, is carried to the burning-ground. There her husband sprinkles water on her body from the points of a wisp of the sacred *darbha* grass and repeats holy verses. Then he cuts her right side with a sharp weapon and takes out the child. Should it be alive, it is taken home and cared for; should it be dead, it is then and there buried. The hole in the side of the corpse is filled with curds and butter, covered with cotton threads, and then the usual rite of cremation is carried out.

For further details on fœticide and abortion reference should be made to Havelock Ellis, *Studies in the Psychology of Sex*, vol. vi, pp. 605-612; Westermarck, *The Origin and Development of the Moral Ideas* (2nd edition, 1912), ch. xvii; and A. E. Crawley, "Fœticide," Hastings' *Ency. Rel. Eth.*, vol. vi, pp. 54-57, all of which contain full bibliographical references.—N.M.P.

certain reason. Now hear who I am, and how I came to be born in a family of fishermen. Long ago in a former birth I was a certain Vidyādharī, and now I have fallen into the world of men in consequence of a curse. For when I was a Vidyādharī I bit asunder some strings with my teeth and fastened them to lyres, and it is owing to that that I have been born here in the house of a fisherman. So, if such a degradation is brought about by touching the mouth with the dry sinew of a cow, much more terrible must be the results of eating cow's flesh!" While she was saying this, one of her brothers rushed in in a state of perturbation and said to Śaktideva: "Rise up! an enormous boar has appeared from somewhere or other, and after slaying innumerable persons is coming this way in its pride, towards us." When Śaktideva heard that, he descended from his palace, and mounting a horse, spear in hand,[1] he galloped to meet the boar, and struck it the moment he saw it; but when the hero attacked him the boar fled, and managed, though wounded, to enter a cavern; and Śaktideva entered there in pursuit of him, and immediately beheld a great garden shrubbery with a house. And when he was there he beheld a maiden of very wonderful beauty, coming in a state of agitation to meet him, as if it were the goddess of the wood advancing to receive him out of love.

And he asked her: "Auspicious lady, who are you, and why are you perturbed?" Hearing that, the lovely one thus answered him: "There is a king of the name of Chaṇḍa-vikrama, lord of the southern region. I am his daughter, auspicious sir, a maiden named Vindurekhā. But a wicked Daitya, with flaming eyes, carried me off by treachery from my father's house to-day and brought me here. And he, desiring flesh, assumed the form of a boar, and sallied out; but while he was still hungry he was pierced with a spear to-day by some hero; and as soon as he was pierced he came in here and died. And I rushed out and escaped without being outraged by him." Then Śaktideva said to her: "Then why all this perturbation? For I slew that

[1] In *śl.* 172B I conjecture *śaktihasto* for *Śaktidevo*, as we read in *śl.* 181B that the boar was wounded with a *śakti*.

boar with a spear, princess." Then she said, "Tell me who you are," and he answered her, "I am a Brāhman named Śaktideva." Then she said to him, "You must accordingly become my husband," and the hero consenting went out of the cavern with her. And when he arrived at home he told it to his wife Vindumatī, and with her consent he married that Princess Vindurekhā. So, while Śaktideva was living there with his two wives, one of his wives, Vindurekhā, became pregnant; and in the eighth month of her pregnancy, the first wife Vindumatī came up to him of her own accord and said to him: "Hero, remember what you promised me; this is the eighth month of the pregnancy of your second wife; so go and cut her open and bring the child here, for you cannot act contrary to your own word of honour." When she said this to Śaktideva, he was bewildered by affection and compassion; but being bound by his promise he remained for a short time unable to give an answer; at last he departed in a state of agitation and went to Vindurekhā; and she seeing him come with troubled air said to him: "Husband, why are you despondent to-day? Surely I know: you have been commissioned by Vindumatī to take out the child with which I am pregnant; and that you must certainly do, for there is a certain object in view, and there is no cruelty in it, so do not feel compassion; in proof of it hear the following story of Devadatta:

He marries Vindurekhā

29D. *Devadatta the Gambler*

Long ago there lived in the city of Kambuka a Brāhman named Haridatta; and the son of that auspicious man, who was named Devadatta, though he studied in his boyhood, was, as a young man, exclusively addicted to the vice of gaming. As he had lost his clothes and everything by gambling,[1] he was not able to return to his father's house, so

[1] The Indian has been an inveterate gambler from the earliest times. In a famous hymn of the *Ṛig-Veda* (x, 34) a gambler tells of the fatal fascination the dice have had for him, and the consequent ruin and slavery, which was one of the final conditions of the debtor. Details of the play referred to are not described, but scattered allusions seem to show that four, and sometimes

he entered once on a time an empty temple. And there he saw alone a great ascetic, named Jālapāda, who had attained many objects by magic, and he was muttering spells in a corner. So he went up to him slowly and bowed before him, and the ascetic, abandoning his habit of not speaking to anyone, greeted him with a welcome; and after he had remained there a moment, the ascetic, seeing his trouble, asked him

five dice were used, and the aim of the gambler was to throw a number which should be a multiple of four (see Lüders, *Das Würfelspiel im alten Indien*; Caland, *Zeit. d. deutsch. morg. Ges.*, vol. lxii, p. 123 *et seq.*; and Keith, *Journ. Roy. As. Soc.*, 1908, p. 823 *et seq.*).

Cheating at play appears in the *Rig-Veda* as one of the most frequent of crimes, and the word for "gamester," *kitava*, came to mean "cheat" in classical Sanskrit.

In the *Mahābhārata* the vice of gambling is often mentioned. The Kuru prince schemed to overthrow the Pāṇḍus by gambling, and the well-known episode of Nala and Damayantī (iii, 59-61) shows the extent to which it was carried.

The theme also occurs in the *Mṛichchhakaṭika*, where there is a vivid description of a gambler's quarrel in Act II. See also the story of "Nala and Davadantī" (Tawney, *Kathākoça*, p. 201, etc.).

Crooke gives some interesting details in the last of his mass of valuable papers, "The Dīvālī, the Lamp Festival of the Hindus," *Folk-Lore*, vol. xxxiv, 1923, pp. 287, 288. The Nepalese are inveterate gamblers, and a tale is told of a man who cut off his left hand and put it down under a cloth as his stake. When he won he insisted on his opponent cutting off his hand, or else restoring all his winnings (D. Wright, *History of Nepal*, p. 39). In Kashmir nearly all classes gamble at the Dīvālī under the belief that winning will bring them luck during the coming year (F. Drew, *The Jummoo and Kashmir Territories*, p. 72; but see W. R. Lawrence, *The Valley of Kashmir*, p. 266). In the Deccan, at the Divālī, men and women play chess till midnight in the hope that the goddess Pārvatī will bring them cartloads of treasure (*Bombay Gazetteer*, vol. xviii, part i, p. 251). At their chief festival held in March by the Shans of Upper Burma gambling is permitted to Burmese, Shans and Chinese, but not to natives of India. The gambling booths are put up to auction, and even the Pongyi priests may be seen gambling in the lines of huts outside the gambling enclosure (Sir J. G. Scott, J. P. Hardiman, *Gazetteer of Upper Burma and the Shan States*, Part II, vol. i, p. 229). In the Panjāb, success in gambling at the Divālī is believed to bring good luck. Native gentlemen gamble only with their wives, so that, whoever wins, they lose nothing. Traders play to find out whether the next year will be lucky or not. If a man wins he speculates freely, but if he loses he confines himself to safe ordinary business (*Panjab Notes and Queries*, vol. ii, p. 152).

For further details see J. L. Paton, "Gambling," Hastings' *Ency. Rel. Eth.*, vol. vi, p. 164 and the references there given.—N.M.P.

the cause, and he told him of his affliction produced by the loss of his wealth, which had been dissipated in gambling. Then the ascetic said to Devadatta : " My child, there is not wealth enough in the whole world to satisfy gamblers ; but if you desire to escape from your calamity, do what I tell you, for I have made preparations to attain the rank of a Vidyādhara; so help me to accomplish this, O man of fortunate destiny,[1] you have only to obey my orders and then your calamities will be at an end." When the ascetic said this to him, Devadatta promised to obey him, and immediately took up his residence with him.

And the next day the ascetic went into a corner of the cemetery and performed worship by night under a banyan-tree, and offered rice boiled in milk, and flung portions of the oblation towards the four cardinal points, after worshipping them, and said to the Brāhman, who was in attendance on him : " You must worship here in this style every day, and say : ' Vidyutprabhā, accept this worship.' And then I am certain that we shall both attain our ends." Having said this, the ascetic went with him to his own house. Then Devadatta, consenting, went every day and duly performed worship at the foot of that tree, according to his instructions. And one day, at the end of his worship, the tree suddenly clave open, and a heavenly nymph came out of it before his eyes, and said : " My good sir, my mistress summons you to come to her." And then she introduced him into the middle of that tree. When he entered it he beheld a heavenly palace made of jewels, and a beautiful lady within it reclining upon a sofa. And he immediately thought : " This may be the success of our enterprise incarnate in bodily form " ; but while he was thinking thus that beautiful lady, receiving him graciously, rose with limbs on which the ornaments rang as if to welcome him, and seated him on her own sofa. And she said to him : " Illustrious sir, I am the maiden daughter of a king of the Yakshas, named Ratnavarsha, and I am known by the name of Vidyutprabhā ; and this great ascetic Jālapāda was endeavouring to gain my favour ; to him I will give the attainment of his ends, but you are the lord of my life. So, as you

[1] Literally, having auspicious marks.

see my affection, marry me." When she said this, Devadatta consented, and did so. And he remained there some time, but when she became pregnant he went to the great ascetic with the intention of returning, and in a state of terror he told him all that had happened, and the ascetic, desiring his own success, said to him: "My good sir, you have acted quite rightly, but go and cut open that Yakshī and, taking out the embryo, bring it quickly here." The ascetic said this to him, and then reminded him of his previous promise; and being dismissed by him, the Brāhman returned to his beloved, and while he stood there despondent with reflecting on what he had to do the Yakshī Vidyutprabhā of her own accord said to him: "My husband, why are you cast down? I know Jālapāda has ordered you to cut me open, so cut me open and take out this child, and if you refuse I will do it myself, for there is an object in it." Though she said this to him, the Brāhman could not bring himself to do it; then she cut herself open and took out the child and flung it down before him, and said: "Take this, which will enable him who consumes it to obtain the rank of a Vidyādhara. But I, though properly a Vidyādharī, have been born as a Yakshī owing to a curse, and this is the appointed end of my curse, strange as it is, for I remember my former existence. Now I depart to my proper home, but we two shall meet again in that place." Saying this, Vidyutprabhā vanished from his eyes. And Devadatta took the child with sorrowful mind and went to that ascetic Jālapāda and gave it to him, as that which would ensure the success of his incantations; for good men do not even in calamity give way to selfishness.

The great ascetic divided the child's flesh, and sent Devadatta to the wood to worship Durgā in her terrific form. And when the Brāhman came back after presenting an oblation, he saw that the ascetic had made away with all the flesh. And while he said, "What! have you consumed it all?" the treacherous Jālapāda, having become a Vidyādhara, ascended to heaven. When he had flown up, with sword blue as the sky, adorned with necklace and bracelet, Devadatta reflected: "Alas, how I have been deceived by this evil-minded one! Or, rather, on whom does not exces-

sive compliance [1] entail misfortune? So how can I revenge myself on him for this ill turn, and how can I reach him who has become a Vidyādhara? Well! I have no other resource in this matter except propitiating a Vetāla." After he had made up his mind to do this, he went at night to the cemetery. There he summoned at the foot of a tree a Vetāla into the body of a man, and after worshipping him he made an oblation of human flesh to him. And as that Vetāla was not satisfied, and would not wait for him to bring more, he prepared to cut off his own flesh to gratify him. And immediately that Vetāla said to that brave man: "I am pleased with this courage of yours; do not act recklessly. So, my good sir, what desire have you for me to accomplish for you?" When the Vetāla said this the hero answered him: "Take me to the dwelling-place of the Vidyādharas, where is the ascetic Jālapāda, who deceives those that repose confidence in him, in order that I may punish him." The Vetāla consented, and placing him on his shoulder, carried him through the air in a moment to the dwelling of the Vidyādharas. And there he saw Jālapāda in a palace, seated on a jewelled throne, elated at being a king among the Vidyādharas, endeavouring by various speeches to induce that Vidyutprabhā,[2] who had obtained the rank of a Vidyādharī, to marry him in spite of her reluctance. And the moment that the young man saw this he attacked him, with the help of the Vetāla, being to the eyes of the delighted Vidyutprabhā what the moon, the repository of nectar, is to the partridges.[3] And Jālapāda beholding him suddenly arrived in this way, dropped his sword in his fright, and fell from his throne on the floor. But Devadatta, though he had obtained his sword, did not slay him; for the great-hearted feel pity even for their enemies when they are terrified.

And when the Vetāla wanted to kill him, he dissuaded him, and said: "Of what use will it be to us to kill this miserable heretic? So take him and place him in his own house

[1] The D. text reads "excessive uprightness." See Speyer, *op. cit.*, p. 107. —N.M.P.

[2] I read *Vidyutprabhām* for *Vidyādharīm*. But perhaps it is unnecessary.

[3] The Chakora is said to subsist upon moonbeams.

on earth; it is better that this wicked, skull-bearing ascetic should remain there." At the very moment that Devadatta was saying this the goddess Durgā descended from heaven and appeared to him, and said to him who bent before her: "My son, I am satisfied with thee now, on account of this incomparable courage of thine; so I give thee on the spot the rank of King of the Vidyādharas." Having said this, she bestowed the magic sciences[1] on him and immediately disappeared. And the Vetāla immediately took Jālapāda, whose splendour fell from him, and placed him on earth (wickedness does not long ensure success); and Devadatta, accompanied by Vidyutprabhā, having obtained that sovereignty of the Vidyādharas, flourished in his kingdom.

29. *Story of the Golden City*

Having told this story to her husband Śaktideva, the softly speaking Vindurekhā again said to him with eagerness: "Such necessities do arise, so cut out this child of mine as Vindumatī told you, without remorse." When Vindurekhā said this, Śaktideva was afraid of doing wrong, but a voice sounded from heaven at this juncture: "O Śaktideva, take out this child without fear, and seize it by the neck with your hand, then it will turn into a sword." Having heard this divine voice, he cut her open, and quickly taking out the child he seized it by the throat with his hand; and no sooner did he seize it than it became a sword in his hand; like the long hair of Good Fortune seized by him with an abiding grasp.[2]

Then that Brāhman quickly became a Vidyādhara, and Vindurekhā that moment disappeared.[3] And when he saw that, he went, as he was, to his second wife Vindumatī and told her the whole story. She said to him: "My lord, we are three sisters, the daughters of a king of the Vidyādharas,

[1] So making him a Vidyādhara or "magic-knowledge-holder."

[2] The D. text reads *sattvataḥ*, "courage," instead of Brockhaus' *satataḥ*, "abiding."—N.M.P.

[3] The sudden transformation is doubtless to be attributed to the magical power of steel, for which see pp. 166-169 of this volume.—N.M.P.

who have been banished from Kanakapurī in consequence of a curse. The first was Kanakarekhā, the termination of whose curse you beheld in the city of Vardhamāna; and she has gone to that city of hers, her proper home. For such was the strange end of her curse, according to the dispensation of Fate; and I am the third sister, and now my curse is at an end. And this very day I must go to that city of mine, my beloved, for there our Vidyādhara bodies remain. And my elder sister, Chandraprabhā, is dwelling there; so you also must come there quickly by virtue of the magic power of your sword. And you shall rule in that city, after obtaining all four of us as wives, bestowed upon you by our father, who has retired to the forest, and others in addition to us."

Thus Vindumatī declared the truth about herself, and Śaktideva, consenting, went again to the City of Gold, this time through the air, together with that Vindumatī. And when he arrived he again saw those three darlings of his bending before him, Kanakarekhā and the others, after entering with their souls, as was fitting, those heavenly female bodies, which he saw on a former occasion extended lifeless on the couches in those three pavilions. And he saw that fourth sister there, Chandraprabhā, who had performed auspicious ceremonies, and was drinking in his form with an eye rendered eager by seeing him after so long an absence.

Śaktideva returns to the City of Gold

His arrival was joyfully hailed by the servants, who were occupied in their several duties, as well as by the ladies, and when he entered the private apartments that Chandraprabhā said to him: "Noble sir, here is that Princess Kanakarekhā, who was seen by you in the city of Vardhamāna, my sister called Chandrarekhā. And here is that daughter of the fisher-king, Vindumatī, whom you first married in the island of Utsthala, my sister Śaśirekhā. And here is my youngest sister Śaśiprabhā, the princess, who after that was brought there by the Dānava and then became your wife. So now come, successful hero, with us into the presence of our father, and quickly marry us all, when bestowed upon you by him."

When Chandraprabhā had swiftly and boldly uttered this decree of Kāma, Śaktideva went with those four to the recesses of the wood to meet their father; and their father, the King of the Vidyādharas, having been informed of the facts by all his daughters, who bowed at his feet, and also moved by a divine voice, with delighted soul gave them all at once to Śaktideva. Immediately after that he bestowed on Śaktideva his opulent realm in the City of Gold, and all his magic sciences; and he gave the successful hero his name,[1] by which he was henceforth known among his Vidyādharas. And he said to him: "No one else shall conquer thee, but from the mighty lord of Vatsa there shall spring a universal emperor, who shall reign among you here under the title of Naravāhanadatta and be thy superior; to him alone wilt thou have to submit." With these words the mighty lord of the Vidyādharas, named Śaśikhaṇḍapada, dismissed his son-in-law from the wood where he was practising asceticism, after entertaining him kindly, that he might go with his wives to his own capital. Then that Śaktivega, having become a king, entered the City of Gold, that glory of the Vidyādhara world, proceeding thither with his wives. Living in that city, the palaces of which gleamed with fabric of gold, which seemed on account of its great height to be the condensed rays of the sun falling in brightness, he enjoyed exceeding happiness with those fair-eyed wives, in charming gardens, the lakes of which had steps made out of jewels.

And marries the Four Sisters

[**M**] Having thus related his wonderful history, the eloquent Śaktivega went on to say to the King of Vatsa: "Know me, O lord of Vatsa, ornament of the lunar race, to be that very Śaktideva come here, full of desire to behold the

[1] The Brockhaus text is not clear here. The meaning (as the D. text shows) is that the king altered the name of his son-in-law a little by changing the last syllable *deva* into *vega*, the latter being a termination found among Vidyādharas. The same thing happened in the case of Aśokadatta and Vijayadatta (see p 212). It will be noticed that the altered name, Śaktivega, is used a few lines lower down.—N.M.P.

two feet of your son who is just born and is destined to be our new emperor. Thus I have obtained, though originally a man, the rank of sovereign among the Vidyādharas by the favour of Śiva : and now, O King, I return to my own home. I have seen our future lord ; may you enjoy unfailing felicity."

After finishing his tale, Śaktivega said this with clasped hands, and receiving permission to depart, immediately flew up into the sky like the moon in brightness; and then the King of Vatsa, in the company of his wives, surrounded by his ministers, and with his young son, enjoyed, in his own capital, a state of indescribable felicity.

NOTE ON THE SACRED COW OF THE HINDUS

Although the worship of the sacred cow plays such an important part in modern Hinduism, there appears to be considerable doubt as to whether the practice dates from historical or prehistorical times in India. Thus in Hastings' *Ency. Rel. Eth.*, in the article on "Animals" (vol. i, p. 507), by N. W. Thomas, we read: "Unlike Egypt, it is clear that India developed a respect for the animal in historic times"; while in the article on the "Cow (Hindu)," by H. Jacobi (vol. iv, pp. 224-226), we find: "The belief in the sanctity of the cow, which is a very prominent feature of Hinduism, seems to have been inherited by the Indians from prehistoric times, before they and the Iranians had separated." Crooke (*op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 226) is inclined to support the former view, but inspection of the early references in the *Avesta*, *Ṛig-Veda*, *Atharva-Veda* show, without doubt, that the cow was held sacred from the very earliest times. In the *Purāṇas* the worship increased, while in the *Mahābhārata* the great sacredness of the cow becomes a firmly established fact—so firmly indeed that even to-day its slaughter fills the Hindu with such horror that it is prohibited in native states under treaties with the English.

We will now examine the evidence in closer detail.

The Vedic Indians were a nation of meat-eaters, the chief food being the ox, sheep and goat. The slaughter of the ox, however, was always regarded as a kind of sacrificial act, and therefore particularly appropriate for the entertainment of guests. It also played an important part at wedding festivals. In the *Cambridge History of India*, vol. i, p. 102, A. B. Keith points out that there is no inconsistency between this eating of flesh and the growing sanctity of the cow, which bears already in the *Ṛig-Veda* the epithet *aghnyā*, "not to be killed." Such a term should be looked upon merely as a proof of the high value attached to an animal which supplied the milk that meant so much both for secular and sacred use to the Vedic Indian.

It is interesting to note that in *Ṛig-Veda* days the cow was used as a standard of value, and the epithet *śatadāya* denotes that the price of a man's blood was a hundred cows. Although there were no coins even in the times of the later *Saṃhitās* and *Brāhmaṇas*, the *nishka*, originally a gold ornament, was used as a unit of value and the cow was gradually being superseded as such.

Early Buddhist literature shows the ancient systems of barter and reckoning values by cows almost entirely replaced by a metal currency, commodities being stated in figures of a certain coin, or its fractions (see *Journ. Roy. As. Soc.*, 1901, p. 882 *et seq.*).

But quite apart from the sanctity attached to the cow in Vedic times owing to its value as a supplier of milk, the mystic relation between the cow and the universe is alluded to in the *Ṛig-Veda* in several places (*e.g.* i, 153, 3; viii, 90, 15; x, 11, 1). For further details see A. A. Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology, Grundriss d. Indo-Arischen Philologie*, iii, 1A, 1897, under "Cow" and "Cows."

The same idea is found in the *Atharva-Veda*, especially in viii, 10 and 22-29. By the time of the *Purāṇas* the idea has become fully developed as a legend and in the *Vishṇu Purāṇa* (Wilson, vol. i, ch. xiii) we get the following (according to Jacobi's résumé):—

Pṛithu, son of Vena, having been constituted universal monarch, desired to recover for his subjects edible plants, which, during the preceding period of anarchy, had all perished. He therefore assailed the Earth, which, assuming the form of a cow, fled from him and traversed all the heavenly regions. At last she yielded to him, and promised to fecundate the soil with her milk. Thereupon Pṛithu flattened the surface of the earth with his bow, uprooting and thrusting away hundreds and thousands of mountains. Having made Svāyaṁbhuva Manu the calf, he milked the Earth, and received the milk into his own hand, for the benefit of mankind. Thence proceeded all kinds of corn and vegetables upon which people subsist now and always. By granting life to the Earth, Pṛithu was as her father; and she thence derived the patronymic appellation *Pṛithivī* ("daughter of Pṛithu"). Then the gods, the sages, the demons, the Rākshasas, the Gandharvas, Yakshas, Pitris, serpents, mountains and trees took a milking vessel suited to their kind, and milked the Earth of appropriate milk. And the milker and the calf were both peculiar to their own species.

The cow was also identified with speech, and as speech was regarded as divine we have here an additional reason for the sanctity of the cow. Jacobi (*op. cit.*, p. 225) points out that this identification was perhaps due, not so much to a popular association of ideas, as to a chance similarity of sound between the two words *go*, "cow," and *gā*, "to sing," or perhaps *gīr*, "speech."

The doctrine of *ahiṁsā*, the forbidding of any injury to an animal, was not fully developed in the *Brāhmaṇa* period. For although the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* prohibits the eating of a cow (iii, 1, 2, 21), the great sage Yājñavalkya ate meat of milch cows and oxen provided the flesh was *aṁsala*—*i.e.* "firm," or "tender."

It is only when the belief in transmigration strengthened the philosophic tenets of the *Brāhmaṇas* as to the unity and concord of existence that the taboo was really established. It has been pointed out that the cow was still killed for guests in the *Gṛihya Sūtras*, but it should be noticed that the *offer* to kill a cow for a guest was merely a rite of hospitality, corresponding somewhat to the "my house and everything in it is yours" attitude of the Oriental of to-day. In vol. i, ch. x, p. 232 of the *Cambridge History of India*, E. W. Hopkins makes this quite clear—the host says to the guest, holding the knife ready to slay the cow, that he has the cow for him; but the guest is then directed to say: "Mother of Rudras, daughter of the Vasus, sister of the Ādityas, navel of immortality (is she). Do not kill the guiltless cow; she is (Earth itself), Aditi, the goddess. I speak to them that understand." He adds: "My sin has been killed and that of So-and-so; let her go and eat grass." But if he really wants to have her eaten, he says: "I kill my sin and the sin of So-and-so" (in killing her), and though in many cases the offer of the cow is thus plainly a formal piece of etiquette, yet the offering to the

guest was not complete without flesh of some sort; and it is clear from the formulas that any of the worthiest guests might demand the cow's death, though as the "six worthy guests" are teacher, priest, father-in-law, king, friend, and Aryan "reborn" man, and all of these were doubtless well grounded in that veneration for the cow which is expressed above by identifying her with Earth (as Aditi), there was probably seldom any occasion to harrow the feelings of the cow-revering host.

Gradually there was no question of the cow being killed, the goat being the animal usually substituted. As already mentioned, it is in the *Mahābhārata* that we find the great sacredness of the cow fully established. Here emphasis is laid on the great merit acquired by gifts of cows, and the value of the animal for religious sacrifice owing to its great purity.

So pure, indeed, is the cow that its five products, *pañchagavya* (milk, curds, ghee, urine and dung), are also considered pure and enter largely, sometimes in a very disgusting way, into rites of purification, besides being used in exorcism, magic, disease and domestic ritual.

The peculiar smell of cows has led to the myth tracing their descent from Surabhi, "the fragrant one." It is fully given in *Mahābhārata*, xiii, 77. Surabhi once practised austerities and Brahmā granted her immortality and a region above the three worlds to dwell in, called Goloka. This is, therefore, the cow's heaven, a beautiful place, only to be attained by those who have achieved merit on earth by the continual gifts and worship of cows.

For other rites in the *Mahābhārata* see xiii, 80, 1-3; 78, 24 *et seq.*

The connection of the bull with Śiva, the celestial cow, Kāmadhenn, with Indra, and the friendship of Kṛishṇa with the herdsmen and his love of the *gopis*, particularly Rādhā, have all added to the general sacredness of the cow.

Its connection with fertility seems to appear in the phallic worship of Śiva, where the evil influences of the female principal through the *yoni* are partly counteracted by the bull, Nandin, being placed between the *yoni* and the direction of the village.

For further details on this part of the question see E. Sellon, "The Phallic Worship of India," *Mem. Anth. Soc. Ldn.*, vol. i, 1865, pp. 327-334.

For references on cow ritual, apart from those already mentioned at the beginning of the note, see Dubois, *op. cit.*, pp. 191-192, 573-574, 686, 706; the Index of Macdonell's *A History of Sanskrit Literature* under "Cow"; Russell, *Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces*, vol. i, p. 415, where a most curious penalty for killing a cow by members of the Tiyor caste is described; and Stevenson, *Rites of the Twice-born*, pp. 161, 194, 273, 311 *et seq.*, 324 *et seq.*, and 376. The fullest account, however, is that by Crooke, "The Veneration of the Cow in India," *Folk-Lore*, vol. xxiii, 1912, pp. 275-306. I did not discover this interesting article till my note was in the press. I notice that he (pp. 280, 291) has entirely abandoned his old views (line 10 of note), and fully recognises the great antiquity of cow-worship among the Hindus.—N.M.P.

APPENDIX I

APPENDIX I

THE STORY OF URVAŚĪ AND PURŪRAVAS

THIS well-known story appears in many forms owing to its great age and the enormous popularity it has always enjoyed. As related in the *Ocean of Story*, it has unfortunately lost nearly all its original character and charm. Before attempting, therefore, to offer any suggestions as to the possible meaning of the legend, it will be as well to tell the story in its original form.

In the first place, however, I would like to point out why this story is so intensely interesting. It is the first Indo-European love-story known, and may even be the oldest love-story in the world. Its history throughout the whole range of Sanskrit literature is astonishing. The story itself can be regarded from several points of view—all of them interesting. Firstly, it is a tale of a great love, full of deep feeling and real pathos. Its beauty is quite sufficient to immortalise it, whatever else we may read in it. Secondly, it contains incidents which strike one as distinctly symbolical, and immediately open up that ever-fascinating pursuit of theorising. Thirdly, it has a distinct historical and anthropological value, and is without doubt the earliest example of nuptial taboo in existence. Lastly, the tale so appealed to Kālidāsa that he made it the theme of his play *Vikramorvaśī*, still further beautifying it with some of the choicest gems of his poetical genius.

We first hear of Urvaśī and Purūravas in a somewhat obscure hymn of the *Ṛig-Veda* (x, 95). It consists of a dialogue when the Apsaras is about to leave her mortal husband for ever. As the story is incomplete and disjointed, we must pass on to the fuller account as found in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (v, 1), which, however, includes several of the verses from the *Ṛig-Veda*.[1]

1. The nymph Urvaśī loved Purūravas, the son of Ilā. When she wedded him she said: "Thrice a day shalt thou embrace me; but do not lie with me against my will, and let

[1] J. Eggeling's translation, *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. xliv, pp. 68-74.

me not see thee naked, for such is the way to behave to us women."

2. She then dwelt with him a long time, and was even with child of him, so long did she dwell with him. Then the Gandharvas said to one another: "For a long time, indeed, has this Urvaśī dwelt among men: devise ye some means how she may come back to us." Now a ewe with two lambs was tied to her couch: the Gandharvas then carried off one of the lambs.

3. "Alas," she cried, "they are taking away my darling, as if I were where there is no hero and no man!" They carried off the second, and she spake in the selfsame manner.

4. He then thought within himself: "How can that be (a place) without a hero and without a man where I am?" And naked as he was he sprang up after them: too long he deemed it that he should put on his garment. Then the Gandharvas produced a flash of lightning and she beheld him naked even as by daylight. Then, indeed, she vanished. "Here I am back," he said, and lo! she had vanished. Wailing with sorrow he wandered all over Kurukshetra. Now there is a lotus-lake there called Anyataḥplakshā. He walked along its bank, and there nymphs were swimming about in the shape of swans.

5. And she (Urvaśī), recognising him, said: "This is the man with whom I have dwelt." They then said: "Let us appear to him!" "So be it!" she replied, and they appeared to him.

6. He then recognised her and implored her (*Ṛig-Veda*, x, 95, 1): "Oh, my wife, stay thou, cruel in mind: let us now exchange words! Untold, these secrets of ours will not bring us joy in days to come."—"Stop, pray, let us speak together!"—this is what he meant to say to her.

7. She replied (*Ṛig-Veda*, x, 95, 2): "What concern have I with speaking to thee? I have passed away like the first of the dawns. Purūravas, go home again: I am like the wind, difficult to catch."—"Thou didst not do what I had told thee; hard to catch I am for thee, go to thy home again!"—this is what she meant to say.

8. He then said, sorrowing (*Ṛig-Veda*, x, 95, 14): "Then will thy friend rush away this day, never to come back, to go to the farthest distance: then will he lie in Nirṛiti's lap, or the fierce wolves will devour him."—"Thy friend will either

hang himself or start forth; or the wolves or dogs will devour him!"—this is what he meant to say.

9. She replied (*Ṛig-Veda*, x, 95, 15): "Purūravas, do not die! Do not rush away! Let not the cruel wolves devour thee! Truly, there is no friendship with women, and theirs are the hearts of hyenas."—"Do not take this to heart! There is no friendship with women: return home!"—this is what she meant to say.

10. (*Ṛig-Veda*, x, 95, 16): "When changed in form I walked among mortals, and passed the nights there during four autumns. I ate a little ghee, once a day, and even now feel satisfied therewith."—This discourse in fifteen verses has been handed down by the Bahvṛicas. Then her heart took pity on him.

11. She said: "Come here the last night of the year from now: then shalt thou lie with me for one night, and then this son of thine will have been born." He came there on the last night of the year, and lo! there stood a golden palace. They then said to him only this (word), "Enter!" and then they bade her go to him.

12. She then said: "To-morrow morning the Gandharvas will grant thee a boon, and thou must make thy choice." He said: "Choose thou for me!" She replied: "Say, let me be one of yourselves!" In the morning the Gandharvas granted him a boon, and he said: "Let me be one of yourselves!"

13. They said: "Surely there is not among men that holy form of fire by sacrificing wherewith one would become one of ourselves." They put fire into a pan and gave it to him, saying: "By sacrificing therewith thou shalt become one of ourselves." He took it (the fire) and his boy and went on his way home. He then deposited the fire in the forest and went to the village with the boy alone. He came back and thought, "Here I am back," and lo! it had disappeared: what had been the fire was an Aśvattha tree (*Ficus religiosa*), and what had been the pan was a Śamī tree (*Mimosa suma*). He then returned to the Gandharvas.

14. They said: "Cook for a whole year a mess of rice sufficient for four persons; and taking each time three logs from this Aśvattha tree, anoint them with ghee, and put them on the fire with verses containing the words 'log' and 'ghee': the fire which shall result therefrom will be that very fire (which is required)."

15. They said: "But that is recondite (esoteric), as it were. Make thyself rather an upper *araṇi* (fire-stick) of Aśvattha wood, and a lower *araṇi* of Śamī wood: the fire which shall result therefrom will be that very fire."

16. They said: "But that also is, as it were, recondite. Make thyself rather an upper *araṇi* of Aśvattha wood, and a lower *araṇi* of Aśvattha wood: the fire which shall result therefrom will be that very fire."

17. He then made himself an upper *araṇi* of Aśvattha wood, and a lower *araṇi* of Aśvattha wood, and the fire which resulted therefrom was that very fire: by offering therewith he became one of the Gandharvas. Let him therefore make himself an upper and a lower *araṇi* of Aśvattha wood, and the fire which results therefrom will be that very fire: by offering therewith he becomes one of the Gandharvas.

In the above version there are several points to be noticed:

1. A heavenly nymph loves a mortal man.
2. The nuptial taboo.
3. The inability to preserve it.
4. The swan-nymphs.
5. The aloofness of the nymph.
6. Sudden pity for the mortal.
7. The necessity for the mortal to become immortal.
8. The fire-sacrifice as a means of achieving this.

Looking at the legend as it stands, it appears to show how impossible it is for a mere man to aspire to a heavenly bride. His nature is such that he is incapable of abiding by the accustomed conditions of such a marriage, and in consequence misery is bound to result, *unless* by following the prescribed rules of sacrifice and esoteric ritual he can manage to rise to her level. Then, and only then, can he expect eternal happiness.

Before examining the tale in greater detail it will be advisable to see if the other versions give us further data to work upon. It occurs in the *Mahābhārata* and most of the *Purāṇas*. The best account, however, is probably that in the *Vishṇu Purāṇa*. The following portions are taken from the translation by H. H. Wilson.

We are first given more details about our hero.

It has already been related how Buddha begot Purūravas by Ilā. Purūravas was a prince renowned for liberality,

devotion, magnificence, and love of truth, and for personal beauty. Urvaśī, having incurred the imprecation of Mitra and Varuṇa, determined to take up her abode in the world of mortals, and descending accordingly, beheld Purūravas.

Then follow the incidents of the taboo, the rams, lightning, and disappearance of Urvaśī. The heart-broken Purūravas wandered naked over the world like one insane.

At length coming to Kurukshetra, he saw Urvaśī sporting with four other nymphs of heaven in a lake beautiful with lotuses, and he ran to her and called her his wife, and wildly implored her to return. "Mighty monarch," said the nymph, "refrain from this extravagance. I am now pregnant: depart at present, and come hither again at the end of a year, when I will deliver to you a son, and remain with you for one night." Purūravas, thus comforted, returned to his capital. Urvaśī said to her companions: "The prince is a most excellent mortal: I lived with him long and affectionately united." "It was well done of you," they replied; "he is indeed of comely appearance, and one with whom we could live happily for ever." When the year had expired Urvaśī and the monarch met at Kurukshetra, and she consigned to him his first-born, Āyus; and these annual interviews were repeated until she had borne to him five sons. She then said to Purūravas: "Through regard for me all the Gandharvas have expressed their joint purpose to bestow upon my lord their benediction; let him, therefore, demand a boon." The Rājā replied: "My enemies are all destroyed, my faculties are all entire; I have friends and kindred, armies and treasures: there is nothing which I may not obtain except living in the same region with my Urvaśī. My only desire, therefore, is to pass my life with her." When he had thus spoken, the Gandharvas brought to Purūravas a vessel with fire and said to him: "Take this fire and, according to the precepts of the Vedas, divide it into three fires; then fixing your mind upon the idea of living with Urvaśī, offer oblations, and you shall assuredly obtain your wishes."

The Rājā took the brazier and departed, and came to a forest. Then he began to reflect that he had committed a great folly in bringing away the vessel of fire instead of his bride; and leaving the vessel in the wood he went disconsolate to his palace. In the middle of the night he awoke, and considered that the Gandharvas had given him the

brazier to enable him to obtain the felicity of living with Urvaśī, and that it was absurd in him to have left it by the way. Resolving, therefore, to recover it, he rose and went to the place where he had deposited the vessel; but it was gone. In its stead he saw a young Aśvattha tree growing out of a Śamī plant, and he reasoned with himself, and said: "I left in this spot a vessel of fire, and now behold a young Aśvattha tree growing out of a Śamī plant. Verily I will take these types of fire to my capital, and there, having engendered fire by their attrition, I will worship it." Having thus determined, he took the plants to his city, and prepared their wood for attrition, with pieces of as many inches long as there are syllables in the Gayatrī: he recited that holy verse and rubbed together sticks of as many inches as he recited syllables in the Gayatrī. Having thus elicited fire, he made it threefold, according to the injunctions of the Vedas, and offered oblations with it, proposing as the end of the ceremony reunion with Urvaśī.

In this way, celebrating many sacrifices agreeably to the form in which offerings are presented with fire, Purūravas obtained a seat in the sphere of the Gandharvas, and was no more separated from his beloved. Thus fire, that was at first but one, was made threefold in the present Manwantara by the son of Ilā.

In this version the most important difference is the more detailed account of the fire-ritual. Here we at once see an unmistakable symbolism, and perhaps a lesson to show the importance of sacrifice when carried out in strict accordance with the teachings of the Vedas. We have now become acquainted with the legend in its fullest form and need not look at the numerous other versions, all of which are based on the above.

I would, however, refer again to the original dialogue in Hymn xcv of the *Rig-Veda*. As we have already seen, verses 1, 2, 14, 15 and 16 recur in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*. There are thirteen other verses, which describe the pleading of Purūravas on once again finding his beloved. He recalls the trick by which the Gandharvas made him break his promise, and the disadvantages he had, being only a mortal. Urvaśī is unmoved. Then he thinks of their son—what will *he* think when he sees no father, when he hears he has been deserted? Urvaśī replies[1]:

[1] R. T. H. Griffith, vol. iv, Benares, 1892, p. 304 *et seq.*

"I will console him when his tears are falling: he
Shall not weep and cry for care that blesses.
That which is thine between us will I send thee.
Go home again, thou fool; thou hast not won me."

Purūravas in his misery determines to destroy himself (as in the other versions), and finally Urvaśī speaks thus:

"Thus speak these gods to thee, O son of Ilā: as
Death has verily got thee for his subject,
Thy sons shall serve the gods with their oblation,
And thou, moreover, shalt rejoice in Svarga."

Thus the obdurate nymph shows no signs of yielding to her broken-hearted lover. She merely consoles him by telling him that the gods have promised that, after his death, his sons shall offer them sacrifices, and Purūravas himself shall attain the abode of the blessed.

I feel that this sad ending, this unsatisfied love, would in time lose any significance it may once have had, and as the tale found its way into newer works a happier and more conventional ending would be substituted.

As is usual in nearly every legend, scholars have endeavoured to interpret the story of Purūravas and Urvaśī as a nature-myth. Max Müller tried to do this by his usual method of comparative philology. The principle he worked upon was, that in order to arrive at the original meaning of a myth all you have to do is to trace to their source the original meanings of the names of the gods or goddesses mentioned. In most cases these names will be found to denote elemental phenomena, and will have some natural significance, such as an earthquake, the sunset, a storm, the sky, and so on.

Applying this principle to the tale under discussion, he would derive Urvaśī from *uru*, "wide," and a root *aś*, "to pervade," thus meaning "that which occupies the wide spaces of the sky"—*i.e.* "the dawn." Purūravas he identifies with the Greek πολυδευκής, "endowed with much light," deriving the Sanskrit word from the root *ru*, "to cry," and applied to a loud or crying colour—*i.e.* red. Thus the name really means the sun. So the story simply expresses the sun chasing the dawn. "Thus," says Müller,[1]

[1] Max Müller, *Oxford Essays*, 1856, p. 61 *et seq.* (reprinted in *Chips from a German Workshop*, vol. ii, 1868, pp. 101-108, 117-121, 126-130).

"'Urvaśī loves Purūravas' meant 'the sun rises'; 'Urvaśī sees Purūravas naked' meant 'the dawn is gone'; 'Urvaśī finds Purūravas again' meant 'the sun is setting.'"

This system of tracing the origin of myths through etymology has proved almost entirely unsuccessful. The reasons for this are numerous. Among others may be mentioned the fact that myths very similar indeed to those found among Aryan peoples have also been discovered among Australians, South Sea Islanders, Eskimos, etc. Then again, the meaning of a god's name need have nothing whatever to do with the myth in which it occurs, for the simple reason that nothing was more usual than to attach the name of a popular god to some old myth, the real origin of which had long been forgotten. Names like Gilgamish, Buddha, Alexander, Solomon, David and a hundred others continually drew to them stories long ante-dating (or post-dating) them, which really had nothing to do with them at all. If there were no miracles connected with a popular hero or saint, some had to be found —and were found. Then again, proper names of mortals were often derived from natural phenomena, and a story told about "Sun" and "Moon," two members of, say, some Brazilian tribe, would in later years be told of "*the* sun" and "*the* moon."

But apart from all this, philologists differ widely as to the true etymology of words, especially names of deities. Nothing can be proved definitely, and the whole system is one that the mythologist of to-day "turns down."[1]

The beginning of the story is simple enough. The heavenly nymph falls in love with a mortal who returns her love to the very utmost. Although warned that he must abide by certain conditions, he is willing to risk everything. He is told that the conditions are merely in accordance with the usual custom. Whether she means the custom among Apsarases or Aryan womanhood as a whole we are not told. Anyhow, we have here the earliest example of a nuptial taboo, which in after years appeared in a Greek *Märchen*, known to

[1] For further suggested explanations, etc., see A. Kuhn, *Die Herabkunft des Feuers und des Göttertranks*, p. 81 *et seq.* (2nd edition, p. 73 *et seq.*); A. Weber, *Ind. Studien*, vol. i, 1868-1879, p. 16 *et seq.*; K. F. Geldner in Pischel and Geldner's *Vedische Studien*, vol. i, 1889, pp. 244 *et seq.*; H. Oldenberg, *Religion des Veda*, p. 253; ditto, *Die Literatur des alten Indien*, 1903, pp. 53-55; Garrett's *Classical Dictionary*, p. 486; Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*, p. 135.

us through the Latin of Apuleius—the famous Cupid and Psyche myth.

This is not the place to go into any details on the subject of taboo, which has been so ably discussed by Frazer (see the volume of *The Golden Bough* (iii) entitled "Taboo and the Perils of the Soul"). I would, however, draw attention to J. A. Macculloch's *Childhood of Fiction*, pp. 324 *et seq.*, where will be found many interesting variants to our story in the folk-lore of both civilised and semi-civilised peoples.

Although not usually mentioned, there is a story closely resembling "Cupid and Psyche" in the *Pentamerone*, second day, ninth diversion (Burton, vol. i, p. 211 *et seq.*), entitled "The Padlock."

It seems very probable that all these taboos in legend had their origin in taboos in real life, many examples of which have been noted (Macculloch, *op. cit.*, p. 335).

In all these taboo stories the taboo seems to be made to be broken; perhaps it is intended to teach some lesson or explain some principle. It may show the weakness of human nature, the evil results of lack of determination or the necessity for unremitting care and forethought—any or all of which ideas would perfectly well serve as an incentive to a more protracted study and careful observance of the Vedas.

Frazer's theory as to the origin of tales like "Urvaśī and Purūravas" and "Cupid and Psyche" is interesting.[1] He considers that they represent a stage of decay in a cycle of stories which originally were totemic. He argues thus: "Now, wherever the totemic clans have become exogamous, that is, wherever a man is always obliged to marry a woman of a totem different from his own, it is obvious that husband and wife will always have to observe different totemic taboos, and that a want of respect shown by one of them for the sacred animal or plant of the other would tend to domestic jars, which might often lead to the permanent separation of the spouses, the offended wife or husband returning to her or his native clan of the fish-people, the bird-people or what not. That, I take it, was the origin of the sad story of the man or woman happily mated with a transformed animal and then parted for ever. Such tales, if I am right, were not

[1] *The Golden Bough*, vol. iv, "The Dying God," pp. 130, 131. I would especially draw attention to the fine collection of references given in the notes on these two pages. See also P. Saintyves, *Les Contes de Perrault*, p. 416 *et seq.*

wholly fictitious. Totemism may have broken many loving hearts. But when that ancient system of society had fallen into disuse, and the ideas on which it was based had ceased to be understood, the quaint stories of mixed marriages to which it had given birth would not be at once forgotten. They would continue to be told, no longer, indeed, as myths explanatory of custom, but merely as fairy tales for the amusement of the listeners. The barbarous features of the old legends, which now appeared too monstrously incredible even for story-tellers, would be gradually discarded and replaced by others which fitted in better with the changed beliefs of the time. Thus in particular the animal husband or animal wife of the story might drop the character of a beast to assume that of a fairy."

Personally I am not in the least convinced by this theory, which, although ingenious, seems entirely devoid of any sort of proof, and is, moreover, one of those delightful theories that can have no proof. The idea of an animal husband or wife would not tax the imagination of a story-teller very far, and, moreover, nothing has yet been thought of too wild for the boundless imagination of the Hindus, whose pantheon is so full of animal incarnations.

Referring to the tale under discussion, Frazer states in conclusion that " we can still detect hints that the fairy wife was once a bird-woman," and in the note below says that a clear trace of the bird nature of Urvaśī occurs in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*. Here again I would cry " not proven." As already mentioned (Vol. I, p. 201), Apsarases were originally water-nymphs, those who " moved about in the water." In verse 10 of the version in the *Ṛig-Veda* Purūravas says in speaking of Urvaśī :

> "She who flashed brilliant as the falling lightning
> Brought me delicious presents from the waters."

This is merely describing Urvaśī's home : " from the waters (of the firmament)." Her nature was that of a beautiful bird moving serenely through the waters, and when we find her in her celestial home in the guise of a swan I see no reason to take this to be an early example of either the " Beauty and the Beast " or the famous " swan-maiden " cycle of stories. Furthermore, the one important feature of this latter cycle is the discovery of the disguise on the

part of the man and his immediate efforts to keep her in her human shape.

Then comes the aloofness of Urvaśī after her reunion with Purūravas. In the earliest version she maintains this attitude to the end. In other versions she softens, and all ends happily. This makes a prettier story, and perhaps that explains a lot. Anyhow in no version is the lesson, which is intended to be conveyed, lost sight of. A mortal love and marriage is all very nice and proper, but it is only temporary. There is a far greater goal to be obtained—that of immortality—and until the mere mortal has realised the necessity to strive after something higher and finer he cannot hope to enjoy the lasting fruits of a passionate love.

We now come to the incident about the sacrificial fire. It does not occur in Hymn xcv of the *Ṛig-Veda*, but in Hymn xxix[1] there is a full account of the process of fire-making by means of the fire-drill (*araṇi*), and the analogy between the process and the intercourse of the sexes is realised. It seems rather as if the fire-incident was connected with the story of Urvaśī at a later date, and merely introduced to show the importance of sacrificial fires as initiatory rites to the final attainment of immortality. In the version found in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* Purūravas is given holy fire by sacrificing with which he can obtain his wish—to become a Gandharva. He leaves the fire in the forest and on his return finds the fire and the pan turned into two trees, one an Aśvattha (i.e. *Ficus religiosa*—the modern *pipal, aswat, jari, basri, bo*, etc.), and the other a Śamī tree (i.e. *Mimosa suma*—the name of the leaves is *Prosopis spicigera*). He thereupon returns to the Gandharvas for further instructions. After mentioning various rites and methods of making fire from the two trees, they finally tell him that if both sticks for the fire-drill are made out of the Aśvattha tree the resulting fire will be "that very fire."

In the *Vishṇu Purāṇa* details are more fully described, as already seen. Purūravas realised that the fire had been given him "to enable him to retain the felicity of living with Urvaśī." On returning to the place where he left the fire he finds a young Aśvattha tree *growing out* of a Śamī plant. He immediately takes wood from each tree, which he makes

[1] *Rig-Veda*, iii, 29. See Griffith's translation, vol. ii, pp. 25-27, which begins: "Here is gear for friction, here tinder made ready for the spark. Bring thou the matron [lower stick], we will rub Agni in ancient fashion forth."

into the upper and lower parts of a fire-drill—taking care to cut them in accordance with a specially prescribed ritual. As he works the fire-drill he fixes his mind on reunion with his beloved, thus employing a kind of sexual sympathetic magic. Finally stress is laid on the importance of celebrating sacrifices in the form in which offerings are prescribed with fire. Purūravas carries out the necessary instructions of the Gandharvas and regains Urvaśī.

Thus (the version ends) fire that was at first but one was made threefold. The three kinds of fire referred to are: *vaḍavāgni*, which is submarine, causes the waves, and keeps the level of the ocean uniform by consuming so much water—the inpouring rivers making the deficit; *laukikāgni*, the domestic fire; and *vṛika*, the fire in one's own body which can be heard on putting the fingers in one's ears.[1]

It is possible that the fire resulting from the friction of the two sticks symbolised the child, for in a very large number of primitive tribes in all parts of the world the vertical stick is known by a name signifying "male," while the horizontal stick is called "female," and in some cases (as among the Thompson Indians of British Columbia) as soon as the spark falls on the tinder of dried leaves or grass they exclaim: "The woman has given birth!"

The whole subject of the fire-drill has been fully discussed by Frazer,[2] while reference should also be made to Crooke[3] and Thurston.[4]

It is curious that Frazer (p. 209) states that the sticks are not taken from the same tree, but that one must be hard and the other soft. Certainly this seems reasonable, but he must have overlooked the statements in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* and also the numerous examples quoted by Thurston, where both sticks are made from the same tree.

[1] For full details of the Agnyādhāna, or "Establishment of the Sacred Fires," see *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa*, part i, second *kāṇḍa*, p. 274 *et seq.*

[2] *The Golden Bough*, vol. ii, ch. xv, "The Fire Drill" (pp. 206-226), and ch. xvi, "Father Jove and Mother Vesta" (pp. 227-252). See also the General Index under "Friction."

[3] *Popular Religion of Northern India*, vol. ii, pp. 192-195.

[4] *Ethnographic Notes in Southern India*, pp. 464-470; and *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, vol. i, p. 99, where it is interesting to note that although the Badagas make fire by friction, reference is made in their folk-legends not to this mode of obtaining fire, but to *chakkamukki* (flint and steel). Commenting upon this, T. C. Hodson (*Primitive Culture of India*, Roy. As. Soc. Forlong Fund, vol. i, p. 36) suggests that possibly the flint and steel had superseded the use of the fire-drill, except in the solemnity of funeral rites.

In order to appreciate the extent to which the sacred fire entered into Hindu ritual as time went on we have only to glance at the daily offering to the fire made by the modern Brāhman, known as *homa*. It is made twice daily, once in the morning before breakfast and again at night before dinner. It consists of ghee, curds, and rice or grain.[1] *Homa* is also performed at the investiture of the Sacred Thread, at hair-cutting, marriages, *śrāddha*, etc.

After his wedding a Brāhman can either be an ordinary householder or an *agnihotrī*—*i.e.* fire-priest—and observe the full forty-eight rites (instead of the ordinary sixteen). The fire used at any important ceremony such as a wedding should be kindled by friction and the fire in the domestic hearth lit by it. Full details of the *agnihotrī* have been given by Crooke.[2]

Thus, I think, we can regard the fire-incident of the story of Purūravas and Urvaśī as showing the great symbolical significance of fire-sacrifice as a means of attaining Svarga, the abode of the blessed, and ensuring a final state of immortality.

Before closing this appendix I would refer again to Kālidāsa's dramatic version of the legend. It is known as *Vikramorvaśī*, or "Urvaśī won by Valour," and is a play in five acts. The plot differs considerably from the original story and is briefly as follows :—

King Purūravas, in answer to the cries of some nymphs, rescues one of their companions, Urvaśī, from the clutches of a demon, pursuing him in his heavenly car. The two fall in love with one another. Urvaśī is called to the Court of Indra, but sees the king in his garden later on. Complications arise as Purūravas is already married and the queen becomes jealous.

Urvaśī has to act at Indra's court and when asked in the play whom she loves says "Purūravas" in mistake for Purushottama (Vishṇu). This enrages her teacher Bharata, who curses her, saying that as she had forgotten her part so she would be forgotten in heaven. However Indra takes pity

[1] For a full description of the offerings see Stevenson, *Rites of the Twice-born*, p. 226-227.

[2] *Tribes and Castes of the North-West Provinces and Oudh*, under "*Agnihotrī*." See also Frazer, *op. cit.*, pp. 247-250.

on her and says she can be united to Purūravas until he sees the son which she will bear him. The lovers wander together on the Himālayas, when Urvaśī, seeing Purūravas' attention attracted for a moment by a nymph, enters in her anger the groves of Kārttikeya, forbidden to females. The curse of Bharata begins to take effect and she is immediately changed into a creeper. The king in his frenzied misery at her loss becomes insane, and wanders through the forest inquiring for his beloved of every tree, stream, mountain, or animal he meets.

Everywhere he imagines he sees traces of his lost one—the flowers heavy with dew are her eyes glistening with starting tears, the rippling water is her frown, the meandering current her undulating gait. Wilson's translation gives a very good idea of the original.

Purūravas inquires of a swan :—

"Ho! Monarch of the tribes that breast the stream,
Forbear awhile your course : forgo the provender
Of lotus stems, not needed yet, and hear
My suit—redeem me from despair—impart
Some tidings of my love—'tis worthier far
To render kindly offices to others
Than meanly labour for a selfish good—
He heeds me not, but still on Mānasa
Intent, collects his store—and now I note him
More closely, I suspect some mystery.
Why seek to veil the truth?—if my beloved
Was never seen by thee as graceful straying
Along the flowery borders of the lake,
Then whence this elegant gait—'Tis hers—and thou
Hast stolen it from her—in whose every step
Love sports—thy walk betrays thee ; own thy crime,
And lead me quickly to her. (*Laughs.*) Nay, he fears
Our Royal power—the plunderer flies the king."

Later he sees a lotus with a bee amid its petals and exclaims :

"Say, plunderer of the honeyed dew, hast thou
Beheld the nymph whose large and languid eye
Voluptuous rolls as if it swam with wine?
And yet methinks 'tis idle to inquire,
For had he tasted her delicious breath
He now would scorn the lotus. I will hence."

After many inquiries for Urvaśī he finds a gem, which proves to be the jewel of restoration. Suddenly he sees a vine:

"What means this strange emotion?—as I gaze
Upon this vine—no blossoms deck its boughs;
Nipped by the falling rains, like briny tears,
The buds have perished, and the mournful shrub
All unadorned appears to pine in absence—
No bees regale her with their songs—silent
And sad, she, lonely, shows the image
Of my repentant love, who now laments
Her causeless indignation—I will press
The melancholy likeness to my heart—
Vine of the wilderness, behold
A lone, heart-broken wretch in me,
Who dreams in his embrace to fold
His love, as wild he clings to thee.
And might relenting fate restore
To these fond arms the nymph I mourn,
I'd bear her hence, and never more
To these forbidden haunts return."

Gradually the creeper is transformed into Urvaśī and Purūravas finds he is in the arms of his beloved:

"What can this mean?—through every fibre spreads
The conscious touch of Urvaśī—yet all
I deemed her charms deceived me—let me wake
And realise the vision or dispel it.
'Tis no deceit—'tis she—my best beloved." (*Faints.*)

The pair are happily united, but Urvaśī remembers the curse. Years pass and by accident Purūravas meets Āyus, his son, and in consequence Urvaśī must return to heaven. Once again Indra saves the situation and all ends happily.

APPENDIX II

APPENDIX II

UMBRELLAS

OWING to the great antiquity and significance of the umbrella, and to the fact that there appears to be no recent comprehensive work on the subject, I shall give here a few notes on its history and Western migration.

In the first place the etymology of the word is interesting. Our English word *umbrella* is, of course, a misnomer, for being derived from the Italian diminutive *ombrella* (Latin *umbra*) it means "little shade," and has no reference whatever to rain. It is curious that we do not use a correct self-explanatory word, like the French *parapluie*, the German *Regenschirm*, and the Spanish *paraguas*, etc.

Turning to classical references we find the word *umbraculum*, meaning "a sunshade," used by Ovid (*Fasti*, ii, 311; *Ars Amat.*, ii, 209-210); Martial (xiv, 28); Tibullus (ii, 5, 97); and Ammianus Marcellinus (xxviii, 4); while the word *umbella* occurs in the same sense in Martial (xi, 73-76) and Juvenal (ix, 50). The Greek equivalent σκιάδειον occurs in Arrian (*Indica*, xvi), where he states that the umbrella is used by all Indians of consideration; and Athenæus (ii, 31). It is also found represented on numerous ancient Greek vase-paintings. The word *parasol* appears to be of much later origin. It is mentioned in the Petrarchian vocabulary (fourteenth century) as the equivalent of *saioual* (from the Persian *sāyāban* or *sāiwān*, "an umbrella"). The word is now only used to denote the fragile and elegant variety of sunshade used by ladies.

It is impossible to say with any certainty where the umbrella originated, but evidence seems to point to the Mesopotamian region as its home. It was the emblem of royalty in both Babylon and Assyria, as can be seen from the marvellous reliefs in the British Museum, excavated by Sir Henry Layard. The Nimrūd Gallery contains sculptures from Calah, and some of the reliefs show Assur-nasir-pal in his chariot or on his throne with the royal umbrella held over him. Similar reliefs will be found in the Nineveh Gallery.

The ancient Egyptian kings used the umbrella in exactly the same manner as the Assyrians. It appears from a Theban painting reproduced in Wilkinson's *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians* (vol. i, 1878, p. 235) that the honour also extended to members of the royal family. In this particular case it is an Ethiopian princess, and the umbrella, composed of lotus leaves, is fixed into the chariot on the left-hand side.

The use of the umbrella as a symbol of power and sovereignty appears to have existed in all parts of Asia from a very early date. In the Far East the centre of the practice was undoubtedly China, and bas-reliefs dating back to the eleventh century B.C. have been found depicting its use. In Dr Bushell's *Chinese Art*, vol. i, 1905 (H.M. Stationery Office), Figs. 1 and 5 show such bas-reliefs of the Han Dynasty. The latter represents an umbrella being held over the head of King Ch'êng of the Chou Dynasty (see *op. cit.*, p. 18). Elaborate examples, such as those in the bas-reliefs, were used only by the sovereign and those to whom the honour was specially granted. The usual variety was made of varnished paper on split bamboo. Large quantities of these were, and still are, exported to Singapore, whence they find their way through Java, Sumatra and Malaya to the coastal towns of Burma.

It is, however, chiefly to Burma, where the etiquette has remained unchanged, that we look for the full significance of the umbrella. As in ancient India, so also in Burma the colour of the royal umbrella (*tibyu*) was white. It was about twelve or fifteen feet high, with a diameter of nearly six feet. It was carried only over the king, and possibly his chief wife. It formed, moreover, one of the five articles of regalia, the others being the crown (*makō*), sceptre (*thanlyet*), sandal (*chenin*) and chowrie (*thāmyi yat*). The umbrellas have distinctive names attached to them, such as "the trembling," "moon," "golden," "sun," "lotus," "uplifted" and so forth. When Superintendent at Port Blair, Sir Richard Temple managed to get drawings and carvings made of the complete regalia of the Burmese kings.[1] Nine white umbrellas mark the king, while the heir-apparent has eight golden ones, and a lesser number are allotted to other members of the royal family, the tributary chiefs and other high officials. If a king abdicated, he forfeited the right of the

[1] See *Ind Ant.*, vol. xxxi, Nov. 1902, pp. 442-444.

regalia. An exception to this rule, however, occurred in the case of King Kunzaw of the eleventh century, who abdicated on religious grounds. He was allowed to continue the use of the royal symbol, and also of the title Tibyuzaung (" wearer of the white umbrella "), which is attached to all Burmese kings.[1] The lesser officials have red umbrellas, though in some cases leave was given to cover the outside with coloured silks or satins, usually pink or green. Fringes were considered an additional honour. The inside was nearly always black.

The common umbrellas in general use were made of native parchment-like paper glued to spokes of split bamboo and coated with black varnish. Priests were allowed a yellow varnish, giving a diaphanous appearance.[2]

A favourite trick of King Noung daw Gyee was to continually issue new edicts as to the length of umbrella handles allowed, with the result that district officials made small fortunes by fines.[3]

As can be expected, the umbrella had also a religious significance, and we find images of Gautama crowned with this symbol of sovereignty. In Buddhist architecture the " Wheel of Light," symbolising the Buddha, is overshadowed by an umbrella, and every Burmese pagoda is surmounted by a *htee*, *htī* or *ti*, which are really metal (and occasionally stone) umbrellas with bells and other decorations attached.[4] The significance of the *ti* is shown by an incident connected with the history of the famous Shwē Dagōn pagoda at Rangoon. When, in 1768, it reached its present height of 321 feet from the platform, it was crowned with a *ti* by the Môn kings of Pegu. This was destroyed by an earthquake in 1768, and five years later King Sinbyushin replaced it by one of true Burmese shape, and the event symbolised the complete Burmanising of the Môn country

[1] See R. Grant Brown, "The Pre-Buddhist Religion of the Burmese," *Folk-Lore*, June 1921, vol. xxxii, pp. 77-100. In his address to the Governor-General of India in 1855, the King of Burma styled himself " the monarch who reigns over the great umbrella-wearing chiefs of the Eastern countries."

[2] See J. Nisbet, *Burma under British Rule and Before*, 1901, p. 204.

[3] See Shway Yoe (Sir George Scott), *The Burman, his Life and Notions*, 1896, p. 406.

[4] For details of the *ti* in Burmese architecture reference should be made to J. Fergusson, J. Burgess and R. Phené Spiers' *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, 2 vols., 1910, vol.i, p. 70, and Sir George Scott's article, "Burma and Assam (Buddhism in)," Hastings' *Ency. Rel. Eth.*, vol. iii, pp. 42, 43.

and celebrated the recent successes against Siam, China and Manipur.[1]

Passing to India we find similar evidence of the great importance attached to the umbrella. It appears in ancient rock sculptures and enters into Hindu iconography. In the Bharhut tope there is a carving of a casket containing relics guarded by a seven-headed Nāga, and over it is an umbrella of state. At Sānchi we find sculptured representations of two and even three such symbols placed one above the other over temples, the double and triple canopies of which appear to be fixed to the same handle or staff, as in the modern state umbrellas of China and Burma. Thus we have a primary idea of the accumulated honour of stone or metal discs which subsequently became such a prominent feature of Buddhist architecture, culminating in the many-storied pagodas of China and Japan.[2]

It will be remembered that in our text in the *Ocean of Story* (p. 49) the colour of the umbrella is given as white, while on p. 55 it is described as "gleaming white like snow." In this connection it is of interest to quote a paragraph from Yule, *Marco Polo*, vol. i, p. 355: "An Indian prince, in a Sanskrit inscription of the ninth century, boasts of having wrested from the King of Mārwār the two umbrellas pleasing to Pārvatī, and white as the summer moonbeams. Prithi Rāj, the last Hindu king of Delhi, is depicted by the poet Chand as shaded by a white umbrella on a golden staff." This was also the colour in the *Jātakas*. In the *Rās Mālā*, however, Forbes [3] describes an image of Wun Rāj (Vanarāja) in which the king is covered by a scarlet umbrella.

The question naturally arises as to why the umbrella had such a universal importance throughout the East. Several suggestions have been put forward, some of which seem quite feasible. In the first place it was thought to symbolise the firmament owing to its shape, and in support of this view Russell (*op. cit.*, pp. 450-451) states that "when one of the early Indian monarchs made extensive conquests, the annexed

[1] See Nisbet, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 385. The subsequent history of the *ti* is to be found in Captain C. J. F. S. Forbes' *British Burma and its People*, 1878, pp. 200-201.

[2] See *Journ. Indian Art and Industry*, vol. xvi, April 1912, p. 3. It is quoted by Russell, *Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces*, vol. ii, p. 449.

[3] See the 1924 edition, with notes by H. J. Rawlinson. The umbrella is shown in vol. i, p. 40. See also note on p. 440.

territories were described as being brought under his umbrella; of the King Harsha-Vardhana (A.D. 606-648) it is recorded that he prosecuted a methodical scheme of conquest with the deliberate object of bringing all India under one umbrella—that is, of constituting it into one state. This phrase seems to support the idea that the umbrella symbolised the firmament. Similarly, when Viśvāmitra sent beautiful maidens to tempt the good King Harischandra, he instructed them to try and induce the king to marry them, and if he would not do this, to ask him for the Puchukra Undi or State Umbrella, which was the emblem of the king's protecting power over his kingdom, with the idea that that power would be destroyed by its loss. Chhatrapati or Lord of the Umbrella was the proudest title of an Indian king. When Sivaji was enthroned in 1674 he proclaimed himself as Pinnacle of the Kshatriya race and Lord of the Royal Umbrella. All these instances seem to indicate that some powerful significance, such as that already suggested, attached to the umbrella. Several tribes, as the Gonds and Mundas, have a legend that their earliest king was born of poor parents, and that one day his mother, having left the child under some tree while she went to her work, returned to find a cobra spreading its hood over him. The future royal destiny of the boy was thus predicted."

Another suggestion as to the original significance of the umbrella is that it was used to protect the eyes of the sovereign from the people—his glance being considered magical and harmful. This, however, seems more unlikely than the opposite—namely, that the sacred person of his Majesty should be protected from the common gaze of the populace; but both ideas lose their value when we remember the use of the symbol on temples and the fact that the umbrella is always represented as held vertically over the king's head, thus protecting it from the powerful rays of a tropical sun. It seems, however, quite possible that, apart from the actual harm it might do, the sun should never be allowed to shine direct on the sacred person of the king. This idea is strengthened by the fact that at the most important period of a Brāhman's life he had to keep the sun from shining on his head. Thus we read in the *Gṛihya Sūtras*[1] that on the day when a Brāhman student of the Veda took a bath to signify that the time of his studentship was at an end, he entered a cow-shed before

[1] Oldenberg, *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. xxx, pp. 165, 275.

sunrise, hung over the door a skin with the hair outside, and sat there: on that day the sun should not shine upon him. Frazer[1] includes this under the various taboos of sacred persons in the section "Not to see the Sun," and gives numerous examples where the sovereign (as in the case of the Mikado) was so sacred that the sun was not worthy to shine upon him.

The migration of the umbrella from East to West was slow and gradual. This is not to be wondered at when we remember the great size of the state umbrella, and the fact that as yet the folding variety was unknown. The costliness of such articles would also be a great disadvantage, besides being very hard to obtain. Mediæval accounts given by travellers are not very numerous. Marco Polo, in describing the Court of Kūblāi Kaan in 1292 says[2] that generals who have command of 100,000 men are awarded a tablet of gold according to their rank, etc., and that everyone, moreover, who holds a tablet of this exalted degree is entitled, whenever he goes abroad, to have a little yellow canopy, such as is called an umbrella (*palieque* in Pauthier, *unum pallium* in the Latin text), carried on a spear over his head in token of his high command.

In Europe the umbrella was not unknown at this time and Martino da Canale, a contemporary of Polo, states that in Venice "when the Doge goes forth of his palace, '*si vait après lui un damoiseau qui porte une umbrele de dras à or sur son chief*,' which umbrella had been given by '*Monseigneur l'Apostoille*.' There is a picture by Girolamo Gambarota, in the Sala del Gran Consiglio, at Venice, which represents the investiture of the Doge with the umbrella by Pope Alexander III, and Frederick Barbarossa (concerning which see *Sanuto* Junior, in *Muratori*, xxii, 512 ").[3] Ibn Baṭūṭa (ii, 440) tells us that in his time (*c.* 1332) parasols were in general use at Constantinople. It was also in the fourteenth century that the folding umbrella was first noticed. It is described by Marignolli as "a thing like a little tent-roof on a cane handle, which they open out at will as a protection against sun or rain. This they call a *chatyr*; I brought one to Florence with me."[4]

[1] *Golden Bough*, vol. x, pp. 18-21.
[2] Yule, *Marco Polo*, vol. i, p. 351.
[3] *Idem*, *ibid.*, p. 354.
[4] See Yule and Cordier, *Cathay and the Way Thither*, vol. iii, p. 256.

The next mention of a similar variety appears to be that given by Duarte Barbosa.[1] They are described as "made of finely worked silk with many golden tassels, and many precious stones and seed pearls." In an interesting note Dames states that the next mention of umbrellas which open and shut is probably that in a passage in the *Decadas* of João de Barros (III, x, 9, *f*, 264, ed. of 1563). It speaks of events which occurred at Cananor in 1526. The first part of the passage is quoted in *Hobson Jobson* (ed. 1903, p. 851), but the description itself is omitted. It is as follows:—

"All this is mounted on a staff as an awning, as we have said, and the canes play up and down, shutting and opening to close it or spread it out. And when they would put up the great crown which gives the shade, they insert into that staff (*piam*) a very light wooden shaft (*aste*) about fifteen palms in length, and then they run it by means of a socket (*noete*) working on the wooden staff, in order that it may be fully spread out when it arrives at the top of the staff. There they put a cross-piece of wood through the shaft, in which there is a hole, so that it remains fixed and does not fall down."

Although umbrellas were used by the Anglo-Saxons,[2] as is shown in the Harleian MS. (603 in the British Museum), they do not reappear in England till the seventeenth century, and even then remained practically unknown until early in the following century, when it became the practice for coffee-houses to keep large umbrellas for use of their patrons[3] in very much the same way as they are used to-day by commissionaires of clubs and hotels. The custom, however, could not have been very familiar, for in 1752 Colonel Wolfe noticed their use in Paris and wondered why they had not been introduced into England.

Jonas Hanway (1712-1786) is stated to be the first man to habitually carry an umbrella. It is interesting to note that the Anglo-Indian term used for an umbrella in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was "roundel," a word of early English origin applied to a variety of circular objects, as a mat under a dish, a target, shield, etc.[4] The form

[1] *The Book of Duarte Barbosa*, trans. by M. Longworth Dames, Hakluyt Society, 1921, vol. i, pp. 206-207.

[2] See Fig. 23 in Mrs Ashdown's *British Costume*, 1910.

[3] *The Tatler*, No. 238, 17th October 1710.

[4] See Yule, *Hobson Jobson*, under "Roundel," also "Umbrella," "Kittysol," "Sombrero"; R. C. Temple, *Ind. Ant.*, December 1904, p. 316; and Murray's *New English Dictionary* under "Roundel."

"arundel" is also found. The fact that the Anglo-Indians called the umbrella a roundel and regarded it as a symbol of sovereignty or nobility indicated that it was as yet little known in England. W. W. Skeat[1] points out that "some kind of umbrella was, however, occasionally used by ladies at least as far back as 1709; and a fact not generally known is that from about the year 1717 onwards a 'parish' umbrella, resembling the more recent 'family' umbrella of the nineteenth century, was employed by the priest at open-air funerals, as the church accounts of many places testify."

Murray's *New English Dictionary* gives a long and interesting list of quotations under "Umbrella," the earliest being as follows:—

"1611. 'Many of them doe carry other fine things . . . which they commonly call in the Italian tongue 'umbrellaes.' . . . These are made of leather something answerable to the form of a little caunopy and hooped in the inside with divers little wooden hoopes that extend the umbrella in a pretty large compass.'—CORYATE, *Crudities*, iii."

Among others may be mentioned two references from the writings of Swift:

"1704. 'A large skin of Parchment . . . served him for a Night-cap when he went to bed, and for an Umbrello in rainy Weather.'—*Tale of a Tub*, ix."

"*c.* 1712. 'The tuck'd up semstress walks with hasty strides
While streams run down her oil'd umbrella's sides.'—*A City Shower.*"

Finally the following lines from Gay's *Trivia*, Bk. I, give quite a good idea of the history of the umbrella:—

"1716. 'Good housewives all the winter's rage despise,
Defended by the riding hood's disguise;
Or underneath the umbrella's oily shade
Safe through the wet on clinking pattens tread.

Let Persian dames the umbrella's ribs display
To guard their beauties from the sunny ray;

[1] *The Past at our Doors*, 1911, pp. 97, 98.

Or sweating slaves support the shady load
When Eastern monarchs show their state abroad;
Britain in winter only knows its aid
To guard from chilly showers the walking maid.'"

Very few early examples of English umbrellas appear to have been preserved, and the earliest specimens in the Victoria and Albert Museum date only from the first half of the nineteenth century. They belong to the class which have whalebone ribs, thick wooden sticks and large oiled silk covers. In time gingham (a kind of cotton cloth first made in Guingamp[1] in Brittany, the yarn of which is dyed before it is woven) was substituted, and in 1848 William Sangster patented the use of alpaca as an umbrella covering.

The chief invention, however, was the "Paragon" rib, patented by Samuel Fox in 1852. It is formed of a thin strip of steel rolled into a trough section, thus combining lightness, strength and elasticity.

Huge umbrellas have always been in demand in native courts in all parts of Africa, and many are made in England for this purpose. Brewer (*Dictionary of Phrase and Fable*—"Umbrella") quotes a paragraph from *The Graphic* of 18th March 1894, p. 270: "An umbrella is now being made in London for an African potentate which, when unfurled, will cover a space sufficient for twelve persons. The stick is . . . fifteen feet long."

In 1874 the sacred umbrella of King Koffee Kalcalli of the Ashantees was captured and found its way to the South Kensington Museum. Many similar ones were to be seen at the Empire Exhibition, Wembley, in 1924.

In his famous *Pilgrimage to El Medinah and Meccah*, three vols., 1855-1856 (vol. iii, pp. 140-141) Burton describes the Sherif of Meccah as being "plainly dressed in white garments and a white muslin turban . . . and the only emblem of his dignity was the large green satin umbrella borne by an attendant on foot." And in a note he adds: "From India to Abyssinia the umbrella is the sign of royalty: the Arabs of Meccah and Senaa probably derived the custom from the Hindus."

When visiting the Emir of Abyssinia at Harar,[2] Burton

[1] The *New English Dictionary* derives the word from the Malay *ging-gang*, meaning "striped."

[2] *First Footsteps in East Africa*, 1856, p. 336.

was received by his Highness under a red satin umbrella heavily fringed.

Apart from the references already given, the following may be consulted :—

O. Uzanne, *L'Ombrelle*, Paris, 1883 (see the interesting copy in the Ashbee Collection, British Museum). It was translated into English as *The Sunshade, the Glove, the Muff*, London, 1883. References to the umbrella in the *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Mahābhārata* will be found on pp. 13-16. See also by the same author, *Les Ornements de la Femme*, "L'Ombrelle (Le Parasol—Le Parapluie)," Paris, 1892, pp. 131-195.

For further information see W. Sangster, *Umbrellas and their History*, 1855 (see also the 1871 edition by Cassell & Co., with illustrations by Bennett); "Pagodas, Aurioles and Umbrellas," F. C. Gordon Cumming, *The English Illustrated Magazine*, 1887-1888, pp. 601-612, and 654-667; S. Baring-Gould, *Strange Survivals*, 1892, p. 129 *et seq.*; numerous short articles are referred to in Poole's *Index of Periodical Literature*.

APPENDIX III

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POISON-DAMSELS

On page 91 of this volume we read of the methods employed by Yogakaraṇḍaka, the minister of King Brahmadatta, against our hero, the King of Vatsa: "He tainted, by means of poison and other deleterious substances, the trees, flowering creepers, water and grass all along the line of march. And he sent poison-damsels as dancing-girls among the enemy's host, and he also dispatched nocturnal assassins into their midst."

The tactics of this minister are as curious as they are unscrupulous. We have read of wells being poisoned and even of diseased clothes being left for the enemy to find, but the poisoning of the vegetation and the dispatching of poisoned women are much more uncommon.

This subject is of great interest from many points of view, and as there appears to be very little published on the matter, especially poison-damsels, I will discuss the whole question in some detail.

Although by far the greater part of this appendix will be on poison-damsels, I will first give a few notes on the practice of poisoning water, etc., in both classical and modern times.

Poisoned Water, Etc.

The references to such practices in Sanskrit literature are not numerous. They are, however, mentioned, and even advocated, in the *Code of Manu*, vii, 195, where, in the chapter on the duties of kings, we read[1]: "When he has shut up his foe (in a town) let him sit encamped, harass his kingdom and continually spoil his grass, food, fuel and water."

The glosses of the commentators on this text refer in general terms to bad or harmful substances which are mixed with the grass, etc., or to destroying them by fire, water and so on. The bad substances may be supposed to include poison. In only one of the glosses is the actual word "poison" used.

In the well-known medical work dating from about the

[1] Buhler's translation, *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. xxv, p. 247.

beginning of the Christian era, the *Suśruta Saṃhitā*,[1] we read in a chapter on the subject of the nature of animal poisons, etc., the following :—

"A sheet of poisoned water becomes slimy, strong-smelling, frothy and marked with (black-coloured) lines on the surface. Frogs and fish living in the water die without any apparent cause. Birds and beasts that live (in the water and) on its shores roam about wildly in confusion (from the effects of poison), and a man, a horse or an elephant, by bathing in this (poisoned) water is afflicted with vomiting, fainting, fever, a burning sensation and swelling of the limbs. These disorders (in men and animals) should be immediately attended to and remedied, and no pains should be spared to purify such poisoned water. The cold ashes of *Dhava*, *Aśva-karna*, *Asana*, *Pāribhadra*, *Pātalā*, *Siddhaka*, *Mokshaka*, *Rāja-druma* and *Somavalka* burnt together, should be cast into the poisoned pool or tank, whereby its water would be purified ; as an alternative, an Anjali-measure (half a seer) of the said ashes cast in a Ghata-measure (sixty-four seers) of the required water would lead to its purification.

"A poisoned ground or stone-slab, landing-stage or desert country gives rise to swellings in those parts of the bodies of men, bullocks, horses, asses, camels and elephants that may chance to come in contact with them. In such cases a burning sensation is felt in the affected parts, and the hair and nails (of these parts) fall off. In these cases, the poisoned surface should be purified by sprinkling it over with a solution of *Ananta* and *Sarva-gandha* (the scented drugs) dissolved in wine (Surā), or with (an adequate quantity of) black clay dissolved in water, or with the decoction of *Viḍanga*, *Pāthā* and *Katabhi*.

"Poisoned hay or fodder, or any other poisoned food-stuff, produces lassitude, fainting, vomiting, diarrhœa, or even death (of the animal partaking thereof). Such cases should be treated with proper anti-poisonous medicines according to the indications of each case. As an alternative, drums and other musical instruments smeared with plasters of anti-poisonous compounds (Agadas) should be beaten and sounded (round them). Equal parts of silver (*Tāra*), mercury (*Sutāra*), and *Indra-Gopa* insects with *Kuru-Vinda* equal in weight to that of the entire preceding compound, pasted with the bile of a Kapila (brown) cow, should be used as a paste over the

[1] English translation, edited by K. K. L. Bhishagratna, Calcutta, 1911, vol. ii, pp. 696-698.

musical instruments (in such cases). The sounds of such drums, etc. (pasted with such anti-poisonous drugs), are said to destroy the effects of even the most dreadful poison."[1]

Turning to Europe, we find that from the earliest times writers on military law have continually distinguished between the law of nature and the law of nations, showing how the two sometimes coincide, but as often operate in opposite directions. They have, moreover, condemned the use of poison in warfare as being against all laws—human and divine.

Hugo Grotius in his great work, *De jure belli ac pacis*, writes as follows[2] (Book III, chap. iv, sec. 15, etc.) :—

"As the laws of nations permit many things . . . which are forbidden by Natural Law, so they forbid some things which are permitted by Natural Law. For him whom it is lawful to put to death, whether we put to death by the sword or by poison, it makes no difference, if we look to Natural Law. It is doubtless more generous to kill so that he who is killed has the power of defending himself; but this is not due to him who has deserved to die. But the Laws of Nations, if not of all, at least of the best, have long been, that it is not lawful to kill an enemy by poison. This consent had its rise in common utility, that the dangers of war, which are numerous enough, may not be made too extensive. And it is probable that this rule proceeded from kings, whose life may be defended from other causes, better than the lives of other persons; but is less safe than that of others from poison, except it be defended by the scruples of conscience and the fear of infamy.

"Livy (xliii, 18), speaking of Perseus, calls these clandestine atrocities: so Claudian (*De Bello Gild.*, v, 273) and Cicero (*De Offic.*, iii, 22) use like expressions. The Roman consuls say that it is required, as a public example, that nothing of the kind be admitted, in the epistle to Pyrrhus which Gellius (*Noct. Attic.*, iii, 8) gives. So Valerius (vi, 5, 1). And when the prince of the Catti offered to procure the death of Arminius by poison, Tiberius rejected the offer, thus gaining glory like that of the ancient generals (Tacitus, *Ann.*, ii, 88).

"Wherefore they who hold it lawful to kill the enemy by poison, as Baldus, following Vegetius (*Cons.*, ii, 188), regard

[1] See also Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra*, new edition, J. Jolly and R. Schmidt, Lahore, 1923, ix, 6, 86; xii, 4, 6-8, 14.

[2] Trans. W. Whewell, Cambridge, 1853, vol. iii, chap. iv, pp. 86-88.

mere Natural Law, and overlook the Instituted Law of Nations. . . . To poison fountains, which must be discovered before long, Florus says (Lib. II, 20), is not only against old rule, but also against the law of the gods; as the Laws of Nations are often ascribed to the gods; nor is it to be wondered, if to diminish dangers, there be some such tacit conventions of belligerents, as formerly in the permanent war of the Chalcidians and Eretrians (Strabo, x, p. 488) it was agreed not to use missiles.

"But the same is not true of making waters foul and undrinkable without poisoning them (Æsch., *De male ob. leg.*, p. 262*a*), which Solon and the Amphictyons are said to have justified towards barbarians: and Oppian mentions as customary in his time. For that is the same thing as turning away a stream, or intercepting a spring of water, which is lawful both by Natural Law and by consent."

Nearly a hundred years later (1758) Emeric de Vattel, the Swiss jurist, published his *Droit des Gens*. It was founded on the works of Wolff and Leibnitz, with many quotations from Grotius. After practically repeating the above extract, he continues [1]:

"Assassination and poisoning are, therefore, contrary to the laws of war, and are alike forbidden by the Natural Law and the consent of civilised nations. The sovereign who makes use of such execrable means should be regarded as an enemy of the human race, and all nations are called upon, in the interest of the common safety of mankind, to join forces to punish him. In particular, an enemy who has been the object of his detestable practices is justified in giving him no quarter. Alexander the Great declared 'that he was determined to take the most extreme measures against Darius, and no longer treat him as an enemy in lawful war, but as a poisoner and an assassin' (Quint. Curt., iv, 9, 18). The interest and the safety of those in command, far from allowing them to authorise such practices, call for the greatest care on their part to prevent the introduction of them.

"Eumenes wisely said 'that he did not think any general would want to obtain a victory by the use of means which might in turn be directed against himself' (Justin., xiv, 1, 12). And it was on the same principle that Alexander condemned

[1] *Les Droit des Gens, ou Principes de la Loi Naturelle appliqués à la Conduite et aux Affaires des Nations et des Souverains*, E. de Vattel, translated by C. G. Fenwick, Washington, 1916, vol. iii, ch. viii, pp. 288-289.—N.M.P.

the act of Bessus, who had assassinated Darius (Quint. Curt., vi, 3, 14)."

The importance of Grotius's *De jure belli ac pacis* lies chiefly in the fact that it forms the foundation of the International Law of the present day. It was the first of such works to influence sovereigns and statesmen, for it showed in an exhaustive and masterly fashion what all men were beginning to feel.

The value of Vattel's work is due to the fact that it consists of all that is best in the works of his predecessors, Grotius, Pufendorf, Leibnitz, Bynkershoek and Wolff. Consequently it became the handbook of statesmen and jurists, and is still quoted as one of the great authorities.

As we have already seen, both these jurists condemned all unnecessary methods of killing an enemy—particularly by any form of poisoning. But, as history is largely a record of cruelty exercised by those in power, we must not be surprised to find that, especially in mediæval times, the number of deaths due to some form of poisoning was very large. At the same time superstition and general ignorance of medicine probably lay at the bottom of many so-called poison mysteries of ancient days, while in some cases, as with the Borgias, reliable evidence is weak.

There are, however, many occasions on which poison in some form or other has been used in warfare.

For instance, when the young Egyptian Sultan Faraj withdrew before the conquering hosts of Tīmūr (Tamerlane) in 1400 he took care to poison both the fields and water before leaving. It is related[1] that in consequence Tīmūr lost so many men and animals that he desisted from the pursuit.

In India the most deadly poison is undoubtedly the variety of aconite found in the Himālayan districts. This is the so-called "Nepal aconite," known as *bīś*, *bish*, *bikh*, etc. There are numerous forms of the series, the most deadly being *A. spicatum*. It is so poisonous in the Sikkim Terai that the sheep often have to be muzzled. The uses to which the aconites are put vary, for the rural drug-dealer has a great knowledge of the plant and finds many commercial uses for it, such as an adulterant in making *bhāng* from Indian hemp, for poisoning arrow-heads (for which see Lewin, "Arrow Poisons," Virchow's *Archiv Path. Anat. und Phys.*, 1894, pp. 138, 289) and many other uses.

[1] Hans Schiltberger's *Reisebuch*, ed. by Langmantel, Tübingen, 1885, 25, 38.

The Indian aconites are confined to the mountain tracts of the north-eastern boundary, stretching from Afghanistan and Baluchistan, through Kashmir, Nepal, Sikkim, Bhutan and Assam to Burma.[1]

The Gurkhas of Nepal regard the plant as a great protection against enemy attacks, and Hamilton[2] describes how they can destroy whole armies by poisoning the water, and in the Nepalese war the British found the wells poisoned with crushed aconite.

The poisoning of water is not confined to India. Thus Burton[3] tells us that the Yuta Indians have diminished in numbers owing to the introduction of arsenic and corrosive sublimate in springs and provisions.

Similar havoc was wrought among the Australians,[4] while in Tasmania[5] poisoned rum was used to exterminate the aborigines.

In Brazil, when the import of African slaves rendered the capture of the natives less desirable than their extermination, the Portuguese left the clothes of people who had died of smallpox and scarlet fever for them to find in the woods.[6] It is also said[7] that the caravan traders from the Missouri to Santa Fé communicated smallpox to the Indian tribes of that district in 1831 by infectious clothing and presents of tobacco.

But vile as all these acts are, they are easily eclipsed by the inhuman methods of warfare introduced by the Germans in the Great War. They have cast a blot on European history which neither compunction nor time can ever eradicate.

This is not the place to describe in detail the different varieties of poison-gases used in the Great War, but I would give a few reliable references sent me by the War Office:

[1] The different species of aconites are fully discussed in Watt's *Commercial Products of India*, the abridgment of *The Dictionary of the Economic Products of India*, 1908, pp. 18-24.

[2] Francis Hamilton, *Account of the Kingdom of Nepal*, Edinburgh, 1819, p. 99.

[3] *City of the Saints*, 1861, p. 576.

[4] E. J. Eyre, *Journals of Expeditions of Discovery into Central Australia*, 1845, vol. i, pp. 175-179.

[5] Bowick, *Last of the Tasmanians*, p. 58.

[6] J. J. von Tschudi, *Reisen durch Südamerika*, vol. ii, p. 262.

[7] J. Fröbel, *Seven Years' Travel in Central America*, 1859, p. 272; and A. R. Wallace, *Narrative of Travels on the Amazon and Rio Negro*, p. 326.

L. Georges, *L'Arme bactériologique future concurrente des armes chimique et balistique; tentatives allemandes répetées de son emploi de 1914 à 1918*, 1922; Col. Zugaro, "Les bactéries comme arme de guerre," *Bull. Belge des Sci. Milit.*, June 1924 (the original article appeared in *Exercito e Marina*, 4th March 1924). See also A. A. Roberts, *The Poison War*, 1915, and the bibliography at the end.

The Historical Section of the War Office informs me that in General Botha's campaign in German South-West Africa the poisoning of wells was both authenticated and admitted. It is believed that the poison used to make the wells unserviceable was chloride of mercury, which was available as it was employed in the gold-mining industry. The official records of the campaign are in the hands of the Government of the Union of South Africa.

The following references may be consulted by readers generally interested in the subject of poisons :—

A. Wynter Blyth, *Old and Modern Poison Lore*, International Health Exhibition, London, 1884; A. W. and M. W. Blyth, *Poisons: their Effects and Detection*, new edition, 1920; C. J. S. Thompson, *Poison Mysteries*, 1923; M. P. Naidu, *The History of Professional Poisoners and Coiners of India*, Madras, 1912; T. N. Windsor, *Indian Toxicology*, Calcutta, 1906; R. Calmette, *Les Venins, les animaux venimeux et la serotherapie antivenimeuse*, Paris, 1907.

We now pass on to the study of the poison-damsel.

The Poison-Damsel in India

Although the poison-damsel is found in the *Kathā Sarit Sāgara*, her appearance in Sanskrit literature is rare.

There are, however, two or three works in which she is mentioned. Of these the most important is undoubtedly Viśākhadatta's political drama, the *Mudrā-Rākshasa*, or *Signet-ring of Rākshasa*. This play, written about the seventh century A.D., deals with events which happened, or were supposed to have happened, at the formation of the great Maurya Empire in 313 B.C. From the commencement of this dynasty dates the unbroken chain of Indian history, and Chandragupta, its founder, must be regarded as the first paramount sovereign or emperor of India. He obtained the throne of Pāṭaliputra under circumstances which have a distinct bearing on the subject under discussion. At the

end of 327 B.C. or in the early spring of the following year[1] Alexander the Great began his invasion of Northern India. He had gradually pushed farther and farther eastwards until, at the river Ὑφασις (the modern Beās, a tributary of the Sutlej), his victorious advance received a sudden, but none the less definite, check by his army refusing to proceed with the expedition.

Thus he was prevented from attempting the overthrow of two great peoples, the Prasii and the Gangaridae, which, he was informed, inhabited a district beyond the Ganges.

The king of these peoples was a certain Agrammes or Xandrames (according to the Greek writers), who has been identified by some with Dhana-Nanda, Nanda,[2] or Nandrus, King of Magadha (South Bihār).

At this time Chandragupta, an illegitimate relation[3] of Nanda, held the position of Commander-in-Chief in his army. He chanced to incur Nanda's displeasure and fled to the Panjāb, where he is said to have met Alexander and to have made a close study of his methods of warfare.

However this may be, the mention of Alexander in connection with Chandragupta is of the greatest interest in this inquiry. For, as we shall see later, the European versions of the poison-damsel find their origin in a certain Pseudo-Aristotelean work purporting to have been written for Alexander and sent to him on his campaigns, when age prevented his learned tutor from continuing his duties personally. This work was known as the *Secretum Secretorum*, and will be fully discussed in the course of this appendix.

It will suffice here merely to draw attention to the fact that it was Aristotle who was credited with the wise teachings and prudent counsels which helped Alexander so much in his Eastern campaigns, and it was he who, in the *Secretum Secretorum*, prevented him from losing his life at the hands of the poison-damsel.

[1] Scholars differ about the duration of Alexander's Indian expedition. See V. A. Smith, *Early History of India*, 1904, pp. 106, 107, and also the 3rd edition, 1914; A. E. Anspach, *De Alexandri Magni Expeditione Indica*, London, 1903; F. W. Thomas in ch. xviii of the *Cambridge History of India*, with the Bibliography on pp. 674-676.

[2] We have already come across a legend of his reign in Vol. I, pp. 13, 17, 35 *et seq.*

[3] Said to have been the son of Murā, a concubine of the king. Hence his surname Maurya.

In just the same way, Chandragupta benefited by the advice of a wise minister. For at the very time that he fled to the Panjāb there was a certain Brāhman named Chāṇakya (Kauṭilya or Vishṇugupta[1]) who, incensed against King Nanda, owing to an effrontery to which he had been subjected, became not only a fellow-conspirator with Chandragupta in the overthrow of Nanda, but was the directing force guiding every movement of the plot. Although details of the defeat of Nanda are hidden under a veil of mingled fact and fiction, it seems almost certain that Chandragupta had the assistance of strong allies, the chief of whom was Porus,[2] who ruled on the far side of the Hydaspes (Jhelum).

On his ascending the throne of Pāṭaliputra Chandragupta, not forgetful of the part played by Chāṇakya in his success, made him his chief minister, and it is at this point that the *Mudrā-Rākshasa* commences. We find Chāṇakya involved in a maze of political intrigue, employing every form of cunning and strategy imaginable. His chief object is to win over the late king's ex-minister Rākshasa and so sever the one remaining link with the old line of Nanda kings. In this he is ultimately successful, but only after he has answered every stroke of his opponents by a more effective counter-stroke, at the same time shielding Chandragupta from the numerous attempts on his life. These attempts were of different kinds, including a poisoned draught and nocturnal assassins who were instructed to get into Chandragupta's sleeping chamber by a subterranean passage and kill him in his sleep. The plot was, however, discovered by Chāṇakya. In relating the circumstances to Rākshasa, one of his secret agents, Virādhagupta, speaks[3] as follows :—

[1] Chāṇakya appeared in Vol. I, p. 55 *et seq.*, as a Brāhman who brought about Nanda's death by a magical rite. In the same volume (p. 233) his name is mentioned as an alternative of Kauṭilya, the supposed author of the *Arthaśāstra*. See p. 233*n*[1].

[2] Jacobi's edition of Hemachandra's *Sthavirāvalīcharita*, p. 55 *et seq.*; and Lassen, *Indische Alterthumskunde*, vol. ii, pp. 313-317.

[3] The translation given is that by H. H. Wilson, *Select Specimens of the Theatre of the Hindus*, vol. iii, 1827, p. 71. Reference should be made to his Introduction, which contains the different versions of the tale of Nanda, Chandragupta and Chāṇakya. For more recent translations of the *Mudrā-Rākshasa* see those by S. C. Chakravarti, Calcutta, 1908, and B. Goswami, Calcutta [1909].

-Before the king retired to rest,
The watchful minister was wont to enter
The chamber, and with diligent scrutiny
Inspect it—thus, he saw a line of ants
Come through a crevice in the wall, and noticed
They bore the fragments of a recent meal;
Thence he inferred the presence of the feeders
In some adjoining passage, and commanded
That the pavilion should be set on fire
That moment—soon his orders were obeyed,
And our brave friends, in flame and smoke enveloped,
Unable to escape, were all destroyed."

Rākshasa replies:

"'Tis ever thus—Fortune in all befriends
The cruel Chandragupta—when I send
A messenger of certain death to slay him,
She wields the instrument against his rival,
Who should have spoiled him of one half his kingdom.
And arms, and drugs, and stratagems are turned
In his behalf, against my friends and servants,
So that whate'er I plot, against his power,
Serves but to yield him unexpected profit."

The "messenger of certain death" was the poison-damsel which Rākshasa had prepared for Chandragupta's undoing. The plot was discovered by the ever-watchful Chāṇakya, who, instead of killing or returning the girl, passed her on to Parvataka, who, although a former ally of Chandragupta, was thought best out of the way.

It appears that the girl could poison only once, and, like the cobra, would be of little danger after the accumulated poison had been spent in her first embrace.

Rākshasa, thinking of the well-known incident in the *Mahābhārata*, says (Chakravarti's translation):

"Friend, see how strange! As Karṇa in order to kill Arjuna reserved a strong lance capable of destroying only one person once and for all, I too kept a vigorous poisonous maid to kill Chandragupta. But as the lance, to the great advantage of Kṛishṇa, killed the son of Hiḍimbā, so she killed the Lord of the Mountains [Parvataka] to be destroyed by the wicked Chāṇakya, to his very great advantage."

There is no need to pursue this reference further. Suffi-

cient has now been said to show the analogy between Chandragupta and Chāṇakya on the one hand, and Alexander and Aristotle on the other. Both kings were saved from the deadly results of a poison-damsel by their equally clever ministers, both were in the Panjāb during the reign of the last of the Nanda kings, and both would naturally be the cause of endless plots.

Although the possible connection of what may be two versions of a single incident (whether fact or fiction) is nothing more than a suggestion, the idea is none the less fascinating, and one on which much research might be carried out.

Before dealing with the *Secretum Secretorum* I should mention other occurrences of the poison-damsel in Sanskrit literature.

In the *Pariśishṭaparvan* we find a slightly different version of the story. Here it is Nanda himself who has prepared the poison-damsel, and his minister Rākshasa has nothing to do with it. The passage is as follows[1]:—

"Then Chandragupta and Parvata [*sic*] entered Nanda's palace and began to divide his great store of treasures. Now in the castle there lived a maiden who was cared for as if all treasures were combined in her. King Nanda had had her fed on poison from the time of her birth. Parvata was seized with such a passion for her that he locked her in his heart like his guardian deity. Chandragupta's teacher [Chāṇakya] gave her to him, and he immediately began to celebrate the ceremony of taking hands. During this, however, poison was transferred to him through her, because their perspiration, caused by the heat of the sacrificial fire, was mixed together. The strength of this poison caused Parvata great agony; all his limbs relaxed, and he said to Chandragupta: 'I feel as if I had drunk poison; even speaking is well-nigh impossible. Help me, friend. I am surely going to die.'"

Chāṇakya, however, advises Chandragupta to let him die, as then he will have the entire treasure to himself. Thus that king of the Himālayan mountain died, and Chandragupta became ruler of two mighty kingdoms.

That the poison-damsel was well known and regarded

[1] *Ausgewählte Erzählungen aus Hēmacandras Pariśishṭaparvan*, Johannes Hertel, Leipzig, 1908, viii, line 327 *et seq.* Bloomfield refers to this in his *Life and Stories of Pārçvanātha*, p. 198. On p. 62 of this work the word "poison-damsel" is used as a simile of a stolen jewel-casket which was destined to bring bad luck to whoever touched it.

with the greatest fear is clear from the seventy-first tale of the *Suvābahuttarīkathā*, where, on the demand of Dharmdat for King Kāmsundar's daughter, the wily minister Siddhreh gets out of the difficulty by saying that the girl is a poison-damsel, and by a clever trick persuades Dharmdat to depart.[1]

Both Hertz [2] and Bloomfield [3] state that there is a treatise in Sanskrit for finding out whether a woman is a poison-damsel. It is described by Weber,[4] but appears on inspection to be nothing more than a treatise on horoscopes which sometimes show if a child is going to be a poison-damsel when grown up, but there is no method given for discovering if a woman one might chance to meet is a poison-damsel or not.

Secretum Secretorum

After thus briefly enumerating the chief Sanskrit references to poison-damsels, we must now take a big jump to Europe in search of further evidence. This does not mean that there is no trace of our *motif* in Persia, Mesopotamia, Arabia, Syria and Asia Minor, but merely, that as Eastern Europe in the Middle Ages was the centre of great literary activity and the *entrepôt* between East and West, it is here that we are most likely to find data to help us in our inquiry. Having surveyed the evidence, we must look eastwards for links with India, and westwards to mark the extent of its ultimate expansion.

In the first place, then, it is necessary to become more acquainted with the character of the *Secretum*, to ascertain, if possible, why it was written, the cause of its immense popularity, and what is known of the history of the work itself.[5] We shall then be in a better position to estimate the value of the inclusion of such a *motif* as that of the poison-damsels.

[1] "Über die Suvābahuttarīkathā," Johannes Hertel, *Festschrift für Ernst Windisch*, Leipzig, 1914, pp. 146, 147.

[2] "Die Sage vom Giftmadchen," *Abhandlungen d. k. bayer. Akad. d. Wiss.*, vol. xx, 1893, p. 143.

[3] *Op. cit.*, p. 199.

[4] *Verzeichnis der Sanskrit Handschriften der Königlichen Bibliothek*, Berlin, 1853, vol. i, p. 263 (No. 879), note 2.

[5] Although space will not permit any detailed discussion of this tangled mass of evidence, I shall endeavour to supply ample reference to the existing literature on the subject.

About the very time that Somadeva wrote, a work appeared in European literature in the Latin language, translated from the Arabic. It was entitled *Secretum Secretorum*, *De Secretis Secretorum*, or *De Regimine Principum*.[1] It purported to be nothing less than a collection of the most important and secret communications sent by Aristotle to Alexander the Great when he was too aged to attend his pupil in person. Such letters had been circulated from the earliest times, but here was a treatise containing not only the essence of political wisdom and state-craft, but regulations for the correct conduct of body and mind, and an insight into the mysteries of occult lore.

Since his death in 322 B.C. the reputation of Aristotle had gradually increased, and in the Middle Ages any work bearing his name was sure to be received with the greatest enthusiasm. Furthermore, the name of Alexander was surrounded by an ever-growing wealth of romance and mystery. No wonder, then, that the discovery, or supposed discovery, of the actual correspondence between these two great men created something of a sensation.

The *Secretum*, however, is not reckoned among Aristotle's genuine works, but as one of a number of unauthenticated treatises which, reflecting as it does theories and opinions contained in his famous philosophical writings, was readily accepted as a work of the Master himself. Its popularity was so great that it became the most widely read work of the Middle Ages, and contributed more to Aristotle's reputation than any of his fully authenticated writings. It was translated into nearly every European language, and consequently played a very considerable part in European literature.

As already mentioned, the Latin version of the *Secretum* first made its appearance in the twelfth century. There were two distinct recensions, a longer and a shorter one, both derived from Arabic MSS., which in their turn were said to rest upon Greek originals. Owing to the complicated and uncertain history of the *Secretum* it was considered necessary in the later MSS. to account in some way for the appearance of this hitherto unheard of correspondence between Aristotle and Alexander. A kind of prologue was accordingly added, both to the longer and shorter rescensions, written by the

[1] For other titles see Förster, *De Aristotelis quæ feruntur secretis secretorum commentatio*, Kiliæ, 1888, 1.

alleged discoverer of the work, Yaḥya ibn Baṭrīq[1]—*i.e.* John the son of Patricius, who was a Syrian freedman under the Khalifa al-Ma'mūn (*circa* 800). He first gives what he describes as the preliminary correspondence between Aristotle and Alexander, and states that in accordance with the commands of the Khalifa, who had somehow heard of the existence of the *Secretum*, he started on a prolonged search for the MS. and "left no temple among the temples where the philosophers deposited their hidden wisdom unsought," until finally he came across the object of his search in the Temple of the Sun dedicated to Æsculapius (Asklepios). It was written in letters of gold, and he immediately translated it first into Rumi (Syriac), and then from Rumi into Arabic. Whether Yahya was really the double translator is unknown. He certainly would know Syriac and Arabic, but if he was ignorant of Greek we must assume that the translation from the Greek into Syriac had been made earlier. It has been suggested that it was on the occasion of the second translation that the other treatises previously existing independently were incorporated, thus accounting for the longer and shorter recensions found both in the Arabic and Latin versions. The number of existing Latin MSS. is very large, and every library of any note possesses a number of copies.[2]

As was only to be expected with a popular book like the *Secretum*, it suffered greatly at the hands of copyists, who removed or added chapters as they thought fit. The work was, moreover, so wide in its scope that in some cases a chapter was enlarged to such a degree that it appeared as a fresh work of its own and was circulated separately. This is what happened with the chapters on *Regimen Sanitatis*—rules for preserving the health—and that on Precious Stones, while that on Physiognomy was incorporated into the works of Albertus Magnus and Duns Scotus.[3]

A comparison of the various texts and translations shows

[1] See Steinschneider in Virchow's *Archiv für pathologische Anatomie und Physiologie*, lii, p. 364 *et seq.*; and Forster, *op. cit.*, p. 23 *et seq.*

[2] There is no complete bibliography of the MSS., prints, etc., of the *Secretum* in all the different languages in the libraries of Europe, but Forster made a list of no less than 207 Latin MSS. See the *Centralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, vol. vi, 1889, p. 1 *et seq.*

[3] See Thorndike, *A History of Magic and Experimental Science*, vol. ii, pp. 266, 267.

that in all probability these very chapters, or sections, which are also found as separate works, did not form part of the original composition, but were added at a later date. The chief reasons for arriving at this conclusion will be given a little later. Thus a kind of " enlarged edition " was formed, which would naturally enjoy a greater circulation. Without going over the ground that has already been sufficiently covered,[1] I would merely mention the two men who are reputed to have made the Latin translations. The first was a Spanish Jew, who, on his conversion to Christianity, took the name of Johannes Hispaniensis, or Hispalensis. He flourished in the middle of the twelfth century, and translated only the section dealing with the health-rules and the four seasons. It had, however, the prologue prefixed to it, and bore the Latinised form of the Arabic title, " In Alasrar." The other translator was a French priest, Philip Clericus of Tripoli,[2] who at the request of his Archbishop, Guido of Valencia, translated the whole work from an Arabic original he had found in Antioch. His date is fixed at the beginning of the thirteenth century. As time went on these two versions got blended, and any knowledge of the separate works was lost. The most interesting and important of the Arabic originals have been compared and discussed by Steinschneider,[3] who found a similar confusion of the chapters as in the Latin texts.

There is also a Hebrew version, which is quite as old as any of the complete texts. It is now almost universally recognised as the work of Judah Al-Harīzī,[4] who flourished in the early thirteenth century. It formed, in all probability, one of

[1] Wustenfeld, " Die Uebersetzungen arabischer Werke in das Lateinische," *Abhandl. der K. Gesell. der Wissensch.*, Göttingen, vol. xxii, 1877, p. 25 *et seq.*; Suchier, *Denkmäler provenzalischer Literatur und Sprache*, Halle, 1883, vol. i, p. 531; Förster, *op. cit.*, p. 25 *et seq.*

[2] Favre, *Mélanges*, Genève, 1856, vol. ii, p. 41, N.1; Knust in *Jahrbuch für romanische und englische Literatur*, vol. x, p. 156 *et seq.*; Cecioni, *Il Secretum Secretorum attributo ad Aristotele*, see *Il Propugnatore*, N.S., II, part ii, p. 84 *et seq.*, Bologna, 1889; and Brunet, *Violier des Histories Romaines*, Paris, 1858, p. 429.

[3] *Uebersetzungen*, p. 995—*cf.* also p. 245 *et seq.*, where a full bibliography is given.

[4] Steinschneider, *Hebr. Biblioth.*, ix, p. 44 *et seq.*, xi, p. 74; Knust in *Jahrbuch für romanische u. englische Literatur*, xii, p. 366 *et seq.*; Wüstenfeld, *op. cit.*, p. 83; *Revue des Études Juives*, iii, p. 241.

the cycle of Alexandrian legends upon which Harīzī was working. This Hebrew version, translated by Gaster,[1] is important in tracing the history of the *Secretum* as it follows the Arabic faithfully, and represents the work before it was encumbered with the enlarged chapters on Astronomy, Physiognomy, etc. One of the most convincing proofs of the subsequent addition of these chapters is the fact that none of them is included in the index of either the longer Arabic or Hebrew texts, and the Latin versions derived from them. But apart from this Förster has traced the chapter on Physiognomy to the Greek treatise of Polemon, while Steele has ascribed part of the Rule of Health section to Diocles Carystius (320 B.C.). The medical knowledge displayed in the enlarged chapters places the author in the eighth or ninth century, but when restored to their original proportions we can reduce the date by at least a century. Scholars are agreed that there is no Greek text in existence, and no proof that it ever did exist. Now if we look more closely into the longer Arabic and Hebrew texts, we find that the background of the book is wholly Eastern—Persian and Indian—while, on the other hand, there is hardly a mention of Greece. If any analogy or simile is needed, it is the sayings and doings of Persians or Indians that are quoted. The allusion to chess, the occurrence of Eastern place-names, and animals, all tend to point to the influence under which the *Secretum* really originated. Among similar Eastern works whose history is now fairly completely known may be mentioned *Syntipas*, *Kalilah*, and *Barlaam and Josaphat*. All these slowly migrated westwards, changing their character with their environment, and readily adapting themselves to any new purpose for which they might be wanted. Among the later insertions added by the Greek author of *Barlaam* is a "Mirror of Kings," which closely resembles portions of the *Secretum*. The composition of this work is now placed at about the first half of the seventh century, and the vicissitudes through which the two works have gone are in all probability very similar.[2]

Having thus briefly glanced at the history of the *Secretum*, we are now in a better position to examine the actual reference

[1] "The Hebrew Version of the *Secretum Secretorum*," *Journ. Roy. As. Soc.*, Oct. 1907, pp. 879-912, and Jan. and Oct. 1908, pp. 111-162, 1065-1084.

[2] For further notes on this see Gaster, *op. cit.*, Oct. 1908, p. 1080.

to poison-damsels. In the first place we should note that it is omitted in both those sections which were not included in the index (see *supra*), but occurs in the oldest portion—that of the rules for "the ordinance of the king, of his purveyance, continence and discretion."

According to the text, Aristotle is warning Alexander against entrusting the care of his body to women, and to beware of deadly poisons which had killed many kings in the past. He further advises him not to take medicines from a single doctor, but to employ a number, and act only on their unanimous advice. Then, as if to prove the necessity of his warnings, he recalls a great danger which he himself was able to frustrate. "Remember," he says, "what happened when the King of India sent thee rich gifts, and among them that beautiful maiden whom they had fed on poison until she was of the nature of a snake, and had I not perceived it because of my fear, for I feared the clever men of those countries and their craft, and had I not found by proof that she would be killing thee by her embrace and by her perspiration, she would surely have killed thee."

This is from the Hebrew text (Gaster's translation), and, as has already been mentioned, represents the early recension. It will be noted that the person who sent the poison-damsel was a king of India. In some of the Arabic texts it is the king's mother, and in most of the later versions the queen of India, who sends the poisoned woman. Then again the contamination differs—sometimes it is caused by the kiss or bite, in other versions by the perspiration, intercourse, or even only the look.

The translation [1] of one of the Arabic texts (MS. Gotha, 1869) is as follows:—

"Remember the mother of the Indian king who sent to thee presents, one of which was a girl who had been brought up on poison until her nature had become that of poisonous serpents. And if I had not found out through my knowledge of the Indian kings and physicians, and had not suspected her to be capable of inflicting a fatal bite, surely she would have killed thee."

Another MS. (Laud. Or., 210) ends with: "she surely would have killed thee by her touch and her perspiration."

[1] See the appendix to Fasc. V of Steele's *Opera hactenus inedita Rogeri Baconi*, by A. S. Fulton, Oxonii, 1920, p. xl.

The Spread of the Legend in Europe

As already mentioned, the work has been translated in full, or partly edited, in numerous European languages. These include Spanish, Italian, Provençal, Dutch, French and English. Full bibliographical details will be found in the excellent article, "Die Sage vom Giftmädchen," by W. Hertz,[1] to which I am indebted for many useful references and translations. There are, however, only one or two of these which, owing to their importance in literature or curiosity of their version, interest us here.

The incidents of the story must have been well known in Spain by the fifteenth century, as Guillem de Cervera when referring to the tricks of women in his *Romania*, xv, 96, verse 1000, observes: "The Indian wanted to murder Alexander through a woman"; and later, when advising care with regard to presents, he continues: "Alexander took gifts from India, and the maiden who thought to rouse his passion was beautiful. If Aristotle had not been versed in astronomy, Alexander would have lost all he possessed through presents."[2]

Heinrich von Meissen, a German poet of the thirteenth century, generally known as Frauenlob, and famous for the display of learning in his poems, tells us that[3] a certain queen of India was so clever that she brought up a proud damsel on poison from infancy. She gave, according to the text, "poisoned words"—that is to say, the breath from her mouth when speaking was poisonous—and her look also brought sudden death. This maiden was sent to King Alexander in order to cause his death and thus bring freedom to

[1] *Abhandlungen der k. bayerischen Akad. der Wissensch.*, I, Cl. xx, Bd. 1, Abth, München, 1893.

[2] *Alexandri pres do* / *Aristotils no fos*
D'Indis et le puciela / *Apres d'astronomia,*
Quel cuydet passio / *Alexandri per dos*
Dar, car era tam biela. / *Perdera quant avia.*

Romania, xv, 107, verses 1149-1150.

[3] Frauenlob's poetry was edited by L. Ettmuller in 1843; a selection will be found in K. Bartsch, *Deutsche Liederdichter des 12. bis 14. Jahrhunderts* (3rd edit., 1893). An English translation of Frauenlob's *Cantica canticorum*, by A. E. Kroeger, with notes, appeared in 1887 at St Louis, U.S.A. See also A. Boerkel, *Frauenlob* (2nd edit., 1881), and F. H. Von der Hagen, *Minnesinger*, iii, 111*a*, verse 3.

her land. A master saw through this and gave the king a herb to put in his mouth, which freed him from all danger.

Frauenlob cites the above as a warning to princes to beware of accepting gifts from conquered foes. The idea of the miraculous herb is entirely new and seems to have been an invention of the poet.

A peculiar rendering is found in a French prose version of the early fourteenth century. It has been described by Ernest Renan in the *Histoire Littéraire* (xxx, p. 567 *et seq.*). The work is in three different texts. According to the most recent (sixteenth century), *Le Cuer de Philosophie*, by Antoine Vérard, the tale of the "Pucelle Venimeuse" is roughly as follows :—

A certain king was once informed by a soothsayer that a child, named Alexander, had just been born who was destined to be his downfall. On hearing this disconcerting news, the king thought of an ingenious way in which to get rid of the menace, and gave secret orders for several infant girls of good family to be nourished on deadly poison. They all died except one, who grew to be a beautiful maiden and learnt to play the harp, but she was so poisonous that she polluted the air with her breath, and all animals which came near her died.

Once the king was besieged by a powerful army, and he sent this maiden by night into the enemy's camp to play the harp before their king. She was accompanied by two others, who were, however, not poisonous. The king, struck by her beauty, invited her to his tent. As soon as he kissed her he fell dead to the ground, and the same fate overtook many of his followers who gathered round her on the same evening. At this juncture the besieged army made a sortie and easily overcame the enemy, who were demoralised by the death of their leader.

Delighted with the success of his experiment, the king ordered the damsel to be even better cared for, and nourished with even purer poison than hitherto.

Meanwhile Alexander, grown to manhood, had started his campaigns, besieged and conquered Darius, and made his name feared throughout the world.

Then the king, anxious to put his long-conceived plan into execution, had five maidens beautifully attired, the fifth being the poisoned damsel, more lovely and more richly clad than the rest ; these he sent to Alexander, ostensibly as a mark of his love and obedience, accompanied by five

attendants with fine horses and rare jewels. When Alexander saw the lovely harpist he could scarcely contain himself, and immediately rushed to embrace her. But Aristotle, a wise and learned man of the court, and Socrates, the king's tutor, recognised the poisonous nature of the maiden and would not let Alexander touch her. To prove this Socrates ordered two slaves to kiss the damsel, and they immediately fell dead. Horses and dogs which she touched died instantly. Then Alexander had her beheaded and her body burnt.

In some of the German versions [1] the name of the poison is mentioned.

The most curious version, however, is that occurring in the Italian edition of Brunetto Latini's *Li livres dou Tresor*,[2] and which runs as follows:—

There ruled a wise queen in the land of Sizire, and she discovered by her magical art that a son of Olympus, Alexander by name, would one day deprive her of her kingdom. As soon as she was informed of the birth of this hero, she considered how she might destroy him and thus evade her fate. She first procured Alexander's portrait, and seeing that his features betrayed a sensual nature, made her plans accordingly.

In that country there exist snakes so large that they can swallow a whole stag, and their eggs are as big as bushel baskets. The queen put a baby girl, just born, into one of these eggs, and the snake-mother hatched it out with her other eggs. The little one came out with the young snakes and was fed by the snake-mother with the same food that she gave her own young ones. When the young snakes grew up, the queen had the girl brought to her palace and shut up in a cage. She could not speak, and only hissed like a snake, and anyone coming near her too often either died or fell into disease. After seven weeks the queen had her fed with bread, and gradually taught her to speak.

After seven years the girl began to be ashamed of her nakedness, wore clothes and became accustomed to human food. She grew into one of the most beautiful creatures in the world, with a face like an angel.

[1] Georg Henisch, *Neünhundert Gedächtnuss-würdige Geheimnuss vnnd Wunderwerck, in Hochteutsche sprach gebracht*, Basel, 1575, 36; Michael Bapst von Rochlitz, *Artzney Kunst vnd Wunder Buch*, Eissleben, 1604, i, 19.

[2] *Il Tesoro di Brunetto Latini versificato*, see Atti, Series IV, Classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche, vol. iv, part i, 111 *et seq.*, Roma, 1888.

Once upon a time Alexander chanced to come to that country, and the queen, thinking that her opportunity had arrived, offered him the girl, with whom he at once fell in love, saying to Aristotle, "I will lie with her." But Aristotle, without whose permission he would not even eat, saw the beauty of the maiden, her glittering face and her look, and said to Alexander: "I see and recognise in this creature the bearing of snakes. Her first nourishment was poison, and whoever comes in contact with her will be poisoned." Seeing that Alexander was loath to believe him, Aristotle continued: "Procure me a snake and I will show you." He ordered the girl to be kept carefully overnight, and the next morning a dreadful snake was brought to him which he shut up under a big jar. Then he ordered a basket of fresh dittany to be ground in a mortar, and with the juice thus obtained he drew a circle round the jar about an ell away from it. Then a servant lifted the jar and the snake crawled out and crept along the circle of juice trying to find a way out. But it could find no outlet and crawled continuously round and round until it died.[1]

"See," said Aristotle, "that will also happen to that maiden." Then Alexander had the three girls brought, and drew a circle of the juice all round them, and called them to him. The two maidens ran to him, but the third, the poisoned damsel, remained within the circle, looking in vain for an outlet. She then began to choke, her hair stood on end, and she died suddenly like the snake.

It is impossible to say if this tale is really old, or merely emanated from the poet's own imagination. Although the kingdom of Sizire appears to be unknown, it is interesting to note the mention of the huge swallowing powers of the snakes, which naturally point to India as the home of the story.

As already pointed out (p. 98n^4 *et seq.*), the magic circle could be used as a vantage-ground from which to summon spirits and also as a barrier from which there was no escape. It appears that even in the early Babylonian texts the prototype of the magic circle possessed these same properties, and in his *Semitic Magic* R. Campbell Thompson describes it as a kind of *ḥaram* through which no spirit could break. The circle was sometimes made of *kusurra* (flour), flour of lime,

[1] For numerous references on the use of dittany in the works of classical writers, particularly Plutarch and Pliny, see Thorndike, *A History of Magic and Experimental Science*, vol. i, pp. 218, 495.

which may, perhaps, have been a mixture of meal and lime, while in other cases flour and water were used for tracing the circle. The mixture was described as the "net of the corn-god," thus fully explaining the office it was supposed to perform.

Hertz (*op. cit.*, p. 105) refers to a mediæval legend told by Hieronymus Rauscher. Once upon a time a terrible dragon overcame a land and no human power could destroy him; then the bishop ordered the people to fast for ten days, whereupon he said: "In order that you may discover what power lies in fasting, you must all spit into this mug." After this he took that saliva and traced a circle round the dragon, which was unable to get out of it (*Das ander Hundert der Bapistischen Lügen*, Laugingen, 1564, c. 32). Aristotle (*Hist. Anim.*, viii, 28, 2) and Pliny (*Nat. Hist.*, vii, 2, 5) believed that human saliva, and especially that of a fasting person, was dangerous to poisonous animals. The same effect is attributed to the juice of garlic. Johannes Hebenstreidt (*Regiment pestilentzischer gifftiger Fieber*, Erfford, 1562, Folio H., p. 1*b*) tells us that a white worm was found in the heart of a prince who had died after a long illness. When they put this worm on a table surrounded by a circle of garlic, he crawled round until he died (*cf.* Harsdorffer, *Der grosse Schauplatz lust- u. lehrreicher Geschichte*, Frankfurt, 1660, ii, 113, N. 9). Wolfgang Hildebrand (*Magia naturalis*, 200) states that a circle drawn round a snake with a young hazel branch will cause its death.

The spread of the tale of the poison-damsel in Europe was greatly increased by its inclusion in the famous collection of stories, "invented by the monks as a fire-side recreation; and commonly applied in their discourses from the pulpit," known as the *Gesta Romanorum*. These tales date from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. In Swan's English translation, edited by Thomas Wright, the tale forms No. 11 of the collection. We are informed that it was the Queen of the North (Regina Aquilonis) who, having heard of Alexander's proficiency, nourished her daughter upon poison and sent her to him. The story as told here is very brief indeed, chief importance being laid upon the "application," in which any good Christian is represented by Alexander, the Queen of the North is a superfluity of the good things in life, the envenomed beauty is luxury and gluttony, which are poison to the soul. Aristotle exemplifies conscience, and the moral is:

Let us then study to live honestly and uprightly, in order that we may attain to everlasting life.

The popularity of the *Gesta Romanorum* must have done much to cause the spread of the poison-damsel *motif*, and as time went on, the idea found its way, sometimes little changed and at other times hardly recognisable, into the literature of most European countries.

When discussing the different methods of poison transference we shall meet with numerous interesting versions. The most recent adaption of the story is probably that of the American poet, Nathaniel Hawthorne.[1] It appeared under the title of "Rappacini's Daughter," and tells of a certain doctor of Padua who was always making curious experiments. Soon after the birth of his daughter the heartless father decides to use her for his latest experiment. He has a garden full of the most poisonous plants, and trains her up to continually inhale their odours. As years pass she not only becomes immune from poison, but so poisonous herself that, like Siebel in *Faust*, any flowers she touches wither. The girl herself was beautiful, and a young man falls in love with her, but marriage seems out of the question. A colleague of her father's, however, prepares a potion for the lover which would neutralise the poison. The plan succeeds, but because poison has now become part of her very life the sudden application of the antidote kills her.

This idea might be well taken from similar results that the sudden complete stoppage of drugs in a habitual drug-fiend would produce. We shall consider the possible connection of opium with our *motif* a little later.

I now propose to look rather more fully into the different methods by which the poison-damsel was said to transfer her poison.

Some versions speak merely of the kiss. Thus in the Persian version of the *Fables of Pilpay*, the *Anvār-i-Suhailī*, we read of a queen who wished to kill her husband, so knowing he had a special weakness for kissing the neck of his favourite concubine, she has it rubbed with poison. The plot is, however, discovered by a slave.[2]

The same idea is found in the *Vissāsabhojana-Jātaka*,

[1] *Mosses from an Old Manse*, Peterson's Shilling Library, New England Novels, Edinburgh, 1883, p. 93.

[2] See the translation by Eastwick, 1854, p. 582. See also Benfey, *Das Pañchatantra*, vol. i, p. 598. For other references see Chauvin, *op. cit.*, ii, p. 87

where a herd of cows yield but little milk through fright of a lion in the neighbourhood. Finding out that the lion is very attached to a certain doe, the herdsmen catch it and rub it all over with poison and sugar. They keep it for a day or two until it has properly dried, and then let it go. The lion meanwhile has missed its friend and on seeing it again licks it all over with pleasure, and so meets its death. Then as a kind of moral [1] we read :

> "Trust not the trusted, nor th'untrusted trust ;
> Trust kills ; through trust the lion bit the dust."

Other methods are through the look, the breath, the perspiration, the bite and, finally, sexual intercourse.

We will consider the fatal look first.

The Fatal Look

As has already been mentioned in some versions of the story, it is merely a look from the poison-damsel which is fatal. When we consider the practically universal fear of the evil eye, it is not to be wondered at that such an idea should have crept into these versions. A large number of examples from all parts of the world will be found in Hertz, *op. cit.*, pp. 107-112 ; reference should also be made to F. T. Elworthy, *The Evil Eye*, 1895, and his article, "Evil Eye," in Hastings' *Ency. Rel. Eth.*, vol. v, pp. 608-615.

There is a wide-spread Oriental belief that the look of a snake is poisonous, hence the Sanskrit name *drig-viśa* or *dristi-viśa*, "poison in a glance." The Indians also believed that a single snake *dibya* could poison the atmosphere with its eyes (Wise, *Commentary on the Hindu System of Medicine*, London, 1860, p. 399).

Similar snakes are reported by the Arabs as living in the desert (see Barbier de Meynard, *Les Colliers d'Or, allocutions morales de Zamakhschari*, Paris, 1876, p. 94). Likewise al-Qazwīnī in his *Kosmographie* tells of snakes existing in the Snake Mountains of Turkestan which also killed by their glance. It is interesting to note that these deadly snakes have entered into stories connected with Alexander the Great. Thus in the *Secretum Secretorum* [2] we read : "I furthermore command thee and warn thee that thy counsellor be not red-

[1] See the Cambridge edition, No. 93, vol. i, p. 228.

[2] Gaster's Hebrew version, section 48, *op. cit.*, Jan. 1908, pp. 137, 138.

haired, and if he has blue eyes, in Arabic called *azrk*, and if he be one of thy relations, do not trust them, do not confide in them any of thy affairs, and beware of them in the same manner as thou bewarest of the Indian snakes which kill with their look from a distance."

According to another myth,[1] during one of his campaigns Alexander came across a valley on the Indo-Persian frontier guarded by deadly serpents whose mere glance was fatal. Learning that this valley was full of precious stones, he erected mirrors in which the serpents might stare themselves to death, and so secured the gems by employing the carcasses of sheep in a manner with which we have already become accustomed in the story of "Sindbad the Sailor." See also the description of Epiphanius.[2] According to Albertus Magnus the scheme was suggested by Aristotle.[3] He also tells a somewhat similar tale of Socrates in his commentary on the Pseudo-Aristotelean work on the properties of the elements and planets.[4] In the reign of Philip of Macedon, who is himself described as a philosopher and astronomer, the road between two mountains in Armenia became so poisoned that no one could pass. Philip vainly inquired the cause from his sages until Socrates came to the rescue and, by erecting a tower as high as the mountains with a steel mirror on top of it, saw two dragons polluting the air. The mere glance of these dragons was apparently not deadly, for men in air-tight armour went in and killed them.

Thus it seems that it was the breath of the dragon that caused death.[5] This will be discussed shortly. The fatal glance of snakes reminds us at once of Medusa, whose hair was

[1] "Pseudo-Aristotelisches Steinbuch von Luttich," *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altert.*, xviii, 364, 28 *et seq.* *Cf.* Samuel Ibn Zarza, *Michlal Jofi.* In Brunetto Latini these basilisks are destroyed by warriors who are protected from them by large glass bottles (*Li Livres dou Tresor*, p. p. Chabaille, Paris, 1863. L. V, c. 141). *Cf.* Laistner, *Rätsel der Sphinx*, 1898, vol. ii, p. 263 *et seq.*

[2] Thorndike, *History of Magic and Experimental Science*, vol. i, p. 496.

[3] *De mirabilibus mundi* (*De secretis mulierum*, Amstelodami, 1669, p. 176 *et seq.*).

[4] *De causis et properietatibus elementorum*, II, ii, 1. See also the complete edition of his work by Augustus Borgnet, vol. ix, p. 643. The extract quoted above and those immediately following are taken from Thorndike, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, pp. 262-263.

[5] Compare the poisonous breath of the snakes in the *Jātakas*—e.g. *Daddara-Jātaka* (No. 304), Cambridge edition, vol. iii, p. 11.

composed of serpents, one glance at which was sufficient to turn the unwary into stone.

It is in myths like that of Perseus and the Gorgon that the fatal glance is more understandable. For in the case of the Alexander story, if a single look produced death, the warning of Aristotle would come too late. Some of the translators seem to have realised this, and in cases where the text read "by the glance" it has been altered to "continual (or prolonged) look." It is clear, I think, that the reading is not correct and is found only in some of the later texts.

The Poisonous Breath

The idea of poisonous breath, such as we find in some of the versions of the poison-damsel story, is quite a common one in fiction. As we saw in Frauenlob's version, the girl's breath was poisonous. The same statement is made by Peter of Abano,[1] the Jesuit Del Rio,[2] Michael Bapst, Wolfgang Hildebrand and Gaspar de los Reyes.[3] For further details see Hertz, *op. cit.*, pp. 112, 113.

The notion of the poisonous breath may perhaps be traced in some cases to stories of people living on poison in order to protect themselves against any attempt on their lives by the same means. The story of Mithradates (Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, xxv, 3) is a well-known case in point. Discovering that the Pontic duck lived on poison, he utilised its blood as a means of inoculation, and finally was able to eat poison regularly.

Of more interest to us, however, as showing the Indian belief in the use of poison as nourishment, is the tale of Maḥmūd Shāh, King of Gujarāt. It was current about 1500, and versions are found in the travels of Varthema[4] and Duarte Barbosa.[5]

The story goes that Maḥmūd's father reared his son on poison to frustrate any attempts on the part of enemies to poison him. In Varthema's account we read: "Every day he eats poison. Do not, however, imagine that he fills his

[1] *Libellus de veneris*, c. 3 (Conciliator, Venetiis, 1548, fol. 2, 278, col. 2).

[2] *Disquisitiones Magicæ*, Moguntiæ, 1606, i, 55.

[3] *Elysius Campus*, 483.

[4] *Travels of Ludovico di Varthema*, G. P. Badger, Hakluyt Society, 1863, pp. 109-110.

[5] *The Book of Duarte Barbosa*, M. Longworth Dames, Hakluyt Society, 1918, vol. i, pp. 121-123.

stomach with it; but he eats a certain quantity, so that when he wishes to destroy any great personage he makes him come before him stripped and naked, and then eats certain fruits which are called *chofole*, which resemble a muscatel nut. He also eats certain leaves of herbs, which are like the leaves of the sugar orange, called by some *tamboli*; and then he eats some lime of oyster shells, together with the above-mentioned things. When he has masticated them well, and has his mouth full, he spurts it out upon that person whom he wishes to kill, so that in the space of half-an-hour he falls to the ground dead. This sultan has also three or four thousand women, and every night that he sleeps with one she is found dead in the morning. Every time that he takes off his shirt, that shirt is never again touched by anyone; and so of his other garments; and every day he chooses new garments. My companions asked how it was that this sultan eats poison in this manner. Certain merchants, who were older than the sultan, answered that his father had fed him upon poison from his childhood."

In Barbosa's version we have a very interesting and accurate account of gradual inoculation by poison compared with the taking of opium:

"He began to eat it in such small doses that it could do him no evil, and in this manner he continued so filled with poison that when a fly touched him, as soon as it reached his flesh it forthwith died and swelled up, and as many women as slept with him perished.

"And for this he kept a ring of such virtue that the poison could have no effect on her who put it in her mouth before she lay down with him. And he could never give up eating this poison, for if he did so he would die forthwith, as we see by experience of the opium which the most of the Moors and Indians eat; if they left off eating it they would die; and if those ate it who had never before eaten it, they too would die; so they begin to eat it in such small quantities that it can work them no ill, as they are reared on it, and as they grow up they are accustomed to it. This opium is cold in the fourth degree; it is the cold part of it that kills. The Moors eat it as a means of provoking lust, and the Indian women take it to kill themselves when they have fallen into any folly, or for any loss of honour, or for despair. They drink it dissolved in a little oil, and die in their sleep without perception of death."

Dames (*op. cit.*, p. 122) notes that it was Ramusio's versions of the travels of Varthema and Barbosa which spread the story through Europe, until it found its way into Purchas (ii, 1495). Butler's allusion in *Hudibras*, where he turns the poison into "asps, basilisks and toads," is as follows :—

> "The Prince of Cambay's daily food
> Is asp, and basilisk, and toad;
> Which makes him have so strong a breath,
> Each night he stinks a queen to death."
>
> Part II, canto i, line 753 *et seq.*

Dames refers to a curious tale he heard about Nādir Shāh among the Baloches (see *Folk-Lore*, 1897, p. 77), in which the king's breath was so poisonous that of the two girls who helped him to clean his teeth, one died outright, and the other only just managed to recover.

It is interesting to note that in Varthema's account of Mahmūd Shāh he distinctly speaks of the practice of betel-chewing so widely distributed throughout the East. The fruit called *chofole*, *coffolo*, or in Arabic *fūfel*, *faufel*, is the betel nut, the fruit of the areca—*Areca Catechu*. The *tamboli* are the leaves of the betel vine or pan—*Chavica Betel*. The third ingredient, "some lime of oyster shell," is the small pellet of shell lime or chunam which is added to the piece of dried nut, both being wrapped in the leaf. Although betel-chewing is not poisonous, as was proved as early as the fifteenth century by the botanist Clusius (Charles de l'Escluse or Lécluse, 1526-1609),[1] it has been known to have curious effects on people strongly addicted to the habit, and it is quite natural that such effects would be exaggerated in the hands of story-tellers, or merely in the gradual spread of a local story first told, perhaps, with a large percentage of truth, which in time would become smaller and smaller.

The spitting of betel juice in a person's face was an Indian way of offering a gross insult. In speaking of the city of Kail, or Cail (a port, now forgotten, on the coast of the Tinnevelly district of the Madras Presidency), Marco Polo[2] says: "If anyone desires to offer a gross insult to another, when he

[1] See the note to his translation of Garcia de Orta, L. I, c. 25 (*Aromatum Historia*, Antverpiæ, 1567, p. 122 *et seq.*). The English translation, *The Simples and Drugs of India*, is by Clements Markham, London, 1913.

[2] *The Book of Ser Marco Polo*, Yule, vol. ii, p. 371.

meets him he spits this leaf or its juice in his face. The other immediately runs before the king, relates the insult that has been offered him, and demands leave to fight the offender. The king supplies the arms, which are sword and target, and all the people flock to see, and there the two fight till one of them is killed. They must not use the point of the sword, for this the king forbids."

In an interesting letter to me on the subject, Dr J. D. Gimlette,[1] the Residency Surgeon of Kelantan, tells me that in the old days Malays were in the habit of conveying poison to anyone they wanted "out of the way" in a "chew" of betel. The modern Malay criminal may also attempt to poison his victim during the process of betel-chewing. The poison, consisting of the bile of the green tree-snake (*ular puchok*, *Dryophis prasinus*, *Boie-Dipsodomorphinæ*) mixed with that of the green water-frog and that of the jungle-crow, is smeared on the gambier used in betel-chewing. White arsenic, a common Eastern poison, could easily be mixed with the lime, and might well go undetected if the betel leaf was not carefully wiped to remove any grittiness. The Malays must always have been suspicious of such tricks, as even to-day they always wipe the leaves thoroughly before commencing chewing.

Sufficient has now been said to show how, in the East especially, exaggerated stories of poison breaths might arise. I shall have more to say on betel-chewing in a later volume.

Opium

Significant, too, is the mention of opium by Barbosa. He speaks of "opium which the most of the Moors and Indians eat." Although the contrary view has been expressed, the weight of evidence appears to indicate that the eating and drinking of opium is much more deleterious than smoking it.

Both Maḥmūd Shāh and his son have been described as great opium-eaters, and at this time the practice was on the increase. The early history of the drug is very uncertain, but the discovery of opium began to attract attention about the third century B.C., when references to it are found in the works of Greek writers. The home of the *Papaver somniferum* appears to have been the Levant, whence it soon spread to

[1] See the 2nd edition (1923) of his *Malay Poisons and Charm Cures*.

Asia Minor. It was, however, the Arabs who were chiefly responsible for disseminating the knowledge of the plant and its varied uses, and to the Mohammedans can be attributed its introduction into both India and China. Thus all the vernacular names for the drug are traceable to the Semitic corruption of *opos* or *opion* into *afyūn*.[1]

It was not long before opium found favour with the Hindus. There were many reasons for this. It was looked upon as a cure for several diseases, and enabled those who took it to exist on very little food during famines; it was a great restorative, a means of imparting strength in any laborious work, and was, moreover, considered a strong aphrodisiac. Apart from all this, opium was welcomed by ascetics, and, besides *gānja*, or Indian hemp (from which *bhāng* is made), became a means of producing the physical inertia and abnormal mental exaltation required for the complete conquest of all sensation and movement. It was also found to aid the observance of a protracted fast.

Then, again, it was venerated on account of the pleasant and soothing visions it produced, which were regarded as the excursions of the spirit into paradise.

No wonder then that such a powerful drug took a strong hold of the people, and appears in some form or other in literature. True it was unknown in India in the time of Somadeva, but there was no lack of other poisons, as is clear from the most cursory glance at the earliest Hindu medical works.

Russell[2] says that opium is administered to children almost from the time of their birth, partly because its effects are supposed to be beneficial, and also to prevent them from crying and keep them quiet while their parents are at work. One of the favourite methods of killing female children was to place a fatal dose of opium on the nipple of the mother's breast. The practice of giving children opium is said to be abandoned at the age of eight or nine, but as that is about

[1] The full history of opium has yet to be written, but I would refer readers to Watt's *Commercial Products of India*, 1908, pp. 845-861, which is a revised and abridged account from his *Dictionary of the Economic Products of India*, and contains many useful references. The latest and most interesting information will be found in a little pamphlet by Prof. H. A. Giles, *Some Truths about Opium*, Cambridge, 1923. The article "Opium," by E. M. Holmes, in the *Ency. Brit.* is also well worth perusal.

[2] *Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces*, vol. iii, p. 319.

the marriage age of girls it seems as if the harm would be already done, and the habit a very difficult one to break. I can find no evidence as to whether children were given poisonous herbs to suck before opium was introduced; the possibility, however, seems quite a likely one. The prohibition of alcoholic liquor by the Brāhman priesthood only led to the use of noxious drugs, and opium contributed much to the degeneration of the Rājpūts, the representatives of the old Kshatriya or warrior class.[1]

Poison by Intercourse

The fatal look and poisonous breath which help to characterise the poison-damsel's snake nature cannot be taken alone. They appear to be mere variants of the original idea stated, or perhaps only hinted at, in the story as told in India. There are several considerations that help to show what was originally meant. In all versions we are told that the girl was very beautiful and at once captured the admiration of her intended victim. The evil effects of her bite are mentioned. Remembering the Eastern origin of the tale, we must regard this as an amorous bite on the lip, probably drawing blood, and so allowing the poisonous saliva of the girl to enter the whole system of the man. Then, again, the perspiration is mentioned.[2] All these facts point to intercourse as the most obvious and successful way of passing on the poison.

Aristotle told Alexander that if he had had intercourse with the poisoned woman he would have died. I take this to include all the numerous methods which in later versions were taken separately. The idea would be appreciated by the Hindu, who would imagine the woman bringing into play the whole *ars amoris indica*, as detailed by Vātsyāyana. It is almost surprising that no versions suggest nail-scratchings as a means of conveying the poison.

So much for the actual idea of poisonous intercourse, but

[1] See Col. Tod's *Annals and Antiquities of Rājasthān*, edited by W. Crooke, Oxford, 1920; the latter's articles on the Rājpūt clans in his *Tribes and Castes of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh*; and Russell, *op. cit.*, vol. iv, p. 423 *et seq.* For evidence against the Rājpūts being the offspring of the Kshatriyas see Forbes, *Rās Mālā*, edited by H. G. Rawlinson, 1924, vol. i, p. 21n[2].

[2] In one version, that in the *Pariśishṭaparvan*, the perspiration was caused by the heat of the sacrificial fire (see *supra*).

the question which is of far greater interest is, What gave rise to such an idea?

Perhaps it depends on the interpretation of the word "poisonous." It is well known that in many countries the first intercourse after marriage is looked upon with such dread, and as an act of so inauspicious a nature, that the husband either appoints a proxy for the first night, or else takes care that if the girl is a virgin the hymen be broken by artificial means.[1] It is hard to say exactly why the first sexual connection was so greatly feared, but the chief idea seems to have been that at any critical time evil spirits are especially active. We have already seen (pp. 166-169) how special care had to be taken at birth; so also at marriages it was equally important to guard against any malign influences which may be at work trying to do harm on the first night of the marriage. Such attempts, however, would not be renewed, and if only the husband could shift the primary danger on to someone else's shoulders all would be well.

There is no evidence that any form of poisoning was feared, but the idea occurs in a curious passage from Mandeville. In describing the islands in the lordship of Prester John, he says[2]:

"Another Yle is there toward the Northe, in the See Occean, where that ben fulle cruele and ful evele Wommen of Nature; and thei han precious Stones in hire Eyen: and thei ben of that kynde, that zif thei beholden ony man with wratthe, thei slen him anon with the beholdynge, as doth the Basilisk.[3]

"Another Yle is there, fulle fair and gode and gret, and fulle of peple, where the custom is suche, that the firste nyght that thei ben maryed, thei maken another man to lye be hire Wifes, for to have hire Maydenhode: and therfore thei taken gret Huyre and gret Thank. And ther ben certain men in

[1] See Ploss, *Das Weib in der Natur u. Völkerkunde*, 3rd edition of Bartels, Leipzig, 1891, p. 310 *et seq.* For the use of the proxy see Antoine de Moya, *Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas*, Paris, 1890; Moncelon, *Bulletins de la Société d'Anthrop. de Paris*, 3 série IX, 1886, p. 368. Further references will be found in Westermarck, *History of Human Marriage*, vol. i, p. 170 *et seq.*

[2] *The Voiage and Travaile of Sir John Maundevile, Kt.*, with an Introduction, Additional Notes and Glossary, J. O. Halliwell, 1839, p. 285 *et seq.* (In the 1866 reprint the page is 284 *et seq.*) The 1895 edition, illustrated by Layard, omits all the above except the first paragraph (p. 355).

[3] Pliny, Lib. VII, c. 2.

every Town, that serven of non other thing; and thei clepen hem Cadeberiz, that is to seyne, the Foles of Wanhope. For thei of the Contree holden it so gret a thing and so perilous, for to have the Maydenhode of a Woman, that hem semethe that thei that haven first the Maydenhode, puttethe him in aventure of his Lif. And zif the Husbonde fynde his Wif Mayden, that other next nyghte, aftre that sche scholde have ben leyn by of the man, that is assigned therefore, perauntes for Dronkenesse or for some other cause, the Husbonde schalle pleyne upon him, that he hathe not done his Deveer, in suche cruelle wise, as thoughe he wolde have him slayn therfore. But after the firste nyght, that thei ben leyn by, thei kepen hem so streytely, that thei ben not so hardy to speke with no man. And I asked hem the cause, whi that thei helden suche custom: and thei seyden me, that of old tyme, men hadden ben dede for deflourynge of Maydenes, that hadden Serpentes in hire Bodyes, that stongen men upon hire Zerdes, that thei dyeden anon: and therefore thei helden that custom, to make other men, ordeyn'd therfore, to lye be hire Wyfes, for drede of Dethe, and to assaye the passage be another, rather that for to putte hem in that aventure."

Although we must look upon the above as an invention of Mandeville himself, the idea could well have been founded on fact. For instance, apart from the custom of employing proxies for the first night of marriage, there has always been a curious connection between snakes and intercourse. In India the snake is often represented as encircling the *liṅga*. In a paper read before the Asiatic Society, J. H. Rivett-Carnac[1] refers to certain paintings in Nāgpūr, and says that "the positions of the women with the snakes were of the most indecent description and left no doubt that, so far as the idea represented in these sketches was concerned, the cobra was regarded as the phallus."

The subject has been treated by many scholars[2] and cannot be discussed here further.

[1] "Rough Notes on the Snake Symbol in India," *Journ. Roy. As. Soc.*, Bengal, 1879.

[2] C. F. Oldham, "The Nāgas," *Journ. Roy. As. Soc.*, July 1901, pp. 461-473; J. A. Macculloch, "Serpent Worship (Primitive and Introductory)," Hastings' *Ency. Rel. Eth.*, p. 409, and W. Crooke, "Serpent Worship (Indian)," ditto, p. 415. See also E. S. Hartland, "Phallism," ditto, vol. ix, p. 815 *et seq.*, and the references given in these articles.

The most simple explanation of the true meaning of poisoning by intercourse which at once suggests itself is that it was merely venereal disease unrecognised as such. Here we at once open up an enormous field of research, much too complicated and technical to pursue here. All I can hope to do is to state briefly what the chief opinions on the subject are, and the consequent bearing they have upon the question of poison-damsels.

In spite of assertions to the contrary, it is a generally accepted fact that syphilis was introduced into Europe by way of Spain in 1493 by Columbus' men, who had contracted the disease in Haiti. From Spain it spread to Italy, being carried there by the Spanish troops who enlisted in Charles VIII's army. This view is held by Havelock Ellis[1] and many other authoritative writers. It is also accepted by the National Council for Combating Venereal Disease and the *British Medical Journal* (see below).

There has, however, been considerable controversy on the subject, some attempting to prove that venereal disease has existed in all countries from the earliest times, and that mummies from ancient Egypt show undoubted signs of syphilis. One of our greatest authorities on such subjects, however, Prof. G. Eliot Smith, tells me that there is absolutely no evidence even to suggest that the disease existed in Egypt before mediæval times. He says, moreover, that there is no sign of it in ancient Egyptian remains, and that had it existed there it most certainly would have left its mark.[2]

In Central America, however, the antiquity of the disease is fairly well established. As time went on, the natives became practically immune, but when it spread to the Spaniards, the disease assumed a virulent form. In an article on the subject

[1] *Psychology of Sex*, vol. vi ("Sex in Relation to Society"), p. 321 *et seq.*

[2] See "The Alleged Discovery of Syphilis in Prehistoric Egyptians," *The Lancet*, 22nd August 1908. Readers wishing to pursue the subject will find the following references useful:—Buret, *Le Syphilis Aujourd'hui et chez les Anciens*, 1890; A. V. Notthaft, "Die Legende von der Altertums-syphilis," *Rindfleisch Festschrift*, 1907, pp. 377-592; Okamura in *Monatsschrift für praktische Dermatologie*, vol. xxviii, p. 296 *et seq.*; Virchow in *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, Heft 2 and 3, 1899, p. 216; J. Knott, "The Origin of Syphilis," *New York Medical Journal*, 31st October 1908; Rosenbaum, *Geschichte der Lustseuche im Altertume*, 5th edition; K. K. Chatterji, *Syphilis in General Practice, with special reference to the Tropics*, Calcutta, 1920 (see especially pp. 4 and 5).

one of the greatest authorities [1] on Central America declares his belief in the American origin of syphilis. He quotes (among others) Montejo y Robledo in the fourth report of the International Americanists' Congress at Madrid in 1881 (*Actas*, Tomo I, p. 331 *et seq.*).

That the Mexicans looked upon the disease as something divine is clear from the fact that they had a god of syphilis, named Nanahuatzin, who was a satellite of the sun-god. The only known statue of the god is in Mr Fenton's collection, inspection of which leaves little doubt as to its identification. Mr Fenton also showed me the sun-god, which is represented as having gap-teeth, in keeping with the disease which undoubtedly forms one of its attributes.

Although scholars are not unanimous in their acceptance of the above theory, evidence to the contrary seems to be quite unconvincing.

However this may be, stories certainly existed in the Middle Ages in Europe which seem to show undoubted reference to the disease, which was looked upon as a magic poisoning, the handiwork of a witch, or exceedingly clever woman, whose knowledge was something out of the ordinary. Take, for instance, the legend of the death of King Wenceslaus II of Bohemia in 1305.

According to the contemporary poet, Ottacker,[2] the king grew daily weaker without any apparent cause. Suspicion fell on the king's favourite and trusted mistress, one Agnes, a most beautiful and accomplished woman. It was rumoured that she had accepted bribes from certain men to defile herself in such a manner as to bring about the king's death by her embrace. "How could you do a deed like this?" says the poet. "How could you mix poison with the fathomless sweetness which you carry in your delicate body? Mistress, you betrayed him, just as the Romans did when they betrayed an emperor. They brought up a child on poison, who later

[1] E. Seler, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur Amerikanischen Sprach-und Altertumskunde*, Berlin, 1904, vol. ii, p. 94 *et seq.* (originally published in *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, 1895, pp. 366, 449 *et seq.*). See also Brasseur de Bourbourg, *Popol Vuh*, Paris, 1861, p. cxlii; Joyce, *Mexican Archæology*, p. 239; and Las Casas, *Historia Apologetica*, cap. 19.

[2] This is the German poet and historian who flourished at the end of the thirteenth and beginning of the fourteenth centuries, and must not be confounded with the King of Bohemia (Ottacker or Ottakar) of about the same date.

became the emperor's mistress, and after he had lain with her he died. But that case was different, as the child had been trained by the Romans that she might poison the Emperor."

The poet, in conclusion, curses her and calls down the wrath of heaven on any such treacherous woman.[1]

About a hundred years later we find a curious tale dealing with the death of King Ladislao (also called Ladislaus, Ladislas, or Lanzilao) of Naples. He aspired to absolute rule of Italy, but, according to one version, was mysteriously poisoned by a trick of the Florentines. The story goes[2] that they bribed a certain unscrupulous doctor of Perugia, whose beautiful daughter was the mistress of Ladislao. The unnatural father persuaded the girl that if she wanted to be loved exclusively and unceasingly by her royal lover she must secretly rub herself with a certain ointment which he himself had prepared for her. The deluded girl believed him and did his bidding, used the ointment, which was composed chiefly of the juice of aconite (monk's-hood), and both she and the king lost their lives.

Although such stories as these are of considerable interest, they afford no conclusive proof of the existence of venereal disease in Europe before the end of the fifteenth century. It is impossible to say what was the exact nature of these mysterious illnesses or how they originated.

Syphilis appears to have been unknown in India till the end of the fifteenth or beginning of the sixteenth century, when it was introduced by the Portuguese.[3]

But quite apart from such evidence as this, the time the disease takes to show itself is greatly against its use in a story where the effect has to be immediate and causing practically instantaneous death.

It seems, therefore, that we must look for some means of

[1] For the complete passage see R. D. P. Hieronymus Pez, *Scriptores rerum Austriacarum veteres ac genuini*, Tom. III, Ratisbonæ, 1745, cap. decliv, pp. 741-742.

[2] Angelo di Costanzo, *Historia del regno di Napoli*, Aquila, 1581, p. 279 *et seq.* Gregorovius, *Geschichte der Stadt Rom im Mittelalter*, VI, 2nd edition, p. 625.

[3] See J. Jolly, *Indische Medizin*, Strassburg, 1901; Iwan Bloch, *Ursprung der Syphilis*, Jena, 1901, vol. i, p. 283 *et seq.* *The British Medical Journal* tells me that they know of no evidence of the occurrence of syphilis in India before 1495 and consider its introduction can be placed with very little doubt about A.D. 1500. It was due to the Portuguese explorers, who had been infected as a sequel to the introduction of the disease in Europe by Columbus' men.

imparting death which (1) existed undoubtedly from olden times in India, (2) is practically instantaneous, and (3) has a distinct connection with poison.

Although poisonous plants could be cited, there is a much more obvious and certain thing—namely, the sting of the cobra. Here, I think, we have the clue to the whole idea.

In the first place we are fully aware of the great antiquity of the reverence paid to the cobra in India, a reverence which, however, is naturally mixed with dread. How great that dread must be we can better appreciate when we glance at the amazing statistics of deaths due to snake-bite. The average annual death-roll is about 20,000 people. In 1889 there were 22,480 human beings and 3,793 cattle killed by snakes, the chief being the cobra, the krait and Russell's viper. In more recent years the figures have increased. Thus in 1911 the deaths due to snake-poison were 24,312; in 1915, 26,406, while in 1922 the figure dropped to 20,090.

No further evidence is needed to emphasise the deadliness of the sting of the cobra and the krait. If the poison enters a large vein, death is very rapid and all so-called antidotes are unavailing. The poison of a snake becomes exhausted after it has struck frequently, and in cases where a cobra's sting does little harm it is usually to be explained by the fact that the reptile must have already bitten and not yet re-formed its poison.

It is a curious fact that a snake cannot poison itself or one of its own species, and only any other genus of venomous snake in a slight degree. This brings us a step nearer our inquiry. It is obvious that in a country like India, infested with snakes, and where the resulting mortality is so large, the customs of the reptiles should have been studied in detail. This has been largely done by snake-charmers, whose livelihood depends on their ability to catch them alive and train them sufficiently for their particular object in view. A snake-charmer's secret lies chiefly in his dexterity and fearlessness. There is, however, another important factor to be considered—inoculation. It is a well-known fact that snake venom is perfectly digestible, and that if the mouth and stomach are free from abrasions quantities of venom can be taken with no ill effects. It is on this principle that the snake-

[1] For further details of deaths from snake-bite in India prior to 1891 see Sir Joseph Fayrer, *On Serpent-worship and on the Venomous Snakes of India*, being a paper read before the Victoria Institute, 1892. For the recent figures I am indebted to the High Commissioner for India.

charmers work, inoculating themselves with increasing doses of venom until they are immune from the bite of the particular snake whose venom they have used. For instance, if cobra-venom is chosen, immunity will be obtained only against cobra-venom, and viper-venom would prove fatal in the usual way.[1]

It is a fairly widely recognised fact that a child who has once had measles is not likely to get it again, for the simple reason that a stronger resistance is set up by the one attack. We are all aware that vaccination is a protection against smallpox, and that anti-typhoid inoculation preserves one to a considerable degree against typhoid fever. In the former case the vaccine lymph actually causes a mild attack of smallpox (just in the same way as the snake-charmer gets slightly poisoned by his repeated bites), and in the latter case dead typhoid bacilli are injected under the skin. Just as cobra-inoculation is no protection against viper-venom, so vaccination is no protection against typhoid.

As the system on which the snake-charmer works became more and more familiar, and experience showed only too well the fatal results of cobra bites to people who are not immune, it is quite reasonable to imagine that this knowledge would find its way into fiction. It would, indeed, be curious if it was not so, for as history affords so many examples of vegetable and mineral poisoning, we can well understand that stories, at any rate, would arise telling of snake-poisons.

All the story-teller had to do was to transfer the idea from the snake-charmer to a beautiful maiden, and introduce the possibility of passing on a poison thus accumulated. The method of doing this would naturally be intercourse, a bite, perspiration and so on.

As is to be expected, we find stories where the poison is definitely stated as being derived from plants. The chief of these was *el-bīś* (the Arabic form of the Sanskrit *visha*). In al-Qazwīnī's [2] *Kosmographie* we read: "Among the wonders

[1] I have to thank Miss Joan Procter, Curator of Reptiles at the Zoological Society, for giving me valuable information about cobras and vipers. See A. T. Wall, "On the Difference of the Physiological Effects produced by the Poison of Indian Venomous Snakes," *Proc. Roy. Soc.*, 1881, vol. xxxii, p. 333. G. Lamb, *Some Observations on the Poison of the Banded Krait*, Calcutta, 1904.

[2] Silvestre de Sacy, *Chrestomathie Arabe*, 2nd edition, Paris, 1826, iii, 398. J. Gildemeister, *Scriptorum Arabum de Rebus Indicis loci*, 219. Gutschmid in *Zeitschr. d. deutschen morg. Gesel.*, xv, 95.

of India may be mentioned the plant *el-bīś*, which is found only in India, and which is a deadly poison. The Indian kings, we are told, when they want to conquer an enemy ruler, take a new-born girl and strew the plant first for some time under her cradle, then under her mattress and then under her clothes. Finally they give it her to drink in her milk, until the growing girl begins to eat it without hurt. This girl they send with presents to the king whom they wish to destroy, and when he has intercourse with her he dies."

Conclusion

To summarise briefly, I would say that the *motif* of the poison-damsel originated in India at a very early period before the Christian era. The poison-damsel herself has no existence in actual fact, but is merely the creation of the story-teller, who derived the idea from what he saw around him. First of all he was acquainted with poisonous herbs and knew something of the uses to which they were put, but he was still more familiar with the ways of the snake-charmer and the methods of his gradual inoculation. He could not help being fully aware of the fatal results of the bite of the cobra and krait, and the reverence and fear of the snake throughout India was everywhere evident. Thus there was plenty of material for the creation of the poison-damsel, and in later days the knowledge of opium and other foreign drugs would merely introduce some new variant of the tale.

Like so many Eastern stories, the legend of the poison-damsel travelled slowly westwards, and received its greatest impetus by becoming attached to the Pseudo-Aristotelean myths of mediæval Europe. Its inclusion in such a famous collection as the *Gesta Romanorum* was a further means of its increasing popularity.

I need hardly say that I have touched only the very fringe of the subject. Whilst many important and extremely interesting queries have been raised in the course of this appendix, I have, for the most part, refrained from offering any solution, and have been content with stating facts and giving references.

Most readers will, I think, agree with me that, despite many disadvantages, there is much that is attractive about the poison-damsel.

INDEX I

SANSKRIT WORDS AND PROPER NAMES

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